

Hilduin of Saint-Denis

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Hilduin of Saint-Denis

The Passio S. Dionysii in Prose and Verse

By

Michael Lapidge



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Preface

The present volume presents the *editio princeps* of a major Carolingian poem, the first such edition for more than a century. When in 1987 I first announced the discovery of the poem, and argued for its attribution to Hilduin, the learned and powerful abbot of Saint-Denis in Paris (814–840), I anticipated that the publication of the poem would follow soon upon the announcement. But (as is often the case) there were many unforeseen problems. Work on the poem quickly revealed that it was based very closely on Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* (BHL 2175), to such an extent that it was impossible to understand the poem without a clear understanding of its prose antecedent. But since the prose *Passio S. Dionysii* is only available in a lacunose and inaccurate sixteenth-century edition by Lorenz Sauer (1574), and is usually studied in Migne's even more inaccurate reprint of Sauer's edition, it was evident that an edition of the poem would ideally involve a new edition of the prose *passio*: no easy task, given that the prose *passio* is transmitted in more than 180 manuscripts. Furthermore, the prose *passio* in turn can only be understood in the context of the various Latin texts on which it is based: the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius (BHL 2171), the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' (BHL 2178), the *Conscriptio Visbii* (BHL 2176), the *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum*, the pseudo-Dionysius 'Letter to Apollophanes', and a number of shorter works, including hymns and other liturgical texts. In 1987, none of these ancillary materials was available in anything resembling a modern critical edition. My first task was to undertake fresh editions of all these ancillary materials as well as of Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. Only when the editions of the ancillary materials had been finished (the relevant editions are now printed as Appendices to the present volume) was it possible to understand and edit Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* – which, in turn, needs to be understood in the context of an epistolary exchange between Hilduin and his emperor, Louis the Pious (814–840). Although this epistolary exchange can be read in a satisfactory nineteenth-century edition by Ernst Dümmler, its relevance to the *Passio S. Dionysii* is so obvious that a new edition seemed called for (a manageable undertaking, given that the exchange is preserved in many of the manuscripts which transmit the prose *passio*). The present volume contains new editions of all these works, alongside the *editio princeps* of Hilduin's verse *Passio S. Dionysii*. I hope that the amount of work entailed in providing these various editions will go some way towards explaining why it has taken more than thirty years to bring these various works of Hilduin, including the verse *passio*, into print.

Over the years I have been able to draw on the generous assistance of various friends and colleagues. My greatest debt is to Michael Winterbottom, who read through large tracts of both verse and prose, and helped to clarify many obscure points. Michael Reeve and Peter Stotz helped with various individual textual problems. Cécile Lanéry generously made available to me her important article on Hilduin before its publication in *CSLMA*. The Bollandists, especially Robert Godding and François De Vriendt, gave unstinting help at all stages of the project, not merely with the editions of two texts published here as appendices (I and II) which appeared first in the pages of *Analecta Bollandiana*. When I came to deal with the liturgical chants of the Night Office concerning St Dionysius (Appendix IX), Susan Rankin generously allowed me to use her own transcriptions of these texts as they are preserved in the earliest ninth-century manuscripts. Elizabeth (Peggy) Brown had worked on many of these same liturgical materials, and she kindly shared the results of her ongoing research with me. A number of friends consulted manuscripts in continental libraries on my behalf, or provided me with photocopies of books and articles unavailable in Cambridge: Leslie Lockett, Birgit Ebersperger, Paolo Chiesa, Rossana Guglielmetti, Michael Gorman, Paul Gazzoli, and Andy Orchard. I must also record my gratitude to three friends who helped me in the early stages of my work, but who have not lived to see its completion: Donald Bullough (†), Vivien Law (†) and Dieter Schaller (†).

Work on the various editions in this volume involved visits over many years to many manuscript depositories, both on the Continent and in England. I am grateful to the custodians and librarians of all these libraries for allowing me access to manuscripts in their care, but feel that special mention should be made of the kindness I received from Carolin Schreiber in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, as well as Fabian Cerezal in the Escorial, Petra Gebeschus in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Mireille Vial in the Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine in Montpellier and Marc-Edouard Gautier in the Bibliothèque municipale in Angers. Personal kindnesses of this sort will unfortunately become a thing of the past as more and more manuscripts become available on-line in digitized images.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to Brill for undertaking to publish so complicated a work, especially to Thomas Haye, the current general editor of the series *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, and to Marcella Mulder, editorial director of Brill, who with marvellous efficiency dealt with the book at every stage of its production. The anonymous reader for Brill made many acute observations on all aspects of the book, but especially on the texts and transmission of the various texts contained in it, and I have done my best to profit from his observations. When I first began working on the verse *Passio S. Dionysii* in 1987, my

friend Paul Gerhard Schmidt (†), who at that point had recently taken over the direction of *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* from Karl Langosch, suggested to me that the best home for the work would be his series; it is a matter of profound regret to me that Paul did not live to see the eventual publication in the series to which he devoted so much of his scholarly life.

Michael Lapidge

November 2016

Abbreviations

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
Acta ss.	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot orbe coluntur</i> , ed. J. Bolland et al. (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–)
AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi</i> , ed. G.M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922)
ALMA	<i>Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin du Cange)</i>
‘ancient <i>passio</i> ’	the <i>Passio S. Dionysii</i> [BHL 2171], ed. below, Appendix I (pp. 611–659)
‘anonymous <i>passio</i> ’	the <i>Passio S. Dionysii et sociorum eius</i> [BHL 2178], ed. below, Appendix II (pp. 660–703)
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City)
BECh	<i>Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, 3rd ed., Subsidia Hagiographica 8A (Brussels, 1957)
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , ed. Bollandists, Subsidia Hagiographica 6, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1898–1901) [with first Supplement, 1911, and <i>Novum Supplementum</i> by H. Fros, 1986]
BHLms	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Manuscripta</i> , ed. Bollandists, available at bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be
BHL Supplementum	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina: Novum Supplementum</i> , ed. H. Fros, Subsidia Hagiographica 70 (Brussels, 1986)
Bischoff, <i>Katalog</i>	B. Bischoff, <i>Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)</i> , ed. B. Ebersperger, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998–2014)
BL	British Library (London)
Blaise, <i>Dictionnaire</i>	A. Blaise, <i>Dictionnaire latin–français des auteurs chrétiens</i> (Turnhout, 1954)
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BM ²	J.F. Böhmer, <i>Regesta Imperii</i> , I. <i>Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751–918</i> , 2nd ed. rev. E. Mühlbacher (Innsbruck, 1908)
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich)
CAO	R.J. Hesbert, <i>Corpus antiphonarium officii</i> , 6 vols., <i>Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series maior, Fontes vii–xii</i> (Rome, 1963–1979)
<i>Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.</i>	[Bollandists], <i>Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latino-</i>

- rum in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 2, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1889–1893)
- CCCM Corpus Christianorum, *Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1967–)
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum, *Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953–)
- CD I, II *Corpus Dionysiacum* I: *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita De Divinis Nominibus*, ed. B.R. Suchla (Berlin and New York, 1990) [I]; *Corpus Dionysiacum* II: *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita De Coelesti Hierarchia, De Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, De Mystica Theologia, Epistulae*, ed. G. Heil and A.M. Ritter (Berlin and New York, 1991) [II]
- CETEDOC CETEDOC (Centre ‘*Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium*’), Library of Christian Latin Texts (Brepolis)
- ChLA *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, ed. A. Bruckner and R. Marichal (Olten and Zürich, 1954–)
- CLA E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols. and Supplement (Oxford, 1934–1971; 2nd ed. of vol. 11, 1972)
- Cottineau L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939)
- CPG *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard, 5 vols. and Supplement (Turnhout, 1983–1998)
- CPL *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, 2nd ed. (Steenbrugge, 1995)
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)
- CSLMA *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi: Auctores Galliae 735–987*, CCCM (Turnhout, 1994–)
- D-LdF a diploma (charter) of Louis the Pious, cited according to the numbering in T. Kölzer et al. (edd.), *MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum*, II. *Ludovici Pii Diplomata*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2016)
- D-Lo.I a diploma (charter) of Lothar I, cited according to the numbering in T. Schieffer (ed.), *MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum*, III. *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata* (Berlin and Zurich, 1966), pp. 51–311
- DACL *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–1953)
- DHGE *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart et al. (Paris, 1912–)
- DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot and E. Amann, 15 vols. (Paris, 1903–1950)
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig, 1897–1941; Berlin, 1954–)

- HexLexikon* *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon. Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*, ed. O. Schumann, 5 vols., MGH, Hilfsmittel 4 (Munich, 1979–1982)
- ICL* D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, *Initia Carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo Antiquiorum* (Göttingen, 1977) [cited by item no.]
- Kühner–Holzweissig R. Kühner and F. Holzweissig, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, I. *Elementar-, Formen-, und Wortlehre*, 2nd ed. (Hannover, 1912)
- Lampe, *Lexicon* *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961)
- LHS I, II M. Leumann, J.B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* I. *Lateinische Laut- und Formen-Lehre* by M. Leumann, 5th ed. (Munich, 1977); II. *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, by J.B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr (Munich, 1965)
- LMA* *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols. (Munich and Zurich, 1980–1999)
- LSJ* *A Greek–English Lexicon*, ed. H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H.S. Jones, 9th ed. with Supplement (Oxford, 1996)
- Luibheid *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. C. Luibheid (New York, 1987)
- Manitius M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911–1931)
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- AA Auctores Antiquissimi
- Capitularia Capitularia regum Francorum
- Concilia Concilia
- Diplomata Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica; Diplomata Karolinorum
- Epist. Epistolae (in quarto)
- PLAC Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini
- SS Scriptores (in folio)
- SS rer. Germ. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
- SS rer. Meroving. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
- MLW* *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehende 13. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1959–)
- ODB* *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1991)
- OLD* *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P.G.W. Glare et al. (Oxford, 1968–1982)
- PG Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857–1866)
- PL Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–1864)
- PLD Patrologia Latina Database (Chadwyck-Healey, 1996–2016)

- Poetria Nova 2* *Poetria Nova 2: A CD-ROM of Latin Medieval Poetry (650–1250 A.D.)*, ed. P. Mastandrea and L. Tassarolo, 2nd ed. (Florence, 2010)
- RB* *Revue Bénédictine*
- SChr Sources chrétiennes (Paris)
- Settimane* *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto)
- Stotz, *Handbuch* P. Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1996–2004)
- Surius L. Surius [Sauer], *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, 6 vols. (Cologne, 1570–1575)
- Théry G. Théry, *Études dionysiennes*, 1. *Hilduin, traducteur de Denys*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1932–1937)
- TLG Database* *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Database* (University of California, Irvine, 1985–)
- TLL* *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–)
- Verfasserlexikon* *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, ed. K. Ruh, 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York, 1977–)
- Wattenbach – Levison W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: Vorzeit und Karolinger*, rev. W. Levison and H. Löwe, 6 vols. (Weimar, 1952–1990) [vols. 1–v are continuously paginated]

Introduction



The Career of Hilduin

During the reign of Louis the Pious (814–840), Hilduin, sometime abbot of Saint-Denis in Paris (814–830, 832–840), was one of the most powerful churchmen in Francia.¹ During the decade 819–830, in his role as archchaplain to the Chapel Royal, Hilduin had overall responsibility for the ecclesiastical affairs of the Frankish kingdom, and, as a result of his proximity to the king, was able to dispense patronage and to acquire for himself the abbacies of several wealthy monasteries in addition to Saint-Denis itself. But Hilduin's importance lies not merely in the fact that he was a powerful ecclesiastical administrator, but also in the fact that he was one of the outstanding scholars of the age, a man who had excellent training in Latin, but also – unusually for a Frankish scholar of that time – a working knowledge of Greek. He put his learning to the service of St Dionysius, the patron saint of his abbey, by translating into Latin, for the very first time, the substantial Greek corpus of writings of the so-called pseudo-Dionysius, and by composing a new prose *passio* of St Dionysius, the first bishop of Paris. This prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, in which the corpus of Greek Dionysian writings was attributed to the bishop of Paris for the first time, became the most widely known and widely influential account of the bishop's life and martyrdom (it survives in nearly 200 manuscripts). But Hilduin also applied his learning to the training of students (such as Hincmar, later archbishop of Rheims) and to the patronage of younger scholars (such as Walahfrid Strabo, later abbot of Reichenau), so that his scholarly influence was felt by contemporaries and recognized by succeeding generations. After the death of Louis the Pious in 840, and following the tripartition of the Carolingian kingdom with the treaty of Verdun in 843, Hilduin chose to associate himself with Louis' eldest son Lothar, who became regent of the middle kingdom (subsequently called Lotharingia). In Lothar's service he was able to put his knowledge of Greek to good use, and he acted as Lothar's ambassador to the Byzantine empire in 843. After the successful conclusion of the embassy to Constantinople, he acted for Lothar in an administrative capacity broadly similar to that which he had formerly performed for Louis, assuming now the title

1 On Hilduin, see J. Pycke, 'Hilduin, archchaplain de Louis le Pieux et abbé de S.-Denis', *DHGE* xxiv [1993], pp. 515–522, and C. Lanéry, 'Hilduinus, sancti Dionysii abb.', *CSLMA* III [2010], pp. 482–546, as well as the earlier account in Wattenbach – Levison, pp. 318–323.

and responsibilities of Lothar's archchancellor (*summus notarius* or *archicancellarius*). In this capacity Hilduin oversaw the drafting of Lothar's legislation, particularly in matters concerning the church. Also, as before, Hilduin applied his prestige and learning to the patronage of a circle of scholars and poets, including Walahfrid Strabo (again) and Sedulius Scottus. It was at this time that, on my understanding of the evidence, Hilduin recast his prose *Passio S. Dionysii* in Latin hexameters. The precise date of Hilduin's death is unknown, but various evidence suggests that, like Lothar before him, he withdrew from the world and ended his days at the monastery of Prüm.

Family Origins (c. 785–814)

Considering the huge influence which Hilduin exerted on ecclesiastical affairs during the reign of Louis the Pious, very little is known of his family background. The precise date of his birth is unknown. Given the fact that in 814 he was appointed to the abbacy of Saint-Denis, one of the richest abbeys in the Frankish kingdom, and at that time the burial place of Frankish kings, he must presumably have had some connection with the royal family, but any such connection has not hitherto been brought to light. However, Léon Levillain pointed the way to enlightenment by drawing attention to some entries in the obituary of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.² There we find, against 22 November (*.x. kal. Dec.*) this entry: 'Depositio domni Hilduini abbatis'.³ As we shall see (below, p. 25), Hilduin at some point in the 820s acquired the abbacy of Saint-Germain, so it is not surprising to find the day of his death recorded in the obituary of that house. The matter is slightly complicated by the fact that, at a later point in the ninth century, another person named Hilduin became abbot of Saint-Germain (854–860); but, as Levillain clearly demonstrated, Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, is consistently referred to in this obituary as *domnus Hilduinus abbas*, and the later Hilduin simply as *abbas*.⁴ The distinction is crucial to the interpretation of another entry in the same obituary, against 10 July:

² Levillain, 'Wandelbert de Prüm', pp. 24–31.

³ Longnon, *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, p. 279.

⁴ 'Wandelbert de Prüm', pp. 29–31; cf. Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften*, pp. 30–31. The distinct identities of the two Hilduins – of Saint-Denis and of Saint-Germain – were clearly established by Ferdinand Lot, 'De quelques personnages du IX^e siècle qui ont porté le nom de Hilduin'.

.vi. Id. Iulii. Depositio Gairoldi comitis, fratris domni Hilduini abbatis.⁵

Hilduin, in other words, was the brother of Count Gairold, or Gerold, as his name is usually spelled by modern Carolingian historians. This Gerold was a scion of the prestigious comital family of Geroldings,⁶ who took their name from the first Gerold (c. 725–c. 784),⁷ count of Vinzgau in Swabia, who was a powerful magnate in the duchy or *ducatus* of Alamannia, a large territory corresponding roughly to Schwaben (Swabia) or Baden-Württemberg in modern Germany, to the north of the Bodensee (Lake Constance), and bounded by the Rhine to the west (but including Alsace on the left bank of the Rhine) and the Lech to the east, and having its principal episcopal see at Konstanz on Lake Constance.⁸ This first Count Gerold, the founder of the dynasty, was the father in turn of Count Gerold II, who was one of Charlemagne's most important officers. After Charlemagne's defeat of Duke Tassilo of Bavaria in 788, and his annexation of Bavaria (the huge territory lying immediately to the east of Alamannia) to the Carolingian empire, Gerold II was appointed prefect of Bavaria;⁹ he subsequently died fighting the Avars in 799.¹⁰ Gerold II was remembered as a wealthy patron of Reichenau, then the principal monastery

5 Longnon, *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, p. 266.

6 For the Geroldings, see *LMA* VIII, cols. 1174–1175 [H. Seibert], as well as I. Dienemann-Dietrich, *Der fränkische Adel in Alemannien im 8. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1953), pp. 182–188.

7 On Gerold I, see esp. Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: eine Prosopographie*, pp. 119–121.

8 See the entry 'Alamanni' in *LMA* I, cols. 263–265, as well as H. Keller, 'Spätantike und Frühmittelalter im Gebiet zwischen Genfer See und Hochrhein', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 7 (1973), 1–26, and idem, 'Archäologie und Geschichte der Alamannen in merowingischer Zeit', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 129 (1981), 1–51, esp. 39–51 (the article is an extended review of R. Christlein, *Die Alamannen* (Stuttgart, 1978)). On the geographical extent of Carolingian Alamannia, see Geuenich and Keller, 'Alamannen, Alamannien, Alamannisch im frühen Mittelalter', pp. 152–155.

9 On Charlemagne and Bavaria, see K. Reindel, 'Bayern im Karolingerreich', in *Karl der Grosse*, I, ed. Beumann, pp. 220–246.

10 On Gerold II, see Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs*, II, pp. 189–194; J.B. Ross, 'Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria', *Speculum* 20 (1945), 212–235, esp. 226–227 and 234–235; and, more recently, Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: Eine Prosopographie*, pp. 122–126. The death of Count Gerold II is recorded in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 799 (ed. Kurze, p. 108; trans. Scholz, p. 78); an anonymous verse epitaph is printed in *MGH*, *PLAC* i. 114.

in Alamannia;¹¹ his patronage of Reichenau is recorded by Walahfrid Strabo in his poem *Visio Wettini*.¹²

Count Gerold II had two prestigious siblings: a sister named Hildegard¹³ and a brother named Udalrich. Hildegard (758–783) of Vinzgau became the second wife of Charlemagne in 771, and between then and her death (in childbirth) twelve years later bore him nine children.¹⁴ Many of these children died young, but one of them, Hludowicus or Louis, born in 778, became the future emperor Louis the Pious. Because of this prestigious marriage, Hildegard played a crucial role in the increasing importance which Alamannia came to assume during Charlemagne's reign.

Count Gerold (II) and Queen Hildegard had another brother named Udalric or Uodalrich (modern German Ulrich), who was count of Breisgau (from 780

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- 11 The monastery of Reichenau was established on an island in Lake Constance in 724 by the missionary Pirmin; by the late eighth century it had become one of the principal intellectual centres of the Carolingian empire. See (briefly) *LMA VII*, cols. 612–614, and *Germania Benedictina*, v. *Die Benediktinerklöster in Baden-Württemberg* (Augsburg, 1975), pp. 503–548, and the huge collection of essays in *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. K. Beyerle, 2 vols. (Munster, 1925), esp. the essays by M. Hartig on the school (II, pp. 619–644), P. Lehmann on the library (II, pp. 645–656), K. Preisendanz on the scriptorium (II, pp. 657–683), and A. Bergmann on the Latin poetry produced at Reichenau (II, pp. 711–755).
- 12 Walahfrid Strabo's poem *Visio Wettini* (MGH, PLAC ii. 301–333) records a dream-vision seen by Walahfrid's master Wetti at Reichenau shortly before his [Wetti's] death in 824. On the poem, see K. Plath, 'Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der *Visio Wettini* des Walahfrid', *Neues Archiv* 17 (1892), 263–279, and the more recent edition by D.A. Traill, *Walahfrid Strabo's Visio Wettini* (Bern and Frankfurt, 1974) [with the review by G. Orlandi in *Studi medievali* 20 (1979), 192–199]. In the poem a number of benefactors of the abbey of Reichenau are seen and described by the visionary, and these include Gerold (II), at lines 802–821 (PLAC ii. 329), of whom it is said that, although the Lord had denied Gerold any children of his own (line 816: 'defuerat soboles, pariterque et defuit heres'), he compensated for this lack by his abundant generosity to Reichenau (line 821: 'cuius nitet Augia donis'). See also the commentary on these lines by Traill, *ibid.* pp. 175–176.
- 13 Hildegard's relationship to Gerold II is recorded by Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini*, lines 813–814: 'cui [scil. Geroldo] regina soror Hludowici cara genetrix / Hildigardis erat' (MGH, PLAC ii. 329). On Hildegard, see Borgolte, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens*, pp. 191–193, 250–251.
- 14 The marriage is recorded by Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, c. 18: 'Hildigardam de gente Suaborum praecipuae nobilitatis feminam in matrimonium accepit [scil. Karolus]' (ed. Waitz, p. 23). Hildegard's death at Thionville on 30 April 783 is recorded in the *Annales regni Francorum* (ed. Kurze, p. 64; trans. Scholz, p. 61), and is commemorated in a verse epitaph, probably composed by Paulus Diaconus (MGH, PLAC i. 58–59).

onwards) and the area north of Lake Constance (Bodensee) until his death, probably in 807.¹⁵ Like his brother Gerold, Udalric was a patron of Reichenau, and his patronage is recorded by Walahfrid Strabo in the *Visio Wettini*.¹⁶

Count Udalrich fathered a number of children, such that he came to be regarded as the founder of a dynasty called the Udalrichings. One of these children was named Udalrich (II), and another, Gerold (III). Like his uncle Gerold (II) before him, this Count Gerold (III) assumed responsibility for the administration of Bavaria, and by the time that Charlemagne drew up his will in 811, was deemed important enough to act as one of the comital witnesses to the document.¹⁷ In the reign of Louis the Pious, Count Gerold (III) acted several times on behalf of the emperor,¹⁸ for example in 815, when he accompanied the emperor's nephew Bernhard on a mission to Rome, during which Bernhard fell ill, leaving Gerold to complete the mission and report to the emperor.¹⁹ Other

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- 15 On Udalrich, see Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: Eine Prosopographie*, pp. 248–254. The relationship between Hildegard and Udalrich is spelled out by Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli imperatoris*, i. 13: 'ex certis autem causis quibusdam plurima tribuit [*scil.* Karolus], utputa Oudalrico, fratri magnae Hildigardae, genitricis regum et imperatorum' (ed. Haefele, p. 17).
- 16 *Visio Wettini*, lines 414–420, where the lines in question bear the acrostic ODALRIH (MGH, PLAC ii. 317, as well as commentary on these lines by Traill, *Walahfrid Strabo's Visio Wettini*, p. 142). Like his brother Gerold, Udalric is prominently commemorated in the famous Reichenau 'Confraternity Book', at the very beginning of the *Nomina defunctorum qui presens coenobium sua largitate fundauerunt*: ed. P. Piper, *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*, MGH, Necrologiae Germaniae (Berlin, 1884), p. 293, col. 463.1 (Cerolt comis), 463.2 (Odalrich comis); also ed. in facsimile by J. Autenrieth, D. Geuenich and K. Schmid, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, Nova series (Hannover, 1979), p. 114^{D1} (Cerolt comis, Odalrich comis).
- 17 Charlemagne's will is preserved as a sort of appendix to Einhard's *Vita Karoli magni*, c. 33; the attestation of *Geroldus* is found in twelfth place among the *comites* (ed. Waitz, p. 41).
- 18 See Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: Eine Prosopographie*, pp. 127–129, and Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 210–211. As both Borgolte (p. 129) and Depreux (p. 210 n. 2) recognize, there are several counts named Gerold recorded in contemporary sources, making it immensely difficult to distinguish this Count Gerold from (for example) a contemporary Count Gerold of Zürichgau. Nevertheless, the outlines of the career of Gerold III – his appointment as prefect to the eastern provinces, his missions to Rome on behalf of Louis – stand out clearly enough.
- 19 The mission of Gerold (III) to Rome, accompanying Louis' nephew Bernhard, is calendared in BM² 589a and 602a, and recorded in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 815 (ed. Kurze, p. 142: 'is [*scil.* Bernhardus] cum Romam venisset, aegritudine decubuit, res tamen,

imperial duties performed by Count Gerold (III) are recorded in 820, 826, 827, 828,²⁰ and (possibly for the last time) in 832, when Gerold accompanied Anskar, the newly appointed bishop of Hamburg, to Rome to collect the pallium.²¹

The crucial point for the present discussion is that this Count Gerold (III) must be the brother of Abbot Hilduin recorded in the obituary of Saint-Germain, quoted above ('Depositio Gairoldi comitis, fratris domni Hilduini abbatis'); and this relationship, in turn, has profound implications for our understanding of Hilduin's career, because he and Count Gerold were sons of Udalrich, the brother of Queen Hildegard.²² In other words, Hilduin's father Udalrich was Charlemagne's brother-in-law, and Hilduin himself was the cousin of Louis the Pious. This direct link to the royal family explains why Hilduin was thought appropriate to be given the prestigious (and wealthy) abbacy of Saint-Denis in 814, and why, five years later, he was put in charge of the Chapel Royal.

Given that, through royal patronage, Hilduin was able to be appointed to so important an abbacy in 814,²³ it is a reasonable assumption – but not a necessary one – that he was about thirty years old at the time, which would imply that he was born c. 785.²⁴ But this is at best an estimate. We do not know

quas compererat, per Geroldum comitem, qui ad hoc ei legatus fuerat datus, imperatori mandavit'; trans. Scholz, pp. 99–100).

- 20 See BM² (cited in full below, n. 56), nos. 719 [for 820], 722 [also for 820], 829 [for 826], and 850 [for 828]; and see discussion by Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, p. 211.
- 21 Rimbart, *Vita Anskarii* [BHL 544], c. 13 [20] (MGH, SS rer. Germ. lv. 34; PL cxviii. 974): 'eum honorabiliter ad sedem direxit apostolicam, et per missos suos venerabiles Bernoldum et Ratoldum episcopos, ac Geroldum illustrissimum comitem ... fecit confirmandum'.
- 22 Werner, 'Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Grossen', p. 112: 'Ein Graf *Gairoldus* ist uns endlich im 9. Jahrhundert bekannt als Bruder des bedeutenden Abtes *Hilduin* von Saint-Denis'. Werner suggests that the *Hild-* element in Hilduin's name replicates that in the name of Hildegard, Charlemagne's wife and Hilduin's aunt (ibid.). See also Levillain, 'Wandelbert de Prüm', p. 33, and de Jong, *The Penitential State*, p. 22, who rightly recognizes that Hilduin was the nephew of Queen Hildegard.
- 23 On the mechanisms of royal appointments to Carolingian abbacies, see Voigt, *Karolingische Klosterpolitik*, pp. 3–9, 44–82 [royal appointments to abbacies] and 226–235 [promotion to abbacies], and Felten, *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankenreich*, pp. 99–111 and 143–174 [the position and role of Carolingian abbots].
- 24 Canon law stipulated that a priest (and *ipso facto* a bishop) must be thirty years old at the time of ordination; and this stipulation often served as a mental guide to the age expected of appointments to abbacies: see *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. R. Naz, 1, cols. 29–62, esp. 38–42. But the expectation was often discounted, and may have been so in the case of Hilduin.

where he was born. Given that his father Udalrich was count in Alamannia, in the area north of Lake Constance, it is possible that that is where Hilduin originated; but this is at best a conjecture. Nor do we know where he received his early education. Given his royal connections, it is possible that he was educated at Charlemagne's so-called 'palace school'.²⁵ It is sometimes stated that Hilduin was a pupil of Alcuin,²⁶ which would imply attendance at the 'palace school'. But such an assumption poses severe chronological problems, given that Alcuin was in England from 790 to 793, and that he left Aachen for Tours in 796. There were no doubt other teachers at the 'palace school', the principal function of which was the proper upbringing of children born to noble families who had some connection with the royal family.²⁷ But another possibility needs to be considered. Given that Hilduin's father Udalrich was count of Breisgau, that the Gerolding family estates lay in the area north of Lake Constance, and that both Udalrich and Hilduin's uncle Gerold (II) were well-known patrons of the monastery of Reichenau, which is located on an island in Lake Constance and which by the late eighth century was already a renowned centre of scholarly activity, it seems possible that Hilduin received his early education at Reichenau. In the last years of the eighth century, the abbot of Reichenau was Waldo,²⁸ who held the abbacy for twenty years, from 786 to 806.

Waldo entered Reichenau as a monk in 784 under Abbot Peter (781–786). Abbot Peter was a brother of Hildegard, Charlemagne's queen, and hence a brother of Count Gerold (II) (see above). Through his royal connections, Peter was able to obtain a charter of immunity from episcopal interference from the neighbouring bishop of Konstanz.²⁹ When Peter died, he was succeeded by

25 See the sane article on this subject by Franz Brunhölzl, 'Der Bildungsauftrag der Hofschule', and, for the reign of Louis the Pious, Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 9–25.

26 E.g. by Théry, I, p. 11 and Wattenbach – Levison, pp. 319 ('Hildvin, ein Schüler Alcvins'), and 327 ('des Alcvin-Schülers Hildvin'); cf. M.D. Reeve, 'Nemesianus', in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford, 1983), p. 246: 'he [Hincmar] was educated under Alcuin's pupil Hilduin at Saint-Denis'. It is the case, however, that Hilduin had a very thorough knowledge of Alcuin's Latin poetry, and one may well ask where and how he acquired this knowledge.

27 Brunhölzl, 'Der Bildungsauftrag der Hofschule', pp. 29–32.

28 See (briefly) *LMA VIII*, col. 1958, and esp. Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, and Bullough, 'Baiuli in the Carolingian *regnum Langobardorum* and the Career of Abbot Waldo', esp. pp. 631–635.

29 On Abbot Peter, see Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, pp. 23–24. Peter is listed (as *Petrus episcopus*) immediately following Counts Gerold and Udalrich in the Reichenau list of *Nomina defunctorum qui presens coenobium sua largitate fundauerunt*: ed. Piper, *Libri confraterni-*

Waldo, who held the abbacy for twenty years, during which time the library and scriptorium grew to rival the finest in the Frankish kingdom.³⁰ Waldo served as a valued adviser to Charlemagne, and for a time was placed in charge of the bishopric of Pavia, though he was never consecrated bishop.³¹

During the period of Waldo's abbacy, the school of Reichenau flourished under the supervision of Waldo himself, and a succession of teachers including Heito (subsequently abbot of Reichenau, from 806 to 823).³² In 806 Waldo moved from Reichenau to the abbacy of Saint-Denis, which he held until his death in (probably) 814, at which time he was succeeded as abbot by Hilduin himself. Much in Hilduin's career would be explained on the assumption that he received his early training at Reichenau from Waldo and Heito, and then accompanied Abbot Waldo to Paris and Saint-Denis in 806, when he was still a relatively young man. Certainly during the abbacy of Hilduin intimate relations were maintained between Saint-Denis and Reichenau,³³ and these are reflected above all in manuscripts produced at Saint-Denis during Hilduin's

tatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis, p. 293 (col. 463.5); and cf. the facsimile edition of the Reichenau 'Confraternity Book', *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. Autenrieth, Geuenich and Schmid, p. 114^{D1}.

- 30 Munding, *ibid.* pp. 27–70. Munding provides a list of manuscripts written at Reichenau during Waldo's abbacy on pp. 28–31, with discussion of their content on pp. 31–46. Waldo has himself been suggested as a scribe found writing in several of these manuscripts; see Bruckner, *Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica*, II, p. 23, n. 51. The contents of the Reichenau library are known from an extensive booklist compiled in 821–822: *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, I. *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, ed. P. Lehmann (Munich, 1918), pp. 240–252 [no. 49], with discussion by Lehmann, in *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. Beyerle, II, pp. 645–656.
- 31 Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, pp. 70–84; but cf. the cautionary comments of Bullough, 'Baiuli in the Carolingian *regnum Langobardorum* and the Career of Abbot Waldo', p. 633.
- 32 On the school of Reichenau under Abbot Waldo, see M. Hartig, 'Die Klosterschule und ihre Männer', in *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau*, II, pp. 619–644, esp. 622–623: 'Abt Waldo (786–806) hätte die Klosterschule von Reichenau nicht begründen können, wenn ihm nicht tüchtige Lehrer zur Seite gestanden wären. Wohl ist auch Waldo selbst schriftstellerisch hervorgetreten, aber er war in erster Reihe der vornehme Prälat und Ratgeber Karls d. G. und war zudem gerade in den entscheidenden Jahren lange Zeit von Reichenau abwesend. Die erste Lehrgestalt der Reichenau ist darum Heito.'
- 33 In the 'Confraternity Book' of Reichenau, there is a list of monks of Saint-Denis, at the head of which is *Hilduinus abb.*: ed. Piper, *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*, p. 256 (col. 357.4); ed. Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften*, p. 26; and cf. the facsimile edition of the Reichenau 'Confraternity Book', *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. Autenrieth, Geuenich and Schmid, p. 93^{A1}.

abbacy.³⁴ And when Walahfrid Strabo came from Reichenau to the royal court, Hilduin was able to secure his appointment as tutor to the emperor's son Charles (later known as Charles the Bald): which implies that Hilduin, even after he came to occupy one of the most important positions in the Frankish church, was still responsive to the Reichenau connection.

However, the fact remains that, wherever Hilduin obtained his early education, his learning was of an exceptional nature which placed him in the vanguard of his contemporaries.

Abbot of Saint-Denis (814–830, 832–840)

Charlemagne died on 28 January 814,³⁵ and was succeeded by his sole surviving son by Hildegard, Louis, then regent of Aquitaine, and subsequently to be known as Louis the Pious (814–840).³⁶ (The succession of Louis had been confirmed the previous year by a 'coronation' ceremony performed at Aachen on 11 September 813.)³⁷ At about the time of Charlemagne's death Waldo, the abbot of Saint-Denis, also died, on either 29 or 30 March of the same

34 See J. Vezin, 'Les relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres scriptoria pendant le haut moyen âge', pp. 23–27, and below, p. 22.

35 *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 814 (ed. Kurze, p. 140; trans. Scholz, p. 97), and Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, c. 30 (ed. Waitz, p. 35). Charlemagne's epitaph is quoted by Einhard (ibid. c. 31; ed. Waitz, pp. 35–36), and an anonymous verse epitaph is ptd MGH, PLAC i. 407–408.

36 Louis the Pious (b. 778; emperor 814–840). See (briefly) *LMA* v, cols. 2171–2172 [J. Fleckenstein] and Kölzer, *Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme (814–840) im Spiegel seiner Urkunden*, pp. 7–11; there is comprehensive coverage of the reign, arranged year-by-year, in von Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, to be used in conjunction with *BM*², pp. 241–412 (nos. 521–1014c). There is a modern treatment of the reign, based heavily on *BM*², by Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, and various relevant essays in *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. Godman and Collins, including a long-winded overview of the reign by K.F. Werner, '*Hludovicus Augustus*: Gouverner l'empire chrétien – idées et réalités' (pp. 3–123), and valuable appraisals of the earlier part of the reign by J. Semmler, '*Renovatio Regni Francorum*: Die Herrschaft Ludwigs des Frommen in Frankenreich, 814–829/830' (pp. 126–146), and of the later part following the restoration in 834 by J.L. Nelson, 'The Last Years of Louis the Pious' (pp. 147–159); see also the valuable account of the reign in de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 14–58. The question of when and how Louis acquired the by-name 'Pious' is thoroughly discussed by Rudolf Schieffer, 'Ludwig "der Fromme": Zur Entstehung eines karolingischen Herrscherbeinamens', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982), 58–73, without reaching any certain conclusions.

37 *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 813 (ed. Kurze, p. 138; trans. Scholz, p. 95); Einhard, *Vita Karoli magni*, c. 30 (ed. Waitz, p. 34).

year.³⁸ Hilduin's appointment to the vacant abbacy may have owed something to his relationship with Waldo, who had come to Saint-Denis from Reichenau and may have regarded Hilduin as his heir-apparent, but it presumably also owed much to Hilduin's family relationship to the new emperor.³⁹

Saint-Denis was one of the largest and richest abbeys in the Frankish kingdom.⁴⁰ It was also one of the oldest. Various evidence suggests that a church (*basilica*) may have been established on the supposed site of the burial of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius from the late fifth century onwards.⁴¹ A century later Gregory of Tours, describing an incident which took place in 574, referred to the *custodes* of this church, whose duty was apparently to attend to the pilgrims who visited the site.⁴² It is not clear at what point the community of *custodes* became a monastic community, but in 625 an original charter in favour of Saint-Denis refers to the *abbas* of this community.⁴³ At roughly this time

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- 38 For Waldo's brief career as abbot of Saint-Denis, see Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, pp. 94–105 (who is forced to admit, p. 102, 'Von Waldos Tätigkeit in St. Denis hören wir recht wenig'); on the conflicting evidence for the day and year of his death, see *ibid.* pp. 106–107.
- 39 Felten observes that, with the appointment of Fardulf, the abbacy of Saint-Denis came to be regarded as a personal reward dispensed by the emperor: 'Nach seinem Tod [*scil.* Maginarius], 792/793, finden wir zum erstenmal explizit die Nachricht, daß S. Denis als Belohnung im strengen Sinn des Wortes vergeben wurde' (*Äbte und Laienäbte*, p. 222).
- 40 See Cottineau II, cols. 2650–2657, and Wyss, *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis*, esp. pp. 17–107; and, for the archaeological remains of the abbey (which lie beneath the present-day church built between 1135 and 1151 by Abbot Suger), see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*; Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*; and the helpful and well illustrated overview by Carol Heitz in *Un village au temps de Charlemagne*, ed. Cuisenier and Guadagnin, pp. 50–54. And cf. the comment by Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo*, p. 98: 'So war St. Denis in der Tat das erste Kloster des großen Frankenreiches'.
- 41 There is an excellent account of the early history of Saint-Denis by Semmler, 'Saint-Denis: von der bischöflichen Coemeterialbasilika zur königlichen Benediktinerabtei', pp. 97–106; see also Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (II)', esp. pp. 18–35 and 46–78, and, briefly, *LMA* VII, cols. 1145–1146 ['Saint-Denis, I. Zeit der Merowinger und Karolinger']. The archaeological remains of the fifth-century basilica are discussed by Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 39–48, Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 13–27, and R. Vielliard, 'Saint-Denis-en-France et la tombe du premier évêque de Paris. Observations topographiques et archéologiques', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 43 (1967), 319–331.
- 42 *Liber in gloria martyrum*, c. 31 (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. i/2. 535–536); and see M. Vieillard-Troiekoureff, *Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d'après les oeuvres de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1976), pp. 254–255.
- 43 See Atsma and Vezin, *ChLA* XIII [France I], no. 552. The charter is preserved as fragments, and the reconstruction is not wholly certain.

King Dagobert I (c. 608–639) became a generous benefactor of Saint-Denis: he undertook the reconstruction and expansion of the original *basilica*,⁴⁴ and, according to the so-called *Chronicle of Fredegar*, instituted the practice at Saint-Denis of *laus perennis*, which in itself implies a community of monks.⁴⁵ And at the instigation of Queen Balthild, the community obtained in the years shortly after 650 a charter of immunity from the temporal claims of the bishop of Paris.⁴⁶

From the late sixth century (c. 580) onwards, Saint-Denis became the necropolis or mausoleum of Merovingian monarchs and their families.⁴⁷ Dagobert was himself buried there in 639. Among Dagobert's Carolingian successors, Charles Martel (d. 741), the great grandfather of Louis the Pious, and Pippin III (d. 768), his grandfather, were buried at Saint-Denis, as Louis proudly states in his letter to Hilduin concerning St Dionysius (*Ep.* I, c. 2). From this time onwards, it became appropriate to speak of Saint-Denis as a 'royal' abbey. In 754, Pope Stephen II, during a trip to Francia to seek the support of King Pippin against the Langobards, stayed some months at the abbey; and it was at Saint-Denis that he anointed Pippin and his two sons (Carloman and Charles, the future Charlemagne) as kings of Francia.⁴⁸

The abbot of Saint-Denis at this time was Fulrad (750–784).⁴⁹ Fulrad was from a wealthy family in the Meuse–Moselle area, and much of his landed wealth was subsequently bequeathed to Saint-Denis. In the year before he

44 On Dagobert's church, see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 39–48, 49–57, and Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 29–50.

45 *Chronicon* iv. 79: 'sallencium ibidem ad instar monastiriae sanctorum Agauninsium inste-tuere iusserat' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. ii. 161).

46 See Semmler, 'Saint-Denis: von der bischöflichen Coemeterialbasilika zur königlichen Benediktinerabtei', pp. 102–103, and J. Dubois, 'Sainte Balthilde (vers 625–680), reine de France (641–655), fondatrice de l'abbaye de Chelles', *Paris et Île-de-France* 32 (1981), 13–30, at 22–24.

47 See Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le roi est mort*, esp. pp. 68–70 on Merovingian royalty buried at Saint-Denis, with discussion of the placement of the various tombs at pp. 78–79, and Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen*, pp. 171–189, who on pp. 178–183 provides a full list of royalty and saints buried at Saint-Denis.

48 The anointing is mentioned in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 754 (ed. Kurze, p. 11; trans. Scholz, p. 40), and in the *Liber pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne, I, p. 448). It is also described in the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano*, c. 2 (Appendix XI, below, p. 860).

49 See *LMA* IV, cols. 1024–1025 [J. Fleckenstein] and *DHGE* XIX, cols. 383–385 [J. Pycke], as well as Fleckenstein, 'Fulrad von St.-Denis', Semmler, 'Verdient um das karolingische Königtum und den werdenden Kirchenstaat: Fulrad von Saint-Denis', and the monograph by Stoclet, *Autour de Fulrad de Saint-Denis*.

became abbot (749), Fulrad had carried out an important diplomatic mission to Rome on behalf of Pippin III, in order to obtain papal consent for Pippin's succession to the Frankish throne, and – evidently as a reward for this diplomatic service – Fulrad was made abbot of Saint-Denis in 750;⁵⁰ in the following year, he was appointed royal chaplain (*capellanus*), becoming the first person to hold this prestigious post.⁵¹ Tenure of this post enabled Fulrad *inter alia* to increase the landed endowment of Saint-Denis;⁵² and the endowment was further increased when in 777, in his so-called *Testamentum* ('will'), he bequeathed his vast landed property in Alsace and Alamannia to Saint-Denis.⁵³ As a reflection of the abbey's increasing wealth, Fulrad undertook c. 754 a large-scale expansion of the existing basilica, which has been described, on the basis of the excavation reports, by the architectural historian Kenneth Conant as a 'wooden-roofed columnar basilica with a spacious transept extending slightly beyond the aisle walls, a lantern tower, and a west end of experimental form'.⁵⁴ The reconstructed basilica was consecrated on 24 February 775; its imposing appearance is described in a brief document preserved in an early ninth-century Reichenau manuscript (now Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 238: Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 1726) which was brought to light by Bernhard Bischoff.⁵⁵

50 Fleckenstein, 'Fulrad von St.-Denis', pp. 19–20.

51 See Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, pp. 45–51.

52 Peters, *Die Entwicklung des Grundbesitzes der Abtei Saint-Denis*, esp. pp. 144–160.

53 Ed. M. Tangl, 'Das Testament Fulrads von St. Denis', *Neues Archiv* 32 (1906), 162–217; it is repr. Stoclet, *Autour de Fulrad de Saint-Denis*, pp. 469–478. The several recensions of the *Testamentum* are ed. Atsma and Vezin, *ChLA* xvi [France iv], nos. 622–624.

54 K.J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 43 and ill. 378. The remains of Fulrad's church, as recovered by excavation, are discussed by Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 59–64, and esp. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 51–83. There is an excellent brief account of the Carolingian church by M. Viellard-Troiekouroff, 'L'architecture en France du temps de Charlemagne', in *Karl der Grosse*, III/ii. *Karolingische Kunst*, ed. W. Braunsfels and H. Schnitzler (Düsseldorf, 1964), pp. 336–355, esp. 337–339. The earlier study by L. Levillain, 'L'église carolingienne de Saint-Denis. Essai de reconstruction', *Bulletin monumental* 71 (1907), 211–262, is still valuable for its command of written sources pertaining to the Carolingian church; on the church itself, see pp. 228–239; on the martyrial crypt, pp. 239–245; and on Hilduin's altar in the crypt, pp. 219–220 and 251–253.

55 'Eine Beschreibung der Basilika von Saint-Denis aus dem Jahre 799', with the text at p. 215. According to this text, the basilica measured 245 feet long by 103 feet wide, with a height of 75 feet; in the interior there were 90 columns and 1250 lamps, two doors of gold and silver, and two others of ivory: all in all, a large and lavish construction.

This, then, was the church of which Hilduin assumed the abbacy in 814. His activities as abbot are documented principally in two spheres, administrative and intellectual. As an administrator, Hilduin moved rapidly to protect the interests of Saint-Denis, by seeking royal confirmation of the privileges which had been granted to Saint-Denis by Charlemagne, and before him, Pippin. Hilduin's activity in this sphere is documented by a number of charters issued by Louis the Pious, which may now be studied in a magnificent new edition by Theo Kölzer and his collaborators.⁵⁶ This edition contains the texts of 418 surviving charters, of which 92 have been preserved as original documents (in the edition forgeries are clearly marked by an obelus preceding the number of the charter: e.g. † 3); in addition, the records of a further 231 documents, the originals of which have been lost, are printed and discussed with commentary. The great majority of these charters (93%) pertain to ecclesiastical establishments, principally monasteries; and, among monasteries, the largest number of charters concerns Saint-Denis (twenty-one, of which nineteen are genuine). From this wealth of material it is possible to form a sound impression of the functioning of Louis' government; most important for the present study, the charters of Louis the Pious make it possible to realize the important role which Hilduin played in imperial politics, first as abbot of Saint-Denis (814–819), and then as chaplain of the Chapel Royal from 819 to 830.

Immediately following his appointment to the abbacy, Hilduin sought confirmation of privileges which had previously been granted to Saint-Denis. On 1 December 814 Louis issued from Aachen, at Hilduin's request, a confirmation to Saint-Denis (together with its dependencies, both monasteries and nunneries) of immunity from episcopal interference granted previously to the abbey by Charlemagne.⁵⁷ On the same occasion, Louis issued a second charter, again

56 MGH, *Diplomata Karolorum*, II. Ludovici Pii *Diplomata*, ed. T. Kölzer, with the collaboration of J.P. Clausen, D. Eichler, B. Mischke, S. Patt and S. Zwierlein, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 2016). Charters are cited from this edition in the form D (for Diploma) – LdF, followed by document number. For individual charters I also supply references to the indispensable calendar of Carolingian documents by J.F. Böhmer, comprehensively revised and expanded by Engelbert Mühlbacher in 1908 (J.F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, I. *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751–918*, 2nd ed. rev. E. Mühlbacher (Innsbruck, 1908)), cited as BM². Where relevant, reference is also made to editions printed by Félibien among the *Pièces justificatives* in his monumental *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (Paris, 1706), and by Jules Tardif, *Monuments historiques. Cartons des rois (inventaires de documents publiés par ordre de l'empereur)* (Paris, 1866).

57 Calendared BM² 551, ed. D-LdF 39 (ed. Kölzer, I, pp. 100–102); also ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. xlvi–xlvii [no. LXVII].

at Hilduin's request, confirming earlier grants by Pippin and Charlemagne, of the taxes levied on Frisian and Saxon merchants accruing to Saint-Denis, from the annual fair of St Dionysius.⁵⁸ During the next five years, it would seem (to judge from surviving charter evidence) that no further royal charters were issued in favour of Saint-Denis (it is only with Hilduin's appointment as royal chaplain in 819 that the number of such charters increases dramatically). But Hilduin evidently remained in close contact with the king, so that, when in June 818 Louis mounted a military expedition against Brittany, he spent the first stage of his royal progress at Saint-Denis, where he was received by Hilduin, as we learn from Ermoldus Nigellus:⁵⁹

Caesar iter tutum per propria regna gerebat,
 usque Parisiaca quo loca celsus adit.
 Iam tua, martyr, ovans, Dionisi, tecta revisit,
 Hilthuin abba potens, quo sibi dona paras ...⁶⁰

Hilduin then accompanied the king on the expedition against the Bretons.⁶¹

Although the chronology cannot be fixed precisely, it is clear from later evidence that Hilduin took charge of the school and scriptorium of Saint-Denis. We know the names of several outstanding scholars who later claimed to have been students of Hilduin. Pre-eminent among these students is Hincmar (806–882), later archbishop of Rheims (from 845 until his death in 882).⁶² We know from Flodoard of Rheims that Hincmar received his early education at Saint-Denis;⁶³ Hincmar states this fact in the epitaph which he composed for

58 Calendared BM² 552, ed. D-LdF 40 (ed. Kölzer, I, pp. 103–105); also ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys, Pièces justificatives*, pp. xlvi–xlvii [no. LXVIII]. The original is preserved as Paris, Archives nationales, K. 8, no. 4. The earlier grants by Pippin are calendared as BM² 73 and 89; that by Charlemagne has been lost.

59 BM² 665b; *In honorem Hludowici* iii. 269–272.

60 MGH, PLAC ii. 48: 'The emperor made a safe passage through his own kingdom, until the point that this lofty personage reached Parisian locations. Now, O martyr Dionysius, he revisits your shrine so that you, mighty abbot Hilduin, may provide gifts for him'.

61 On this expedition against the Bretons, see J.M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 64–66.

62 On Hincmar, see Manitius I, pp. 339–354, Wattenbach – Levison, pp. 516–525, and (briefly) LMA v, cols. 29–30. There are several extensive monographs on Hincmar: H. Schröers, *Hincmar, Erzbischof von Reims: sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Freiburg, 1884); J. Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845–882*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1975–1976); and M. Stratmann, *Hincmar von Reims als Verwalter von Bistum und Kirchenprovinz* (Sigmaringen, 1991).

63 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* iii. 1: 'Is siquidem Hincmarus, a pueritia in monas-

himself shortly before his death (the epitaph is preserved by Flodoard, *Historia ecclesiae Remensis* iv. 30):

Nomine, non merito praesul Hincmarus ab antro
te, lector tituli, quaeso: memento mei.
Quem grege pastorem proprio Dionysius olim
Remorum populis, ut petiere, dedit.⁶⁴

Given the unswerving loyalty which Hincmar showed to Hilduin in later years – as we shall see, when Hilduin was exiled to Korvey by the emperor in 830, Hincmar accompanied him into exile, and then interceded with Louis to obtain Hilduin's reinstatement as abbot of Saint-Denis – it is reasonable to assume that Hilduin was personally involved in Hincmar's tutelage at Saint-Denis – in the words of Flodoard, he was 'sub Hilduino ... studiis litterarum imbutus'. This tutelage must have involved a huge programme of reading in patristic authors, including some rareties, to judge by quotations identified in Hincmar's substantial corpus of Latin writings (the majority of which date from after his appointment to the archbishopric of Rheims).⁶⁵ One interesting detail

terio sancti Dionysii, sub Hilduino abbate monasteriali religione nutritus et studiis litterarum imbutus' (PL cxxxv. 139; ed. Stratmann, p. 191). Hincmar is recorded among the monks of Saint-Denis under Abbot Hilduin in the obituary in Paris, BNF, lat. 13090 (Rheims, A.D. 838) [Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 4870], fol. 70^v: *Hincmarus dia. mon.* (ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. lviii–lix [no. LXXVII]; ed. Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften*, p. 27 [no. 58], with discussion at pp. 32–33). On Hincmar's early education, see Schröers, *Hincmar*, pp. 9–14, and Devisse, *Hincmar*, II, pp. 1089–1091, as well as J. Vezin, 'Hincmar de Reims et Saint-Denis. À propos de deux manuscrits du *De Trinitate* de saint Hilaire', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979), 289–298, and idem, 'Reims et Saint-Denis au IX^e siècle. L'ancêtre du manuscrit 118 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Reims', *RB* 94 (1984), 315–325.

64 MGH, PLAC iii. 426: 'From within this crypt I, Hincmar, bishop in name but not in merit, ask you, O reader of this inscription: remember me! (I am one) whom Dionysius once gave from his own flock as shepherd to the people of Rheims, as they requested.'

65 See Schröers, *Hincmar*, pp. 167–173 (including some very rare patristic texts); for Hincmar's extensive knowledge of Late Latin poetry, see M. Manitius, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte frühchristlicher Dichter im Mittelalter (II)', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)* 121 (1890), part VII, esp. pp. 6 [Caelius Sedulius], 10–11 [Prosper of Aquitaine], 14–15 [Boethius], 20 [Prudentius], and 23–24 [Ambrose, *Hymni*]. It is worth noting that there are reminiscences of all these poets in Hilduin's verse *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, Commentary, pp. 527–608); the implication

of this programme of reading is revealed by a remark of Hincmar in his *Opuscula et epistolae quae spectant ad causam Hincmari Laudunensis*, c. 24: 'aliter respondere non potui, nisi ut venatores ferae lustra sequentes agere, auditu et lectione puer scolarius in libro qui inscribitur *Cynegeticon* Carthaginensis Aurelii didici'.⁶⁶ The *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus (late third century A.D.) are a very rare work, a poem of some 325 hexameters describing the trappings of the hunt (hunting dogs, snares, etc.). It is therefore striking that a manuscript of this rare work, written at Saint-Denis at some point in the first quarter of the ninth century, survives as Paris, BNF, lat. 7561, pp. 13–28.⁶⁷ Is it possible that this is the very manuscript of Nemesianus which was pored over at Saint-Denis by Hilduin and his pupil Hincmar, when the latter was a *puer scolarius*? Finally, it is possible that, during his years of study at Saint-Denis, Hincmar was involved in the production of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* and the closely related *Gesta Dagoberti*.⁶⁸

Another student of Hilduin was a scholar and scribe named Otfrid. Among a collection of poems of Walahfrid Strabo in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 469 (?Fulda, s. ix^{ex}), fols. 25^v–26^v,⁶⁹ there is a poem of forty-four lines in elegiac couplets by one Otfrid, describing the theft and subsequent restitution of a lectionary (for which Otfrid was responsible); at the beginning of the poem, in which Otfrid commemorates a personal gift to St Dionysius (i.e. to Saint-Denis), Otfrid records his former apprenticeship to Abbot Hilduin:

Presbiter ista tuo, Dionisi, Otfridus honori
optulit ex voto munera, sancte pater.
Namque palatina dudum famulatus in aula,
Hiltuini patris deditus obsequio ...⁷⁰

is that these poets, and no doubt others, were studied together at Saint-Denis by Hilduin and Hincmar.

66 PL cxxvi. 383: 'I could not reply otherwise than as hunters, seeking the haunts of a wild animal, do, as I learned by hearing and reading as a schoolboy in the book of *Cynegetica* by Aurelius [*scil.* Nemesianus] of Carthage'.

67 Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 4477.

68 See below, ch. 3, pp. 92–103.

69 Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 6683; and A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1937–1945), II, pp. 629–631.

70 MGH, PLAC ii. 407: 'Otfrid the priest offered these gifts as fulfilment of his prayer to you Dionysius, holy father. For he once served in the royal court, dedicated to the service of father Hilduin.'

These lines clearly describe Otfrid's tutelage under Hilduin. In another poem in the same manuscript (a *titulus* of six lines, three elegiac couplets, intended to be inscribed in a book), Otfrid again states that he had been sustained by the support of St Dionysius (implying residence at Saint-Denis), and once again states that in copying the manuscripts he was following 'the sweet commands of Father Hilduin':

Hanc seriem divinorum summamque librorum
 Otfridus summi scripsit amore Dei,
 sancte, tua fultus, Dionisi, pace patrisque
 Hiltuuni et domini dulcia iussa sequens.⁷¹

The poems contain no further clues to the identity of *presbiter Otfridus*; but there is every reason to think that he is identical with the well-known Otfrid of Weissenburg (c. 800–c. 870), author of the *Liber Evangeliorum*, a version of the gospels in Old High German verse (Rhenish–Franconian dialect).⁷² Weissenburg in Elsass, or (since Alsace is now in France), Wissembourg (dép. Bas-Rhin),⁷³ was a Benedictine monastery founded in the seventh century which, particularly under Abbot Grimald (847–872),⁷⁴ became a well-known centre of scholarly activity. Otfrid has been identified as the scribe of a number of manuscripts written at Wissembourg;⁷⁵ this activity squares with that de-

71 MGH, PLAC ii. 408: 'Otfrid wrote this great series of holy books through his love of the highest God, sustained, O Dionysius, by your grace, and following the sweet commands of his father, Lord Hilduin ...'

72 See Manitius I, pp. 574–577; *Verfasserlexikon*² VII, cols. 172–193; and *LMA* VI, cols. 1557–1559.

73 Though it may strike many as odd to refer to the well-known Old High German poet as Otfrid of Wissembourg, it is essential to distinguish Wissembourg, Otfrid's monastery, from Weissenburg in Bavaria (Middle Franconia), a small town 60 km from Nuremberg, where there was no Benedictine monastery in the early Middle Ages.

74 See *DHGE* XXII, cols. 233–235, and *LMA* IV, cols. 1713–1714. Grimald was a relative of Waldo, abbot of Reichenau and Saint-Denis (on whom see above); he studied at Reichenau under Wetti (Walahfrid Strabo's master), and was considered by Walahfrid as his *magister* (MGH, PLAC ii. 377). He was abbot both of Wissembourg and St Gallen (from 841 until his death in 872), and from 848 to 870 served as archchaplain to Louis the German. See Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, pp. 175–176; Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* III, pp. 192–193; and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 71–72 and 208.

75 See W. Kleiber, *Otfrid von Weissenburg: Untersuchungen zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung und Studien zum Aufbau des Evangelienbuches* (Munich, 1971); Otfrid's involvement in the Wissembourg scriptorium is discussed pp. 123–160; the ten manuscripts which are claimed by Kleiber as Otfrid's autographs are discussed on pp. 85–122, and include the fol-

scribed in the second of the poems quoted above, and confirms the identity of *Otfridus presbiter* with the later scribe and poet of Wissembourg.

Otfrid's verses point to another important aspect of Hilduin's activity at Saint-Denis: his supervision of the scriptorium.⁷⁶ From an annotation on the final folio of a manuscript now in Munich (BSB, Clm 14437: written at Regensburg in 823) containing Augustine, *In Ioannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus* .x. [CPL 279], we learn that Hilduin oversaw the orthography of the manuscript: 'scriptus autem per Ellenhardum et Dignum, Hilduino orthografiam praestante' (fol. 109r).⁷⁷ It is not easy to imagine the circumstances in which Hilduin was in a position to correct the orthography of a manuscript written in Regensburg (perhaps during a visit to Regensburg on royal business?);⁷⁸ the important point is that Hilduin was concerned with the accurate production of manuscripts, esp. of patristic texts. In Bernhard Bischoff's great *Katalog* of ninth-century manuscripts, there are some seventy manuscripts written at Saint-Denis during the first or second quarter of the century (i.e. during the period roughly 800 × 850, embracing Hilduin's abbacy, from 814 to 840). There

lowing (references to Bischoff, *Katalog*, are given in parentheses): Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 2687 [*Katalog*, no. 7230], and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Weiss. 10 + 18 [*Katalog*, no. 7369], 26 [*Katalog*, no. 7380], 32 [*Katalog*, no. 7385], 33 [*Katalog*, 7386], 36 [*Katalog*, no. 7389], 50 [*Katalog*, no. 7399], 59 [*Katalog*, no. 7405], and 77 [*Katalog*, no. 7420]. It is odd that Kleiber, in his treatment of biographical evidence for Otfrid, makes no mention of the two poems in Vat. Reg. Lat. 469; he is thus unaware of Otfrid's apprenticeship with Hilduin, and the development of his writing skills at Saint-Denis.

- 76 There was already an active scriptorium at Saint-Denis during the reign of Charlemagne; its production is illustrated by two important studies by Jean Vezin: 'Les manuscrits copiés à Saint-Denis en France pendant l'époque carolingienne', and 'Le "scriptorium" de Saint-Denis au temps de l'abbé Fardulfe (793–806)'.
- 77 Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 3199 and idem, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1960–1980), I, pp. 201–202. Bischoff comments: 'Die Hs., die der Erzkaplan Hilduin korrigiert hatte – von ihm können nur ganz geringe Korrekturen stammen, s.B. 68v: *distingere* korrigiert zu *distingvere* ...' (ibid. p. 201). See also Jean Vezin, 'Les relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres scriptoria pendant le haut moyen âge', esp. pp. 27–28. Vezin draws attention to a leaf of Primasius now in the archives of Regensburg (Stadtarchiv A 1950/13) which was 'visiblement copié à Saint-Denis au début du IXe siècle' (ibid. p. 28); the fragment in question is listed Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 5232 (who assigns it to Saint-Denis during the abbacy of Fardulf).
- 78 Jean Vezin suggests that the two scribes Ellenhard and Dignus were 'utilisant un modèle révisé par Hilduin' (p. 27), rather than that Hilduin himself participated in the writing of the manuscript: which seems to me the more likely explanation. In any case the identity of this Hilduin with the abbot of Saint-Denis is not certain.

would be little point in listing the contents of all these manuscripts,⁷⁹ but some general observations may be helpful. As one might expect, the majority of these manuscripts are copies of works by patristic authors (identified by number in Bischoff, *Katalog*): Ambrose (2607), the Ambrosiaster (4062), Augustine (771, 1627, 3706, 4931, 5008, 5257, 5629), Jerome (1610, 1645, 4084, 4084a, 4176, 5003, 5524), Cassiodorus (1381, 4145, 4974), Gregory the Great (5012), Isidore (6517, 6655, 6656), and Bede (831, 1606, 2426, 3688, 2608, 4172, 6432, 6845). The scriptorium also produced copies of a number of patristic rarities, including works by Gelasius (1616),⁸⁰ Hilary of Poitiers (4046, 4200), Pelagius (5546), Prima-sius (5232), and Vigilus of Thapsus (1726). And, like any active scriptorium at the time, copies were made of a number of Latin poets, particularly those which were studied in the school curriculum: Vergil (545), Prudentius (2177), Prosper of Aquitaine (5059), Paulinus of Nola (2482), Caelius Sedulius (5059), Arator (5059), and Venantius Fortunatus (482, 6663).⁸¹ The provision of these manuscripts, and no doubt others now lost, during Hilduin's abbacy will have placed Saint-Denis in the front rank among Carolingian libraries.⁸²

79 For sake of completeness, I list all such manuscripts as they are recorded in Bischoff, *Katalog*. Vol. I: nos. 482, 545 (?), 697 (?), 771, 785, 831, 845 (?), 866, 1381 (?), 1606, 1610, 1616, 1627, 1645, 1716, 1726; vol. II: 2043 (?), 2077, 2177, 2426, 2438, 2482 (?), 2597, 2598, 3688, 3706; vol. III: 3955 (?), 3970a, 3991, 4046, 4062, 4084 (?), 4084a, 4145, 4172 (?), 4176, 4179, 4200, 4258, 4477 (?), 4670, 4692, 4862, 4875 (?), 4929 (?), 4931 (?), 4955, 4970 (?), 4974, 5003, 5008, 5012 (?), 5059, 5078, 5139, 5165, 5232, 5257, 5298, 5524, 5546, 5567, 5629, 5684, 6354, 6431, 6517 (?), 6615, 6624 (?), 6625, 6654, 6655, 6656, 6657, 6663, 6664, 6676, 6697 (?), 6712, 6771 (?), 6845 (?), and 7064.

80 The manuscript of the *Epistulae* of Gelasius [*CPL* 1667] in question (now Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. per. 81) is a single leaf containing part of *Ep.* x, written at Saint-Denis in the first quarter of the ninth century. In his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II), Hilduin refers to two letters of Gelasius (*Epp.* XII and xv). Given the rarity of manuscripts of the *Epistulae* of Gelasius, it seems likely that Hilduin had read these letters in the copy of which a mere fragment survives as the Karlsruhe manuscript. It is also worth noting that Gelasius *Ep.* XII (*ad Anastasium imperatorem*) is quoted verbatim in the *Relatio episcoporum*, the document issued after the Council of Paris in 829 (MGH, *Capitularia* ii. 27–51, at p. 29); although he was not a bishop, it is a reasonable assumption that Hilduin was a participant in this episcopal synod. The evidence of his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II, below, p. 208) establishes that he was familiar with Gelasius, *Ep.* XII, and suggests, perhaps, that he was involved in the drafting of the *Relatio episcoporum*.

81 Judging from the metrical version of his *Passio S. Dionysii*, Hilduin had vast knowledge of Vergil and the Late Latin poets who formed part of the Carolingian school curriculum (see below, pp. 180–182); it is possible that he studied these poets in the Saint-Denis manuscripts in question.

82 The medieval library of Saint-Denis has been studied, and its contents listed, by Donatella

The manuscripts also help to illuminate intellectual contacts between Saint-Denis and other religious houses, notably Bobbio, presumably through the agency of Dungal, who left Saint-Denis and Hilduin's patronage to take up a teaching post in Pavia,⁸³ and Rheims, presumably through the agency of Hincmar, who in 845 moved from Saint-Denis to become archbishop of Rheims.⁸⁴ Most striking, however, are the links between Saint-Denis and Reichenau which are revealed by manuscripts which travelled between the two houses during the period of Hilduin's abbacy.⁸⁵ As we have seen, this link may first have been established under Abbot Waldo, who in 806 moved from the abbacy of Reichenau to become abbot of Saint-Denis (806–814), perhaps bringing the young Hilduin with him; in any case, the link was later strengthened through Hilduin's patronage of Walahfrid Strabo, who came from Reichenau to the royal court (of which Hilduin was *archicapellanus*: see below) in 829 to become tutor to the young prince Charles, and who in 838 returned to Reichenau to become its abbot.

Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IXe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1985); for the Carolingian period, see esp. pp. 29–30 ('Les études de grec'), 54–56 ('Rapports avec le diocèse de Reims'), 56–58 ('Rapports avec Saint-Germain-des-Prés'), 58–59 ('Rapports avec Fulda'), 59–62 ('Rapports avec Saint-Gall et Reichenau'), 62–63 ('Le reclus Dungal'), 65–67 ('Le scriptorium: origines'), and 72–74 ('Les origines de la bibliothèque').

- 83 On Dungal and Pavia, see *LMA* III, cols. 1456–1458 [C. Leonardi], as well as the classic article by Mirella Ferrari, 'In Papiâ conueniant ad Dungalum', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 15 (1972), 1–52. Since Dungal is the only teacher mentioned in Lothar's (Italian) capitulary of 825 (*MGH, Capitularia* i. 326–327), the assumption is that he had left Saint-Denis for Italy by that date (Ferrari, *ibid.* pp. 1–4); but see below, n. 179, for evidence of his presence at Saint-Denis in 832, perhaps during a return visit. Two of the manuscripts written at Saint-Denis which ended up in Bobbio are recorded in Bischoff, *Katalog*, nos. 2607 and 2608; see discussion by Vezin, 'Observations sur l'origine des manuscrits légués par Dungal à Bobbio'; esp. pp. 128–144 (including discussion on pp. 134–135 of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 127 inf. = Bischoff, *Katalog*, nos. 2607 and 2608).
- 84 Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 5257 (Rheims, BM, 83: Augustine, *Locutiones in Heptateuchum*), the copying of which was begun at Saint-Denis and completed at Rheims shortly after 850. See also Devisse, *Hincmar*, III, p. 1513, and J. Vezin, 'Hincmar de Reims et Saint-Denis'.
- 85 Bischoff, *Katalog*, nos. 2598, 5008, 5524, 5546, 5567, and 5684, as well as Bischoff, 'Eine Beschreibung der Basilika von Saint-Denis aus dem Jahre 799' in *Anecdota novissima*, pp. 213–215, together with the important discussion of Jean Vezin, 'Les relations entre Saint-Denis et d'autres scriptoria pendant le haut moyen âge', esp. pp. 23–27. Vezin discusses several Reichenau manuscripts which contain notes in the form 'Haec a coenobio Dionisii venit', as well as BNF lat. 17394 (= Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 5008).

High Chaplain to the Chapel Royal (819–830)

The chaplain of the Chapel Royal during the early years of Louis' reign, Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne, died in Cologne on 3 September 818. Hildebald had held this post under Charlemagne (from 791 onwards),⁸⁶ and it is scarcely surprising that, on his death, Louis moved to appoint a royal chaplain of his own choosing.⁸⁷ In the event, his choice fell on his cousin Hilduin: not only because of family connections, but also because there was an established tradition that the post of chaplain to the emperor should be held by the abbot of Saint-Denis, as had earlier been the case with Fulrad, Fardulf and Waldo.⁸⁸ Hilduin is first attested as *summus capellanus sacri palatii* in a document dated 1 May 819.⁸⁹ The designation *summus capellanus* clearly reflects Hilduin's sense of his own importance (previous chaplains had called themselves simply *capellanus*), and it was no doubt he who renamed the post *archicapellanus* from 825 onwards.⁹⁰ In this respect, as in so many others, Hilduin brought the force of

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- 86 On Hildebald, see (briefly) *LMA* v, cols. 10–11; on his role as *capellanus*, see Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, pp. 49–52, and Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 246–247.
- 87 Even from the period of his regency in Aquitaine (from 781 onwards), Louis had relied on a number of ecclesiastical advisers, many of them from Aquitaine itself, and had already, in effect, instituted a *Hofkapelle*: these included Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) [see *LMA* I, cols. 1864–1867] and Jonas, later bishop of Orléans (818–843) [*LMA* v, col. 625; *DHGE* xxvii, cols. 1480–1481], both from Aquitaine, as well as Helisachar (d. 840), sometime abbot of Saint-Aubin in Angers, who from 814 was Louis' chancellor (*cancellarius*) [*LMA* IV, col. 2121; *DHGE* xxiii, cols. 914–915]. In a document issued by Louis dated 794, Reginbert, later bishop of Limoges (817–821), is described as *capalanus Hludouuico regi Aquitanorum*. On all these ecclesiastical advisers, see Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 60–70, with the document of 794 discussed at p. 61.
- 88 Fulrad (on whom see above) had been the first High Chaplain: Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, pp. 45–47. For Fardulf and Waldo, see *ibid.* pp. 106–107.
- 89 *BM*² 691; D-LdF 158 (ed. Kölzer, I, pp. 394–395); also ed. Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, pp. 79–80 [no. 112]: Hilduinus abbas de monasterio sancti Dyonisii, summus sacri palatii capellanus'.
- 90 *BM*² 794 and D-LdF 239 (dated 3 January 825), concerning an exchange of estates said to have been promoted *per Hilduinum archicapellanum nostrum* (ed. Kölzer, II, p. 598); see discussion by Levison, 'Zu Hildvin von St Denis', p. 517. Cf. also a charter issued by Louis at Quierzy on 10 November 827 (*BM*² 844 and D-LdF 267; ed. Kölzer, II, p. 668 and Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, p. 83 [no. 119]), where Hilduin is described as 'sacrique palatii nostri archicapellanus', as likewise in a document probably issued in February 828 at the request of Hilduin himself, in favour of Saint-Denis [*BM*² 847; D-LdF 270]: 'vir venerabilis

his personality to bear, not only on the position he held, but also (presumably) on the emperor himself:⁹¹ he quickly became Louis' most valued counsellor.⁹²

As the *summus capellanus* of the Chapel Royal,⁹³ Hilduin will have been responsible for custodianship of the royal relic-collection as well as for various royal *insignia* and ecclesiastical furniture; on occasions when he was present at the royal court, he will have been responsible for conducting mass and other religious services⁹⁴ (we know from Hincmar that Hilduin was a priest)⁹⁵ in the royal chapel, wherever the king and court happened to meet.⁹⁶ While in attendance at court, Hilduin will have overseen all ecclesiastical business involving the king and his kingdom: the conveyancing of land and property (including serfs) between monasteries, the promulgation of capitularies announcing ecclesiastical legislation, the confirmation of rights held by individual churches from the king, and so on. As time went on, Hilduin initiated more and more such business himself in his role as *archicapellanus*, and this involvement must inevitably have been to the benefit of Saint-Denis as well as to his own personal enrichment through, for example, the acquisition of abbacies. Thus we know that in addition to the abbacy of Saint-Denis he had acquired the abbacy of Salonnnes in Lorraine by late 821,⁹⁷ and by no later than the beginning of 829

Hilduinus monasterii sancti Dyonisii abba, sacrique palatii nostri archicapellanus' (ed. Kölzer, II, p. 674).

- 91 Cf. the remarks of Fleckenstein, that Hilduin 'war freilich eine eigenwilligere Persönlichkeit als seine Vorgänger und eine stärkere als sein Herrscher' (*Die Hofkapelle*, I, p. 52).
- 92 Cf. Odilo of Soissons, *Translatio SS. Sebastiani et Medardi* [BHL 7545], c. 1: 'Hic [scil. Louis the Pious] inter cunctos imperii sui primates, quos consilio suo asciverat, Hilduinum abbatem reverentissimum, virum quoque omni probitatis genere permolestum omnique sagacitate et industria praeditum, iustitia conspicuum, sanctitate praeclarum, in tantum amavit et extulit, ut ei specialius quicquid secretius tractandum esset committeret eumque archicapellanus in omni imperio suo constitueret' (MGH, SS xv/1. 380).
- 93 On the form and function of the Carolingian Chapel Royal, see esp. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, pp. 44–112.
- 94 Walahfrid Strabo, *De imagine Tetrici*, lines 216–217, depicts Hilduin conducting religious services with great pomp and ceremony: 'quis utrisque pius vario pater ordine fulget / et divina sacro celebrat celer orgia cultu' (MGH, PLAC ii. 376; ed. Herren, 'The "De imagine Tetrici" of Walahfrid Strabo', pp. 128 [text] and 137 [translation]).
- 95 Hincmar, *De ordine palatii* c. 4 [15]: 'tempore denique Hludouuici per Hilduinum presbyterum' (MGH, Fontes iuris iii. 60 = PL cxxv. 999).
- 96 On the duties performed by the royal chaplain under the Carolingians, see the detailed discussion by Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, pp. 11–23.
- 97 Salonnnes (dép. Moselle) is today a tiny village in NE France, numbering fewer than 200

that of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris;⁹⁸ his involvement in the acquisition of the relics of St Sebastian as well as those of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus for the church of Saint-Médard in Soissons implies that by August 827 he had also acquired the abbacy of Saint-Médard.⁹⁹ Wilhelm Levison advanced arguments that he had also acquired the abbacy of Saint-Ouen in Rouen at some point

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- inhabitants. In Carolingian times it was a small monastery on an estate which had been given to Saint-Denis by Abbot Fulrad (BM² 213). On Salonnnes, see Cottineau II, col. 2940, as well as the important study by W. Haubrichs, 'Fulrad von St.-Denis und der Frühbesitz der Cella Salonnnes in Lotharingia', in *Zwischen Saar und Mosel: Festschrift für Hans-Walter Herrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Haubrichs, W. Laufer and R. Schneider (Saarbrücken, 1995), pp. 1–29, esp. p. 14 on Fulrad and the relationship with Saint-Denis; see also Parisse, 'In media Francia. Saint-Mihiel, Salonnnes et Saint-Denis', pp. 335–337. In a charter dated 6 November 821 [BM² 747] Hilduin is described as 'abba ... praefati monasterii sui sancti Dionysii seu sancti Privati Salnensae' ('abbot ... of the aforesaid monastery of St Dionysius and of St Privatus at Salonnnes'): D-LdG 202 (ed. Kölzer, I, p. 500); also ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, p. xlvi [no. LXIX], and Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, p. 92 [no. 132].
- 98 BM² 857 and D-LdF 276, a charter issued at Aachen on 13 January 829 confirming the grant to the monks of Saint-Germain of stipends for maintenance and clothing, promulgated at the request of 'vir venerabilis Hilduinus, monasterii Sancti Vincentii ac Sancti Germani abbas, necnon et sacri palatii nostri archicapellanus' (ed. Kölzer, II, p. 687).
- 99 Bouquet printed a charter purportedly issued by Louis describing the acquisition of the relics of St Sebastian for Saint-Médard, of which Hilduin is said to be abbot: 'Igitur cum industria atque instantia venerabilis Hilduini abbatis monasterii sancti Medardi, sacrique palatii nostri archicapellanus, corpus beatissimi ac pretiosissimi martyris Christi Sebastiani, per auctoritatem et largitionem domni Eugenii apostolici specialis [*leg. spiritualis*] patris nostri, ab urbe Roma apud Suessionem civitatem in monasterio sancti Medardi confessoris Christi, quod vir venerabilis Hilduinus abbas tempore praesenti regere cognoscitur, fuisset translatum ...' (repr. from Bouquet, *Recueil*, in PL civ. 1135; now ed. as D-LdF †264). The charter is calendared as BM² 842, and said to have been issued from Quierzy on 4 August 827; but it is described there as a 'Fälschung' (and treated as *unecht* in the edition of Kölzer, hence marked with an obelus), possibly forged in the tenth century by Odilo of Soissons; but said nevertheless in BM² to have been confected 'aus echter vorlag'; cf. discussion by Kölzer et al., *Ludovici Pii Diplomata*, II, pp. 658–659. Whether the 'genuine' (*echt*) basis included the reference to Hilduin as abbot of Saint-Médard, cannot be determined; but there is no need to doubt that he was involved in the acquisition of the relics of St Sebastian and SS. Marcellinus and Petrus for that abbey. For St Sebastian, see also *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 826 (ed. Kurze, p. 171; trans. Scholz, p. 120); for SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 45–49 and 118–121, and Heinzelmann, 'Einhard's "Translatio Marcellini et Petri": eine hagiographische Reformschrift von 830'.

during his archchapelaincy.¹⁰⁰ In short, he was a very powerful administrator, and, by the time his archchapelaincy came to an end, a very rich one as well.

Hilduin's attendance at court (which was of course peripatetic) is documented by royal charters issued by Louis at Hilduin's instigation. Philippe Depreux has helpfully compiled a list of Hilduin's attendance, as follows (I supply references to BM² for sake of convenience, as well as references to Kölzer's edition of the charters of Louis the Pious):¹⁰¹

- Aachen, 1 May 819: BM² 691; D-LdF 158
- Servais, 22 October 820: BM² 729; D-LdF 190
- Aachen, 15 February 821: BM² 735; D-LdF 194
- Thionville, 6 November 821: BM² 746, 747; DD-LdF 201, 202
- Koblenz, 29 August 823: BM² 782; D-LdF 230
- Compiègne, 16 August 824: BM² 789; D-LdF 235
- Aachen, 3 January 825: BM² 794; D-LdF 239
- Aachen, 3 June 825: BM² 796; D-LdF 241
- Quierzy, 10 November 827: BM² 844; D-LdF 267
- Aachen, 26 February 828: BM² 846; D-LdF 269
- Aachen, 13 January 829: BM² 857; D-LdF 276

This list implies regular, but not continuous, attendance at the royal court;¹⁰² but we may assume that Hilduin was certainly present on those occasions when the king and court were being asked to endorse a proposal for the transfer of church property which Hilduin had instigated. From 822 onwards, he was accompanied by Hincmar when he attended the royal court.¹⁰³

There would be little point in listing all the ecclesiastical business which Hilduin instigated, but a few examples will convey some impression of the nature of the transactions in which he was involved. Inevitably, much of Hilduin's administrative energies were devoted to increasing the endowment of

100 Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, p. 207; cf. Voigt, *Die karolingische Klosterpolitik*, p. 61 n. 84.

101 Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, p. 252.

102 In one of his letters addressed to Hilduin and Wala (abbot of Corbie), Agobard (769–840), sometime bishop of Lyon (816 onwards), states that he 'knows them to be the principal advisers of the most Christian emperor, and therefore to be present at court, one [Hilduin] always, the other [Wala] frequently': 'quoniam absque ambiguo vos novi praecipuos et pene solos in via Dei esse adiutores Christianissimi imperatoris, et propterea in palatio esse unum semper, et alterum frequenter' (PL civ. 175 = MGH, Epist. v. 179).

103 See Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, p. 73 and n. 216.

Saint-Denis. There are eleven surviving charters – an unusually large number¹⁰⁴ – recording Hilduin's acquisition and re-acquisition of rights and properties (including serfs) for Saint-Denis, including an estate at Messy near Meaux in 820 [BM² 727; ed. D-LdF 187], an estate at Loconville in the Vexin in 821 [BM² 746; D-LdF 201], restitution of rights to the monastery of Salonnnes, also in 821 [BM² 747; D-LdF 202], acquisition of estates at Loisey-Culey near Barrois (Lorraine) in 824 [BM² 789; D-LdF 235], acquisition of land near Paris in exchange for land near Angers in 827 [BM² 844; D-LdF 267], restitution to Saint-Denis of rights to the monastery of Argenteuil in 828 [BM² 848; D-LdF 271], and so on. But Hilduin also acted on behalf of various churches in the Frankish kingdom, promoting the production of charters (the verb used in charters to describe this activity is *ambasciare*)¹⁰⁵ between the church in question and the king.¹⁰⁶ It is clear in all such cases that Hilduin's direct access to the king gave him huge powers of patronage.¹⁰⁷ His exercise of this patronage is clearly revealed in the letters of Frotharius, bishop of Toul (813–847), who had sought Hilduin's assistance in various matters pertaining to his diocese of Toul.¹⁰⁸ In one of these letters (*Ep.* 1X) concerning property belonging to Toul, Frotharius spelled out his reasons for seeking Hilduin's assistance: 'Quamobrem diversas

104 Peters, *Die Entwicklung des Grundbesitzes der Abtei Saint-Denis*, pp. 168–169.

105 See H. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1912–1960), II, p. 95; Kölzer et al. (edd.), *Ludovici Pii Diplomata*, I, pp. lxvii–lxix; and *MLW* I, col. 541, where the word is glossed 'iussum diplomatis conficiendi deferre – Befehl zur Beurkundung einer Diploms überbringen'.

106 See Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 252–253, who notes that Hilduin negotiated the king's confirmation of property exchanges involving the abbeys of Prüm in 823 [BM² 782; D-LdF 230] and Saint-Mihiel in 824 [BM² 789; D-LdF 235], the archbishopric of Arles [BM² 794; D-LdF 239] and the bishopric of Mâcon [BM² 796; D-LdF 241], both in 825, the abbey of Münster in 826 [BM² 833; D-LdF 258], and so on.

107 An incident recorded by Einhard in c. 1 of Book II of his *Translatio SS. Marcellini et Petri* [BHL 5233] throws interesting light on Hilduin's access to the emperor. Einhard relates how he went to meet the emperor one morning at daybreak, and found Hilduin already sitting outside the emperor's bed-chamber, waiting for him to emerge: 'ego, secundum consuetudinem aulicorum maturius surgens, primo mane palatium petii. Ibi cum ingressus, Hildoinum ... ante fores regii cubiculi sedentem, atque egressum principis operientem, invenissem ...' (PL civ. 550 = MGH, SS xv/1. 245).

108 Several letters addressed by Frotharius to Hilduin survive: *Epp.* I [MGH, Epist. v. 291–292 = PL cvi. 863–864], IX [MGH, Epist. v. 287–288 = PL cvi. 868–870], and XI [MGH, Epist. v. 282–283 = PL cvi. 870–871], and M. Parisse, *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien. Frothaire de Toul (ca. 813–847)* (Paris, 1998), pp. 92, 104–106, 110–114, and 118–120 [nos. 1, 9, 11, and 14–15], with discussion of Hilduin at pp. 31–32; see also discussion in *CSLMA* III, pp. 70–74.

hominum vos constat suscipere causas et susceptas ad aures deferre imperiales, ut ob huiusmodi laborem et studium sempiterna vobis augetur merces et praemium'.¹⁰⁹

Hilduin also exercised his patronage in more personal matters. As we shall see (below, p. 35) Louis in 819 had married Judith, who gave birth on 13 June 823 to a son Charles, the future emperor Charles the Bald (840–877). By 829, when the young Charles was six years old, it was necessary to appoint a tutor for him. Hilduin, mindful perhaps of his earlier links with Reichenau, secured the appointment of Walahfrid Strabo. In a poem composed at Aachen that year (*De imagine Tetrici*),¹¹⁰ celebrating the erection of an equestrian statue of the legendary Gothic king Theoderic (c. 454–526), which in 801 had been brought to Aachen from Ravenna on Charlemagne's instructions, Walahfrid described Hilduin's role in the procession (immediately following Judith and the young Charles) which accompanied the dedication:

De Hilduino archicappellano

Protinus in magno magnus procedit Aaron
ordine mirifico, vestis redimitus honore ...
quis utrisque pius vario pater ordine fulget
et divina sacro celebrat celer orgia cultu.¹¹¹

109 MGH, Epist. v. 287 = Parisse, *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien*, p. 104: 'For this reason it is fitting for you to undertake various business for other men and to commend them to the ears of the emperor, so that, for work and activity of this sort he may provide you with perpetual thanks and recompense'; and cf. discussion by Depreux, *Prosopographie*, p. 255.

110 MGH, PLAC ii. 370–378, and Herren, 'The "De imagine Tetrici" of Walahfrid Strabo'. On the political significance of the statue, see F. Thürleman, 'Die Bedeutung der Aachener Theoderich-Statue für Karl den Großen und bei Walahfrid Strabo. Materialien zu einer Semiotik visueller Objekte im frühen Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 59 (1977), 25–65.

111 MGH, PLAC ii. 376, and Herren, 'The "De imagine Tetrici" of Walahfrid Strabo', pp. 128 [text] and 136–137 [translation]: 'First in the marvellous procession goes great Aaron, resplendent with the distinction of his dress ... adorned with each of these [*scil.* pomegranates and bells: cf. Exodus XXVIII. 33–34], the gracious father shines out in his distinctive station, and he celebrates the divine liturgy with sacred application.' Ermoldus Nigellus describes Hilduin's participation in a similar royal procession three years earlier (June 826) on the occasion of the ceremonial baptism of King Harald of Denmark at Ingelheim: here Hilduin is shown as processing at the right hand of King Louis, with Helisachar (the archchancellor) on his left (*In honorem Hludowici* iv. 413–414: 'Hilduinus habet dextram, Helisacharque sinistram / sustentat' (MGH, PLAC ii. 69)).

In this poem, Walahfrid describes Hilduin respectfully and formally as ‘the great Aaron’, alluding to the great high priest of the Israelites. But in a later poem of uncertain date, dedicated personally to Hilduin (*Hiltuino seniori*), he speaks more intimately of his great debt to Hilduin, in particular of the great generosity (*clementia*) with which Hilduin had taken up his cause; he goes on to say that he is unable to repay Hilduin for what he did, and that the Lord will have to make the payment, but, for his part, Walahfrid will remain perpetually faithful to Hilduin:

Si condire meos mellis dulcedine versus,
 sancte pater, possem vel decorare rosis,
 non haec pompa tamen condigna nitoribus esset,
 quos morum et sensus cum probitate geris,
 et tanto me vestra quidem clementia cultu
 suscepit, quantum promeruisse velim. ...
 Compensare tibi nulla pro parte quod actum est
 sufficio, Dominus sed retributor erit. ...
 Sum quapropter eroque ex toto corde fidelis
 vobis et vestris tempus in omne satis.¹¹²

The poem warmly reflects the positive aspect of the patronage exercised by Hilduin.

In addition to the daily administration of ecclesiastical affairs, two significant developments took place during the tenure of Hilduin’s archchaplaincy which were to have important consequences for Hilduin’s subsequent career. Unfortunately neither can be documented precisely. The first is the growth of Hilduin’s association with Lothar (b. 795), the eldest son of Louis the Pious. By the second decade of the ninth century, Lothar was seen as the obvious heir-apparent to Louis and indeed, in July 817, at a meeting in Aachen of the national assembly, Lothar was unanimously designated as Louis’ (eventual) successor.¹¹³ The promulgation of the so-called *Ordinatio imperii* by the same

112 MGH, PLAC ii. 383: ‘If, holy father, I could season my verses with the sweetness of honey, or adorn them with roses, this display would nevertheless not be worthy of the brilliance which you display with the goodness of your behaviour and feelings: and indeed your kindly self received me with such great concern as I would wish to have deserved ... I am unable to repay you in any way for what was done (for me), but the Lord will make repayment ... I am therefore devoted to you, and will remain so, with my whole heart – to you and your adherents through all time.’

113 BM² 649a; *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 817: ‘filium suum primogenitum Hlotharium

assembly confirmed royal commitment to a united kingdom and to Lothar's eventual succession to this united kingdom, but stipulated in addition that Lothar's two brothers, Pippin (b. 797) and Louis (b. 806) should become sub-regents in Aquitaine and Bavaria respectively.¹¹⁴ In the interim, Lothar became regent in Italy, where his activities are moderately well documented. Following the national assembly at Attigny in August 822 (BM² 758a), Lothar was sent to Italy, attended by Wala, future abbot of Corbie (826–836),¹¹⁵ in order to re-establish relations between the Frankish kingdom and the papacy (BM² 762a). He remained in Italy during the winter and at Easter the following year (5 April 823) was crowned king of Italy by Pope Paschal I (817–824); he returned to Francia in June (still attended by Wala, presumably).¹¹⁶ Then at a meeting of the national assembly at Compiègne on 30 June 824, Louis decided to send Lothar back to Italy in order to confirm relations with the new pope, Eugenius II (824–827).¹¹⁷ Lothar set off for Italy after the middle of August, and in November 824

coronavit et nominis atque imperii sui socium sibi constituit' (ed. Kurze, p. 146; trans. Scholz, pp. 102–103); see discussion by Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 129–134.

- 114 See BM² 650 and *LMA* VI, cols. 1434–1435 [J. Fleckenstein]. The *Ordinatio imperii* is ptd MGH, *Capitularia* i. 270–273 [no. 136] and PL xcvi. 373–390 (note that the title *Ordinatio imperii* is a modern confection; in the sole surviving manuscript, Paris, BNF, lat. 2718 (written at the court of Louis the Pious, c. 830: Bischoff, *Katalog* III, no. 4219), it bears the title *divisio imperii*). On the theme of unity of the Frankish kingdom, see discussion by H. Beumann, 'Unitas ecclesiae, unitas imperii, unitas regni', *Settimane* 27 (1981), 531–571; Boshof, 'Einheitsidee und Teilungsprinzip in der Regierungszeit Ludwigs des Frommen'; and esp. Patzold, 'Eine "Loyale Palastrebelle" der "Reichseinheitspartei"?'', esp. pp. 58–65.
- 115 Wala (c. 755–836) was a cousin of Charlemagne. He was brought up in the palace school and became one of Charlemagne's principal advisers; but he was evidently not preferred in this role by Louis the Pious, so that he left the court and went to become a monk at Corbie, where his brother Adalhard was abbot. On Adalhard's death, Wala himself became abbot of Corbie in 828. On Wala, see *LMA* VIII, cols. 1936–1937; Wattenbach–Levison, pp. 316–318, 340–343, *et passim*; and L. Weinrich, *Wala. Graf, Mönch und Rebell: Die Biographie eines Karolingers* (Lübeck, 1963). One of the principal sources for Wala's life is the *Epitaphium Arsenii* [BHL 8761], composed by Radbert (Paschasius Radbertus) of Corbie c. 852: ed. PL CXX. 1557–1650. In this thinly disguised political allegory, Arsenius is Wala, Justinian is Louis the Pious, Justina his wife Judith, Honorius is Lothar, Gratian is Louis the German, and so on. See the valuable essay by David Ganz, 'The *Epitaphium Arsenii* and Opposition to Louis the Pious', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. Godman and Collins, pp. 537–550, as well as the clear account of the political allegory in de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 102–111.
- 116 BM² 770a; *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 823 (ed. Kurze, pp. 160–161; trans. Scholz, pp. 112–113).
- 117 BM² 785c; *Annales regni Francorum* s.a. 824 (ed. Kurze, p. 164: 'ut vice sua functus ea, quae

promulgated the so-called *Constitutio Romana*, according to which the papacy declared an oath of loyalty to the emperors Louis and Lothar, who for their part guaranteed free and canonical elections to the papacy.¹¹⁸ The question is, to what extent Hilduin, as the king's archchaplain, was involved in any of these Italian affairs. At some point during his archchaplaincy, he must have become closely associated with Lothar, because, at the time of the so-called 'palace rebellion' of 830 (see below), when Lothar and his brothers rose up against Louis and attempted to depose him, the two royal counsellors who were banished for their part in the rebellion were Hilduin and Wala: Hilduin to Korvey and Wala to a hermitage near to Lake Geneva. Both Hilduin and Wala have been suspected of involvement in the drafting of the *Constitutio Romana*.¹¹⁹ We know that Wala had accompanied Lothar to Rome in 822–823 (see above), and it has been suggested that Hilduin accompanied Lothar to Italy in 824.¹²⁰ Charter evidence throws doubt on the last suggestion, however, because Hilduin is attested at Rennes on 20 September 824,¹²¹ a month after Lothar had set off for Italy; and Hilduin was present at the national assembly at Aachen on 3 January 825 (BM² 794; D-LdF 239). These dates scarcely allow sufficient time for a mid-winter journey to Italy. Nevertheless, at some point during Hilduin's

rerum necessitas flagitare videbatur, cum novo pontifice populoque Romano statueret atque firmaret'; trans. Scholz, p. 115).

118 BM² 793b and 1021; see *LMA* III, cols. 176–177 [H. Mordek]. The *Constitutio Romana* is ed. MGH, *Capitularia* i. 322–324 [no. 161]; it is also ptd PL xcvi. 459–462. See also discussion by Jarnut, 'Ludwig der Fromme, Lothar I. und das Regnum Italiae', p. 355.

119 Wattenbach – Levison, p. 319: '[Hilduin] war anscheinend auch 824 an zustandekommen der *Constitutio Lothariana* beteiligt'; for Wala, see *LMA* VIII, col. 1936: 'Berater des Königssohns Lothar (I.), wahrscheinlich war er auch der geistige Urheber der *Constitutio Romana* von 824'. Although there is sound evidence that Wala had travelled to Italy with Lothar in 822–823, there is no corresponding evidence for 824.

120 See Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844', p. 117: 'Die Beziehungen zwischen Hilduin und Lothar waren von jeher außerordentlich eng. Sie beginnen nachweislich mit der Romreise beider 824' (repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, p. 166); Lapidge, 'The Lost *Passio metrica* S. Dionysii by Hilduin of Saint-Denis', p. 59; and J. Fried, 'Ludwig der Fromme, das Papsttum und die fränkische Kirche', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. Godman and Collins, pp. 231–273, at 258: 'Die "Verderbnis" zu "korrigieren" wird Lothar ein zweites Mal nach Rom entsandt (824), und Ludwig gibt ihm dieselben Ratgeber mit, die auch im Norden seit Benedikts von Aniane Tod maßgeblich das Reformprogramm formulieren: eben Wala von Corbie und zeitweise wahrscheinlich den Abt Hilduin von St. Denis, seinen eigenen Erzkapellan'.

121 Calendared BM² 791; ed. D-LdF 236 (ed. Kölzer, II, pp. 585–587), and Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, p. 82 [no. 117].

archchaplaincy, there must have been some opportunity for his close relationship with Lothar to develop; but we unfortunately do not know the exact circumstances.¹²²

There is better evidence for the second of the important developments which took place during Hilduin's archchaplaincy, namely his involvement with a succession of embassies from Constantinople and, through them, his acquisition of a copy of the Greek mystical writings of the pseudo-Dionysius. In the reign of Charlemagne, and then increasingly during the reign of Louis the Pious, there was frequent contact between the Byzantine empire and the Frankish kingdom, to the point that every year or so Louis was receiving embassies from Constantinople. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that he even learned to speak some Greek.¹²³ The political situation which prompted these frequent embassies was the matter of image-worship, the so-called 'Iconoclast' controversy.¹²⁴ The controversy was at its most intense during the eighth century, and culminated at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, when iconoclasm was officially condemned. Nevertheless, in the succeeding generation, particularly under emperors such as Michael II 'the Stammerer' (820–829), iconoclasm underwent a revival, which is why Michael II sought the support of the Frankish king against the papacy,¹²⁵ which under various popes inclined to show sympathy for the iconophile or iconodule position. The activities of the several embassies sent by Michael II are known principally from Frankish sources.¹²⁶ Thus on 17 November 824 Louis received at Rouen an embassy from

122 Another possibility is perhaps worth considering: that Hilduin in the period before 814 had served as tutor to Lothar (who would have been six in 801, the age at which the future Charles the Bald was entrusted by Louis to the tutorship of Walahfrid Strabo). The only tutor of Lothar whose name is known is that of Clemens Scottus (see below, p. 52); but the dates at which he held this appointment are unknown, and it is possible that Lothar had more than one tutor.

123 Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 19: 'lingua Graeca et Latina valde eruditus, sed Graecam melius intellegere poterat quam loqui' (ed. Tremp, p. 200). The validity of Thegan's statement is questionable, however, given that he was here simply recycling a sentence from Einhard's *Vita Karoli* c. 25 describing Charlemagne's knowledge of Greek ('Graecam vero melius intellegere quam pronuntiare poterat').

124 On the controversy, see (briefly) *ODB* II, pp. 975–977, and P. Schreiner, 'Der byzantinische Bilderstreit: kritische Analyse der zeitgenössischen Meinungen und das Urteil der Nachwelt bis heute', *Settimane* 34 (1988), 319–407, esp. pp. 386–392.

125 Michael's letter is dated 10 April 824; it is ed. MGH, *Concilia* ii/2. 475–480 [no. 44A].

126 See Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 163–165, and Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844', pp. 118–119 [repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, p. 168], and idem, 'Sachsen und Byzanz', pp. 10–11 [repr. *Abendland und Byzanz*, pp. 517–519].

Michael II led by the outspoken iconoclast Theodoros Krithinos, later bishop of Syracuse;¹²⁷ Louis sent the embassy on to Rome, asking the pope for permission to convene a synod to discuss the entire question.¹²⁸ The following year, on 1 November 825, Louis and Lothar convened a synod of Frankish bishops in Paris.¹²⁹ It is reasonable to suppose that Archchaplain Hilduin, though he was not a bishop, attended the Paris synod; some have even suspected that he was involved in drafting the *Libellus synodalis* which resulted from its proceedings.¹³⁰ In any event, the *Libellus synodalis* incorporates a lengthy excerpt from a letter of Pope Gregory IV, previously addressed to the Byzantine emperors, concerning image-worship;¹³¹ in the course of this excerpt, the pope makes the point that the Frankish bishops were said to trace their own practices on images back to the advent of St Dionysius in Gaul in the time of Pope Clement (c. 96 A.D.). It is particularly the reference to the mission of St Dionysius in Gaul, in connection with the recognition that this same St Dionysius is the author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, that raises the suspicion that Hilduin was involved in the drafting of the *Libellus synodalis*. The reference to Pope Clement is as follows:

Nec vobis taedium fiat, si ad ostendendam rationem veritatis veritatemque rationis sese paulo longius sermo protraxerit, dummodo linea veritatis, quae ab antiquis patribus nostris usque ad nos inflexibiliter ducta est, beato Dionysio scilicet, qui a sancto Clemente beati Petri apostoli in apostolatu primo eius successore extitit in Gallias cum duodenario

127 The letter to Louis the Pious from Michael II and Theophilus, dated 10 April 824, is ed. MGH, *Concilia* ii/2. 475–480 [no. 44A]; Theodoros is named as a member of the embassy to Louis at p. 478 ('Theodorum reverentissimum diaconum et oeconomum istius sanctissimae Dei catholicae et magnae ecclesiae sanctae Sophiae'). On Theodoros Krithinos, see Gouillard, 'Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclisme', pp. 387–401.

128 BM² 793a; cf. *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 824 (ed. Kurze, p. 165; trans. Scholz, p. 116).

129 BM² 818; the *acta* of the Paris synod, the so-called *Libellus synodalis Parisiensis*, are ed. MGH, *Concilia* ii/2. 481–532 [no. 44B]; also ptd (from Mansi) PL xcvi. 1299–1347.

130 See Buchner, 'Die Areopagitika des Abtes Hilduin' [*Historisches Jahrbuch* 58 (1938)], p. 56, and Lanéry, 'Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii abb.', in *CSLMA* III, p. 535: 'Hilduin assista certainement au concile, et il pourrait donc avoir contribué à l'élaboration du document final'. Ohnsorge described Hilduin as 'der treibende Geist des Konzils von Paris 825' ('Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844 gegen die Sarazenen', p. 121; repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, p. 171).

131 MGH, *Concilia* ii/2. 487–528.

numero primus praedicator directus, et post aliquod tempus una cum sociis suis huc illucque praedicationis gratia per idem regnum dispersis, martyrio coronatus est.¹³²

Among the numerous authorities which are quoted in the excerpt, reference is made in particular to two works from the Dionysian *corpus*: *Ep. x* [to John the Evangelist] and *De caelesti hierarchia*.¹³³ It was references such as these which must have suggested to the ambassadors of Michael ‘the Stammerer’ that a copy of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* would be a fitting diplomatic gift to the Frankish king; and on their return scribes in Constantinople were commissioned to prepare a copy which could be taken to Francia in a proximate diplomatic mission. The mission in question was received by Louis the Pious at Compiègne in September 827.¹³⁴ The copy of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was duly presented to Louis; and Louis entrusted it straightway to Hilduin, as we know from Hilduin’s Letter to Louis (*Ep. 11*) concerning the composition of the *Passio S. Dionysius*:

132 MGH, *Concilia* ii/2. 525: ‘Let it not be tedious for you, if, in order to reveal the logic of truth and the truth of logic, this discussion should extend itself a little further, since the line of truth, which is drawn inflexibly from our ancient fathers down to ourselves, namely through St Dionysius, who was sent to Gaul, a member of a cohort of twelve, as the first preacher, by St Clement, the first successor in the apostolate of St Peter the Apostle, and after some time, being scattered here and there together with his colleagues throughout this same kingdom, for the sake of their preaching, he was crowned with martyrdom.’ Several features here suggest Hilduin’s involvement: the verbose and otiose opening chiasmus (*ad ostendendam rationem veritatis veritatemque rationis*), the specious apology for protracting the discussion a little longer, and above all the identification of Dionysius, author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (quoted in the sequel: see following note), with the missionary sent to Gaul by Pope Clement. In the corpus of hagiography of St Dionysius, Hilduin was the first to make this identification: see below, ch. 3, pp. 86–92.

133 The quotations from the *Corpus Dionysiacum* are found at MGH, *Concilia* ii/2. 512. The same two quotations had earlier been used in a letter by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne, dated c. 791, reporting the discussion of the Second Council of Nicaea of 787: MGH, *Epist.* v. 5–57, at 32–33 (c. xxxvi).

134 BM² 842b; *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 827: (ed. Kurze, p. 174: ‘Legati Michahelis imperatoris de Constantinopoli ad imperatorem quasi propter foedus confirmandum missi Septembrio mense Compendium venerunt; quos ille ibi benigne receptos et audivit et absolvit’; trans. Scholz, p. 122: ‘Envoys of Emperor Michael were sent from Constantinople to the emperor to ratify their treaty. They arrived at Compiègne in September. The emperor received them graciously and heard and dismissed them’).

Autenticos namque eosdem libros, Graeca lingua conscriptos, quando echonomus ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione publica ad uestram gloriam Compendio functi sunt, in ipsa uigilia sollempnitatis sancti Dionysii pro munere magno suscepimus.¹³⁵

The manuscript of the *Corpus Dionysiicum* survives in Paris as BNF, grec. 437, and it served as the basis for Hilduin's pioneering Latin translation of the pseudo-Dionysius (see ch. 2, below, p. 70). In some ways the acquisition of this copy of the *Corpus Dionysiicum* could be regarded as the crowning achievement of Hilduin's archchapelaincy. But Hilduin's days as archchapelain were numbered.

Dismissal and Exile (830–831)

As we have seen, at a meeting of the national assembly at Aachen in July 817, Louis the Pious publicly named his eldest son Lothar as his (eventual) successor; and the capitulary which was promulgated by this meeting, the so-called *Ordinatio imperii*, confirmed the king's commitment to maintaining the unity of the kingdom under one emperor (Lothar), with Lothar's two younger brothers, Pippin (b. 797) and Louis (b. 806) designated as sub-regents in Aquitaine and Bavaria respectively. But during the subsequent decade, these grandiose plans – and the commitment to Lothar's succession which they entailed – were thrown in turmoil. Louis' first wife, Irmingard (the mother of Lothar, Pippin and Louis) died on 5 October 818,¹³⁶ and in February of the following year, the emperor married Judith, daughter of Welf, the powerful duke of Bavaria.¹³⁷ On 13 June 823, Judith gave birth to a son, Charles (later known as Charles the

135 *Ep.* II, c. 4: 'For when the steward of the church of Constantinople, and other emissaries of the emperor Michael II, performed – to your great glory – their public visitation at Compiègne, I took delivery of a great treasure, a copy of his [i.e. Dionysius's] genuine writings, written in Greek, on the very vigil of the feast of St Dionysius [i.e. on 8 Oct. 827]' (below, p. 206). The 'steward of the church of Constantinople' was Theodoros Krithinos; see above, p. 33 with n. 127.

136 *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 818 (ed. Kurze, pp. 148–149; trans. Scholz, p. 104).

137 The date of the wedding (February 819) is known from the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 819 (ed. Kurze, p. 150; trans. Scholz, p. 105) and the *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 32 (ed. Treppe, p. 392). On Judith, see E. Ward, 'Caesar's Wife: The Career of Empress Judith, 819–829', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. Godman and Collins, pp. 205–227.

Bald).¹³⁸ The arrival of Charles, combined with Judith's overweening ambition for him, inevitably had repercussions on the earlier arrangements concerning the succession, to the extent that, by 828–829, there was widespread suspicion that the emperor wished to renege on his earlier commitment of 817 and make a new disposition in favour of the young Charles.¹³⁹ Naturally it was Lothar who was most aggrieved by these developments and, with the support of his brothers Pippin and Louis, he rebelled openly against the emperor at the national assembly held at Nijmegen in October 830.¹⁴⁰ Various high-ranking courtiers expressed their allegiance to Lothar's cause, either for personal reasons, or through ideological commitment to the idea of a united kingdom.¹⁴¹ Among these officials were Wala,¹⁴² abbot of Corbie, who in 823–824 had spent the better part of a year in Italy with Lothar, and Hilduin of Saint-Denis, the reasons for whose deep devotion to Lothar are not easily discoverable. Louis reacted strongly to contain the rebellion: Lothar was sent to Italy; Wala was forced to live a strict monastic life in exile near Lake Geneva, as we have seen;¹⁴³ and Hilduin, who had arrived at Nijmegen with an armed escort (no doubt fearing for his own safety) against the express instructions of the emperor, was stripped of the archchlaincy and his various abbacies, and banished to Paderborn, where he was ordered to spend the winter under canvas with only a few associates.¹⁴⁴ At a meeting of the national assembly at Aachen on 2 February 831,

138 BM² 773a. The precise date is given in various annals (but not the *Annales regni Francorum*) such as the *Annales Weissenburgenses*; cf. *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 37 (ed. Tresp, p. 422), which gives the month but not the day.

139 There is a narrative account of these developments in Nithard, *Hist.* i. 3–4 (ed. E. Müller, pp. 3–7); see discussion by F.L. Ganshof, 'Am Vorabend der ersten Krise der Regierung Ludwigs des Frommen. Die Jahre 828 und 829', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972), 39–54; Patzold, 'Eine "loyale Palastrebellion" der "Reichseinheitspartei"?', pp. 71–75; and esp. de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 148–184.

140 BM² 876c, with discussion by Voigt, *Karolingische Klosterpolitik*, pp. 84–86; Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 182–191; Patzold, 'Eine "loyale Palastrebellion" der "Reichseinheitspartei"?' Zur "divisio imperii" von 817 und zu den Ursachen des Aufstands gegen Ludwig den Frommen im Jahr 830', pp. 71–75; and de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 185–213.

141 See above, p. 30, with n. 114.

142 On Wala, see above, n. 115.

143 See above, p. 31, and Radbert of Corbie, *Epitaphium Arsenii* ii. 12: 'ibi caelum et Penninas Alpes necnon Limanum lacum cernebat' (PL cxx. 1628).

144 *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 45: 'Imperator autem volens adhuc vires adversariorum tenuare, Hilduinum abbatem culpans interrogavit, cur, cum simpliciter venire iussus sit, hostiliter advenerit. Qui cum negare nequiret, continuo ex palatio exire iussus est, et cum paucissimis hominibus iuxta Patrisbrunnam in expeditionali hiemare tabernaculo' (ed.

Hilduin and his associates were sent from Paderborn to Korvey.¹⁴⁵ Among these associates was the loyal Hincmar.¹⁴⁶

However, Louis the Pious was of a forgiving nature, and was evidently keen to patch up differences between him and his sons and their supporters, with the result that at another national assembly at Ingelheim two months later, on 1 May 831, Lothar was received back honourably, and an amnesty was extended to various of his supporters.¹⁴⁷ Those who were amnestied apparently included Hilduin,¹⁴⁸ but did not include Wala (with whom Louis seems to have had longstanding grievances), who was not allowed to return to Corbie until 833.¹⁴⁹ As part of the amnesty, two of Hilduin's abbacies were restored to him: Saint-Denis certainly, and possibly either Saint-Germain-des-Prés or Saint-Médard in Soissons,¹⁵⁰ but not the archchapelaincy, in which post Hilduin was succeeded almost immediately by the obscure Fulco, who was perhaps abbot of Saint-Wandrille and/or Jumièges.¹⁵¹ Flodoard of Rheims attributes the restitution

Tremp, pp. 460–462); cf. also the *Translatio S. Pusinnae a. 860* [BHL 6995], c. 4 (MGH, SS ii. 682).

145 BM² 881a; see *Translatio S. Pusinnae a. 860*, c. 4: 'Qui [scil. Hilduinus] divino nutu, exigentibus quamquam non satis in imperatorem Ludovicum manifestis culpis, in Saxoniam regionem exilio condemnatus est; et primo quidem ad Paderbornam aliquamdiu commoratus, postea defervescente furore principis ad Corbeiam novam positus est' (MGH, SS ii. 682), and the *Historia translationis S. Viti* [BHL 8718], c. 12: '... et Hilduwinum, virum aequae devotissimum, in Saxoniae partibus, scilicet in monasterio Corbeia, tamquam in exsilium collocaret' (ed. Jaffé, *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, p. 13 = MGH, SS ii. 580).

146 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* iii. 1: 'cum praememoratus Hilduinus abbas imperatoris Ludovici archicapellanus, offensam ipsius Augusti adeo cum aliis regni primoribus incurrisset, ut ablatis sibi abbatibus, in Saxoniam fuerit exilio relegatus, iste [scil. Hincmarus] per licentiam proprii episcopi cum benedictione fratrum illum secutus est in exilium' (PL cxxxv. 139; ed. Stratmann, p. 191); cf. discussion by Devisse, *Hincmar*, II, p. 1091.

147 BM² 888a.

148 See Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* iii. 1 (PL cxxxv. 139; ed. Stratmann, p. 191).

149 See Radbert of Corbie, *Epitaphium Arsenii* ii. 10 (PL cxx. 1625).

150 There is apparently no surviving charter of the period 832–840 which refers explicitly to Hilduin's abbacy of either Saint-Germain or Saint-Médard. (He presumably regained the abbacy of Salonnnes, which was a dependency of Saint-Denis, but there is no charter evidence in favour of this assumption.) Cf. Boshof, *Erzbischof Agobard*, pp. 211–212 and idem, *Ludwig der Fromme*, p. 189, who argues that the second abbacy restored to Hilduin was that of Saint-Médard in Soissons, and Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften*, p. 116, who opts for Saint-Germain ('erhielt er [Hilduin] zwei der verlorenen Klöster zurück, sicher S. Denis, dazu vermutlich Saint-Germain-des-Prés').

151 See Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, pp. 54–55. Fleckenstein makes the reasonable point that Louis, after his experiences with the headstrong Hilduin, preferred 'eine weniger

of the two abbasies to Hincmar's intercession and familiarity with Louis the Pious.¹⁵² It is not possible to determine precisely when Hilduin was allowed to return to Saint-Denis, but a number of documents from 832 indicate that by then he was in full possession of his former authority and was deeply involved in the abbey's enhancement.

Restoration to the Abbacy of Saint-Denis (832–840)

Louis' assertion of his royal authority, followed by the amnesties of 831, unfortunately failed to bring the palace rebellion to an end. In 833 Louis provoked another outbreak of rebellion by depriving his son Pippin of the sub-regency of Aquitaine, and appointing the young Charles (then aged 10) in his place.¹⁵³ The three sons from Louis' first marriage assembled an army and on 24 June 833 confronted the king's army at Sigolsheim, near Colmar;¹⁵⁴ before any fighting took place, Louis' army deserted him, whereupon he, Judith and the young Charles were all captured (30 June).¹⁵⁵ Judith was sent to Lombardy; Louis and Charles were held in custody, first at Soissons and then, as Lothar faced the threat of an advancing loyalist army, at Saint-Denis. Eventually, through the intervention of his son Louis (the German), who was apparently beginning to have doubts about Lothar's ultimate intentions for the monarchy, Louis was freed and reinstated on the throne at Saint-Denis on 1 March 834;¹⁵⁶ he was later formally re-crowned by Archbishop Drogo (his archchaplain) and seven other

selbständige und selbstbewußte Persönlichkeit' (p. 54). But Fulco only lasted a very short time in the post (he is last attested on 10 June 833), and was replaced with Louis' half-brother Drogo, archbishop of Metz.

- 152 Flodoard of Rheims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae* iii. 1: 'Cui pro familiaritatis priore [*v.l.* propiore] notitia, tantam Dominus apud imperatorem proceresque contulit gratiam, ut studere pro suo nutritore quiverit, donec ab exilio revocatus duarum fuerit abbatiarum praelationi restitutus' (PL cxxxv. 139; ed. Stratmann, p. 191). See discussion by Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, p. 189.
- 153 Nithard, *Hist.* i. 4: 'per idem tempus Aquitania Pippino dempta Karolo datur' (ed. E. Müller, p. 5; trans. Scholz, p. 133).
- 154 BM² 925c. Because of the desertion of Louis' army, the battlefield was referred to as the *Campus mentitus* (*Lügenfeld* in German); the episode is discussed by Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 195–203; Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 68–85; and de Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 224–230.
- 155 BM² 925d; see Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 42 (ed. Tremp, p. 230), and Nithard, *Hist.* i. 4 (ed. E. Müller, p. 5; trans. Scholz, pp. 133–134).
- 156 BM² 926p; and see the letter by Louis to Hilduin (*Ep.* i. 2): 'per merita et solatium domni

archbishops at Metz on 28 February 835.¹⁵⁷ There is no evidence that Hilduin took any part in the military campaigns of 833–834, although he must have remained in close contact with Louis, particularly when the king was being held in custody at Saint-Denis; and he was presumably present on 1 March 834 when Louis was reinstated there as king. The evidence rather suggests that, following the amnesty of 831, Hilduin withdrew from courtly activity (he was no longer archchaplain) and devoted his attention to Saint-Denis, first by reforming it according to Benedictine principles, and second by extending Fulrad's ring-crypt to create a chapel to house the relics of saints.

The need to reform Saint-Denis in accord with Benedictine principles had long been felt,¹⁵⁸ and was acutely felt during the reign of Louis the Pious when, at the prompting of his trusted adviser Benedict of Aniane, two capitularies were promulgated (in 816 and 817) stipulating the need for the reform of all Carolingian monasteries and nunneries.¹⁵⁹ The legislation was no doubt aimed particularly at Saint-Denis.¹⁶⁰ When Abbot Waldo had arrived in Saint-Denis from Reichenau in 806, he found monastic discipline in disarray: 'ubi monasticae vitae regulam admodum distortam, fratresque secularis potius quam spiritualis vitae sequaces inveniens'.¹⁶¹ In the wake of the capitulary of 817, those residents in favour of Benedictine reform had been obliged to leave Saint-Denis and relocate to Mours (an estate belonging to Saint-Denis), northwest of Saint-Denis on the river Oise;¹⁶² those who remained constituted in effect a

ac piissimi patris nostri pretiosi Dionysii uirtute diuina reerecti et restituti sumus cingulumque militare iudicio atque auctoritate episcopali resumpsimus' (below, p. 196).

157 BM² 938b.

158 There is clear exposition of the background and reform of the abbey by Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften*, pp. 112–119, and Semmler, 'Saint-Denis: von der bischöflichen Coemeterialbasilika zur königlichen Benediktinerabtei', pp. 105–111.

159 The decrees of 816 are ed. J. Semmler, 'Synodi primae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica (816)', in *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* 1 (Siegburg, 1963), pp. 453–468; those of 817 are ed. as 'Synodi secundae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica (817)', *ibid.* pp. 469–481. On the decrees of the two synods, see discussion by Semmler, 'Reichsidee und kirchliche Gesetzgebung bei Ludwig dem Frommen', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 71 (1960), 37–65, at 43–46, and *idem*, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahre 816', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 74 (1963), 15–82, at 71–72.

160 Semmler, 'Saint-Denis', p. 107: 'Als eine der ersten Kommunitäten konfrontierte der Kaiser wohl 817 den Konvent von Saint-Denis mit den neuen Satzungen'.

161 Quoted from the *Translatio sanguinis Domini*, c. 12 (MGH, SS iv. 447*): 'finding there the rule of monastic life in disarray, and the monks following a worldly rather than a spiritual way of life.'

162 In the list of monks of Saint-Denis preserved in the confraternity book of Reichenau (on

college of secular canons. This situation was clearly intolerable; and although Benedict of Aniane himself died in 821, and although Hilduin was himself a secular cleric, not a monk,¹⁶³ at the continued prompting (no doubt) of Louis the Pious, Hilduin laid plans for thoroughgoing reform along Benedictine lines, and these plans were enunciated at an episcopal synod which met in Paris in June 829.¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately, before the plans could be implemented, the palace rebellion erupted in 830, with the result *inter alia* that Hilduin was deposed from the abbacy of Saint-Denis (much to the delight of those of its residents who had been resisting the reform and who promptly threw away their monastic habits). After the amnesty of 831, and his reinstatement as abbot of Saint-Denis, Hilduin returned to the question of reform (one suspects that successful completion of the reform was one of the conditions by which Louis agreed to Hilduin's restoration to the abbacy). The first task to be faced was that of providing for the maintenance of the resident monks which the reform would entail. In a document promulgated at Saint-Denis on 22 January 832, the so-called *Constitutio de partitione bonorum monasterii Sancti Dionysii*, Hilduin made provision for the maintenance of a community of Benedictine monks by specifying annual food renders from a very substantial number of estates belonging to Saint-Denis;¹⁶⁵ at the same time, and in a separate document, he set out the monks' annual *stipendia* or costs of maintenance in

which see above, n. 33), the name 'Adroldus abb.' occurs immediately after 'Hilduinus abb.' (see Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften*, p. 26). No one named Adroldus is known ever to have been abbot of Saint-Denis, and Oexle (*ibid.* p. 118) made the attractive conjecture that Adroldus must have been the 'abbot' or 'leader' (*Leiter*) of those Saint-Denis monks who were domiciled at Mours from 817 until 832. On the cell of 'apostate' Saint-Denis monks at Mours, see Berkhofer, *Day of Reckoning*, pp. 13–14.

163 Cf. Hincmar, *Ep.* xxiii [*Ad Carolum imperatorem*]: 'Quapropter a familiari suo Bodone clerico domni et nutritoris mei Hilduini abbatis sacri palatii clericorum summi, quemdam clericum ipsius Bodonis propinquum ...' (PL cxxvi. 154). The implication of Hincmar's remark is that, like Bodo, Hilduin was a cleric (*clericorum summi*), not a monk; on the basis of this remark Semmler comments, 'Abt Hilduin I., der selbst das Mönchskleid nie trug' ('Saint-Denis', p. 108).

164 The so-called *Praeceptum synodale*: ed. MGH, *Concilia* ii/1. 683–687 [no. 52]; Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, pp. 86–89 [no. 124].

165 The original document is preserved (in a somewhat mutilated condition) as Paris, *Archives nationales*, K 9, no. 5; it is ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. xlix–li [no. LXXII]; Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, pp. 84–86 [no. 123]; PL civ. 1211–1214 (repr. from Bouquet); and MGH, *Concilia* ii/1. 688–694 [no. 53]. (It is not calendared in BM², nor printed among the charters in LdF, but is referred to in D-LdF 316: see below.)

detail.¹⁶⁶ Later in the year, on 26 August 832 at Saint-Denis itself, the emperor ratified these arrangements, by issuing two separate, but complementary, documents: the first of these (D-LdF 315) provides a historical account of Louis' concern for monastic reform, guided by the earlier advice of Benedict (of Aniane) and enunciated at the synod in Paris of late 829/early 830, and goes on to deplore the recalcitrance of the inmates of Saint-Denis to accept the ruling of the synod;¹⁶⁷ in the second (D-LdF 316), the emperor specified the Saint-Denis estates which were to provide the annual *stipendia* for the monks, by referring to Hilduin's aforementioned *Constitutio* ('prefati venerabilis abbatis Hilduini conscriptionis carta pleniter narrat ex ordine ... stipendia que annuatim in cibo et potu accipere debeant, necnon et quasdam villas specialiter necessitatibus eorum deservendas');¹⁶⁸ he stipulated that the *stipendia* were to provide the maintenance of up to 150 Benedictine monks and that this ordinance was to pertain to all monks at Saint-Denis following the Rule of St Benedict now and in the future ('ad centum quinquaginta monachorum numerum sunt ordinata ... qualiter futuris temporibus fratres in coenobio supradicto Regulam beati Benedicti servantes ..., etc.').¹⁶⁹ so that they would be able to serve God without any interference or disturbance.¹⁶⁹

While these reforms were in train, Hilduin turned his attention to the fabric of the abbey church itself, in particular to the construction of an extended crypt to house relics of saints.¹⁷⁰ In a (fragmentary) letter composed by Hilduin in either late 832 or 833, and addressed to future abbots and monks of Saint-

166 The original document is preserved (in somewhat mutilated form) in Paris, Archives nationales, K 8, no. 12; it is ed. L. Levillain, 'Un état de redevances due à la mense conventuelle de Saint-Denis (832)', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île de France* 36 (1909), 79–90, at 86–90; see discussion by Berkhofer, *Day of Reckoning*, pp. 13–18.

167 D-LdF 315 (ed. Kölzer, II, pp. 774–779); the charter is calendared in BM² 905, and is preserved in its original form in Paris, Archives nationales K 9 no. 6; also ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. li–liii [no. LXXIV]; Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, pp. 86–89 [no. 124]; and PL civ. 1206–1210 (repr. from Bouquet).

168 D-LdF 316 (ed. Kölzer, II, pp. 779–785, at 781); this second charter is calendared as BM² 906. The original was in existence until the eighteenth century, but has subsequently been lost; it is also printed by Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. li–liiii [no. LXXIII], and PL civ. 1211–1214 (repr. from Bouquet).

169 Ibid. (ed. Kölzer, II, p. 782).

170 On the crypt, see the earlier studies by H. Leclercq in *DACL* IV/i, cols. 612 and 615–616, and L. Maitre and L. Levillain, 'La crypte de Saint-Denis', *Bulletin monumentale* 72 (1908), 137–154, as well as the accounts of excavations of Saint-Denis by Formigé and Crosby, cited above, n. 40.

Denis,¹⁷¹ Hilduin states unambiguously that his crypt was dedicated to the Virgin and All Saints, that it was located ‘at the feet’ of the principal shrine of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius, and that it housed the relics of many saints:

criptam ante pedes sanctissimorum martyrum nostrorum ad laudem & gloriam nominis Domini, in honore sanctae & intemeratae semperque virginis genitricis Dei Mariae Omniumque Sanctorum aedificavi, in qua multa pretiosissima sanctorum pignora auxiliante Domino collocavi.¹⁷²

Among his many activities, Hilduin was an indefatigable collector of relics,¹⁷³ especially on behalf of Saint-Denis: Anne Walters Robertson mentions his (probable) acquisition for Saint-Denis of the relics of the martyrs Hippolytus, Cucuphas, Innocent, Peregrinus, and of Bishops Hilary of Poitiers and Hilary of Mende.¹⁷⁴ The cult of saints was clearly an important aspect of worship in early ninth-century Saint-Denis. In his Letter, Hilduin goes on to say that the new crypt was dedicated on All Saints’ Day, on the anniversary of his [Hilduin’s] establishment of Benedictine monks at the abbey;¹⁷⁵ that is, pre-

171 The letter is ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. lv–lvi [no. LXXV]. Félibien states that it was *Tiré d’un ancien MS. de S. Corneille de Compiègne* (p. lv); the manuscript in question is preserved as Paris, BNF, lat. 16820 (Saint-Corneille of Compiègne, s. xii), fols. 179^v–180^r.

172 Félibien, *ibid.* p. lvi: ‘I built a crypt at the feet of our most holy martyrs in praise and glory of the name of God, in honour of the inviolate Virgin Mary, mother of God, and All Saints; in it I housed many precious relics of saints with the Lord’s assistance’.

173 On Hilduin’s links with the papacy, and the importation of relics from Rome, see Fried, ‘Ludwig der Fromme, das Papsttum und die fränkisch Kirche’, p. 263, who mentions Hilduin’s negotiations to acquire the relics of SS. Sebastian, Marcellinus and Petrus, Hippolytus, and Tiburtius from Rome. One gets a clear notion of how Hilduin conducted negotiations with relic-sellers in order to acquire relics of Roman martyrs from Einhard’s *Translatio SS. Marcellini et Petri* [BHL 5233]; for discussion see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 45–49 and 118–121, and Heinzelmann, ‘Einhard’s “Translatio Marcellini et Petri”: Eine hagiographische Reformschrift von 830’, and above, n. 99.

174 Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 222–225. See also the *Translatio S. Pusinnae a. 860*, c. 4: ‘Hilduinus etiam religiosus quondam et famosus abbas monasterii sancti Dionysii martyris et sacri palatii ea tempestate archicapellanus, beati Sebastiani martyris a memorata regione [*scil.* Roma], et sancti Tiburtii, ut ferunt, sed et sanctorum martyrum Cucufatis et Innocentii, qui fuerunt beati Mauricii socii, ab Hispanis Burgundiaque cum honore summo transferre curavit’ (MGH, SS ii. 682).

175 Félibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*,

sumably, 1 November 833.¹⁷⁶ Hilduin further notes that, by common agreement with his community, eight monks in relays should continuously celebrate the Office both day and night, by chanting antiphons ‘in the Roman manner’.¹⁷⁷ At a meeting at Ver-sur-Launette on 20 January 833, Louis the Pious had issued a charter by which he granted revenues from an estate at Mitry to provide for ecclesiastical furniture (especially lighting) and maintenance of Hilduin’s new crypt.¹⁷⁸

The appearance of Hilduin’s crypt is described by Hilduin’s one-time protégé Dungal in a poem preserved in Paris, BNF, lat. 7520 (Central France, s. ix^{2/3}: Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 4461), fol. 73^v; the poem was possibly composed as a *titulus* to be inscribed somewhere in the crypt itself. In any case the poem provides a valuable contemporary description of the appearance of the crypt:

Martyribus venerandis busta ut trina coruscant,
arcubus hinc totidem decorosus consonat ordo,
qui meliore novo ingenio rutilante metallo
fulti marmoreis decorantur rite columnis.
Hos medio, extremos arcus hinc inde locatos,

p. lvi: ‘Et ut in festivitibus sanctae Mariae, Nativitatis scilicet, & ad [...] in solemnitate Omnium Sanctorum & dedicatione eiusdem sancti templi quae est Kal. Novembris, atque in anniversario nostro, quando hoc Deus voluerit & iam dictis rebus monachi istius sancti coenobii in amore Dei omnipotentis & honore sanctorum ac nostra memoria refectioem habeant’.

176 The date at which the *refectio* of the monks of Saint-Denis was established would be the ratification by Louis the Pious on 26 August 832 of Hilduin’s proposed transfer of food-renders from Saint-Denis estates (see above); the anniversary of this ratification would therefore fall in 833, with the consecration of the new crypt taking place on 1 November 833. But Hilduin’s wording is vague, and the text of the letter is fragmentary, so absolute certainty in this matter is unattainable.

177 Félibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, p. lvi: ‘Communi etiam voto statuimus ut octo ex monachis huius sanctae congregationis, succedentes sibi per vices, omni tempore in ea tam diurnum quam nocturnum more Romano officium faciant & constituta officia vel antiph[ona] [...] cotidiana assiduitate concelebrent’.

178 *Calendared* BM² 918; ed. D-LdF 324 (ed. Kölzer, II, pp. 801–805): ‘ad luminaria ... ibi providenda, et ornatum in ea congruum et dignum procurandum, vel quidquid in perfectione et emendatione sui necessarium fuerit peragendum’ (ibid. p. 804); it was further specified that masses were to be said on the feasts of the Purification [2 February], SS. Peter and Paul [29 June], St Sebastian [20 January], and the birthdays of Louis the Pious [20 June] and of his queen Judith [19 April].

ecclesiae Hilduinus cultor, egregius abbas,
struxit, cura cui semper potiora parare est,
praemia cuique Deus est non peritura daturus.¹⁷⁹

The appearance of the crypt as described by Dungal, particularly its arrangement of arches and columns, has been confirmed by archaeological excavation, from which it is clear that Hilduin's 'crypt' was an open space or 'chapel' which lay to the east of the annular crypt of Fulrad's earlier church, and that the principal altar (which had been consecrated by Pope Stephen in 754) and the tomb of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius were located above the crypt, so that access to the crypt was by means of stairways located on either side of the main altar (this is what Hilduin in his letter meant by saying that his crypt was *ante pedes sanctissimorum martyrum nostrorum*). The open space or 'chapel' east of Fulrad's annular crypt housed a series of altars for saints' relics, approached by means of an ambulatory, which was decorated by arches, columns and blind arcading.¹⁸⁰ Remains of the arches and columns can be seen today beneath Suger's twelfth-century building.¹⁸¹

While Hilduin was attending to his church, Louis the Pious had been captured by his son Lothar on 30 June 833 and held in captivity at Soissons where, in autumn of that year, he performed an act of public penance before an assembly of bishops, including Ebo of Rheims.¹⁸² Subsequently, in February 834, Louis was taken to Saint-Denis.¹⁸³ A few weeks later, on 1 March 834,

179 MGH, PLAC ii. 664–665: 'As the three tombs of the venerable martyrs [Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius] shine forth, they are matched by the attractive sequence of a similar number of arches, which, with the ingenious application of shining metal, are duly supported by marble columns. Hilduin, the devotee of this church, the excellent abbot, constructed these columns, with some arches in the middle and some at either end; his greatest concern is always to provide: God is to grant him rewards which will not perish! Dungal had apparently left Saint-Denis to become a teacher in Pavia by 825 (see above, n. 83), so the circumstances in which he was able to view Hilduin's subterranean chapel are unclear.

180 See Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 87–94, and Jacobsen, 'Die Abteikirche', pp. 157–158 with plan 5.

181 See Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, plates 35–36 and 40.

182 Louis' act of public penance is helpfully discussed by de Jong, 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society: The Public Penance of Louis the Pious', esp. pp. 29–43, and eadem, *The Penitential State.*, pp. 228–249; see also Patzold, 'Eine "loyale Palastrebellion" der "Reichseinheitspartei?"', pp. 67–68.

183 BM² 926m; *Annales Bertiniani* s.a. 834: '[Lothar] patrem suum usque ad Parisius sub memorata custodia deduxit' (ed. Waitz, MGH, SS rer. Germ. v. 8).

Louis was restored to his kingdom in a ceremony which took place at Saint-Denis.¹⁸⁴ For this reason, Louis remained perpetually grateful to St Dionysius, as he states clearly in his letter to Hilduin concerning the saint: ‘per merita et solatium domni ac piissimi patris nostri pretiosi Dionysii uirtute diuina reerecti et restituti sumus cingulumque militare iudicio atque auctoritate episcopale resumpsimus, et usque ad praesens ipsius gratioso adiutorio sustentamur’.¹⁸⁵ As a result of the continuing support of St Dionysius, the emperor decided to commission from Hilduin a new *passio* of the saint. There can be little doubt that Hilduin and Louis, during the latter’s enforced domicile at Saint-Denis, had ample opportunity to discuss the prospect of such a *passio*, and that the correspondence which ensued represents the outcome of that discussion. Hilduin responded eagerly to the commission, and set out for the emperor his plans for a revised *passio* (see *Ep.* 11, below, pp. 200–221). Hilduin’s prose *Passio S. Dionysii* thus dates from after the emperor’s restoration at Saint-Denis on 1 March 834.

During the remaining years of Louis’ reign, Hilduin continued to work actively on behalf of his abbey. Although he was no longer the emperor’s archchaplain, the documentary record indicates that he still played an active role in the ecclesiastical business of the kingdom. For example, in a charter issued from Aachen on 3 July 834, Hilduin is said to have intervened in order to secure exemption from annual dues for bridge- and construction-work for the monastery of Kempton (SW Bavaria);¹⁸⁶ in 836, and with the endorsement of Louis the Pious, he transferred the relics of the boy martyr St Vitus from Saint-Denis to Korvey;¹⁸⁷ and in a charter issued from Attigny on 23 January 839, the

184 BM² 926p; Nithard, *Hist.* i. 4: ‘rege recepto basilicam sancti Dionysii una cum episcopis et omni clero confluent, laudes Deo devote referunt, coronam et arma regi suo imponunt’ (ed. E. Müller, p. 6; trans. Scholz, p. 134: ‘They flocked with the bishops and the whole clergy into the basilica of St.-Denis, offered praise to God in all piety, placed crown and arms upon their king, and then assembled to deliberate on the remaining matters’).

185 *Ep.* 1, c. 2 (below, p. 196): ‘through the merits and help of our precious and holy father Dionysius I was raised up and restored by divine authority, and received back the military girdle, through episcopal decree and authority; and up to the present time I am sustained by his generous support’. Cf. BM² 951, who note that the letter is usually dated to 835 (‘gewöhnlich zu 835 eingereiht’) and assign it themselves to December 835, but add that the emperor must have composed the letter soon after his restoration.

186 Calendared BM² 929; ed. D-LdF 339 (ed. Kölzer, II, pp. 849–851); Hilduin’s involvement is mentioned in Tironian notes accompanying the document (ibid. p. 850; and cf. Depreux, *Prosopographie*, pp. 255–256).

187 *Historia translationis S. Viti*, c. 14: ‘Tunc accessit [scil. Warinus] ad venerabilem virum Hilduwinum, et rogavit eum, ut memor esset promissionis suae et daret ei corpus beatis-

emperor confirmed an exchange of land, promoted by Hilduin, between Saint-Denis and Jouarre.¹⁸⁸ In what in retrospect may be seen as one of the most important events of his last decade of rule, Louis bequeathed to his son Charles the Bald extensive lands between the Meuse and the Seine (what amounted to a substantial proportion of the wealthiest lands of Francia); and in order to quell dissent, representatives from those regions were compelled to take an oath of fealty to Charles; among those who took the oath, Nithard singles out the names of Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, and Gerard, count of Paris (presumably on the suspicion that these two were least likely to be in favour of this, the latest in Louis' actions to secure the succession of Charles).¹⁸⁹ In any case, within two years the issue ceased to be of concern to Louis, because he died on 20 June 840, and it remained for his three surviving sons (Pippin had died in 838) to negotiate.

In the Service of Emperor Lothar (840–c. 860)

Following the death of Louis the Pious, Lothar postponed his immediate plans for travelling to Italy and remained in Francia, where he sought to ascertain the amount of support he could muster in his attempt to assume the regency of the

simi pueri et martyris Viti. Qualiter autem vel quo tempore hoc corpus sancti Viti in Saxoniam translatum sit, et in monasterio quod Corbeia nova dicitur collocatum, intimare curavimus. Anno incarnationis Domini nostri Iesu Christi octingentesimo tricesimo sexto, indictione quarta decima, anno autem imperii sacratissimi imperatoris Ludovici vicesimo tertio, Warinus, abba monasterii Rasbacensis [i.e. Rebaix] ... sed et Corbeiensis novi ... expetivit a viro religioso et venerabili abbate Hilduino monasterii sancti Dionysii, ut de sanctis martyribus quorum corpora in loco praefato humata quiescebant, aliquem ... concederet. Quam petitionem Hilduinus abba cum voluntate et licentia piissimi imperatoris Ludovici ... dedit ei ... corpus sancti Viti pueri et martyris Lucani [i.e. of Lucania in Sicily], qui sub Valeriani et Diocletiani [Jaffé: Diocletiani et Maximiani] temporibus passus est, et a quodam viro religioso regnante Pippino translatus ab Italia in Franciam' (MGH, SS ii. 580–581 = Jaffé, *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, p. 14).

188 BM² 986; ed. D-LdF 392 (ed. Kölzer, II, pp. 971–973).

189 Louis' bequest to Charles, and the oaths of allegiance taken by Hilduin and Gerard, are dated to October 837 in BM² 970a, but to 838 by Nithard. In any case the principal account of the oath of allegiance is Nithard, *Hist.* i. 6: 'Hilduinus autem abbas ecclesiae sancti Dionysii et Gerardus comes Parisius civitatis ceterique omnes praedictos fines inhabitantes convenerunt fidemque Karolo firmaverunt' (ed. E. Müller, p. 9; trans. Scholz, p. 136). On Gerard, count of Paris, see Levillain, 'Les comtes de Paris à l'époque franque', pp. 189–197.

entire kingdom, according to the terms which had originally been agreed in 817 (and promulgated as the *Ordinatio imperii*). At that time Charles and Louis the German, and their armies, were engaged in pressing local concerns (Charles with problems in Aquitaine, Louis with the Saxons), which allowed Lothar to cross the river Meuse and advance on Paris and the Seine basin.¹⁹⁰ At this point Hilduin and Gerard, count of Paris, came to meet him and to ally themselves to his cause, thereby breaking their earlier oaths of fealty to Charles; Nithard described their action as treacherous.¹⁹¹ For over a year Lothar stubbornly refused any sort of compromise with his brothers, and matters reached their climax at the battle of Fontenoy near Auxerre on 25 June 841, when Lothar's army was comprehensively defeated by the combined forces of Charles and Louis.¹⁹² The alliance of Charles and Louis was confirmed the following year (14 February 842) when they and their armies met at Strasbourg, and swore to support each other in their continuing opposition to Lothar (the so-called 'Strasbourg Oaths').¹⁹³ The concerted alliance of Charles and Louis resulted in military stalemate, with the result that in September 842 negotiations began at Koblenz to find a peaceful resolution of the conflict involving the tripartition of the kingdom. The tripartition was effected a year later (August 843) by the treaty of Verdun, whereby Louis the German received the lands east of the Rhine, Charles the Bald the western kingdom, including Aquitaine, and Lothar the 'middle' kingdom, including Italy and the lands between the rivers Rhine and Scheldt, with its capital at Aachen.¹⁹⁴ This 'middle' kingdom soon came to be known as the *regnum Hlotharii* (and, in time, Lotharingia).¹⁹⁵ It was in this kingdom, in close association with Lothar himself, that Hilduin spent the remainder of his career.

When in late 840 Hilduin decided to ally himself with Lothar, his continuing tenure of the abbacy of Saint-Denis (which after 843 lay centrally in the king-

190 BM² 1072a; see Nithard, *Hist.* ii. 3 (ed. E. Müller, pp. 15–16; trans. Scholz, pp. 143–144).

191 Nithard, *Hist.* ii. 3: 'quo dum tenderet, Hilduinus abbas Sancti Dionysii et Gerardus comes Parisii civitatis a Karolo deficientes fide frustrata ad illum [*scil.* Lotharium] venerunt' (ed. E. Müller, p. 16; trans. Scholz, p. 144).

192 BM² 1084i; Nithard, *Hist.* ii. 10 (ed. E. Müller, p. 27; trans. Scholz, p. 154).

193 BM² 1091a; Nithard, *Hist.* iii. 5 (ed. E. Müller, pp. 35–37; trans. Scholz, pp. 161–163).

194 BM² 1103a; *Annales Fuldenses* s.a. 843: 'Descripto regno a primoribus et in tres partes diviso apud Viridunum Galliae civitatem tres reges mense Augusto convenientes, regnum inter se dispertiunt; et Hludowicus quidem orientalem partem accepit, Karlus vero occidentalem tenuit, Hlutarius, qui maior natu erat, mediam inter eos sortitus est portionem' (ed. F. Kurze, *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, MGH, SS rer. Germ. 7 (Hannover, 1891), p. 34).

195 Parisot, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, pp. 27–65.

dom of Charles) was placed in jeopardy. We do not know precisely when he resigned the abbacy, but by 21 October 843 at latest, one Louis (Hludowicus), a grandson of Charlemagne and cousin of Charles the Bald, is attested as abbot of Saint-Denis.¹⁹⁶ Perhaps as recompense for the loss of the abbey, Lothar in 842 moved to appoint Hilduin to the archbishopric of Cologne,¹⁹⁷ and for a number of years (until 848) he is described in records as *archiepiscopus vocatus*, 'archbishop-designate', 'archbishop-elect'.¹⁹⁸ But he was never consecrated,¹⁹⁹

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- 196 Calendared Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, p. 96 [no. 143] and BM² 1109; ed. D-Lo.I, no. 80 (ed. Schieffer, pp. 199–201), and Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, p. lxii [no. LXXXII]. A second document issued from Aachen on 21 October 843 is considered spurious, above all because it names Hilduin as Lothar's *summus notarius* (he was not appointed to this position until 844): see BM² 1110, ed. D-Lo.I, no. 142 (ed. Schieffer, pp. 317–319, who classifies the document as 'unecht'), with discussion by Levillain, 'Les diplômes originaux et le diplôme faux de Lothaire pour l'abbaye de Saint-Denis', *BECh* 95 (1934), 225–258, at p. 251 n. 2.
- 197 See *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis, ab initio usque ad annum MCXCVIII*, Series 5 [Germania], 1: *Archiepiscopatus Coloniensis*, ed. S. Weinfurter et al. (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 14–15, and *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, 1, 313–1099, ed. F.W. Oediger (Bonn, 1954–1961), pp. 51–53 [nos. 158–162]. The date of Hilduin's appointment derives from the *Annales Colonienses brevissimi*, s.a. 842: 'Hilduinus accepit episcopatum Coloniae' (MGH, SS i. 97).
- 198 BM² 1132, a charter dated 3 January 848: ed. D-Lo.I, no. 100 (ed. Schieffer, pp. 238–240): 'Hilduinus venerabilis vocatus archiepiscopus sacrique palatii nostri notarius summus' (ed. Schieffer, p. 239). Hilduin was never consecrated as archbishop (see following note). Werner Ohnsorge made the plausible suggestion that Hilduin was nominated to the archbishopric to give him the title and stature expected of someone leading an embassy to the Byzantine emperor: 'für einen Gesandten des fränkischen Kaisers nach dem Osten aber war es vorteilhaft, wenn er als Kirchenfürst auftreten konnte. Daß Hilduin nie ordiniert wurde und schließlich 850 auf den Erzstuhl zu Gunsten seines Verwandten verzichtet hat, würde bei dieser Deutung des Erwerbs seiner erzbischöflichen Würde verständlicher werden' ('Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844 gegen die Sarazenen', p. 119; repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, p. 169).
- 199 The reasons why Hilduin was never consecrated were explained in detail by Parisot, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, pp. 743–746. Briefly, Parisot's explanation is that after the previous archbishop of Cologne, Hadebald, died in 841, one Liutbert was elected to succeed him; but Liutbert was a supporter of Louis the German, and when in the partition of the kingdom Cologne was apportioned to Lothar, Liutbert was obliged to flee to the eastern kingdom (he was subsequently made bishop of Münster by Louis the German). Lothar wished to appoint Hilduin in his place. But of the six bishoprics in the province, only two (Liège and Utrecht) were in Lothar's domain; the other four remained in that of Louis the German. Because of Lothar's expulsion of Liutbert, Louis refused to allow his bishops to consecrate Hilduin.

and in 850 the vacant archbishopric was filled by one Gunthar (850–863; ob. 870), who may have been a relative.²⁰⁰

Meanwhile, on 16 June 842 Lothar received at Trier an embassy sent by the Byzantine emperor Theophilus (829–842),²⁰¹ requesting help in his struggle against the Arabs, and offering as an incentive the marriage of his daughter to Lothar's son Louis, who was soon to become king of Italy.²⁰² (The proposed marriage is known from Byzantine, but not western, sources.) A charter issued from Merzig near Prüm two months later (29 August 842) mentions that Lothar had received the Greek legation 'in company with many of my faithful followers.'²⁰³ Hilduin would no doubt have been one of these faithful followers, since he is the one of Lothar's adherents whom we know to have been able to speak Greek. And as a result of the embassy and the proposal of an interdynastic marriage, Lothar sent back with the Greek embassy his own ambassadors, in order to pursue, in Constantinople itself, negotiations concerning the marriage and the military assistance. We know that Hilduin was a member of Lothar's legation to Constantinople. One aspect of Hilduin's stay in Constantinople is reflected clearly in the Byzantine written record. Hilduin evidently took with him a copy of his prose *Passio S. Dionysii* to present to the emperor and his clergy – a sort of belated return for the emperor's earlier gift to Louis of the copy of the *Corpus Dionysiacaum*, which is laid so heavily under contribution in the *passio* – for the entry for St Dionysius in the great 'Synaxarion of Constantinople' contains several unmistakable verbal debts to Hilduin's work, debts which could not possibly derive from any of the other Latin (or Greek) *passiones* which were in circulation by 842.²⁰⁴ In any event, when the Frankish

200 Gunthar was archbishop of Cologne from 850 until he was deposed in 863; see *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae occidentalis: Archiepiscopatus Coloniensis*, ed. Weinfurter, pp. 15–17, and *Die Regesten der Erzbischöfe von Köln im Mittelalter*, I, ed. Oediger, pp. 53–77 [nos. 163–226].

201 BM² 10910; see *Annales Bertiniani*, pt. II, s.a. 842: 'Hlotharius apud Augustam Trevorum [i.e. at Trier] legatos Grecorum suscipit, eis que absolutis, eiusdem placiti tempore palatio quod Theotonis-villa dicitur resedit' (MGH, SS rer. Germ. v. 28).

202 The young Louis was crowned as king of Lombardy by Pope Sergius on 15 June 844: BM² 1115a; Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, II, p. 89.

203 Calendared BM² 1092; ed. D-Lo.I, no. 67 (ed. Schieffer, pp. 178–180, at 180): 'Sed dum nos propter totius regni nostri utilitatem atque suscipiendam Grecorum legationem Treueris civitate una cum multis ex fidelibus nostris venissemus ...'

204 *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris: Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi* (Brussels, 1902), cols. 101–102, repr. below in Appendix X, no. (d), pp. 845–847. The fact that Hilduin's *passio* contains extensive quotations from the *Corpus Dionysiacaum*, in combination with the fact that Dionysius, author of the

embassy arrived in Constantinople in late 842, Emperor Theophilus was long dead, having died on 20 January of that year, and his wife Theodora was acting as regent²⁰⁵ on behalf of their infant son Michael III (842–867) (Michael was born in 840, and so was only two at the time of his father's death).²⁰⁶

During the time that Hilduin and the Frankish delegation were staying in Constantinople, Theodora composed a letter (in Greek) on behalf of her son Michael III, to be taken back to Lothar. By remarkable good fortune, Theodora's letter, written on papyrus, was kept in the archives of Saint-Denis, and is now preserved, in a very mutilated form, in Paris, Archives nationales, K 7, no. 17.²⁰⁷ In this letter, dated 6 May 843, Theodora alluded to the proposed marriage as the 'friendship between our divine majesty and our beloved son, the king [of Italy]' (ἡ φιλία τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ βασιλείας ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ἡμῶν τέκνου τοῦ ῥιγός), and to the preservation of the alliance of all Christianity 'against our common opponents' (οἱ κοῖνοι ἀντίπαλοι), namely the Arabs. The Empress ends by asking that Lothar make these arrangements known to 'our son the king' (ἡμῶν τέκνῳ τῷ ῥιγί).²⁰⁸ Lothar's son Louis (b. 825) was 17 or 18 years old at the time; the letter does not mention which of Theodora's daughters was the intended bride.²⁰⁹ The purpose of such an alliance was to secure Frankish military support against the Arabs, who had defeated the forces of Theophilus

Corpus, is identified as bishop of Athens, indicates that the source of the *Synaxarion* entry was Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 8, rather than either the 'ancient *passio*' (*BHL* 2171) or the 'anonymous *passio*' (*BHL* 2178).

205 Theodora was empress from 842 until 856, when she was formally deposed by her son Michael: see *ODB* III, pp. 2037–2038.

206 See *ODB* II, p. 1364.

207 See H. Omont, 'Lettre grecque sur papyrus émanée de la chancellerie impériale', *Revue archéologique* 3rd ser. 19 (1892), 384–393, and K. Brandi, 'Der byzantinische Kaiserbrief aus St. Denis und die Schrift der frühmittelalterlichen Kanzleien', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 1 (1908), 1–86; the letter is calendared by F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches, 656–1453*, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und neueren Zeit*, 1 (Munich and Berlin, 1924), p. 48 [no. 390]. The letter is helpfully ed., with German translation and commentary, by Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844 gegen die Sarazenen. Datum, Inhalt und politische Deutung des "Kaiserbriefes aus St. Denis"', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 1 (1955), 88–131, at 92–94 (repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, pp. 135–137).

208 Quoted from Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844 gegen die Sarazenen', p. 92 (repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, p. 135), incorporating Ohnsorge's reconstructions of damaged portions of the original.

209 The sources do not specify which daughter (five daughters of Theophilus and Theodora are in question: Thekla, Anna, Anastasia, Pulcheria and Maria).

in 838 (nearly capturing the emperor, and going on to sack Amorion in Phrygia) and who since 839 had been a growing threat to the western Mediterranean, having conquered Sicily and started to advance on Italy. The important point is that Theodora's letter is the very document which Hilduin and his delegation brought back to Lothar when they returned to the Frankish court at Aachen, probably by the year's end 843. In the event, the proposed marriage between young Louis and one of Theodora's daughters never took place; but as king of Lombard Italy Louis was instrumental in initiating an expedition led by Siginulf, count of Benevento, against the Arabs in southern Italy,²¹⁰ in concert with Byzantine attacks against them in Crete: so at least this one aspect of the proposed alliance produced a satisfactory result.

In the months following his return from Constantinople and the completion of his mission to the Byzantine emperor, Hilduin was appointed as Lothar's archchancellor (*summus notarius*),²¹¹ possibly, as Ohnsorge has suggested, in recognition of the successful outcome of the Byzantine negotiations.²¹² (Lothar could not have appointed him *archicapellanus* – the title of the position he formerly held under Louis the Pious – because, as we have seen, that post was held by Drogo, who remained in it until his death on 8 December 855.) From 844 onwards, in the words of a modern historian, Hilduin 'quickly became the most widely attested and influential of Lothar's advisers'.²¹³ His influence is reflected in the substantial number of charters which were issued, in Lothar's name, by Archchancellor Hilduin.²¹⁴

210 BM² 1115a.

211 Hilduin is first attested as *sacri palatii summus notarius* on 17 February 844: BM² 1114; Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, pp. 106–107 [nos. 168–169]. His last attestation as *summus notarius* was on 19 September 855 (BM² 1173).

212 Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844 gegen die Sarazenen', p. 126 (repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, p. 178): 'Lothar war mit dem Ergebnis der Mission Hilduins so zufrieden, daß er Hilduin in Anerkennung seiner Leistung zum Kanzler erhob'.

213 Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle*, I, p. 122: 'bald der meistgenannte und einflußreichste Berater Lothars I.'

214 The charters of Lothar (I) are edited by Theodor Schieffer, *MGH, Diplomata Karolorum*, III. Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. *Diplomata* (Berlin and Zurich, 1966), pp. 51–311 (139 charters of which DD-Lo.I, nos. 41–139 date from after 840) (DD-Lo.I, nos. 1–40 pertain to the earlier period of Lothar's regency in Italy, on which see Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–840'; Lothar's charters issued during the period 840–843 – before Hilduin became Lothar's archchancellor – are helpfully discussed by Screen, 'The Importance of being Emperor', pp. 33–39 [840–841] and 39–45 [842–843]). Of these, some 41 were issued by Hilduin in his role as Lothar's archchancellor during the period 844–855. The formula of attestation used by Hilduin's chancery is: 'xxx notarius advicem Hilduini recognovi', 'I, xxx, on behalf

Following the death of Louis the Pious in 840, many of the leading scholars and intellectuals of the Frankish kingdom allied themselves with Lothar, rather than with Charles the Bald or Louis the German. The reasons for this devoted allegiance to Lothar are not easy to establish. There is little in the record to suggest that Lothar was himself an intellectual, although in his youth he had been tutored by the Irish grammarian Clemens Scottus, who dedicated to Lothar his *Ars grammatica*, as is clear from the poem of dedication which accompanies the treatise:

Pauca tibi, Caesar, de multis, magne Hlothari,
iure tuus Clemens saepe legenda dedi,
caetera quo valeas per te penetrare sophiae
calle velut veterum, scita profunda virum.²¹⁵

Clemens goes on to say that infants are first fed at their mother's breasts, but as they grow, they progress to more solid food; and Lothar, too, can now progress to the higher summits of learning ('his tamen, his gradibus paulatim, Caesar inormis, / culmina doctrinae scandere summa potes'): which suggests that the

of Hilduin, wrote (this document)'. There were several scribes in question: Hrodmundus, Rinaldus, Remigius, Ercamboldus, Daniel and Ricmundus. The earliest charter in the sequence is dated 25 May 844 (D-Lo.I, no. 85 = BM² 115), the last, 19 September 855 (D-Lo.I, no. 139 = BM² 1173). After Lothar's death on 29 September 855, Hilduin ceased to function as archchancellor, and the charters of Lothar's successor, Lothar II – though in the first years they were written by scribes from Hilduin's chancery – were no longer issued under his authority (ed. Schieffer, pp. 383–445). The charters issued by Hilduin are as follows: DD-Lo.I, nos. 85 [BM² 115], 86 [BM² 116], 87 [BM² 117], 88 [BM² 118], 89 [BM² 119], 90 [BM² 120], 91 [BM² 121], 92 [BM² 122], 93 [BM² 123], 94 [BM² 1095], 95 [not in BM²], 96 [BM² 124], 97 [BM² 125], 98 [BM² 127], 99 [BM² 129], 100 [BM² 132], 101 [BM² 133], 103 [BM² 135], 105 [BM² 137], 106 [BM² 138], 107 [BM² 139], 111 [BM² 143], 112 [BM² 1175], 113 [BM² 1144], 114 [BM² 1145], 115 [BM² 1147], 116 [BM² 1148], 120 [BM² 1152], 123 [BM² 1155], 127 [BM² 1159], 128 [BM² 1160], 129 [BM² 1161], 130 [BM² 1164], 131 [BM² 1165], 133 [BM² 1167], 134 [BM² 1168], 135 [BM² 1169], 136 [BM² 1170], 137 [BM² 1171], 138 [BM² 1172], and 139 [BM² 1173].

²¹⁵ MGH, PLAC ii. 670 'I, your Clemens, have duly produced these few things to be read frequently to you, great Lothar, (our) emperor, so that you may be able to penetrate other profound aspects of learning as though following the path of men of old'. Clemens Scottus died shortly after 838 in Würzburg (in any case before the death of Louis the Pious); see H. Spilling, 'Irische Handschriftenüberlieferung in Fulda, Mainz und Würzburg', in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. H. Löwe, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1982), II, pp. 876–902, at 877–880; the *Ars grammatica* is ed. J. Tolkiehn, *Clementis Ars Grammatica*, Philologus Supplementband 20/3 (Leipzig, 1928).

poem and the treatise are to be dated to the first decade of the ninth century (Clemens arrived in the Frankish kingdom during the reign of Charlemagne; Lothar was born in 795). But whether Lothar continued with his studies of the *veterum scita profunda vir(or)um*, is unknown.

In any case, the list of intellectuals who sided with Lothar after 840 is an impressive one including, in addition to Hilduin himself, Hrabanus Maurus, Walahfrid Strabo, Wandelbert of Prüm, and Florus of Lyon. Hrabanus (780–856) had been abbot of Fulda since 822;²¹⁶ but since Fulda lay in the eastern kingdom of Louis the German, he was removed from the abbacy in February 841 and went to join the scholarly circle gathering around Lothar.²¹⁷ He had long been a colleague of Hilduin, and had dedicated his great collection of acrostic poems *De laudibus S. Crucis* to the monks of Saint-Denis:

Martyribus sanctis placuit mihi mittere donum,
 tempore quod prisco versibus edideram.
 Nam Crucis ad laudem Christi prosaque metroque
 confeci librum mente manueque simul.²¹⁸

He similarly dedicated his *Commentaria in libros IV Regum* ('Commentaries on the four books of Kings') to Hilduin.²¹⁹ Although through Lothar's mediation he

216 On Hrabanus and Fulda, see *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt und Bischof*, ed. R. Kottje and H. Zimmermann (Wiesbaden, 1982); *Hrabanus Maurus: Profil eines europäischen Gelehrten. Beiträge zum Hrabanus-Jahr 2006*, ed. N. Kössinger (St Ottilien, 2008); and *Hrabanus Maurus in Fulda*, ed. M.-A. Aris and S. Bullido del Barrio (Frankfurt am Main, 2010), esp. pp. 25–32 [M.-A. Aris] and 33–53 [T. Kölzer].

217 See Parisot, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, p. 70 n. 4; Manitius, I, p. 292; and Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 95–97 with n. 51 (where it is noted that a Fulda charter dated 22 February 841 already omits the name of Hrabanus, which suggests that he had been removed from the abbacy by that date) and 172–173.

218 MGH, PLAC ii. 162 and CCCM 100, p. 9: 'It was once fitting for me to send to the holy martyrs [*scil.* SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius] this gift which I had composed in verse in former times. For I made, with my mind and my hand at once, a book in prose and verse in praise of the Cross of Christ'. The salutation of the poem reads: 'Dilectissimis in Christo fratribus in cenobio sancti Dionysii martyris constitutis Rabanus vilissimus servorum Dei aeternam in Domino optat salutem'. It is interesting to note that, among the manuscripts which belonged to Saint-Denis in the early ninth century is a copy of the *De laudibus S. Crucis*, now Paris, BNF, lat. 2422, written in western Germany (Mainz?) in the second quarter of the ninth century: see Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 4191, and Nebbiai-dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, p. 210.

219 PL cix. 9–280, with the dedication to Hilduin at col. 9: 'Domino reverendissimo et in

was restored to his abbacy and made archbishop of Mainz by Louis the German in 847, his perduring loyalty to Lothar is expressed in the epitaph which he composed on Lothar's death at Prüm on 29 September 855:

Continet hic tumulus memorandi Caesaris ossa
 Hlotharii magni, principis atque pii.
 Qui Francis, Italis, Romanis praefuit ipsis,
 omnia sed spreuit, pauper et hinc abiit.
 Nam bis tricenos monachus sic attigit annos,
 et se mutavit, ac bene post obiit.²²⁰

These are noble words, but omit to tell us that Lothar's career as a monk at Prüm lasted a mere six days.

Walahfrid Strabo (808/9–49), who had been abbot of Reichenau since 838, immediately declared his allegiance to Lothar, and during the winter of 840 was deposed from his abbacy by Louis the German (Reichenau lay east of the Rhine in the eastern kingdom);²²¹ but he was warmly received by Lothar and housed for the time being at Speyer, some fifteen miles south of Ludwigshafen. During the period of his exile from Reichenau, Walahfrid composed a long poem in praise of Lothar, lamenting his exile from Reichenau:

Spira, mihi ante alias praedulces dulcior urbes,
 Romuleae dicenda meo iam carmine sedi:
 nunc oblita mihi iam sunt Alamannica rura;

membris Christi plurimum venerando atque colendo, patri Hilduino abbati, et sacri palatii archicapellano, Hrabanus, exiguus servorum Dei servus, in Domino aeterno perpetuum salutem! The reference to Hilduin as *sacri palatii archicapellanus* fixes the date of the dedication to the period 825×830. Hrabanus subsequently (in 832) dedicated the same work to Louis the Pious: see M. de Jong, 'The Empire as *ecclesia*: Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical *historia* for Rulers', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 119–226, at 203–204.

220 MGH, PLAC ii. 241: 'This tomb contains the remains of the renowned emperor, great Lothar, a devout leader. He exercised control of the Franks, Italians and the Romans themselves; but he scorned all this, and came here [*scil.* to Prüm] as a pauper. As a monk he reached the age of twice-thirty years; and he changed his station, and afterwards died blessedly'. Texts pertaining to Lothar's death are calendared in BM² 1177b.

221 Ratpert, *Casus S. Galli*, c. 7 [18]: 'nec minus interea Hludowicus Alamanniam penetrans singula loca suae suorumque dicioni subiecit' (ed. H. Steiner, *Ratperti Casus S. Galli*, MGH, ss rer. Germ. 75 (Hannover, 2002), p. 186). On Walahfrid's deposition and reinstatement, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 170–171.

eligo planiciem Francorum, desero terras
 hostibus obsessas, video quas fraude diremptas
 partibus imperii.²²²

He then proceeds to ask Lothar's assistance in procuring his restoration to the abbacy:

Porrige, sancte, manum, Caesar, tua iura secutis,
 qui sua spreverunt pro te, tua munera tantis
 experiantur, uti sibi nil periisse querantur.
 Paupertas, maeror, luctus, angustia, terror,
 me fecere gravem versu depromere Musam.
 Si laeto fortuna mihi subriserit ore,
 tristia deponam dulcesque ciebo Camenas.²²³

In 842 Lothar was able to negotiate, with his younger brother Louis the German, Walahfrid's reinstatement as abbot of Reichenau.

Another important and accomplished poet who sided with Lothar after 840 was Wandelbert of Prüm (813–870), who is best known for his poetic *Martyrologium*, the most successful metrical calendar of the Latin Middle Ages.²²⁴ Although the poem had been requested by Wandelbert's friend Otric, a cleric at Cologne, and although he was aided in the task of composition by his colleague Florus of Lyon (on whom see below), when it was completed c. 848 Wandelbert sent it to Lothar, with the following inscription in adonics:

Tuque favendo
 Caesar adesto
 scepra parentum
 qui pietate,

²²² MGH, PLAC ii. 414: 'O Speyer, sweet to me before other sweet cities, you are to be praised in my poem to the Roman see. I have now forgotten the fields of Alamannia; I choose the flat plain of the Franks, I abandon lands infested with enemies, which I witness broken up by deceit into parts of a (former) empire'.

²²³ Ibid. p. 415: 'Holy emperor, extend your helping hand to those who have followed your laws, who scorned their own for you: let them experience bounty to such a degree that they will not lament having lost something. Poverty, sadness, lamentation, anguish, terror – (all these) made me express an unpleasant Muse in my verse. If fortune should smile on me with a happy face, I shall put aside the sad notes and shall call forth sweet poems'.

²²⁴ The *Martyrologium* is ed. MGH, PLAC ii. 578–603.

quique benigna
lege gubernas.²²⁵

When some years later (855) Lothar withdrew from the world on the eve of his death, it was in the monastery of Prüm that he ended his days.

Mention here should also be made of Florus (d. c. 860), deacon of Lyon, who was a close colleague of both Walahfrid and Wandelbert, and whose position at Lyon placed him within Lothar's kingdom.²²⁶ Although among his poetic works (which are mostly on biblical subjects) there is no poem dedicated specifically to Lothar, his sympathies for Lothar emerge from a long lament which he composed on the tripartition of the kingdom, and in particular on the defeat of Lothar's army at the battle of Fontenoy in 841, and its terrible aftermath:

Quod monstrum scimus bellum ferale secutum
quo se christicolae ferro petiere nefando
et consanguineus rupit pia foedera mucro
atque ferae volucresque simul pia membra vorarunt. ...
Quem regionum atrox vastatio, motio regum
et rabies belli et regni scissura secuta
continuis miserum quatiant terroribus orbem.²²⁷

In sum, following the death of his father in 840, Lothar's kingdom was home to some of the most important scholars of the day. It also became an attractive destination for scholars arriving from overseas, notably from Ireland.

Perhaps because his early training had been at the hands of an Irish master (Clemens Scottus), Lothar seems to have been very sympathetic to the many

225 MGH, PLAC ii. 575: 'May you, O Caesar, be present with your favours – (you) who with mercy and kindly laws wield the sceptres (inherited from) your kinsmen'. The date 848 is provided by the poem itself: Wandelbert refers to Lothar's coronation in Rome, which took place in 823 ('Aurea celso / vertice Roma / te decorando / nomine sanxit / Caesaris orbi ...'), and adds that, since that time, five *lustra* (= twenty-five years) have passed ('lustra per orbem / quinque recurrunt'), taking us to 848 (ibid. p. 576).

226 On Florus, see the important study by K. Zechiel-Eckes, *Florus von Lyon als Kirchenpolitiker und Publizist*; on his relationship with Lothar, see pp. 84–87 and 243–245.

227 MGH, PLAC ii. 562: 'We know that a savage war followed this monster, in which Christians attacked each other with unspeakable weaponry and the bloody sword broke apart sacred treaties, and wild beasts and carrion-birds devoured holy limbs ... The atrocious devastation of lands, the aggression of kings and the madness of war and the consequential partition of the realm shake this wretched world with unceasing terror'.

Irish exiles who left Ireland in the face of Viking activity and sought employment in the ecclesiastical centres of his kingdom. We know the names of a number of these Irish scholars from the famous 'Codex Boernerianus' (now Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, A 145b [s. ix^{2/4}]), a copy of the Greek text of the Pauline Epistles which was produced at St Gallen from a (lost) exemplar made in the circle of Sedulius Scottus, probably in Liège.²²⁸ The significant feature of the Dresden manuscript is that in its margins it carries the names of a number of Irish scholars and their patrons, and among these are the Irishmen Dubthach, Fergus and Comgen; the patrons of learning commemorated in the manuscript include Hartgar, bishop of Liège (840–854), Hilduin, archbishop-elect of Cologne (842–849), and his successor Gunthar (850–863).

When he arrived from Ireland in the early 840s, Sedulius Scottus was offered hospitality in the household of Bishop Hartgar of Liège. Liège at this time was part of the archdiocese of Cologne, and in one of his poems (*Carm.* lxxvi) Sedulius expresses his delight at the visit to Liège of Hilduin, the archbishop of Cologne:

Laetamur subito tranquilli mente serena
 dum tranquillus adest nobilitasque potens;
 glorificum nobis dominum lumenque coruscum:
 misit Hilduuinum dextra superna Dei ...
 Quem nobis Rhenus materque Colonia misit
 excipe praecelsum, limpida Mosa virum ...²²⁹

Sedulius then goes on to praise the great learning of Hilduin:

Ecclesiae decus est haec arbor et aurea lampas
 florens in Solimis gloria, Rhene, tuis.
 Rhene, tuis Solimis fama celebraris in orbe
 te magis Hilduui ni lux decoratne tui?

²²⁸ See Bischoff, *Katalog* no. 1040, and J.F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929), p. 559; ed. in facsimile by A. Reichardt, *Der Codex Boernerianus der Paulinischen Briefe* (Leipzig, 1909). In Bischoff's opinion, the manuscript was copied in the circle of the Irishman Marcellus/Moengal at St Gallen, by the same Irish hand that wrote St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 48.

²²⁹ MGH, PLAC iii. 226–227: 'Let us rejoice, suddenly made calm with serene hearts, since the man of peace in his mighty nobility is present: the heavenly right hand of God sent to us Hilduin, our glorious lord and our shining light ... Receive, clear Moselle, the distinguished man whom the Rhine and mother Cologne sent to us ...'.

Est sophus ille pater, sophian diligit ille,
 mentis et est sophicis praeditus ipse gazis.
 Potavit liquidos divini nectaris haustus
 fonteque de vitae sacra fluenta bibit.²³⁰

The multiple reference to the *sophia* of Hilduin (expressed by the polyptoton σοφός, σοφία, σοφικός) – which, coming from a Greek scholar of the standing of Sedulius Scottus, can only refer to Hilduin’s learning in Greek – proves conclusively that Hilduin, archbishop of Cologne, is identical with Hilduin, formerly abbot of Saint-Denis, whose prestige as a Greek scholar had been established by his translation of the Greek writings of the pseudo-Dionysius.²³¹

The final two lines of the quoted passage refer to another aspect of Hilduin’s talent, namely that he was also a poet: for that is the implication of the statement that he ‘drank liquid measures of divine nectar’, where references in Latin verse to ‘draughts of divine nectar’ allude unambiguously to the composition of poetry, as for example in the following passage from the *carmina* of Paulinus of Nola, where Paulinus is addressing his friend Jovius (*Carm.* xxii. 157–160):

tunc te diuinum uere memorabo poetam
 et quasi dulcis aquae potum tua carmina ducam,
 cum mihi nectareos summis a fontibus haustus
 praebebunt Dominum rerum recinentia Christum.²³²

The allusion must mean that Sedulius, writing at some point during the decade 848×858, already knew that Hilduin had a reputation as a poet; and this

230 Ibid. p. 227: ‘This tree and golden lamp is the glory of the Church, the glory flourishing, O Rhine, in your Jerusalem [i.e. Cologne]. O Rhine, are you celebrated in the world through your Jerusalem, or does the light of your Hilduin not adorn you more? That father is wise, he loves wisdom, his mind is endowed with treasures of learning. He drank in liquid draughts of divine nectar and he (now) drinks sacred streams from the fountain of life.’

231 See also Levillain, ‘Date et interpretation d’un poème de Sedulius Scottus’, pp. 209–210 (Levillain hesitates, for dubious reasons, to confirm the identification, although he admits its attractions; he inclines instead to identify the subject of the poem with Hilduin of Saint-Bertin, who became archbishop-designate of Cologne in 869 or 870); cf. also R. Düchting, *Sedulius Scottus: seine Dichtungen* (Munich, 1968), pp. 196–199.

232 CSEL xxx.193: ‘Then I shall truly commemorate you [*scil.* Jovius] as a divine poet, and I shall treat your poems as if they were a drink of sweet water when, as they sing Christ the Lord of creation, they offer me honied draughts from the depths of the fountain.’

implies, in turn, that the poetic version of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, or some part of it, was in existence by that date, given that we have no evidence whatsoever of any other poetic compositions by Hilduin.²³³

Evidence of a different sort helps to confirm that Hilduin was actively engaged in poetic composition during the 840s, namely the extent to which his poetic *Passio S. Dionysii* shares diction with that of other poets active at that time.²³⁴ We have already seen that four of the poets in question had allied themselves with Lothar after the death of Louis the Pious: Hrabanus Maurus, Walahfrid Strabo, Florus of Lyon and Sedulius Scottus. Furthermore, diction shared between Hilduin and two other poets active in the 840s – though they were not of Lothar's party – helps to date Hilduin's poem to that decade, namely Audrad 'Modicus' of Sens and Candidus Bruun of Fulda. Audrad had been trained at Tours and was appointed chorepiscopus of Sens in 847; and although we know from his *Liber revelationum* (composed at various times between 843 and 853) that he was a fervent supporter of Charles the Bald and *ipso facto* an opponent of Lothar's party,²³⁵ he was also a close friend of Hincmar: one of

233 It has recently been suggested that Sedulius Scottus, in his well-known poem on 'The Wether torn apart by Dogs' (*Carm.* xli: 'De quodam verbece a canibus discerpto', ed. Traube, MGH, PLAC iii. 204–207), was alluding to Hilduin's metrical *Passio S. Dionysii*, inasmuch as the gelded ram behaved like a saintly bishop – he wore a coarse wool shirt, did not ride a horse, ate grass and drank only water – but was nevertheless savaged and 'martyred' by a pack of dogs: see Taylor, 'Books, Bodies and Bones: Hilduin of St-Denis and the Relics of St Dionysius', p. 43, who argues that St Dionysius was the best-known martyr-bishop at the time Sedulius was writing, and may have been the implied subject of the poem. Taylor argues further that Sedulius was here alluding specifically to Hilduin's metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* (rather than to his more widely circulated prose version) in saying that the wether 'uttered the mystical words Báá and Béé' (line 116: 'Báá seu béé mystica verba dabat'), where the wether's words may suggest the Greek language (cf. *barbaros*), and the *mystica ... orsa* which Hilduin describes St Dionysius as uttering in the metrical *passio* (i. 587, iii. 77; and note that there is no correlate to the wording *mystica ... orsa* in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*).

234 For verbal parallels between Hilduin's poetic *Passio S. Dionysii* and other Carolingian poets of the time, see the commentary to the poetic *passio* below, pp. 527–608, *passim*, as well as discussion in ch. 6, below, pp. 149–188.

235 The fragmentary remains of Audrad's *Liber revelationum* are ed. L. Traube, *O Roma nobilis. Philologische Untersuchungen aus dem Mittelalter*, Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 19/2 (Munich, 1891), pp. 374–391; Audrad's third vision (fragm. xi: ed. Traube, pp. 383–389) concerns the tripartition of the empire; in it, the visionary sees Louis the Pious in conversation with the Lord Jesus, to whom he explains that he thought that his son Lothar would be obedient to Christ and His church, and therefore appointed him as his successor ('constitui illum loco meo ad regendum pop-

his most extensive poems, the *Liber de fonte vitae*,²³⁶ composed shortly before 845, is cast as a dialogue between Hincmar and Audrad. It may be assumed that Hilduin became familiar with Audrad's Latin poetry through the mediation of their mutual colleague Hincmar. He seems similarly to have been familiar with the poetry of Candidus of Fulda, particularly his *Vita Aegili*, a life of Egil, abbot of Fulda (818–822), composed 840×842.²³⁷ Egil was the predecessor of Hrabanus Maurus as abbot of Fulda, and the *Vita Aegili* was commissioned from Candidus by Hrabanus himself. It was presumably through Hrabanus, therefore, that Hilduin became familiar with this poem. In any case, the fact that Hilduin was familiar with the diction of the poems of Audrad and Candidus, as well as with that of the other poets who had allied themselves with Lothar, points suggestively to the decade of the 840s as the period when Hilduin composed his poetic *Passio S. Dionysii*, and hints intriguingly at the activity of a small circle of poets discussing and reading their compositions to each other, under the patronage of Hilduin himself.

By this stage of his career, Hilduin was no longer young; on the assumption that he was born c. 785, he will have been about 75 years old in 860. We do not know precisely when he died. From various obituaries we know the *day* of his death – 22 November – but not the year.²³⁸ The last recorded *actum* which he oversaw as Lothar's archchancellor (*summus notarius*) is dated 19 September 855.²³⁹ A charter of Charles the Bald pertaining to Saint-Denis and dated 19 September 862 refers to 'refectiones item annales quas de rebus thesauri bonae memoriae Hilduinus abbas ordinavit', which makes it clear that Hilduin was dead by 862;²⁴⁰ and this date is confirmed by the *Miracula S. Philiberti* composed by Ermentarius of Saint-Dié (in the Vosges): book 1 [BHL 6807],

ulum tuum'); but when Louis saw that Lothar had risen up in vainglory against Jesus, he removed him ('postea videns eum in superbia contra te erectum et nolle adquiescere ut secundum te gubernaret plebem tuam, submovi eum') and appointed his younger son Charles in his place; etc. It will be seen from even this brief and tendentious excerpt that Audrad had no sympathy with Lothar and his followers.

236 Ed. Traube, MGH, PLAC iii. 73–84.

237 Ed. Dümmler, MGH, PLAC ii. 96–117. That the poem was composed before 841 is clear from the fact that Hrabanus is described as abbot of Fulda: and we know that he was dismissed from the abbacy in February 841 and allied himself with Lothar until such time as, with Lothar's help, he could be restored to the abbacy of Fulda (see above, n. 217).

238 See Longnon, *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, p. 279, with discussion by Levillain, 'Wandelbert de Prüm', pp. 24–32.

239 BM² 1173.

240 Ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. lxi–lxxii [no. XCIII], at p. lxxi; ed. Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, p. 116 [no. 186].

composed before 840, is dedicated to Hilduin; but in the preface to book II [BHL 6809], composed c. 862, he states that it will not be dedicated to Hilduin, since he has died 'some time ago' ('neque vero Hilduino, qui dudum obiit, sicut pollicitus fueram, sed cuilibet scire cupienti ista scribuntur').²⁴¹ It is notoriously difficult to assign a precise period of time to the adverb *dudum*, but the implication is that, by 862, Hilduin had been dead for some time. Possibly, therefore, his date of death is to be placed c. 860, perhaps even earlier; in any case it occurred during the period 855 × 862. Nor do we know where he died. But we know that his life-long patron Lothar had retired to the monastery of Prüm shortly before he died in 855. It may therefore be significant that in a copy of Wandelbert of Prüm's *Martyrologium* the following obituary record of Hilduin has been interpolated against 22 November:

Ecclesiae regnique decus lux aurea plebis
catholici munimen, munimen ⟨necnon⟩ forma cleri:
Hilduine tum migrans plangentes linquis alumnos.²⁴²

If these lines were entered at Prüm, it may be that Hilduin had followed the example of his patron by retiring to Prüm and dying there some time later.

The Latin Writings of Hilduin

I conclude this chapter on Hilduin's career by providing a brief synopsis of his Latin writings.

827 × 834: the Latin translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. The outer dates for this work of translation are fixed by the fact that the copy of the *Corpus* (now Paris, BNF, grec 437) on which Hilduin based his translation and which was presented to Louis the Pious by the Greek ambassadors at Compiègne in September 827, was entrusted to Hilduin on the feast of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius (9 October) of that year. When Louis wrote to Hilduin to commission a new *passio* of these saints following his restoration in 834 (1 March), he requested that alongside the new work Hilduin include in a separate volume, 'separately and in their entirety', whatever writings of St

²⁴¹ MGH, SS xv/1. 301.

²⁴² MGH, PLAC ii. 599 *ad calc.* The second line as transmitted is a foot short. I have supplied *necnon* to restore the metre; but the line, with its repetition of *munimen* is suspicious in other ways, and is probably corrupt.

Dionysius had been brought to light (*Ep.* 1, c. 3: below, p. 196): which implies that Hilduin must have completed his translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* by 834.

832: in order to facilitate the reformation of Saint-Denis as a Benedictine monastery, provision had to be made for the maintenance of the new monks; to this end, the *Constitutio de partitione bonorum monasterii Sancti Dionysii* (dated 22 January 832) was drawn up, specifying which Saint-Denis estates were to provide the annual food-renders for the monks' maintenance. It is reasonable to suppose that Hilduin was responsible for drafting this document (and he may also have been involved in the drafting of the charter of Louis the Pious (dated 26 August 832) in which the emperor ratified the provisions specified in the *Constitutio de partitione*). Later in the year (or perhaps in 833), Hilduin composed a letter addressed to future abbots and monks of Saint-Denis describing the construction of the new subterranean chapel which he had added to the existing ring-crypt.

834×835: Hilduin's lengthy reply (*rescriptum*) to the letter of Louis the Pious commissioning a new *passio* of St Dionysius (*Ep.* 1), printed below as *Ep.* 11 (below, pp. 200–221).

834×840: the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. It is reasonable to assume that Hilduin began work on the prose *passio* soon after receiving the commission from the emperor; but there is no way of knowing precisely when it was completed (the earliest surviving manuscript dates from several decades after 834), or indeed whether it was completed and presented to the emperor before the emperor's death on 20 June 840. But on the (reasonable but unprovable) assumption that the work was received by the emperor before his death, 840 is generally taken as the *terminus ante quem* for its completion. Hilduin's 'General Letter to all Faithful Christians concerning St Dionysius', printed below as *Ep.* 111 (below, pp. 222–227), which some scholars have understood as Hilduin's preface to the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, was presumably completed at more or less the same time as the *passio* itself.

840×850 (?): because the poetic *Passio S. Dionysii* shares many features of its diction with the works of Latin poets whom we know to have been active in the early 840s and who in many cases were associated, like Hilduin, with Lothar, it is reasonable to suppose that the poetic *passio* was composed during this decade; it was apparently either complete, or well advanced, by the time that Sedulius Scottus arrived in Lothar's kingdom during the decade 848×858, for in a poem dedicated to Hilduin Sedulius referred fulsomely to Hilduin's poetic talents.

840×855: in a twelfth-century manuscript now in Rouen (BM 1391 [U. 39]) there is an unprinted *Passio SS. Cornelii papae et Cypriani*, which is a reworking of two earlier *passiones* of Cornelius and Cyprian (*BHL* 1962a and 2042, respectively); the preface of this work states explicitly that the work was commissioned from Hilduin by the Emperor Lothar: ‘Historia Cornelii papae cum passione quam, iubente serenissimo augusto Lothario, Hilduinus archicancellarius de diuersis opusculis sancti Cypriani episcopi et martyris aliisque auctoritatibus gestorum collegit et adunauit; in cuius calce passio sancti Cypriani continetur’.²⁴³ An edition of this work by François Dolbeau is in progress.

In addition to these writings, which are certainly by Hilduin, various other works have been attributed to him, and his involvement has been suspected in others, such as the *Libellus synodalis* of the Parisian synod on image-worship (825).²⁴⁴ The most significant work attributed to Hilduin is probably the annals for the years 819–829 (i.e. the period during which Hilduin was Louis’ archchaplain) in the *Annales regni Francorum*. The annal for 826 contains a lengthy account of Hilduin’s involvement in the acquisition of the relics of St Sebastian for Saint-Médard in Soissons, and this account has led commentators to attribute the annal-entries for these years to Hilduin himself;²⁴⁵ but the attribution cannot be proved.

243 Dolbeau, ‘Les hagiographes au travail: Collecte et traitement des documents écrits (IXe–XIIe siècles)’, pp. 51–52: ‘The history of Pope Cornelius together with his *passio* which, at the request of Lothar, the serene emperor, Archchancellor Hilduin collected and combined from various works of St Cyprian, bishop and martyr; at the end of this work the *Passio S. Cypriani* is included.’ Dolbeau lists five further manuscript which preserve Hilduin’s *Passio SS. Cornelii et Cypriani*.

244 See above, p. 33, with nn. 131–132.

245 See G. Monod, ‘Hilduin et les “Annales Einhardi”’, in *Mélanges Julien Havet. Recueil de travaux d’érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853–1893)* (Paris, 1895), pp. 57–65; idem, *Études critiques sur les sources de l’histoire carolingienne* (Paris, 1898), pp. 136–142; F. Kurze, ‘Über die karolingischen Reichsannalen von 741–829 und ihre Überarbeitung’, 3. Die zweite Hälfte und ihre Überarbeitung’, *Neues Archiv* 21 (1896), 9–82, at 58–61; and Kurze (ed.), *Annales regni Francorum*, p. 154 *ad calc.* (‘Abhinc [*scil.* ab anno 820] annales alii auctori videntur deberi, quem Hilduinum fuisse suspicor’); and cf. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 6 (‘the composition of these annals in the royal chapel is almost a certainty’); see also (more recently) Heinzelmann, ‘Einhard’s “Translatio Marcellini et Petri”: Eine hagiographische Reformschrift von 830’, pp. 270–271, and de Jong, *The Penitential State*, p. 66 with n. 29.

Hilduin's Translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*

The *Corpus Dionysiacum* is a collection of Greek treatises which expound a system of mystical theology that proved to be hugely influential both in the Greek East and Latin West during the millennium 500–1500 A.D. and beyond. The treatises in question are: *De caelesti hierarchia* [CPG 6600], *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* [CPG 6601], *De diuinis nominibus* [CPG 6602], *De mystica theologia* [CPG 6603], and ten *Epistulae* [CPG 6604–6613].¹ The treatises purport to be the work of one Dionysius, who identifies himself as Dionysius the Areopagite, who according to the biblical Acts of the Apostles (Act. xvii. 34) was converted to Christianity at Athens by the preaching of St Paul; many references in the corpus to other apostles such as Bartholomew, as well as to figures of the early church such as Polycarp of Smyrna, plus the fact that one of the *Epistulae* is addressed to John the Evangelist during his exile on Patmos, are intended to confirm this identification. The identification was long accepted, but by the late nineteenth century scholars such as Hugo Koch and Josef Stiglmayr had demonstrated conclusively that the entire orientation of the author's theology was Neoplatonic, and was indebted in particular to the teaching of Proclus (d. 485) especially on matters such as the insubstantial nature of evil.² From

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- 1 The standard edition, based on full collation of the many surviving manuscripts, is *Corpus Dionysiacum*, ed. B.R. Suchla, G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, 2 vols. (Berlin and New York, 1990–1991) [here abbreviated as *CD* I, 11]. The *Corpus Dionysiacum* was also reprinted, from the seventeenth-century edition of Balthasar Cordier (1634), in *PG* iii. 110–1120. There is an excellent English translation by C. Luibheid, with the collaboration of P. Rorem: *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (New York, 1987), as well as valuable commentary on the individual works by P. Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to their Influence* (Oxford, 1993).
 - 2 H. Koch, 'Proklus als Quelle des Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre vom Böse', *Philologus* 54 (1895), 438–454; and idem, *Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita in seinen Beziehungen zum Neoplatonismus und Mysterienwesen: Eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung* (Mainz, 1900), esp. pp. 63–91; and J. Stiglmayr, 'Der Neuplatoniker Proklus als Vorlage des sogen. Dionysius Areopagita in der Lehre vom Übel', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1895), 253–273, 721–748. For more recent discussion of the debts of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* to Proclus, see Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius*, pp. 13–21; H.D. Saffrey, 'New Objective Links between the pseudo-Dionysius and Proclus', in *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. D.J. O'Meara (Albany, NY, 1982), pp. 64–74; and Wear and Dillon, *Dionysius the Areopagite and the Neoplatonist Tradition*, esp. pp. 75–84.

that time onwards, the author of the *Corpus Dionysiicum* has been referred to as the 'pseudo-Dionysius'. Inevitably, as scholars explored the author's debts to earlier Neoplatonists such as Proclus, and demonstrated similarities to the liturgy as described by certain Syrian Church Fathers, particularly those from the circle of Severus of Antioch (d. 538), attempts were made to identify the anonymous author who had attempted to pass himself off as Dionysius the Areopagite. Proposed identifications have included Severus of Antioch himself;³ but perhaps the most convincing argument has been made in favour of Damascius (d. after 538), a Syrian who was head of the Platonic Academy in Athens during the 520s, in the decade before the Academy was suppressed by the Emperor Justinian in 529.⁴ But however plausible such identifications might seem on the face of it, they lack ultimate proof, and the most that can safely be said is that the *Corpus Dionysiicum* was composed in the years around 520 A.D. by an anonymous author who was equally familiar with Neoplatonic thought and the liturgy of the Syrian churches.

The system of mystical theology expounded in the *Corpus Dionysiicum* is immensely difficult to understand, and was obviously designed by its author to be so.⁵ This is obviously not the place to attempt a new exposition of the Dionysian system; a brief summary of its most striking features must suffice.⁶

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- 3 On Severus, see *ODB* III, pp. 1884–1885, and J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain, 1909). For the suggested identification with the pseudo-Dionysius, see J. Stiglmayr, 'Der sogenannte Dionysius Areopagita und Severus von Antiochien', *Scholastik* 3 (1928), 1–27, 161–189. But Stiglmayr's arguments were rejected by the leading student of Severus, Joseph Lebon: 'Le pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite et Sévère d'Antioche', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 26 (1930), 880–915.
 - 4 On Damascius, see *ODB* I, pp. 580–581, and esp. S. Ahbel-Rappe, *Damascius: Problems and Solutions Concerning First Principles* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 3–61. The identification with Damascius was first argued in detail by Ronald Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order in the Letters of Pseudo-Dionysius*, pp. 21–29, and more recently by C.M. Mazzucchi, 'Damascio, autore del "Corpus Dionysiicum" e il dialogo Περὶ πολιτικῆς ἐπιστήμης', *Aevum* 80 (2006), 299–344.
 - 5 There is a concise and brilliantly clear exposition of the system by Andrew Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (London, 1989); and see also the earlier, equally clear, exposition by René Roques, *L'univers dionysien. Structures hiérarchiques du monde selon le pseudo-Denys* (Paris, 1954).
 - 6 The reader wishing to acquire knowledge of the theology of the pseudo-Dionysius would be well advised to follow the advice of Paul Rorem, and begin with the ten *Epistulae* and the brief treatise *De mystica theologia*, leaving the two 'hierarchies' (*De caelesti hierarchia*, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*) and the treatise on the names of the godhead (*De diuinis nominibus*) until some familiarity with the author's characteristic language and symbolism has been acquired: see Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts*, pp. 3–24 and 183–236.

The first point to be made is that pseudo-Dionysian theology is deeply indebted to Neoplatonic thought and language, a feature which is seen, for example, in the many allusions to Plato (never, however, direct quotations) and the elaboration of a system of triads which is an organising feature of the entire *Corpus Dionysiacum*.⁷ The essence of the system is the ascent in understanding and knowledge from the multiplicity and knowability of created things to the unity and unknowability of the One Who is God; or, understood from a different perspective, the descent from the unknowable One to the knowable Many. These movements are understood through two complementary theologies: cataphatic theology, or the procession from the One to the Many; and apophatic theology, the movement from the multiplicity of the Many to the divine One, the ‘darkness beyond understanding’. Ascent to the One is achieved through a triad of three stages: purification (κάθαρσις), illumination (φωτισμός) and union (ἔνωσις). Separating the One from the Many are three celestial ‘hierarchies’ – ‘hierarchy’ (ἱεραρχία) is a term which was apparently coined by the pseudo-Dionysius – distinguished as three triads: Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones; Dominions, Powers and Authorities; and Principalities, Archangels and Angels. Corresponding to these celestial hierarchies are the earthly or ecclesiastical hierarchies, consisting of three orders of clergy (bishops; priests; deacons) and three orders of laity (monks; the Christian people in general; and those awaiting initiation, such as penitents and catechumens). The triadic ascension of purification – illumination – union is effected through three sacraments: Baptism; the Eucharist; and the sacrament of Oil (μύρον); the three orders of clergy administer these sacraments and in addition perform three liturgical rites: those of ordination, monastic consecration, and burial. It will be clear that the principal aim of the theology of the pseudo-Dionysius is to provide a context for understanding the role of the Christian liturgy within the framework of a Christian universe.⁸

Although there are many features of the pseudo-Dionysian writings which are doubtfully orthodox, not least their pretension to be a work of the Apos-

7 The debts of the pseudo-Dionysius to Neoplatonism are the object of the following studies (in addition to those cited above in n. 2): Hathaway, *Hierarchy and the Definition of Order*; Sheldon-Williams, ‘The pseudo-Dionysius’; Gersh, *From Iamblicus to Eriugena*; and Wear and Dillon, *Dionysius the Areopagite*. Of these studies, that by Wear and Dillon is the most accessible, and the most helpful for the neophyte; some, such as Sheldon-Williams and Gersh, are nearly impenetrable. The field of Neoplatonic studies is not one which admits of easy access.

8 See Louth, *Denys the Areopagite*, pp. 52–77, and the important study by Paul Rorem, *Biblical and Liturgical Symbols within the Pseudo-Dionysian Synthesis* (Toronto, 1984).

toloc Age, they were accepted into the body of orthodox patristic literature very soon after their composition. In the earlier sixth century, the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was occasionally quoted by Monophysite theologians in Christological controversies with the Chalcedonians, for example by Severus of Antioch in his treatise *Contra additiones Iuliani* [CPG 7029], datable to the decade 518×528, and in the so-called *Collatio cum Severianis*, an account of a meeting convened in Constantinople in 532 by the Emperor Justinian in the attempt to reach a compromise between Monophysites and Chalcedonians.⁹ However the first extensive attention devoted to the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was in the *scholia* on that work composed between 537 and 543 by John of Scythopolis [CPG 6852].¹⁰ A century or so later Maximus the Confessor (580–662) incorporated John's *scholia* into his own commentary on the *Corpus Dionysiacum* [CPG 7708]. From that point onwards, the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius became a standard part of the Greek patristic inheritance.¹¹

Awareness of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* in the Latin West came at a later stage.¹² Gregory the Great, who had lived in Constantinople for some six years (579–585/6) as *apocrisarius* (papal legate) and through his intellectual contacts there had evidently become aware of the pseudo-Dionysius, referred at

9 See Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus*, pp. 11–21.

10 John's *scholia* are reprinted (from the edition of Balthasar Cordier of 1634) in PG iv. 15–432 and 527–576; however, John's comments are there conflated with the later commentary on the *Corpus Dionysiacum* by Maximus the Confessor, and have only been identified and extricated from the later corpus by the efforts of modern scholars, notably H.U. von Balthasar, 'Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis', *Scholastik* 15 (1940), 16–38, and more recently by Beate Regina Suchla, in a series of articles printed in the *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*: 'Die sogenannten Maximus-Scholien des Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum' *ibid.* (1980) pt. 3, pp. 31–66; 'Die Überlieferung des Prologs des Johannes von Skythopolis zum griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum', *ibid.* (1984), pt. 4, pp. 176–188; and 'Eine Redaktion des griechischen Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum im Umkreis des Johannes von Skythopolis, des Verfassers von Prolog und Scholien', *ibid.* (1985), pt. 4, pp. 177–193. Beate Suchla has a new edition of the *scholia* in hand; in the meantime, one consults the indispensable English translation by Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus*; on John's life and works, and the sources of the *scholia*, see pp. 23–65.

11 There is a concise account of the influence of the pseudo-Dionysius on later Byzantine theology by Louth, *Denys the Areopagite*, pp. 113–120.

12 There is a valuable survey of western knowledge of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* by Paul Lehmann, 'Zur Kenntnis der Schriften des Dionysius Areopagita im Mittelalter', *RB* 35 (1923), 81–97 [repr. in his *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1941–1962), IV, pp. 128–141].

one point of his *Homiliae in Euangelia* [CPL 1711] to the opinion of pseudo-Dionysius on the orders of angels;¹³ but the reference is not precise enough to indicate first-hand knowledge of the Greek text (Gregory himself often professed his ignorance of Greek), and there is no reason to think that he had a text of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* before him while composing his homilies in Rome. Half a century later, in October 649, Pope Martin I convened a synod at the Lateran Palace to discuss and refute the imperial doctrine of ‘one will in Christ’ (monotheletism); in order to buttress arguments against monotheletism, the *acta* of the synod included a dossier of 161 patristic quotations drawn from some eighty-seven works in Greek and Latin.¹⁴ Among the works cited are two from the *Corpus Dionysiacum*: the treatise *De diuinis nominibus* and *Ep. iv [ad Gaium]*. In compiling their dossier of Greek quotations, the bishops assembled at the Lateran Synod drew on the expertise of Greek monks then living in Rome, among them none other than Maximus the Confessor who, as we have seen, compiled a commentary on the *Corpus Dionysiacum* drawing on the earlier *scholia* of John of Scythopolis (whose writings are also, by the way, laid under contribution by the compilers of the Lateran dossier). It is reasonable to think that the quotations from the pseudo-Dionysius found their way into the dossier through the agency of Maximus the Confessor. Another Greek monk then living in Rome, Theodore, is also acknowledged as having contributed to the dossier. This Theodore, who was subsequently sent to England by a later pope and became archbishop of Canterbury (668–690), had studied in Constantinople before travelling to Rome, and had probably known Maximus both there and in Rome.¹⁵ In any case, the *Iudicia* of Theodore, a penitential text composed (or rather dictated) by the archbishop at some point during

13 *Hom. in Euang.* xxxiv. 12: ‘Fertur uero Dionysius Areopagita, antiquus scilicet et uenerabilis pater, dicere quod ex minoribus angelorum agminibus foris ad explendum ministerium uel uisibiliter uel inuisibiliter mittuntur, scilicet quia ad humana solacia aut angeli aut archangeli ueniunt’ (CCSL cxli. 312). Gregory’s subsequent discussion refers more specifically to *De caelesti hierarchia*, c. xiii (to the effect that Isaiah was visited by the Seraphim, not by one of the lesser orders of angels); see Louth, *Denys the Areopagite*, p. 121.

14 See CPG 9402; the *testimonia* are ed. R. Riedinger, *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* 2nd ser. 1 (Berlin, 1984), pp. 258–335, with excerpts from the *Corpus Dionysiacum* at p. 303 (*De diuinis nominibus* ii. 6, and *Ep. iv [ad Gaium]*), trans. R. Price, *The Acts of the Lateran Synod of 649* (Liverpool, 2014), p. 336; and cf. p. 216, where Pope Martin, the convenor of the synod, is reported as having said, ‘May those who are assisting the proceedings bring the book of Saint Dionysius bishop of Athens.’

15 For the involvement of Maximus and Theodore in the compilation of the dossier, see B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 74–81.

his archiepiscopate in England, contain a verbatim quotation from the *Corpus Dionysiacum* – the earliest evidence of knowledge of the corpus in Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁶ Theodore's quotation need not imply that the Greek text of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was available in late seventh-century England; it is more likely that Theodore was quoting by memory from a text which he had read years earlier in Constantinople.

Knowledge of the entire *Corpus Dionysiacum* in the Latin West dates only from 827, in which year an embassy from the Byzantine emperor, Michael II 'the Stammerer' (820–829)¹⁷ was received by Louis the Pious at Compiègne;¹⁸ on this occasion, the Byzantine ambassadors presented to the Frankish emperor a copy of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* which had apparently been written somewhat hastily at Constantinople in order to provide a suitable diplomatic gift. It is not known precisely why a copy of the pseudo-Dionysius should have been thought a suitable diplomatic gift, but the background of exchanges during the 820s between the Frankish and Byzantine emperors helps to illuminate the context, as we have seen in ch. 1 (above, pp. 32–35).¹⁹ It was probably these diplomatic exchanges which suggested to the advisers of Michael 'the Stammerer' that a copy of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* would be a fitting gift to the Frankish king;²⁰ and scribes were commissioned to prepare a copy which could be taken to France in a proximate diplomatic mission. This, presumably, is the political background of the gift of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* to Louis at Compiègne in 827.

16 *Iudicia* ii. 5, 8, ed. P. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929), p. 319: 'Dionisius Ariopagita dicit blasphemias deo facere qui missas offert pro malo homine'. The reference is clearly to *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* vii. 6–7 (*CD* II, pp. 126–129).

17 On Michael II 'the Stammerer', see *ODB* II, p. 1363, and W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, CA, 1988), pp. 223–262.

18 The reception of the embassy is recorded in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 827: 'Legati Michahelis imperatoris de Constantinopoli ad imperatorem quasi propter foedus confirmandum missi Septembrio mense Compendium venerunt; quos ille ibi benigne receptos et audivit et absolvit' (ed. Kurze, p. 174; trans. Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles*, p. 122: 'Envoys of Emperor Michael were sent from Constantinople to the emperor to ratify their treaty. They arrived at Compiègne in September. The emperor received them graciously and heard and dismissed them').

19 On the context, see Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 163–165, and Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842–844', pp. 118–119 [repr. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, p. 168], and idem, 'Sachsen und Byzanz', pp. 10–11 [repr. *Abendland und Byzanz*, pp. 517–519].

20 Cf. discussion by Luscombe, 'The Reception of the Writings of Denis', pp. 116–117.

By a fortunate chance, the very copy presented by the Byzantine ambassadors to Louis survives in Paris, BNF, grec 437 (Constantinople, s. ix^{1/4}).²¹ This is the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*; but although it is attractively written in Greek uncials, it was evidently copied in haste, and the quality of its text is vitiated by large numbers of lacunae and other careless copying errors.²² Nevertheless, this lacunose text served as the basis for the translations of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* made by Hilduin and, after him, by John Scottus Eriugena.

In any event, we know from the letter of Hilduin to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* 11) that the copy of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was entrusted at once to Hilduin:

Autenticos namque eosdem libros, Graeca lingua conscriptos, quando echonomus ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione publica ad uestram gloriam Compendio functi sunt, in ipsa uigilia sollempnitatis sancti Dionysii pro munere magno suscepimus.²³

Louis the Pious had commanded (*Ep.* 1) that the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius be translated into Latin through the efforts of Hilduin and a team of translators (*interpretes*):

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- 21 On the manuscript, see Omont, 'Manuscrit des oeuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite', pp. 230–236; for a detailed description of its contents, see Théry, 'Recherches pour une édition grecque historique du pseudo-Denys', pp. 362–366, and discussion of its importance as a witness to Carolingian culture at pp. 388–413. The text of BNF grec 437 is printed, in an attractive uncial font, by Chevallier, *Dionysiaca*, as his text (β).
- 22 On the script, see Irigoin, 'Les manuscrits grecs de Denys l'Aréopagite en Occident', pp. 21–22. The numerous lacunae in the manuscript are meticulously listed by Théry, II, pp. 381–391, and are readily seen by comparing the Greek texts printed in parallel by Chevallier, *Dionysiaca*. Although BNF grec 437 is the earliest surviving witness to the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, the lacunose nature of its text makes it a witness of little merit, as may be seen from its numerous variants recorded in the apparatus criticus in *CD* (and conveniently listed by Théry, II, pp. 361–377), and from the low position which it occupies in the manuscript tradition (see the *stemma codicum* in *CD*, I, pp. 8–9 and 88–89); Suchla describes the manuscript as an 'Eilenabschrift minderer Qualität' (*ibid.* p. 52).
- 23 *Ep.* II. 4: 'For when the steward of the church of Constantinople, and other emissaries of the emperor Michael II, performed – to your great glory – their public visitation at Compiègne, I took delivery of a great treasure, a copy of his [i.e. Dionysius's] genuine writings, written in Greek, on the very vigil of the feast of St Dionysius [i.e. on 8 Oct. 827]' (below, p. 206). The 'steward of the church of Constantinople' was Theodore Krithinos; see above, p. 33 n. 127.

Idcirco, uenerabilis custos ac cultor ipsius prouisoris et adiutoris nostri, domni Dionysii, monere te uolumus ut quicquid de eius notitia ex Graecorum historiis per interpretationem sumptum, uel quod ex libris ab eo patrio sermone conscriptis et auctoritatis nostrae iussione ac tuo sagaci studio interpretumque sudore in nostram linguam explicatis ...²⁴

These two passages imply that Hilduin and his *interpretes* set to work translating the *Corpus Dionysiacum* into Latin in October 827, or very soon afterwards. Who the *interpretes* were, is unknown: but the assumption must be that they were native speakers of Greek. On the basis of mistakes in Hilduin's translation which can be explained as mishearings of Greek pronunciation, Gabriel Théry conjectured that at least three *interpretes* were involved: a reader; a translator translating into Latin as the Greek was read out to him; and a copyist who transcribed the Latin translation as it was produced by the translator.²⁵ Other scholars have subsequently suggested that this scenario is unduly complicated, and that the work might simply have been done by a translator producing a copy-text, which was then annotated and corrected by a second person.²⁶ Against this simpler hypothesis, however, is the fact that Louis the Pious spoke of *interpretes* in the plural. For us the interesting, but unanswerable, question is: what precise role did Hilduin himself play in the production of the translation?

As we have seen, Louis the Pious, in commissioning from Hilduin a life of St Dionysius, requested that he include excerpts 'from books written by him in his native language and translated into Latin at my command'; and Hilduin's eventual *Passio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2175] did indeed include extensive excerpts

24 *Ep.* 1. 3: 'I therefore wish to urge you (Hilduin), the venerable custodian and worshipper of St Dionysius, our provider and helper, that whatever concerning information about him is suitable to be introduced into this undertaking [*scil.* the composition of the *Passio S. Dionysii*], whether taken from the histories of the Greeks through translation, or from books written by him in his native language and translated into our language [Latin] at my command, through your learned scholarship and the efforts of translators ...' (below, p. 196).

25 Théry, I, p. 137: '... l'analyse nous a conduit à noter ... l'activité personnelle d'un lecteur, celle d'un interprète traduisant en latin, au fur et à mesure, le grec qu'on lui lisait. A côté du lecteur and du traducteur, il nous semble découvrir à quelques indices la présence d'un troisième personnage: un copiste dont l'office propre consistait à transcrire la traduction qu'élaborait l'interprète'. In this scenario, the 'translator' (*traducteur*) was presumably Hilduin himself.

26 See Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur*, pp. 183–184; and cf. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, pp. 144–145.

of translated passages from the *Corpus Dionysiicum*: capitula from *De caelesti hierarchia* (c. 9), capitula from *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (c. 10), and capitula from *De diuinis nominibus* (c. 11), in addition to lengthy excerpts from *Ep.* VII to Demophilus (c. 15) and from *Ep.* X to John the Evangelist (c. 16). These extensive excerpts, in combination with the capitula, enabled Gabriel Théry, in a brilliant piece of detective work, to identify Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiicum* in two surviving manuscripts:²⁷ in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert I, 903 [756–757] (s. xv [c. 1436]), fols. 12–138, he identified copies of *De caelesti hierarchia* (fols. 12^v–67^r) and *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (fols. 69^r–138^r);²⁸ then, more importantly, a manuscript in Paris, BNF, lat. 15645 (s. xii), fols. 38^r–105^v, was found to contain the entire *Corpus Dionysiicum*.²⁹ Théry subsequently identified a further manuscript of portions of the *Corpus Dionysiicum* in Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, 27 (32) (Saint-Bertin, s. xiii), containing only the ten genuine *Epistulae* (fols. 76^v–85^v).³⁰ In the first volume of his *Études dionysiennes* (1932) Théry announced a forthcoming edition of Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiicum*; in the event, the edition, which constitutes vol. II of that work, did not appear until late in 1937. Earlier in that same year, Philippe Chevallier published the first volume of his massive synoptic edition of Greek and Latin versions of the *Corpus Dionysiicum*.³¹ He based his text of Hilduin's translation, which is printed against the letter (H), solely on the copy of the *Corpus* in Paris, BNF lat. 15645 (which he knew about through Théry's pioneering article of 1925). Accordingly, the first volume of Chevallier's *Dionysiaca* contains the first editions of *De diuinis nominibus* and *De theologia mystica*, together with the first nine *Epistulae*, all based on Paris, BNF lat.

27 G. Théry, 'Le texte intégrale de la traduction du pseudo-Denys par Hilduin', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 21 (1925), 33–50 [the Brussels manuscript, pp. 43–50] and 197–214 [the Paris manuscript]. See also Théry's subsequent discussion of the attribution to Hilduin of the translation in BNF lat. 15645 in Théry, I, pp. 23–36 *et passim*.

28 Théry, I, pp. 37–45.

29 On BNF lat. 15645, see Théry, I, pp. 45–54, where Théry quotes passages from Hilduin's translation of pseudo-Dionysius *Epp.* VII and X alongside the corresponding passages in his *Passio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2175].

30 Théry, I, pp. 54–62. The manuscript in fact contains Latin translations of the entire *Corpus Dionysiicum*; but those of *De caelestia hierarchia*, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, *De diuinis nominibus* and *De theologia mystica* on fols. 1^r–76^v are from the translation by John Scotus Eriugena. Only the translations of the ten *Epistulae*, on fols. 76^v–85^v, are by Hilduin, which Théry demonstrates by quoting the corresponding passages from Paris, BNF, lat. 15645 (pp. 59–61).

31 P. Chevallier, *Dionysiaca. Recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'aréopage*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937–1950).

15645.³² Vol. II of Théry's *Études dionysiennes*, which came out after the first volume of Chevallier's *Dionysiaca* in 1937, contained the first complete edition of Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, based on the three manuscripts known to Théry (Paris, BNF lat. 15645, which served as his copy text, with collations of Brussels 903 [756–757] and Boulogne, BM 27). Vol. II of Chevallier's *Dionysiaca*, published in 1950, contained editions of the remaining texts of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (*De caelesti hierarchia* and *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, with *Ep. X*), still based solely on BNF lat. 15645.

Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* is at best difficult to understand, at worst simply incomprehensible. Andrew Louth has aptly characterized it as follows: 'Hilduin made a translation so bad as to be unintelligible'.³³ Even a brief quotation will illustrate the nature of the difficulties. I quote a passage from c. iv of *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (c. 3 of the *Theoria* subsection), where the pseudo-Dionysius is discussing the liturgical rite of consecration:

Est ergo, ut dixi, que nunc ymnificatur a nobis sacra perfectoperacio perfectalis, ierarcharum ordinis et virtutis. Ideo et istam divini preceptores nostri, sicut uniordinem et ipsoperam collacionis sacre perfeccioni, ipsis imaginibus sicut multam et mysticis perornacionibus et sacris sermonibus perordinaverunt. Et ierarcham quidem, sicut ipsis faciebus a diviniore loco bonam benodorationem ad cetera sacra offerentem, et ad ipsum reconversione docentem, divinorum metusiam omnibus fieri secundum dignitatem sacris, indiminutam et immobilem in omni, et equalem secundum divinam stabilitatem proprietatis immutabiliter statuerunt.³⁴

32 Cf. the remarks of Chevallier, *Dionysiaca*, I, p. cvi: [the text of BNF lat. 15645] 'se trouve publié pour la première fois dans nos pages d'après le manuscrit 15645 de Paris'. Chevallier went on to mention 'les manuscrits de Prague, de Bruxelles, de Boulogne ... et un autre d'Oxford'. Chevallier did not, however, provide details or even shelfmarks of these four manuscripts. Those in Brussels and Boulogne were known to Théry and collated by him in vol. II of his *Études dionysiennes*. The manuscript in Prague was identified and discussed by S.H. Thompson, 'An Unnoticed MS. of Hilduin's Translation of the pseudo-Dionysius', *Journal of Theological Studies* 37 (1936), 137–140. I have not been able to identify the manuscript in Oxford.

33 Louth, *Denys the Areopagite*, p. 121.

34 Théry, II, pp. 117–118: 'The (liturgical rite of consecration), which is here being praised by me, is, as I said, the perfecting perfect-operation of the order and power of the hierarchs. Accordingly, our divine teachers established this through their images as being of the same one-order and identical effect as the collection (i.e. the synaxis) of holy perfection, just as it is much enhanced through mystical adornments and holy speech. And indeed they

Even in a brief extract such as this one encounters the characteristic linguistic features which make Hilduin's translation so difficult to understand: outlandish neologisms calqued on compounds in the original Greek (*perfectoperacio, uniordinem, ipsoperam, benodoracionem*, etc.); neologisms created on well attested Latin principles of word formation but having unpredictable meanings (*perfectalis*); words used with unpredictable connotations (*ymnificatur* = 'is praised' rather than 'is hymned'); and Greek words simply transliterated into Latin (*metusia* for Greek μετουσία, 'participation'). The result is that it is impossible to understand Hilduin's Latin translation without recourse to the Greek original.

Nevertheless, various factors need to be considered before dismissing Hilduin's translation altogether. In the first place, the Greek of the pseudo-Dionysius is exceptionally difficult; in the words of Wear and Dillon, it is 'high-flown and convoluted ... calculated to confuse the dull-witted'.³⁵ In order to convey some impression of the ineffability of his subject-matter, the pseudo-Dionysius created a new vocabulary, coining his own range of outlandish and often unpalatable compounds. This aspect of his language has seldom attracted the attention of Greek philologists, but it deserves study.³⁶ One is immediately struck, for example, by the large number of compounds in ἀρχι- and -αρχία, in αὐτο- and ὑπερ-, in -νυμία and -ουργία, in ὄλο- and παν-, in πολύ and πρώτο-, to name only the most prominent. This stylistic predilection of the pseudo-Dionysius helps to account for the profusion of outlandish Latin compounds, not all of them well conceived, which we find in Hilduin's translation. Another factor which bears on Hilduin's often unintelligible translation is the lacunose nature of the Greek text from which he was working, namely that in BNF grec 437.³⁷ It is also the case that Hilduin's translation has not been accurately preserved in manuscript. The difficult, not to say impenetrable, nature of his syn-

constituted immutably the hierarch, (who is) providing with his appearance the beneficial fragrance from a more divine place for the remaining rites, and teaching the return to this (place), the participation in the divine for all holy things according to their station, (a participation) which is undiminished and immobile in every way, and equal in respect of divine permanence.'

35 Wear and Dillon, *Dionysius the Areopagite and the Neoplatonist Tradition*, p. 4.

36 The only monograph known to me which is devoted to this aspect of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, is P. Scazzoso, *Ricerche sulla struttura del linguaggio dello Pseudo-Dionigi Areopagita* (Milan, 1967); see esp. pp. 35–38 on the pseudo-Dionysius' taste for unusual compounds. There are also some brief but apposite remarks in Wear and Dillon, *Dionysius the Areopagite and the Neoplatonist Tradition*, pp. 11–13.

37 See above, nn. 22 and 24.

tax will have posed extreme difficulties for even the most attentive scribe; and the scribe of Paris, BNF, lat. 15645 was not one of these. In many cases nonsense in the text is to be laid at the door of the scribe, not at that of Hilduin.³⁸ Add to this the fact that Gabriel Théry was an extremely conservative editor who reproduced exactly the wording of his copy-text – BNF lat. 15645 – even when he knew it to be nonsense.³⁹ On occasion even he failed to understand the (admittedly opaque) syntax of Hilduin; and his text is crawling with uncorrected typographical error.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, when all allowances have been made, Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* does indeed border on the incomprehensible. Part of the problem is his irrepressible penchant for bombastic expression and outlandish neologism. It is not appropriate to include a thorough analysis of the Latinity of Hilduin's translation here,⁴¹ but it is essential to note that he

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- 38 For example, in c. 3 of *De mystica theologia*, the text of Paris, BNF, lat. 15645 reads: 'Sic enim diuinus Bartholomeus factus est, et multam theologiam esse, et minimam' (ed. Théry, II, p. 295). The Greek text here reads Βαρθολομαίος φησι, 'Bartholomeus said'. It is extremely unlikely that Hilduin misunderstood the simple word φησι; the more likely explanation is that the scribe of lat. 15645 mistakenly wrote *factus est* for Hilduin's *fatus est*, 'said'. Théry printed *factus est* (see following note).
- 39 For example, in c. 7 of *De hierarchia ecclesiastica*, the text printed by Théry reads: 'quemadmodum veritatem earum in ea, que **erga deum**, est, resurrectione videntes' (p. 147), where *erga deum* corresponds to Greek κατ' αὐτόν, 'according to him'. The scribe of BNF lat. 15645 mistakenly wrote *erga deum* for (Hilduin's) *erga eum*, and Théry reproduced the scribe's mistake. In c. 1. 4 of *De diuinis nominibus*, Théry follows the scribe of lat. 15645 and prints the nonsensical '*Equangeli enim*, sicut sermonum veritas inquit' (p. 172). The pseudo-Dionysius is here quoting Luc. xx. 36, which reads: 'aequales enim angeli'; *equangeli enim* is a gross copying error in lat. 15645. In the same text, c. 2. 5, lat. 15645 reads 'coadunate quidem sum', where *sum* corresponds to Greek εἶσιν (= 'are', plural) in the Greek text. The scribe of lat. 15645 has evidently written *sum* for *sunt* in his exemplar, and Théry reproduces the error faithfully. Théry's text is plagued with errors of this sort, and one can only wonder why he did not simply emend them. In some respects, Chevallier's text is more accessible than Théry's (he corrected scribal *c* to *t* and *e* to *ae*), but, like Théry, did not attempt to emend the scribe's most obvious nonsense (for example, he left unemended the nonsensical *aequangeli* mentioned above: *Dionysiaca* I, p. 31).
- 40 Some random examples: *inolinabilis* for *inclinabilis* (p. 25), *sermorum* for *sermonum* (p. 50), *sermonos* (p. 139), *aubos* for *ambos* (p. 142), *non in quam* for *non, inquam* (p. 149), *Ine* for *sine* (p. 159), *ominum* for *omnium* (p. 169), *tenaculis* for *tentaculis* (p. 192), *animalus* (p. 229), *progediuntur* (p. 277), *dicut* for *sicut* (p. 286), *omnias* (p. 288), *supersubstantialiter* for *supersubstantialiter* (p. 295), *donum* for *domum* (p. 332), etc.
- 41 There are some very brief, but accurate, remarks about the Latinity of Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* by Peter Stotz, 'Was lebt will wachsen – Veränderlichkeit von

clearly favoured neologisms belonging to certain word-classes (in the following lists, I give page reference to the first occurrence of each word in Théry 11):

abstract feminine nouns in *-tas*:⁴² archigregalitas (11), ascensibilitas (340), bestiformalitas (9), canorositas (59), compendiositas (37), congenialitas (65), conuertibilitas (103), deigenedeitas (186), essentialitas (238), excelsioritas (33), filialitas (179), formifactorialitas (18), impartialitas (287), imperfectitas (224), incausalitas (235), inexitabilitas (245), inordinabilitas (263), insubstantialitas (42), intemptabilitas (168), inuirilitas (104), irrationabilitas (263), iumentalitas (9), monitas (37), multiformitas (11), multipassibilitas (337), occultitas (59), participalitas (184), pedestritas (32), perfectitas (32), perniciositas (318), praecipuitas (10), roalitas (72), superdeitas (288), supersubstantialitas (42), tenebrositas (202), unadualitas (286), unialitas (7), unimodialitas (97)

deverbative feminine nouns in *-tio*:⁴³ altrinsecutio (76), armifactio (336), auspicatio (267), benignoperatio (28), benodoratio (118), commisculatio (268), condisciplinatio (275), deiapparitio (138), deificatio (77), deifiguratio (298), deinascitio (131), deinominatio (171), deiuisio (267), desinitio (224), dispoliatio (159), imaginiscriptio (98), impartitio (46), inaspectio (296), inconsiliatio (83), indatio (55), inhornatio (320), inordatio (320), instatio (161), insuffectio (121), lucidatio (8), lucididatio (45), luciductio (89), mundificatio (46), nascitio (124), obstetricatio (101), obuiatio (41), opificatio (82), patrocinatio (316), perfectoperatio (84), persacratio (139), plasmefiguratio (64), recubatio (344), replasmatio (339), sacraplasmatio (335), sacrelucidatio (170), sacrescriptio (336), sacriperfectio (320), sacroperatio (54), sapientifactio (183), sortidatio (99), splendidatio (108), superstatio (45), transconstitutio (144), transductio (40), uariiformatio (336), uiefactio (81), uiriplasmatio (336), ymnificatio (179)

deverbative abstract masculine fourth-declension nouns in *-us*:⁴⁴ benornatus (48), bonornatus (102), boniornatus (112), perornatus (95), tactatus (253)

Sprach zwischen Praxis und Reflexion im lateinischen Mittelalter', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 53 (1995), 87–118, at 101.

42 See LHS i. 374–375, and ii. 743–744.

43 See LHS i. 366, and ii. 742–743; for the use of these nouns in Medieval Latin, see Stotz, *Handbuch*, ii. 297–300.

44 Hilduin's enduring preference for this class of nouns is treated more fully in ch. 6 (below, pp. 153–156). See discussion of such nouns in LHS i. 353–355, and ii. 743; Stotz, *Handbuch* ii. 300–301; and Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation du latin littéraire*, pp. 37 and 49–53.

denominative adjectives in *-alis*:⁴⁵ accessalis (143), accursalis (67), aedificalis (68), aeualis (188), altercalis (246), alterutralis (337), analogicalis (244), augmentalis (65), auialis (11), blanditialis (108), bonoperalis (177), circuiialis (199), coadunalis (130), communicalis (131), comprehensalis (173), consuffectialis (293), continealis (105), conuertalis (140), conuirtutalis (74), cosermonalis (150), creaturalis (281), cupidialis (211), daemonalis (215), datalis (20), deigenitalis (335), deinominalis (289), deiuisalis (112), demonstralis (49), directalis (68), discernalis (61), disciplinalis (22), distribualis (55), diuisalis (68), diuisonalis (247), dominalis (95), ductalis (237), erectialis (170), exceptoralis (70), existentialis (243), extasialis (212), facturalis (67), fontalis (46), fundalis (68), gustalis (66), humanalis (184), immundialis (175), imparticipalis (45), impassionalis (279), inaugumentalis (266), incasualis (198), incausalis (230), indisciplinalis (156), infiguralis (8), inoccasionalis (58), insensalis (16), inspecialis (188), internalis (66), intentialis (231), introductalis (87), inuerbalis (295), inuitalis (231), lucidalis (68), luminalis (129), manifestalis (28), ministralis (96), multipassionalis (109), multisermonalis (295), nuntialis (198), nutrialis (199), obstetricalis (140), omnicausalis (176), omnipotentialis (258), operalis (68), opificalis (230), pacificalis (105), paradigmalis (208), paradigmaticalis (204), pennalis (67), perfectalis (22), potestalis (39), praeacceptalis (173), productalis (213), prouidentalis (66), prouisalis (271), pubalis (66), purgalis (133), quadrelementalis (68), renoualis (342), retribualis (159), sacroperalis (142), scientialis (296), senioralis (193), superdealis (196), superductalis (47), superlucidalis (293), supermundialis (49), supersubstantialis (49), supplicialis (234), tactalis (66), tenalis (66), thronalis (57), tradalis (65), transfretalis (69), translatalis (199), tribualis (155), uadalis (67), uentalis (69), uigoralis (70), unispecialis (204), uirtutalis (87), ultionalis (68)

deverbative adjectives in *-bilis*:⁴⁶ crepabilis (199), deiamabilis (136), illaxabilis (32), importionabilis (279), inapparabilis (54), inascensibilis (169), inclusibilis (246), infnibilis (206), ingressibilis (212), ininstabilis (262), inminorabilis (70), intacibilis (121), intemptabilis (161), intenibilis (65), mouibilis (215), multipassibilis (108), munibilis (67), percomplebilis (188), repercussibilis (184), reuiuiscibilis (342), superinmutabilis (268), tenibilis (64)

45 See LHS i. 350–351 and, for Medieval Latin usage, Stotz, *Handbuch*, ii. 335–338.

46 See LHS i. 348–349 as well as Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation du latin littéraire*, p. 37; and, for Medieval Latin usage, Stotz, *Handbuch*, ii. 351–352.

grecizing verbs in *-izare*:⁴⁷ coagonizare (147), coathletizare (159), enigmatizare (135), ierarchizare (96), legizare (26), leprizare (322), oportunitizare (337), procerizare (75), theologizare (195), ymnizare (149)

polysyllabic adverbs in *-iter*:⁴⁸ actionaliter (69), communaliter (43), congenialiter (338), conuertibiliter (40), dealiter (27), decorabiliter (17), decoraliter (19), decursaliter (78), honoriter (47), humanaliter (308), illaesibiliter (14), impartialiter (269), impartibiliter (252), imparticipaliter (285), incendialiter (60), indampnabiliter (143), ingenaliter (215), ininclinabiliter (20), inobseruabiliter (50), inobserualiter (190), insimilitudinaliter (17), intemporaliter (69), interminaliter (176), intriumphabiliter (71), inuiriliter (140), irruinaliter (257), ministrabiliter (158), praestabiliter (213), primordiniter (44), sacerdotialiter (135), salutariter (27), scientialiter (174), senioraliter (193), similitudinaliter (32), superstabiliter (285), supersubstantialiter (23), tripersonaliter (37), unialiter (68), unispecialiter (240)

The meaning of some of these words can be deduced from their etymology; but by no means all. Their usage reflects a certain arrogant laziness on Hilduin's part: that he would be satisfied by coining a learned-sounding compound rather than by trying to render a difficult Greek expression in clear and simple Latin.

Another factor which increases the obscurity of Hilduin's translation is his tendency to reproduce constructions in Latin which are characteristic of Greek. For example, comparative adjectives in Greek are construed with the genitive; Hilduin accordingly construes comparatives with the genitive rather than with the ablative (as would be normal in Latin): *diuinior aliarum sacrarum illuminationum*, 'more divine than other sacred illuminations' (129), *omnium altioris*, 'loftier than all others' (143), *quia potiores sunt ei proximiores et diuiniore residuorum sunt*, 'because they are more mighty and closer to Him and more divine than the remainder' (237), etc. By the same token, he prefers to construe certain verbs with the genitive, which normally in Latin would take the ablative. Verbs meaning 'to fill' in Greek are construed with the accusative of the thing filled and the genitive of material; thus Hilduin frequently construes the verb *repleo*, 'to fill', with the genitive, where the normal Latin construction is with the ablative: *exsuperantis diuinitatis replete*, 'filled with the prevailing divinity' (34);

47 LHS i. 551–552; for Medieval Latin usage, see Stotz, *Handbuch*, ii. 385–390.

48 LHS i. 499–500; for Medieval Latin usage, Stotz, *Handbuch*, ii. 373–375. Hilduin's preference for this form of adverb is clearly related to his preference for adjectives in *-alis* (see above).

et sacri decoris est repleta, 'and is filled with sacred beauty' (p. 171).⁴⁹ Idiosyncrasies such as these add to the reader's difficulty in understanding Hilduin's translation. Finally, there are various aspects of Greek syntax which Hilduin simply did not understand: the system of Greek pronouns, in particular the word αὐτός and its compounds; the use of ἄν with conditional clauses in the subjunctive; the use of the subject infinitive with the article (τό) to create a substantive. None of these features of Greek has a correlate in Latin, and it is understandable that Hilduin did not understand them properly. Jan Nuchelmans has analyzed in detail Hilduin's attempts to render Greek substantive infinitives, and has shown that, in such cases, particularly with infinitives other than εἶναι, Hilduin simply ignored the Greek article τό, thereby reducing the meaning of the Greek to nonsense.⁵⁰

It is worth asking how Hilduin acquired his (imperfect) knowledge of Greek. In this connection it is possibly relevant to note the existence of a Greek grammar preserved in a manuscript written at Saint-Denis c. 800, now in Paris, BNF, lat. 528.⁵¹ The brief Greek grammar, on fols. 134^v–135^r of the manuscript, is based on Donatus, *Ars minor*, and begins with the phrase 'τί ἐστὶν *doctus*', before going on to provide a string of Latin equivalents for Greek grammatical terms.⁵² Some of the equivalents could have been supplied by the Greek *interpretes* who were apparently resident at Saint-Denis when Hilduin was at work on

49 Some further examples: *repleta autem lucis eterne* (p. 21), *sacri repletos splendoris* (p. 22), *sapientificis donacionis repleta* (p. 32), *alcioris luminis replete* (p. 34), *divine esce repletus* (p. 36), etc.

50 Nuchelmans, 'Hilduin et Jean Scot Erigène', p. 219: 'Hilduin ... rend le plus souvent l'infinitif grec par son équivalent latin pur et simple, habituellement sans en préciser la fonction dans la phrase et en négligeant l'article grec. Ce procédé presque mécanique produit en général un latin lamentable sinon complètement inintelligible, dont il est souvent impossible de dégager le sens sans recourir à l'original grec'.

51 See Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 399; see also Bischoff, 'Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1966–1981), II, pp. 246–275, at 259, n. 75. The manuscript, which is made up of fols. 2–90 and 93–180 (fols. 91–92 are a fragment of an originally separate computus manuscript), contains a very miscellaneous collection of texts, including biblical exegesis (an unprinted commentary on Genesis, for example) and a number of esoteric alphabets (on which see B. Bischoff, *Anecdota novissima. Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 256–258). The script of BNF lat. 528 is illustrated in MGH, PLAC I, pl. I, and by Bischoff, *Anecdota novissima*, pl. III.

52 The grammar is ed. H. Omont, 'Grammaire grecque du IXe siècle', *BECh* 42 (1881), 126–127. The late Vivien Law kindly provided me with a transcription of the grammar which she made for me in the BNF in May 1986.

his translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*; it is not impossible that the Greek grammar was compiled there for his own use, and that it could have provided some help with at least this one aspect of Greek vocabulary. But there is a vast distance between the simple grammatical terminology of the Greek grammar and the complex vocabulary and syntax of the pseudo-Dionysius.

In the end, Andrew Louth's verdict, that Hilduin's translation is 'so bad as to be unintelligible', is wholly justified. Nevertheless, it should always be remembered that he was the very first scholar in the Latin West to attempt to translate the frequently impenetrable Greek text of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, and that, in the words of Walter Berschin, he deserves some credit for this pioneering effort, and that his work is probably best to be seen as a preparation for the later, and more widely circulated, translation of John Scottus Eriugena.⁵³

53 *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, p. 145, who speaks of 'die an sich erstaunliche und bahnbrechende Übersetzung Hilduins' as 'nur eine Vorarbeit'. It should also be mentioned that there are occasions, admittedly not many, where Hilduin succeeded in translating the Greek correctly at a point where John Scotus Eriugena committed a serious error. For example, in *Ep.* VIII, where Hilduin correctly rendered the words of Christ, τῆς χειρὸς ἡδὴ προτεταγμένης παῖε κατ' ἐμοῦ (*CD* II, p. 191), as 'manu preconstituta percute aduersus me' (rendering παῖε correctly as the impv. sg. of παῖω, 'to strike': Théry, II, p. 334), whereas John Scotus mistakenly took παῖε as the vocative of παῖς, 'child': 'manu iam ante praeordinata puer'.

The Early Hagiography of St Dionysius

A bishop of Paris named Dionysius is first attested in the late sixth-century *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours, according to which Dionysius was one of seven bishops sent to Gaul during the principate of Decius (249–251); he became bishop of Paris and was executed by sword, during the persecution of Decius (A.D. 250):

Hii ergo missi sunt: Turonicis Gatianus episcopus, Arelatensibus Trophimus episcopus, Narbonae Paulus episcopus, Tolosae Saturninus episcopus, Parisiacis Dionisius episcopus, Arvernus Stremonius episcopus, Lemovicinis Martialis est destinatus episcopus. De his vero beatus Dionisius Parisiorum episcopus, diversis pro Christi nomine adfectus poenis, praesentem vitam gladio imminente finivit.¹

Gregory claims as his source for this information a *vita* of St Saturninus of Toulouse, a source which will subsequently be laid under contribution by the author of the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius. From Gregory’s *Historia Francorum*, then, derives the tradition that Dionysius was a third-century bishop of Paris who was martyred under Decius.

The hagiography of St Dionysius tells a very different story: according to a sequence of *passiones* of the saint, Dionysius was sent to evangelize in Gaul by Pope Clement, St Peter’s successor, whose papacy is dated to c. 96 A.D. – a century and a half earlier than the date which had been assigned to Dionysius by Gregory of Tours. (The only common element in the historical and hagiographical accounts is that Dionysius was a martyr executed by the sword – hardly a distinctive detail.) It is not clear where, or why, the mission of St Dionysius was reassigned to the late first century. As far as I am aware, the earliest source to associate the mission of St Dionysius with Pope Clement is a hymn which was very probably composed by Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600), the friend

¹ *Historia Francorum* i. 30 (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. i/1. 23): ‘These, therefore, were sent out: Gatianus as bishop to the people of Tours, Trophimus as bishop to Arles, Paulus as bishop to Narbonne, Saturninus as bishop to Toulouse, Dionysius as bishop to the Parisians, Stremonius as bishop to the Auvergne, and Martial was appointed bishop of Limoges. From among these men, Dionysius bishop of the Parisians, having been afflicted by punishments for the name of Christ, ended this present life under the sword.’

and contemporary of Gregory of Tours. The second stanza of the hymn states unambiguously that Dionysius was sent to Gaul by Pope Clement:

Clemente Roma praesule
 ab urbe missus adfuit,
 uerbi superni seminis
 ut fructus esset Galliae.²

If the hymn is, as I believe, a genuine composition by Venantius Fortunatus, the notion that the mission of St Dionysius took place in the late first century was already current in Gaul by the late sixth century.³ In any case, Pope Clement's role in the mission becomes a staple feature of the hagiography of St Dionysius.

In order to understand the role which Hilduin played in the development of this hagiography, it is necessary to provide a brief synopsis of the three earliest accounts of the saint:⁴ the 'ancient *passio*', the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', and Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

(1) the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius (*BHL* 2171, inc. 'Gloriosae martyrum passiones').⁵ After a preface and an introductory chapter in which the mission and martyrdom of St Saturninus of Toulouse are described (c. 1), we are told that St Dionysius was invited by Clement, the successor of St Peter, to go to Paris to evangelize the Gauls (c. 2). (Nothing whatsoever is said of Dionysius' life before his mission to Gaul, and certainly nothing about his having come to Rome from Athens.) An imperial proclamation of persecution was published (no emperor is named, however); Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius were arrested (no agent is named) and executed (c. 3). The bodies of the martyrs were

2 The hymn in question, inc. 'Fortem fidelem militem', is ed. below, Appendix VII, pp. 785–794: 'He was sent from the city of Rome by Bishop Clement, so that he would be the product of the seed of the heavenly Word in Gaul'.

3 I do not, however, regard the reference to St Dionysius in c. 17 of the long recension of the *Vita S. Genovefae* [*BHL* 3335; ed. Krusch, *MGH*, *SS* rer. Merov. III, pp. 215–238, with the reference to St Dionysius at p. 221] as relevant to late sixth-century Francia, because, on the evidence adduced by Bruno Krusch, the passage in question was interpolated c. 750 into a work of earlier date; see my discussion in "The 'ancient *passio*,'" pp. 243–247, and below, Appendix I, pp. 612–617.

4 The relative chronology of these three works was first convincingly established by Moretus Plantin, 'Les passions de saint Denys', p. 223; it was endorsed by Loenertz, 'La légende parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite', pp. 221–228.

5 Ed. M. Lapidge, 'The "ancient *passio*" of St Dionysius', *AB* 132 (2014), 241–285, with text at 267–274; also ptd below, Appendix I, pp. 638–659.

ordered to be dumped in the river Seine; but a certain noblewoman (unnamed) tricked the executioners, and the (three) bodies ended up being buried in a field on the noblewoman's estate (c. 4). When the fury of persecution abated, a prominent tomb was built on the site of the martyrs' burial, over which a basilica was subsequently constructed; miracles take place at the tomb (c. 5).

Various evidence suggests that the 'ancient *passio*' – the earliest essay in the hagiography of St Dionysius – was composed not in Paris but probably somewhere in Aquitaine, perhaps in the Auvergne, at some time in the mid-eighth century (c. 750).⁶ By the early ninth century, however, it had been transmitted to Paris, where it provided the basis for the next essay in the hagiography of our saint, the 'anonymous *passio*' of St Dionysius.

(2) the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' (BHL 2178; inc. 'Post beatam et gloriosam').⁷ Although the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' of St Dionysius derived the basic structure of his narrative from the earlier 'ancient *passio*', he introduced a number of striking innovations: in his *passio*, St Dionysius, bishop of Paris, is identified for the first time with Dionysius the Areopagite, who according to biblical Acts (xvii. 34) was converted at Athens by St Paul (the Areopagus, however, is not mentioned); furthermore, the 'anonymous *passio*' is the earliest work in the Dionysian hagiographical dossier to contain an account of the miraculous cephalophory, in which St Dionysius, after decapitation, carried his head for two miles to his final resting-place. These two incidents are among the best-known features of the hagiography of St Dionysius.

The narrative is as follows. During the persecution of Nero, St Peter was sent to Rome (c. 1). Before being martyred, St Peter entrusted the apostolic authority to Pope Clement (c. 2). Meanwhile, St Paul had gone to Athens, where he found Dionysius, whom he converted and baptized, whereupon Dionysius went to Rome (c. 3). At Rome, Clement ordained Dionysius bishop, and sent him, along with several others (including Saturninus, Marcellus and Lucianus) to evangelize in western regions (c. 4). Dionysius and the others arrived in Arles, whence Marcellus was sent to Spain and Saturninus to Aquitaine; Dionysius, with Lucianus, Rusticus and Eleutherius, proceeded to Paris (c. 5). From Paris Lucianus was sent on to Beauvais; the city of Paris is then described in some detail (c. 6). Dionysius evangelized in Paris (c. 7). As the report of his successful mission spread, the emperor Domitian flew into a rage and promulgated

6 See Lapidge, 'The "ancient *passio*"', pp. 252–256, and Appendix I, below, pp. 612–626.

7 Ed. *Acta ss.*, Octobris, IV, pp. 792–794; M. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii* (BHL 2178)', *AB* 134 (2016) 20–65, with text at 42–50; also ptd below, Appendix II, pp. 660–703.

a decree against Christians, thereby initiating a persecution (c. 8). Imperial agents (who are not named) went to Gaul, where they discovered Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius (c. 9). In spite of the imperial decree, the saints carried on their work (c. 10). They were arraigned before the agents (c. 11). Upon interrogation, they confessed their Christian belief and were duly executed (c. 12). After decapitation, the corpse of Dionysius picked up its head and carried it the two miles from the summit of the hill on which the executions had been carried out (c. 13). The executioners decided to submerge the bodies of the other two martyrs, Rusticus and Eleutherius, in the Seine, so that the Christians would not be able to venerate them; but a noblewoman named Catulla offered them a lavish meal, whereupon they forgot their task (c. 14). Catulla then arranged to have the bodies of the martyrs stolen and buried in a field at the sixth milestone from the city (c. 15). When the persecution had abated, she built an imposing tomb on the site of the burial; the Christian community subsequently constructed a church over the tomb (c. 16). Miracles take place at the tomb (c. 17). The final chapter expresses the author's concern that so few archival sources about St Dionysius have survived (c. 18).

The innovations introduced by the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' raise some interesting problems, which are never fully worked out, either in his *passio*, or in the work of later hagiographers. The topographical references allow the reader to work out that the site of the tomb is in fact Saint-Denis: the burial was at the sixth milestone from Paris (understand: the Île de la Cité), which approximately describes the location of Saint-Denis. But if that was where Catulla – who is named in the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' for the first time – buried the bodies of Rusticus and Eleutherius, how and when was it that they were combined with the body of St Dionysius (and his head)? Or had he managed by chance to walk to the very spot at which Catulla subsequently chose to bury the other two? It is odd that no hagiographer ever addressed this question; it suggests that the author of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', in fabricating his tale of the cephalophory, did not fully work out the implications of Dionysius' miraculous journey. (No such problem was presented by the narrative of the 'ancient *passio*' (cc. 4–5), according to which all three bodies were spirited away and buried by the unnamed noblewoman, the site of their burial later becoming the site of their imposing tomb.)

Although there is no explicit statement in the text itself, the presumption must be that the 'anonymous *passio*' was composed in Paris, presumptively at Saint-Denis itself: the author includes a lengthy account of the site of Paris (c. 6), amplifying the description which he found in the 'ancient *passio*' (c. 2) by noting, for example, that the river Seine 'both provides an abundance of fish for its citizens' and offers 'no small protection within its walls'. The approximate

date of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ can be established by considering that, on one hand, it derives much of its wording from the earlier ‘ancient *passio*’, which implies that it was composed later than c. 750. The *terminus post quem* can be more closely defined by considering the implications of the fact that at one point St Saturninus is depicted as being sent to conduct his mission at Toulouse, which is described as lying in the ‘regions of Aquitaine’ (c. 5: *Aquitaniae namque partibus sancto Saturnino directo*). We know from historical sources that Toulouse had been incorporated as an integral part of Aquitaine by Charlemagne, as part of his attempt to establish Aquitaine as a buffer state between Francia and Gascony (Catalonia) following the disastrous defeat of the rear-guard of his Frankish army by the Gascons in 778. Toulouse was the principal centre of the principal *comté* of this newly-established Aquitaine. The fact that the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ describes St Saturninus as being sent to Toulouse in the region of Aquitaine, implies a date of composition after 778. On the other hand, as Raymond Loenertz demonstrated, the ‘anonymous *passio*’ had been transmitted to Constantinople by 834 at the latest, for it was laid heavily under contribution by the anonymous (Greek) author of the *Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae* [BHG 554], and this work in turn was used by Michael the Synkellos in composing his *Encomium beati Dionysii Areopagitae* [BHG 556], which was delivered as an oration in Constantinople in 834.⁸ These two dating *termini* fix the date of composition of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ to the period 778–834; and the later *terminus* is confirmed by the date of the earliest surviving manuscript of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, now Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 233, which, in the opinion of Bernhard Bischoff, was written at Reichenau sometime in the first third of the ninth century.⁹ The date of composition of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ therefore partly overlaps with the abbacy of Hilduin at Saint-Denis (814–840), but there are no grounds whatsoever for thinking that Hilduin had any part in its composition; on the contrary, the fact that the work was transmitted from Saint-Denis to Reichenau soon after its composition suggests that it may have been composed during the abbacy of Hilduin’s predecessor as abbot, namely Waldo (806–814), who before being appointed to the abbacy of Saint-Denis had been abbot of Reichenau for twenty years (786–806). In any case, the author of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ contributed two major details to the hagiography of St Dionysius – the identification of St Dionysius with the man in Athens who was

8 PG iv. 617–668 [BHG 556]; see Loenertz, ‘Le panégyrique de S. Denys l’Aréopagite par S. Michel le Syncelle’, pp. 94–107, and below, Appendix x, no. (b), pp. 842–844.

9 Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, no. 1722.

converted by St Paul, and the fact that, after decapitation, St Dionysius carried his head for two miles to his final resting-place – and both these details were subsequently incorporated (and greatly elaborated) by Hilduin of Saint-Denis in his *Passio S. Dionysii*.

(3) Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii* (BHL 2175; inc. 'Post beatam ac salutiferam'). Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* basically follows the structure of the two earlier *passiones*. After a preliminary chapter in which Christ's appearance to the apostles at Pentecost leads to their world-wide missionary work, St Paul is described as proceeding to Athens (c. 1). The topography of Athens, and in particular its importance as a site of pagan religion, is treated in some detail (cc. 2–4). St Paul was then taken to the Areopagus in Athens, where he met Dionysius 'the Areopagite', a man learned in (pagan) religion (c. 5). St Paul and Dionysius had a discussion concerning the nature of the gods, prompted by their inspection of an altar dedicated to 'the unknown god'; St Paul explained to Dionysius that this 'unknown god' was none other than the Christians' God, Who was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, etc. (c. 6). Dionysius then asked St Paul to instruct him in the Christian faith (c. 7). St Paul performed the miraculous cure of a local blind man, which caused Dionysius, his wife Damaris, and his entire household, to convert to Christianity (as in biblical Acts xvii. 34); Dionysius was subsequently consecrated bishop of Athens (c. 8). At this point Hilduin inserts a lengthy account of the Greek writings of Dionysius, the so-called *Corpus Dionysiacum* (cc. 9–16). Meanwhile, St Paul had gone to Rome with St Peter, where both apostles were martyred under Nero; Dionysius accordingly followed in St Paul's footsteps and proceeded to Rome (c. 17). In Rome Dionysius sought out St Peter's successor, Pope Clement (c. 18). After lengthy discussions, Dionysius and his companions were sent by Pope Clement to Gaul on an apostolic mission (c. 19). The missionaries proceeded first to Arles, and then went on to Paris, the delightful setting of which is described in some detail (c. 20). In Paris, Dionysius met a local landowner named Lisbius, from whom he acquired land on which to build a baptistery (c. 21). A church was built and dedicated to Jesus Christ; from this base Dionysius was able to convert many pagans (c. 22). The success of the mission aroused the anger of the Devil, who prompted the emperor Domitian to initiate a persecution of Christians (c. 23). After the proclamation of persecution, Domitian dispatched to Gaul his prefect, Fescenninus Sisinnius, to arrest Dionysius and his companions (c. 24). The imperial agents discovered Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius in Paris (c. 25). They were arrested and, upon interrogation, professed in unison their Christian belief (c. 26). Larcia, the wife of Lisbius, witnessed these court proceedings, and reported to the prefect that her husband Lisbius was a Christian,

whereupon Lisbius was arrested, tried, and executed; the three saints, however, were handed over to torturers to be flogged (c. 27). Following the flogging, Dionysius was roasted on a grill, then exposed to wild beasts, and finally placed in a furnace; he survived all these tortures through his fervent prayer (c. 28). He was then consigned to the prison of Glaucinus (unidentified) with his two companions; while he was conducting mass for the other prisoners, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself appeared in the cell and administered the sacrament to Dionysius; Larcia was present and witnessed this miracle (c. 29). The three saints were brought back before the prefect, persisted in their Christian confession, and were condemned to execution on the Hill of Mercury (c. 30). Before execution, Dionysius uttered a lengthy prayer to God (c. 31). The three saints were then decapitated, and Dionysius picked up his head and carried it for two miles to his final resting-place (c. 32). Larcia witnessed this miracle as well, was converted, and then executed for confessing her newly-acquired Christian faith; the executioners were ordered to dispose of the bodies of Rusticus and Eleutherius in the river Seine (c. 33). A local noblewoman named Catulla foiled these orders by laying on a lavish feast at which the executioners got drunk and forgot their orders; meanwhile, Catulla arranged to have the bodies buried secretly in a field on her estate (c. 34). When the heat of persecution had abated, Catulla returned to the place where the martyrs had been buried and constructed a tomb on the site (c. 35); a basilica was subsequently built over the tomb, where miracles take place to the present day (c. 36).

As will be seen from the preceding summary, Hilduin basically preserved the structure of the two earlier *passiones*, both of which he knew, and from both of which he borrowed wording, often verbatim, as may be seen from the four examples given in the following table:

'Ancient <i>passio</i> '	'Anonymous <i>passio</i> '	Hilduin
(a) c. 2: tradente beato Clemente ... uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda susceperat, quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem ... Non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem ... non cunctatus est trucibus populis accedere praedicator.	(a) c. 5: quique a beato Clemente diuini uerbi semina gentibus susceperat eroganda, non ferocitatem incredulae reputans gentis, nec trucibus populis cunctatur insistere praedicator ... ubi apud Gallias amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem ...	(a) c. 20: tradente sibi beato Clemente ... uerbi diuini semina Gallicis gentibus eroganda susceperat ... quo amplius apud Gallias gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem ... non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem ...

(cont.)

'Ancient <i>passio</i> '	'Anonymous <i>passio</i> '	Hilduin
(b) c. 2: quia esset salubris aere, iucunda flumine, fecunda terris, arboribus nemorosa, uinetis uberrima, constipata populis, referta commerciis ...	(b) c. 6: Nam licet magnis esset paganorum faecibus inuoluta, fecunda tamen terris, arboribus nemorosa, uineis uberrima ac referta pollebat commerciis trapezatarum; quae, Sequanae uallata perplexu, et copiam piscium aluei sui ciuibus unda ministrat.	(b) c. 20: quia erat salubris aere, iucunda flumine, fecunda terris, arboribus nemorosa et uineis uberrima, constipata populis, referta commerciis ac uariis com meatibus, unda fluminis circumfluente ... etiam alueo suo magnam piscium copiam ciuibus ministrabat.
(c) c. 2: Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum; ad quem cum primum fide armatus et constantia confessionis intrepidus, ecclesiam illic quae necdum in locis erat et populis illis nota construxit.	(c) c. 6: Hunc ergo locum, cum Dei famulus expetisset fidei armatus constantia ... ecclesiam ibidem ... Domini nostri Iesu Christi in honore construxit.	(c) c. 21: Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum. Ad quem cum primo fide armatus et confessionis constantia roboratus ... c. 22: ... ecclesiam ... in honorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quae necdum locis illis et populis nota erat, construxit
(d) c. 4: Tunc matrona quaedam, quae licet paganorum adhuc implicata teneretur errore, conuersionem tamen se desiderare et mente monstrabat et opere, facere aliquid cogitans Domino placiturum, usa subtilitate consilii ad conuiuium uenire postulat percussores, et dum eis copiam oblatae humanitatis extendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit	(d) c. 14: Nam matrona quaedam, Catulla nomine, quae, licet paganorum adhuc erroribus teneretur addicta, conuerti tamen ad fidem Christi per exempla martyrum se desiderare et mente monstrabat et opere; Dei ergo misericordia inspirata, mactae uirtutis consilium appetiuit atque ad conuiuium uenire postulat percussores; cumque eis copiam allatae humanitatis expendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit.	(d) c. 34: Nam nobilis quaedam materfamilias, Catulla nomine, quae licet paganorum adhuc erroribus necessitate potius quam uoluntate teneretur addicta, conuerti tamen ad fidem Christi per exempla martyrum atque ad baptismi gratiam peruenire se desiderare et mente demonstrabat et opere. Dei misericordia inspirata, mactae uirtutis consilium appetiuit; atque ad conuiuium uenire postulat sanctorum

'Ancient <i>passio</i> '	'Anonymous <i>passio</i> '	Hilduin
		corporum perditores. Et dum eis copiam oblatae humanitatis expendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit.

In example (a), Hilduin adopts the sentence-structure of the 'ancient *passio*' (*tradente beato Clemente ... uerbi diuini semina ... suscepit*), including even the sequence *uerbi diuini*, but he takes the present participle *eroganda* from the 'anonymous *passio*' in lieu of *parturienda* in the 'ancient *passio*'; and the wording of the final clause (*quo amplius ... expetere feritatem*) derives verbatim from the 'ancient *passio*', except that the phrase *apud Gallias* is borrowed from the 'anonymous *passio*'. In example (b), he lifts the description of Paris (*quia [esset] salubris aere ... referta commerciis*) from the 'ancient *passio*'; but the additional clause concerning the abundance of fish in the river Seine is taken from the 'anonymous *passio*': no such statement is found in the 'ancient *passio*'. The sentence in example (c) is taken nearly verbatim by Hilduin from the 'ancient *passio*', except that he has interpolated the words concerning the dedication of the church to Jesus Christ from the 'anonymous *passio*' (*in honore[m] Domini nostri Iesu Christi*). Finally, Hilduin's description of Catulla's deception of the persecutors, and the feast which she offered them, is largely derived from the 'anonymous *passio*' (the 'ancient *passio*' does not name Catulla), as indicated by the wording *adhuc erroribus ... teneretur addicta* and the phrase *mactae uirtutis consilium*, neither of which occur in the 'ancient *passio*'; nevertheless, at the end of the excerpt, Hilduin reverts to the 'ancient *passio*' for the wording *dum eis copiam oblatae humanitatis ex[p]endit* (cf. the different wording in the 'anonymous *passio*': *cumque eis copiam allatae humanitatis ...*).

These four examples show clearly that Hilduin must have had both the 'ancient *passio*' and the 'anonymous *passio*' open before him as he composed his own *Passio S. Dionysii*. His dependence on *both* texts throws interesting light on a statement which he made in his letter to Louis the Pious:

Quoniam autem beatus Clemens huc eum, uidelicet in Gallorum gentem, direxerit, et qualiter per martyrii palmam, diuersissimis et crudelissimis afflictus suppliciis, ad Christum peruenerit; et quomodo caput proprium, angelico ductu caelestis militiae in celebratione exequiarum honoratus

obsequio, ad locum, ubi nunc requiescit, detulerit; et quo ordine a Catulla quadam matrefamilias sit sepultus: libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem explanat.¹⁰

But in fact the ‘most ancient account’ of his suffering – what I call the ‘ancient *passio*’ – does not contain an account of his cephalophory, and does not name the woman who buried him as Catulla: that information is found only in the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’. In other words, in referring to what he implies is a single text – a *libellus antiquissimus* – Hilduin is being somewhat misleading: there are two earlier *passiones* of St Dionysius, and Hilduin draws freely on both of them.

The principal difference between Hilduin’s account and the two earlier *passiones* is that he identified Dionysius, bishop of Paris, formerly a convert of St Paul at Athens (as in the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, c. 2), with (pseudo-) Dionysius, author of the corpus of Greek mystical writings known as the *Corpus Dionysiaca*. This identification clearly resulted from Hilduin’s involvement in translating the *Corpus Dionysiaca*, a copy of which had been brought to Louis the Pious in 827, and entrusted directly to Hilduin himself.¹¹ In order to accommodate an account of the (Greek) writings of the pseudo-Dionysius in his *passio*, Hilduin greatly expanded the account of St Paul’s meeting with Dionysius on the Areopagus (which had been treated only in the most allusive of terms in the ‘anonymous *passio*’, without any mention whatsoever of the Areopagus itself), supplying by way of context an extended description of the topography of Athens (cc. 2–5). The meeting with St Paul and the conversion of Dionysius, including his subsequent consecration as bishop of Athens, is followed by a lengthy account of the writings contained in the *Corpus Dionysiaca*, with extensive quotation of the chapter-headings of three works (*De caelesti hierarchia*, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, *De diuinis nominibus*), summaries of the ten

10 *Ep.* II. 5: ‘As to how St Clement sent him here (that is to say, to the people of Gaul); and how, afflicted by various cruel tortures, he journeyed to Christ by gaining the palm of martyrdom; and how, honoured at his funeral by the obeisance of the heavenly militia in the form of angelic guidance, he carried his own head to the place where he now rests in peace; and in what manner he was buried by a certain Catulla, a local noblewoman: the most ancient account (*libellus antiquissimus*) of his same suffering makes (this) clear’ (below, p. 206). It is possible that there was a manuscript at Saint-Denis containing both the ‘ancient’ and ‘anonymous’ *passiones*, and that their presence in the same manuscript is what caused Hilduin to refer to them together as ‘libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem’.

11 See above, p. 34.

epistolae, and lengthy excerpts from two of these, *Epp.* VII and X (cc. 9–16). Then follows an account of the meeting of Dionysius with Clement in Rome and the mission of Dionysius to Gaul and Paris (the three other missionaries named in the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ who were sent with Dionysius to convert the western regions – Saturninus, Marcellus and Lucianus – are eliminated by Hilduin). Hilduin amplified the account of the missionary-work of Dionysius in Paris by introducing two local aristocrats, Lisbius and his wife Larcia, of whom Lisbius generously donated the land in Paris on which Dionysius could build a church (Lisbius and Larcia do not occur in either of the earlier *passiones* of Dionysius, but were taken by Hilduin from an anonymous text which he refers to as the *Conscriptio Visbii*.) Hilduin’s account of the martyrdom of Dionysius and his companions is greatly influenced by the structure of earlier Roman *passiones martyrum*, which characteristically include descriptions of the horrendous tortures to which the saints were subjected,¹² and clearly provided a model for Hilduin’s description of the tortures to which Dionysius and his companions were subjected. As we have seen, the agent of persecution is not named in either of the earlier *passiones*; Hilduin seems to have derived the name of his prefect, Fescenninus Sisinnius, from one of these Roman *passiones martyrum*, perhaps the *passio* of SS. Agape, Chionia and Irene [*BHL* 118] or that of Pope Clement [*BHL* 1848], in each of which a persecuting Roman magistrate named Sisinnius is found (a deacon named Sisinnius, who becomes a martyr, is found in the *passio* of Pope Marcellus [*BHL* 5234], but a Roman martyr of this name is unlikely to have served as a model for Hilduin’s persecuting prefect).¹³

During a pause in the torture, the saints were confined with other Christians in a cell in the unidentified ‘prison of Glaucinus’, and there, while Dionysius was celebrating mass, the Lord Jesus Christ appeared, and Himself administered

12 For a general account of the (often absurd) tortures to which martyrs were supposedly subjected, see H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, 2nd ed., *Subsidia Hagiographica* 13 B (Brussels, 1966), pp. 197–207 [‘Les supplices’].

13 See H. Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendier romain. Les saints de novembre et décembre* (Brussels, 1936), p. 103. But although Hilduin evidently took the name Sisinnius from an earlier *passio*, the name Fescenninus does not appear to be attested in earlier sources. According to the *Acta Sanctorum* database, the name *Sisinnius* is found in the *Passio S. Luciani* of Odo of Beauvais (*BHL* 5009), in the *Passio S. Chrysolii* (*BHL* 1798), and the *Passio S. Reguli* (*BHL* 7106); but each of these three works is obviously dependent on Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii*. Hilduin’s source for the name Fescenninus remains to be identified (it is not found in Roman prosopographical sources: see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III.*, ed. Groag, Stein et al., s.v.).

the sacrament to Dionysius (c. 29). In some ways this is the most striking (and outrageous) piece of hagiographical invention on Hilduin's part, and sets his *Passio S. Dionysii* apart from the two earlier *passiones*.

Of the three *passiones* of St Dionysius, Hilduin's narrative of the mission and martyrdom of St Dionysius is the one which achieved the widest circulation: it is preserved in some 190 manuscripts¹⁴ (compared with some thirty each for the 'ancient *passio*' and the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*'), and it was Hilduin's account which almost invariably supplied text for the liturgy, for chants (in antiphonaries)¹⁵ and Office lessons (in breviaries);¹⁶ and it achieved this popularity and circulation in spite of the almost unreadable account of the pseudo-Dionysian writings which is contained in cc. 9–16. Two crucial features of the hagiography of St Dionysius – his identity with the man converted by St Paul in Athens and his act of cephalophory following his decapitation – were devised not by Hilduin but by his predecessor, the author of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*'. The unique features of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* are his identification of the Athenian convert of St Paul with the author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (including the lengthy description of its content), his description of the tortures undergone by St Dionysius and his companions in terms familiar from late Roman *passiones martyrum*, and his bold conception of the miracle in which Christ appeared to St Dionysius in prison.

(4) *Miracula S. Dionysii*. It will be seen from the foregoing summaries that none of the *passiones* contains more than the briefest of accounts concerning miracles which were accomplished at the martyrs' tomb in Saint-Denis, or through the agency of St Dionysius elsewhere. It remained, therefore, for someone at Saint-Denis to compose a collection of *miracula* illustrating the miraculous efficacy and power of the abbey's patron saint. The earliest surviving collection of *Miracula S. Dionysii* was apparently composed at Saint-Denis at some point during the mid-830s, probably in 835 or 836 [BHL 2202]. This collection

14 See the list of manuscripts of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* listed below in Appendix III (pp. 704–722).

15 See discussion and texts of the chants based on Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* in Appendix IX (below, pp. 818–840).

16 The list of manuscripts given in Appendix III includes some thirteen lectionaries and some twenty-one breviaries; but many more breviaries no doubt remain to be identified and recorded (cf., for example, discussion in Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc des saints martyrs Denis, Rustique et Eleuthère*, pp. xx–xxiv, who lists some thirty-six antiphonaries and sixty-four breviaries which contain texts which derive ultimately from Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*).

apparently survives in very few manuscripts,¹⁷ and has not been edited since the late seventeenth century (a new edition, properly annotated with respect to the many place- and personal names which occur in the work, is a great desideratum). The seventeenth-century edition in question is that of the great Jean Mabillon, who in his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* edited the *Miracula S. Dionysii* in the volume for the third century (i.e. the ninth century A.D.) of the Benedictine order.¹⁸ Mabillon's edition of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* is based on two late medieval manuscripts in Paris,¹⁹ one from Saint-Denis (Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1509 (Saint-Denis, s. xiv), pp. 305–373),²⁰ and one from Saint-Victor (Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 1030 (Saint-Victor, s. xv), fols. 38^r–48^v).²¹ The *Miracula S. Dionysii* as edited by Mabillon consist of two books of *miracula*: Book I largely concerns miracles which occurred during the abbacies of Fulrad, Maginarius, Fardulf and Waldo, that is to say, during the period from 750 to 814; Book II is concerned solely with miracles which took place during the abbacy of Hilduin (814–840). The fullest discussion of these *Miracula S. Dionysii* is that by Léon Levillain.²²

What emerges from Levillain's discussion is that the text of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* as printed by Mabillon may not represent the original form of the collection. Some light on this original form may be shed by some excerpts

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- 17 The Bollandists' database, *BHLms*, lists only the following six manuscripts of *BHL* 2202: Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de médecine, 1 (s. xii²), fols. 212^v–215^r; Paris, BNF, lat. 2445A (s. xii), fols. 33^r–35^r, lat. 2447 (s. xiv), fols. 153^r–184^v, lat. 2873B (s. xv), fols. 133–162, lat. 17631 (s. xv), fols. 61^r–71^r; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 571 (s. xii), fols. 72^r–97^r.
- 18 J. Mabillon and L. D' Achery, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Saeculum III, pars ii (Paris, 1672), pp. 343–359, with Book I of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* on pp. 343–352 and Book II on pp. 353–359. A third book of *Miracula S. Dionysii* was composed in 876–877 [*BHL* 2203], and is ed. *ibid.* pp. 360–364.
- 19 As was usual in the seventeenth century, Mabillon did not specify the shelfmarks of the two manuscripts; their identity was established by A. Luchaire, *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris* (Paris, 1899), pp. 25–26 [BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1509] and 27 [Arsenal 1030]. That the 'Saint-Denis' manuscript was BNF nouv. acq. lat. 1509 and not lat. 2447 is proved by the fact that nouv. acq. lat. 1509 lacks chs. 6–13, which Mabillon states were torn from the manuscript he was using, and hence was obliged to use the 'Saint-Victor' manuscript (i.e. Arsenal 1030) for that portion of the text; the missing text, however, is extant in BNF lat. 2447.
- 20 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*, III, pp. 461–462, at p. 461.
- 21 H. Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1885–1893), II, pp. 239–242, at p. 240.
- 22 Levillain, 'Études sur l' abbaye de Saint-Denis à l' époque mérovingienne (I)', pp. 58–71.

from the collection as they are preserved in a manuscript now in Rheims, BM, 1395 [K. 784] (Rheims, s. ix^{med}), fols. 32^r–37^v (note that this manuscript is some five centuries earlier than the two manuscripts on which Mabillon based his edition in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*).²³ After he had printed his edition in the *Acta* in 1672, Mabillon discovered the excerpts in the Rheims manuscript (although he does not say so); since they contained two miracles not contained in his previously-printed collection, he printed the two new miracles in his *De re diplomatica*.²⁴ The collection of *miracula* in the Rheims manuscript was rediscovered in 1893 by Bruno Krusch,²⁵ and then discussed and printed integrally in 1899 by Achille Luchaire.²⁶ It remains to be determined whether the two miracles formed part of the original two-book collection of *Miracula S. Dionysii*, or whether they represent a subsequent addition. By the same token, there is another text which – in the opinion of Luchaire and Levillain – may once have formed part of the *Miracula*, namely the *Inuentio et translatio S. Dionysii tempore Dagoberti*; I reserve discussion of this text to the following section (no. (5)).

What follows is a brief summary of the contents of Books I and II of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* as they were printed by Mabillon in his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. The first two miracles in Book I are drawn verbatim from a single chapter of Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*,

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- 23 See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, xxxviii–xxxix: *Reims*, by Henri Loriquet, 2 vols. in 3 (Paris, 1904), II, pp. 539–543, at p. 540. Note that Loriquet's dating, 'ixe siècle' (p. 543), is confirmed by Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 5307 (Reims, IX. Jh., Mitte); see also F.M. Carey, 'The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 A.D.)', in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. L.W. Jones (New York, 1938), pp. 41–60, at p. 59.
- 24 Mabillon, *De re diplomatica libri VI* (Paris, 1681–1709), pp. 648 (a miracle involving one Godobaldus which took place during the reign of Charles Martel) and 650 (a miracle involving Gerard, count of Paris). These two new miracles are listed *BHL* 2201.
- 25 B. Krusch, 'Reise nach Frankreich im Frühjahr und Sommer 1892', *Neues Archiv* 18 (1893), 549–628, at 600–602. Krusch wrongly dated the manuscript 'saec. XI', but he helpfully pointed out (p. 602) that the Abbot Chillardus [= Helardus] mentioned in the first miracle is attested in Merovingian charters for the period 706–716, that Abbot Godobald is attested in 727; and that Count Gerard of Paris mentioned in the second miracle is attested in a charter of 753.
- 26 Luchaire, *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, pp. 93–99. Luchaire's edition (and the Rheims manuscript) contains nine miracles: six from Book I (cc. 4, 6, 9, 10, 18, and 24), one from Book II (c. 31), and the two *miracula* which do not occur in the *Miracula S. Dionysii* as printed by Mabillon in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, but were printed separately by Mabillon in his *De re diplomatica* (see above, n. 24).

c. 71;²⁷ the first concerns one of the retainers of King Sigibert I (d. 575), who, while Sigibert's army was pillaging Paris (in A.D. 574), came to the *basilica* of St Dionysius hoping to steal something; in the event, he stole the silk shroud (*palla*), richly decorated with gold and jewels, which covered the tomb of St Dionysius; he then got into a boat where one of his servants was wearing 200 (stolen) gold coins around his neck, but during the voyage this servant fell overboard and disappeared, which so terrified Sigibert's retainer that he returned to Saint-Denis and gave back the shroud; he nevertheless died soon afterwards (I. 1). The same chapter of Gregory's *Liber in gloria martyrum* concerns another wicked man who dared to walk on the tomb of St Dionysius, but he slipped off and was killed by falling on the spear (*lancea*) which he was carrying (I. 2). The miracles now move forward in time to the second half of the eighth century. During the abbacy of Fulrad at Saint-Denis (750–784) a tenant-farmer of Saint-Denis named Andramnus had a hawk which he allowed to foul a church dedicated to St Dionysius on the estate at Bois-Berenger; but he was severely chastized for this in a vision seen by a local farmer named Madalwinus (I. 3). A certain chevalier (*miles*) of King Pippin (741–768), while staying as a guest at Saint-Denis, asked his servants to light a fire; the servants stole some wood from the roof of the monastery, but were burned to death by the fire which they had started (I. 4). Also during the reign of King Pippin a lame man named Otholdus was cured at the shrine of St Dionysius; Abbot Fulrad took pity on the man and provided him with daily rations (I. 5). A peasant attempted to harvest his crop on a Sunday, but managed to stab himself with his pitch-fork, so that his fingers were immobilized; he confessed his sin (of working on Sunday) to Bishop Herbert at Saint-Denis;²⁸ the monks entered the crypt of St Dionysius, and through their prayers the man's fingers were saved (I. 6). In a similar miracle, a man happened upon a cart loaded with oats which were being taken to Saint-Denis; he reached out to snatch a sheaf, but the sheaf miraculously stuck to his hand, and was only released through the intercession of St Dionysius (I. 7). A man tried to steal a ram belonging to St Dionysius, but when from the saddle he grabbed the ram's horns, he found he could not release it (I. 8).

27 Ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov. i/2 [1885], p. 535. These two miracles from Gregory of Tours are listed *BHL* 2199–2200.

28 The author of the *Miracula* explains that it was the custom of a church such as Saint-Denis to have its own resident bishop: 'Moris quippe ei fuit Ecclesiae aliquamdiu Episcopos habere' (ed. Mabillon, p. 345). This statement raises interesting problems; Mabillon commented: 'Hinc patet, nonnullis monasteriis a jure communi exemtis proprios fuisse Episcopos, et quod de Dionysiano probant insuper litterae Stephani et Hadriani Pontificum' (*ibid.* n. a).

A certain Saxon who was lame came from across the sea from those people who are called 'English' (*Angli*) to the shrine of St Dionysius and was healed (I. 9). One Count Bertrand pitched a tent on a meadow belonging to St Dionysius; although he was warned by the guardian of the meadow that this was forbidden, he refused to depart, and in a dream that night he saw himself being flogged, and repented of his action (I. 10). Another chevalier (*miles*) of King Pippin pastured his horse in a meadow belonging to St Dionysius; although warned against this by the custodian of the meadow, he persisted, whereupon his horse died and the man himself went lame, and was only healed by the intercession of St Dionysius (I. 11). A man who was mentally ill, after visiting many saints' shrines, was eventually cured by St Dionysius (I. 12). A man stole a post from a wooden wall which Abbot Fulrad was constructing around Saint-Denis; the man was seized by an evil spirit, but eventually cured by St Dionysius (I. 13). During the construction of the great new *basilica*, which was begun under King Pippin but finished under Charlemagne,²⁹ one of the spikes from the roof fell to the ground and was stolen by one Herlebert; he was then seized by dire thirst, and only after confessing his crime was he able to sate his thirst at a nearby well (I. 14). During the same construction, a man named Airradus fell from the tower; although Abbot Fulrad and others immediately ran up, the man was miraculously unharmed (I. 15). Once when Queen Bertrada (Pippin's wife and Charlemagne's mother) was staying at Saint-Denis, it was reported to her that one of her agents named Autbertus had stolen something from a farm belonging to Saint-Denis and thereupon lost the use of his arm; Bertrada openly reported the crime to the monks of Saint-Denis, assuming the blame on behalf of her man; but through the prayers of the monks the man was restored to health (the fact that Bertrada died in 783 establishes a *terminus ante quem* for this miracle) (I. 16).³⁰ A man stole a sheaf of wheat from a field belonging to Saint-Denis; he was miraculously unable to put the sheaf down until he confessed his crime (I. 17). A Bavarian who was a chevalier (*miles*) of Charlemagne picked a ripe peach from an orchard belonging to Saint-Denis; he was warned against this by the gardener, but in a rage struck the gardener with his fist, whereupon his hand withered; only when he prayed to St Diony-

29 On this new *basilica*, begun c. 754 by Abbot Fulrad and consecrated under Charlemagne in 775, see K.J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 43 and ill. 378, as well as discussion by Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 59–64, and esp. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 51–83; see also above, p. 14.

30 This same miracle is related by Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France*, p. 59, basing himself on the present chapter of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* (I. 16).

sus was his hand healed (I. 18). In the time of Abbot Maginarius (784–792), a man from Paris came to the shrine of St Dionysius and stole from there an iron bolt with which the doors of the shrine were closed; but once he got outside the church he found himself unable to move, and was forced to spend the night there (I. 19). During Charlemagne's campaigns against the Saxons, Abbot Fardulf (792–806) took the relics of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius on the campaign; by chance a fire was started by wax dripping from one of the altar candles, but the linen cloth (*lintea*) in which the relics were wrapped, and the relics themselves, were untouched by the flames (I. 20).³¹ A cleric of Fardulf named Bosulf took relics of St Dionysius to Italy in order to dedicate a church there in the saint's honour; by chance some men illicitly entered a nearby field belonging to Charlemagne's son Pippin II, king of Italy (d. 810), and, of these men, six died along with eleven of their horses, thus revealing the powers of patronage of St Dionysius (I. 21). A boy stole a little flask from this same church of St Dionysius; he was struck down with fever, and was only cured when his mother took him back to the church and he restored the flask (I. 22). A legal dispute between Count Lantbert and Agelboldus, the prior of Saint-Denis, concerning the abbey's ownership of a servant named Wanilo, was brought to trial; when Wanilo was about to swear a false oath, he placed his hand on a golden reliquary in the shape of a hand, which miraculously sprang away from him (I. 23). A man named Beldela had a wife named Angilrada, whose servant-girl, who had been 'corrupted', was too frightened of her mistress to confess her guilt, and went instead to the church of St Dionysius at *Strata* (Saint-Denis-de-l'Éstrée)³² to seek refuge; when the priest of this church asked the mistress to relent, she refused, whereupon she lost the use of her voice, and only regained it when she forgave her servant-girl (I. 24). During the abbacy of Waldo (806–814), a man named Ermenarius from the vicinity of Orléans lost his speech, but was cured when he went to Saint-Denis (I. 25). A woman named Grimoildis had

31 This miracle too is related by Félibien, *ibid.* p. 63.

32 This is the earliest recorded mention of the church of Saint-Denis-de-l'Éstrée; it was located directly west of the abbey church on the rue de la République (no. 86) in the faubourg Saint-Denis. In the late eleventh century it housed a famous school which was attended by Suger, later abbot of Saint-Denis, and the later King Louis VI of France. The church was abandoned at the time of the French Revolution, and sold as a source of builders' rubble in 1793; it was finally demolished in 1840. See Michäel Wyss, *Atlas historique*, pp. 190–197 (with map on p. 186 showing its location in 1575) and esp. pp. 209–210. In 1867, Viollet-le-Duc constructed a new church called Saint-Denis-de-l'Éstrée on the rue Auguste Delaune, which has become a tourist site known for its stained glass windows, but has no connection with the original church of this name.

gone lame, but was cured at the martyrs' shrine (I. 26). A brother (of Saint-Denis?) named Airoardus attempted to steal a loaf of bread, but the wooden table on which the loaf was placed collapsed, so the crime was discovered (I. 27). A five-year-old boy named Iacob, whose duty was washing clothes for the monastery, fell off a bridge, and was carried dangerously downstream to a mill-race, but was saved in time by the intercession of the martyrs before he was crushed by the mill-wheel (I. 28).

It will be seen from this summary that the majority of the miracles related in Book I are concerned with the property rights of Saint-Denis and dependent churches dedicated to St Dionysius. These miracles reveal St Dionysius to be a ferocious and vindictive defender of his rights, who will not overlook the theft of so much as a peach from his orchards or a sheaf of wheat or oats from one of his hay wagons, and will not tolerate a trespass of any kind, such as pasturing of horses or setting up of tents, on his land. Very few miracles in Book I are concerned with the healing of diseases: I count only five such miracles (I. 5, 8, 12, 25 and 26) out of twenty-eight.

By contrast, the miracles related in Book II nearly all describe miraculous cures of (sometimes appalling) medical conditions. All the miracles in Book II relate to the period of Hilduin's abbacy, and one wonders if the palpable shift in emphasis in Book II is a reflection of Hilduin's personal interest, or of how he wished his patron saint to be portrayed. It is also noteworthy that, whereas in Book I the miracles were associated with St Dionysius himself, those in Book II pertain usually to 'the martyrs', that is, to SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius. The miracles in Book II may be summarized as follows. A man named Bernarius went insane, but was cured after a few days when he was brought to the martyrs' shrine (II. 1). A woman named Berdundis who suffered from ill health was cured at the martyrs' shrine, and subsequently became a nun (II. 2). Another woman named Amalgundis, a resident of *Catulliacus* (i.e. the site on which Saint-Denis itself was built) had severe inflammation in her left eye, but was cured at the martyrs' shrine (II. 3). A man named Framboldus from the same locale (i.e. *Catulliacus*) contracted an eye disease and went blind, but was healed at the martyrs' shrine (II. 4). A man from Aquitaine named Froaldus had eye trouble; he journeyed to the martyrs' shrine and was healed (II. 5). A man named Airbertus, who had the nervous ailment called *neverofresim* by the Greeks, was brought in a litter to the martyrs' shrine; after lying there for three days he was healed (II. 6). A woman from an estate in Gascony named Angalfreda, who had been blind for fifteen years, was cured at their shrine (II. 7). Another woman called Frothildis was so severely crippled that she couldn't stand up to see the sky; she arrived at the martyrs' shrine propped up on two crutches and was healed (II. 8). Another woman named

Christiana, from Orléans, had been blind for fourteen years, but was cured at their shrine; and seven other people afflicted with various illnesses were also cured there (II. 9). A man named Agembertus was so deformed that his feet seemed to touch his back; he came to the martyrs' shrine and was healed (II. 10). Another man named Malbertus, similarly crippled, was cured at their shrine during the reading of the fourth lesson of the Night Office (II. 11). Another man named Acledeus came to the shrine crawling on all fours, but was healed on the day of the martyrs' feast (i.e. 9 October) (II. 12). A man named Hildemodus, who had been crippled for ten years, prayed at the shrine and was healed; shortly thereafter he lost his speech, but recovered it after two days (II. 13). A man named Idelfredus, who had been unable to walk for three years, was brought to the shrine and healed (II. 14). A woman from Nogent-sur-Marne was so deformed that her feet seemed to touch her back; at the time that the relics of St Sebastian were brought to Soissons (*scil.* in 826), she was taken there, but was not cured; accordingly, she went to the little church of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius at Dugny where, after lying there overnight (during which time she was bitten by a dog) she was healed; her name was Doda, and she thereafter took the veil (II. 15).³³ In this same church at Dugny a blind girl received her sight (II. 16). A man named Gislehard from the estate at Merville suffered from glaucoma; he came to the martyrs' shrine at Saint-Denis and was healed (II. 17). A girl named Amsindis also suffered from glaucoma, but when her mother brought her to the shrine she was healed on the fifth day (II. 18). A man named Hucbert had a cancerous growth on his right foot; despairing of help from physicians, he spent eight days at the martyrs' shrine and was cured (II. 19). A woman named Ermentrudis, from the estate of Épinay, had a cancerous growth on her left breast; she prayed at the martyrs' shrine and divine intervention prevented any further growth of the tumour (II. 20). Another woman whose breast was inflamed with erysipelas came to the martyrs' shrine on their feast day and was healed; another woman named Austreberta who had lost her sight was similarly healed at their shrine (II. 21). A man named Godefridus was assailed by leprosy; he spent seven days at the martyrs' shrine, and was able to shed this hateful affliction (II. 22). An unnamed woman whose womb was diseased was healed during vigils at the martyrs' shrine (II. 23). A nun named Hildegard from the nunnery at Argenteuil had her nose blocked by polyps, such that the growth of superfluous flesh caused distress to those who saw her; she spent two weeks at the martyrs' shrine and was cured so that not a

33 This miracle, and its dating implications, are discussed by Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (1)', p. 63.

trace of the deformed growth remained (II. 24). Two other women from the same nunnery, of whom one was a nun, the other a lay person, suffered from erysipelas on their breasts, but were cured at the martyrs' shrine (II. 25). A man named Nodelharius from the same place suffered from glaucoma so that he could not distinguish the outlines of human figures; but he was cured when he prayed to God and the blessed martyrs for the restoration of his sight (II. 26). An inhabitant of the estate at *Riogili* suffered swelling of his entire hand and arm from the prick of a thorn, but was cured at the martyrs' shrine (II. 27). A certain Sigebertus, who was insane, was cured when he entered the shrine (II. 28). A certain woman named Waltildis, from the estate of Bonneuil, was deprived of the use of her legs, but was restored to health when she visited the martyrs' shrine (II. 29). Likewise another woman named Reguisinda was unable to walk, but was cured when she was carried to the martyrs' shrine, and was able to walk home unassisted (II. 30). A man from the region of Hièmes who had always been blind had his sight restored by declaring his faith in the Father and the Holy Spirit and His martyrs Dionysius and companions (II. 31). An Angevin woman named Doctrudis had for three years been deprived of her sight; although holy oil from the lamp which burned before the martyrs' tomb was placed on her eyes, it had no effect; when she asked permission to take some of this oil, the lamp miraculously fell to the ground and broke; so she turned and stood before the altar which Abbot Hilduin had built in honour of the Trinity;³⁴ and when she touched her eyes with the oil that had spilled on the floor, her eyesight was restored (II. 32). An estate in Anjou named Pontigny was acquired by a priest named Pugnitus, but an agent of the nearby estate of Baugé named Rothelinus retained certain properties rightly belonging to Pontigny, whereupon Pugnitus went to the local count, Lantbertus, to have the matter settled; the matter was brought to trial, and Rothelinus showed up with a heavily armed escort in order to intimidate Pugnitus, who was unarmed; but Pugnitus assured them that, if they wished to fight, their opponent was St Dionysius, whose property they had stolen; whereupon six of the armed men went insane, and died on the same day (II. 33).³⁵ The author apologizes

34 See discussion of this miracle by Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (1)', pp. 64–65. As Levillain points out, the altar in question must have been located in the crypt which Hilduin built in 832 and dedicated to the Virgin and All Saints, on which see above, pp. 41–44.

35 See discussion of this incident by Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (1)', pp. 65–69, who identifies Lantbert as the count of Anjou who in 833 sided with Lothar in the rebellion against Louis the Pious, and dates the incident to 26 September 833.

for dwelling on 'disputes of this sort' (*huiuscemodi luctuosa*), and proceeds to discuss a certain Adefredus, who had been unable to walk for fifteen years, but was restored to full mobility with the assistance of the holy martyrs (II. 34). On an estate in the region of Étampes called Strepigny a woman named Guntherga heard the church-bells ringing for Mass one day during Lent, but she continued to work on her embroidery, saying that she would go to the church as soon as she finished; but the linen miraculously stuck to her hand, so that she could not open it; she went to various churches, seeking help in vain, but eventually went to the *basilica* of the glorious martyrs, where she was released from the affliction; this miracle was witnessed in the *basilica* by the author of the present work (*ubi eam et egomet vidi*) (II. 35).³⁶ That same Lent, on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, a young woman named Elisanna from the faubourg of Saint-Denis (*Catulliacus*) was working on her embroidery; by mischance, the needle stuck in her hand and could not be removed; she went that night to vigils, and when the gospel was being read, the needle sprang miraculously from her hand (II. 36). Earlier that year, at the time of the Great Litanies, a girl named Hilduis suffered a debilitating illness throughout her body (her head alone excepted), but was healed by the intervention of the holy martyrs (II. 37). That same year (*instanti etiam anno*), in the church on Montmartre, which was once called *Mons Martis* but now through a happy transformation is called *Mons Martyrum*, some workmen were laying the flooring by placing wattles between the beams; when one of the workmen stood on the wattles, they gave way and left the man hanging, but through God's mercy his workmates were able to retrieve him with ropes (II. 38).³⁷ In a final prayer (*oratio scriptoris*) the author explains that he has assembled and recorded these few miracles at the urging of his colleague Samuel.³⁸

The author's colleague Samuel is recorded among the monks of Saint-Denis in the confraternity agreement with Saint-Remi of Rheims dated 838: *Samuel subdiaconus et monachus*;³⁹ nothing further is known of him. As can be seen from the foregoing summary, Book II of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* contains a

36 Ed. Mabillon, p. 358.

37 This miracle, and the dating implications of the words *instanti etiam anno* with which it begins, are discussed in detail by Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (1)', pp. 69–70.

38 Ed. Mabillon, p. 359: 'O Samuhel, te hortante, immo urgente, paucas elegi virtutes ... compendiose in unum digessi'.

39 Ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, p. lviii [no. LXXVII], and Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften*, p. 26.

number of references to datable events, which allow us to determine the date of composition with some measure of accuracy.⁴⁰ The reference in II. 15 to the arrival of the relics of St Sebastian in Soissons establishes a *terminus post quem* of 826.⁴¹ The mention of the altar dedicated to the Trinity in Hilduin's chapel (II. 32) indicates a *terminus post quem* of 1 November 832, the day on which Hilduin's crypt / chapel was dedicated.⁴² Levillain attempted to establish a slightly later *terminus post quem* by arguing that the reference to Palm Sunday in II. 36 referred to 28 March 834, and that, given the calendar which was probably in use at Saint-Denis in these years, the miracle in II. 38 probably refers to Lent in either 835 or 836; he therefore concluded that 'les *Miracula* auraient donc été achevés entre le 25 décembre 834 et le 16 février 835, ou entre le 25 décembre 835 et le 3 mars 836'.⁴³ But even if one were to discount Levillain's arguments concerning the implied dating of Easter in II. 36 and II. 38, it is clear that Books I and II of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* were in existence by c. 835, during the abbacy of Hilduin.

Some forty years later, a different author, who was presumptively a monk of Saint-Denis, composed a third book of *miracula* of St Dionysius. This third book consists of a long *praefatio* and fifteen chapters of *miracula*; it is listed separately as *BHL* 2203.⁴⁴ The *praefatio* is relevant to our understanding of the reception of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*: it contains a strongly-worded denunciation of the *derisores* or 'sceptics' who reject the view that St Dionysius was bishop of Athens and was consecrated by St Paul; these *derisores* are invited to learn that Dionysius was 'not unknown' to the following reliable translators (*interpretum*): 'discant non ignarum eorum fidissimorum interpretum, Anastasii Romanorum bibliothecarii utriusque linguae peritissimi, Euphemii Graecorum sapientissimi, Hincmari Latinae prolationis oratoris disertissimi, & ante hos Gregorii huius Dionysii memoratoris felicissimi'.⁴⁵ Following the *praefatio*, the first of

40 On the question of dating the *Miracula S. Dionysii*, see the important discussion by Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (I)', pp. 63–71.

41 See the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 826 (ed. Kurze, p. 171; trans. Scholz, p. 120), and ch. 1, above, p. 25 and n. 99.

42 For the dedication of Hilduin's chapel / crypt, see ch. 1, above, pp. 42–43, as well as discussion by Levillain, 'Les plus anciennes églises abbatiales de Saint-Denis', p. 161, and idem, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (I)', pp. 64–65.

43 Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (I)', p. 70.

44 Book III of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* is ed. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Saeculum III, pars II, pp. 360–364.

45 Ibid. p. 360. On Hincmar, see above, pp. 16–18, and on Anastasius Bibliothecarius, see below, pp. 106–107. The reference to *Gregorii huius Dionysii memoratoris* is presumably to

the *miracula* in Book III describes the advent of the Vikings in Paris, and the removal of the relics of SS. Dionysius and companions; this event is dated to the ‘thirty-seventh year of the reign of Charles the third’ (i.e. Charles the Bald, whose two predecessors were Charles Martel and Charlemagne): ‘Igitur anno tricesimo septimo regni piissimi Karoli tertii’.⁴⁶ The first year of Charles’ reign, following the death of Louis the Pious, was 840; the thirty-seventh year would therefore have been 876 or 877, which fixes the date for the composition of Book III of the *Miracula S. Dionysii*. The following chapters describe the miraculous fact that the Vikings left Saint-Denis unscathed, and did not burn it to the ground (III. 2), followed by a sequence of brief and unilluminating miracles of healing, for the most part of blindness and eye-disease.

(5) *Inuentio et translatio S. Dionysii tempore Dagoberti*. In the opinion of Achille Luchaire and Léon Levillain, this *Inuentio beati Dionysii sociorumque eius* (as it is referred to by Levillain) was originally intended to constitute the preface of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* discussed above (no. (4)).⁴⁷ The *Inuentio* is listed as no. 2193 in *BHL*, and according to *BHLms* is preserved in a substantial number of manuscripts (some thirty);⁴⁸ but the listing in *BHL* is deeply problematic, for the reason that the transmission of the so-called *Inuentio* is tangled up with that of the *Gesta Dagoberti*,⁴⁹ with which it is closely related, and the *BHL* listing does not attempt to distinguish between the two (originally separate?) texts. Amidst the confusion presented by these two closely related texts, Luchaire in 1899 drew particular attention to a twelfth-century manuscript of the *Inuentio*

Gregory the Great’s discussion of the orders of angels in his *Hom. in Euangelia* xxxiv. 12 (see above, ch. 2, p. 68 with n. 13). I have been unable to establish the identity of ‘Euphemius’.

46 Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Saeculum III, pars ii, p. 361.

47 See Luchaire, *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, pp. 20–29, and Levillain, ‘Études sur l’abbaye de Saint-Denis à l’époque mérovingienne (1)’, p. 59 and n. 8, as well as discussion below under no. (5).

48 Two further manuscripts of the *Inuentio* were signalled by Luchaire: ‘Note additionnelle aux *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*’, *Bibliothèque de la Faculté des lettres [de l’Université de Paris]* 13 (1901), 3–6; the two manuscripts in question are Paris, Bibliothèque de la Mazarine 1710 (s. xi/xii) and 1715 (s. xiii); the information is repeated by Levillain, ‘Études sur l’abbaye de Saint-Denis à l’époque mérovingienne (1)’, p. 59 n. 8.

49 The *Gesta Dagoberti* are best studied in the edition of Bruno Krusch, *MGH, SS. rer. Merov. ii*, 399–425; but the *Gesta Dagoberti* have been printed several times, notably by A. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores coaetanei*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1636–1649), I, pp. 572–589, whence they are repr. in PL xcvi. 1395–1422.

in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 571 (see below).⁵⁰ The *Inuentio* has never been printed; our knowledge of its text depends on extensive quotations provided by Léon Levillain in his discussion of the relationship between this text and the *Gesta Dagoberti*.⁵¹

What is the evidence that the *Inuentio* was composed to serve as the preface to the two books of *Miracula S. Dionysii*, and that it did indeed form part of the work as originally issued? Luchaire first drew attention to the phrase concerning the *initia monasterii* in the preface to Book II of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* as printed by Mabillon: reflecting on this phrase, Luchaire concluded that ‘one sees at once that the text (as printed by Mabillon) is not complete.’⁵² It is at this point that he introduces the evidence of Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 571 which, according to Luchaire, contains, embedded in the *Miracula S. Dionysii*, the ‘historical account’ of the foundation of the abbey which is lacking in the text printed by Mabillon.⁵³ Levillain repeats the arguments of Luchaire, but with greater emphasis. He points to the prologue of Book II of the *Miracula* (as printed by Mabillon in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*), which explains that, of the collection of miracles included in the two books, ‘the first of them [i.e. Book I] is that in which I treated the beginnings of the

50 Luchaire, *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, pp. 23–24; on the manuscript, see [Bollandists], *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, Subsidia hagiographica 11 (Brussels, 1910), pp. 376–377.

51 Levillain, ‘Études sur l’abbaye de Saint-Denis à l’époque mérovingienne (1)’, pp. 74–88. Unfortunately Levillain did not specify what manuscript or manuscripts he was quoting from. One might guess that his excerpts derive from Paris, BNF, lat. 2445A (s. xii) (on which see *Cat. cod. hag. Paris.* 1, pp. 118–120), because that is the manuscript which was closest to hand; but the matter would need to be verified by collation; in any case, it is somewhat suspicious that he never mentions the manuscript source of his quotations from the *Inuentio* (which he refers to consistently and tendentiously as the *Miracula*).

52 Luchaire, *Études sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, p. 21: ‘on s’aperçoit d’abord qu’il n’est pas complet’; he continues: ‘Cette dernière partie de la phrase [*scil.* that concerning the *initia monasterii*, quoted below, n. 54] prouve clairement que le récit des faits relatifs aux quatre abbés ... devait être précédé d’un historique de la fondation de l’abbaye de Saint-Denis. Or cet historique manque dans la publication de Mabillon.’

53 *Ibid.* pp. 23–24: ‘Le texte du Vatican diffère d’ailleurs du texte imprimé sur un point capital. On y retrouve cet historique de la fondation de l’abbaye de Saint-Denis que l’ouvrage original devait certainement contenir, et qui manque à l’édition de Mabillon. Dans le MS. de la Reine 571, cette partie inédite commence au fo. 72^v par les mots “Quartus ab Chlodoveo qui primus regum Francorum ad cultum Dei etc.” et se termine au fo. 76^r avant le récit du premier miracle: “Quidam primorum Sigiberti regis” [i.e. *Miracula S. Dionysii* 1. 1].’

monastery (*initia monasterii*) and the times of four abbots who succeeded each other in turn'.⁵⁴ Levillain glosses this statement as follows: 'Selon le témoignage de l'écrivain lui-même, le premier livre embrassait les origines du monastère de Saint-Denis' and that it consisted 'd'une histoire des "initia monasterii" qui est l'*Inuentio*'.⁵⁵ Note that this is merely Levillain's assertion: he provides no evidence to support it. Nevertheless, for the remainder of his discussion, Levillain tendentiously refers to "*Miracula*" when quoting from the *Inuentio*.⁵⁶ In short, we have only the assertion of Luchaire and Levillain that the reference to the *initia monasterii* in the prologue of Book II refers to the *Inuentio*: could it not simply refer to the first two miracles in Book I (1. 1 and 2), both of them taken from Gregory of Tours, and referring to the very earliest period of the abbey's history? Furthermore, it is not impossible that the text of the *Inuentio* has been interpolated into the *Miracula* by the twelfth-century scribe of Reg. lat. 571. In every other respect, the transmissional histories of the *Miracula* and of the *Inuentio* are entirely distinct. Until such time as we have a reliable edition of the *Inuentio* – recall that it has never been published – it is more prudent to leave open the question of its relationship to the *Miracula S. Dionysii*, and to treat the *Miracula* and the *Inuentio* as two separate texts, perhaps by the same author, perhaps not.

There remains the question of the relationship of the *Inuentio* to the *Gesta Dagoberti*. Levillain advanced lengthy and detailed arguments to demonstrate that both these works – the *Inuentio* and the *Gesta Dagoberti* – were the work of one author, and that the *Gesta Dagoberti* are the later work, and represent a revision of the earlier work.⁵⁷ He then went on to argue that the author of

54 *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Saeculum III, pars ii, p. 353: 'Eorum tantum hic primus erit, quo initia monasterii quatuorque abbatum sibi vicissim succedentium tempora complexus sum'. Note that this sentence is taken from the *praefatio* to Book II of the *Miracula S. Dionysii*.

55 Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (1)', p. 61.

56 Following Luchaire, Levillain makes the following observation: 'À la fin de l'*Inuentio* l'auteur des *Miracula* nous apprend que, son propos étant de nous raconter les miracles des bienheureux martyrs et non point les règnes des rois, il classera les faits dans l'ordre chronologique sans les dater par les années des princes' ('Études', p. 62). The relevant Latin text reads: 'Set quia non tempora regum set miracula beatorum martyrum litteris tradere institui, non annis singulorum ... ea distinguam, sed quovis eorum tempore contigerint indubitanter gesta subiciam' (quoted by Luchaire, *Les "Miracula sancti Dionysii"*, p. 24; also quoted by Levillain, 'Études', p. 63, n. 3, from Luchaire). It is not clear to me why this statement pertains to the *initia monasterii*; furthermore, as even Luchaire was obliged to admit, the sentence in question is not found in manuscripts containing the *Inuentio*.

57 Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (1)', pp. 71–88.

both works was Hincmar, subsequently archbishop of Rheims, who at the time the two works were composed was a monk of Saint-Denis: Levillain dates the *Inuentio* to 835 or slightly earlier, and the *Gesta Dagoberti* to 835 or later.⁵⁸ To judge from the lengthy excerpts of the two works which Levillain quotes in parallel columns, they are manifestly related; but – so it seems to me – many of the parallels could be more economically explained by the assumption that passages of the *Inuentio* were simply abbreviated from the *Gesta*. But, to state the obvious once again, until a reliable edition of the *Inuentio* becomes available, it is not possible to settle the matter confidently.

(6) Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Passio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2184]. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (d. 879) was a native of Rome and a distinguished scholar of Greek and Latin who had strong connections with several ninth-century popes, especially Nicholas I (858–867) and Hadrian II (867–872). At one point in his career he was banished from Rome by Pope Leo IV (847–855); on Leo's death in 855 he attempted to get himself elected to the papacy, but failed. Under Pope Nicholas he was appointed abbot of S. Maria in Trastevere, and under Hadrian II became Bibliothecarius Romanae ecclesiae (that is, he was in charge of the papal chancery and archives). On behalf of Pope Hadrian he travelled in 869 to Constantinople, where he took part in the Eighth Ecumenical Council, the Greek *acta* of which have been lost and are known only through a Latin translation made by Anastasius.⁵⁹ It was presumably during his stay in Constantinople that Anastasius came upon a text of the Greek *Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae* [BHG 554].⁶⁰ He was unaware that this Greek text was simply a literal translation of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' [BHL 2178; above, no. (2)], so in 875 or 876 he translated it back into Latin, and sent it with a dedicatory letter to Charles the Bald (d. 877).⁶¹ We know that Anastasius' text was available in Fran-

58 Ibid. pp. 88–114. Levillain's dating of the *Inuentio*, however, depends on the (questionable) assumption that it originally formed part of the *Miracula S. Dionysii*, which, as we have seen, can be dated reliably to c. 835 on the basis of events described in Book II. But if the *Inuentio* is entirely independent of the *Miracula*, as I suspect, criteria for dating the *Inuentio* will need to be established once the text is available in a reliable edition.

59 See C. Leonardi, 'Anastasio Bibliotecario e l'ottavo concilio ecumenico', *Studi medievali* 8 (1967), 59–192.

60 Ed. PG iv. 668–684. On this text, see Appendix x (below, pp. 841–842).

61 The dedicatory letter to Charles the Bald (but not Anastasius' text of the *Passio S. Dionysii*) is ed. Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, v [1574], pp. 661–662, and repr. from Surius in PL cxxix. 737–739.

cia no later than 876, because it is mentioned in the preface to Book III of the *Miracula S. Dionysii* (discussed above, p. 102). According to *BHL*ms, the dedicatory letter survives in several manuscripts; but as far as I can ascertain, there is only one surviving manuscript which contains the full text of Anastasius' Latin version of the *Passio S. Dionysii*.⁶²

(7) *Translatio Ratisbonam et inuentio S. Dionysii* [*BHL* 2194]. This text describes the audacious (and no doubt entirely fictitious) theft by an agent of King Arnulf of the relics of St Dionysius from the shrine in Saint-Denis in 899, their transport to Regensburg by this king (the *translatio*) and their burial there according to a promise made by Arnulf to the abbot of Saint-Denis not to reveal his possession of the relics, and their subsequent discovery, after 150 years, at Regensburg in 1049 (the *inuentio*). The task of making this implausible story seem even remotely plausible required the literary talents of a highly skilled hagiographer; and although the text is transmitted anonymously in the two manuscripts which preserve it (see below), it has long been thought that its author was none other than Otloh of St Emmeram (c.1010–c.1070),⁶³ the brilliant hagiographer who was active at St Emmeram in middle years of the eleventh century. Otloh is known to have forged documents on behalf of St Emmeram,⁶⁴ and was the author of several saints' Lives: *Vita S. Altonis* [*BHL* 316], *Vita S. Magni* [*BHL* 5163],⁶⁵ *Vita S. Nicolai* [*BHL* 6126], and *Vita S. Wolfkangi* [*BHL* 8990]. More importantly, as Bernhard Bischoff was the first to show, Otloh had a personal interest in acquiring manuscripts pertaining to St Dionysius, including a copy of John Scottus' translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, now in Munich, BSB, Clm 14137.⁶⁶ He also acquired a copy of Hilduin's *epistolae*

62 Paris, BNF, lat. 5569 (Rheims, s. x), fols. 4^r–14^v (on which see *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, II, pp. 477–478). The text has only been printed once, by Pierre-François Chifflet, *Dissertationes tres: De uno Dionysio* (Paris, 1676), pp. 7–35, presumably from this manuscript.

63 On Otloh, see Manitius, II, pp. 83–103; *Verfasserlexikon* III, pp. 658–670 [B. Bischoff]; H. Schauwecker, 'Otloh von St. Emmeram', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 74 (1963), 5–240, and the important article by Bernhard Bischoff, cited below, n. 66.

64 See J. Lechner, 'Zu den falschen Exemptionsprivilegien für St. Emmeram (Regensburg)', *Neues Archiv* 25 (1900), 627–635, at 628; and H. Philipp-Schauwecker, 'Otloh und die St Emmeramer Fälschungen des XI. Jahrhunderts', *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 106 (1966), 103–120.

65 See also M. Coens, 'La vie de S. Magne de Füssen par Otloh de Saint-Emmeram', *AB* 81 (1963), 159–227.

66 See Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram', esp. pp. 89–92 and 102–103.

on St Dionysius and his *Passio S. Dionysii*, now in Munich, BSB, Clm 14871 (on which see below, p. 118). Otloh sent a further copy of the *epistolae* and the *Passio S. Dionysii* to Fulda; this copy is preserved as London, BL, Add. 22793 (on which see below, pp. 136–137). Given his skill as a forger and hagiographer, and his interest in St Dionysius, there can be little doubt that it was he who composed the *Translatio Ratisbonam et inuentio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2194].⁶⁷

The text of the *Translatio Ratisbonam et Inuentio S. Dionysii* was authoritatively edited by Adolf Hofmeister from the two surviving manuscripts,⁶⁸ both of them fifteenth-century paper copies, now Munich, BSB, Clm 1805 (Regensburg, s. xv), fols. 16^r–36^v, and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 534. 3 Novi (s. xiv/xv), fols. 50^r–58^v.⁶⁹ Following a preface, in which the author [Otloh] states that he was a witness to the recent *inuentio* ('quod audivimus et vidimus, quod oculis nostris perspeximus et manus nostrae, licet indignae, contrectaverunt de corpore preciosissimi Dyonisii'), the text is laid out in three distinct parts: the *translatio* or relic-theft of 899 (cc. 1–6), the *inuentio* or discovery of the relics at Regensburg in 1049 (cc. 7–12), and a lengthy disquisition by Otloh on the sources of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, as Hilduin himself had expounded them in his letter (*Ep.* 11) to Louis the Pious (cc. 13–17). The work may be summarized as follows.

Translatio: Arnulf, the son of Carloman king of Bavaria, was ruling as emperor of Francia (c. 1).⁷⁰ It happened that the emperor was travelling through the western kingdoms with his army, and encamped outside of Paris; one of his faithful followers, a *clericus* named Gisilpertus, proposed to him the plan of stealing the relics of St Dionysius; Arnulf approved the plan, whereupon Gisilpertus went to Saint-Denis and showed the abbot a huge amount of gold

67 As was first suggested by Heinemann ('Die älteste Translatio des heil. Dionysius' [cited below, n. 68], pp. 335–340), was suspected by Manitius (II, pp. 100–101) and Bischoff ('Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram', p. 102), and ringingly endorsed by Andreas Kraus: 'Diese Beobachtungen B. Bischoffs scheinen dann doch die Verfasserfrage zu entscheiden. Es kommt nur Otloh selbst in Betracht' (*Die Translatio S. Dionysii Areopagitae von St. Emmeram in Regensburg*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* (Munich, 1972), Heft IV, pp. 9–20, at p. 20).

68 'Translationis et Inventionis Sancti Dionysii Ratisponensis historia antiquior', MGH, SS xxx/2 [Hannover, 1934], pp. 823–837. The text had previously been edited (from the Wolfenbüttel manuscript alone) by Lothar von Heinemann, 'Die älteste Translatio des heil. Dionysius', *Neues Archiv* 15 (1890), 331–361, at 340–358.

69 On the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, see H. Butzmann, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Gruppen Extravagantes, Novi und Novissimi* (Frankfurt, 1972), pp. 343–344, at 343.

70 This Arnulf was the grandson of Louis the German; he became king of the Eastern Franks in 887, and was Frankish emperor from 896 until his death in 899.

(*pondus ingens auri*), explaining that his intention was to give it to St Dionysius; he was therefore invited to stay as a guest at Saint-Denis; he then asked to be shown a suitable place where he could put the gold, and the abbot led him to the tomb of St Dionysius; Gisilpertus asked the custodians of the tomb for permission to spend the night there, and then sponsored a lavish meal and succeeded in getting the custodians drunk, whereupon he stealthily let into the church two of his henchmen with sacks; they dug open the tomb of St Dionysius and returned to King Arnulf with the sacks containing the relics of St Dionysius (c. 2). The following morning the theft was discovered (c. 3). The abbot guessed what had happened, went directly to King Arnulf, and asked him to return the relics which had been stolen by the evil cleric; the king was moved by the abbot's plea, gave him back the two sacks, and promised to say nothing of the matter while he remained alive (in fact, of course, the relics had been removed from the sacks, and Arnulf returned to Regensburg with the true relics) (c. 4). More than a century later the author of the present work happened to visit Saint-Denis, where he was asked by the abbot if he happened to know if the relics of St Dionysius were to be found at Regensburg. In surprise the author said, 'But surely the relics are here?' ('Nonne, inquam, ipse hoc in loco corporaliter requiescit?') With a deep sigh the abbot said, 'No, alas, he was formerly stolen from here' ('Nequaquam proch dolor ... quoniam olim hinc per furtum ablatus est') (c. 5). The monks of St Emmeram (in Regensburg) decide to investigate the matter (c. 6).

Inuentio: The two sacks brought back from Paris were discovered, one containing the head, the other the remaining bones (c. 7). The discovery was made during in the time of Abbot Richolf (1006–1028); but because of the persecution of the monastery by Gebehard I, bishop of Regensburg (994–1023), nothing was done about it (c. 8). It was not until 1049, under Bishop Gebehard III (1036–1060) that the discovery could be publicized and celebrated (c. 9). When the sacks were finally excavated (in 1049), an engraved stone was found bearing the inscription: 'Emmerammus Aquitanus et Dyonisius Ariopagita hic requiescunt sub Arnolfo imperatore et Odone rege' (c. 10).⁷¹ The *inuentio* is celebrated at St Emmeram (cc. 11–12).

71 The stone and its inscription survives, and has been studied thoroughly by F. Fuchs, 'Die Regensburger Dionysiussteine vom Jahre 1049', in *Von Quellenwert der Inschriften. Vorträge und Berichte der Fachtagung Esslingen 1990*, ed. R. Neumüller-Klauser (Heidelberg, 1992), pp. 139–159. It is illustrated, with helpful discussion, by M. Wesche, "Ein höchst ehrwürdiger Raub". Der heilige Dionysius Areopagita in Regensburg', in the Bavarian Academy's *Akademie Aktuell* 04–2015, pp. 42–47.

Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* and its sources are then discussed in detail (cc. 13–17).⁷² It is evident from these chapters that Otloh had great respect for Hilduin and his account of the life and martyrdom of St Dionysius – so much so that one is left to wonder whether it was Otloh's admiration which prompted him to invent the claim that St Emmeram possessed the relics of St Dionysius. Needless to say, the claim was followed by a swift rebuttal by the monks of Saint-Denis (see below, no. (8)); and it was in any event so improbable that it was not taken seriously outside Bavaria, as is reflected in the fact that the *Translatio Ratisbonam et inuentio S. Dionysii* is solely preserved in two fifteenth-century paper manuscripts, both of them from Bavaria.

At approximately the same time as Otloh composed his *Translatio Ratisbonam et inuentio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2194], an anonymous priest at St Emmeram in Regensburg composed another *Translatio S. Dionysii Areopagitae* [BHL 2195–2197]. The text attributed to Otloh is referred to by scholars as the 'translatio antiquior' to distinguish it from the longer text, which was dedicated by an anonymous priest to Abbot Reginward of St Emmeram (1048–1060), perhaps c. 1052. This more recent account of the translation, the 'translatio recentior', is heavily dependent on the 'translatio antiquior' attributed to Otloh, and has recently been edited by Veronika Lukas on the basis of all surviving manuscript witnesses (some twelve manuscripts, including one dating from the late eleventh century, plus many fragments and excerpts).⁷³

(8) *Detectio corporum in monasterio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2198]. It needs hardly to be said that the monks of Saint-Denis were outraged by this bold-faced fraud, however plausibly it was presented by Otloh, and however cleverly Otloh had managed to implicate the abbots of Saint-Denis at the times both of the relic-theft and the event which led to the discovery of the relics at St Emmeram. The ceremony which accompanied the discovery of the relics at Regensburg had been attended, *inter alios*, by the French emperor Henry II, who of course reported what he had seen as soon as he returned to Paris.⁷⁴ The immediate response of the monks of Saint-Denis, led by their Abbot Hugh (1049–1061/2), was to summon to Saint-Denis an assembly of dignitaries,

72 The text of Hilduin's *Ep.* 11 and his prose *Passio S. Dionysii* are both preserved in Munich, BSB, Clm 14871, an autograph manuscript of Otloh; see below, pp. 118 and 139.

73 *Die jüngere Translatio S. Dionysii Areopagitae*, ed. and trans. V. Lukas, MGH, SS. rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum 80 (Wiesbaden, 2013). The late eleventh-century manuscript of the 'translatio recentior' is now Munich, BSB, Clm 17142.

74 The episode is narrated by Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), pp. 120–124.

including bishops, abbots and counts, and to open the tomb of St Dionysius and his companions in order to verify the presence of their relics. The ceremony at Saint-Denis is described in detail by a Saint-Denis monk named Haymo, in his *Epistola ad Hugonem abbatem beati Dionysii*.⁷⁵ Haymo relates that, during the reign of Henry II, an ‘inconceivable evil’ (*malum ... inopinabile*) had arisen in Regensburg, namely that the monks of St Emmeram, ‘miserably enveloped in the shadows of blindness and ignorance, and forgetful of divine reverence, had not been ashamed to exalt their place with the figment of a lie by arrogantly alleging that they possessed the body of St Dionysius’.⁷⁶ He conjectures that what was excavated there were evidently the bones of some unknown dead person,⁷⁷ and he goes on to give a detailed account of the system of locks and safeguards with which the tombs of the saints were protected at Saint-Denis, by way of demonstrating how impossible it would be to steal the relics of the abbey’s patron saints. Nevertheless, the abbot and monks of Saint-Denis must have felt an obligation to verify their possession of the relics, so a large company of dignitaries was invited, the tomb of St Dionysius was opened (from which a delightful fragrance was emitted), and the presence of the relics of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius was ascertained. In order to underline the importance of this ceremony of verification, Haymo provides a lengthy list of the dignitaries who were present, including Wido, archbishop of Rheims; Robert, archbishop of Canterbury; Imbert, bishop of Paris; Helinand, bishop of Laon; Baldwin, bishop of Noyon; Walter, bishop of Meaux; and Froiland, bishop of Senlis; many abbots in addition to Hugh, abbot of Saint-Denis; the lay magnates included Odo, brother of King Henry II, and many other counts.⁷⁸ And as if to prove the presence of the saint’s relics beyond any doubt, a madman was cured on the spot by contact with the ancient shroud of St Dionysius.

75 It is this *epistola* which is listed as *BHL* 2198; it is ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. clxv–clxxii [no. 11]. *BHLms* lists three manuscripts of Haymo’s *Epistola*: Paris, BNF, lat. 2447 (s. xiv), fols. 136^r–150^r; lat. 2873B (s. xv), fols. 121–133; and nouv. acq. lat. 1509 (s. xiv), pp. 271–299. Félibien presumably based his text on one of these three manuscripts but, as usual in the eighteenth century, did not specify his manuscript source.

76 Haymo, *Epistola ad Hugonem*, c. 2: ‘Qui caecitatis & ignorantiae tenebris miserabiliter involuti divinique timoris obliti, suum locum exaltare non erubuerunt figmento cujusdam mendacii arroganter verbosando penes se esse corpus beati Dionysii’ (ed. Félibien, *Pièces justificatives*, p. clxvii).

77 Haymo, *Epistola ad Hugonem*, c. 5: ‘pro beato Dionysio Areopagita nescimus cujus defuncti hominis defossa eleuentur ossa’ (Félibien, *ibid.*).

78 Haymo, *Epistola ad Hugonem*, c. 9 (ed. Félibien, *ibid.* p. clxix).

In the preceding discussion, my concern has been to describe the hagiography of St Dionysius which helps to illuminate the *Passio S. Dionysii* of Hilduin – from the ‘ancient *passio*’ which was one of his principal sources, to Otloh of St Emmeram’s *Translatio et Inuentio S. Dionysii*, which provides a fascinating reflection of how Hilduin’s work was understood and admired by an eminent eleventh-century hagiographer. But although I terminate my account in the mid-eleventh century, the hagiography of St Dionysius did not end there; on the contrary, it continued for many centuries, in spite of attacks by scholars such as Peter Abaelard (1079–1142), who argued that, according to Bede, Dionysius had been bishop of Corinth, not of Athens, and hence was not identical with the Areopagite; Abaelard does not name Hilduin, but his Letter was clearly intended as a refutation of Hilduin’s views, as expressed forcibly in his *Ep. II* to Louis the Pious (below, p. 210).⁷⁹ Later essays in the hagiography of the saint included an unprinted Latin translation by one William of Saint-Denis of the *Encomium beati Dionysii Areopagitae* by Michael the Synkellos, consisting of an introductory *epistola* and two books [*BHL* 2189];⁸⁰ an unprinted version of Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii* in rhythmic trochaic septenarii (8p + 7pp), inc. ‘Postquam fortis uictor mortis genitus per uirginem / resurrexit et inuexit caelo sumptum hominem’ [*BHL* 2190];⁸¹ a work composed in 1223 entitled the *Vita et actus beati Dionysii*, which combines hagiographical and historical ele-

79 Peter Abaelard, *Ep. XI* (PL clxxviii. 341–344); Abaelard’s Letter is listed *BHL* 2188. Essentially Abaelard drew attention to the passage in Bede’s *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum* in which he stated that Dionysius was bishop of Corinth, not of Athens, in spite of Hilduin’s arguments to the contrary. In another of his letters, *Ep. I*, also known as his *Historia calamitatum*, Abaelard described the convulsive effect his opinion had on the community of monks of Saint-Denis – this time he specifies his opposition to the views of Hilduin – and regarded the episode as the beginning of his downfall; see *Ep. I*, c. X (47): ‘Illi uero [*scil.* the monks of Saint-Denis], ualde indignati, dixerunt Bedam mendacissimum scriptorem, et se Huldoinum [*sic*] abbatem suum ueriores habere testem, qui pro hoc inuestigando Greciam diu perlustrauit et rei ueritate agnita, in gestis illius que conscripsit, hanc penitus dubitationem remouit’ – to which Abaelard replied, ‘Bede auctoritatem, cuius scripta uniuerse Latinorum frequentant ecclesie, grauiorem mihi uideri’ (PL clxxviii. 154–155; also ed. D. Luscombe, *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise* (Oxford, 2013), p. 74); see also E. Jeaneau, ‘Pierre Abélard à Saint-Denis’, in *Abélard en son temps*, ed. J. Jolivet (Paris, 1981), pp. 161–173.

80 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* I, pp. 124–125 (the text of the *epistola* only). The unprinted work is preserved in three Parisian manuscripts: BNF, lat. 2447 (s. xiv), fols. 81^r–114^r; 2873B (s. xv), fols. 70–102; and nouv. acq. lat. 1509 (s. xiv), pp. 45–152; but since the Latin work is simply a translation of *BHG* 556, it brings nothing new to the hagiography of St Dionysius.

81 The rhythmical version is preserved in Paris, BNF, lat. 2445A (s. xii^{ex}), fols. 199^r–217^v, on which see *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* I, pp. 118–120; see discussion of the poem by F. Dolbeau,

ments;⁸² and an unprinted account in three books by Ivo of Saint-Denis⁸³ of the life and martyrdom of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2191], composed at some point during the first quarter of the fourteenth century.⁸⁴ And no doubt many more. However, with the hagiographical background in mind, it is time to proceed to the writings of Hilduin, beginning with his *Epistolae* concerning St Dionysius.

'Un domaine négligé de la littérature médiolatine: les textes hagiographiques en vers', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 45 (2002), 129–139, at 130–131, and Orth, 'Bekanntes neu erzählen – in Versen', pp. 104–109.

- 82 The work, which in manuscript is entitled *Vita et actus beati Dionysii*, is listed in *BHL Suppl.* as no. 2192d, and described there as a 'farrago' of earlier writings on St Dionysius compiled by the monks of Saint-Denis, including *BHL* 2172 [*Ep.* I], 2175 [Hilduin], 2176 [the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano*], 2184 [Anastasius Bibliothecarius' Latin version of *BHG* 554], 2193 [the *Gesta Dagoberti*], and 7488 [*Passio SS. Sanctini et Antonini*]; it has been carefully edited as an appendix by C.J. Liebman, *Étude sur la vie en prose de Saint Denis* (Geneva, NY, 1942), pp. 143–210. Liebman's text is based principally on Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1509 (his base text), with collations from BNF lat. 2445A, 2447, and Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal 1030; passages from the principal source of the work, Hilduin's *passio*, are printed in roman type (with collations from the edition of Surius recorded in the app.crit.), and passages extraneous to Hilduin given in italics. For discussion of the text, see Liebman's introduction, pp. viii–xli, as well as (briefly) Spiegel, 'The Cult of St Denis', pp. 148–149. This work gave rise c. 1250 to a French version of the saint's life, which is the principal subject of Liebman's study and is ed. there on pp. 1–142; it is preserved in BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 1098. This medieval French account of St Dionysius in this richly illuminated manuscript notably includes thirty miniatures depicting scenes from the life of the saint and his companions; see L. Delisle, 'Notice sur un livre à peintures exécuté en 1250 dans l'abbaye de Saint-Denis', *BECh* 38 (1877), 444–456, and H. Omont, *Vie et histoire de saint Denis. Reproduction des 30 miniatures du MS. fr. n. a. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1905).
- 83 According to *BHL*ms, Ivo's work is preserved in three Parisian manuscripts: BNF, lat. 2447 (s. xiv), fols. 151^v–152^v [*excerpta*], 2873B (s. xv), fols. 135–162; and nouv. acq. lat. 1509 (s. xiv), pp. 299–305 [*excerpta*]. Brief excerpts from Paris, BNF, lat. 5286 (s. xiv^{med}), fol. 117^r (not listed in *BHL*ms, but see *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris* I, p. 514) are printed by Spiegel, 'The Cult of St Denis', p. 163, nn. 42 and 43. On Ivo, see B. Haureau, 'Ives, moine de Saint-Denys', in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 31 (1899), 141–152; Liebman, *Étude sur la vie en prose de Saint Denis*, pp. xxxii–xxxviii; and Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis*, pp. 113–115.
- 84 Ivo's work is datable to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, inasmuch as its prefatory letter is addressed to Abbot Giles I of Saint-Denis (1304–1325); see discussion by Spiegel, 'The Cult of St Denis', pp. 149–150, who states, following Delisle, that the work was presented by Abbot Giles to Philip the Long in 1317: L. Delisle, 'Notice sur un recueil historique présenté à Philippe le Long par Gilles de Pontoise, abbé de Saint-Denis', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* 21/2 (1865), 249–261, as well as H. Martin, *Légende de Saint Denis: Reproductions du manuscrit original présenté en 1317 au roi Philippe le Long* (Paris, 1908).

Hilduin's Correspondence with Louis the Pious Concerning St Dionysius

There are three surviving *epistolae* associated with Hilduin and his *Passio S. Dionysii*, two of them written by him, and the third written by the emperor Louis the Pious, commissioning the *Passio S. Dionysii*.¹ The three *epistolae* are as follows:

1. *Epistola* I. A letter from Louis the Pious to Hilduin (inc. 'Quantum muneris atque praesidii') [*BHL* 2172]. In this letter the emperor comments on how much the Carolingian royal family owes (and has always owed) to the patronage of St Dionysius, and commissions Hilduin to compose a new *passio* of the saint based on all known sources, including the Greek writings of the saint which have recently been translated by Hilduin. Because the emperor describes himself in the Letter as *Chludowicus diuina repropitiante clementia imperator Augustus*, it is evident that it was composed after Louis was restored to his kingdom in a ceremony which took place at Saint-Denis on 1 March 834.² Louis had been held in captivity at Saint-Denis during the month of February in that year, and there is little doubt that it was during this period of captivity that Hilduin had the opportunity of discussing with Louis the prospect of a new *passio* of St Dionysius which would incorporate information concerning the saint derived from 'books written by him in his native language and translated into our language at my command, through your learned scholarship and the efforts of translators' (that is, the *Corpus Dionysiacum*). Louis goes on to specify that Hilduin also incorporate 'those things which are contained in the

1 Because these three *epistolae* are frequently, if not invariably, transmitted in manuscript alongside the *Passio S. Dionysii*, and because they were accordingly first printed together with the *passio* by Matthaeus Galenus in his *Areopagitica* of 1563 (see below, n. 18), the combined work – the three *epistolae* plus the *Passio S. Dionysii* – is often referred to as Hilduin's *Areopagitica*: thus Lanéry, 'Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii abb.', pp. 490–493. I find this terminology unhelpful – it would be more appropriately applied, in my view, to Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* – and have not used it in the present work.

2 See ch. 1, above, p. 45 with n. 184.

little book of his martyrdom as well as those which you have found in a volume of ancient charters in the book-chest of your church at Paris'.

- II. *Epistola* II. A lengthy reply ('rescriptum') by Hilduin to the emperor's commission (inc. 'Exultavit cor meum in Domino') [*BHL* 2173]. In this Letter Hilduin formally undertakes to provide the requested *passio* of St Dionysius; he goes on to specify in detail the sources on which he will draw in compiling it, including those mentioned by the emperor. These sources include 'the most ancient account of his [Dionysius'] suffering' (this is what was referred to by the emperor as 'the little book of his martyrdom'), the *Conscriptio Visbii* (that is, what the emperor described as a text 'having been found in a volume of ancient charters'), and mass-prayers from 'the most ancient sacramentaries'. Hilduin takes the opportunity to ridicule and confute those detractors who doubt that St Dionysius, the Parisian martyr, is identical with Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in biblical Acts and understood to be the author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. The Letter contains no indication of the date at which it was composed, but presumably it followed soon after the emperor's Letter, probably in late 834 or 835.
- III. *Epistola* III, a letter by Hilduin addressed to the catholic church at large (inc. 'Cum nos scriptura generali diffinitione admoneat') [*BHL* 2174]. In this Letter Hilduin reiterates many of the points raised in his 'rescriptum' (*Ep.* II) to the emperor, concerning the sources on which the new *passio* of St Dionysius is to be based, and restating arguments in favour of the identity of Dionysius the Areopagite and the martyr of Paris. The Letter is undated, but is presumably contemporary with *Ep.* II.³

Manuscripts of the Three *Epistolae*

The three *epistolae* are preserved in a substantial number of manuscripts. *BHLms* lists nineteen manuscripts for *Ep.* I, seventeen for *Ep.* II, and thirty-three for *Ep.* III; Cecile Lanéry lists twenty-three for *Ep.* I, twenty-six for *Ep.* II, and twenty-nine for *Ep.* III.⁴ Manuscripts range in date from the ninth century to the late fifteenth; however, a sincere text can be reconstructed on the basis of the following eight early manuscripts:

3 Commentators frequently assert that *Ep.* III was intended by Hilduin to be the preface to his *Passio S. Dionysii* (e.g. Lanéry, 'Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii abb.', p. 496: 'préface de la *Passio Dionysii*, sous forme de lettre encyclique'), but there is no way of proving this assertion.

4 Lanéry, 'Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii abb.', pp. 493–497.

A = Paris, BNF, lat. 2873A (?Lorraine, s. xi¹), fols. 1^r–3^r [*Ep.* I], 3^r–11^r [*Ep.* II], 11^r–13^r [*Ep.* III]. A tenth-century collection of Saints' Lives, among which Hilduin's writings on St Dionysius take pride of place at the beginning of the manuscript (see below, p. 133). The manuscript consists of 121 folios in octavo format (200 × 155 mm.), written in long lines.⁵

B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. oct. 159 (Reichenau, s. ix^{3/4}), fols. 1^v–5^v [*Ep.* I], 5^v–21^r [*Ep.* II], 21^v–24^v [*Ep.* III]. A manuscript in octavo format (210 × 145 mm.), written in long lines, now consisting of fifty-three folios.⁶ The contents of the manuscript are all concerned with St Dionysius; the three *epistolae* are followed by the text of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, p. 133), which breaks off incomplete in c. 22, suggesting that at least two quires have been lost from the end of the manuscript.

D = Paris, BNF, lat. 10846 (Saint-Denis, s. x), fols. 1^r–11^r [*Ep.* II], 11^r–14^r [*Ep.* III]. A 'Dionysiellus', containing two of the *epistolae* (*Ep.* I has been lost from the beginning of the manuscript), Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, pp. 134–135), an Office for St Dionysius (see Appendix IX, below, p. 819), and, at the very end of the manuscript, a fragment of the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (see Appendix XI, below, p. 855). In its present state, the manuscript consists of eighty-one folios in small octavo format (155 × 120 mm.), written in long lines.⁷ Unfortunately the manuscript has been mutilated: at least one quire (containing *Ep.* I and the beginning of *Ep.* II) has been lost from the beginning of the manuscript; a bifolium has been lost from quire VI (resulting in leaves missing after fols. 61 and 65); and the final folio of the manuscript (fol. 81) is so badly abraded as to be virtually illegible. Quire signatures were added, in the middle of the lower margins of the final leaves of quires, to that part of the manuscript containing Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (on fols. 21^v–75^v), so that the quiring of fols. 21–81 may be established as follows: I⁸ (fols. 21–28; quire signature .I. on fol. 28^v), II⁸ (fols. 29–36; quire signature .II. on fol. 36^v), III⁸ (fols. 37–44; quire signature .III. on fol. 44^v), IV⁸ (fols. 45–52; quire signature

5 *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* I, pp. 222–223. On the origin of the manuscript, see Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 192, citing T. Delforge, 'Une "Vita sancti Germani" pour Lothaire II', *Scriptorium* 22 (1968), 39–42, at 41: 'Le professeur Bischoff, dont chacun reconnaît l'autorité, date ce manuscrit de la première moitié du XI^e s., avec quelque probabilité d'origine lorraine.'

6 Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, no. 485.

7 *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* II, pp. 602–603; on the origin of the manuscript at Saint-Denis, see Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 218.

.IIII. on fol. 52^v), v⁸ (fols. 53–60; quire signature .V. on fol. 60^v), vi⁸ (fols. 61–68, lacks 2, 7; no quire signature), vii⁶ (fols. 69–74; quire signature .VII. on fol. 74^v). A final quire, consisting of fols. 75–82, has lost its final leaf (fol. 82), and fol. 81 is a mutilated fragment, so that the construction of this final quire cannot be verified. The quiring suggests that Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* formed the original core of the manuscript, to which some quires containing the three *epistolae* were added at the beginning, and the Office for St Dionysius (see below, Appendix IX) was added to fill the remainder of the final quire.

E = Paris, BNF, lat. 10847 (Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, s. xi), fols. 1^r–2^r [*Ep.* I], 2^r–6^v [*Ep.* II], 6^v–7^v [*Ep.* III]. A small booklet consisting of twenty-four folios (three quires) in octavo format (250 × 210 mm.), concerned entirely with St Dionysius: the three *epistolae* at the beginning are followed by a copy of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, p. 135), and finally the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano*.⁸

L = London, BL, Add. 22793 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 1^r–3^v [*Ep.* II (frg.)], 3^v–5^r [*Ep.* III]. A manuscript now consisting of forty-two folios in small octavo format (210 × 130 mm.), written in long lines. The manuscript was given by Otloh of St Emmeram to Fulda,⁹ and probably written by one of Otloh's students.¹⁰ In addition to the *epistolae*, the manuscript contains a text of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, pp. 136–137). It was once a legendary containing a number of other saints' Lives (of which only the *Vita S. Simeonis* [BHL 7963] is still extant in Add. 22793); by the thirteenth century it had passed to Erfurt, and was broken up in the nineteenth century into at least eight parts, some of which ended up in Berlin (whence they passed to Cracow after 1945). Add. 22793 was one of these eight parts; it was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps, from whose library it was acquired in 1859 by the British Museum (as it then was).

O = Oxford, BodL, Laud misc. 549 (Gorze, s. x), fols. 1^v–3^r [*Ep.* I], 3^v–11^r [*Ep.* II], 11^r–12^v [*Ep.* III]. The manuscript now consists of twelve folios (which make up one quire), in small quarto format (235 × 180 mm.), written in long lines. The

8 *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* II, p. 603; for the origin of the manuscript in Dijon, see Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 218.

9 As is clear from a metrical inscription on fol. 42^v (in the hand of Otloh of St Emmeram himself): 'Presbiter et monachus Otloh quidam vocitatus / sancte, tibi, librum, Bonifaci, tradidit istum'.

10 B. Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in his *Mittelalterlichen Studien*, II, pp. 77–115, at p. 92.

manuscript contains only the three *epistolae*. From a scribal annotation on fol. 12^v, it is clear that the manuscript originally contained a copy of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*; but this and several other saints' Lives have been lost.

R = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14871, fols. 1–45 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 1^v–3^v [*Ep.* I], 3^v–13^v [*Ep.* II]. Fols. 1–45 are a manuscript in small quarto format (255×195 mm.), written in long lines, by Otloh of Sankt Emmeram containing, in addition to the first two of the *epistolae*, a text of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, p. 139).¹¹ As we have seen (Introduction, ch. 3, above, pp. 107–110), Otloh devoted a substantial part of his *Translatio et inuentio S. Dionysii* (1049) to exegesis and amplification of Hilduin's account in *Ep.* II of the sources on which his *Passio S. Dionysii* was to be based. It is possible that the present manuscript (R) was the very manuscript on which Otloh based his exegesis.

T = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4608 (Benediktbeuern, s. xi^{med}), fols. 50^v–52^r [*Ep.* I], 52^r–59^v [*Ep.* II], 60^r–61^r [*Ep.* III]. A composite manuscript consisting of three distinct parts, of which the three *epistolae* are contained in Part I (fols. 1–99), alongside a copy of Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. The three *epistolae* are followed by copies of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, p. 139) and the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (see Appendix XI, below, p. 855). The remainder of Part I contains various saints' Lives. The manuscript is in octavo format (220×155 mm.), written in long lines. An addition on fol. 99^v pertaining to a donation by Emperor Heinrich III to Benediktbeuern indicates that that is where the manuscript was written.¹²

Relationship of the Manuscripts of the Three *epistolae*

Of the three *epistolae*, the two by Hilduin were certainly written at Saint-Denis (*Epp.* II and III); the third (*Ep.* I), by the emperor Louis, was presumably received and first preserved at Saint-Denis. The transmission of the three *epistolae*, therefore, begins at Saint-Denis, and it is not surprising that the most sincere text of the *epistolae* is preserved in MS. D, which was written at Saint-Denis sometime in the tenth century. This is not to say, however, that D is entirely

11 See Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram', p. 91.

12 See G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern: Clm 4501–4663* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 185–187.

free of errors,¹³ and its text needs always to be adjudicated against the witness of later manuscripts written and preserved outside of Paris. As the fame of St Dionysius spread throughout the Frankish kingdoms, heralded by the dissemination of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, so too did copies of the three *epistolae*, which in many manuscripts accompany the *Passio S. Dionysii*.

Two manuscripts, A and B, represent the text as it was preserved in Alamannia and nearby Alsace; their relationship is marked by a number of shared errors: *Ep.* I. 4, 198.8 (*subnixa* AB, *subnexa* cett.), II. 2, 202.5 (*regenerationem* AB, *generationem* cett.), II. 2, 202.6 (*nam* AB, *mira* cett.), II. 3, 204.18 (*uti* AB, *ubi* cett.), II. 4, 206.12 (*uariam* AB, *uariarum* cett.), II. 15, 218.7 (*uolumine* AB, *lumine* cett.), and II. 16, 220.7 (*regenerationem* AB, *generationem* cett.).

Another text-type from the area of eastern Francia (framed by Gorze in the north and Dijon in the south) is represented by MSS. E and O, which share the following errors: *Ep.* I. 1, 194.12 (*excubias* EO, *exuuias* cett.), I. 2, 194.23–24 (*adeptum* EO, *indeptum* cett.), II. 5, 208.3 (*martyrum* EO, *martyrii* cett.), II. 7, 208.23 (*exceptis* om. EO), II. 7, 208.24 (*reppereremus* EO, *repererimus* cett.), II. 8, 210.9–10 (*dictis eius* EO, *eius dictis* cett.), II. 11, 214.10 (*codicellos plures* EO, *plures codicellos* cett.), and II. 15, 218.11 (*enim est* EO, *est enim* cett.). In addition to this shared error, MS. O contains a large amount of individual error, too much in fact to be worth listing here (note in particular the readings of MS. O reported for *Ep.* III. 2).

At some subsequent stage of the transmission, the text-type current in eastern Francia, as represented by EO, was transmitted to Bavaria, where it is represented by MSS. R (from Regensburg) and T (from Benediktbeuern). These four manuscripts – EORT – share one significant omission in *Ep.* II. 3, at 204.25–206.2 (the entire passage from *Beatus denique pater Augustinus* to *Dei sapientiam* is omitted from these manuscripts), which demonstrates their affiliation beyond doubt. EORT also share a number of less significant errors: *Ep.* II. 1, 200.29 (*ipse* EORT, *ipsa* cett.), II. 2, 202.14 (*quaeque* added EORT following *reperta*), II. 5, 206.23 (*illic* EORT, *illi* cett.), and II. 10, 212.8 (*quidem* EORT, *quidam* cett.). However, in addition to the error which RT apparently inherited from an eastern Frankish exemplar related to EO, they also share a number of individual errors, which perhaps point to a Bavarian text-type, such as *Ep.* II. 10, 212.19 (*eiusdem monstrat* RT, *eius demonstrat* cett.).

13 The value of D as a witness is also limited by the fact that it preserves only *Epp.* II and III. Certain errors in the text of D are the following: *Ep.* II. 8, 208.27 (*ceterorum* D, *ceterum* cett.), II. 8, 210.1 (*adtententes* D (p.c.), *addentes* cett.), II. 9, 212.2 (*Romanum* om. D), II. 11, 214.15 (*inscientia* D, *inscitia* cett.), II. 15, 218.14 (*cauillationem* D, *cauillationes* cett.), II. 16, 220.2 (*ignobiliose* D, *ignominiose* cett.), and III. 2, 224.12 (*abmiratione* D, *admiracione* cett.).

One striking feature of the transmission, however, is that MS. L, which was written for Otloh at St Emmeram in Regensburg, reveals no relationship with the Bavarian text-type, nor even with R (also from Regensburg), nor with EORT at large. Such hints of affiliation as it shows – though these are very weak – associate it with D (from Saint-Denis).¹⁴ If there is a link between L and D, it may suggest that, after the translation of St Dionysius to Regensburg in 1049, Otloh acquired a text of the *epistolae* directly from Paris, rather than from a local source.

Previous Editions of the Three *epistolae*

The *editio princeps* of the first two of the three *epistolae* was that by Caspar Hochfeder, printed at Nürnberg at some time between 1491 and 1498.¹⁵ Since Hochfeder's edition was commissioned by a monk of St Emmeram at Regensburg named Nikolaus Bernauer,¹⁶ it is probable that the edition is based on a manuscript from St Emmeram which was related to, if not identical with, our MS. R, which was written at Regensburg by Otloh of St Emmeram in the mid-eleventh century; in any case, Hochfeder's *editio princeps* contains texts of *Ep.* I and II only, but not of *Ep.* III, as does MS. R.

The next edition, published more than sixty years later, was that of Matthaeus Galenus (Matthys Galen),¹⁷ who included editions of all three *epistolae* in his *Areopagitica* of 1563:¹⁸ *Ep.* I (fols. 59^r–62^r), *Ep.* II (fols. 62^r–76^v), and *Ep.* III (fols. 77^r–79^v) (the edition of the *epistolae* was preceded by a verbose introduction (fols. 4^r–58^v) followed by an edition of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*

14 See *Ep.* II, II, 214.4 (*deprauatum* DL, *deprauatam* cett.).

15 Listed L. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte typographia inventa usque ad annum MD. typis expressi ordine alphabetico vel simpliciter enumerantur vel accuratius recensentur*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1826–1838), II, p. 264 [no. 6237], sign. B. 1–B.1V [*Ep.* I], B.11–B.7 [*Ep.* II].

16 See B. Bischoff, 'Studien zur Geschichte des Klosters St. Emmeram im Spätmittelalter (1324–1525)', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, II, pp. 115–155, at p. 137.

17 On Galen, who has an honourable place in the history of Hilduin's text, see the *Biographie nationale publiée par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, VII [1880–1885], cols. 432–433. Galen was born at Westcapelle c. 1528, studied in Ghent and took his licentiate at Leuven, became professor of theology first at Dillingen until he was summoned to the chair of theology in Douai in 1563, the year in which his *Areopagitica* were published; he died in 1573.

18 M. Galenus, *Areopagitica seu Opuscula quaedam nusquam hactenus excusa* (Cologne, 1563).

on fols. 80^r–123^r: on which see below, pp. 146–147).¹⁹ Galen states that the source for his edition was a ‘very venerable autograph’ (*in tam uenerando autographo*), but the suggestion that the manuscript was written by Hilduin himself is preposterous, given the substantial amount of error it contains.²⁰ The manuscript was found for him in the house of Augustinian canons in Ypres by one Frans Schilders (Franciscus Schilderius), and given to him to use for his own scholarly purposes.²¹ This Ypres manuscript does not survive; given the date of the house’s foundation (1102), it is unlikely to have been older than the twelfth century, in spite of Galenus’s assertions about its venerable antiquity. But Galen was also well aware of inaccuracies in the texts preserved in the Ypres manuscript, so he recorded his own conjectures in the margins and also, where he thought necessary, emended the transmitted text silently.²² This amount of editorial intervention makes of Galen’s edition a dubious witness; but collation

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- 19 It was the combination of the three *epistolae* with Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii* in Galen’s *Areopagitica* which bequeathed the name ‘Areopagitica’ to this particular assemblage of texts; see above, n. 1.
- 20 On the amount of error in the Ypres manuscript, see below, n. 22 and ch. 5 below, n. 52. On the meaning of *autographum* to humanist scholars, see Silvia Rizzo, *Il lessico filologico degli umanisti*, Sussidi eruditi 26 (Rome, 1973), pp. 99–101.
- 21 *Areopagitica*, fols. 27^v–28^r: ‘Quod ut uerisimilius fiat, unde ad me deuenerit ipsum ἀὐτόγραφον opus exponam tribus uerbis ... Hyperis (antiqua, et florentissima Flandriae ciuitas est, episcopali totius Diocaeeseos curia (ut uocant) praestans) familiaris quidam ex collegio Martiniano instituti uniuscuiusdam eorum qui Augustianorum nomine censentur, literarum sacrarum, antiquitatis ecclesiae, et linguarum externarum non uulgariter peritus iuuenis Franciscus Schilderius nominis Praepositi sui (carent nanque Abbatiali dignitate) penetralia ingressus, in quae reliquiae admirabilis bibliothecae incendio nunquam satisfiando absumptae temere erant congestae officii gratia ingressus, inter alia uetustissima monumenta ... ad me perferendum tradidit, ac tandem hortantem, ut curaret edi, donare uoluit ipso illo autographo, et patriam mihi permisit potestatem: sibi ius omne inuentionis et peculij abdicans: quorum illud quidem erat religio oblatum usurpare, hoc uero cogor amore Dionysij, et studio orthodoxiae attentare.’ On the college of Augustinian canons at Ypres, founded in 1102, see Cottineau II, col. 3475.
- 22 *Areopagitica*, fols. 28^v–29^r: ‘Quae cum se ita habeant, religiosum mihi est uisum, quicquam immutare in tam uenerando autographo, et non minus, quam mihi, et notis meis, quibus cum contuli, putauit studiosis lituras, mendas, et perantiquas id genus doctissimorum hominum cessationes, uel (quod uerius dixerim) festinationes placituras. Quocirca nostrae non debet adscribi inscitiae, quod studio gratificandi antiquitatis studiosis exhibemus: aliquando quidem in margine dumtaxat quid fuerit innuentes, alias autem omnino id ipsum, quod reperimus representantes, et hoc quidam coniectura nonnumquam in margine correctionis appicta, non raro ... ommissa, rarissime in crassissimis erratis sublatis in autographo lectis, et emendatis.’

makes clear that the Ypres manuscript was not closely related to any other manuscripts on which the present edition is based, either of the *epistolae* or of the *Passio S. Dionysii*.

The next edition of the three *epistolae* was that of Lorenz Sauer (Surius) in vol. v of his *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, published in 1574.²³ Sauer was a monk at the Carthusian house of St Barbara in Cologne,²⁴ and it may be assumed that the manuscript on which he based his edition of the three *epistolae* was one found in St Barbara's (very substantial) library, as yet unidentified.²⁵ His edition of the *epistolae* reveals the sort of wilful alteration which characterizes his editorial work,²⁶ and reduces its utility for scholarly research.

The first and only scholarly edition to be based on early manuscripts of the *epistolae* is that of Ernst Dümmler in vol. v [1899] of the MGH, *Epistolae* (in

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- 23 L. Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, 6 vols. (Cologne, 1570–1575), v [1574], pp. 634–635 [*Ep.* I], 635–640 [*Ep.* II], and 641–642 [*Ep.* III]; the *epistolae* were also included in subsequent editions of Sauer's work: the second edition printed at Cologne in 1576–1581 (where the three *epistolae* are found in vol. v [1580], pp. 716–717 [*Ep.* I], 718–723 [*Ep.* II], and 723–724 [*Ep.* III]); and also in the third edition printed at Venice in 1581. Migne reprinted *Ep.* I from the second edition of Sauer's work in PL civ. 1326–1328 [*Ep.* I], and of *Ep.* II–III in PL cvi. 13–22 [*Ep.* II] and 22–24 [*Ep.* III]. Migne also reprinted excerpts from *Ep.* II in PL civ. 1328–1330, taken this time from C. Le Cointe, *Annales ecclesiastici Francorum*, 8 vols. (Paris, 1665–1683), VIII [1683], pp. 395–396.
- 24 On Lorenz Sauer (1523–1578) and the *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, see *DACL XV/2* [1953], cols. 1736–1737; P. Holt, 'Die Sammlung von Heiligenleben des Laurentius Surius', *Neues Archiv* 44 (1922), 341–364; S. Spanò Martinelli, 'Cultura antica, polemica antiprotestante, erudizione sacra nel *De probatis sanctorum historiis* di Lorenzo Surio', in *Raccolte di Vite di santi dal XIII al XVIII secolo*, ed. S. Boesch Gajano (Fasano di Brindisi, 1990), pp. 131–141; and esp. R. Godding, 'L'oeuvre hagiographique d'Héribert Rosweyde', in *De Rosweyde aux "Acta Sanctorum"*. *La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles*, ed. R. Godding, B. Joassart, X. Lequeux and F. De Vriendt, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 88 (Brussels 2009), pp. 35–62, at 36.
- 25 On the library, see R.B. Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St Barbara in Cologne*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 21–22 (Salzburg, 1974); unfortunately, the seventeenth-century library catalogues printed and discussed by Marks contain no reference to Hilduin's *epistolae*; for a copy of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* from this library possibly used by Sauer, see below, p. 147.
- 26 Cf. the remarks of Holt, 'Die Sammlung von Heiligenleben des Laurentius Surius', p. 361: 'Die stilistische Überarbeitung ist natürlich nicht bei allen Leben gleich, bald ist sie stärker, bald schwächer, je nachdem die Vorlage in besserem oder schlechteren Latein, in klarer oder dunkler Ausdrucksweise abgefaßt war'; and Godding, 'L'oeuvre hagiographique d'Héribert Rosweyde', p. 36: 'Surius n'avait pas hésité à réécrire des textes entiers dans un meilleur style, ou à retrancher des passages qu'il jugeait ridicules ou peu édifiants'.

quarto).²⁷ Dümmler drew attention to several manuscripts of the *epistolae*,²⁸ but his edition is based principally on three, which were collated for him by Karl Hampe and Karl Pertz: my A [Dümmler's P], B [Dümmler's C], and O [also Dümmler's O].²⁹ He did not attempt to establish the relationship between his various witnesses, and his *apparatus criticus* is perhaps too much taken up with trivial orthographical variants (*sepe* for *saepe*, etc.); he clearly tired of recording the many idiosyncratic readings of O, particularly towards the end of *Ep.* III, where the scribe of O undertook to rewrite the text. But in all other respects Dümmler's is a serviceable edition of the three *epistolae*.

27 MGH, *Epistolae* (in quarto) v (= *Epistolae Karolini aevi III*) (Berlin, 1899), pp. 326–327 [*Ep.* I], 328–335 [*Ep.* II], and 335–337 [*Ep.* III].

28 With respect to *Ep.* I, Dümmler mentions (in addition to ABO) Paris, BNF, lat. 10846 [my D], 10847 [my E] and 10866; for *Ep.* II he mentions (in addition to ABO) London, Add. 22793 [my L]. Note that he refers to MS. A [his P] as 'Parisinus 2873' (it is correctly 'lat. 2873A').

29 For *Epp.* I–II he collated ABO; for *Ep.* III he collated three others: L = London, BL, Add. 22793 [my L], M = Munich, BSB, Clm 4608 [my T], and his B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1839 (St Vincent, Metz, s. xiii²), fols. 469^v–470^r; see V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I. *Die Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 259–272 [no. 123].

Hilduin's Prose *Passio S. Dionysii*

As we have seen, shortly after his restoration to the Frankish throne on 1 March 834, the emperor Louis the Pious wrote to Hilduin, his former chaplain royal and the abbot of the monastery where he had been hosted during the latter stages of his banishment, commissioning him to compose a new life of St Dionysius based on all known sources, Greek as well as Latin (*Ep.* 1, below, pp. 194–199). Hilduin replied soon afterwards – the precise date of his reply or *rescriptum* is unknown, but presumably occurred in late 834 or early 835 at the latest – and offered a detailed exposition of the writings in Greek and Latin on which the newly-commissioned work was to be based (*Ep.* 11, below, pp. 200–220). Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2175] fulfils in every respect the literary intentions which he had expressed in his reply to the emperor (*Ep.* 11), and the assumption must be, therefore, that it was composed and sent to Louis before the latter's death on 20 June 840, so that the prose *Passio S. Dionysii* is to be dated to the five-year period 835 × 840 (unfortunately there is no way of proving this assumption). As we have seen (above, ch. 3), Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* was the first hagiographical account in which Dionysius, bishop of Paris, was identified with the (pseudo-) 'Dionysius', author of the Greek *Corpus Dionysiacum*. This identification provided Hilduin with a pretext for including in his hagiography an account of the works which constitute the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, including lists of chapter-headings and long summaries of the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius (cc. 9–16). These chapter-headings and summaries are taken verbatim from Hilduin's earlier translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, and although they proved immensely popular in theology courses in the University of Paris from the thirteenth century onwards (see below), in the context of the saint's life and martyrdom they form a largely indigestible and barely comprehensible element, and were (unsurprisingly) often omitted by scribes. Yet in spite of the indigestible chapters treating the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* proved to be the most popular of all hagiographical accounts of the Parisian martyr: it is preserved in nearly 200 manuscripts (see below, Appendix 111), as against approximately thirty copies each for the two earlier accounts, the 'ancient passio' [BHL 2171] and the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' [BHL 2178]. And it was Hilduin's work, not the earlier two *passiones*, which was invariably laid under contribution by compilers of antiphons and breviary lections. Although Hilduin has a regrettable tendency to extreme verbosity, the structure of his sentences and his Latin style (leav-

ing aside the indigestible chapters drawn from the Greek *Corpus Dionysiicum*) are for the most part clear, and reveal a scholar of immensely wide learning in patristic sources. We may begin by considering those sources.

The Sources of Hilduin's Prose *Passio S. Dionysii*

Hilduin possessed a vast knowledge of patristic literature of which he was arrogantly, if justifiably, proud.¹ In order to formulate his conception of the historical St Dionysius, as he understood it, he appears to have read every single source in which Dionysius was mentioned. He proudly parades all these sources in his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* 11), and they may be conveniently listed here. Beginning with the mention of Dionysius the Areopagite in biblical Acts xvii. 34, the sources from which he quotes in *Ep.* 11 include (in alphabetical order): Ambrose, *Ep. extra collect. (ad Vercellenses)* [CPL 160 (p. 48)] (c. 22); Augustine, *Sermones* [CPL 284] (*Serm.* cl. 1 and 9); Bede, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* [CPL 1357] and *Retractatio Actuum Apostolorum* [CPL 1358]; Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* [CPG 3495] in the Latin translation of Rufinus (iii. 4 and iv. 23) and *Chronicon* [CPG 3494] in the Latin translation of Jerome; Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* [CPL 1023] (i. 30); Jerome, *De uiris inlustribus* [CPL 616] (c. 27); Jerome's prefatory letter (*Ep. supposititia* xlvi) to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* [CPL 633 (p. 222)]; John Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio* [CPG 4316] in Latin translation (iv. 5);² various papal letters, of Popes Innocent [CPL 1641], Gelasius [CPL 1667] and Gregory I [CPL 1714]; and hymns on St Dionysius attributed by Hilduin to Venantius Fortunatus [ICL 5307] and Eugenius of Toledo [ICL 1789]. Add to these his knowledge of the Greek *Corpus Dionysiicum*, which he had himself translated, and various liturgical sources, including (lost) Gallican sacramentaries and a (lost) Greek *synaxarion*, as well as the (often dubious) writings on which he based his *Passio S. Dionysii* (see following paragraph), and one forms the impression of an unusually widely-read Carolingian scholar.

When we turn to the *Passio S. Dionysii* itself, however, a somewhat different picture emerges. Here Hilduin draws on a number of sources, some of which were apparently known uniquely to Hilduin and are barely attested, if at all, outside his own writings. Seen from the point of view of its sources, the *Passio*

1 As an indication of his arrogance, cf. his remark in *Ep.* III. 1, referring to his *Passio S. Dionysii*: 'In qua licet me imperitum sermone (non tamen scientia!) fateor ...' (below, p. 222).

2 Hilduin refers to this text as the *Dialogus Basilii et Iohannis*, which is in fact the name of the relevant chapter of *De sacerdotio*; see below, p. 459 and n. 36.

S. Dionysii is essentially tripartite: (i) the first part (cc. 1–8), which concerns the origins of Dionysius in Athens and his conversion there by St Paul, is based largely on the *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum*; (ii) the second part (cc. 9–16) is a description of the Greek writings of Dionysius, and consists of a summary of the *capitula* and contents of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*; (iii) the third part (cc. 18–36), which describes the missionary activity of St Dionysius in Paris, his arrest, trial and execution, is based principally in structure and wording on the two earlier *passiones* of the saint (the ‘ancient *passio*’ and the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’), augmented by narrative of events taken from a text known to Hilduin (and no one else) as the *Conscriptio Visbii*. We may consider each of these sources briefly:

- (i) the *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum* [cf. *BHL* 2182]. As we have seen (ch. 3, above, p. 90), the author of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ had already identified Dionysius, martyr-bishop of Paris, with the Dionysius who was converted in Athens by St Paul, as described in biblical Acts xvii. 34. But the anonymous author’s account of this conversion is brief and perfunctory in the extreme: ‘he [St Paul] went to Athens, and finding there the holy man Dionysius entangled in pagan error, he immediately instructed him in holy law, once he had been converted to the way of salvation and reborn in the waters of baptism’ (c. 3).³ Hilduin obviously embraced the identification, but he wished to go further and identify this Dionysius with the (pseudo-) Dionysius, author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*; and for these purposes, the brief account of St Paul’s journey to Athens in the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ was inadequate. In order to provide a convincing context for St Paul’s journey to Athens and his meeting there with Dionysius the Areopagite, by way of elucidating Dionysius’ authorship of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, Hilduin needed to elaborate the narrative of the conversion from the bare accounts in Acts xvii. 34 and the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’. Fortunately (and, perhaps, suspiciously) he came upon a work by a Greek historian called Aristarchus, who in a letter to one Onesiphorus – the *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum* – had explained the context of Dionysius’ conversion at length by providing a detailed account of the topography of Athens and the pagan gods who were worshipped in various regions of the city, as well as providing a

3 The ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, c. 3: ‘aduenit Athenas ibique sanctum uirum Dionysium gentilibus inueniens erroribus implicatum, ad uiam salutis conuersum et sacri baptismatis unda renatum diuinis eum ilico sanctionibus informauit’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The “Anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*”’ (*BHL* 2178), p. 43, and Appendix II, below, p. 682).

detailed narrative of Dionysius' encounter with St Paul on the Areopagus. According to Hilduin, in his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II. 3), a curious person could obtain this work from Greek sources, whence Hilduin claims to have taken it. No trace of such a work in Greek has ever been found; however, excerpts from a Latin translation of the work are preserved as part of the *Laudatio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2187],⁴ and these excerpts, although they do not apparently preserve the entirety of the *Epistola Aristarchi* as it was known to Hilduin,⁵ help to illustrate the ways in which Hilduin drew on the *Epistola Aristarchi* for his account of Athens (cc. 2–4) and of the conversion of Dionysius by St Paul following their encounter on the Areopagus in Athens (cc. 5–8). As with the two earlier *passiones* of St Dionysius, which Hilduin laid heavily under contribution in cc. 18–36, he frequently repeats the text of the *Epistola Aristarchi* verbatim, as can be seen from the Commentary to cc. 2–8 (below, pp. 471–483).

- (ii) the *Corpus Dionysiicum*. As we have seen (ch. 3, above, p. 90), Hilduin's individual contribution to the hagiography of St Dionysius was his identification of the martyred bishop of Paris with (pseudo-) Dionysius, the supposed author of the corpus of mystical writings known as the *Corpus Dionysiicum*. This corpus of writings therefore figures largely in Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, of which cc. 9–16 contain the following *capitula* and summaries: the *capitula* of the treatise *De caelesti hierarchia* [CPG 6600] (c. 9); a summary followed by the *capitula* of *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* [CPG 6601] (c. 10); the *capitula* of the treatise *De diuinis nominibus* [CPG 6602] (c. 11); a summary of the treatise *De mystica theologia* [CPG 6603] (c. 12); a brief summary of the first four *epistolae* [CPG 6604–6607] of the *Corpus Dionysiicum*, followed by equally brief summaries of *Epp.* V–VI [CPG 6608–6609] (c. 13); a summary of *Ep.* VII [CPG 6610], followed by verbatim quotation of the entire *Epistola ad Apollophanium*, which would correspond to *Ep.* XI of the *Corpus Dionysiicum*, though it is not transmitted in manuscripts of the *Corpus* [CPG 6630; see below, Appendix V] (c. 14); a summary of *Ep.* VIII [CPG 6611], followed by verbatim quotation of (Hilduin's translation of) the entire Letter, concerning the vision of one Carpus (c. 15); brief mention of *Ep.* IX [CPG 6612], followed by verbatim

4 The excerpt, consisting of ten brief chapters, from the *Laudatio S. Dionysii* is printed below, from six manuscript witnesses, as Appendix IV (pp. 723–743).

5 For example, Hilduin in his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II. 3) had stated that the *Epistola Aristarchi* described the appointment of Dionysius' successor to the bishopric of Athens (following his resignation in order to follow St Paul to Rome); but no such discussion is contained in the excerpts from the *Epistola Aristarchi* preserved in the *Laudatio S. Dionysii*.

quotation of (Hilduin's translation of) *Ep. x*, purportedly sent by Dionysius to John the Evangelist while he was in exile on Patmos [CPG 6613] (c. 16). It should be added that these chapters drawn from the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (cc. 9–16), given the impenetrable nature of Hilduin's Greek translation (see ch. 2, above, pp. 73–80), make for very difficult reading, and were frequently omitted by scribes copying the *Passio S. Dionysii* (see, for example, Appendix III, nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 32, 65, 66, 79, 80, 82, 92, 119, 135, 144, and 148); on the other hand, these same chapters were of great interest to students of theology at the University of Paris from the thirteenth century onwards, and were frequently copied on their own to serve as textbooks for the study of mystical theology.⁶

- (iii) the 'ancient *passio*', the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', and the *Conscriptio Visbii*. In his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep. 11*), Hilduin states that his account of the martyr will be based on what he calls the *libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem*. In spite of Hilduin's wording, this *libellus* turns out not to be a single work, but in fact two works, on both of which Hilduin drew extensively in composing his *Passio S. Dionysii* (see ch. 3, above, pp. 87–90): what I call the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius [BHL 2171], edited below in Appendix I; and what I call the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' [BHL 2178], edited below in Appendix II. As the commentary to the edition of the *Passio S. Dionysii* (below, pp. 470–526) makes clear, these two earlier *passiones* provided Hilduin with the framework, and much of the wording, of his own *Passio S. Dionysii*. Verbal debts to the earlier *passiones*, particularly the 'ancient *passio*' [BHL 2171], are found already at the beginning of c. 1 of Hilduin's work, but after a few sentences he abandons it and turns to the *Epistola Aristarchi* (cc. 2–8), followed by the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (cc. 9–16) for his narrative of the saint. After a transitional chapter concerning Dionysius' evangelical work in Greece and his abandonment of Greece in order to travel to Rome, drawn mostly from references in the New Testament (c. 17), Hilduin returns to the narrative of Dionysius' mission to Gaul, as he found it in both the 'ancient *passio*' and the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*'; these two works provide the framework, and much of the wording, of the remainder of Hilduin's *Passio*

6 See H.F. Dondaine, *Le corpus dionysien de l'Université de Paris au XIIIe siècle*, *Storia et letteratura* 44 (Paris, 1953), with discussion of Hilduin at pp. 25–26 and 72–75. Dondaine provides a list of thirteen manuscripts which contain cc. 9–16 (pp. 72–74); his list is repeated by Lanéry, 'Hilduinus sancti Dionysii abb.', p. 502. See also A. Patschovsky, 'Der Hl. Dionysius, die Universität Paris und der französische Staat', *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 1 (1978), 9–31, at 17–19.

S. Dionysii (cc. 18–36).⁷ However, he amplified what he found in the two earlier *passiones* by drawing on a brief text known as the *Conscriptio Visbii*, particularly in cc. 21, 27, 29 and 33.⁸ The *Conscriptio Visbii* [*BHL* 2183]⁹ is a brief text preserved in a small number of manuscripts which purports to be the last will and testament of a soldier named Visbius, who served in the Roman army under three emperors (Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian) and who was the son of Lisbius and Larcia; in the document, Visbius, following his conversion and baptism, formally renounced any rights which he might otherwise have had through inheritance to properties formerly owned by his father Lisbius (it was Lisbius who had donated the land on which Dionysius built the first Christian church in Paris, according to Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (c. 21)). The *Conscriptio Visbii*, and its three principal characters (Lisbius, Larcia and Visbius), are unknown outside the pages of Hilduin; and the fact that the narrative of its text is so compressed that it could only be understood by someone otherwise familiar with the events is purports to relate, suggests that it was forged by Hilduin himself in order to authenticate some of the most miraculous episodes in his narrative, such as the appearance of Jesus Christ to Dionysius during his imprisonment in the prison of Glaucinus (c. 29).

In addition to these principal sources, Hilduin drew on a wide range of Latin works, which inform his diction and his conception of the martyrdom of St Dionysius and his companions, including the following (in alphabetical order, once again): Aethicus Ister, *Cosmographia* [*CPL* 2348] (c. 72a); Aldhelm, *De pedum regulis* [*CPL* 1335] (c. 143); Ambrose, *De uirginibus* [*CPL* 145] (iii. 6. 30); Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* [*CPL* 313] (xviii. 9–10) and *Sermones* [*CPL* 284] (*Serm.* ccxxxvii. 2); Bede, *Nomina regionum atque locorum de Actibus Apostolorum* [*CPL* 1359]; Claudius Mamertinus, *Gratiarum actio* (ix. 3); Eusebius, *Chronicon*, trans. Jerome [*CPG* 3494] and *Historia ecclesiastica*, trans. Rufinus [*CPG* 3495] (iii. 4. 10, iv. 23. 3); Hegesippus, *Historiae* (ii. 9); Ignatius, *Epistula ad Romanos* [preserved only in a Latin translation quoted by Origen, *Comm. in Cant. canti-*

7 For the ways in which Hilduin combined wording drawn from these two sources, see ch. 3 above, pp. 87–89.

8 See Commentary, below, pp. 507–520, nn. 236, 239, 240, 241, 263, 265, 273, 274, and 284–286. Hilduin had already adverted to the *Conscriptio Visbii* in his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II. 5), where he claimed that the text 'lay buried in a volume in Paris and was only discovered by means of divine intervention' (below, p. 206).

9 The *Conscriptio Visbii* is ed. Lapidge, 'Hilduin of Saint-Denis and the *Conscriptio Visbii*', and below, Appendix VI (pp. 762–773).

corum]; Isidore, *Etymologiae* [CPL 1187] (viii. 11. 9, xi. 31. 3, and xiv. 4. 10); Orosius, *Historiae aduersum paganos* [CPL 571] (vii. 10. 7); and one or several of the following *passiones* of Roman martyrs: *Passio SS. Alexandri, Eventii et Theoduli* [BHL 266], *Passio S. Anastasiae* [BHL 401], *Passio S. Clementis* [BHL 1848], *Passio SS. Firmi et Rustici* [BHL 3023], *Passio SS. Nerei et Achillei* [BHL 6058], and *Passio SS. Rufinae et Secundae* [BHL 7359].

The knowledge of these patristic works implies that Hilduin had access to a very well-stocked library. It is worthwhile asking how many of the above-listed texts were available in manuscripts written or owned at Saint-Denis before c. 840. Bernhard Bischoff, in his great *Katalog* of ninth-century manuscripts, lists some seventy manuscripts which, in his opinion, were written at Saint-Denis during the first half of the ninth century; but these seventy include only one manuscript – a fragmentary copy of the *Epistolae* of Pope Gelasius¹⁰ – which can be associated with any of the titles in the foregoing list. However, from the ninth century onwards, Saint-Denis amassed a huge and justly famous library, and it may be assumed that at least some of the manuscripts possessed by the library in later centuries were copied from manuscripts which were present in the library during the first half of the ninth century, where they could have been consulted by Hilduin.¹¹

Manuscripts of the Prose *Passio S. Dionysii*

Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* is preserved in a very large number of manuscripts: some 190 are listed below in Appendix III. For many reasons it would be impractical and inadvisable to attempt to collate all 190 direct witnesses – many are mere fragments or excerpts, in many the text has been heavily redacted for liturgical purposes, and in any case the collation of so many witnesses would result in an unusable *apparatus criticus*. Some means needs to be devised to identify those manuscripts in which the text is sincerely reproduced and to eliminate those in which it has been heavily redacted. One means of proceeding is to classify the witnesses according to the type of manuscript in which they are preserved. In Appendix III (below, pp. 704–722) I have attempted to classify the manuscripts in five categories, depending on the nature of the manuscript in which the *Passio S. Dionysii* is preserved, as follows.

¹⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, no. 1616.

¹¹ See Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, pp. 235–270 ('Auteurs et oeuvres contenus dans les manuscrits de Saint-Denis'), who notes in particular manuscript copies of the works of Eusebius, Origen and Isidore from among those listed above.

- (1) manuscripts containing material, including Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, concerned solely with St Dionysius. On the analogy of the better-known title used for manuscripts containing hagiography of St Martin, namely 'Martinellus', I refer to such a manuscript as a 'Dionysiellus'. We know that Louis the Pious, in commissioning the *Passio S. Dionysii*, invited Hilduin to include other material relevant to the saint's cult: 'I wish you to add the vision revealed to Pope Stephen in the church of this same St Dionysius ... and the narratives which were appended to it, together with the hymns which you have in hand concerning this most glorious martyr and bishop, and the Night Office in his name'.¹² No surviving manuscript preserves precisely these components (the Night Office, in particular, is extremely difficult to identify);¹³ but in many of them the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] is appended to Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, and sometimes (but more rarely) is followed by the so-called *Gesta Dagoberti* (Appendix III, nos. 87, 102, 112);¹⁴ furthermore, it is sometimes (but rarely) accompanied by a hymn to St Dionysius allegedly composed by Eugenius of Toledo (inc. 'Caeli ciues applaudite')¹⁵ (Appendix III, no. 102). In some 'Dionysielli', Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is prefaced by the epistolary exchange between Louis the Pious and Hilduin (*Epp.* I–III [BHL 2172–2174]; Appendix III, nos. 87, 88, 90, 91, 99, 100, 101, 102, 116, etc.). The contents of 'Dionysielli' continued to grow over the centuries, and many later examples include (for example) Peter Abaelard's Letter on St Dionysius [BHL 2188]¹⁶ (nos. 87, 88, 91, 116, etc.). In any event, a manuscript whose sole contents are concerned with St Dionysius was presumably written for a church dedicated to that saint, and presumptively for Saint-Denis itself; which may imply that the scribe had access to an authoritative copy of Hilduin's work.

12 *Ep.* I. 4: 'His ita contextis uolumus, ut reuelationem ostensam beato papae Stephano in ecclesia eiusdem sanctissimi Dionysii ... et gesta quae eidem subnexa sunt, una cum ymnis, quos de hoc gloriosissimo martyre atque pontifice habes, et officium nocturnale subiungas' (below, p. 198).

13 See below, Appendix IX, as well as discussion by Lanéry, 'Hilduinus sancti Dionysii abb.', pp. 510–512. BNF lat. 10846 (Appendix III, no. 99), a 'Dionysiellus' of high authority, preserves on fols. 76^r–80^v an 'officium de S. Dionysio et sociis eius', which has perhaps the best claim to be a copy of the Night Office requested by Louis the Pious.

14 The *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* is ed. below, Appendix XI (pp. 848–865); the *Gesta Dagoberti* are ed. MGH, SS. rer. Meroving. II, pp. 399–425 (on which see discussion above, ch. 3, pp. 103–106).

15 *ICL* no. 1789; ed. below, Appendix VII (pp. 776–785).

16 *PL* clxxviii. 341–345; see ch. 3, above, p. 112.

- (2) manuscripts containing saints' Lives in no particular order. Such manuscripts were apparently intended primarily for devotional (private) reading and study, or for reading in the refectory; but since they were not arranged in calendar order, they could not easily be used for liturgical purposes, that is, for reading at the Night Office.¹⁷
- (3) legendaries, that is, manuscripts in which saints' Lives and *passiones* were arranged in the order of the liturgical year. Such arrangement was designed principally to facilitate reading at the Night Office, but legendaries could also be used for reading in the refectory. In legendaries, the saint's Life is usually reproduced sincerely, though it may be marked up as lections (lessons) by marginal annotation of various kinds (e.g. a roman numeral placed opposite the beginning of a lection, and the words *Tu autem* at the end).¹⁸
- (4) lectionaries, in which saints' Lives were divided up into lections of standardized length (and often recast in a standardized Latin style) for reading at the Night Office (such books are properly called Office lectionaries to distinguish them from Mass lectionaries); from the twelfth century onwards, Office lectionaries were superseded by breviaries.¹⁹
- (5) breviaries: were liturgical books which contained all the prayers and forms needed for the performance of the Night Office on any particular liturgical feast, including antiphons, responsories, and lections. The lections were drawn from saints' Lives, but were characteristically much abbreviated so as to provide readings of a standardized length and diction.²⁰

It will be clear that liturgical manuscripts in which a saint's Life has been edited or redacted so as to supply lections of a standardized length (and, not infrequently, of a standardized style), namely for an Office lectionary or breviary, will be of little value in establishing the author's original wording of that particular saint's Life,²¹ and may be dismissed from the present enquiry. Of the numerous remaining manuscripts, the editor – in default of thorough colla-

17 See discussion of such manuscripts by Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, pp. 117–121.

18 *Ibid.* pp. 21–26.

19 See E. Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. M. Beaumont (Collegeville, MN, 1998), pp. 158–160.

20 S. Bäumer, *Histoire du bréviaire*, trans. R. Biron, 2 vols. (Paris 1905), 1, pp. 388–399.

21 Cf. M. Lapidge, 'Editing Hagiography', in *La critica del testo mediolatino*, ed. C. Leonardi (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 239–258, esp. pp. 256–257.

tion – can be guided by various probabilities: that a 'Dionysiellus', particularly if it dates from the ninth or tenth century, is inherently more likely to preserve a sincere text than a similar book preserved in a fifteenth-century paper manuscript (such as nos. 91 and 116) and, by the same token, that a volume of saints' Lives dating from the tenth or eleventh century is likely to preserve a more sincere text than a legendary of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It is also clear that many hagiographical manuscripts, of whatever category, reveal, from the evidence of their contents alone, editorial interference of one kind or another: thus a number of manuscripts from the Loire valley preserve only cc. 18–32 of Hilduin's text (indicating that the first seventeen chapters, containing excerpts and *capitula* drawn from the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, have been suppressed) (nos. 2, 3, 6, 135, etc.); in another group of manuscripts from the area of modern Belgium the prologue to the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius (*BHL* 2171) has been interpolated at the beginning of Hilduin's work (nos. 19, 22, 24, etc.); in several manuscripts from southern Germany the *Passio. S. Dionysii* is transmitted as a companion-piece to excerpts from the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, indicating that the volume's primary purpose was not hagiographical (nos. 74, 76, etc.); and so on. By adopting these and similar criteria, one can arrive at a short-list of fourteen manuscripts in which the text of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is sincerely reproduced:

A = Paris, BNF, lat. 2873 A (?Lorraine, s. xi¹), fols. 13^r–41^r. An eleventh-century collection of Saints' Lives, among which Hilduin's writings on St Dionysius take pride of place at the beginning of the manuscript: *Epp.* 1–III (fols. 1^r–13^r), then the *Passio S. Dionysii* (13^r–41^r), followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [*BHL* 2176] (fols. 41^v–43^v). The manuscript consists of 121 folios in octavo format (200 × 155 mm.), written in long lines.²² (Appendix III, no. 90).

B = Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Oct. 159 (Reichenau, s. ix^{3/4}), fols. 25^r–53^v [cc. 1–22]. A manuscript in octavo format (210 × 145 mm.), written in long lines, now consisting of fifty-three folios, all of which are concerned with St Dionysius. The first twenty-four folios contain the correspondence between Louis the Pious and Hilduin (*Epp.* 1–III; see above, p. 116), followed by Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, which breaks off incomplete (at

²² *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* 1, pp. 222–223. On the origin of the manuscript, see Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 192, citing T. Delforge, 'Une "Vita sancti Germani" pour Lothaire 11', *Scriptorium* 22 (1968), 39–42, at 41: 'Le professeur Bischoff, dont chacun reconnaît l'autorité, date ce manuscrit de la première moitié du xie s., avec quelque probabilité d'origine lorraine.'

least two quires, containing the conclusion to the *Passio* and probably the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] have apparently been lost from the end of the manuscript). The dating and attribution to Reichenau are those of Bernhard Bischoff.²³ (Appendix III, no. 13).

C = Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 9 (Worcester, s. xi^{3/4}), fols. 88^v–100^v. A manuscript in folio format (400 × 300 mm.), consisting of 229 folios, written in two columns. The Cambridge manuscript forms one volume of a three-volume legendary (known as the ‘Cotton-Corpus Legendary’); the other two volumes are now in London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i, parts I and II.²⁴ Although the legendary was copied at Worcester some time in the 1060s, its contents indicate that it derives from a legendary originally compiled in the diocese of Noyon-Tournai (archdiocese of Rheims); the latest datable Life in the legendary is the *Vita et miracula S. Remigii* [BHL 7152–7163] by Hincmar of Rheims, composed 877 × 878. (Appendix III, no. 27).

D = Paris, BNF, lat. 10846 (Saint-Denis, s. x), fols. 21^v–75^v. A ‘Dionysiellus’, containing two of the *epistolae* (*Ep.* I has been lost from the beginning of the manuscript: see above, p. 116), Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii*, an Office for St Dionysius (see Appendix IX, below, p. 819), and, at the very end of the manuscript, a fragment of the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (see Appendix XI, below, p. 855). In its present state, the manuscript consists of eighty-one folios in small octavo format (155 × 120 mm.), written in long lines.²⁵ Unfortunately the manuscript has been mutilated: at least one quire (containing *Ep.* I and the beginning of *Ep.* II) has been lost from the beginning of the manuscript; a bifolium has been lost from quire VI (resulting in leaves missing after fols. 61

23 Bischoff, *Katalog* I, no. 485.

24 The Cambridge manuscript contains Lives of saints from St Remigius (1 Oct.) to St Lucia (13 Dec.) (with several additions, out of liturgical sequence, at the beginning and end of the volume); it therefore constituted the third and final volume of the original three-volume legendary known as the ‘Cotton-Corpus Legendary’. A description and complete list of contents of the entire ‘Cotton-Corpus Legendary’ is given by P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, ‘The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary’, in *Holy Men and Holy Women. Old English Prose Saints’ Lives and their Contents*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996), pp. 131–146; see also H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments written or owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), no. 36.

25 *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* II, pp. 602–603; on the origin of the manuscript at Saint-Denis, see Dolbeau, ‘Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques’, p. 218.

and 65); and the final folio of the manuscript (fol. 81) is so badly abraded as to be virtually illegible. Quire signatures were added, in the middle of the lower margins of the final leaves of quires, to that part of the manuscript containing Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (on fols. 21^v–75^v), so that the quiring of fols. 21–81 may be established as follows: I⁸ (fols. 21–28; quire signature .I. on fol. 28^v), II⁸ (fols. 29–36; quire signature .II. on fol. 36^v), III⁸ (fols. 37–44; quire signature .III. on fol. 44^v), IV⁸ (fols. 45–52; quire signature .IIII. on fol. 52^v), V⁸ (fols. 53–60; quire signature .V. on fol. 60^v), VI⁸ (fols. 61–68, lacks 2, 7; no quire signature), VII⁶ (fols. 69–74; quire signature .VII. on fol. 74^v). A final quire, consisting of fols. 75–82, has lost its final leaf (fol. 82), and fol. 81 is a mutilated fragment, so that the construction of this final quire cannot be verified. The quiring suggests that Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* formed the original core of the manuscript, to which some quires containing the three *epistolae* were added at the beginning, and the Office for St Dionysius (see below, Appendix IX) was added to fill the remainder of the final quire. (Appendix III, no. 99).

E = Paris, BNF, lat. 10847 (Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, s. xi), fols. 8^r–23^r. A small booklet consisting of twenty-four folios (three quires) in octavo format (250 × 210 mm.), wholly concerned with St Dionysius – a 'Dionysiellus' in other words – beginning with *Epp.* I–III (fols. 1^r–7^v), followed by the *Passio S. Dionysii*, and concluded by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] (fols. 23^r–24^r).²⁶ (Appendix III, no. 100).

F = Paris, BNF, lat. 11751 (Saint-Germain, s. xi^{med}), fols. 1^r–39^v. An eleventh-century collection of Saints' Lives, consisting of 160 folios in large quarto format (360 × 255 mm.) in two-column format. Among the Saints' Lives Hilduin's writings on St Dionysius take pride of place: following the *Passio S. Dionysii* (fols. 1^r–39^v) are *Epp.* II and III (fols. 39^v–50^v), then the Letter by Hincmar *De SS. Sanctino et Antonino S. Dionysii discipulis* [BHL 7488], which is a frequent component of 'Dionysielli', then the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] (fols. 52^v–54^r) and some excerpts from the *Gesta Dagoberti* concerning the invention of the martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius (fols. 54^v–59^r); the remainder of the manuscript is taken up with Lives of various French saints such as St Martin.²⁷ (Appendix III, no. 102).

²⁶ *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* II, p. 603.

²⁷ *Ibid.* III, pp. 47–48; see also C. Niver, 'Notes upon an Eleventh-Century Psalter', *Speculum* 3 (1928), 398–401, at p. 399 (with pl. II illustrating fol. 59^r, and pl. IIIB, illustrating fol. 82^r), and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 221.

G = St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 577 (St Gallen, s. ix/x), pp. 711–754 [cc. 1–35]. A collection of forty-five saints' Lives in large quarto format (345 × 260 mm.), consisting of 754 pp. written in two columns; the Lives are arranged randomly, and do not follow calendar order.²⁸ The manuscript was written at St Gallen, and the collection of saints' Lives was probably assembled there as well, since it includes the Lives of a striking number of saints from Alamannia, including Odilia, abbess of Hohenburg (Bavaria); Meinrad, founder of Einsiedeln; Verena, a recluse from the mountains near Zurich; Trudpert, a hermit in the Breisgau; and Pirmin, the founder of Reichenau. Some folios have been lost at the end of the manuscript, with the result that the *Passio S. Dionysii* breaks off incomplete in the middle of c. 35 (possibly it was originally followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano*). (Appendix III, no. 133).

L = London, BL, Add. 22793 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 5^v–29^v. In its present, fragmentary state, the manuscript consists of forty-two folios in small octavo format (210 × 130 mm.), written in long lines. The *Passio S. Dionysii* is preceded by *Epp.* II–III (*Ep.* II is acephalous, implying that material has been lost at the beginning of the manuscript), and followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] (fols. 29^v–31^v; see Appendix XI, below, p. 855). The manuscript was given by Otloh of St Emmeram to Fulda, and probably written by one of Otloh's students.²⁹ Following the Dionysian material is the *Vita S. Symeonis Treuirensis* [BHL 7963] and, on the final folio (42^v) a two-line distich in the hand of Otloh of St Emmeram, donating the book to Fulda.³⁰ Otloh was principally responsible for establishing the cult of St Dionysius at Regensburg (see ch. 3 above, pp. 107–110). The manuscript was once a legendary containing a number of other saints' Lives (of which only the *Vita S. Simeonis* [BHL 7963] is still extant in Add. 22793); by the thirteenth century it had passed to Erfurt, and was broken up in the nineteenth century into at least eight parts, some of which ended up

28 See Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 187–188, and esp. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen* I. Teil IV: *Codices 547–669*, pp. 90–96. The manuscript is mentioned briefly by Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, p. 113.

29 B. Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in his *Mittelalterlichen Studien*, II, pp. 77–115, at p. 92.

30 The metrical inscription on fol. 42^v (in the hand of Otloh of St Emmeram himself) is as follows: 'Presbiter et monachus Otloh quidam vocitatus / sancte, tibi, librum, Bonifaci, tradidit istum' (i.e. the manuscript was donated by Otloh to Fulda, the abbey founded by St Boniface).

in Berlin (whence they passed to Cracow after 1945). Add. 22793 was one of these eight parts; it was purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps, from whose library it was acquired in 1859 by the British Museum (as it then was). (Appendix III, no. 57).

M = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P 113 sup. (?N. France, s. xi^{med}), fols. 136^v–153^r. The manuscript is a legendary containing Lives of saints out of calendar order; it contains Lives of a number of saints culted in northern France, which suggests that the manuscript may have been written there rather than in Italy. It consists of 169 folios in quarto in format (280 × 160 mm.) written in long lines.³¹ The text of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is fragmentary in M: it omits cc. 3–4 and 9–14. (Appendix III, no. 65).

O = Saint-Omer, BM, 342 bis (Saint-Bertin, s. x^{ex}), fols. 63^r–95^v. A manuscript consisting of 104 folios in quarto format (290 × 200 mm.), written in long lines.³² The manuscript contains a collectar-evangelary,³³ followed by Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, which is followed in turn by the *Gesta Dagoberti* and the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176]; a metrical inscription (fol. 1^r) indicates that the manuscript was written and richly illuminated by one Dodolinus for Odbert, abbot of Saint-Omer (986–1007),³⁴ probably c. 993. (Appendix III, no. 128).

P = Paris, BNF, lat. 13345 (Saint-Denis, s. ix^{med}), fols. 88^v–114^v. A composite manuscript,³⁵ of which fols. 88–116 are a booklet wholly concerned with St

31 See Bollandists [F. van Ortroij], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis', *AB* 11 (1892), 205–368, at 360–362.

32 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Audomaropolitanae', *AB* 47 (1929), 241–306, at 247–248.

33 See P.-M. Gy, 'Collectaire, rituel, processionnel', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 44 (1960), 441–469, who describes the manuscript as 'le plus ancien évangélaire à collectes que nous avons rencontré' (p. 451).

34 A. Wilmart, 'Les livres de l'abbé Odbert', *Bulletin historique de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 14 (1929), 169–186, at 173–174, and A. Boutemy, 'Un trésor injustement oublié: les manuscrits enluminés du Nord de la France (période pré-gothique)', *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), 110–122, at 115.

35 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. III, pp. 191–193. The Bollandists did not distinguish between the two components of fols. 88–215, namely the 'Dionysiellus' dating from the mid-ninth century on fols. 88–116, and the remainder on fols. 117–215, which date to the tenth century (fols. 1–87 are of twelfth-century date). The two components of fols. 88–215 are evidently related, and may share the same origin. Bernhard Bischoff, presumably basing

Dionysius; the booklet consists of four quires in small octavo format (230×170 mm.) written in long lines – three quires of eight (fols. 89–96, 97–104, 105–112) followed by a quire of four (fols. 113–116) – preceded by a singleton (fol. 88) on the verso of which the *capitulum* to the *Passio S. Dionysii* was copied in rustic capital script in alternating lines of red and brown ink. Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] on fols. 114^v–116^v. The dating of the manuscript is confirmed by the fact that on fol. 96^v John Scottus Eriugena copied the words *pterugion tou ouranou* (which occur in c. 12 of Hilduin's work) in Greek script.³⁶ (Appendix III, no. 106).

himself on the fact that an annotation on fol. 96^v is in the hand of John Scottus Eriugena, assigned fols. 88–116 hesitantly to Auxerre (*Katalog*, III, no. 4887; cf. Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 227), reflecting thereby our knowledge of the whereabouts of John Scottus during the third quarter of the ninth century. But there is no reason to think that John Scottus could not at some point have visited Saint-Denis, the principal abbey in the kingdom of Charles the Bald, his royal patron; indeed it is possible that he visited the abbey in search of a copy of Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, on which he was to base his own translation of the work. I therefore prefer to follow the opinion of Jean Vezin (see following note) and to believe, on the basis of the presumed relationship between fols. 88–116 and 117–215, that P was written at Saint-Denis, and seen there and (lightly) annotated by John Scottus. The contents of fols. 117–215 include the following: a *Vita S. Gregorii* (117^r–131^v), a *Vita S. Medardi* (131^v–135^r), *Actus S. Medardi* (135^v–142^r), a *Vita S. Gildardi Rotomagensis* (142^r–147^v), a *Relatio qualiter sacratissimum beatissimi corpus Guldardi a Rotomago delatum et in basilica venerabilis fratris eius Medardi Suessa civitate condigno honore tumulatum est* (147^v–150^r), a *Liber de miraculis S. Sebastiani* (150^r–184^v), and several other texts. When one recalls that Hilduin was the abbot both of Saint-Médard in Soissons and of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, and that he was responsible for the translation in 826 of the relics of SS. Gregory and Sebastian to Saint-Médard in Soissons, it would appear that the dossier of texts in BNF lat. 13345, especially those on fols. 117–184, reflects his activities as abbot of these various monasteries, and was possibly assembled at his instigation, albeit copied a century later. In any case, the combination of these texts and Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* points in my opinion to Saint-Denis rather than to Auxerre.

- 36 Confirmed by Édouard Jeuneau in a letter to me dated 28 January 1990; see now E. Jeuneau and P.E. Dutton, *The Autograph of Eriugena*, *Autographa Medii Aevi* 3 (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 40–41 and pl. 85 (on p. 41 n. 18 the authors thank Jean Vezin for the dating and attribution of the manuscript to Saint-Denis); see also E. Jeuneau, 'L'abbaye de Saint-Denis, introductrice de Denis en Occident', in *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident*, ed. Y. de Andia, *Collection des Études Augustiniennes, série Antiquité*, 151 (Paris, 1997), pp. 361–378, at p. 371 n. 40.

R = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14871, fols. 1–45 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 13^v–43^r. Fols. 1–45 are a manuscript in small quarto format (255×195 mm.), written in long lines, by Otloh of Sankt Emmeram containing, in addition to Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, the first two of the *epistolae* (see above, p. 118).³⁷ As we have seen (Introduction, ch. 3, above, pp. 107–110), Otloh devoted a substantial part of his *Translatio et inuentio S. Dionysii* (1049) to exegesis and amplification of Hilduin's account in *Ep.* 11 of the sources on which his *Passio S. Dionysii* was to be based. It is possible that the present manuscript (R) was the very manuscript on which Otloh based his exegesis. (Appendix III, no. 76).

S = El Escorial, Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, b. I. 4 (Cardeña, s. xi), fols. 3^r–20^v. The manuscript consists of 265 folios in large quarto format (355×260 mm.), written in two columns. The manuscript is the second volume of what was originally a two-volume legendary, of which the first volume has apparently been lost.³⁸ Cardeña is a Benedictine abbey lying some 11 km. south of Burgos; the orthography alone declares the manuscript to be a product of the Iberian peninsula (the scribe invariably spells *mihi* as *mici*, and writes *-u-* invariably as *-b-* and vice versa: *sensiuilis*, *possiuile*, *renobatio*, *nobus*, *ferbore*, etc.).³⁹ (Appendix III, no. 41).

T = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4608 (Benediktbeuern, s. xi^{med}), fols. 61^v–85^v. A composite manuscript consisting of three distinct parts, of which Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* and the three *epistolae* are contained in Part I (fols. 1–99), alongside a copy of Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (see Appendix XI, below, p. 855). The remainder of Part I contains various saints' Lives. The manuscript is in small octavo format (220×155 mm.), written in long lines. An addition on fol. 99^v pertaining to a donation by Emperor Heinrich III to Benediktbeuern indicates that that is where the manuscript was written.⁴⁰ (Appendix III, no. 73).

37 See Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram', p. 91.

38 On the manuscript, see G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los codices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1910–1923), I, pp. 108–128.

39 For the spelling *mici* as characteristic of the Iberian peninsula, see Stotz, *Handbuch* III, pp. 168–169; for the interchange of the voiced bilabial fricative [b] with the voiced labiovelar fricative [v], see *ibid.* pp. 267–271.

40 See G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern: Clm 4501–4663* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 185–187.

Relationship of the Manuscripts of the Prose *Passio S. Dionysii*

The following edition is based on most (not all) of the earliest manuscripts of Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.⁴¹ By 'earliest' I mean manuscripts written earlier than the twelfth century. Fourteen such manuscripts have been collated for the present edition. Together these fourteen manuscripts preserve a stable and sincere text, from which there are only local and minor variants: as will be seen from the *apparatus criticus*, the greatest number of variant readings are attested in a single manuscript.

The archetype from which all manuscripts descend already contained a small amount of error.⁴²

c. 12, 254.22: *superminentiam causa* MSS., a nonsensical reading where the correct reading (*superminentem causam*) receives independent confirmation from Hilduin's translation of the chapter-headings from the pseudo-Dionysian treatise *De mystica theologia*.⁴³

c. 13, 254.23: *differentem* MSS., where sense requires *disserentem* (and where apparently the letters *-ss-*, written with tall ascenders in the archetype, were misread as *-ff-* and repeated by all subsequent scribes).

c. 14, 256.26: *se in* MSS., where proper regard to Latin syntax requires *in se* (*habentem in se haec uerba*).

c. 14, 258.25: *obfusi* MSS., where sense requires *obfuso* (*obfuso namque orbe*).

c. 16, 268.20: *nos* MSS., where sense and context require *uos*. The text here reads 'De his uero qui inique agunt in **uos**, et determinant **uos** non recte', where in lieu of *uos* all manuscripts read *nos* (twice). But Hilduin is here recycling a sentence from his earlier translation of the pseudo-Dionysius *Ep. X*, which explicitly uses the 2nd person plural form: 'de his uero qui inique agunt in **uos** et determinant

41 In Appendix III (below, pp. 704–722), I list four more manuscripts of tenth-century date (nos. 70, 101, 113 and 135), and twenty-two of eleventh-century date (nos. 2, 4, 26, 31, 33, 45, 86, 94, 105, 108, 111, 114, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 132, 141, 142, 144, and 148). Collation of these further witnesses would result in an unusable apparatus criticus and would not, I think, take us any closer to the state of the text as it left Hilduin's hands.

42 The present account of manuscript relations entirely supersedes that in Lapidge, 'Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii Parisiensis abb.', pp. 330–333.

43 See below, p. 489, n. 125.

uos non recte' (ed. Théry, II, p. 346), twice rendering the 2nd person plural ὑμεῖς in the Greek original (*CD* II, p. 209).

c. 17, 270.14: *Troadis* ABCDEFGMOPS, *Troades* LRT, where sense requires the accusative *Troadem* (*usque Troadem*).

Hilduin had a good command of Latin, but there are occasional grammatical slips where it is unclear whether the mistake should be charged to Hilduin or the scribes.

c. 14, 260.8: *signis acclamantibus concordari expertus*, where *concordari* is the reading of MSS. ABCDPRST. The verb *concordare*, however, is not deponent and, from the standpoint of grammatical correctness, the reading *concordare* of MSS. DEFGLM would be preferable. However, Hilduin elsewhere employs the form *concordari* (*Ep.* II. 5 [*seriei concordari uidentur*], II. 11 [*in quibusdam sensu uidebantur concordari*]),⁴⁴ and may mistakenly have believed the verb to be deponent, in which case the reading *concordare* transmitted in MSS. DEFGLM represents a scribal correction.

c. 25, 282.10–11: *uultibus trucissimis*, where MSS. ACELMOPRST all read *trucidissimis* (B is no longer extant here, and D has a lacuna at this point); only F and G (after correction) read *trucissimis*. The superlative of *trux* is *trucissimus*, not *trucidissimus*, which is a nonce form (there is no such word as *trucidus*). Hilduin took the phrase verbatim from the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', c. 9 (*uultibus trucidissimis*); possibly he did not recognize *trucidissimis* as a solecism, and mistakenly repeated it, in which case the form *trucissimis* in F and G represents a scribal correction.⁴⁵

c. 29, 288.24: *cruciariae* (all MSS. except GL, which read *cruciari*), modifying *stipitis*: *patibulo cruciariae stipitis*. The transmitted reading *cruciariae* implies that Hilduin or the scribe of the archetype took *stips* to be fem.; but *stīpes*, *-itis* is in fact masc., so the phrase should correctly have read *patibulo cruciarii stipitis* (the reading *cruciari* in GL may represent an attempt at scribal correction, with the final *-ii* spelled *-i*).

44 See below, p. 493, n. 150.

45 See below, p. 513, n. 257.

Before turning to the problems presented by variant readings, it may be useful to consider the general groupings of manuscripts suggested by their geographical origins. In the first place, there is a large group of manuscripts which were written in France: ADEFMOP, with which may be associated C (which was copied in England from an exemplar which originated in the diocese of Noyon-Tournai). Of these French manuscripts, three originated in Paris, two – D and P – at Saint-Denis itself, and a third – F – at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Then there is a smaller group of manuscripts which were written in Switzerland and Germany: two in Alamannia (B and G, written at Reichenau and St Gallen respectively) and three in Bavaria, of which two – L and R – were written at Regensburg by Otloh of St Emmeram (c. 1010 – c. 1070), and the third – T – was written at Benediktbeuern. Finally, S was written at Cardeña in northern Spain.

To some extent these geographical groupings are confirmed by shared variant readings. The three manuscripts from Bavaria (LRT) are clearly related, as the following variants demonstrate:

c. 2, 234.13: *collecta* LRT, *conlectata* cett.

c. 12, 254.12: *palatu* LRT, *palato* cett.

c. 17, 270.14: *Troadés* LRT, *Troadis* cett.

c. 18, 272.19: *ut* omitted by LRT

c. 18, 272.20: after *Dionysius* LRT add *cum*

Of the three Bavarian manuscripts, L and R are most closely related: as one might expect, given that they were both written by Otloh of St Emmeram. LR share unique variants at c. 6, 240.21 (*futuro uenturus* LR, *uenturo futuris* cett.) and at c. 19, 274.12 (*sinit* LR, *soluit* cett.). Furthermore, it is apparent from several distinctive shared errors that the exemplar of S, the Spanish manuscript, came from Regensburg:

c. 3, 236.6: *agrestium hominum* LRS, *agrestis hominis* cett.

c. 18, 272.18: *demoniaca* LRS, *daemonica* cett.

A few variants suggest that the exemplar of Otloh's Regensburg manuscript was a Parisian manuscript closely related to P, rather than a manuscript from nearby Alamannia:

c. 2, 234.22–23: *prolata* LR and P (also M), *propalata* cett.

c. 10, 248.17: *ministerium* BEP(p.c.)RT, *mysterio* ACDFGLOS (M not extant here)

c. 14, 258.3 *satis* LRPT, *sacris* ABCDFS, *sacris uerbis* G, *sacris dictis* O, and an erasure here in E. Here *satis* is obviously the correct reading ('et diligenter *satis* dilucidauit tibi'), whereas *sacris* is obvious nonsense. The scribes of G and O tried independently to emend the nonsense, and E, recognizing nonsense, simply erased it.

c. 25, 282.19: the words *aut seueritatis*, omitted by LRT (and also FM), are deleted by points in P

The examples from cc. 10 and 25 suggest that the exemplar of Otloh's Regensburg manuscript was very closely related to (but not identical with) P after it had been corrected. This means that, although LRT are later in date (eleventh century) than Parisian manuscripts such as P and D (ninth and tenth century respectively), they may on occasion preserve a correct reading where the majority of French (and Parisian) manuscripts are in error. Note the following example from the final sentence of c. 3:

[regio] ... in qua staticulum ipsius Mercurii ueneratione **summa** ceperat urbem.

Here (c. 3, 236.20) the reading *summa* is that of LRT (and also G from St Gallen), where the French manuscripts preserve the nonsensical reading *sui mente* (ABCDEFOP; M is not extant at this point). This example offers the salutary warning that the text preserved by the French manuscripts, even by P, the earliest of them, cannot be followed blindly. Another example from c. 16 will help to illustrate this point:

neque enim ... erit culpandus Deus de iustis segregationibus, cum impii seipsos **fecerunt** ab illis secretos.

Here the reading *fecerunt* (c. 16, 268.11) is that of MSS. ABDFGORST, whereas MSS. CELMP read *fecerint*. The reading *fecerunt* (pret. indicative) is confirmed by the text of Hilduin's earlier translation of pseudo-Dionysius *Ep. x*: 'cum impii se ipsos **fecerunt** ab illis secretos' (ed. Théry, II, p. 346). The scribes of MSS. CELMP apparently understood *cum* as causal or concessive (hence they emended to the preterite subjunctive, *fecerint*), whereas it is here simply

temporal, as the quotation from Hilduin's translation of *Ep. x* demonstrates. It is interesting to note in passing that in this example, L and P *inter alios* agree in the erroneous reading *fecerint*, whereas R and T preserve the correct form *fecerunt*.

It is not always possible to ascertain Hilduin's exact wording, even when acceptable readings are preserved in a large number of witnesses. Consider the following example from the beginning of c. 32:

Tantaque multitudo fidelium **quae** per eum **crediderat** ... caesa et diuersissimis ... suppliciis est affecta, ut ...

Here *quae* is the reading of MSS. DFRST, whereas MSS. ACEGLMOP read *qui* (B is no longer extant at this point); by contrast, MSS. ACDEFMPRST read *crediderat*, whereas MSS. GLO read *crediderant*. It is not clear whether the intended construction was (*multitudo*) *quae crediderat* in the singular, or (*fideles*) *qui crediderant* in the plural. I have printed the singular *crediderat* with the majority of manuscripts, entailing the singular relative pronoun *quae*, but there can be no certainty that this is what Hilduin wrote. And note that of the eight manuscripts which read *qui* (ACEGLMOP), only three – GLO – saw fit to supply the grammatically necessary plural form *crediderant*. This one example shows how difficult it is to be certain at every point about Hilduin's exact wording, and why the reading of a majority of the manuscripts is not necessarily the correct one.

Furthermore, even though the geographical classification – the French manuscripts ADEFMOP (joined by BC) against the Bavarian manuscripts LRT (joined sporadically by G and S) – is valid for the most part, there are many problematical passages in Hilduin's text where geographical alliances do not help to clarify the transmitted text. Consider, for example, the following sentence from c. 6:

Deus solus ... qui mortificat **iuustus** et uiuificat **pious**

This sentence is modelled on a biblical phrase, 'Dominus mortificat et uiuificat' (1Sm ii. 6), 'the Lord killeth and maketh alive', where the two verbs are used intransitively. Hilduin apparently wished to preserve the structure of his biblical model, but he qualified it by adding the adjectives *iuustus* and *pious*, with the resulting sense, 'God ... Who as a just (God) kills and as a merciful (God) gives life'. A majority of manuscripts, both French and Bavarian, preserved the two nominative adjectives *iuustus* and *pious* (AFLMRST).⁴⁶ In addition, both C and P

46 The readings *iuustus* and *pious* are confirmed by the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* i. 410–411: 'idem mortificat aequo moderamine **iuustus** / uiuificatque **pious**' (below, p. 330).

also originally read *iustus* and *pious*, though these readings were subsequently altered to *iustos* and *pios* (resulting, in the case of the former, in the nonsensical phrase, 'God kills the just'); B here reads *iustus* (after correction from *iustos*) and *pious*, and D reads *iustos* (subsequently altered to *iniustos*) and *pious*. The alternations in CP (and to some extent those in BD) indicate that scribes were uneasy about the intransitive sense and the nominative adjectives, and evidently felt that the two verbs required objects; hence the alteration found first in D of *iustos* to *iniustos* was repeated by the scribes of EGO, who also altered the transmitted *pious* to *pios* to preserve the symmetry of the phrase, with the resulting (and perfectly intelligible) phrase, '[Deus] ... qui mortificat iniustos et uiuificat iustos', '[God] ... Who kills the wicked and gives life to the just'. But the weight of manuscript evidence shows that this is not what Hilduin wrote.

From this last example – a correction made first in D apparently being repeated in EGO – we glimpse something of the network of manuscript relationships which could be represented in a *stemma codicum*; and this example might be combined with the earlier example from c. 25 (282.19), where the words *aut seueritatis*, deleted by points in P, were omitted by LRT (and also FM), suggesting (perhaps) that the exemplar of FLMRT was copied from P after the deletion of the phrase *aut seueritatis* had been made. But with the exception of occasional glimpses of manuscript relationships such as these, the general picture is rather one of shifting alliances between manuscripts:⁴⁷ a result, no doubt, of the great popularity which the work enjoyed from the mid-ninth century onwards, which resulted in large numbers of copies being made, with the inevitable contamination which frequent copying entails. In these circumstances, it is not feasible to attempt to construct a *stemma codicum*, and it would perhaps be more helpful to think in terms of ripples created by a stone in a pool of water, with P and the Parisian manuscripts (DF) at the centre, the concentric ripples spreading in all directions to centres

47 Note, for example: at c. 14, 258.17, MSS. ABOP read *penetrabilibus*, whereas all other manuscripts read (correctly) *penetralibus*; and elsewhere ABOP share variant readings with other manuscripts, such as at c. 3, 236.20, where MSS. ABCDEFOP agree in the error *sui mente*, against the correct reading *summa* in GLRT, or at c. 16, 268.22, where ABOP, together with EM, read *particeps*, where grammar requires the plural *participes*, as in MSS. CSFGLRST; and cf. c. 11, 252.9 and 10. But elsewhere AB and OP show different affiliations: as at c. 6, 242.3, where MSS. DEFOPRT add *iam* after *uentum*, but MSS. ABCGLMS do not, or at c. 15, 262.10, where MSS. ABCDEFGRS add *ipse* after *sed*, but MSS. LMOPT do not. And there are numerous places where A and B show different affiliations (e.g. c. 22, 278.3), as do O and P (e.g. c. 14, 258.3).

elsewhere in France (AEMO) and then to England (C), Alamannia (BG) and Bavaria (LRT), and beyond (S).⁴⁸

Previous Editions of Hilduin's Prose *Passio S. Dionysii*

Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* was printed several times from the late fifteenth century onwards, beginning with Boninus Mombritius in his *Sanctuarium* (1478),⁴⁹ and by Caspar Hochfeder at Nürnberg between the years 1491 and 1498.⁵⁰ The first modern edition was that by Matthys Galen or Matthaenus Galenus

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- 48 Michael Reeve has some sharp remarks about the use of this metaphor (first devised by Johannes Schmidt in 1872 to describe the dissemination of the Indoeuropean languages, in distinction to the stemmatic method advocated by August Schleicher) in lieu of establishing a *stemma codicum*: *Manuscripts and Methods: Essays on Editing and Transmission*, Storia e letteratura: Raccolta di studi e testi 270 (Rome, 2011), pp. 50–52, at 50: 'Alla teoria stemmatica di Schleicher andrebbe quindi sostituita l'immagine di un'onda che si diffonde da un punto in cerchi concentrici di sempre minore forza'.
- 49 This edition is listed in L. Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (Stuttgart, 1826–1838), II.1, p. 458 [no. 11544]; on the probable date of the work, see T. Foffano, 'Per la data dell'edizione del "Sanctuarium" di Bonino Mombritio', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 22 (1979), 509–511. The work is accessible by means of an edition published by the monks of Solesmes in the early twentieth century: Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae sanctorum*, ed. Monachi Solesmenses, 2 vols. (Paris, 1910), with the *Passio S. Dionysii* in vol. I, pp. 394–409 (at pp. 651–652 the monks of Solesmes provide a detailed collation of their text with the later edition of Surius, on which see below, n. 53). Mombritius used late medieval legendaries (notably Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, and the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*) as the source for many of the Lives which he printed; see G. Eis, *Die Quellen für das Sanctuarium des Mailänder Humanisten Boninus Mombritius. Eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der grossen Legendensammlungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 134–136 (Eis, however, was unable to identify the source used by Mombritius for Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*); cf. B. de Gaiffier, 'Au sujet des sources du "Sanctuarium" de Mombritius', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 278–281. In any event, the text of Hilduin in the *Sanctuarium* is highly inaccurate, being disfigured by transpositions, interpolations, and omissions of every kind.
- 50 *Dyonysij ariopagitae doctoris Ierarchici vita*, with the text of Hilduin at sign. B.7–E.1. The edition is listed Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, II, p. 264 [no. 6237]; for the identification of the printer and the date of the work, see B. Bischoff, 'Studien zur Geschichte des Klosters St. Emmeram im Spätmittelalter (1324–1525)', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, II, pp. 115–155, at p. 137. Because Hochfeder's edition was commissioned by a monk of St Emmeram, namely Nikolaus Bernauer, there is good reason to suspect that the printed text was based on one of Otloh's manuscripts, hence perhaps related to our MS. L.

(1528–1573), printed at Cologne in 1563.⁵¹ Galen based his edition on a single manuscript which he claimed was Hilduin's 'autograph',⁵² and which was found for him in the house of Augustinian canons in Ypres by one Frans Schilders (Franciscus Schilderius), and given to him to use for his own scholarly purposes. This Ypres manuscript does not survive; given the date of the house's foundation (1102), it is unlikely to have been older than the twelfth century, in spite of Galen's assertions about its venerable antiquity. Collation indicates that Galen's Ypres manuscript was closely related to our MSS. LRT (that is, the Bavarian manuscripts): thus Galen prints *conlecta* with LRT at c. 2, 234.13, *agrestium hominum* with LRS at c. 3, 236.6, *statiunculum* with MS. R at c. 3, 236.19, and so on. This much suggests that Galen's Ypres manuscript, or its exemplar, came from Bavaria.

However, the edition which has become the standard text is that which was included by Lorenz Sauer or Laurentius Surius (1523–1578) in his hugely popular and widely circulated six-volume compendium of saints' Lives published at Cologne between 1570 and 1575 (with a supplement issued in 1581).⁵³ As we have seen, Sauer was a monk at the Carthusian house of St Barbara in Cologne (above, p. 122 with n. 24), and it may be assumed that the manuscript on which he based his edition of Hilduin's work was found in St Barbara's (very substantial) library. From an early seventeenth-century catalogue of the library we know that it contained at least three multi-volume legendaries:⁵⁴ a four-volume legendary which bore the seventeenth-century shelf-marks O11–O14 and which is untraced; a three-volume legendary with the shelf-marks O6–O8 which survives in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3132 [*olim* 206]; and a single-volume collection with the shelf-mark O9, which survives as Paris, BNF, lat. 8995. Of these, copies of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* are found in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3132 (see Appendix III, below, no. 18) and in Paris, BNF,

51 *Areopagitica seu Opuscula quaedam nusquam hactenus excusa* (Cologne, 1563), with Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysius* on fols. 80^r–123^r. On Galenus, see above, p. 121, with nn. 21–22.

52 The claim that the manuscript was Hilduin's autograph is belied by the gross number of errors which it contains.

53 Laurentius Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, 6 vols. (Cologne, 1570–1575); Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is in vol. v [1574], pp. 642–658. Sauer's edition was reprinted (without an indication of his source) by Migne in PL cvi. 23–50. No reprint by Migne is ever wholly accurate; but of all the editions of Migne which I have ever consulted, that of Hilduin is by far the most slovenly and inaccurate. And yet it is this edition in PL which is the most widely-cited text of Hilduin's work.

54 See Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St Barbara in Cologne*, pp. 402–403.

lat. 8995 (see Appendix III, below, no. 98). Sauer might in principle have taken his text of Hilduin from either of these legendaries. However, the text in BNF lat. 8995 lacks cc. 23–25, which are present in Sauer's edition, so that this manuscript cannot have been his copy text. In an earlier study I suggested, therefore, that Brussels 3132 might have been the copy text in question.⁵⁵ Collation, however, rules out such a suggestion: in c. 1, the words *et adorandam eius ab inferis* are omitted from Brussels 3132; in c. 4, the words *satis pinguissimis memoribus consitis et aromatis odoratis, uinetis nectareis et ubertatis copia* are omitted from Brussels 3132; in the same chapter, the word *effluentibus* is printed by Sauer, whereas the Brussels manuscript reads *effluentissimis*, and after the word *sufficientissimis* the Brussels manuscript inserts the words *satis pinguissimis ... nectareis et mundialibus ubertatibus allectissima*, which are not found in Sauer's text. The conclusion is that Sauer was not using Brussels 3132 as his copy text for Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*. The text of Hilduin as printed by Sauer has all the characteristic features of his editorial method (he was notorious for recomposing texts according to his own sense of style):⁵⁶ it has an abbreviated prologue (*capitulum*) such as is found in no other manuscript; additions, omissions and transpositions of greater and lesser extent in every chapter of the work; and, above all, interventions intended to clarify Hilduin's frequently obscure diction. Yet, in spite of its manifest faults, Sauer's edition of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* has remained the standard text of this work for over four centuries. The present edition is the first to be undertaken afresh since 1574,⁵⁷ and the first to be based on more than a single manuscript.

55 Lapidge, 'Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii Parisiensis Abb.', p. 334.

56 See Ch. 4, above, p. 122, n. 26, and the references given there to discussion by P. Holt and R. Godding, esp. the latter's comment: 'Surius n' avait pas hésité à réécrire des textes entiers dans un meilleur style, ou à retrancher des passages qu' il jugeait ridicules ou peu édifiants' ('L'oeuvre hagiographique d' Héribert Rosweyde', p. 36).

57 During the first half of the twentieth century, new editions of the *Passio S. Dionysii* were announced independently by René Macaigne, Maximilian Buchner and Gabriel Théry, but none of these was ever completed or published.

Hilduin's Verse *Passio S. Dionysii*

In his metrical *Passio SS. Thebeorum* [BHL 5754], composed 1071×1075, Sigebert of Gembloux (c.1030–1112) had occasion to refer in an elegiac couplet to Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*; significantly, he stated that Hilduin's work was written *utroque stilo*, that is to say, in both prose and verse:

Vita Dyonisii, qui flos fuit Ariopagi,
Hildvini studio pollet utroque stilo.¹

Years later, in his *Catalogus de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Sigebert spelled out this same information in somewhat more detail: 'Hilduinus abbas [de] Sancti Dionysii Parisiensis scripsit ad Ludovicum imperatorem utroque stilo, id est prosaico et metrico, uitam ipsius Dionysii'.² These unambiguous testimonies indicate that Hilduin composed his *Passio S. Dionysii* both in prose and verse, and that a manuscript of both versions was available at Gembloux in the late eleventh century. The manuscript was still at Gembloux in the early seventeenth century, because in 1639 its presence there was noted by Aubert le Mire (Aubertus Miraeus), who provided the additional information that the poetic *Passio S. Dionysii* consisted of four books.³ Unfortunately, the manuscript has disappeared since 1639, so that Ernst Dümmler, writing in 1879, was obliged to record that Hilduin's metrical version of his *Passio S. Dionysii* has been lost.⁴

1 E. Dümmler, 'Sigeberts von Gembloux *Passio S. Luciae virginis* und *Passio SS. Thebeorum*', in *Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philos.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin, 1893), pt. 1, p. 46.

2 R. Witte, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de viris illustribus: Kritische Ausgabe*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 1 (Bern, 1974), pp. 76 and 132. There is no indication in either the prose or metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* that either work was dedicated to Louis the Pious. The assumption of Hilduin's authorship of the *prose* work is based on the epistolary exchange between Louis and Hilduin (*Epp.* 1–11, below); but this exchange makes no mention of a *metrical* version of the work. Sigebert apparently assumed that *both* versions were dedicated to Louis on the basis of the epistolary exchange; as I have argued, however, the *metrical* version was apparently composed after the death of Louis in 840, when Hilduin was living in Cologne under the patronage of Lothar.

3 Aubertus Miraeus, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Antwerp, 1639), p. 143: 'Libri quattuor metrici in coenobii Gemblacensis MSS. adservantur'.

4 E. Dümmler, 'Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der lateinischen Dichtungen aus der Zeit der Karolinger (II)', *Neues Archiv* 4 (1879), 241–322, at 265.

In 1987, however, I drew attention to the fact that a copy of a hexametrical *Passio S. Dionysii*, transmitted anonymously but divided into four books, which adheres very closely to the wording of Hilduin's prose *passio*, was preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript now in Oxford: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 535 (Winchester, s. xi^{3/4}), fols. 1^r–37^r, and argued that this poem was Hilduin's 'lost' metrical *Passio S. Dionysii*.⁵ As transmitted in the Oxford manuscript, however, the poem bears no indication of authorship, and this fact has caused various commentators to doubt Hilduin's authorship – in spite of (what seems to me) the decisive witness of Sigebert of Gembloux and Aubert le Mire. For example, Peter Orth has pointed to the fact that the poet, at the very conclusion of the poem, expresses himself in a way that would be inappropriate if the author were Hilduin himself.⁶ The lines in question are as follows:

Ecce trium pariter sanctorum passio clara
 commate rethorico quondam prolata diserte:
 ad nostrum deducta stilum multumque liquata
 carmine ueriloquo – minus et si forte uenusto –
 nunc deprompta patet ...

iv. 723–727

The words *quondam prolata* might seem to imply a considerable distance in time between the poet and the author of the prose *passio* (Hilduin). But there is no need to assume that the two parts were composed at the same time;⁷ it is entirely possible that the poem was composed at a much later stage of Hilduin's life when (say) he was resident in Lotharingia after the death of Louis the Pious in 840. Furthermore, it might seem inappropriate for Hilduin – if (as I think) he was the poet – to describe his earlier prose work as being composed

5 M. Lapidge, 'The Lost *Passio metrica S. Dionysii* by Hilduin of Saint-Denis', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1987), 56–79.

6 P. Orth, 'Bekanntes neu erzählen – in Versen. Bemerkungen zu zwei unedierten poetischen Bearbeitungen der Vita des heiligen Dionysius nach der Prosafassung Hilduins von Saint-Denis', in *Dichten als Stoff-Vermittlung: Formen, Ziele, Wirkungen. Beiträge zur Praxis der Versifikation lateinischer Texte im Mittelalter*, ed. P. Stotz (Zurich, 2008), pp. 99–118, esp. 100–104.

7 Lanéry ('Hilduinus sancti Dionysii abb.', p. 543) rightly notes that in his reply to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* 11), Hilduin does not mention that his work on Dionysius is to take the form of an 'opus geminatum'; she concludes: 'il faudrait donc qu'Hilduin ait composé la version en vers longtemps après sa Passion en prose'. This is precisely my understanding of the chronology of the two compositions: see ch. 1, above, p. 62.

diserte, 'learnedly'. But intellectual arrogance and pride in his learning were the very hallmark of Hilduin's personality: thus in his letter to the catholic church concerning St Dionysius (*Ep.* 111) he writes: 'I confess myself unskilled in writing (not however in knowledge!),'⁸ so this argument cannot be used to cast doubt on Hilduin's authorship of the poem transmitted in the Oxford manuscript.⁹ More recently, Wolfgang Kirsch has argued that the high incidence of leonine rhyme in the poem – monosyllabic and bisyllabic – proves beyond doubt that Hilduin cannot have been the author.¹⁰ Kirsch observes that 'only 12%' of the poem's verses lack rhyme.¹¹ But Kirsch's calculation is based solely on the forty-two hexameters which I quoted in my article of 1987 – he has not consulted the poem in manuscript or transcribed it for himself – and it must be said that forty-two out of 2,197 lines is a very small sample (only 2% of the total) on which to base so sweeping a conclusion, and that if Kirsch had troubled to read more of the poem than the lines which I happened to quote, he might have come to a very different conclusion (see my discussion of Hilduin's use of rhyme, below, pp. 173–178). And Kirsch's view is in diametrical opposition to the opinion of a scholar who *has* troubled to read the poem in manuscript: in her recent monograph on ninth-century metrical saints' Lives, Anna Taylor has written that 'the passions' [*scil.* Hilduin's prose and verse *passiones*] intense similarities substantiate Sigebert's claim of their common authorship. Rarely is the language so alike in the pieces of a twinned work.¹² Nevertheless, in view

8 *Ep.* 111. 1: 'licet me imperitum sermone (non tamen scientia!) fateor ...' (MGH, *Epist.* v. 336, and below, p. 222); cf. his arrogant remarks about Gregory of Tours in *Ep.* 11. 12.

9 Orth ('Bekanntes neu erzählen') produces no other evidence against the attribution to Hilduin, and his argumentation amounts to little more than special pleading. Thus he states that it is **not to be ruled out** that it was the mere proximity of the prose and verse versions which led to the medieval attribution of the verse version to Hilduin (p. 101: 'Angesichts der Nähe von Prosa und Verse ... ist immerhin auch eine mittelalterliche Zuschreibung der metrischen Passio an Hilduin **nicht auszuschließen**'), and that it **of course cannot be ruled out** that another ninth-century poet recast Hilduin's prose work as poetry (p. 104: 'ist **freilich nicht auszuschließen**, dass ein jüngerer, vielleicht noch dem 9. Jahrhundert angehörender Dichter Hilduins Prosa in Hexameter umformte'). But to say that an argument 'cannot be ruled out' is not tantamount to providing evidence in its favour.

10 W. Kirsch, *Laudes sanctorum. Geschichte der hagiographischen Versepike vom IV. bis X. Jahrhundert*, II. *Entfaltung (VIII.–X. Jahrhundert)* (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 620–621.

11 *Ibid.* p. 620: 'Gegen die Datierung ins IX. Jahrhundert spricht jedoch – und das können wir aus der Passage, die Lapidige publiziert hat, mit Sicherheit schließen – der Versbau. Von den 42 Versen sind nur 5 = 12% ohne Reim.'

12 Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism*, p. 67.

of doubts such as those of Orth and Kirsch, it is necessary to begin by setting out the evidence for Hilduin's authorship of the poem.

The Evidence for Hilduin's Authorship

A general impression is worth mentioning at the outset: namely that the penchant for long, complex sentences which characterizes (and disfigures) Hilduin's prose *passio* is also a marked feature of the verse: note, for example, the seemingly interminable sentences at i. 1–20 or iv. 298–312. One of Hilduin's preferred means of constructing these long and complex sentences is to use the verb *constare* construed with accusative + infinitive:¹³ note (in the prose) the constructions involving *constabat* in cc. 18 and 23, and (in the verse) the clauses involving *constat* at ii. 245, ii. 287, and iv. 121, where in each case there is no corresponding occurrence of *constat* in the prose (cc. 15 and 26 respectively). More telling than the evidence of syntax is that of vocabulary. One of Hilduin's distinctive usages is the noun *benignitas* and the adjective *benignus* which, as Gabriel Théry remarked, Hilduin employed consistently in his translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* to render the Greek noun ἀγαθότης and adjective ἀγαθός, when referring to the 'kindness' of 'kindly' Jesus.¹⁴ By contrast, in translating the word ἀγαθός John Scottus Eriugena characteristically used *optimus*, not *benignus*; as Théry remarked, 'Nous pouvons conclure que ce terme *benignus* fait partie du vocabulaire propre à Hilduin'.¹⁵ The same usage is found throughout the prose *passio*: cc. 1 (*humanitas et benignitas saluatoris nostri*), 10 (*benignum Iesum*), 13 (*benignus Iesus*), 14 (*benignum eum appellat, benigno Iesu, benigni ipsius spiritus, Benignus* [i.e. Jesus] *namque errantem inquirat, benignos uidelicet angelos a benigno Iesu Domino nostro*, etc.), 15 (*benignus Iesus*), 16 (*benigni Dei*), 29 (*dilectio autem et benignitas quam habes*), etc. It is therefore striking that in the poem the word *benignus* is used frequently to refer to Jesus, where it has no correlate in the prose, and where the author cannot be accused of literal rendition: at iii. 223: 'Gratis ... te iuro sequestro / haud pretii cupidus Iesu contrado **benigno**', rendering 'Gratis ... eum ... offeram per sanctitatem tuam Domino Iesu Christo' (c. 21), and iv. 220: 'Vnde **benigne** precor Iesu', rendering 'et hic ... mihi non deeris, Domine Iesu Christi' (c. 28). On both occasions, unprompted by the prose, the poet has qualified *Iesus* with the adjective

13 On the construction, see LHS II, p. 359.

14 Théry I, pp. 29–32.

15 Ibid. p. 30.

benignus, a lexical preference which is pervasive in Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* and elsewhere in the prose *passio*.

One of the most striking features of Hilduin's vocabulary is his preference for 4th declension masculine abstract nouns in *-us*.¹⁶ This preference is already clearly marked in Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, where he uses abstract nouns of the 4th declension especially to translate characteristically pseudo-Dionysian abstract nouns, namely (Greek) words denoting motion and stasis, or decoration and concealment. It is not possible to give here a complete list of all such vocabulary in Hilduin's translation, but his use of the following words is particularly striking: of motion, *accessus* (rendering προσ-αγωγή),¹⁷ *aduentus* (ἐπιφοίτησις),¹⁸ *circuitus* (περιοχή),¹⁹ *excessus* (ἔκβασις),²⁰ *impetus* (σχέσις or ὀρμή),²¹ *motus* (κίνησις),²² *processus* (πρόοδος);²³ of stasis: *habitus* (σκηνή or σχήμα or ἔξις)²⁴ and *status* (στάσις);²⁵ of decoration and display: *ornatus* (κόσμος)²⁶ and *perornatus* (διάκοσμος);²⁷ of concealment: *uelatus*

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- 16 On the nature of these words, see LHS i. 353–355 and ii. 743, and Stotz, *Handbuch* ii. 300–301; for their stylistic resonance, see Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects*, pp. 37 and 49–53.
- 17 In this and the following notes, page references are to Théry II. Thus *accessus*: *De caelesti hierarchia* i. 2 (p. 6) and *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* ii. 2 (p. 83), iii. 3. 1 (p. 97) and v. 3 (pp. 133, 139 (*ter*)).
- 18 *aduentus*: *De caelesti hierarchia* vii. 1 (p. 33).
- 19 *circuitus*: *De diuinis nominibus* vii. 2 (p. 250), viii. 5 (p. 258).
- 20 *excessus*: *De diuinis nominibus* iii. 23 (p. 224).
- 21 *impetus*: *De caelesti hierarchia* ii. 4 (p. 15); *De diuinis nominibus* iii. 23 (p. 225 [*bis*]).
- 22 *motus*: *De caelesti hierarchia* i. 1 (p. 5), ii. 4 (p. 15), vi. 1 (p. 30); *De diuinis nominibus* iv. 7 (p. 206), iv. 9 (p. 206), iv. 10 (p. 207), iv. 20 (p. 220), iv. 23 (p. 224), v. 7 (p. 241), vi. 1 (p. 245), ix. 1 (p. 264), ix. 9 (p. 271).
- 23 *processus*: *De caelesti hierarchia* i. 1 (p. 5), vii. 3 (p. 35), viii. 2 (p. 40), ix. 2 (p. 44), xv. 1 (p. 63); *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* ii. 8 (p. 86), iii. 3. 3 (p. 99); *De diuinis nominibus* i. 4 (p. 171), ii. 11 (p. 189), v. 1 (p. 236), v. 2 (p. 237), v. 9 (p. 244), ix. 5 (p. 268), ix. 9 (p. 271 [*ter*]), xi. 1 (p. 276), xiii. 2 (p. 286); *Ep.* ix. 1 (p. 336).
- 24 *habitus*: *De caelesti hierarchia* ii. 2 (p. 10), iii. 3 (p. 22), xv. 3 (p. 65); *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* i. 1 (p. 76), ii. 3. 5 (p. 91), iii. 2. 4 (p. 100), iii. 2. 7 (p. 104), v. 3. 7 (p. 139); *De diuinis nominibus* iii. 10 (p. 207), v. 7 (p. 241).
- 25 *status*: *De diuinis nominibus* iv. 7 (p. 206), iv. 10 (p. 207), v. 7 (p. 241), ix. 1 (p. 264), ix. 8 (p. 270).
- 26 *ornatus*: *De caelesti hierarchia* ii. 1 (p. 9), ii. 3 (p. 14), ii. 4 (p. 17), ii. 5 (p. 17), iii. 2 (p. 21), v. 1 (p. 28), vi. 2 (p. 30), vii. 3 (p. 35), vii. 4 (p. 36), viii. 1 (p. 38), ix. 1 (p. 42), ix. 2 (p. 43), x. 1 (p. 48), x. 2 (p. 49), xi. 1 (p. 50), xi. 2 (p. 51), xiii. 3 (p. 56), xiii. 4 (p. 61), xv. 1 (p. 63), xv. 9 (p. 73); *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* i. 2 (p. 76), ii. 8. 4 (p. 90), iv. 3. 13 (p. 127); *De diuinis nominibus* iii. 16 (p. 214), iii. 28 (p. 228), viii. 4 (p. 257), viii. 7 (p. 260); *Ep.* ix. 1 (p. 336), ix. 2 (p. 338); etc.
- 27 *perornatus*: *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* iii. 2 (p. 95), iii. 2. 15 (p. 113), iv. 3. 12 (p. 126), iv. 3. 13

(ἐγκαλυμνός).²⁸ The point to emphasize about these usages is that, whereas Hilduin almost always preferred an abstract masculine noun in *-us*, John Scotus Eriugena, translating the same *Corpus Dionysiaticum* from the very same manuscript, usually preferred an abstract feminine noun in *-tio*; so that whereas we find *motus*, *processus*, *status* and *uelatus* in Hilduin, we find *motio*, *processio*, and *statio* or *mansio*; or in lieu of Hilduin's *circuitus*, we find *circumstantia* in John.

Hilduin carried over this distinctive preference for abstract masculine 4th-declension nouns in *-us* into his other writings; use of such nouns becomes a hallmark of Hilduin's Latin style. For example, in the *Constitutio de partitione bonorum monasterii Sancti Dionysii* which he composed when Saint-Denis was reformed as a Benedictine monastery, and which is dated 22 January 832, we find the following 4th-declension nouns in *-us*: *conspectus*, *erratus*, *habitus*, *hortatus*, *instinctus*, *redditus*, *respectus*, and *servitus*.²⁹ Some of these words (e.g. *habitus*) are familiar from Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiaticum*; Hilduin's distinctive style is marked notably by his preference here for the word *erratus* in lieu of the more usual word *error*. The provisions specified in the *Constitutio de partitione bonorum* were ratified in a charter issued by Louis the Pious on 26 August 832, and it has been suspected that Hilduin was responsible for drafting this charter as well; like the earlier *Constitutio*, this charter is marked by the use of 4th-declension abstract nouns in *-us* – a possible indicator of Hilduin's involvement in its drafting.³⁰ Similarly, in a (fragmentary) letter of late 832 or 833, addressed to the future abbots and monks of Saint-Denis, Hilduin described his recently-completed crypt dedicated to the Virgin and All Saints, and this letter, too, bristles with 4th-declension abstract nouns in *-us*, such as *apparatus*, *conspectus* [*bis*], *consensus*, *erratus*, *excursus*, and *ornatus*

(p. 127), iv. 3. 14 (p. 129), v. 1 (p. 130), v. 2 (p. 131 [*bis*]), v. 3 (p. 132), v. 3. 7 (p. 139), vi. 3 (p. 141), vi. 6 (pp. 145, 146); *De diuinis nominibus* xii. 3 (p. 284), xii. 4 (p. 285); *Ep.* viii. 1 (p. 320 [*bis*]), viii. 2 (p. 324), ix. 2 (p. 339); etc.

28 *uelatus*: *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* iii. 2. 8 (p. 105).

29 Ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. xlix–li [no. LXXII]; Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, pp. 84–86 [no. 123]; PL civ. 1211–1214 (repr. from Mabillon); and MGH, *Concilia* ii/1. 688–694.

30 Listed BM² 905–906; ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. li–liii [no. LXXIII]; Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, pp. 86–89 [no. 124]; and PL civ. 1206–1210 (repr. from Mabillon). The 4th-declension masculine nouns in *-us* in this document are the following (some of them rarities): *affectus*, *assensus*, *consensus*, *conuentus*, *cultus*, *effectus*, *habitus* [*ter*], *instinctus*, *libitus*, *principatus*, *processus*, *profectus*, *respectus*, *status*, and *successus*.

[*bis*].³¹ As we have seen, *ornatus* was one of the words employed repeatedly by Hilduin in his Latin translation of the *Corpus Dionysiaticum*, and *erratus* is Hilduin's preferred term for usual Latin *error*.

When we turn to Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, we find a similar preponderance of these 4th-declension nouns in *-us*, many of them already familiar from the vocabulary of his Latin translation of the *Corpus Dionysiaticum*: *aduentus* (cc. 4, 25), *apparatus* (c. 22), *apostolatus* (c. 18 [*bis*]), *circuitus* (c. 32), *cogitatus* (c. 36), *comitatus* (c. 27), *conspectus* (cc. 27, 30), *conuentus* (cc. 14, 20), *crepitus* (c. 27), *ductus* (c. 32), *hiatus* (c. 15), *impetus* (cc. 4, 15, 28), *intellectus* (c. 13), *lacus* (c. 28), *obitus* (c. 17), *obtus* (c. 30), *occubitus* (c. 14), *principatus* (cc. 9, 10, 26, 36), *processus* (c. 36), *prouectus* (c. 2), *recursus* (c. 3), *strepitus* (c. 24), *successus* (c. 17), *sumptus* (cc. 22, 36), *transitus* (c. 28), and *tumultus* (c. 15).

Against the background of this distinctive feature of Hilduin's vocabulary in the writings which were certainly composed by him, we may return to the verse *Passio S. Dionysii*. Here, too, we find an astonishing number of 4th-declension masculine abstract nouns in *-us*. Since the use of such nouns is not a normal feature of poetic diction – if anything, such vocabulary is prosaic – the occurrence of such words in the verse *Passio S. Dionysii* is by any criterion highly striking. The following words are in question:

accessus (ii. 209, iv. 666), *actus* (iv. 78), *aduentus* (i. 181, iv. 70), *aestus* (iii. 52), *artus* (iv. 173, iv. 679), *aspectus* (iv. 418), *astus* (ii. 324, ii. 460, iv. 612), *auditus* (iv. 451), *coetus* (i. 418, iv. 55, iv. 133, iv. 214, iv. 530), *conatus* (iv. 613), *conflictus* (iv. 152, iv. 411), *conspectus* (iv. 168), *consultus* (iv. 332), *crepitus* (iv. 175), *cruciatus* (iv. 392), *cursus* (iv. 90, iv. 240), *ductus* (iv. 497), *exortus* (iv. 711), *fastus* (iii. 294), *flatus* (ii. 239, ii. 280), *gradus* (i. 327), *gressus* (iv. 96, iv. 435, iv. 533), *haustus* (ii. 440), *hiatus* (ii. 392), *hortatus* (ii. 326, iii. 269), *incursus* (iii. 263), *intellectus* (i. 586, ii. 98, ii. 136), *motus* (ii. 253), *nescitus* (ii. 130, ii. 132), *nutus* (iv. 614), *obtus* (iv. 64, iv. 334, iv. 718), *potentatus* (i. 582, iv. 134), *potus* (ii. 429), *primatus* (ii. 6), *recessus* (ii. 209), *reuelatus* (ii. 118, ii. 304), *rictus* (iv. 241), *ritus* (iv. 634), *sensus* (i. 208, ii. 470), *strepitus* (ii. 248, iv. 21, iv. 557), *suasus* (iv. 143), *sumptus* (iv. 655), *tumultus* (i. 148, ii. 248, iii. 277, iii. 355, iv. 331), *uersus* (iv. 485, iv. 675, iv. 695, iv. 733), *uictus* (iv. 332), and *uultus* (iv. 52).

Some – but by no means all, or even a majority – of these words were taken over from the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. Many are exceptionally rare (and, construed

31 Ed. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France* (1706), *Pièces justificatives*, pp. lv–lvi [no. LXXV].

in the ablative with their characteristic *-u* endings, impart a distinctive tone to the verse): *hortatus*, for example, or *nescitus*, or *reuelatus*, or *suasus*. Of these, *hortatus* was used by Hilduin in the *Constitutio de partitione*, as we have seen. Others are words which formed part of the distinctive vocabulary of Hilduin's Latin translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (*accessus*, *aduentus*, *recessus*). But it is the stylistic preference for words of this class – attested in Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, in the *Constitutio de partitione*, and in his prose *passio* – which unmistakably identifies the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* as the work of Hilduin, and confirms the evidence of Sigebert of Gembloux, with which this chapter began.

I conclude this section with a couple of observations which indicate that Hilduin, and Hilduin alone, is to be considered as the author of the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii*. The first concerns the mention of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, in the metrical *passio* (ii. 179–183). Polycarp is said here to have been the disciple of the apostle John. This statement was prompted by a statement in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*: 'Polycarpo etiam Smyrnaeorum episcopo, beati uidelicet Iohannis apostoli discipulo, epistolam ... misit' (c. 14). However, the wording of the metrical *passio* – '**auditor** meruit fieri qui nempe **Iohannis**' (ii. 180) – is drawn not from the prose *passio*, which uses the word *discipulus* in this context, but from c. 16 of Jerome's treatise *De uiribus inlustribus* [CPL 616], which describes Ignatius of Antioch, who travelled to Smyrna where Polycarp was bishop: '[Ignatius] nauigans Smyrnam uenisset, ubi Polycarpus, **auditor Iohannis**, episcopus erat.'³² This statement in Jerome is clearly the source for the statement in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* that Polycarp was the disciple of the apostle John. But in order to supply the words **auditor ... Iohannis**, the author of the metrical *passio* would have to have known that Hilduin's simple reference to Polycarp as 'Iohannis apostoli discipul[us]' was drawn from Jerome's treatise.³³ We know that Hilduin was thoroughly familiar with Jerome's treatise, because he quotes from it in his letter to Louis the Pious: 'beatus Hieronimus in libro de uiris inlustribus facit apertissime mentionem ...' (*Ep.* 11, c. 9; below, p. 212). If someone other than Hilduin was the author of the

32 *Liber de uiris inlustribus: Hieronymus*, ed. E.C. Richardson, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 14 (Leipzig, 1896), p. 17.

33 The words *auditor Iohannis* had probably been taken over by Jerome from Rufinus' translation of Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* iii. 39. 1: 'Papias *Iohannis auditor*, Polycarpi uero condiscipulus et sodalis' (ed. Mommsen, I, p. 287); but Jerome – perhaps intentionally – misunderstood the sentence in Rufinus, which explicitly states that it was Papias, not Polycarp, who was the *auditor Iohannis*, and that Polycarp was simply the companion of Papias.

metrical *Passio S. Dionysii*, he would have had (1) to recognize that the source of Hilduin's statement in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii* (c. 14) describing Polycarp as John's disciple was Jerome's treatise *De uiris inlustribus*; and (2) to consult c. 16 of that work in order to discover the distinctive description of Polycarp as *auditor Iohannis*. But if Hilduin was the author of the metrical *passio*, there is no need to invoke so cumbersome a procedure: he *knew* where he had found this information when he was composing his prose *Passio S. Dionysii* at an earlier stage of his career, and later reverted to it when composing the poem.

The second concerns the verb *perciuilto* which occurs in c. 13 of Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*: 'sed uir Deus factus, nouam quandam Deiuirilem operationem nobis perciulitiauit'. The verb *perciuilto* occurs uniquely here, and in Hilduin's translation of *Ep. IV* of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, where it is a clumsy calque used to translate the Greek verb *πολιτεύω*, 'to conduct oneself', 'to accomplish'. This meaning of *perciuilto* could not be guessed from the (Latin) word's etymology; and since it occurs nowhere outside the pages of Hilduin, only he could have known its precise meaning. It is therefore striking that the author of the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* was apparently familiar with the meaning of this obscure word, for he managed to render its sense accurately:

uir Deus ast factus, celso de cardine missus,
 ciuibus ut notis quandam pietate uirilem:
 effectum Domini mira nouitate refertum
 donauit mitis Phoebi sub lampade nobis.

ii. 151–154

Here the words *effectum ... refertum / donauit ... nobis* accurately render *nobis perciulitaui* of the prose version (c. 13). I submit that no one but Hilduin himself could have know what this word meant. As in the case of the words *auditor ... Iohannis* elsewhere in book ii of the poem, the author of the poem could only have been Hilduin himself. It is now time to consider what sort of poet Hilduin was.

Hilduin's Prosody

It is appropriate to begin with an account of Hilduin's preferred metrical patterns, because as George Duckworth – who pioneered the analysis and recording of these preferences in Greek and Roman poets – clearly demonstrated, nothing provides a clearer appreciation of a hexameter poet's musical ear than

his preferences for sequences of dactyls and spondees in the first four feet of each verse.³⁴ In principle, a poet could choose to place a dactyl (– ∪ ∪) or a spondee (– –) in each of the first five feet of each hexameter (the sixth foot could be a spondee or a trochee); but in practice, for medieval Latin poets at least, the placement of a spondee in the fifth foot of a hexameter was so rare an event, that analysis of metrical preferences can in effect be limited to the first four feet. Within each of the first four feet, a poet might in principle choose either a dactyl or a spondee: giving a total of sixteen choices (= 2⁴) for the four feet. In practice, however, hexameter poets showed very distinctive preferences, and characteristically preferred eight of the possible sixteen combinations. Hilduin's preferences are shown in the following table (note that D = dactyl, S = spondee).³⁵

	Book i (592)	Book ii (473)	Book iii (397)	Book iv (734)	Totals (2196)
1. DSSS	104	76	67	115	362
2. DDSS	92	64	39	122	317
3. SDSS	63	59	40	88	250
4. DSDS	42	46	37	55	180
5. SSSS	47	31	23	54	155
6. SSDS	41	21	35	44	141
7. DDDS	35	27	24	45	131
8. SDDS	17	28	26	42	113

34 G.E. Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry: A Study in Metrical Variety* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1969), esp. p. 5: 'The percentages of the favorite pattern, the first four, and especially the first eight, are extremely significant in that they help to establish the metrical "fingerprints" of the various poets. Each writer has his individual predilections and idiosyncrasies, and his attitude toward variety and repetition is shown to a marked degree ... by the fluctuations in these percentages.' Comprehensive analysis of metrical patterns in all hexameter poets earlier than Eugenius of Toledo is to be found in the database *Pede certo* (cited below, n. 37); and cf. discussion of Duckworth's percentages for Vergil (*Aeneid*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), Cicero, Lucretius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus and Silius Italicus by Klaus Thraede, *Der Hexameter in Rom. Verstheorie und Statistik, Zetemata* 71 (Munich, 1978), pp. 72–78.

35 In scanning Book ii, I have omitted line 466, which is corrupt. Lines 53, 61 and 103 have been scanned respectively (but hesitantly) as DSSS, DSSD and DSDS.

Hilduin's preferences may be expressed as percentages. He used his favourite pattern – DSSS – on 362 occasions, some 16.48%; his four favourite patterns were employed 1109 times, some 50.50% of the time; and his eight favourite patterns, recorded in the preceding table, were used 1649 times, some 75.09%. In the first four feet, Hilduin used spondees on 20 occasions, and dactyls on 12.

These preferences need to be seen in the context of the practices of other hexameter poets. What is immediately striking is that Hilduin's preferences reproduce almost precisely the preferences of Vergil, as seen in the *Aeneid*: thus Vergil in the *Aeneid* employs his preferred pattern (DSSS) 14.39% of the time; his first four favourite patterns – which are precisely the same as Hilduin's four favourites – some 46.95%; and his first eight, 72.78%.³⁶ By the same token, in the first four feet of his hexameters (in the *Aeneid*) Vergil employed 20 spondees against 12 dactyls: precisely the same usage as Hilduin. We know from Hilduin's metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* that he was thoroughly familiar with the *Aeneid*, even recycling some of its hexameters on occasion (see Commentary, below); but it is unusual that he should have absorbed Vergil's practice so thoroughly and imitated it so closely. In comparison with other hexameter poets, many of whom similarly imitated Vergil's practice, none resembles Vergil as closely as Hilduin. I list the preferences of the Latin poets whom Hilduin studied most closely in the following (two-part) table, where reference is to Juvenecus, *Euangelia*, bks i and iv; Avitus, *Poema de spiritalis historiae gestis*, bks i and v; Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* v, xv and xxiii; Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale*, books i, ii and v; Arator, *Historia apostolica*, bk i; Cyprianus Gallus, *Heptateuchos*, bk ii (Exodus); Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei*, bk i; Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate*; Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti*; and Alcuin, 'Poem on the Saints of York'.³⁷

36 Duckworth, *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry*, p. 5 and Table 1; and cf. the extended discussion of Vergil's metrical preferences at pp. 53–59.

37 Preferences in poets from Vergil to Dracontius are taken from Duckworth, Table 1, with discussion at pp. 127–131; for Aldhelm, Bede and Alcuin, see A. Orchard, 'After Aldhelm: The Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992), 96–133, at 132–133. (Editions of the poems in question are listed in the Bibliography, below, pp. 866–868.) More recent than Duckworth and Orchard, however, is the excellent database *Pede certo* (www.pedecerto.eu/), which under the heading 'Statistics: General Table of Metrical Patterns' provides complete records for each of the sixteen hexametrical patterns used by Latin poets up to and including Eugenius of Toledo (hence, with respect to the present table, complete statistics relating to the scansion of Juvenecus, Avitus, Paulinus of Nola, Sedulius *CP*, Arator *HA*, Cyprianus Gallus, and Dracontius *Laud. Dei*, but omitting Aldhelm, Bede and Alcuin).

Hilduin	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>	Juvenecus	Avitus	Paulinus of Nola	Sedulius, <i>CP</i>
1. DSSS	1. DSSS	1. DSSS	1. DSSS	1. DDSS	1. SDSS
2. DDSS	2. DDSS	2. DDSS	2. SDSS	2. DS DS	2. DDSS
3. SDSS	3. DS DS	3. SDSS	3. SSSS	3. DSSS	3. DSSS
4. DS DS	4. SDSS	4. SSSS	4. SSSS	4. SDSS	4. DDDS
5. SSSS	5. SSSS	5. DS DS	5. DDSS	5. DDDS	5. DDDD
6. SS DS	6. DDDS	6. SS DS	6. DS DS	6. SDDS	6. DS DS
7. DDDS	7. SS DS	7. DSSD	7. SDDS	7. SSSS	7. SDDS
8. SDDS	8. SDDS	8. SDDS	8. DSSD	8. SS DS	8. SS DS

Arator, <i>HA</i>	Cyprianus Gallus	Dracontius, <i>Laud. Dei</i>	Aldhelm, <i>CdV</i>	Bede, <i>Vita S. Cudbercti</i>	Alcuin, York Poem
1. SDSS	1. DDDS	1. SDSS	1. DSSS	1. DDSS	1. DSSS
2. SDDS	2. DS DS	2. DSSS	2. DDSS	2. DSSS	2. DDSS
3. DSSS	3. SSSS	3. DDSS	3. SDSS	3. DS DS	3. SDSS
4. SDDD	4. SDSS	4. DDDS	4. SSSS	4. D DSD	4. DS DS
5. DS DS	5. SDDS	5. SSSS	5. DS DS	5. DSSD	5. D DSD
6. SSSS	6. SS DS	6. DS DS	6. DDDS	6. DDDS	6. DDDS
7. DSSD	7. DSSS	7. SDDS	7. DSSD	7. SDSS	7. DSSD
8. DDSS	8. DDDS	8. SS DS	8. SDDS	8. DDDD	8. SDDS

Of these poets, it will be seen that Hilduin's preferences most closely resemble those of Juvenecus, Aldhelm and Alcuin – all of whom, like Hilduin himself, were conscientious imitators of Vergil.

In other respects, however, Hilduin departed radically from Vergil's practice. His departure is especially marked in his use of elision. Vergil's verse is distinctive for the large number of elisions which he employs: on average, elision occurs in 52.8% of his hexameters.³⁸ This amount of elision is unusual among Roman poets: among his successors, the average percentage of elision is closer

38 For discussion of elision in Vergil, see the comprehensive treatment by Soubiran, *L'élision dans la poésie latine*, esp. pp. 167–172 (aphaeresis), 210–213 (elision of long final syllables), 222–226 (elision of final syllables in *-m*, i.e. ecthipsis), and 270–294 (elision of short final syllables in *-ā* and *-ē* in the *Aeneid*), *et passim*.

to 20%. Among medieval poets, the percentages are lower still: in his metrical *Vita S. Cudbercti*, Bede employs elision in 15.8% of his verses, and Alcuin, in some 10.0% of the verses of his 'Poem on York'.³⁹ By the end of the ninth century, many poets had more or less ceased to employ elision in their hexameters: in his *Annales*, the so-called 'Poeta Saxo', an anonymous poet from Korvey, employed only two elisions (one synaloepha and one ecthipsis) in 477 hexameters: some 0.4% of his verse. Hilduin's usage falls between these extremes: in 2,196 hexameters, Hilduin uses only 46 elisions (41 synaloepha and 5 ecthipsis): a mere 2.0% of his verse.⁴⁰ This low percentage implies that Hilduin conscientiously avoided the use of elision in his verse. In this respect, his practice is strikingly similar to that of Aldhelm, who likewise seems to have had an aversion to elision, and employs it in only 3.84% of his hexameters.⁴¹ As we shall see, Aldhelm is one of the authors whose verse was studied and imitated by Hilduin.

Poets who avoid elision often show the corresponding fault of allowing hiatus. At first glance there seems to be some small amount of hiatus in Hilduin's verse, but on closer examination many of the examples may be explained away. A number of examples of ecthipsis involve a final syllable in *-m* followed by a word beginning with *h-* followed by a vowel: for example, 'ostendit Paulum his inter rite fuisse' (ii. 71), 'maturem fundare domum his usibus aptam' (iii. 232), etc.⁴² In all of these cases, however, it is apparent that Hilduin treated initial *h-* as a consonant, which accordingly would not elide with the preceding vowel + *-m*. On other occasions he apparently allowed hiatus between the monosyllable *seu* and a following vowel:

39 These statistics regarding elision are taken from Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, pp. 79–81, with Tabelle 1x; those for Aldhelm and Alcuin are from Orchard, 'After Aldhelm', p. 130; those for Bede are from M. Lapidge, 'Bede and the "Versus de die iudicii"', in *Nova de veteribus. Mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, ed. A. Bihrer and E. Stein (Munich, 2004), pp. 103–111, at 108.

40 I list these forty-six examples as follows. Book i: lines 116, 153, 169, 176, 177, 190, 292, 313, 319, 340, 341, 427, 482, 483, 490, 534, 586 and 592; Book ii: lines 16, 27, 50, 53 (?), 61, 139, 166, 172, 257 and 258; Book iii: lines 86, 107, 111, 120, 141, 155 and 204; Book iv: lines 18, 98, 122, 127, 218, 533, 633, 690 and 710.

41 The statistic is taken from Orchard, 'After Aldhelm', p. 130. Klopsch, who discusses elision in a number of early medieval Latin poets, unfortunately omits Aldhelm from his discussion. In his Tabelle 1x (p. 81), he lists 'Aldh. De pont. 1–500', where 'Aldh.' is an obvious error for 'Alc.' i.e. Alcuin, with reference to his 'Poem on York' (*Versus de pontificibus, regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*).

42 The complete list of examples includes *Paulum | his* (ii. 71), *naturam | hominis* (ii. 150), *gregem | heu* (iii. 13), *domum | his* (iii. 232), and *uerum | hominum* (iv. 129).

Achiam, seu | unde trahit genus ille Macedo (i. 85)
 ore manue sui seu | orbis nempe magistri (iii. 16)
 eloqui mucrone sacri seu | ariete tali (iii. 92)

In all the 886 occurrences in classical and late antique Latin verse listed in *Poetria Nova 2*, *seu* is invariably followed by a word beginning with a consonant. There is only one example of *seu* followed by a word beginning with a vowel, namely in a verse in the *Carmen paschale* of Caelius Sedulius:

num tonitrus potuit Christum seu | angelus ullus (*CP* v. 15)

Although some earlier editors of Sedulius emended the transmitted *seu* to *siue* (thereby removing the hiatus), the standard edition by Johan Huemer retains *seu*. Hilduin's treatment of *seu* could conceivably have been learned from this example in Sedulius.⁴³ In other words, most examples of hiatus in Hilduin can be explained away by one means or another. However, there remains at least one example of hiatus which cannot easily be explained away: 'perspicuae quae forte domus sapientiae | in fit' (ii. 428); but the fact that the final syllable of *sapientiae* is here scanned as short raises the suspicion that the line has been corruptly transmitted, and has been emended (see below).

Another respect in which Hilduin's verse differs from that of Vergil and other classical and late antique poets is his practice of lengthening short syllables – typically short vowels – *in arsi*, that is, where the *ictus* or stress falls in positions where long syllables occur before the caesura. This practice is described as *productio ob caesuram* ('lengthening because of the caesura'). The practice was avoided by classical poets such as Vergil,⁴⁴ and by their imitators in late antiquity; but it became accepted practice in early medieval Latin poets, from

43 The use of *seu* followed by hiatus is extremely rare, but is also found in an inscription for a book presented by Charlemagne to St Peter's in 781 (the manuscript is preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna): 'Seu | ille historias texat, seu forte figuras' (MGH, PLAC i. 96). In another example in a poem by Josephus Scottus, the monosyllable *seu* is apparently elided: 'fortis s(eu) infirmus tu plenis sensibus Aron' (*Carm.* v. 23; MGH, PLAC i. 156).

44 Although there is no example of the lengthening of a short vowel, esp. -a, at a caesura in Vergil, he did on occasion lengthen the short final syllable of a verb when followed by a word beginning with a vowel (i.e. in a place where the following vowel would not make a closed syllable); see, for example, *Aen.* i. 651 (*peterēt | incussosque*) or iv. 222 (*adloquitūr | ac*). For discussion of this (very rare) practice in Vergil, see Nougaret, *Traité de métrique latine classique*, pp. 49–50 (§§ 123–125), and, for its occasional occurrence in other classical

the seventh century (Eugenius of Toledo) onwards.⁴⁵ In the case of Hilduin, it involves lengthening of the short final *-a* of the nom. sg. of a first declension feminine noun, or the nom./acc. plural of neuter nouns or adjectives, or the final *-e* of neuter sg. adjectives or infinitives of verbs, or of adverbs such as *unde*. There are 33 examples of this practice in the 2,196 soundly transmitted lines of the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii*.⁴⁶ In comparison with the poets of classical and late antiquity, this may seem like a large number; but it is entirely consistent, and perhaps slightly restrained, in comparison with Hilduin's contemporaries:⁴⁷ thus Alcuin in his 'York Poem' has 10 such lengthenings of short syllables in 1,567 lines; Hrabanus Maurus, 40 in 1,275 lines; and Candidus of Fulda, 40 in 793 lines.⁴⁸

poets (notably Manilius, Persius, Valerius Flaccus, Statius and Juvenal), see Vollmer, *Zur Geschichte des lateinischen Hexameters*, pp. 35–37.

- 45 There is comprehensive treatment of this practice in Late Latin and early Medieval Latin poets up to Eugenius of Toledo, with a complete list of examples, by Friedrich Vollmer, *Zur Geschichte des lateinischen Hexameters: Kurze Endsilben in arsi*, pp. 38–52; see also briefly Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, p. 74. Judging from the list of Vollmer's examples, the practice was particularly favoured by Dracontius, Alcimius Avitus and Venantius Fortunatus – three poets whom Hilduin had studied closely.
- 46 I count the following examples: i. 22 (*apostolica*), i. 29 (*cuncta*), i. 89 (*materna*), i. 104 (*urbe*), i. 131 (*omne*), i. 275 (*cuncta*), i. 460 (*cruce*), ii. 9 (*sacramenta*), ii. 66 (*humana*), ii. 106 (*sensibile*), ii. 119 (*mysteria*), ii. 165 (*inaccessa*), i. 196 (*Chronospagita*), ii. 256 (*placita*), ii. 272 (*sacra*), ii. 374 (*unde*), iii. 2 (*praecipua*), iii. 32 (*contigua*), iii. 126 (*Christicola*), iii. 178 (*appetere*), iii. 193 (*iocunda*), iii. 265 (*uenia*), iii. 322 (*exitia*), iii. 332 (*egregia*), iv. 32 (*grauia*), iv. 82 (*abluere*), iv. 112 (*scita*), iv. 125 (*plena*), iv. 132 (*claustra*), iv. 147 (*iussa*), iv. 174 (*flagra*), iv. 438 (*placida*), and iv. 544 (*quinque*).
- 47 Other apparent examples of *productio ob caesuram* in Hilduin may be discounted as an aspect of Hilduin's imitation of Vergil (see above, n. 44). Thus Hilduin often treats as a closed (hence long) syllable before the caesura a metrically short verb-ending followed by a vowel (e.g. i. 384: 'terra quibus cohibēt | optatum clausa sepulchrum'); similar examples in Hilduin occur at i. 6 (*refugit*), i. 100 (*trahit*), i. 145 (*contradit*), i. 205 (*fuerat*), i. 285 (*pateat*), i. 410 (*mortificat*), i. 497 (*percepit*), i. 574 (*recolit*), ii. 139 (*maneant*), ii. 177 (*ualeat*), ii. 408 (*ait*), ii. 449 (*repetit*), iii. 220 (*capiat*), iv. 227 (*sit*), and iv. 384 (*cohibet*). Furthermore, a number of apparent examples of *productio ob caesuram* in Hilduin are explained by his practice of treating the initial *h-* of a word following a final short vowel as a consonant, thereby closing the syllable (e.g. i. 30: 'maximus ergo micat | horum sic dogmate mundus'); similar examples occur in i. 353, i. 502, ii. 67, ii. 142, and ii. 149.
- 48 The texts in question are: Alcuin, 'York Poem' (MGH, PLAC i. 169–206); Candidus of Fulda, *Vita Aegidii*, bk ii (MGH, PLAC ii. 97–117), and Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* i–xxxvi (MGH, PLAC ii. 159–197).

One aspect of Hilduin's prosody which deserves mention is his placement of the caesura within the hexameter. A caesura is said to occur when the end of a word falls *within* a metrical foot (if the end of a word *coincides* with the end of a metrical foot, the break is described as diaeresis). The usual placement of the principal caesura in a hexameter is in the middle of the third foot (which corresponds more or less to the middle of the hexameter). Such a caesura is referred to as the 'strong'; and since it occurs after five measures – a measure consisting either of one long (–) or two short (˘˘) syllables – it is described by students of Latin meter as the penthemimeral caesura. Consider the following lines of Hilduin:

cōmmăcŭlăre măgīs | insontum nempe uirorum (iv. 8)
 ōptătăe păcīs | quam poscere foedus amoenum (iv. 9)
 sīc ěquīdēm prŭdēns | praeceperat induperator (iv. 10)
 āemŭlă uōtŏrŭm | cuius fit torua iuuentus (iv. 11)
 Fĕscĕnnīnŭs ěrăt | dictusque Sisinnius idem (iv. 12)

In these five consecutive lines, we have all four possible combinations of feet in the first two and a half feet (five measures) of the line: two dactyls and a long syllable (iv. 8), two spondees and a long syllable (iv. 9), a dactyl, a spondee and a long syllable (iv. 10–11), and a spondee, a dactyl and a long syllable. In each of these cases, the caesura is described as masculine, because it falls after the first long syllable of the third foot (and is denoted as 3m). But when the caesura falls after the first long plus first short syllable of a third-foot dactyl, the caesura is described as feminine (denoted 3f), as in two examples from Book iv which occur immediately following the examples of masculine caesuras quoted above:

cĕdīt hŭīc dĕlĕctă | uiro iam legio iuncta (iv. 16)
 ět iāmīām păritŭră | nefas sine laude triumphī (iv. 17)

Of the 2,196 soundly transmitted hexameters of Hilduin's poem, 2,027 have a masculine penthemimeral caesura (3m) in the third foot: some 92% of his hexameters. Of the remaining 169, 148 have a feminine caesura (3f) in the third foot: some 7% of the total (the remaining 1% is made up of various exceptions).⁴⁹ In

49 Of the remainder, there are seventeen lines which have neither a masculine nor a feminine caesura in the third foot (3m or 3f), as follows: i. 176, ii. 22, ii. 53, ii. 87, ii. 257, ii. 388, ii. 432, ii. 474, iii. 36, iii. 58, iii. 179, iii. 387, iv. 143, iv. 159, iv. 202, iv. 262, and iv. 654. Each

my view, however, these examples of lines with the feminine caesura (3f) need to be understood in a different way. Since they almost invariably also have a caesura in the third foot (2m: the triemimeral caesura) and a corresponding caesura in the fourth foot (4m: the hephthemimeral caesura), their placement in effect breaks up the line into three rather than two parts.⁵⁰ Thus the two lines quoted above can also be understood as follows:

cēdīt hūīc | dēlēctā uīrō | iam legio iuncta (iv. 16)

ēt iāmiām | pārītūrā nēfās | sine laude triumphī (iv. 17)

That Hilduin did actually conceive such lines as tripartite is underlined by the fact that the syllables immediately preceding the caesuras often, but not invariably, participate in a rhyme-scheme,⁵¹ and thus serve to emphasize the tripartition, as in the following examples:

bis senas | sibi qui rutilas | aptauerat horas (i. 11)

sane locis | est quinque diis | signata profanis (i. 114)

On Hilduin's use of rhyme, see below.

Finally, there are frequent cases where Hilduin's scansion of a word would be considered incorrect by classical standards. This false scansion is particularly striking in the case of adverbs, where Hilduin consistently treats the final long *-e* of adverbs as a short syllable. Thus *ābūndē* is scanned by Hilduin as *ābūndē* (i. 535, ii. 189, iii. 106, iii. 173, iv. 277), *cōncītē* as *cōncītē* (i. 470, ii. 460, iii. 151), *māxīmē* as *māxīmē* (i. 457, ii. 22, iv. 439), *ocissimē* as *ocissimē* (iii. 98), *pēssimē* as *pēssimē* (iii. 90), *pīē* as *pīē* (i. 406, ii. 400, iv. 374, iv. 663), *pūblicē* as *pūblicē*

of these seventeen lines may best be understood as tripartite, since each of them has a caesura in the second foot (2m) and a corresponding caesura in the fourth foot (4m), as in the following example: 'dogmatibus | transgressoris | iam sane ligatum' (iv. 159). A smaller number of lines – some twenty – is tripartite in structure, with caesuras at 2m and 4m, but with a masculine penthemimeral caesura as well (3m). Finally, there are five lines of the poem which have neither triemimeral (2m) nor penthemimeral (3m) caesura, and where the only caesura in the line is hephthemimeral (4m): i. 169, i. 361, ii. 103, iii. 37, and iv. 564.

50 See Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, p. 65, who comments that 'entweder die Penthemimeres (3m) oder sehr viel seltener die Hephthemimeres (4m) ihn zweiteilt oder aber die Hephthemimeres ihn im Zusammenwirken mit der Trithemimeres (2m) dreiteilt.'

51 Of the 169 examples of tripartite structure, some thirty-nine have monosyllabic rhyme in various positions (at 2m + 4m + end, six; at 2m + 4m, eighteen; at 2m + end, ten; and at 4m + end, five).

(iv. 36), and *sānē* as *sānĕ* (i. 34, i. 114, i. 162, i. 353, i. 396, i. 423, i. 451, ii. 123, ii. 194, ii. 226, ii. 232, ii. 254, ii. 275, ii. 339, ii. 415, ii. 269, iv. 28, iv. 58, iv. 159, iv. 321, iv. 426, iv. 652, iv. 679, iv. 697, iv. 721). On the other hand, he scans *fācīlē* incorrectly as *fācīlē* (ii. 181, iv. 281, iv. 680). By the same token, he consistently scans *dēnīquē* as *dēnīquĕ* (although this can scarcely be considered an error of scansion, since it is used by Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 295, iii. 439, etc.) and *dēnūō* as *dēnūō* (i. 224, ii. 358, ii. 394, iii. 383, iv. 336, iv. 553, iv. 642, iv. 662). The scansion of Greek loan words was a notorious source of difficulty for Latin poets, and Hilduin fares as badly as any, particularly in the scansion of words which consisted of a string of short syllables, some of which had necessarily to be lengthened in order to fit into a hexameter: thus Hilduin scans *āpōphāsīn* and *cātāphāsīn* as *āpōphāsīn* and *cātāphāsīn* respectively (ii. 103), *ēpitōmā* as *ēpitōmā* (ii. 99), *Īōnīcus* as *Īōnīcus* (iii. 9, iii. 155, iv. 102), *kārisma(te)* as *kārisma(te)* (i. 58, iii. 88, iii. 220), *philōsōphīcus* as *philōsōphīcus* (i. 334, ii. 457), *sīllōgīsmos* as *sīllōgīsmōs* (ii. 83, ii. 461), *thēma* as *thēma* (iv. 577), *thēōlōgīā* as *thēōlōgīā* (ii. 51), and *Trōādīs* as *Trōādīs* (iii. 23), etc. Finally, various Latin words are simply scanned incorrectly by Hilduin: *candēlābrā* scanned as *candēlābrā* (i. 185), *Grādīuus* as *Grādīuus* (i. 328), *mīstērīum* as *mīstērīum* (ii. 119, ii. 138), *ōrācūlum* as *ōrācūlum* (ii. 456), *pērēgrīn(us)* as *pērēgrīn(us)* (iii. 237), etc.

Poetic Diction

Hilduin had read widely in the Latin verse of earlier times (see below), and from this reading, as well as (perhaps) from discussions with contemporary poets while he was living in Lotharingia under the patronage of Lothar, he managed to form a sound idea of what constituted poetic diction – that is, what features of the diction of verse distinguished it from prose. He was conscientious in reproducing these features, even if the reproduction scarcely lifts Hilduin's verse out of the realm of the prosaic.

Archaism. Classical Latin poets, and their late antique imitators, frequently employed expressions and vocabulary which characterized the verse of the very earliest – that is, archaic – Latin poets, such as Ennius and Lucilius.⁵²

52 For archaism in Latin prose, see W.D. Lebek, *Verba prisca. Die Anfänge des Archaisierens in der lateinischen Beredsamkeit und Geschichtsschreibung* (Göttingen, 1970), and A. Penacini, *La funzione dell'arcaismo e del neologismo nelle teorie della prosa da Cornificio a Frontone* (Turin, 1974); for archaism as a feature of Latin verse, see Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', pp. 93–99 and Leumann, 'La lingua poetica latina', pp. 153–157.

Among these archaisms, the following are found in Hilduin's verse: use of the passive infinitive ending in *-ier*,⁵³ such as *diuellier* (i. 533, iv. 64), *frangier* (iv. 351), and *inuoluier* (i. 12, i. 306); use of the archaic genitive singular of first declension feminine nouns in *-ai*,⁵⁴ such as *aurai* (ii. 195, iv. 550); use of the 3rd person plural ending of preterite verbs in *-ēre* (rather than *-ērunt*, the form normally found in prose),⁵⁵ such as *dixere* (i. 199), *exceperere* (iv. 458), *fuere* (iv. 470), *legere* (iv. 393), *meruere* (i. 41), *nouere* (i. 487), *occubuere* (iv. 710), *procuere* (iv. 254), *retulere* (iv. 120, iv. 461), *strauere* (iv. 477), *subiere* (iv. 704), *tremuere* (iv. 249), and *uiguere* (iv. 482); and occasional use of the archaic ablative plural *quīs* in lieu of the normal *quibus* (i. 275, ii. 392, iii. 316, iv. 309 and iv. 315).⁵⁶

'Poetic' compounds. Compound nouns and adjectives, usually consisting of four syllables and constituting a metrical choriamb (— ∪ ∪ —), were a recognized feature of poetic diction;⁵⁷ Hilduin uses the following: *altisonum* (i. 432, ii.

53 On the passive infinitive in *-ier*, see Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine*, pp. 128–129; Lebek, *Verba prisca*, pp. 48–49; Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', p. 99; and Leumann, 'La lingua poetica latina', pp. 155–156.

54 On the use of archaic genitives in *-ai*, see LHS i. 154–155 with n. 22; Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', pp. 94–95; and Leumann, 'La lingua poetica latina', pp. 154–155. In spite of the fact that such forms were used by Ennius and frequently by Lucretius, Hilduin presumably took the form *aurai*, with its bisyllabic desinence, from Vergil (*Aen.* vi. 747).

55 On the form *-ēre* in verse, see LHS i. 607–608, as well as F. Muller, 'Stili differentia quatenus ex historia terminationis cuiusdam (-ere / -erunt) apparet', *Mnemosyne* 56 (1928), 329–389; C.F. Bauer, *The Latin Perfect Endings -ere and -erunt* (Philadelphia, 1933); Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', p. 98; and Leumann, 'La lingua poetica latina', pp. 156–157. Hilduin occasionally uses the termination in *-ēre* in his prose, for example *laudauere* (c. 30) and *meruere* (c. 31), and forms in *-ērunt* in his verse, for example *statuerunt* (iv. 406) and *meruerunt* (iv. 705) – which suggests that he did not distinguish between prose and verse usage in this respect.

56 See Leumann, 'La lingua poetica latina', p. 155.

57 On 'poetic' compounds, see J. Perret, 'La forme des composés poétiques du latin', *Revue des études latines* 30 (1952), 157–167; Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', pp. 121–126, and Leumann, 'La lingua poetica latina', pp. 169–171, as well as the valuable studies by Thomas Lindner, *Lateinische Komposita: Morphologische, historische und lexikalische Studien*, esp. pp. 212–311, and *Lateinische Komposita: Ein Glossar*. For the study of late antique and early medieval Latin verse, however, the value of Lindner's two studies is limited by the fact that he concerns himself with prose texts as well as verse, and does not identify 'poetic compounds' as such; furthermore, although his *Glossar* makes sporadic reference to Late Antique (splat.) and Medieval Latin (mlat.) verse, without giving line-references, the focus of his work is on authors earlier than the early third century A.D.

43), *astriferum* (iv. 605), *benignifico* (ii. 135), *Christicola* (iii. 126, iii. 364, iv. 601), *clauigerum* (iii. 47), *flammigeram* (iv. 281), *flammiuomum* (ii. 351, iv. 229), *fluctiuagus* (iii. 200), *gratificum* (iv. 199), *loripedes* (iv. 684), *magnifico* (i. 355, iv. 677), *magniloquos* (i. 207), *mortiferos* (iv. 610), *multifido* (i. 69), *multigenos* (i. 466), *omnigena* (i. 336, iv. 230), *omnimoda* (ii. 39), *omnipotens* (iii. 84, iv. 245), *pestiferos* (iv. 331, iv. 604), *stelliferi* (iv. 654), *ueridico* (iv. 582), *ueriloqua* (iii. 26, iv. 726), *uiuifico* (i. 477, ii. 70), and *unimodo* (ii. 127). None of these compounds is particularly rare, and none appears to have been coined by Hilduin himself.

*Nouns in -amen construed in the ablative singular or nominative / accusative plural and placed in the fourth and fifth feet of the hexameter.*⁵⁸ The following forms are found in Hilduin: *acumina* (i. 332), *certamina*, -e (i. 482, iv. 262, iv. 302, iv. 320, iv. 327, iv. 391), *conamine* (i. 362), *famina*, -e (i. 428, i. 501, i. 585, ii. 78, ii. 216, iii. 262, iv. 363), *flamine* (i. 522, iv. 453, iv. 729), *fundamina*, -e (i. 31, i. 109, iii. 310), *hortamine* (iv. 202), *leuamine* (iii. 115), *libamina*, -e (iv. 380, iv. 541), *libramine* (i. 329, iii. 214, iv. 78), *medicamine* (ii. 97), *moderamine* (i. 410, iv. 606), *solamina*, -e (ii. 407, iii. 125), and *spiramine* (i. 204). Once again, none of these words is particularly rare, and none appears to have been coined by Hilduin.⁵⁹

Diminutives. Diminutives were largely avoided by Classical Latin poets (an exception in this regard was Catullus, but his example is irrelevant to Medieval Latin poets, given that his poems were scarcely known in the early medieval period), since they were regarded as ‘unpoetic’ and as smacking of popular speech.⁶⁰ Vergil, for example, rarely employs diminutives in the

There is a compendious study of such compounds by F. Bader, *La formation des composées nominaux du latin* (Paris, 1962), who, however, does not discuss the use of such compounds as a feature of the poetic register. For one type of such compounds much favoured by Latin poets such as Hilduin, see J. André, ‘Les composés en -gena, -genus’, *Revue de philologie* 47 (1973), 7–30.

58 This use of nouns in *-amen* is a feature first used to a striking degree by Ovid; see Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine*, pp. 120–121; Janssen, ‘Le caractéristique della lingua poetica romana’, pp. 99–100, and Leumann, ‘La lingua poetica latina’, p. 163. There is a thorough philological study of such words by J. Perrot, *Les dérivés latins en ‘-men’ et ‘-mentum’* (Paris, 1961), esp. pp. 104–132 for the use of such words by Latin poets.

59 On occasion Hilduin uses a noun in *-amine* in positions other than the fourth and fifth feet of the hexameter: ‘et dulci stupidas **affamine** mulcet Athenas’ (i. 194), ‘deque malo tractans **effamine** ualde diserto’ (ii. 82), and ‘dextro seu laeuo **conamine** forte patrare’ (ii. 279). These examples suggest that Hilduin was not particularly attuned to the poetic use of such forms; he could easily, for example, have recast the first example as ‘et dulci mulcet stupidas **affamin(e)** Athenas’.

60 See Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter*, pp. 38–45; LHS ii. 772–777; and Maurach, *Lateinische Dichtersprache*, pp. 70–71.

Aeneid.⁶¹ Some Augustan poets (notably Propertius), however, did make greater use of diminutives,⁶² and Juvenal – whose *Satires* were well known to Hilduin – introduced a number of diminutives in his verse, presumably to give it a demotic feel.⁶³ Hilduin's modest use of diminutives should be seen against this background: *agellus* (ii. 228, iii. 215), *caeculus* (i. 485), *morula* (iii. 149), *munusculum* (ii. 129), *popellus* (iii. 205), *promptulus* (iii. 231), and *seruulus* (iv. 219).

Tmesis. Most Latin poets used tmesis (that is, the separation of a word into two parts, with another word in between, in order to accommodate it to the metre) to some extent; for example, a line of Vergil's *Aeneid*: 'et multo nebulae circum- dea -fudit amictu' (i. 412).⁶⁴ Because Hilduin had the difficult task of accommodating substantial numbers of polysyllabic Greek loanwords to his verse, it is hardly surprising that he should have resorted to tmesis, as in the following examples:

Possedonos- quae -pagos cognomine gaudet (i. 134)
 Hunc Areo- signant -pagitam nomine claro (i. 242)
 nomen Apollo- cui concompactam -phanus extat (i. 295)
 Hinc et Apollo- facit -phanii memorabile quiddam (ii. 198)
 De Iero- uates -solimis quod prompserat olim (iv. 476)

In addition to these striking examples of tmesis, Hilduin also separates the parts of more common words such as *antequam* (iii. 56, iv. 128) and *postquam* (i. 1) on occasion.

Pentasyllabic cadences. On a number of occasions, Hilduin filled the fifth and sixth feet (that is, the cadence) of his hexameters at a stroke by means of a single, five-syllable word, as in the following examples:

quae fiunt sacris in cultibus **mysteriisque** (ii. 13)
 caelitus ac pariter diuinitus **angelicarum** (ii. 15)
 scilicet omnimoda praestantius **hymnologia** (ii. 39)

61 *Aen.* vii. 681 and x. 544 (*caeculus*, a rare diminutive taken over by Hilduin at i. 485), iv. 328 (*paruulus*), v. 163 (*palmula*), and viii. 660 (*sagulum*). See W. Clausen, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley, CA, 1987), p. 47, who pointed out that Vergil's use of *paruulus*, describing the 'little Aeneas' wistfully envisaged by Dido, 'is the only true diminutive – and infinitely pathetic – in this long heroic poem'.

62 A.S.F. Gow, 'Diminutives in Augustan Poetry', *Classical Quarterly* 26 (1932), 150–157.

63 LHS ii. 775, which records Juvenal's use of *candidulus*, *flammeolum*, *foculus*, and *panniculus*.

64 On tmesis in Latin verse, see Maurach, *Lateinische Dichtersprache*, pp. 33–34.

quem de symbolica praescribit **theologia** (ii. 51)
 de sacra titulans signanter **theologia** (ii. 100)
 non modo mysteria perscrutans **angelicorum** (ii. 119)
 magnorum sermone ipsius **discipulorum** (ii. 257)
 sic equidem prudens praeceperat **induperator** (iv. 10)
 dictandum iussa magni si **Domitiani** (iv. 147)
 constanter poenas est passus **suppliciorum** (iv. 528)

This striking practice has a number of precedents in earlier (and contemporary) Latin verse. In classical Latin poetry, and particularly in the epic verse of Vergil and Ovid, the usual cadence consisted of either two + three- or three + two-syllable words (*conde sepulchro* and *condere gentem*, respectively).⁶⁵ Only rarely was this usual expectation exceeded. On the one hand, Vergil might employ a striking monosyllable in the final foot (e.g. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 250, 'Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano **nox**', where the abrupt nightfall is evoked by the abrupt monosyllable).⁶⁶ (There is not a single example of such a final monosyllable in the hexameters of Hilduin: another respect in which Hilduin departed from the Vergilian model.) On the other hand, and only on extremely rare occasions, Vergil might employ a five-syllable word to fill the final two feet at a stroke, but such practice is unusual.⁶⁷ The Latin satirists were slightly less traditional in this respect, and a number of pentasyllables are found in the cadences in the *Satires* of Horace,⁶⁸ Persius,⁶⁹ and especially Juvenal.⁷⁰ But in

65 See Nougaret, *Traité de métrique latine classique*, pp. 42–43 (§§ 101–108) and 46–47 (§ 118).

66 For other examples of these abrupt and evocative monosyllabic endings in the *Aeneid*, see i. 65, ii. 648, iii. 390, vi. 846, ix. 532, and xii. 851.

67 Vergil's pentasyllabic cadences consist almost invariably of Greek names: *Aen.* i. 72 (*Deiphobeia*), v. 492 (*Hippocoontis*), v. 826 (*Cymodoceque*), vi. 393 (*Pirithoumque*; repeated at vi. 601), vi. 483 (*Thersilochumque*; repeated at xii. 363), viii. 416 (*Aeoliamque*), x. 225 (*Cymodocea*), x. 413 (*Demodocumque*), and xii. 83 (*Orithyia*). An important exception is at xi. 614, where Vergil uses the pentasyllable *quadrupedantem* in the cadence to suggest the heavy hammering of the horses' hooves. See discussion by Nougaret, *Traité de métrique latine classique*, pp. 44–45 (§§ 109–112).

68 Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 111 (*pauperiorum*), i. 2. 1 (*pharmacopolae*), i. 4. 123 (*obiciebat*), i. 5. 41 (*candidiores*), i. 6. 4 (*imperitarint*), i. 6. 109 (*oenophorumque*), i. 8. 31 (*inferiorem*), and ii. 7. 83 (*imperiosus*).

69 Persius, *Sat.* iii. 77 (*centurionum*), v. 112 (*Mercurialem*), v. 189 (*centuriones*), and vi. 11 (*Pythagoreo*).

70 Juvenal, *Sat.* i. 112 (*diuitiarum*), ii. 131 (*ingenuorum*), iii. 182 (*ambitiosa*), iii. 229 (*Pythagoreis*), v. 13 (*officiorum*), vi. 373 (*Heliodorum*), vii. 50 (*ambitosum*), vii. 98 (*historiarum*), vii. 113 (*causidicorum*; repeated at vii. 148), vii. 123 (*pragmaticorum*), vii. 172 (*ingredietur*), vii.

classical epic verse, and in the Christian-Latin epic verse which succeeded it, such unusual cadences were conscientiously avoided. But there were important exceptions, and these exceptions evidently provided the models for the practice of Hilduin and his Carolingian contemporaries. The pioneer in this respect was Juvenius, who in the four books of his *Euangelia* used forty-five pentasyllables in 3,183 hexameters.⁷¹ The example of Juvenius was followed by Prudentius in his longer hexameter poems,⁷² and by Venantius Fortunatus in his hexametrical *Vita S. Martini*.⁷³ But other Late Latin poets ignored the exam-

186 (*Quintiliano*), vii. 195 (*incipientem*), vii. 218 (*acoenoetetus*), viii. 3 (*Aemilianos*), viii. 175 (*sandapilarum*), viii. 190 (*patriciarum*), ix. 109 (*archimagiri*), ix. 120 (*mancipiorum*), x. 138 (*induperator*), x. 182 (*Ennosigaeum*), x. 325 (*Bellerophonti*), x. 332 (*extinguendus*), x. 362 (*Sardanapalli*), xiii. 42 (*caelicolarum*), xv. 4 (*cercopitheci*), xv. 49 (*qualiacumque*), and xvi. 17 (*centurionum*).

71 *Euangelia*: i. 179 (*constipuerunt*), i. 259 (*sollicitatis*), i. 279 (*praeueniebat*), i. 591 (*sanctificetur*), ii. 57 (*excruciatos*), ii. 102 (*Nathanaheli*), ii. 118 (*Nathanahelis*), ii. 129 (*concelebrabat*), ii. 130 (*deficiebant*), ii. 151 (*discipulorum*; repeated at ii. 304, ii. 362, ii. 562, iii. 182, iii. 259, iii. 270, iii. 624, and iv. 782), ii. 433 (*perfidiosae*), ii. 546 (*quadriugorum*), ii. 549 (*frugiferentum*), ii. 598 (*deciendum*), ii. 607 (*daemoniorum*), ii. 629 (*inreucatis*), ii. 647 (*despicietis*), ii. 723 (*degenerarit*), ii. 759 (*constabilistis*), ii. 787 (*diuitiarum*), iii. 51 (*suscipiebat*; repeated at iii. 685), iii. 253 (*reliquiarum*), iii. 392 (*praecipitetur*; repeated at iv. 98), iii. 419 (*commaculatum*), iii. 440 (*progenieque*), iii. 548 (*transgredientur*), iii. 685 (*suscipiebat*), iii. 703 (*posterioris*), iv. 117 (*peruolabit*), iv. 155 (*ignicoloris*; repeated at iv. 559), iv. 190 (*luxuriatus*), iv. 192 (*ebrietati*), iv. 193 (*concelebrarit*), iv. 201 (*flammicomantum*), and iv. 640 (*instituentes*). It will be noted that, unlike Vergil's *Aeneid*, none of these words is a Greek name and most of them are common polysyllabic Latin words. It seems likely that the repeated use of the word *discipulorum* was the source of Hilduin's use of this pentasyllable at iv. 528.

72 Prudentius, *Apotheosis*: 24 (*inspicendum*), 86 (*excruciari*), 91 (*consiliorum*), 128 (*infitiaris*), 130 (*exspatiantem*), 155 (*omnipotentis*; repeated at 174), 166 (*vivificantem*), 225 (*Romulidarum*), 264 (*principiorum*), 292 (*Deucalionum*), 485 (*Christicolarum*), 495 (*flauicomantum*), 815 (*imperitantem*), 881 (*iustificatum*), 963 (*inueteratis*), 988 (*inlaqueata*), and 1077 (*particulatim*); *Contra Symmachum*: i. 78 (*indomitorum*), i. 147 (*induperator*), i. 238 (*inueterato*), i. 564 (*omnipotentis*), i. 625 (*restituendos*), ii. 39 (*adsimulatis*), ii. 104 (*omnipotentem*), ii. 204 (*restituendi*), ii. 477 (*omniparentem*), ii. 568 (*exitiali*), ii. 598 (*occidialis*), ii. 705 (*congreredientem*), ii. 844 (*multiplicetur*), and ii. 1051 (*centiplicatos*); *Hamartigenia*: 129 (*insidiator*), 294 (*uersicolorum*), 309 (*semiuiorum*), 340 (*testificatus*), 343 (*uaticinator*), 403 (*gymnosophistas*), 404 (*Idololatricis*), 413 (*Gergeseorum*), 425 (*simplicitate*), 549 (*falsificatis*), 601 (*excruciata*), 657 (*nobilitatum*), 745 (*effigiata*), and 819 (*unicoloras*); and *Psychomachia*: 261 (*insidiosus*), 302 (*omnipotentis*), 333 (*obstupefacti*), 450 (*sobrietatis*), 530 (*discipulorum*), and 630 (*infitiatrix*). These fifty-two pentasyllables occur in 4,754 hexameters.

73 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini*: i. 224 (*transiluissent*), i. 244 (*exequiarum*), i. 326

ple of Juvenecus: there is not a single pentasyllable in the cadences of Caelius Sedulius, Alcimus Avitus, Arator, or Cyprianus Gallus, and only one in the 2,327 hexameters of Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* (i. 690: *omnipotentem*). Likewise in the Anglo-Latin poets: there is not a single example in Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cudbercti*, and only one in the 2,904 hexameters of Aldhelm's *Carmen de uirginitate* (325: *uirginitatis*). From these examples, it is clear that the Carolingian poets, from Alcuin onwards, and including Hilduin, must have taken their inspiration from Juvenecus, Prudentius and Venantius Fortunatus, not from the poets of classical antiquity, nor from Late Latin poets such as Caelius Sedulius, Dracontius, Alcimus Avitus and Cyprianus Gallus, nor from Anglo-Latin poets such as Bede and Aldhelm. Although Alcuin only employs only three pentasyllabic cadences in the 1,657 lines of his 'York Poem',⁷⁴ other contemporaries of Hilduin used the device more frequently. Thus Walahfrid employs thirteen pentasyllables in his four longer poems (*Passio S. Mammetis*, *Vita Blaithmaic*, *De cultura hortorum* and *De imagine Tetrici*), which in sum consist of 2,294 hexameters;⁷⁵ Candidus of Fulda employs nine in the second (poetic) book of his *Vita Aegili*, which consists of 793 hexameters;⁷⁶ the anonymous author of the *Vita S. Galli* employs six in the 1,808 lines of his poem;⁷⁷ and Audradus Modicus employs thirty-two pentasyllables in his 1,602 hexameters.⁷⁸ Seen in the context of his

(*ruricolares*), i. 384 (*inuerecundus*), i. 474 (*daemoniorum*; repeated at iv. 162), ii. 73 (*deliciasque*), ii. 109 (*presbyterali*), ii. 118 (*Valentiniano*), ii. 133 (*infitiator*), ii. 225 (*constituisset*), ii. 365 (*instituebat*), ii. 403 (*contionator*), ii. 405 (*orfanatrofis*), ii. 424 (*officiale*), iii. 38 (*archidiacon*), iii. 195 (*uiuificatur*), ii. 209 (*Valentinianus*), iii. 270 (*Claudiomagum*), ii. 271 (*praetereunti*), iii. 482 (*omnipotentis*), iii. 521 (*consulibusque*), iv. 54 (*dimidiatum*), iv. 122 (*Auitianus*; repeated at iv. 129), iv. 152 (*officiales*), iv. 195 (*Auitiano*; repeated at iv. 207), iv. 210 (*Ambaciensi*), iv. 336 (*Prisciliani*), iv. 350 (*induperator*), iv. 455 (*centurionis*), iv. 655 (*Teliamenti*), and iv. 668 (*Duplavenensos*). These thirty-four pentasyllables occur in 2,243 hexameters.

74 Alcuin, 'York Poem' 483 (*reliquiarum*), 913 (*prosiliebant*), and 1420 (*proficiebat*).

75 Walahfrid, *Passio S. Mammetis* ii. 2 (*Aureliani*), vi. 18 (*imperitare*), viii. 14 (*amphitheatro*), xiv. 18 (*exteriores*), xx. 6 (*amphitheatro*), xxi. 13 (*amphitheatrum*), and xxiii. 6 (*daemoniorum*); *Vita Blaithmaic* 30 (*cunctipotentem*) and 83 (*discipulorum*); *De cultura hortorum* 50 (*insinuantur*), 392 (*indupediret*) and 411 (*exagitarit*); and *De imagine Tetrici* 193 (*religione*). These thirteen pentasyllables occur in 2,294 hexameters.

76 Candidus of Fulda, *Vita Aegili*, book ii (793 hexameters): vi. 1 (*monocerote*), x. 20 (*omnipotentis*), xiv. 11 (*Mogontiacensis*), xiv. 20 (*cunctipotentem*), xv. 22 (*omnipotentis*), xvi. 5 (*Christicolarum*), xvii. 30 (*omnipotentis*), xvii. 126 (*sanctificamus*), and xix. 19 (*Mogontiacensis*).

77 *Vita S. Galli*: 129 (*daemoniorum*), 562 (*per-que-seuerat*), 772 (*coniugiorum*), 853 (*Christicolarum*), 873 (*omnipotentis*), and 1258 (*Luxouiensis*).

78 Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* i. 50 (*inveniendi*), ii. 21 (*aedificabo*), ii. 62 (*omnipotentis*), iii. 2. 1

contemporaries, therefore, Hilduin's use of ten pentasyllabic cadences in the 2,195 sound hexameters of his metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* may be regarded as normal Carolingian practice.

Rhyme

There is a noticeable amount of rhyme in Hilduin's hexameters. But as in the case of pentasyllabic cadences, Hilduin's practice needs to be evaluated against that of Classical and Late Latin poets, and that of his Carolingian contemporaries. First, however, it is necessary to define what is meant by rhyme. Latin was a very sonorous language, and there are many possible ways in which Latin words could participate in a rhyme-scheme: syllables might rhyme at the ends of successive lines ('vertical' or end rhyme), for example, or the syllable before a caesura within a line might rhyme with the final syllable of the hexameter ('horizontal' or internal rhyme);⁷⁹ and, given that caesuras could be placed at various points within a line, there were numerous possible combinations of rhyming syllables within a line. Furthermore, many similar sounds might participate in near, or assonantal, rhyme. It would obviously be a very time-consuming business to tabulate all these possible types and combinations of rhyme; and assonantal rhyme in particular is problematic because the perception of assonance is very much a subjective, personal matter. In order to provide a measurable basis for analysis, I have limited my investigation to what is called 'leonine' rhyme⁸⁰ – that is, rhyme involving identical vowels (or vowels + consonant(s)), which occurs between the final syllable of a hexameter and the sound

(*Diocleciano*), iii. 2. 2 (*Maximiano*), ii. 2. 8 (*celsitonantes*), ii. 2. 36 (*sacrificate*), ii. 2. 44 (*daemonibusque*), iii. 2. 8 (*quatriduanus*), iii. 2. 158 (*cunctipotentis*), iii. 2. 203 (*splendidiore*), iii. 2. 205 (*glorificare*), iii. 3. 15 (*omnipotentem*), iii. 3. 65 (*sacrificare*), iii. 3. 105 (*laeticavit*), iii. 3. 131 (*iustificatur*), iii. 3. 231 (*caelicolarum*), iii. 4. 22 (*restituisset*), iii. 4. 97 (*conciliatis*), iii. 4. 101 (*nobilitati*), iii. 4. 108 (*laetitiarum*), iii. 4. 115 (*gratificavit*), iii. 4. 146 (*nobiliteris*), iii. 4. 148 (*omnipotentis*), iii. 4. 192 (*degenerata*), iii. 4. 241 (*omnipotentis*), iii. 4. 260 (*inradiavit*), iii. 4. 270 (*amphitheatrum*), iii. 4. 295 (*irradiari*; repeated at iii. 4. 326), iii. 4. 392 (*celsitonantis*), and iii. 4. 403 (*indeficienti*). These thirty-two pentasyllabic cadences occur in 1,602 hexameters.

79 The terms 'horizontal' and 'vertical' were suggested by P. Tordeur, 'Réflexions sur la rime', *Latomus* 51 (1992), 315–328, at 325.

80 The term *versus leonini* became current in the twelfth century in metrical treatises through (for example) Matthew of Vendôme in his *Ars versificatoria*; see Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, pp. 44–45, and cf. 76–77.

which immediately proceeds the strong, or penthemimeral, caesura in the third foot of the hexameter, as in the following example:

Bella per Emathios | plus quam ciulia campos
... canimus

LUCAN, *Bellum ciuile* i. 1

Note that the (so-called) leonine rhyme here in Lucan is monosyllabic (-os). With very few exceptions, rhyme in Latin verse earlier than the late eleventh century was monosyllabic. Of course rhyme might also occur before the final syllable of the hexameter and the syllable preceding the triemimeral caesura (in the second foot), or the heptemimeral caesura (in the fourth foot), or in all three of these syllables, as in the two examples quoted above (p. 165); but the incidence of such rhyme is relatively rare, and the inclusion of rhyme in tripartite lines would increase the statistical results slightly, but not significantly, for most of the poets in question (an exception would be the *Carmen paschale* of Caelius Sedulius).⁸¹ But for the sake of providing a manageable statistical sample which can nevertheless illuminate Hilduin's practice in the context of his contemporaries and predecessors, I have limited my investigation to monosyllabic leonine rhyme. In order to assemble the data in the accompanying table, I scanned the hexameters of twenty-six Latin poets dating from Vergil to the mid-ninth century;⁸² my choice of poets and poems was determined by consideration of whether or not they formed part of the usual curriculum of Carolingian schools, and were demonstrably known to Hilduin.

It emerges from the accompanying table that the four classical poets (Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius) employed leonine rhyme in only ten or eleven per

81 In the case of Hilduin, some thirty-eight tripartite lines, with rhyme at one or other of the caesurae, are in question.

82 In the case of Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius, I scanned the first 100 lines of each of the books of their epic poems, on the grounds that a sample of 1,000–1,500 lines would give a fair impression of how much leonine rhyme was to be found in their verse. By 'hexameter poems' of Prudentius, I refer to his *Apotheosis*, *Contra Symmachum*, *Hamartigenia* and *Psychomachia*. In the case of Florus of Lyon, I record the occurrence of leonine rhyme only in his few hexameter poems (*Carm.* iv, v, vi and vii); likewise in the case of Sedulius Scottus, among whose large corpus of Latin verse there are only thirteen poems wholly in hexameters (*Carm.* i, xxi, xxxi, xlii, xliii, xlvi, xlvi, xlviii, xlix, lii, lxiv, lxxx, lxxxii, and lxxxiii). In the case of Walahfrid Strabo, his poems composed wholly in hexameters are the *Passio S. Mammetis*, the *Vita Blaithmaic*, the *Visio Wettini* and *De cultura hortorum*. References to editions of Carolingian poets (for the most part in volumes of MGH, PLAC) are given in the first part of the Bibliography, below, pp. 866–868.

cent. of their verse, and less still in the case of Vergil's *Aeneid* (7%). This is not to say that the classical poets were unaware of rhyme, or that the rhyme which occurs in their verse is accidental;⁸³ merely to say that it is an intentional but occasional form of embellishment,⁸⁴ and one that was not conscientiously sought through long tracts of verse.⁸⁵ Many Late Latin poets followed the model of their classical predecessors: thus Juvencus, Dracontius and Arator each employ leonine rhyme in ten per cent. or less of their verses, while Alcimus Avitus and Cyprianus Gallus barely exceed the ten per cent. barrier. The great pioneer in the use of leonine rhyme in hexameter verse was Caelius Sedulius in his *Carmen paschale*, where nearly one quarter of his hexameters exhibit leonine rhyme (and rhyme of other sorts is found in most of the remaining lines).⁸⁶ Sedulius revealed the many possibilities of rhyme in hexameter verse,

83 Some classical scholars have maintained that all rhyme in poets such as Vergil and Ovid can be explained as one of the unintentional side-effects of the Latin inflectional system. This view of the accidental nature of rhyme in Classical Latin poetry was first enunciated by E. Wölfflin, 'Der Reim im Lateinischen', *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie* 1 (1884), 350–389, and has been advocated in more recent times by E.P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 32.

84 It would be difficult to think that the leonine rhyme *huc – illuc* which occurs at *Aen.* viii. 20 ('atque animum nunc **huc** | celerem nunc diuidit **illuc**') was unintended, since Vergil so rarely employs either of these words in these metrical positions. See the detailed study by W.M. Clarke, 'Intentional Rhyme in Vergil and Ovid', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 103 (1972), 49–77, who concludes that 'rhyming words, some in syntactical relationships and some not, have been placed intentionally before and after major sense pauses by Vergil and Ovid' (p. 77); and F. Cupaiuolo, 'Assonanza e rime', in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 1, pp. 375–377 (Cupaiuolo limits his study to the occurrence of end-rhyme in Vergil's verse).

85 It is probable that Classical Latin poets regarded excessive use of rhyme as being an offence (*uitium*) against good taste; cf. the helpful discussion by E.H. Guggenheimer, *Rhyme Effects and Rhyming Figures. A Comparative Study of Sound Repetitions in the Classics with Emphasis on Latin Poetry* (The Hague and Paris, 1972), p. 50: 'Rhyming figures are close to jingles, i.e. to literary faults, and even may themselves result in *vitium* ... Generally poets may get away with – and even be praised for – sound effects which would be intolerable in a serious speaker.' On stylistic *vitium*, see Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* viii. 3–7.

86 On rhyme in Caelius Sedulius, see the comprehensive study by K.B. Gladysz, *De extremis quibus Seduliana carmina ornantur verborum syllabis inter se consonantibus*, *Eus Supplement* 17 (1931), esp. pp. 23–121 on the *Carmen paschale*. Gladysz discusses monosyllabic leonine rhyme – what he calls *leonini simplices* – at pp. 38–56, and prints at pp. 43–47 a list of all such 'simple leonine' rhymes (181 examples). The reason for the discrepancy between Gladysz's numbers and mine, is that mine include many types of rhyming hex-

and he found a number of influential imitators: notably Venantius Fortunatus in his *Vita S. Martini*, who employs monosyllabic leonine rhyme in some 19% of his hexameters, and the anonymous (and eccentric) author of the *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem de resurrectione mortuorum* [CPL 1463], where some 38% of the hexameters have this kind of leonine rhyme (and many verses in the poem have end-rhyme as well).⁸⁷ The Anglo-Latin poets, too, were much influenced by Sedulius, so that we find Aldhelm employing leonine rhyme in 16% of the hexameters of his *Carmen de virginitate*, and Bede some 15% in his metrical *Vita S. Cudbercti*. Carolingian poets followed one or other of these models.⁸⁸ Thus Walahfrid Strabo, Candidus of Fulda and the anonymous author of the *Vita S. Galli* used leonine rhyme very sparingly in fewer than 10% of their verses, presumably under the influence of Vergil and his Late Latin imitators Juvenius, Dracontius and Arator. On the other hand there were poets who were evidently influenced by the precedent of Caelius Sedulius and Venantius Fortunatus: the anonymous author, perhaps Modoin of Autun, of the epic poem *Karolus Magnus et Leo papa*,⁸⁹ who used monosyllabic leonine rhyme in 18% of his verses; likewise the 'Hibernicus Exul' who was perhaps Dungal (27%),⁹⁰ Florus of Lyon (18%) and Sedulius Scottus (20%). In the context of

ameter in which 'simple leonine' rhyme is interlaced with other types of internal rhyme, which are treated individually by Gladysz on pp. 47–56; in sum, his numbers match mine very closely. Gladysz concluded that four-fifths of hexameters in the *Carmen paschale* display some sort of rhyme involving the final syllables of words: 'minimum quattuor quintas partes universi versus hexametrorum numeri (1442 scilicet pro 1754) extremis verborum syllabis inter se concordantes agnoscere possumus' (p. 134).

- 87 The *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem* was composed in Africa c. 500 during the reign of King Thrasamund (496–523); the standard edition is that by J.H. Waszink (Bonn, 1937).
- 88 See the excellent study by Karl Strecker, 'Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern', *Neues Archiv* 44 (1922), 209–251. Strecker's assessments of which poets particularly cultivated monosyllabic rhyme (p. 215: 'unter leoninischen Reim ist im folgenden nur einsilbiger Reim verstanden') are impeccable, but his statistics are different from mine because he includes assonantal rhyme in his estimates.
- 89 Ed. MGH, PLAC i. 366–379. On Modoin's possible authorship of this poem, composed in the first decade of the ninth century, see the persuasive arguments by F. Stella, 'Fortuna moderna e marginalità medievale del "Karolus Magnus et Leo papa" di Modoino d'Autun', *Filologia mediolatina* 23 (2016), 23–57; earlier scholars, notably Dieter Schaller, had argued for Einhard's possible authorship of the poem: see Dieter Schaller, 'Das Aachener Epos für Karl den Kaiser', in his *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Frühmittelalters* (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 129–183.
- 90 *Carm.* ii (ed. MGH, PLAC i. 396–399); the remainder of his poems are in elegiac distichs. The suggestion that this 'Hibernicus exul' may have been the Dungal who was Hilduin's

these Carolingian poets, Hilduin, who employs monosyllabic rhyme in some 16% of his hexameters, is unexceptional.⁹¹

	Total lines	Leonine rhymes	Percentage
Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i>	1,200	83	7%
Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>	1,500	158	11%
Lucan, <i>Bellum ciuile</i>	1,000	122	12%
Statius, <i>Thebaid</i>	1,200	140	12%
Juvenecus, <i>Euangelia</i>	3,183	250	8%
Caelius Sedulius, <i>Carmen paschale</i>	1,746	406	23%
Prudentius, hexameter poems	4,754	657	14%
Dracontius, <i>De laudibus Dei</i>	2,325	200	9%
<i>Carmen ad Flavium Felicem</i>	403	152	38%
Arator, <i>Historia apostolica</i>	2,326	229	10%
Alcimus Avitus, <i>Poema</i>	3,218	384	12%
Cyprianus Gallus, <i>Heptateuchos</i>	5,376	545	10%
Venantius Fortunatus, <i>Vita S. Martini</i>	2,243	420	19%
Aldhelm, <i>Carmen de virginitate</i>	2,904	477	16%
Bede, <i>Vita S. Cudbercti</i>	979	142	15%
Alcuin, 'York Poem'	1,657	212	13%
<i>Karolus magnus et Leo papa</i>	536	99	18%
'Hibernicus Exul'	144	39	27%
Hilduin, <i>Passio S. Dionysii</i>	2,196	361	16%
Walahfrid Strabo, hexameter poems	2,294	212	9%
Candidus of Fulda, <i>Vita Aegili</i>	793	57	7%
anon., <i>Vita S. Galli</i>	1,808	135	7%
Florus of Lyon, hexameter poems	511	92	18%
Sedulius Scottus, hexameter poems	248	49	20%
Audradus Modicus, <i>Carmina</i>	1,602	186	12%

protégé (see above, p. 22), has been suspected by many scholars, beginning with Traube; see, for example, Manitius I. 370–374, and Strecker, 'Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern', p. 222 ('Dungal, der Hibernicus exul').

91 I mentioned earlier that, according to Kirsch, Hilduin could not have been the author of the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii*, because of the high incidence of rhyme in the poem which, according to Kirsch, was present in 88% of the poem's hexameters (*Laudes sanctorum*

Some Carolingian poets, particularly those living in the diocese of Rheims, took the practice of using leonine rhyme a stage further, to the point where every one of their hexameters exhibited rhyme of this sort.⁹² Thus the poet Peter of Hautvilliers, writing to Archbishop Ebo of Rheims (d. 851), composed a poem of 46 hexameters, every one of which has leonine rhyme (including five with bisyllabic rhyme). Like the earlier *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem*, this poem stands well outside contemporary practice.⁹³ It anticipates tenth-century poems such as the *Gesta Apollonii* and the *Ecbasis captivi*, in which all hexameters have leonine rhyme, and looks forward to the intricately rhymed verse of poets from the Loire valley, such as Hildebert of Lavardin, Marbod of Rennes and Baudri of Bourgueil, with their relentless bisyllabic leonine rhyme.

Hilduin's Reading in Earlier Latin Verse

With the present availability of electronic tools such as *Poetria Nova 2*, and the CETEDOC and *Patrologia Latina* databases, it is possible to map the reading of a Medieval Latin poet in ways which were simply unimaginable a generation ago. However, the availability of these tools brings problems in its train: in particular, as far as verse is concerned, the problem of what criteria are to be applied in determining when a medieval author was indebted to the diction of an earlier poet.⁹⁴ It is impossible to formulate inflexible rules concerning these criteria, but in my experience the identification of a source involves judgement concerning the rarity of a given phrase on one hand, and whether the phrase is found in precisely the same metrical feet as in the potential source-text. (Only

ii/1. 620); it was also noted that Kirsch's knowledge of the poem was limited to the forty-two lines which I had quoted in my article of 1987 (i. 72–113). Kirsch does not explain how he arrived at this absurdly high figure, or what in his estimation counted as rhyme. On my calculations, the forty-two quoted lines contain ten examples of monosyllabic leonine rhyme, or 23%: somewhat higher than the overall percentage for the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* (16%), but conformable with the practice of Carolingian poets such as the 'Hibernicus exul' and Sedulius Scottus, and equivalent to the amount of leonine rhyme employed by Caelius Sedulius in his *Carmen paschale*.

92 See Strecker, 'Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern', p. 225, and Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre*, pp. 42–43.

93 Ed. MGH, PLAC i. 623–624. Strecker observes of Peter's hexameters that 'sie erscheinen für die Zeit fast unmöglich', and asks 'Woher diese Technik in so früher Zeit?' ('Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern', p. 237).

94 See the sane remarks on the use of electronic databases to identify poetic borrowing by Paolo Chiesa, *Venticinque lezioni di filologia mediolatina* (Florence, 2016), pp. 15–26.

on rare occasions would the occurrence of words in different metrical feet be sufficient to indicate a probable source.) To be confident of identifying a source, one would ideally wish to find a sequence of three (or, as a bare minimum, two) words construed in the same case and placed in exactly the same metrical feet in both texts.⁹⁵ One has also to develop a sense of what phrases are merely metrical clichés, and what are rare and individual formulations. To give a simple example:

Aldhelm, *CdV* 1266: 'nititur indolem **claris natalibus ortam**'
 Hilduin i. 195: 'Hic uir Apollo fuit **claris natalibus ortus**'.

Since the phrase *claris natalibus ort...* occurs in no Latin poet earlier than Hilduin except Aldhelm, the simplest inference is that Hilduin was here drawing on Aldhelm. But when Hilduin concludes his hexameters with phrases such as *lumina mundi* or *dignus honore*, both of which occur in numerous Latin poets – as can easily be seen by consulting the relevant entries in the *MGH Hexameter-Lexikon* – there would be little point in specifying one of the numerous poets in question as Hilduin's source.

Judging solely from the large number of verbal debts (as recorded in the accompanying Commentary), the poem which influenced Hilduin most profoundly was Vergil's *Aeneid*. I have noted some sixty places where Hilduin's diction borrows from that of Vergil, and many of these borrowings involve phrases unique to Vergil (in such cases I mark the reference to the relevant discussion in the Commentary with an asterisk).⁹⁶ There may of course be far more borrowing from Vergil, but it must be remembered that, from the time of his death until the Renaissance and beyond, Vergil was by far the most intensively studied of all Roman poets, with the result that his most characteristic diction was relentlessly imitated by later poets, from Lucan through late antiquity to the early Middle Ages (which is what is under investigation here): with the result that

95 Cf. the helpful discussion by Neil Wright ('Some Further Vergilian Borrowings in Breton Hagiography of the Carolingian Period', *Études celtiques* 20 (1983), 161–175), who assesses borrowing according to three categories: 'quotation' ('several consecutive words of the original text ... must be reproduced *verbatim*'), 'imitation' ('literary adaptation of a source'), and 'echo' ('a close verbal parallel between two texts') (pp. 162–163).

96 For the *Aeneid*, see Comm. to i. 7, i. 54, i. 60, i. 134, i. 138, i. 163, i. 176 [= *Aen.* ii. 88], i. 265, i. 288, i. 326, i. 330, i. 341, i. 359, i. 372, i. 382, i. 404*, i. 451*, i. 485, i. 507, ii. 25, ii. 45, ii. 56*, ii. 195*, ii. 311*, ii. 453, iii. 29, iii. 41, iii. 75*, iii. 129*, iii. 134*, iii. 191, iii. 282*, iii. 308*, iii. 312*, iii. 351, iii. 354*, iii. 357, iv. 35, iv. 42, iv. 63*, iv. 65, iv. 75, iv. 83*, iv. 111*, iv. 149, iv. 234*, iv. 262*, iv. 264*, iv. 270*, iv. 313, iv. 359, iv. 396*, iv. 413, iv. 437*, and iv. 505*.

what may appear to be a Vergilian borrowing in Hilduin could just as easily have derived from one of Vergil's imitators such as Juvencus. In comparison with the *Aeneid*, Hilduin drew far less frequently on Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, though here, too, there is unambiguous evidence Hilduin knew these works.⁹⁷

Among the classical Roman poets, the next in importance for Hilduin was Ovid. There is evidence in the *Passio metrica S. Dionysii* that Hilduin was familiar with, and laid frequently under contribution, most of Ovid's major poems – not merely the *Metamorphoses*,⁹⁸ but also the *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Fasti*, *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Tristia*, and possibly even the minor Ovidian poem *Halieutica*.⁹⁹ Of the epic poets of the so-called 'Silver Age', Hilduin was certainly familiar with Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* and Statius' *Thebaid*,¹⁰⁰ but there is no evidence that he knew, for example, the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, and only a single parallel to suggest that he had read the massive epic poem *Punica* of Silius Italicus.¹⁰¹ The Latin poet of this period with whose verse Hilduin was undoubtedly familiar was Juvenal, the diction of whose *Satires* had a decisive influence on Hilduin.¹⁰² Of other Roman poets who were widely read during the Middle Ages, such as Horace and Persius, there is very little evidence of familiarity with their verse.¹⁰³

However, the core of the medieval school curriculum was not Classical Latin poets (with the exception, probably, of Vergil), but a group of Christian-Latin poets of Late Antiquity, including Juvencus, Prudentius, Prosper of Aquitaine, Caelius Sedulius, Arator, and others.¹⁰⁴ Hilduin was thoroughly familiar with

97 For the *Eclogues*, see Comm. to i. 82*, i. 382, ii. 227, iii. 4*, and iv. 8. For the *Georgics*, see Comm. to iii. 319*, iv. 293, and iv. 317.

98 For the *Metamorphoses*, see Comm. to i. 27, i. 105, i. 113, i. 200, i. 203*, i. 339, i. 363, i. 434, ii. 261*, iii. 276, iii. 297, iii. 339*, iii. 370, iv. 162, iv. 222, iv. 240, iv. 313, and iv. 426*.

99 For Ovid's *Amores*, see Comm. to i. 495 and iii. 342*; for the *Ars amatoria*, iii. 294*; for the *Fasti*, i. 85, i. 235, i. 249*, iii. 128*, and iii. 197; for the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, iv. 263–264; for the *Tristia*, i. 441* and iii. 33*; and for the *Halieutica*, iii. 103*.

100 For Hilduin's knowledge of Lucan, *Bellum ciuile*, see Comm. to i. 87, i. 275, i. 363, i. 503, ii. 373*, ii. 419, iii. 47, iii. 347*, iv. 7, iv. 75, iv. 192*, iv. 240, iv. 266*, iv. 324, iv. 365, iv. 501, iv. 509, iv. 542, and iv. 665. For Statius, *Thebaid*, see Comm. to iii. 46, iii. 240*, iii. 249*, iii. 276, iii. 307, iv. 40, iv. 148, iv. 213*, iv. 225*, iv. 398, iv. 483, iv. 509, and iv. 521.

101 See Comm. to iii. 386*.

102 For Hilduin's knowledge of Juvenal, *Satires*, see Comm. to i. 84, i. 201*, i. 289, i. 474, i. 515, ii. 384*, iii. 1*, iii. 90*, iii. 139, iii. 160*, iv. 5*, iv. 39*, iv. 255*, iv. 519, and iv. 618*.

103 For Persius, *Satires*, see Comm. to i. 477; for Horace, see iv. 211* (*Carmina*), iv. 50 and iv. 685 (*Epistulae*), and iv. 222 (*Satires*).

104 On the early medieval curriculum of Christian-Latin poets, see G. Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter. Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen*

these Christian-Latin poets, as his numerous debts to their verse make clear. (He was less obviously familiar with the secular Latin poets of Latin antiquity, such as Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Symposius and Corippus.)¹⁰⁵ For sake of convenience, I list these poets in roughly chronological order (with references to Hilduin's verbal indebtedness as discussed in the accompanying Commentary given in footnotes), beginning with the *Euangelia* [CPL 1385] of Juvencus;¹⁰⁶ nearly all the surviving poems of Prudentius, including the *Apotheosis* [CPL 1439], *Contra Symmachum* [CPL 1442], *Hamartigenia* [CPL 1440], *Liber cathemerinon* [CPL 1438], *Liber peristephanon* [CPL 1443], *Praefatio operum* [CPL 1437], and *Psychomachia* [CPL 1441];¹⁰⁷ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* [CPL 203];¹⁰⁸ Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigrammata in obtrectatorem Augustini* [CPL 518];¹⁰⁹ Cyprianus Gallus, *Heptateuchos* [CPL 1423];¹¹⁰ Caelius Sedulius, *Car-*

dargestellt (Munich, 1970), pp. 23–36; M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in late Anglo-Saxon England, 1. The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. N. Brooks (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99–140, and *idem*, 'Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages', in *The Text in the Community. Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts Authors, and Readers*, ed. J. Mann and M.B. Nolan (Notre Dame, IN, 2006), pp. 11–40.

- 105 Of these Late Latin poets, the evidence is probably strongest in favour of Hilduin's knowledge of Claudian: see Comm. to i. 461, ii. 1*, ii. 64, ii. 96, ii. 227, iii. 33, iii. 67*, iii. 96, iii. 130*, iv. 254*, and iv. 410*. For Sidonius, see Comm. to ii. 144*; for Symposius, i. 87 and iv. 217; and for Corippus, iii. 184.
- 106 For Juvencus, *Euangelia*, see Comm. to i. 29, i. 148*, i. 228, i. 321*, i. 390, ii. 172, ii. 223*, ii. 239, ii. 249, iii. 47, iv. 34, iv. 104*, iv. 223*, iv. 229*, iv. 382*, and iv. 453. The number of debts to Juvencus are not, perhaps, as numerous as his debts to other Christian-Latin poets, but the borrowings in question, marked with an asterisk, are decisive.
- 107 Prudentius: see Comm. to i. 80 [*Cathemerinon*], i. 95 [*Contra Symmachum*], i. 212 [*Hamartigenia*], i. 322 [*Psychomachia*], i. 329 [*Praefatio operum*], ii. 2* [*Psychomachia*], ii. 166* [*Apotheosis*], ii. 247* [*Apotheosis*], ii. 270 [*Contra Symmachum*], iii. 16 [*Apotheosis*], iii. 292 [*Psychomachia*], iv. 39 [*Contra Symmachum*], iv. 103 [*Contra Symmachum*], iv. 233 [*Psychomachia*], iv. 298 [*Peristephanon*], and iv. 370 [*Apotheosis*].
- 108 Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina*: see Comm. to i. 35, i. 47, i. 190, i. 192, i. 304, i. 346, i. 462, i. 478, i. 524, i. 543, ii. 3*, ii. 153*, ii. 172, ii. 270, ii. 289, ii. 459*, iii. 6, iii. 154, iii. 217, iii. 220, iii. 232, iii. 393*, iv. 56*, iv. 113*, iv. 125, iv. 157, iv. 269*, iv. 279, iv. 324, iv. 326, iv. 402, iv. 553, iv. 665, iv. 667*, and iv. 728.
- 109 Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigrammata*: see Comm. to i. 304, i. 400, i. 410, i. 420, i. 453*, iii. 143*, iii. 228*, iv. 157, iv. 415*, and iv. 447. Once again, the number of borrowings is not large, but those in question are decisive.
- 110 Cyprianus Gallus, *Heptateuchos*: see Comm. to i. 255, i. 293, i. 391*, i. 396, i. 405, i. 456, i. 459, ii. 117*, iii. 84*, iii. 126*, iii. 211, iii. 241, iii. 273, iii. 382, iii. 292, iii. 336*, iv. 19*, iv. 88*, iv. 186, iv. 313, iv. 398, iv. 432, and iv. 656.

men paschale [CPL 1447];¹¹¹ Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* [CPL 1474];¹¹² Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* [CPL 1509];¹¹³ Alcimus Avitus, *Poema de spiritalis historiae gestis* [CPL 995];¹¹⁴ Boethius, *metra* contained in his *De consolatione Philosophiae* [CPL 878];¹¹⁵ Arator, *Historia apostolica* [CPL 1504];¹¹⁶ and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina* [CPL 1033] and *Vita S. Martini* [CPL 1037].¹¹⁷ In sum, Hilduin's knowledge of these poets represents a very substantial programme of reading and study, either early in his career at Reichenau, or during the period of his abbacy at Saint-Denis where, as we have seen (above, p. 21), were to be found manuscripts of many of these poets – Prudentius, Prosper of Aquitaine, Paulinus of Nola, Caelius Sedulius, Arator and Venantius Fortunatus – copied there during his lifetime.

After the sixth century, the torch of learning was passed to the British Isles, in particular to Anglo-Saxon England, where the two principal torch-bearers for the composition of Latin poetry were Aldhelm (d. 709/710) and Bede (d. 735), both of whom composed substantial *corpora* of Latin verse. The excellence of their verse was quickly recognized by contemporaries, so that by the late eighth century, their poetry had become a fixed part of the medieval school curriculum. Hilduin, unsurprisingly, was thoroughly familiar with their verse,

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- 111 Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale*: see Comm. to i. 21, i. 57, i. 113, i. 193*, i. 215, i. 447, i. 458*, i. 460*, i. 544, ii. 109, ii. 159, iii. 105*, iii. 148*, iii. 243, iii. 351*, iv. 23, iv. 26, iv. 276, iv. 501, iv. 680, iv. 682*, and iv. 730*.
- 112 Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini*: see Comm. to iii. 49*, iii. 307, ii. 310, iv. 250, iv. 378*, iv. 669, and iv. 680.
- 113 Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei*: see notes to Comm. i. 21, i. 187, i. 405, ii. 32, ii. 289, ii. 334, ii. 345, iii. 93*, iv. 279, iv. 358, and iv. 560*. Remarkably, Hilduin seems also to have been familiar with the secular poems, the so-called *Romulea*, of Dracontius: see iii. 370*, iii. 59*, and iv. 17.
- 114 Alcimus Avitus, *Poema de spiritalis historiae gestis*: see Comm. to i. 13, i. 201, i. 420, i. 572, ii. 470, iii. 186*, iv. 38*, iv. 103*, iv. 163, iv. 404, iv. 447, iv. 519, and iv. 588*.
- 115 Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae*: see Comm. to i. 182, i. 190, i. 223, i. 288, i. 315, iii. 226, and iv. 578*.
- 116 Arator, *Historia apostolica*: see Comm. to i. 21, i. 93, i. 111, i. 214, i. 293, i. 421, ii. 32, ii. 70, ii. 244, ii. 430*, iii. 228, iii. 240*, iii. 243, iii. 396*, iv. 23, iv. 125, iv. 523*, and iv. 662*.
- 117 Venantius Fortunatus: see Comm. to i. 13, i. 98, i. 212, i. 262 [*Vita S. Martini*], i. 326, i. 331, i. 530*, i. 558, ii. 57, ii. 124, ii. 129, ii. 172, ii. 181, ii. 319*, ii. 334 [*Vita S. Martini*], ii. 335, ii. 353, ii. 399 [*Vita S. Martini*], iii. 18, iii. 61, iii. 83, iii. 166* [*Vita S. Martini*], iii. 197, iii. 242*, iii. 256 [*Vita S. Martini*], iii. 338*, iii. 358 [*Vita S. Martini*], iv. 4*, iv. 52*, iv. 81* [*Vita S. Martini*], iv. 92* [*Vita S. Martini*], iv. 276, iv. 295 [*Vita S. Martini*], iv. 298 [*Vita S. Martini*], iv. 447, iv. 501, iv. 523, iv. 542* [*Vita S. Martini*], iv. 565*, and iv. 712. All references are to the *Carmina*, unless specified in parentheses as *Vita S. Martini*.

in particular the *Carmen de virginitate* [CPL 1333] of Aldhelm,¹¹⁸ and the *Vita metrica S. Cudberti* [CPL 1380] and *Versus de die iudicii* [CPL 1370] of Bede.¹¹⁹ The Anglo-Saxon inheritor of the tradition of Aldhelm and Bede was Alcuin (d. 804), who spent his mature years after 782 at the court of Charlemagne, where he was the centre of a group of Latin poets who, like Alcuin, composed substantial amounts of Latin verse under the patronage of Charlemagne. Hilduin was a young man, still probably a student at Reichenau, during the florescence of Latin poetry at Charlemagne's court, but he was thoroughly familiar with their poetic production, notably that of Alcuin, which may give some credence to the oft-repeated statement that Hilduin had been a student of Alcuin. In any case, Hilduin's debts to the Latin poetry of Alcuin are numerous and decisive.¹²⁰ Hilduin was also familiar with the Latin verse of the lesser luminaries of Charlemagne's court, such as Paulus Diaconus (d. 799),¹²¹ Paulinus of Aquileia (d. 802),¹²² Theodulf of Orléans (d. 821),¹²³ and the so-called *Hibernicus Exul* ('The Irish Exile'),¹²⁴ whom most scholars identify as Dungal, perhaps the same Dungal who at a later stage of his career was resident at Saint-Denis during the abbacy of Hilduin, and composed a flattering poem on Hilduin's newly-constructed crypt-chapel, completed in 832 (see above, pp. 43–44).

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- 118 Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate*: see Comm. to i. 128, i. 195*, i. 256, i. 343, i. 362, i. 440, i. 457, i. 469*, i. 513*, i. 517, i. 544, ii. 182*, ii. 240, ii. 341, ii. 343*, ii. 385*, iii. 41, iii. 108, iii. 161, iii. 212*, iii. 228, iii. 267*, iii. 345*, iii. 381, iv. 31*, iv. 47*, iv. 68, iv. 138*, iv. 163, iv. 175*, iv. 214*, iv. 215*, iv. 2301, iv. 273*, iv. 404, iv. 453, iv. 516*, iv. 518*, iv. 542, iv. 605*, iv. 646, and iv. 700*. The high proportion of asterisked items gives some impression of Hilduin's dependence on this poem of Aldhelm. There is less secure evidence for Hilduin's knowledge of Aldhelm's other poetic works: for the *Carmina ecclesiastica* [CPL 1331], see Comm. to i. 4, i. 56, i. 236, i. 303, i. 372, i. 543, iv. 483, and iv. 631*; for the *Enigmata* [CPL 1335], see i. 130, i. 275, i. 303, iv. 483, and iv. 573.
- 119 Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudberti*: see Comm. to i. 47, i. 323*, i. 554*, ii. 343, ii. 468*, iii. 18, iii. 245*, iii. 346*, iv. 293*, and iv. 347; *Versus de die iudicii*: see Comm. to i. 316*, i. 398–399, ii. 470, iii. 3*, iii. 29, and iv. 358.
- 120 Alcuin, *Carmina*: see Comm. to i. 53, i. 84, i. 105, i. 110, i. 192, i. 203, i. 327, i. 489*, i. 573*, i. 583, ii. 23, ii. 26, ii. 141, ii. 151, ii. 240, ii. 276, ii. 465*, iii. 11, iii. 16, iii. 32, iii. 37*, iii. 83, iii. 108, iii. 119*, iii. 132, iii. 133, iii. 160, iii. 227*, iii. 257, iii. 271, iii. 285, iii. 359, iii. 370, iv. 25, iv. 84, iv. 86, iv. 106, iv. 113*, iv. 223, iv. 242*, iv. 245*, iv. 293, iv. 432, iv. 517*, and iv. 719.
- 121 Paulus Diaconus, *Carmina*: see Comm. to i. 59, i. 89, i. 187, i. 392, ii. 109, ii. 154, and ii. 372*.
- 122 There is only one verbal debt to the *Carmina* of Paulinus recorded in the Comm., but it is a convincing one: iii. 261*; but cf. the parallels cited at i. 23, ii. 178.
- 123 Theodulf, *Carmina*: see Comm. to i. 112, i. 259, i. 307, i. 384*, i. 410, i. 565, ii. 340*, iii. 163, iii. 165, iii. 334, iii. 347*, iv. 15*, iv. 295, and iv. 440.
- 124 *Hibernicus Exul*: see Comm. to i. 242, i. 326, ii. 73, ii. 289, iii. 14, iii. 42*, iii. 85*, iii. 146, and iv. 621*.

Hilduin and the Latin Poetry of His Contemporaries

There are substantial numbers of striking verbal similarities between the verse of Hilduin and that of his ninth-century contemporaries, especially poets who were active during the 840s, when – as I have suggested above (p. 62) – Hilduin produced the metrical version of his *Passio S. Dionysii*. We know that Hilduin had personal contacts with some of these poets, notably Sedulius Scottus, Walahfrid Strabo and Hrabanus Maurus; in other cases – Florus of Lyon (d. c. 860) and Audradus Modicus (d. 853) – the verbal parallels are so many and so striking that contact of some sort is surely implied. In most cases, however, it is impossible to determine the direction of the borrowing: whether the other poets were indebted to Hilduin, or Hilduin to them. Only in the case of Sedulius Scottus can we be relatively certain of the Irish poet's debt to Hilduin. Sedulius is first attested on the Continent in 848 and, as we have seen, he was well aware of Hilduin's reputation as a Greek scholar, and, more significantly, referred unambiguously to Hilduin's activity as a poet (above, p. 58). His allusion to Hilduin's poetic activity possibly implies that it was Sedulius who was indebted to Hilduin's verse, not *vice versa*; in any case, there is a modest but decisive amount of shared diction between the poetry of Hilduin and that of Sedulius Scottus.¹²⁵ Equally striking are the similarities between the verse of Walahfrid Strabo and that of Hilduin.¹²⁶ Walahfrid was Hilduin's *protégé*, and, since he was more than twenty years younger than Hilduin, one might expect that Walahfrid's verse was indebted to that of Hilduin. But Walahfrid was the most brilliant Latin poet of his generation, and it would not be surprising to think that he had influenced his older contemporaries, including Hilduin. In at least one case we can be certain that it was Walahfrid who influenced Hilduin, not *vice versa*: at i. 557 Hilduin uses the distinctive hexameter cadence *documenta salutis*. This striking cadence occurs, evidently for the first time, in Walahfrid's poem *De imagine Tetrici* (see Comm. ad loc.).¹²⁷ Walahfrid's poem can be dated to 829 or early 830. Since, on my understanding of the evidence, Hilduin composed the metrical version of his *Passio S. Dionysii* during the 840s,

125 Sedulius Scottus: see Comm. to i. 8, i. 259, i. 499, ii. 181*, ii. 317, iii. 191, iii. 203, iii. 295*, iv. 277*, and iv. 370.

126 Walahfrid Strabo: see Comm. to i. 8, i. 14, i. 78, i. 102, i. 183* [*Passio S. Mammetis*], i. 227* [*Visio Wettini*], i. 233, i. 390, i. 408, i. 465, i. 512* [*Visio Wettini*], i. 557* [*De imagine Tetrici*], iii. 14, iii. 40* [*Vita Blaithmaic*], iii. 234* [*Carm. app. v*], iii. 285, iii. 292, iv. 182, iv. 316, iv. 377, iv. 560* [*Passio S. Mammetis*], and iv. 680.

127 The cadence *documenta salutis* is also used in the anonymous *Vita S. Galli* 1378 – a poem very possibly composed by Walahfrid.

this is a clear case where Hilduin was indebted to Walahfrid: and it is particularly striking that Walahfrid's phrase occurs in a passage of *De imagine Tetrici* (lines 209–220) which flatteringly describes Hilduin himself as *magnus Aaron*, the great high-priest of the court of Louis the Pious (alluding to Hilduin's position – in 829 or early 830 but not for much longer – as *archicapellanus*).¹²⁸ Hilduin must almost certainly have known this flattering portrait. Another contemporary poem which shares a significant amount of diction with Hilduin is the anonymous *Vita S. Galli*.¹²⁹ The poem is closely based on a prose *vita* of St Gall by Walahfrid [*BHL* 3247–3249]; and although Walahfrid is said to have had the intention of versifying the prose *vita* himself, he was prevented by death from doing so (he died in 849), according to a letter by Ermenric of St Gallen.¹³⁰ The eventual work, which was begun as early as 834 but only published in 850, was undertaken by another poet at St Gallen.¹³¹ Whoever this poet was, he was intimately familiar with Walahfrid's poetry: his verse shares so many distinctive features with that of Walahfrid that there would be grounds for believing that the metrical *Vita S. Galli* was in fact composed by Walahfrid, but published (and perhaps lightly revised?) after his death by the anonymous poet.¹³² In any case, Hilduin appears to have been thoroughly familiar with the metrical *Vita S. Galli* (or else: the poet of the metrical *Vita S. Galli* was thoroughly familiar with the poetry of Hilduin). Another contemporary scholar and poet who was in close contact with Hilduin was Hrabanus Maurus (780–856) who, like Hilduin, was associated with Lothar in the immediate aftermath of the death of Louis the Pious in 840. At an earlier stage of his career, Hrabanus had been in close contact with Hilduin and Saint-Denis: he had dedicated his great collection of *carmina figurata*, the *De laudibus S. Crucis*, to the monks of Saint-Denis, and had dedicated the four books of his Commentary on Kings

128 The description of Hilduin as *archicapellanus* ('De Hildwino archicappelano': MGH, PLAC ii. 376) provides a solid *terminus ante quem* for the composition of Walahfrid's poem, because Hilduin was cashiered from this position in October 830 (see above, p. 36).

129 *Vita S. Galli*: i. 20*, i. 35, i. 110*, i. 191, i. 235, i. 251, i. 289, i. 442, i. 465, i. 534, i. 554, i. 557*, iii. 30, iii. 211, iii. 217, iii. 247, iii. 377*, iv. 500, iv. 504, iv. 521*, iv. 617, and iv. 680.

130 MGH, Epist. v. 566: 'voluit vero ille [*scil.* Walahfrid] poetico coturno gesta beati Galli comere, sed morte praeventus vitam in vita finivit.'

131 See Manitius, i. 314–315.

132 Even from the evidence assembled here in order to illustrate Hilduin's verse, we have seen that Walahfrid and the poet of the metrical *Vita S. Galli* employed rhyme to an identical extent, and used a similar number of pentasyllabic cadences. As the accompanying commentary to Hilduin reveals, there are numerous instances of diction shared between Walahfrid and the poet of the *Vita S. Galli*: see Comm. to i. 225, i. 465, i. 557, ii. 242, and iv. 680.

to Hilduin personally (see above, p. 53). Given their personal relationship, it is hardly surprising that there should be a notable amount of shared diction between their poetry.¹³³ After having been expelled from the abbacy of Fulda by Louis the German in 840, Hrabanus was subsequently restored to this position in 842; it is uncertain how closely Hrabanus remained in contact with Hilduin after his restoration: Fulda lies about 125 miles east of Cologne, and contact between the two centres may have been sporadic. It is thus questionable whether there was any contact between Hilduin and one of the talented monks of Fulda, Candidus, who was a protégé of Hrabanus.¹³⁴ But in spite of distances, there is evidence that Hilduin was thoroughly familiar with the poetry of Florus of Lyon¹³⁵ and of Audradus Modicus¹³⁶ (or else: they were thoroughly familiar with the poetry of Hilduin), as well as with other poets active at this time.¹³⁷ How he (or they) acquired this familiarity poses interesting questions for our understanding of how poetry circulated during the ninth century. After the partition of the kingdom in 843, Audradus at Sens was living in the kingdom of Charles the Bald; and Audradus was a vocal opponent of Lothar and his kingdom (see above, p. 59), which makes it unlikely that he was a frequent visitor to Cologne, where (presumably) Hilduin was normally resident during the 840s, when he was not on ambassadorial duty in Constantinople. How, then, did these poets exchange and read each other's verse? We can only assume that, in spite of political allegiances, there was close contact between intellectuals and poets during this period. Hilduin, for his part, must have learned much about verse composition from discussions with Sedulius Scottus, Walahfrid Strabo and Hrabanus Maurus, wherever these discussions took place. The fact remains that Hilduin was one of the major intellectual figures of the ninth century, and was a major patron of younger

133 Hrabanus Maurus: see Comm. to i. 78, i. 379*, i. 414, i. 532, i. 555, ii. 172, ii. 241, ii. 268, ii. 283, iii. 16, and iv. 172.

134 There is very slight evidence of diction shared between Hilduin and Candidus: see Comm. to iii. 73*.

135 Florus of Lyon: see Comm. to i. 523, ii. 121, ii. 268, iii. 6, iii. 35*, iii. 47*, iii. 105*, iii. 167, iii. 358, iv. 25, and iv. 558*.

136 Audradus Modicus: see Comm. to i. 30, i. 516*, i. 578*, ii. 137*, ii. 283, iii. 5*, iii. 267, iii. 283*, iii. 297, iii. 381, iv. 17, iv. 369, iv. 440, and iv. 712.

137 There are a few striking parallels with the *Waltharius* (see Comm. to i. 340 and i. 341). A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk has recently advanced powerful arguments for thinking that the *Waltharius* was composed by Walahfrid Strabo, arguably during the few years following his dismissal from the abbacy of St Gallen in 842, when he lived under the patronage of Lothar in the Lotharingian kingdom: 'La diffusion du "Waltharius" et son anonymat: Essai d'interprétation', *Filologia mediolatina* 23 (2016), 59–122, esp. 105–121.

scholars. It is hardly surprising that he should have derived some intellectual return from this patronage.

The Manuscript

The sole manuscript which preserves Hilduin's metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 535 (Summary Catalogue 2254). As preserved, the manuscript is made up of two distinct parts,¹³⁸ of which only the first part (fols. 1–38) is relevant to Hilduin's poem, which is contained on fols. 1^r–37^r.¹³⁹ The *Passio S. Dionysii* was copied by two collaborating scribes, of whom the first copied the first two lines of the poem on fol. 1^r in Style IV Anglo-Caroline minuscule (and hence was likely an Englishman), while the second copied the remainder of the poem in what is apparently French or Norman script.¹⁴⁰ Their combined scribal activity may be dated on palaeographical grounds to the last third of the eleventh century. The provenance of the manuscript may be determined by the fact that a later scribe, writing at some time during the first half of the twelfth century, copied two verse epitaphs onto the verso of fol. 37. The first of these epitaphs concerns Godfrey, who was prior of Winchester Cathedral from 1082 until 1107; the second concerns a man named Harding who was precentor at Winchester in the early twelfth century.¹⁴¹ The presence of these two epitaphs implies that the manuscript containing Hilduin's metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* was copied at Winchester. How the poem happened to be transmitted from the Continent to Winchester is unknown; but it is possible that it owed its presence in Winchester to the fact that Edith, the daughter of King Edgar (959–975), constructed a lavish oratory at nearby Wilton (a royal residence) dedicated to St Dionysius.¹⁴²

138 The second part (fols. 39–94), datable to the mid-twelfth century, contains the *Vita prima S. Neoti* [BHL 6054], a *Vita S. Mariae Magdalenae* [BHL 5443?], and the *Vita S. Machuti* by the Breton hagiographer Bili [BHL 5116].

139 The collation is as follows: I + I⁸ (fols. 1–8), II⁸ (fols. 9–16), III⁸ (fols. 17–24), IV⁸ (fols. 25–32), and V⁶ (fols. 33–38).

140 See N.R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), p. 23 n. 4, and pl. I (b).

141 The two epitaphs are printed and discussed by Lapidge, "The Lost "Passio Metrica S. Dionysii" by Hilduin of Saint-Denis", pp. 68–69.

142 See Lapidge, *ibid.* pp. 77–78.

Editorial Procedures

Some two and a half centuries elapsed between when Hilduin composed his metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* and when it was copied into the Winchester manuscript. Unsurprisingly, a certain amount of corruption was imported into the text during the process of transmission. In most cases the error is readily detectable, but there are a few places (e.g. ii. 428 and ii. 466) which defy simple emendation.

The poem was copied into the Winchester manuscript according to scribal conventions which obtained in the late eleventh century, and which were inevitably different from those of the mid-ninth century, particularly in matters of orthography. In printing Hilduin's poem I have followed the same editorial conventions as I adopted for his prose *Passio S. Dionysii* (namely that I largely followed the orthography of MS. P, given that it was written at Saint-Denis within a few years of Hilduin's abbacy there): thus (for example) I print *Dionysius* not *Dyonisius*, *Cronos* not *Chronos*, and so on for other Greek names which are typically mutilated by scribes; and I print *ae* not *e* or *ę* throughout (*ae* is characteristically spelled out thus in MS. P of the prose *passio*).

Editions



*The Three Epistolae of
Louis the Pious and Hilduin
Concerning St Dionysius*



Sigla

- A Paris, BNF, lat. 2873A (?Lorraine, s. xi¹), fols. 1^r–3^r [*Ep.* I], 3^r–11^r [*Ep.* II], 11^r–13^r [*Ep.* III]
- B Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. oct. 159 (Reichenau, s. ix^{3/4}), fols. 1^v–5^v [*Ep.* I], 5^v–21^r [*Ep.* II], 21^v–24^v [*Ep.* III]
- D Paris, BNF, lat. 10846 (Saint-Denis, s. x), fols. 1^r–11^r [*Ep.* II], 11^r–14^r [*Ep.* III]
- E Paris, BNF, lat. 10847 (Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, s. xi), fols. 1^r–2^r [*Ep.* I], 2^r–6^v [*Ep.* II], 6^v–7^v [*Ep.* III]
- L London, BL, Add. 22793 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 1^r–3^v [*Ep.* II (frg.)], 3^v–5^r [*Ep.* III]
- O Oxford, BodL, Laud misc. 549 (Gorze, s. x), fols. 1^v–3^r [*Ep.* I], 3^v–11^r [*Ep.* II], 11^r–12^v [*Ep.* III]
- R Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14871, fols. 1–45 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 1^v–3^v [*Ep.* I], 3^v–13^v [*Ep.* II]
- T Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4608 (Benediktbeuern, s. xi^{med}), fols. 50^v–52^r [*Ep.* I], 52^r–59^v [*Ep.* II], 60^r–61^r [*Ep.* III]

The Letter of Emperor Louis the Pious to Hilduin Concerning St Dionysius [*BHL* 2172]

IN NOMINE DOMINI DEI ET SALVATORIS NOSTRI IESV CHRISTI CHLV-
DOWICVS,¹ DIVINA REPROPITIANTE CLEMENTIA² IMPERATOR AVGVSTVS,
HILDVINO VENERABILI ABBATI MONASTERII SANCTISSIMORVM MARTY-
RVM³ AC SPECIALIVM PROTECTORVM NOSTRORVM DIONYSII PRETIOSI
5 SOCIORVMQVE EIVS AETERNAM IN CHRISTO SALVTEM.

1. Quantum muneris atque praesidii non modo nobis ac praedecessoribus seu
progenitoribus nostris, uerum etiam totius imperii nostri populis, Domini pro-
uidentia per beatissimum Dionysium⁴ saepenumero immo continue in magnis
10 gratiarum ubertatibus contulerit, cunctae per transacta tempora Gallicae gene-
rationes senserunt, quae eius insigni apostolatu fidei rudimenta sumpserunt et
salutis subsidia perceperunt. Praedecessores autem nostri gloriam huius exi-
mii testis et amici Dei non inaniter coluerunt; qui dum eius sacras exuuias in
terris ob amorem et honorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi opibus quibus pote-
rant honorauerunt, per eius preces dignissimas honoris priuilegio potiri et in
15 terrenis et in caelestibus meruerunt. Vt uidelicet unus ex priscis Francorum
regibus Dagobertus,⁵ qui eundem pretiosissimum Christi martyrem ueneratus
non mediocriter fuerat, et uita inmortalis est sublimatus, et per eius adiutorium,
sicut diuina ac celebris ostensio perhibet,⁶ a poenis est liberatus inque uita
perenni desiderabiliter constitutus.

20 2. Progenitores quoque nostri mellifluum nomen domni Dionysii – sic enim
uerbis ac scriptis suis eum appellare consueuerunt⁷ – non incongrue pia dilec-
tione et dilectissima pietate amplexi sunt. Quia proauus noster Karolus,⁸ prin-
ceps Francorum inclitus, per orationes ipsius excellentissimi martyris indep-
tum se fuisse gratulatus est apicem principatus, eidemque decurso mortali-

2 REPROPITIANTE] propitiante *BO* 5 CHRISTO] Domino *O* 9 ubertatibus] ubertatis *E*
11 Praedecessores] prodecessores *T* 12 exuuias] excubias *B*, excubias *EO* 15–16 Francorum
regibus] regibus Francorum *O* 17 et ... sublimatus] *om. R* || et] *om. O* || uita inmortalis est]
inmortalis uita est *ET*, inmortalis est uita *O* 18 ac] *om. O* 22 amplexi] amplexati *OT* 23
orationes] orationem *O* 23–24 indeptum] adeptum *EO* 24–196.1 mortalitatis] uitae *O*

In the name of the Lord God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I, Louis, august emperor with the renewed permission of divine mercy, send eternal best wishes in Christ to Hilduin, venerable abbot of the monastery of the holy martyrs, who are our particular protectors – the precious Dionysius and his companions.

1. As to how much assistance and protection the providence of the Lord has bestowed frequently, indeed perpetually, in mighty abundance of favours, not only on us and on our predecessors and progenitors, but also on the peoples of our entire kingdom through the blessed Dionysius, all the Gallic generations experienced in bygone times, who acquired the rudiments of faith and received the succour of salvation through his distinguished apostolate. Our predecessors did not worship the glory of this outstanding martyr and friend of God in vain; while they were honouring, through whatever means they could manage, his holy relics on earth through love and veneration of our Lord Jesus Christ, they were found worthy to acquire, through his fitting prayers, the distinction of preferment both on earth and in heaven. For example, Dagobert, one of the early kings of the Franks, who had worshipped the same precious martyr of Christ in a manner that was not restrained, was both raised up to immortal life, and, freed from torments through his [Dionysius'] assistance, was established desirably in the perpetual life, as his divine and famous revelation makes clear.

2. With devout love and loving devotion our forebears embraced, not inappropriately, the 'honeyed' name of Dionysius – for that is how they used to refer to him in their speech and writing. For my great grandfather Charles [Martel], the famous leader of the Franks, was grateful to have reached the summit of the kingdom through the prayers of the excellent martyr, and he faithfully

tatis tempore quod carius potuit habere depositum, corpus scilicet proprium in magni die iudicii suscitandum, et animam Domino praesentandam fideliter commendauit, ac per hoc maxime deuotionem atque fiduciam cordis sui erga peculiarem patronum patenter ostendit. Sanctae nihilominus recordationis auus noster Pippinus⁹ propter altare quod ante sepulchrum saepefati saepiusque dicendi domni Dionysii¹⁰ per diuinam et memorabilem reuelationem iussu ipsius sanctissimi martyris in honore Dei et apostolorum eius Petri et Pauli, qui praesentes ostendebantur a beato et angelico uiro Stephano summo pontifice,¹¹ dedicatum est inter sacra missarum sollempnia,¹² una cum duobus filiis, Karlomanno¹³ uidelicet et diuae memoriae domno ac genitore nostro Karolo iure praenominato Magno,¹⁴ ab eodem apostolico papa in regem Francorum unctus, superni muneris benedictionem percepit.¹⁵ Quique cum quanta se humilitate ante limina basilicae sanctorum martyrum perfuncto huius uitae curriculo sepeliri praeceperit, titulus etiam ipsius conditorii innotescit.¹⁶ Sed et nos multis ac frequentibus largitionibus beneficia eius sumus experti, praecipue tamen in humanae uarietatis euentu, quo Dei ut semper fatendum est iusto iudicio in uirga eruditionis suae uisitati et baculo speciosae misericordiae eius ante praescriptum altare; per merita et solatium domni ac piissimi patris nostri pretiosi Dionysii uirtute diuina reerecti et restituti sumus cingulumque militare¹⁷ iudicio atque auctoritate episcopali resumpsimus,¹⁸ et usque ad praesens ipsius gratioso adiutorio sustentamur.

3. Idcirco, uenerabilis custos ac cultor ipsius prouisoris et adiutoris nostri, domni Dionysii, monere te uolumus ut quicquid de eius notitia ex Graecorum historiis per interpretationem sumptum, uel quod ex libris ab eo patrio sermone conscriptis et auctoritatis nostrae iussione ac tuo sagaci studio interpretumque sudore in nostram linguam explicatis, huic negotio inseri fuerit congruum, quaeque etiam in Latinis codicibus iam inde habes inuentum, adiuncta ea quae in libello passionis ipsius continentur,¹⁹ necnon et illa quae in tomo cartis uetustissimis armario Parisiacaee ecclesiae,²⁰ sacrae uidelicet sedis suae, prolata inueneras et obtutibus sollertiae nostrae serenitatis ostenderas secun-

2 magni die] die magni O 3 maxime deuotionem] deuotionem maxime O 8–9 angelico ... pontifice] apostolico pontifice Stephano R 8 uiro] *om.* O 10 Karlomanno] Karlomagno E 11 apostolico] *om.* O || papa] *post* papa *add.* O sancto 12 superni] super O || percepit] suscepit R 13 perfuncto] peracto O 15 sumus experti] experti sumus O 17–18 misericordiae eius] eius misericordiae O 19 pretiosi] *om.* R || reerecti] erecti R 20 et usque] eiusque E 21 adiutorio sustentamur] sustentamur adiutorio O 26 sudore] sermone (uel sudore *s.l.*) E 27 quaeque] quodque R || in] ex R 27–28 adiuncta ea] adiunctis his R 28 illa] illis R 29 cartis] castis ABO || sacrae] sacra E 30 prolata] *sic* E, prolatis ART, prolatas BO

commended to the saint, when he died, the most dear 'deposit' he could have, namely his own body, to be resuscitated on the great Day of Judgement, and his soul, to be presented to the Lord: through this above all he clearly revealed the devotion and faith of his heart towards his special patron. By the same token my grandfather Pippin of sacred memory, as a result of the altar dedicated at a special mass before the tomb of the frequently-mentioned – and deserving of frequent mention! – Dionysius, through a divine and memorable appearance at the command of this holy martyr and in honour of God and of His apostles Peter and Paul, who were shown to be present by that angelic man Pope Stephen, was (subsequently) anointed as king of the Franks by the same Pope Stephen, together with his two sons, Carloman and Charles my father, known as 'the Great' [Charlemagne], and received the blessing of heavenly grace. And with what great humility Pippin, having completed the course of this life, gave orders to be buried outside the doors of the basilica of the holy martyrs, the inscription on his tomb makes clear. And I too have experienced his [Dionysius'] bounties through many and frequent disbursements, but particularly in the course of human events, when through the just judgement of God – as is always to be acknowledged – I was punished by the rod of his correction and the staff of his beautiful mercy before his aforementioned altar: through the merits and help of our precious and holy father Dionysius I was raised up and restored by divine authority, and received back the military girdle, through episcopal decree and authority; and up to the present time I am sustained by his generous support.

3. I therefore wish to urge you, the venerable custodian and worshipper of St Dionysius, our provider and helper, that whatever concerning information about him is suitable to be introduced into this undertaking, whether taken from the histories of the Greeks through translation, or from books written by him in his native language and translated into our language [Latin] at my command, through your learned scholarship and the efforts of translators, and whatever you have also found in Latin manuscripts, adding those things which are contained in the little book of his martyrdom as well as those which you have found in a volume of ancient charters in the book-chest of your church at Paris, namely in his own see, and have drawn to the attention of my serene

dum quod rerum, causarum etiam et temporum, conuenientiam noueris, in corpus unum redigas atque uniformem textum exinde componas, quatenus deuotis compendiosius ualeant innotesci, et fastidiosis minusue capacibus uel studiosis lectionis possit tedium subleuari pariterque omnibus aedificationis
5 utilitas prouideri.

4. His ita contextis uolumus, ut reuelationem ostensam beato papae Stephano in ecclesia eiusdem sanctissimi Dionysii, sicut ab eo dictata est,²¹ et gesta quae eidem subnexa sunt,²² una cum ymnis,²³ quos de hoc gloriosissimo martyre atque pontifice habes, et officium nocturnale²⁴ subiungas, sed et differenter ac
10 cum integritate sui quaeque ex eo reperta sunt in altero uolumine colligas,²⁵ nobisque distincte et correcte transcripta quantocius dirigas aut praesentes, quoniam maximum ualdeque dulcissimum pignus desiderabilis praesentiae ipsius domni et solaciatoris nostri, ubicumque simus, habere nos credimus, si cum eo uel de eo aut ab eo dictis oratione, conlatione siue lectione conloqui-
15 mur. Vale in Christo, uir Domini, in sacris orationibus iugiter memor nostri.

6 ostensam ... Stephano] beato papae Stephano ostensam R 7 dictata] dicta *ORT* 8 subnexa] subnixa *AB* 14 eo¹] *om. O*

gaze, according to which you were able to deduce the sequence of events, and even causes and times – that you should collect all this in one corpus and then compose a uniform text out of them, so that it may more convincingly become known to devout readers, and so that the boredom of reading can be alleviated for scornful or less capable or studious persons, and the utility of instruction be provided equally for all.

4. When these have been assembled, I wish you to add the vision revealed to Pope Stephen in the church of this same St Dionysius, as it was dictated by him, and the narratives which were appended to it, together with the hymns which you have (to hand) concerning this most glorious martyr and bishop, and the Night Office in his name, and also collect in another volume, separately and in their entirety, whatever writings of his were uncovered, and send this or present this to me, accurately and correctly transcribed, as soon as possible, since, wherever I am, I believe I have the greatest and very sweetest token of the desirable presence of him, my master and my comforter, if I converse with him or about him or from him in words, prayer, conference, or reading. Farewell in Christ, O man of God, perpetually mindful of me in your holy prayers.

Hilduin's Letter to Louis the Pious Concerning St Dionysius [*BHL* 2173]

DOMINO BENIGNITATE AMABILI ET AVCTORITATIS REVERENTIA HONORABILI, CHLVDOWICO PIO SEMPER AVGVSTO, HILDVINVS, HVMILIS CHRISTI FAMVLVS ET DOMINI MEI DIONYSII PRETIOSI AC SOCIORVM EIVS MATRICVLARIVS VESTRAEQVE IMPERIALI DOMINATIONI IN OMNIBVS DEVOTISSIMVS,²⁶ PRAESENTEM IN CHRISTO PROSPERITATEM ATQVE AETERNAE FELICITATIS BENEDICTIONEM OPTAT ET GLORIAM.

1. 'Exultauit cor meum in Domino, et exaltatum est cornu meum in Deo meo. Dilatum est os meum,'²⁷ et gaudebunt labia mea, ut adnuntiem praeconia domini mei gloriosissimi martyris Dionysii, ab eximio imperatore domino meo
10 iussus: quae reticere non poteram etiamsi a quoquam fuissem forte prohibitus, et reuera magna mihi est ratio gratulandi, quoniam cumulatius mihi effectum desiderii mei praestare uoluit diuina dignatio, ut mentis meae conceptum ei placere cognoscerem, cum quod agere spontanee disponebat mea humilitas, in agendo data manu auctoritatis, cooperaretur uestra Deo placens sublimitas.
15 Qua de re bonorum operum et spiritalium omnium studiorum illum auctorem esse non dubium est, qui quorum incitat mentes quo sibi placet ingenio, adiuuat actiones. Sed et in hoc ualde exultat spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo,²⁸ quoniam Christianus animus uester sic euidentissime erga se diuinae bonitatis beneficia et sanctorum cognoscit solacia, et tam promptissime se accensum
20 ostendit circa auctoris et reparatoris sui, seu specialium suffragatorum suorum, uenerationem atque obsequium. Non enim sic ab intimis pia anima uestra diuina confiteretur uera et iusta iudicia, nisi se ipsam sancto inluminatam cognosceret spiritu: nec ita deuotissime amici Dei bene gesta et dicta, maximae sagacitatis uestrae prudentia perquireret, nisi summum bonum, a quo et per
25 quem omnia sunt bona, diligeret. Cuius amore religiosa deuotio uestra accensa esse dinoscitur, ut Christi militum gloriosos triumphos inquireret. Quos cum nouerit, per eorum adiutorium robustius contra uitia uitiorumque auctores pugnabit, quatenus martyrum exempla sectando, qui uiriliter certauerunt et fideliter satis uicerunt, ad palmam, qua illi munerati sunt, et ipsa pertingat.

2 HVMILIS] *om. R* 7 cornu] *cor O* 23 maximae] *maxima R* 29 uicerunt] *fecerunt T* ||
ipsa] *ipse EORT*

To my lord Louis, the perpetually devout emperor, lovable through his kindness and distinguished by the esteem of his authority, I, Hilduin, the humble servant of Christ and the custodian of my precious master Dionysius and his companions, who am most faithful in every respect to your imperial authority, send wishes for your present well-being in Christ and the blessing and glory of eternal bliss.

1. 'My heart hath rejoiced in the Lord, and my horn is exalted in my God. My mouth is enlarged', and my lips shall rejoice, that, commanded by my lord, the excellent emperor, I may announce the praises of my (other) lord, the glorious martyr Dionysius: I could not be silent about them, even if I had perchance been forbidden by someone, and in truth I have a good reason to rejoice, because divine condescension wished abundantly to advance the implementation of my desire, so I should realize that my mental undertaking is pleasing to it, since what my humble self was deciding to achieve spontaneously your Highness, pleasing to God, was co-operating in achieving by lending the hand of your authority. Therefore there is no doubt that someone who inspires the minds of others to please him with their genius, so aiding their enterprise, is the author of their good works and all spiritual exercises. But in this respect also 'my soul rejoices greatly in God my salvation', that *your* Christian soul so evidently recognizes both the benefits of divine goodness and the comforts bestowed by the saints towards itself, and reveals itself readily inflamed with regard to veneration and fidelity to its author and restorer as also to its especial supporters. For your devout soul would not from its inner being thus confess the true divine and just judgements of God unless it recognized that it was itself illumined by the Holy Spirit: the wisdom of your great acuity would not devoutly seek out the accomplishments and sayings of a friend of God unless it loved the Highest Good, from which and through whom all things are good. Your religious devotion is known to be kindled by love of it [the Good], to the point that it searches for the glorious triumphs of the soldiers of Christ. When it knows them, it will fight the more vigorously with their help against the vices and the authors of the vices so that, by following the examples of the martyrs, who struggled manfully and conquered faithfully, it may itself attain the palm by which they were

Huc accedit ad uoti et sollicitudinis uestrae incitamentum, quia Ezras, sanctae scripturae reparator,²⁹ magnum remunerationis donum exinde apud Deum promeruit, et laudabile sibi nomen apud homines adquisiuit.

2. Quocirca, et uestrae sedulitatis instantia, cum pro magna antiquitate huius
 5 sanctissimi patris nostri, quantum ad generationem terrenam et conuersio-
 nem seu obitum attinet, mira sanctitate et miraculorum prodigiis orbi paene
 cuncto innotuit, notitia ipsius paucis nostrorum cognita, plurimis adhuc manet
 incognita: cum per uestrum studium patuerit, et meritum, ut melius ipsi scitis,
 grande uobis conciliabitis, et memoriale perpetuum adquiretis. Faciat autem
 10 Dominus, ut et nos idonei inueniamur cooperatores ad bonae uoluntatis uest-
 trae perfectionem, qui tanto sine aliqua haesitatione uestris iussionibus oboe-
 dimus, quanto illa rogatis seduli exactores, quae exhibemus uoluntarii execu-
 tores.

Idcirco, quia reperta tam in Graecis quam in Latinis codicibus ex domno
 15 et patrono nostro Dionysio, quae hactenus minus cognouimus, uobis ocius in
 unum collecta mittere poscitis, et incongruum ducimus auctoritatis uestrae pio
 desiderio differre, quod ex debito seruitutem nostram constat debere largiri,
 quantum coniuet breuitas temporis, quicquid ori suggererit memoria citae
 recordationis, fauente Domino, uelociter scribentium commitemus notario-
 20 rum articulis: deprecantes uestram humiliter sapientiam, ne in his, quae reue-
 rentia et amore sanctissimi martyris et propter iussionis uestrae oboedientiam
 scribenda aggredimur, uerborum pompositatem aut dictationis leporem, sed
 purissimae ueritatis, sicut ab antiquorum dictis sumpsimus, quaerere studea-
 tis sinceritatem; nosque reprehendere de casuum et praepositionum atque
 25 coniunctionum uirtute, seu litterarum in subsequentes inmutatione uel punc-
 torum secundum artem grammaticam positione, nolite, quia non id studen-
 dum, sed nostrae deseruitionis obsequium ac commendationis uestrae offi-
 cium accelerandum suscepimus – maxime cum haec, quae ab aliena lingua
 expressimus, in tenoris serie, sicut de praelo sunt eliquata, texemus. Quae licet
 30 in interpretatione non redoleant supparem sermonis odorem, sapidum tamen
 referunt ueritatis et intellectus sui saporem. Ordinem igitur historiae, sicut

1 Huc] Hoc *T* || Ezras] Esdras *T* 5 generationem] regenerationem *ABT* 5–6
 conuersionem] conuersationem *O* 6 mira] nam *AB*, nostra *T* 7 plurimis] *post* plurimis
add. T autem 8 per] *om. O* || ipsi] ipse *T* 14 reperta] *post* reperta *add. EORT* quaeque ||
 Graecis ... Latinis] Latinis quam in Graecis *R* 15 patrono] patre *B* 16 mittere poscitis]
 mitti repositis *B* 17 differre] differri *T* 18 suggererit] suggerit *B* || citae] citatae *T*
 19–20 notariorum] notarum *B* 20 humiliter] humilitatem *O* 24 reprehendere] *om. B* ||
 praepositionum] propositionum *A* 25 subsequentes] subsequentium *O*, subsequentis *T*, *om.*
R 27 uestrae] nostrae *O* 30 supparem] subpare *E*, sui parem *O*

rewarded. To this is added, by way of an incentive to your devotion and concern, that Ezra, the restorer of holy scripture, earned a great gift of recompense in God's eyes from this, and acquired a praiseworthy reputation among men.

2. Therefore, and at the insistence of your concern, although, because of the remoteness in time of our holy father [Dionysius], so far as concerns his earthly parentage and his conversion and death was once known to nearly the entire world as a result of his wondrous sanctity and the portents of his miracles, knowledge of him is familiar to very few of us and remains unknown thus far to many: when through your efforts it shall have been revealed, you will both obtain great reward for yourself – as you yourself know better than I – and acquire an enduring memorial. May the Lord bring it about that I too may be found to be a suitable co-worker towards the fulfilment of your good intention – I who obey your commands without any hesitation to the extent that, however much you require as an attentive overseer, I shall supply as a willing accomplice.

Therefore, because you request me quickly to collect together and to send what is transmitted in both Greek and Latin manuscripts about our patron Dionysius – things which were hitherto unknown – and because I consider it inappropriate to the pious desire of your authority to postpone what my loyal service clearly ought to provide out of obligation, as much as the shortage of time turns a blind eye, I shall, with God's favour, quickly entrust to the fingers of scribes whatever the memory of swift recollection should bring to my lips: while humbly beseeching your learned self not to try to seek in these writings – which I undertake to write down out of reverence and love of the holy martyr, and through obedience to your command – high-flown verbiage or the grace of expression but rather the honesty of purest truth, as I have taken it from the writings of the ancients; and do not tell me off concerning the aptness of case-endings and prepositions and conjunctions, or about the interchange of letters in what follows them [i.e. assimilation of prepositions], or the placement of punctuation according to the rules of grammar, because I have undertaken this not to be concerned with all that but to expedite the obedience of my loyal service and the obligation of your commendation – particularly since I shall weave together in a narrative sequence writings which I extracted from a foreign language [Greek], as if they were extruded from a wine-press. Although in their (Latin) version they may not give off an odour nearly equivalent to correct speech, nevertheless they reproduce the tasty savour of their truth and meaning. I shall provide for all readers and listeners the sequence of the

uestra iussit dominatio, in unum congestum et singillatim postea plenitudinem eius discretam, cunctis legentibus atque audientibus pandemus. Nam diuina erit inspirationis et exsecutionis id quod desideramus fideli animo propalare, uerum atque probabile demonstrare. Ex quo nos laborandum non magnopere
 5 aestimamus, quia quid tenendum de hoc sanctissimo martyre Christi sit, quid credendum, notae et probatissimae personae ueracibus dictis declarant.

3. Genere siquidem eum nobilissimum et philosophiae magisterio insignem apud Athenas claruisse et aliarum historiarum et apostolorum Actuum testimonio saecula prisca seu instantia cognouerunt: maxime autem ex historia
 10 Aristarchi Graecorum chronographi, qui in epistola ad Onesiphorum primicerium de situ Athenae ciuitatis et gestis ibidem apostolorum temporibus scribens,³⁰ ortum prosapiae et doctrinam eius atque conuersionis ordinem siue aetatis tempus, necnon et ordinationem ipsius ac praedicationem, subrogationem etiam episcopi in loco suo, et aduentum illius Romam ordinabiliter
 15 narrat.³¹ Quam epistolam uestrae dominationi dirigimus, et quisque studiosus apud nos praeualet inuenire. Curiosus autem ex Graecorum fontibus, unde et nos illam sumpsimus,³² poterit mutuare. Quod enim ante conuersionem suam Heliopolim astrologiae gratia migrauerit, ubi et tenebras in crucifixione saluatoris nostri una cum Apollophanio sodali suo uidit, et quia tunc uiginti et
 20 quinque erat annorum, ipse in epistolis ad Polycarpum Smyrnaeorum episcopum,³³ et ad eundem Apollophanium missis ostendit.³⁴ Quia uero cum omni domo et Damari³⁵ uxore sua crediderit, lectio Actuum apostolorum docet, et euidentius *Dialogus Basilii et Iohannis* capitulo quinto libri quarti demonstrat.³⁶ Sed et beatus Ambrosius in epistola ad Vercellenses, eandem uxorem eius ex nomine designans, perspicue manifestat.³⁷ Beatus denique pater
 25 Augustinus in sermone pulcherrimo, quem de seminatore uerbi scripsit: 'Apostoli sermone finito, audita illic resurrectione mortuorum, quae praecipua est fides Christianorum refert dixisse Athenienses: "Audiemus te de hoc iterum".³⁸ Erant enim quidam inter eos irridentes, quidam dubitantes, quidam credentes, atque in eis nominatur quidam Dionysius Areopagita, id est Atheniensium principalis, et mulier quaedam nobilis, nomine Damaris, et alii plures.³⁹ Et in eodem sermone, ubi de scandalo Iudaeorum et stultitia gentium scribit dicens:⁴⁰ 'Iudaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam, sed ipsis

1 uestra] uestrae B 3 quod] om. B 5 quid] quidue R 9 ex] om. O 12 doctrinam] doctrinae T || conuersionis] conuersationis T 14 Romam] om. R 15 studiosus] studiosus B 16 Curiosus] curiosus B 17 poterit] poterat O 18 ubi] uti AB 21 et] om. E 22 Damari] Thamari T 25–206.2 Beatus ... sapientiam] om. EORT

narrative, as your lordship has commanded, brought together in one, but with its totality thereafter subdivided into individual parts. For it will be an act of divine inspiration and execution to show that what I desire to make public is true and credible. Accordingly I do not reckon that a great deal of effort needs to be expended, since that which is to be maintained concerning this holy martyr of Christ, that which is to be believed, notable and highly reliable persons declare in truthful words.

3. The fact is that previous and present ages recognized, from the witness of the Acts of the Apostles and other historical sources, that he [Dionysius] was of noble kin and that he was famous at Athens for his teaching of philosophy: but most of all from the history of Aristarchus, the Greek chronographer, who, writing in his letter to Onesiphorus the *primicerius* concerning the site of the city of Athens and the things that happened there in apostolic times, recounts sequentially the origin of his kin and his teaching and the sequence of his conversion and his maturity, as well as his ordination and teaching, his succeeding the bishop in his see, and his arrival in Rome. I send this letter to your lordship, and anyone interested can find it here with us [at Saint-Denis]. A curious person could obtain it from Greek sources, whence I myself took it. That he had journeyed before his conversion to Heliopolis in pursuit of astrology, where in the company of Apollophanes he observed the darkness which accompanied the crucifixion of Our Saviour, and that he was then twenty-five years old, he himself makes clear in his letters sent to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and to this same Apollophanes. A reading of the Acts of the Apostles teaches us that he converted to Christianity with his entire household and with his wife Damaris, and the 'Dialogue of Basil and John' in the fifth chapter of book IV show this more clearly. And St Ambrose, in his letter to the people of Vercelli, plainly describes her as his wife. And then St Augustine, in an elegant sermon concerning the 'sower of the word' [St Paul], writes as follows: 'At the end of the apostle's sermon, when they had heard there about the resurrection of the dead, which is the principal tenet of the Christian faith, he reports that the Athenians say, "We shall hear you again on this subject". For there were among them some detractors, some doubters, some believers, and among these last is named a certain Dionysius the Areopagite, that is to say, a leading man of the Athenians, and a certain noble lady named Damaris, and several others.' And in the same sermon, where he writes about the stumbling-block of the Jews and the foolishness of the gentiles, he says: 'he indeed assigns the stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the gentiles, but to those

uocatis Iudaeis et Graecis, hoc est ipsi Paulo ex Saulo, et Dionysio Areopagitae, his talibus et illis, Christum Dei uirtutem et Dei sapientiam.⁴¹

4. Ceterum de notitia librorum eius, quos patrio sermone conscripsit, et quibus petentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et uestram ordinationem, cuius dispositione interpretatos scrinia nostra eos petentibus reserant, satisfacit. Autenticos namque eosdem libros, Graeca lingua conscriptos, quando echonomus⁴² ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae et ceteri missi Michaelis⁴³ legatione publica ad uestram gloriam Compendio functi sunt,⁴⁴ in ipsa uigilia sollemnitatis sancti Dionysii pro munere magno suscepimus,⁴⁵ quod
 10 donum deuotioni nostrae ac si caelitus allatum, adeo diuina est gratia prosecuta, ut in eadem nocte decem et nouem nominatissimas uirtutes in aegrotorum sanatione uariarum infirmitatum ex notissimis uicinitati nostrae personis contiguis ad laudem et nominis sui gloriam orationibus et meritis excellentissimi sui martyris Christus Dominus sit operari dignatus.

15 5. Quoniam autem beatus Clemens huc eum, uidelicet in Gallorum gentem, direxerit, et qualiter per martyrii palmam, diuersissimis et crudelissimis afflictus suppliciis, ad Christum peruenerit; et quomodo caput proprium, angelico ductu caelestis militiae in celebratione exequiarum honoratus obsequio, ad locum, ubi nunc requiescit, detulerit; et quo ordine a Catulla quadam matrefamilias sit sepultus: libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem explanat.⁴⁶ Praecipue tamen *Conscriptio Visbii*,⁴⁷ quae in tomo satis superque abdito Parisius diuino est nutu inuenta, inter alia memoranda, sicut in ea legitis, uerba Domini nostri Iesu Christi ad eum prolata, quando sacra mysteria perageret illi cunctis uidentibus apparentis, continere dinoscitur. Cui adstipulari uidentur antiquissimi, et nimia paene uetustate consumpti, missales libri continentes missae
 25 ordinem more Gallico, qui ab initio receptae fidei usu in hac occidentali plaga est habitus, usque quo tenorem, quo nunc utitur, Romanum suscepit.⁴⁸ In quibus uoluminibus habentur duae missae, quae sic inter celebrandum ad prouocandam diuinae miserationis clementiam et corda populi ad deuotionis studium excitanda, tormenta martyris sociorumque eius succincte commemorant, sicut et reliquae missae ibidem scriptae aliorum apostolorum uel
 30

4 petentibus] patentibus *E* 11 nominatissimas] nominatissimae *ERT* 12 uariarum] uariam *ABO* || notissimis] *post* notissimis *add. AEORT* et 14 sui] *om. R* 15 gentem] gente *O* 16 diuersissimis] diuersis *R* || et crudelissimis] *om. B* 19–20 matrefamilias] matrefilias *E* 21 *Conscriptio Visbii*] *Visbii Conscriptio R, Conscriptio Visbii T* 22 est] *om. ABER* 23 illi] illic *EORT* 31 missae ibidem] ibidem missae *T* || aliorum] aliorumque *O*

Jews and Greeks who had received the calling, that is Paul converted from Saul, and Dionysius the Areopagite – to such as these [he assigns] Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God.’

4. Moreover, concerning knowledge of the writings which he composed in his native language, and who were the persons at whose request he composed them, a perusal is satisfactory to me, through the grace of God and the dispensation of your good self, through whose dispensation our book-chests reveal them translated to enquirers. For when the steward of the church of Constantinople, and other emissaries of the emperor Michael II, performed – to your great glory – their public visitation at Compiègne, I took delivery of a great treasure, a copy of his genuine writings, written in Greek, on the very vigil of the feast of St Dionysius [i.e. on 8 Oct. 827]; this gift, consigned to my devout personage as if from on high, was accompanied by divine favour to such an extent, that on the very same night Christ deigned to enact, through the prayers and merits of his excellent martyr, nineteen outstanding miracles involving the healing from various illnesses of sick people among well-known persons living near to our monastery – to the greater praise and glory of His name.

5. As to how St Clement sent him here (that is to say, to the people of Gaul); and how, afflicted by various cruel tortures, he journeyed to Christ by gaining the palm of martyrdom; and how, honoured at his funeral by the obeisance of the heavenly militia in the form of angelic guidance, he carried his own head to the place where he now rests in peace; and in what manner he was buried by a certain Catulla, a local noblewoman: the most ancient account of his same suffering makes (this) clear. Most of all, however, the *Conscriptio Visbii*, which lay buried in a volume in Paris and was only discovered by divine intervention, is known to contain, among other memorable details – as you may read in it – the words of our Lord Jesus Christ spoken to him [Dionysius], when He appeared to him in full view of everyone while he was celebrating mass. The most ancient sacramentaries – those nearly worn out with age – seem to agree with this, in that they contain the Gallican order of mass, which was followed in these western regions from the time that Christianity was first practised up until the time the Roman rite, which is now in use, was adopted. In these mass-books, two masses, intended to call forth the mercy of divine clemency during the service and to raise the people’s hearts to the exercise of faith, record briefly the sufferings of the martyr and his companions, in the way that other masses in the sacramentaries sing of other apostles and martyrs, whose

martyrum, quorum passiones habentur notissimae, decantant. Quarum missarum cantus, sensus et uerba, adeo passionis eorundem, quam uobis misimus, seriei concordari⁴⁹ uidentur, ut nulli sit dubium, a teste illorum martyrii agones eorum fuisse descriptos, et ex ipsa ueraci historia memoriam tormentorum suorum in praefatis precibus fuisse mandatam.

6. Videtur porro in his missarum obsecrationibus non contemnenda auctoritas de memorata passione sanctorum, cum exstent apud nos epistolae Innocentii,⁵⁰ et post eum Gelasii,⁵¹ necnon et modernius beati papae Gregorii,⁵² aliorumque pontificum ad episcopos urbium Galliarum, et antistitum nostrorum ad ipsos, de more Romano in cunctis ecclesiasticae auctoritatis muniis imitando; quibus datur intellegi ab annis pluribus hunc missae tenorem de Gallica consuetudine recessisse, et hanc passionis martyrum istorum memoriam longe superiori tempore his occidentalibus partibus per supplicationum postulationes inoleuisse. Quibus tanto certius fidem accommodamus, quanto in tempore uicino post consummationem eorum, easdem fuisse compositas sine dubitatione concredimus.⁵³

7. Nec tamen quisquam putabit beatum Dionysium eiusque successores ab institutione apostolica propter huiusmodi missae ordinem, Gallicis consuetudinibus in primordio traditum, discrepasse, si ei constiterit, ipsorum apostolorum et apostolicorum uirorum ipsiusque etiam urbis Romae sensus proprii abundantiam notam esse. Nec mirari quis poterit, cur ymnum sancti Eugeni Toletani⁵⁴ de beato Dionysio habeamus, et uicinorum sapientium scriptis, exceptis paucis, uideamur carere: cum et haec quae habemus, ut exorata priorum nostrorum uenia dicamus, abdita et neglegenter relicta repererimus, et alia necdum propalata, quia non adhuc sunt ad liquidum enucleata, nos possidere laetemur.

8. Ceterum super garrulitate leuitatis eorum mirando deficimus, qui contententes hunc Dionysium Ariopagiten esse non posse, ad munimen sui haec quae sequuntur inaniter contrahunt, uenerabilem uidelicet et sanctum Bedam presbiterum dixisse in tractatu apostolorum Actuum Ariopagiten Dionysium non

2 cantus] *om. BEORT* 3 martyrii] martyrum *EO* 5 mandatam] mandatum *E* 12 hanc passionis] passionis hanc *T* 16 concredimus] credimus *R*, non (?) credimus *T* 17 quisquam] quisque *ABER* 19 constiterit] constituerit *B* 20 et apostolicorum ...] *hic incipit D* 22 habeamus] habemus *O* 23 exceptis] *om. EO* 24 repererimus] repperimus *D*, reppereremus *EO* 25 propalata] prolata *DE* 27 Ceterum] ceterorum *D* || super] sub *T*

martyrdoms are widely known. The chant, meaning and text of these masses seem to correspond with the narrative of their passion which I have sent you, to such an extent that no one should doubt that their torments were recorded by a witness of their martyrdom, and that the memory of their torments, drawn from true history itself, was transmitted in the aforementioned mass-prayers.

6. It would seem, therefore, that the authority (revealed) in these mass-prayers concerning the aforementioned suffering of the saints is not to be spurned, since we have the letters of Pope Innocent, and after him of Gelasius, and more recently of the blessed Pope Gregory and other popes to the bishops of cities in Gaul, and of our bishops to them, concerning the Roman rite as it is to be imitated in all functions of ecclesiastical celebration; these let us understand that for many years this aspect of the mass has fallen out of Gallican custom, and that, from a much earlier time, this memory of the suffering of these martyrs had long been implanted in the petitions of mass-prayers in these western parts. We trust them all the more in that we believe them to have been beyond doubt composed in the period immediately following their deaths.

7. Nor will anyone think that St Dionysius and his successors differed from apostolic principles as a result of the nature of this kind of mass, handed down in Gallican services from the beginning, if it is clear to him that the wealth of the authentic meaning of the apostles themselves and their apostolic successors and even of the city of Rome, is well known. Nor could anyone wonder why we have a hymn concerning St Dionysius by Eugenius of Toledo, and yet we seem to lack writings of contemporary scholars, with few exceptions; since we found the ones we do have – if I may say this with the express permission of our predecessors – lying hidden and negligently abandoned, and rejoice in possessing others not yet published, since they have not yet been interpreted with certainty.

8. In other respects I am lost in wonder at the babbling silliness of those who argue that he [our St Dionysius] cannot be Dionysius the Areopagite: they vainly produce in their support the arguments which follow, namely that the Venerable Bede, in his treatise on the Acts of the Apostles, said that Dionysius the Areopagite was not bishop of Athens, but of Corinth, adding

Athenarum, sed Corinthiorum fuisse episcopum, addentes eundem inibi diem obisse.⁵⁵ Et quoniam libellus passionis istius testetur hunc a Clemente pontifice Romano episcopum ordinatum et in has Galliarum partes fuisse transmissum,⁵⁶ quia etiam passiones diuersorum sanctorum martyrum, sub uariis imperatoribus interfectorum, contineant eosdem cum hoc sanctissimo uiro has partes adisse, quod ipse sensorum manifeste refellit auditus, et quod Gregorius Turonensis, sicut in passione sancti Saturnini legisse se dixerat,⁵⁷ sub autumatione memoret, istum ipsum tempore persecutionis Decii⁵⁸ sub beato Sixto⁵⁹ cum aliis sex episcopis, quorum uitae uel passiones nequaquam eius dictis in ratione temporum consonant, in has regiones fuisse directum.

9. Ecce omnis minus scientium sibi ipsi discordans auctoritas. Cui uelut ex superfluo propter satisfactionem insipientium respondemus, cum ueram ex hoc sancto pontifice et martyre narrationem ueracium historiarum prae manibus habeamus: primo quidem petentes, ut in hoc iure contentiosi, ab albugine contracta arrogantiae, ex usurpata sapientia, quia uideri se scioli uolunt, oculos tergant, quo perspicacia perspicaciter et uera fideliter relegant. Et si nonnisi unum oculum aperuerunt, quando legerent, quod per subreptionem uenerabilis Beda presbiter in praefato opere, secus quam debuit, dixerat, ubi idem se reprehendit, et reprehensorum suorum uocem praeueniens retractationem scripsit:⁶⁰ scrobem, in qua alter oculus esse debuerat,⁶¹ aperiant et in ecclesiastica historia discant, quia Dionysius Corinthiorum episcopus de Dionysio Athenarum episcopo in epistola sua ad eosdem Athenienses directa commemorat, ita enim ibi libro quarto capitulo .xxiii. scriptum est: 'Exstat quoque et alia eius, quin Dionysii Corinthiorum episcopi, ad Athenienses epistola, in qua ad euangelii credulitatem eos inuitat et concitat segniores, simul et arguit quosdam, uelut paene prolapsos a fide, cum episcopus eorum Publius fuisset martyrio consummatus. Sed et Quadrati, qui Publio martyri successerat in sacerdotium, meminit, simul et memorat, quod labore eius et industria rediuiuus quidam in eis calor fidei reparatus sit. Et illud in eadem designat epistola, quod Dionysius Ariopagites, qui ab apostolo Paulo instructus, credidit Christo secundum ea quae apostolorum Actibus designantur, primus apud Athenas ab eodem apostolo episcopus fuerit ordinatus.'⁶² Cuius epistolae, sed et alia-

1 addentes] adtendentes *D* (*p.c.*) *EO* || diem] *om. E* 3 partes] parte *O* 9–10 eius dictis] dictis eius *EO* 14 ut] *om. A* 15 usurpata] surpata *E* || quia] qua *ADEOR* || se] *om. ADEOR* 17 aperuerunt] *leg. aperuerint?* 18 Beda presbiter] Bedae presbiteri *T* || debuit] abuit *O* 18–19 idem se] se idem *T* 20 scrobem] *sic MSS* (*pro scobem? uide adn. ad loc.*) 23 libro] libri *O* 24 quin] idem *R, om. T* || ad] *om. B* 27 consummatus] coronatus *R* 28 industria] *post industria add. R ei* 29 calor] color *E* 30 Ariopagites] *om. R* || Christo] Deo *E*

that he died there. And since the booklet of Dionysius' martyrdom testifies that he was ordained a bishop by Pope Clement, and sent to this region of Gaul, because the *passiones* of diverse holy martyrs, executed under various emperors, contain notice that they came to this region with this holy man – which the understanding of intelligent persons plainly rejects – and because Gregory of Tours relates with affirmation what he had claimed to have read in the *passio* of St Saturninus, that this same Dionysius was sent to this region, under [the jurisdiction of Pope] Sixtus, with six other bishops (whose Lives and *passiones* in no way square with Gregory's words in matters of chronology), in the time of the persecution of Decius.

9. Here you have the entire authority of ignoramuses, disagreeing one with the other. To which I reply, for the satisfaction of these fools – though it is superfluous to do so – that I have in my hands the true account of reliable histories of this holy bishop and martyr: I ask first of all of those who remain obstinate on this issue, that they wipe their eyes clear of the albugo of arrogance acquired from their borrowed learning – since they wish to seem learned – in order that they may read again clear things with clear sight and true things with truth. And if previously they opened just one eye while they were reading what the Venerable Bede had said – deceptively, other than he ought to have – in the aforementioned work, where he reproved himself and wrote a *Retraction*, anticipating the voice of his critics, let them open up the channel in which the other eye ought to have been, and let them learn from the *Historia ecclesiastica* that Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, mentions Dionysius bishop of Athens in his letter addressed to the same Athenians, as is written in book IV, ch. 23: 'There is also another letter' – that is, by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth – 'to the Athenians, in which he invites the faithful, and arouses the slothful, to believe in the Gospel, and at the same time rebukes certain persons who have almost wholly fallen away from the faith, because their bishop Publius had been executed as a martyr. But he also recalled Quadratus, who had succeeded to the bishopric on the martyrdom of Publius, and mentions at the same time that, awakened by his effort and industry, a certain zeal for the faith is rekindled in them. And in the same letter he points out that Dionysius the Areopagite, who had been taught by St Paul and believed in Christ according to those things which are described in the Acts of the Apostles, had been ordained by the same apostle as first bishop of Athens.' St Jerome, in his book *De uiris inlustribus*, clearly makes

rum epistolarum ipsius Dionysii Corinthiorum episcopi et eius utique, quam ad Soterem Romanum episcopum miserat, beatus Hieronimus in libro de uiris inlustribus facit apertissime mentionem.⁶³ Vnde quisque, uidens sub quibus imperatoribus quique eorum fuerint, liquido potest colligere, quantae absurditati ratio sit ista obnoxia, cum inter hos duos Dionysios tam plura discreta sint tempora.

10. Legitur item sic in eadem ecclesiastica historia capitulo quarto libri tertii: 'Memorantur autem ex comitibus Pauli Crescens quidam ad Galatias esse profectus, Linus uero et Clemens in urbe Roma ecclesiae praefuisse, qui comites et adiutores eius fuisse ab ipso Paulo perhibentur; sed et Dionysium Ariopagiten apud Athenas, quem Lucas descripsit primum Paulo praedicante credidisse ac inter socios eius fuisse, et ecclesiae Atheniensium constat sacerdotium suscepisse.'⁶⁴ De cuius, uidelicet Dionysii Ariopagitae, obitu nil Graeci scriptores dixerunt, quia propter longinquitatem terrarum transitus ipsius penitus eis mansit incognitus. Habemus tamen Graecae auctoritatis martyrologium de tomo cartisscriniis Constantinopolitanis adeptum, qui tanta uetustate dissoluitur, ut maximam cautelam a se contingentibus exigit. In quo diem natalicii eius designatum, et quia Atheniensium episcopus fuerit, repperimus adnotatum.⁶⁵ Quod martyrologium, ut antiquitas eius demonstrat, ex eo tempore constare posse non incongrue remur, quo Constantino iubente nota occasione martyria sanctorum Domini de toto orbe collecta et Caesaream sunt conuecta.⁶⁶ Sed et usque hodie Graecorum maiores et Athenae incolae perhibent, historiarum scriptis et successionum traditionibus docti, in eadem ciuitate Dionysium tunc temporis primum fuisse episcopum, quando Timotheus, Pauli aequae discipulus, Ephesiorum rexit ecclesiam,⁶⁷ ipsumque, subrogato sibi episcopo, Romam adisse, et, ut compererunt, apud Gallorum gentem glorioso martyrio consummatum fuisse. Quod et Tarasius, patriarcha Constantinopolitanus,⁶⁸ per legatos suos sollicitate inquisiuit, et ita se causam habere certus, eandem Atheniensium ciuitatem pallio archiepiscopali, quod iam ex ea diuturno tempore, orta quadam contentione, subtractum fuerat, redonauit, et synodali consensu metropolis auctoritate, qua ante functa fuerat, honorauit.⁶⁹ Nam a praecedentibus annis usque ad illud tempus eiusdem ciuitatis episcopus nec suberat alteri, nisi patriarchae, nec iuri eius debitarum sibi episcopi ciuitatum subdebantur.

2 Romanum] *om. D* 5 discreta] *om. R* 7 historia] *post historia add. R* in 8 quidam] quidem *DEORT* 13 obitu] *om. T* 16 adeptum] *post adeptum add. T* uel quod 17 contingentibus] contigentibus *A* 19 eius demonstrat] eiusdem monstrat *RT* 32 suberat] superat *O* 33 ciuitatum] ciuitatum *O*

mention of this letter, as well as other letters of this same Dionysius bishop of Corinth, including one which he had sent to Soter, bishop in Rome. Whence anyone, seeing under which emperors each of them lived, can clearly realize to what absurdity their argument is subject, since there is such a great time-gap between these two persons named Dionysius.

10. Likewise one reads in the same *Historia ecclesiastica*, in ch. 4 of book III: 'Among the companions of St Paul are mentioned that a certain Crescens set out for the Galatians, and that Linus and Clemens were in charge of the church in Rome – they are mentioned by Paul himself as his companions and helpers; but there is also Dionysius the Areopagite at Athens, whom Luke described as having first become a believer through Paul's preaching, and having been among his companions; it is known that he took on the bishopric of the church of the Athenians'. Concerning his death – that is, the death of Dionysius the Areopagite – Greek authors said nothing, because his passing away remained wholly unknown to them as a result of his remoteness in distance. We have, however, a martyrology of Greek origin, taken from a volume from the archives in Constantinople, which is so decrepit with age that it requires great care by those who touch it. I find in it that his *dies natalicius* is marked and it is noted that he was bishop of Athens. I think it is not improbable that this martyrology could date, as its antiquity reveals, from the time when at the bidding of Constantine, notices of the martyrdoms of the Lord's saints, with the occasion specified, were collected from all over the world and conveyed to Caesarea. But even up to the present day, the Greek elders and citizens of Athens, learned in historical sources and the traditions of episcopal succession, say that Dionysius was the first bishop in that city, at the time when Timotheus, likewise a student of Paul, ruled the church of the Ephesians, and that he [Dionysius], having appointed a substitute as bishop, went to Rome and, as they discovered, ended his career with a glorious martyrdom among the people of Gaul. Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, enquired carefully about this through his legates, and, gaining certainty in the matter, granted to Athens the archiepiscopal *pallium* which for a long time had been withdrawn from it as a result of a dispute which had arisen, and, with the authority of a synod, he honoured the city by restoring to it the metropolitan authority which it had previously enjoyed. For many preceding years up to that time, the bishop of that city was subject to no other bishop, but only to the patriarch [of Constantinople], nor were bishops of the cities subject to its jurisdiction.

11. Quod autem dicunt in passione istius beati Dionysii scriptum haberi, quia eum sanctus Clemens episcopum ordinauerit et Gallias miserit, procul dubio sciant, quia aut praedictam passionem ex ueris et emendatioribus exemplaribus non susceperunt aut scriptorum uitio deprauatam legerunt, quoniam non
 5 ibi scribitur eum episcopum a beato Clemente consecratum, sed apostolum totius Galliae fuisse ordinatum.⁷⁰ De qua ordinatione apostolatus, nisi ad alia se intentio nostra dirigeret, et ex apostolorum Actibus et ex ipsius Domini actione auctoritatis exemplum sufficienter his scriptis possemus inserere. Fieri enim potest, ut diximus, quod textum passionis istius sancti Dei ex autenticis scrip-
 10 tum non habeant, et ideo in hoc errent, quia et nos plures codicellos exinde uidimus, qui in quibusdam sensu uidebantur concordari,⁷¹ sed littera admodum dissonare, in quibusdam autem nec sensu nec orationis tenore poterant sociari. Quod manifestum est huius uenerabilis et antiquissimi patris uetusta longinquitate et ignotae atque peregrinae linguae, ubi de eius notitia maxime
 15 scriptum erat, inscitia seu deuotione fidelium accidisse. Qui non studuerunt ad priscas historias pro cognitione eius recurrere, sed ea quae auditu collegerant, ut Gregorius Turonensis, non uotiuo errore fallentes, uidentes insignia magna atque innumerabilia per eum fieri, prout unicuique sensus abundauit, curauerunt scriptis committere. Sic et de sanctorum apostolorum gestis ac
 20 passionibus factum legimus, et de aliis quibusque historiis ecclesiae necessariis manifeste comperimus. Fuerunt siquidem qui de beatorum apostolorum uirtutibus uera dixerunt, sed de eorum doctrina falsa sunt commentati. De ecclesiasticis itidem historiis atque ortu et actu uel obitu patrum quidam, quantum ad rerum gestarum spectat fidem, ueracia conscripserunt, quantum uero ad tem-
 25 porum uel locorum attinet ueritatem, minus caute confinxerunt. Sic profecto, ut notum est, in scripturis canonicis diuersorum interpretum uarietas extitit, in quibus quique minus dixerunt, alii quaedam addiderunt, quousque earum per beatum Hieronimum lingua nostra meracam ueritatem ab ipso fonte suscepit.

12. Quocirca nulla historia sic probabilis poterit uel debet haberi, quam ea
 30 quae de ueridicorum praecipue orthodoxorum conlatione poterit colligi. Et ideo certius tenenda sunt, quae modo de hoc eximio martyre collecta conscribimus,

2 episcopum] episcopus *BO* || ordinauerit] *hic incipit L* || et] *post et add. O* in (*supra lineam*)
 3 quia] qui *B* 4 deprauatam] deprauatum *DL* 8 exemplum] exempla *L* || possemus] possimus *T* 10 plures codicellos] codicellos plures *EO* 11 concordari] concordare *LT* (*p.c.*) || littera] litteratura *ADEOT* 12 dissonare] dissonari *O* || orationis] rationis *L* 15 inscitia] inscientia *D* (*a.c.*), inscia *E* 16 sed] *post sed add. O* ad 17 fallentes] fallens *DRT* 23 et] uel *O* 25 confinxerunt] confixerunt *EO* || Sic] si *B*

11. And what they say is written in the *passio* of this blessed Dionysius – that the holy Clement ordained him a bishop and sent him to Gaul – they undoubtedly know this either because they did not get the said *passio* in accurate and corrected exemplars, or else they read it in a form corrupted by the carelessness of scribes, because it is not stated there that he was consecrated a bishop by the blessed Clement, but was ordained as apostle of all Gaul. Concerning this ordination to the apostolate, if I were not intent on other matters, I could insert into this letter a sufficiently authoritative example both from the Acts of the Apostles and from the behaviour of the Lord Himself. It could well be, as I said, that they do not have a text of the *passio* of this saint copied from authoritative exemplars, and that therefore they are mistaken in this matter, because I too have seen a number of manuscripts of it which in certain details seemed to agree with the meaning of the original but disagree greatly in wording, but in other cases could not be associated with it either in meaning or in particulars of wording. It is obvious that this happened, because of the remoteness in time of this venerable and ancient father and of the unknown foreign language [viz. Latin], whenever anything was written involving knowledge of him [Dionysius], either through the ignorance or the (blind) devotion of the faithful. They took no trouble to get back to the ancient sources to learn about him, but, according as each person had the wit, concerned themselves to commit to writing what they had collected from hearsay, like Gregory of Tours, not trying intentionally to deceive, but because they saw splendid and countless miracles taking place through him [Dionysius]. We read that it happened thus with the deeds and *passiones* of the holy apostles, and we find it clearly in all the other various histories that are vital to the Church. There were of course those who spoke the truth about the miracles of the blessed apostles, but who made up falsehood concerning their teaching. Likewise certain authors wrote reliable things – insofar as the truth of what happened is concerned – concerning ecclesiastical history and the origin and accomplishments and death of the Church Fathers, but as to what concerns the veracity of times and places, they incautiously created fictions. And indeed, as is well known, there is such a variety of individual translators among the canonical scriptures [of the Bible], in which some translators said less, others added things, until thanks to St Jerome our language received the pure truth as to them [the Scriptures] from the very fount [i.e. from the original languages].

12. Accordingly, no history can or ought to be regarded as acceptable other than one which can be assembled from the comparison of reliable, above all orthodox, writings. And therefore those things which I now assemble and record concerning this excellent martyr are to be treated as more reliable

quam illa, quae de quolibet alio sancto sine auctoris nomine passim scripta relegimus, praesertim cum haec quae scribimus de antiquariorum antiqua scriptura sint, uelut ex prato non Parisiaco sed paradisiaco uerissime cum auctorum nominibus defloramus. Ceterum parcendum est simplicitati uiri religiosi Gregorii Turonensis episcopi, qui multa aliter quam se ueritas habeat
 5 aestimans, non calliditatis astu sed benignitatis ac simplicitatis uoto, litteris commendauit. Patenter et quidem noscere possumus, non adeo quaedam sol-
 lenter eum inuestigasse, cum ei contemporalis existens uir prudens et scolasti-
 cissimus Fortunatus, qui plura et frequenter ad eundem scripserat,⁷² ymnum
 10 rithmicae compositionis pulcherrimum de isto gloriosissimo martyre compo-
 suerit,⁷³ in quo commemorat eum a beato Clemente huc destinatum, sicut in
 Latinorum paginis didicit: de natione autem eius et ordinatione episcopatus
 mentionem non facit, quia linguae Graecae penitus expers fuit.

13. Tantis igitur et tam manifestis testimoniorum assertionibus de hoc sanc-
 15 tissimo et antiquissimo patre ad liquidum elucubratam et propalatam omni-
 bus scire uolentibus ueritatem, et ita nescire uolentibus ingestam certissimam
 rationem, ut etiam si uelint quod ex illo uerum est, ignorare non possint: cesset,
 quod isdem Ariopagites non sit Dionysius, exitiabilis et profana nimis conten-
 20 tio,⁷⁴ quia qui famam martyris derogare aliquo modo gestit, ueritati sine
 dubio, cui testimonium perhibens tanta transfretando maria, in tam longin-
 quam regionem exulari et pro ea pati sic acerbissime sustulit, detrahere caeca
 fronte et inbecilli uirtute contendit. Nam uere impius et perucax iudicandus
 erit, qui post tot ratas sententias, opinioni suae hinc aliquid animo peruerso
 tractandum reliquerit. Et sicut extremae dementiae est, qui in medio et perspi-
 25 cuo die commenticium lumen requirit, ita quisquis post ueritatem repertam
 quiddam ex hoc ulterius dubitauerit, quoniam ex studio mendacium quaerit,
 comes et discipulus eius, qui ab initio 'mendax et pater mendacii' extitit,⁷⁵ non
 inmerito rectorum decreto erit.

14. Et quanta sit hebitudo susurronum, pessimi generis hominum, aestimare
 30 non ualeo, qui cum doctorem egregium et eximium martyrem se habere, si
 gloriam patriae suae suamque quaererent, contendere debuissent, potius se,
 cum habeant, non habere innummurent.

3 sint] *om. ADELORT* || paradisiaco] Parisidiaco *O* 5 habeat] habet *T* 7 noscere] nosse
E 8-9 et scolasticissimus] *om. R* 17 ignorare non possint] non possint ignorare *T* 18
 isdem] iste *T* 20 transfretando] fretando *L* 21 caeca] greca *E* 22 Nam] *post nam add.*
ABDOT ut; *litura in L* 25 commenticium] commentatum *T* 30 cum] *om. ADELORT (a.c.)*

than those anonymous writings which we read everywhere concerning some other saint – particularly since the things which I write are drawn from the ancient writings of antiquity, since I am plucking them from the meadow not of Paris [*Parisiaco*] but of Paradise [*Paradisiaco*], with the names of their authors attached. For the rest, one must be lenient to the candour of that devout man, Bishop Gregory of Tours, who entrusted much to writing, judging much of it in the wrong light – not out of clever cunning but in a spirit of kindness and earnestness. And indeed I can clearly recognize that he did not particularly skilfully investigate certain things, since a sensible and very scholarly contemporary of his, Fortunatus – who had often corresponded with him – composed an elegant hymn in rhythmical verse concerning this glorious martyr, in which he records that Dionysius was sent here by St Clement, as he had learned from the pages of Latin books: but he makes no mention of his nationality and ordination to the episcopacy, because he was wholly ignorant of Greek.

13. The truth about this holy and ancient father, clearly manifested by such great and obvious force of evidence, and made known to all who wish to know it – and a most undesirable train of reasoning pressed upon those who wish not to know it in such a way that they could not be unaware of what is true in it, even if they wished to: let the destructive and exceedingly wicked contention – that the Areopagite is not Dionysius – cease, because he who seeks in some way to diminish the reputation of the martyr is without doubt striving, with blind impudence and feeble effort, to detract from the truth – to which he who bears witness [*scil.* Dionysius] suffered being exiled, by crossing such vast seas, in so distant a land and suffering so acutely for it. For he shall be judged to be genuinely wicked and recalcitrant who, after so many cogent arguments, will have retained something of his views to be considered in his perverse mind. And just as it is a mark of extreme insanity for someone to ask for artificial light in broad daylight, so whoever persists in doubting something of this after the truth has been revealed, since he is purposely seeking falsehood – he will rightly on the decision of the right-minded be regarded as the companion and disciple of him who was from the start ‘a liar and the father of lying’.

14. And I am unable to evaluate how great is the dullness of mutterers, men of the worst kind, who when they ought to have asserted that they have an excellent teacher and outstanding martyr – if they were intent on their own glory and that of their homeland – instead, although they have one, they grumble that they haven’t.

15. Quanta quoque sit mentium amentium peruersitas, dolere, ut res postulat, nequeo, quae cum uotis et laudum praeconiis martyrem gloriosum suis iniquitatibus debuissent conciliare propitium, detractone et famae minoratione laborant, quantum ex ipsis est, sibi habere infestum. Sed isdem in caelis talium
 5 nec laude crescit, nec derogatione decrescit: qui saluatori iunctus et concius angelorum effectus, de summa caelorum arce singulorum uoluntates intendit, et sequens agnum quocumque ambulat,⁷⁶ corda etiam omnium, diuino lumine plenus, perscrutatur et penetrat. In hoc quinetiam saeculo non indiget gloriae testimonio huiusmodi hominum, si tamen dicendi sunt homines, qui detra-
 10 hunt eum in caelis iam immortaliter regnantem, quem adhuc in mortali corpore ueneratae sunt bestiae agonizantem.⁷⁷ Sufficiens est enim illi suisque comitibus laus illa in saeculo, quam splendidissima eorum monumenta testantur et celebri adoratione Christianus orbis totus fere proclamat. Nec mirum si martyr Iesu Domini istorum sustineat cauillationes, cum idem Deus maiestatis, qui
 15 resurgens a mortuis iam non moritur⁷⁸ et in caelis ad dexteram patris sedet, subiectis sibi principatibus et omnium angelorum potestatibus,⁷⁹ per tanta annorum uolumina adhuc ab incredulis indebita patiat innoxie praeiudicia.

16. Haec interim, donec plura sumatis de cognitione suffragatoris uestri, auguste serenissime, sumite et ueraciter omnibus innotescite, quia haec quae fideliter uestrae dominationi dirigimus, ueraciter ex ueracibus historiographis et
 20 historiarum paginis colligere procurauimus, quoniam ueritas, pro qua pretiosum sanguinem hic seruus et amicus Domini fuderat, nostro mendatio adstipulari non indiget: quae suo sibi testimonio sufficit, quaeque testes ueracissimos quos repleuerit, testificantes ueracia efficit. Denique quod nos diu multumque
 25 anxiantes quaesiuius, aliquis alius forte mirabitur, uidelicet cur post omnia tormenta nouissime, uelut ab initio, hi sancti uiri nudi publice uirgis caesi et ex studio hebetatis securibus sunt decollati – quod tanto magis potest cogitando mirari, quanto aliis sanctis Dei hoc genus decollationis rarius aut nusquam legitur adhiberi.⁸⁰ Qui nouerit, uti in uerbis passionis illorum conicimus, et multa
 30 ueterum gesta reuoluentes didicimus, antiquitus morem fuisse Romanum, ut quisquis nobilissimorum reus maiestatis a militia et defensione reipublicae alio

3 detractone] detractatione *O* 7 etiam] *om. B* || lumine] uolumine *AB* 8 quinetiam] post quinetiam *add. L* in hoc 9 tamen dicendi] dicendi tamen *T* 11 est enim] enim est *EO* 14 Iesu Domini] Domini Iesu *D*, Iesu Christi Domini *T* || cauillationes] cauillationem *D* 15 caelis] post caelis *add. A* iam 18 uestri] nostri *L* 23 sibi testimonio] testimonio sibi *T* 29 in uerbis passionis] passiones *L* || in] ex *O* 31 reus] reum *T*

15. And as to how great is the perversity of mindless minds I am unable to lament as fully as the situation requires – (minds) which ought to have made the glorious martyr incline favourably to their wickedness with prayers and declarations of praise, yet strive through slander and belittling of his reputation, as much as lies in their power, to make him antagonistic to them. Yet he does not grow in heaven through the praise of such (minds), nor decrease through their depreciation: he who is joined to the Saviour and has been made a fellow-citizen of the angels directs his attention from the highest citadel of heaven to the intentions of individuals, and, following the Lamb of God wherever He walks, investigates and permeates the hearts of everyone, (since he is) filled with divine light. In this eternal world he has no need of the attestation to his glory by men of this sort – if indeed they are to be called men – who disparage him even as he reigns eternally in heaven, him whom even the beasts venerated while he he was suffering in his mortal body. That praise in this present world, praise which their glorious achievements declare and almost the entire Christian world proclaims in repeated adoration, is sufficient for him and his companions. Nor is it any wonder that a martyr of the Lord Jesus should experience the carping of these men, for the God of majesty Himself Who, rising up from the dead even now does not die, and sits at the right hand of the Father in heaven, with all Principalities and Powers of all angels subject to Him, should be still innocently undergoing the undeserved prejudices of unbelievers through so many revolutions of years.

16. In the meantime, Serene Majesty, until you receive greater things concerning knowledge of your supporter [Dionysius], receive these writings and make them reliably known to everyone, because these things which I loyally send to your Lordship, I have taken care to collect reliably from true historians and from the pages of their histories, since the truth, for which this servant and friend of the Lord poured out his precious blood, does not need to be supported by any fiction of mine: it is sufficient on the strength of its own evidence, and it turns into witnesses of the truth the truthful witnesses it embraces. Accordingly, what I have anxiously sought for long and frequently, someone else will perhaps wonder at, that is, why, after all their tortures, these holy men, as though starting afresh, were finally stripped naked and publicly whipped with lashes and then decapitated with intentionally blunt axes – which can be wondered at the more on reflection, since this form of decapitation is seldom or never read to have been used on other saints. Who will have realized, as I conclude from the words of their *passio*, and have learned from poring over many stories of the ancients, that it was an ancient Roman custom, that if any nobleman, found guilty of treason by turning away from service and defence of the republic,

se conferens, contra senatus uotum ageret uel aliter quam se sententia haberet docere quoquo modo praesumpsisset, securi ignominiose flagellis publice caesus cum omni dedecore interiret. Vnde et centesima undecima olimpiade ‘Romanorum consul Manlius Torquatus filium suum, licet uictorem, quod contra imperium hostes pugnauerit, uirgis caesum securi percussit.’⁸¹ Quapropter ex his uos et quique legentes aduertite, quantae nobilitatis hic sanctus Domini Dionysius secundum terrenam generationem fuit in saeculo, quantae sublimitatis secundum spiritali regenerationem in Domino, quanti feruoris et fidei tanta terrarum spatia pio zelo ueritatis perlustrando in Christiana religione, quantae aestimationis etiam apud orbis principem, qui ut trucidaretur, huc Roma suos apparitores direxerit, in nobilitate prosapiae et fanatici cultus euersione, quantae fortitudinis in tormentorum perlatione, quam abiectissimae uilitatis in occisione, quam pretiosissimae sanctitatis coram Deo in morte, quam excellentissimae et incogitabilis gloriae cum Christo in caelo, quam mactae uirtutis sit in adiutorio nostrae fragilitatis, adhuc laborantium in agone, quam felix cum proprio et beato recepto corpore gaudebit perpetuo cum sociis suis, et omnibus angelicis choris, cunctisque sanctis Domini et electis in aeterna felicitate per eundem Dominum et saluatorem nostrum Iesum Christum, uerum Deum, Deique et hominis filium, qui in unius substantiae ac potestatis trinitate perfecta uiuit et regnat Deus, per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

1 ageret] agere *ADEOR* 1–2 sententia haberet] haberet sententia *L* 2 securi] securis *D* || ignominiose] ignobiliose *D* 4 quod] quem *T* 5 hostes] in hostes *ET*, hostem *L* || pugnauerit] pugnauerat *T* 7 generationem] regenerationem *AB* 8 regenerationem] generationem *T* || feruoris] fauoris *B* 11 direxerit] direxit *E* || in nobilitate prosapiae] quantae nobilitatis prosapia *O* 12 quantae] quam *T* 16 proprio et beato] beato et proprio *O* 17 Domini] Dei *T* 18 felicitate] *post felicitate add. O* beatus et felix 18–21 et ... Amen] *om. R; post Amen add. D* Epistola Hiluini abbatis indignis ad cunctos sanctae catholicae matris ecclesiae filios et fideles, pandens quomodo inuenire quisque scire desiderans ualeat in epistola ad Christianissimum imperatorem dominum Chludouicum exinde directa, unde et qualiter supra sunt ea quae in corpus unius textus secundum iussionem ipsius redegeram ex Graecorum et Latinorum historiis de notitia excellentissimi martyris Dionysii

should have acted contrary to the decree of the senate or should have presumed somehow to behave differently from what the senate's decree required, he was to die in total disgrace, beaten and cut down shamefully in public with an axe? Whence in the 111th Olympiad, 'Manlius Torquatus, the Roman consul, struck down his son with an axe after he had been scourged with rods, even though he had been victorious, because he had fought the enemy against [his father's] orders.' Therefore I ask you and whoever else reads this letter: note what great nobility of earthly descent this saint of the Lord, Dionysius, enjoyed in this life; what exaltation in terms of spiritual rebirth in the Lord; what zeal and faith he exhibited in traversing so many lands in the holy pursuit of truth in the Christian religion; what prestige he had in the nobility of his kin and in his overthrow of fanatical superstition, even in the eyes of the ruler of the world who, in order that he be executed, sent here from Rome his agents; what strength in enduring torture – of the most lowly baseness of his killing, of the most precious holiness in death in God's presence, of the most outstanding and unthinkable glory with Christ in heaven, of what honourable virtue in the support of our weakness as we still struggle in the contest, how blessedly he shall rejoice forever with his own holy body restored to him, together with his companions and all the angelic hosts, and all the saints and elect of the Lord, in eternal bliss, through our same Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the true God, son of God and man, Who in the perfect trinity of the One substance and power lives and reigns as God forever and ever. Amen.

Hilduin's General Letter to the Catholic Church Concerning St Dionysius [*BHL* 2174]

HILDVINVS HVMILIS CHRISTI SERVVS ET DOMINI MEI DIONYSII PRETIOSI SOCIORVMQVE EIVS MATRICVLARIVS⁸² OMNI CATHOLICAE DILECTIONI QVAQVAVERSVM SPIRITV SANCTO DIFFVSAE PACEM CONTINVM ET GLORIAM OPTAT AETERNAM.

- 5 1. Cum nos scriptura generali diffinitione admoneat, dicens 'Quodcumque potest manus tua instanter operare',⁸³ et pii augusti simulque plurimorum ad hoc desideria cognoscerem anhelare, uisum est mihi etiam in hac parte quiddam sudoris impendere, ut notitiam de ordine conuersionis et praedicationis atque aduentus Romam seu triumphalis martyrii beatissimi Dionysii, 10 quae maxime Graecorum continetur historiis et quasi sepulta antiquorum scribnis apud Latinos non modica portione seruabatur obiecta, in lucem Christo iuuante reducerem: quatenus deuotis exinde erga Dei et excellentissimi martyris sui cultum deuotio cumulata succresceret, et debitae seruituti nostrae in domo Domini, quantum ad exiguitatem ingenioli attinet ciato gustum fidelibus propinanti eiusdem amici Dei, cuius id amore studuimus, interuentio gloriosa diuinam misericordiam impetraret. Vt enim ante nos dictum est, 'gesta bene uiuentium elementa sunt uitam uolentium et exempla martyrum exortationes sunt martyriorum.'⁸⁴ Quapropter sequentia relegens poculo debriatus praeclaro fidem pietatis eructet et non obsequium nostrum nomini temeritatis adsignet. Quia uero, ut per quendam sapientem dicitur, multotiens in uili 20 persona ueritas despicitur,⁸⁵ cui nihil praeferri debuisset, suppliciter omnes, in quorum manus haec uenerint, deprecor, ne in his nostrae personae humilitatem et agrestem orationis indisciplinationem attendant, cum personarum acceptorem in hac dumtaxat parte non esse Dominum sciant.⁸⁶ In qua licet 25 me imperitum sermone (non tamen scientia!) fateor, quin potius hunc de quo res agitur inclitum et uerum Christi militem ante oculos ponant: cui humanae

5 diffinitione] diffinitione *L* 6 potest manus tua] manus tua potest *T*; post tua *add. O* facere 7 ad] ex *O* 10 continetur] continentur *AL* 13 seruituti] seruitutis *L* 18 relegens] repetens *L* 19 non] in *L* 22 haec] post haec *add. O* scripta || ne] ut *L* 23 agrestem] agrestae *DEO* || attendant] attendent *L* 24 sciant] post sciant *add. O* et agnoscant 24–25 licet me] uidelicet memet *O*

Hilduin, the humble servant of Christ and the custodian of my precious master Dionysius and his companions, sends wishes for perpetual peace and eternal bliss to the entire catholic brotherhood, wheresoever it may be scattered by the Holy Spirit.

1. Since Holy Scripture exhorts us in general terms by saying, 'Whatsoever thy hand is able to do, do it earnestly', and since I realized that I was pursuing the wishes of the devout Emperor and also those of many others in this respect, it seemed to me appropriate to expend some effort in this enterprise too, that I might bring into the light, with Christ's help, knowledge of the sequence of the conversion and preaching and arrival in Rome and the triumphal martyrdom of St Dionysius, which is contained above all in Greek historical writings and was in no small measure kept hidden by being as it were buried in book-chests of the ancients in the Latin West: so that from it increased devotion might grow among the devout in terms of worship of God and of the excellent martyr, and so that his glorious intervention might obtain divine mercy for my dutiful service in the house of the Lord, which, so far as pertains to the baseness of my understanding is pouring out in a cup for the faithful the taste of this same friend of God, for whose love I exerted myself. As has been said before us, 'the deeds of those who live well are first principles for those wishing for (eternal) life, and the examples of the martyrs are exhortations to suffer martyrdom.' Accordingly, may whoever reads the following, made drunk with an excellent cupful, spew up the faith of devotion and not assign my well-intentioned duty to the rubric of foolhardiness. But because, as a wise man said, 'very often the truth' – to which nothing ought to have been preferred – 'is despised in a lowly person', I humbly beg all those persons, into whose hands these (writings) may come, that they pay no attention to the baseness of my person and the boorish unruliness of my speech, because they know that the Lord is not a respecter of persons at least in this area. Although I confess myself unskilled in writing – not however in learning! – they should keep before their eyes this excellent and true soldier of Christ who is the subject [i.e. St Dionysius]: everything which a

uocis dignitati impar omne erit quicquid in laude eius aliquis nunc mortalium dixerit, quoniam ab eo solo digne potest laudari, a quo et per quem talis meruit fieri. Vera itaque a ueracibus de eo scripta et simpliciter in unum collecta fideliter relegant, et si nostrae imperitiae fuerint indignati ad ueterum monumenta
 5 recurrant, quia nos non nostra nec noua cudimus, sed antiquorum antiqua dicta de abditis admodum tomis eruimus et ueritatis sinceritate seruata paginis manifestioribus indidimus.

2. Ceterum neminem sani capitis haec minus acceptari putamus, quia anteriori tempore reperta non fuerant, cum liquido noscat, quod is 'qui creauit omnia simul'⁸⁷ noluit reuelari cuncta uel cunctis in semel multaque manifesta iterum esse tempore occultata. Ad mentem enim debet redire quod in litteris diuinitus inspiratis legatur de legis libro diu latenti et denuo sub admiratione inuento.⁸⁸ Et cum Danihel dicat: 'Pertransibunt plurimi et multiplex erit scientia',⁸⁹ quanto magis nullus abiurare debebit, quod multis comitibus aliorum
 15 intuentibus, segnis quisque aut tardus postgradiens perditionem in uia, quam praecedentes triuerant, inuenire non possit. Abiecta denique omni ambiguitate, quod iste ipse Dionysius, cuius hic gesta scribuntur,⁹⁰ non sit Ariopagites et Athenarum episcopus, quod quisque dixerit, ueluti de autumatione Gregorii Turonensis episcopi et subreptione Bedae sancti presbiteri atque aliorum
 20 quorumque sine auctoritate iactatur: qui curiosius hoc scire uoluerint, ut de multis quaedam designemus ex nomine, Eusebii Caesariensis historiam et Aristarchi Graecorum chronographi ad Onesiphorum primicerium epistolam, et Visbii conscriptionem perquirat et relegat, ibique discere poterit, quis iste Dionysius fuerit, et qualiter per martyrii palmam ad Christum perrexerit, si hic eis
 25 in sui conexione manus dare fidei detrectauerit. De his autem et aliis quibuscumque unde sunt omnia sumpta, quae prae manibus tenentur collecta, si benignitati legentis commodum ac placitum fuerit et alibi ea inuenire nequi-

1 dignitati] dignitate *DT* || laude eius] eius laude *O* 2 talis meruit] meruit talis *L* 4 imperitiae] pueritiae *L* || ueterum] ueueterum *L* 5 cudimus] *litura in O* 6 sinceritate] sinceritatis *T* 7 indidimus] indimus *BLT* 8 anteriori] anteriore *L* 9 fuerant] fuerit *D* 11 esse tempore] tempore esse *L* 12 admiratione] abmiratione *D* 14 abiurare] adiurare *LT* 15 quisque] quique *DO* 16 praecedentes] predentes *B* 17 iste] *om.* *EO* || non sit Ariopagites] Ariopagites non sit *O* 18 quod] quid *DE* 19 sancti] *om.* *O* 20 quorumque] quoque *E*, qui *O* || curiosius] curiosus *L* || uoluerint] uoluerit *ADELO* 21 ex] de *L* || historiam] historiarum *BEO* 23 discere poterit] discat *O* 24 fuerit] fuit *O* || qualiter] quomodo *O* || perrexerit] perrexit *O*, peruenerit *D* 24–25 eis ... conexione] *om.* *O* 25 detrectauerit] detrectarit *O* || autem] uero *O* 26 sunt] sint *O* || prae] *om.* *O* || tenentur] habentur *O* 27 benignitati] uoluntati *O* || commodum ac] *om.* *O* || ea] *om.* *O* || inuenire] inueniri *O*

mortal will say in his praise will be beyond the capacity of the human voice, since he [Dionysius] can only worthily be praised by Him from Whom and through Whom he was found worthy to be such as he was. Accordingly, let them read true things written about him by truthful men and faithfully brought together in one place; and if they should scorn *my* ignorance, let them return to the works of the ancients, because I have not fashioned these things anew, but rather I unearthed the ancient writings of antiquity from volumes otherwise completely hidden and preserving the integrity of the truth, and now present them in more accessible form.

2. Moreover, I do not think that anyone of sound mind will find them less acceptable because they had not been discovered at an earlier time, since that person knows clearly that He 'Who created all things at once' did not wish all things to be revealed to everyone once for all, but wished many things that *had* been clear to be hidden again. For one should bear in mind what is written in writings divinely inspired concerning the book of law long hidden and wondrously rediscovered at last. And let him say with Daniel: 'Many shall pass over, and knowledge shall be manifold'; so much the more ought no one to deny that every lazy or slow person may not find perdition on a road that people have trodden before him, while many of his companions gaze elsewhere. Casting aside all doubt, that this Dionysius of ours, whose deeds are here described, is not the Areopagite and bishop of Athens, which someone might have said, as being tossed out without any authority on the assertion of Bishop Gregory of Tours and the deception of Bede the venerable priest and of various others: those who would eagerly wish to know about this, if I may point out some by name, may seek out and read the history of Eusebius of Caesarea, and the letter of Aristarchus, the Greek chronographer, to Onesiphorus the *primicerius*, and the *Conscriptio Visbii*, and there he will be able to learn who this Dionysius was, and how he journeyed to Christ by means of the palm of martyrdom, if he should refuse here to extend the hands of his faith to be bound by them [the aforementioned writings]. From these and certain other (witnesses), from which everything contained in your hands is drawn, if it should be suitable and pleasing to the kind attention of the reader, and if he cannot find them

uerit, litterarum nostrae paruitatis ex hoc ad serenissimum augustum affatim
instrui lectione ualebit. Nam et si eis credere dignatus non fuerit, illae sibi
tamen sine quolibet supercilio prodent, ubi haec uniuersa, et qualiter ac quo
ordine dicta manifeste reperiat. Ipsorumque librorum plenitudinem, si indi-
5 guerit, mutuare ab archiuo ecclesiae nostrae quibit.

Valeat fidelis et carus frater omnis in Domino cum pietate et gratia memor
nostri.

¹ litterarum] per litteras *O* || ex ... affatim] *om. O* ² lectione] *om. O* || Nam] *om. O* ²⁻⁵
dignatus ... quibit] noluerit, sciat quod illae se sine aliquo prodent supercilio, ubi haec cuncta
uel quo ordine dicta aperte inueniat et eorum librorum si indiguerit plenitudinem ab archiuo
ecclesiae nostrae mutuare ualebit *O* ² non] *om. E*

elsewhere, he will be able to be instructed sufficiently by a reading of these writings composed by my humble self and dedicated to his Serene Majesty [Louis the Pious]. And even if he should not deign to give them credence, they will nevertheless be of benefit to him, since they will show him where to find all this – if he approaches without any arrogance – however and in whatever order they are stated. If he should need to consult these books in their entirety, he will be able to borrow them from the archive of our church [Saint-Denis in Paris].

Farewell, all you faithful and dear brothers in the Lord: bear me in mind with devotion and favour!

The Prose Passio S. Dionysii



Sigla

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- S El Escorial, Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, b. I. 4 (Cardeña, s. xi), fols. 3^r–20^v
- T Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4608 (Benediktbeuern, s. xi^{med}), fols. 61^v–85^v

IN NOMINE SANCTAE ET INDIVIDVAE TRINITATIS INCIPIT PASSIO SANCTISSIMI DIONYSII, QVI A LOCO AREOPAGITA ET PATRIOTICO PRAENOMINE IONICVS, CHRISTIANO AVTEM AGNOMINE EST APPELLATVS MACARIVS, A SANCTO PAVLO APOSTOLO ATHENIENSIVM ORDINATVS ARCHIEPISCOPVS, APOSTOLICA VERO AVCTORITATE BEATI CLEMENTIS PPAE VNIVERSALIS TOTIVS GALLIAE CONSTITVTVS APOSTOLVS; CVIVS INVICTA PRO FIDE CHRISTI DEVOTIO SVB DOMITIANO CAESARE ET PRAEFECTO SISINIO APVD LVTECIAM PARISIORVM VRBEM, CVIVS SPECIALIVS FACTVS EST PONTIFEX; POST MVLTA TORMENTORVM CERTAMINA, INTER QVAE EI DOMINVS NOSTER IESVS CHRISTVS APPARVIT, VNA CVM BEATISSIMO RVSTICO ARCHIPRESBYTERO ET SANCTO ELEVThERIO ARCHIDIACONO SVO ALIISQVE QVAMPLVRIMIS, .VII. IDVS OCTOBRIS GLORIOSVM MARTYRIVM PERPETRAVIT; ET CAPVT PROPRIVM AD LOCVM VBI SIMVL CVM PRAEDICTIS SVIS SOCIIS TERTIO FERME AB EADEM VRBE MILIARIO REQVIESCIT,¹ DVCTV ANGELICO DETVLIT.

1. Post beatam ac salutiferam Domini nostri Iesu Christi passionem et adorandam eius ab inferis resurrectionem, seu in caelos gloriosam ascensionem quae se manifestavit diuinitate numquam defuisse, quo rediit, in uniuersis gentibus apostolorum praedicatio profutura successit, ita ut fide crescente, multi mererentur fieri Christi nominis confessores, quos catholica postmodum gaudet mater ecclesia promeruisse martyres et fidei bellatores, quae laetabatur in apostolis tantos se habere duces atque rectores.² Qui siquidem cum imminere suas cernerent passiones quae, Domino Iesu Christo docente, didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt, ut ad sanctae confessionis gloriam et praemium transmigrarent.³ Vnde gratias tibi agimus, Domine Iesu Christe, qui infestantis inimici iacula probationem fidelium tuorum praestitisti esse et non uulnera. Sed inter cetera carismatum munera talem tuis testibus tribuisti pro labore mercedem, ut nullum tuorum fuisse gaudeat hostis imbellem: quin immo perpetuum illis es largitus triumphum, ut ecclesiae tuae semper sint in exemplum. De quorum collegio beatus Paulus apostolus, quem caelo praesidens humani

1-15 IN ... DETVLIT] *om. CM*; INCIPIT PASSIO SANCTORVM MARTYRV M DIONISII ET SOCIORVM EIVS A VENERABILI ABBATE HILDVINO PROLATA *L*; INCIPIT PASSIO MARTYRV M DIONYSII ET SOCIORVM EIVS *R* 1 IN ... TRINITATIS] *om. F* 2 PATRIOTICO] PATRIATTICO *S*, PATRICO *T* 5-6 VNIVERSALIS] *post VNIVERSALIS add. O* PENE 6 CONSTITVTVS] CONSTITVS *D* 7 DEVOTIO] DEFENSIO *O* 8 VRBEM] VRBE *S* || EST] *om. S* 10 BEATISSIMO] BEATO *ADEFGST* 14 FERME] FERE *ADEFGST* 15 DVCTV ANGELICO DETVLIT] *om. P* 16 beatam] gloriosam *G (a.c.)* 17 caelos] caelis *A (a.c.) S* 19 apostolorum] *om. M* || profutura] profuturum *A* 20 fieri Christi nominis] Christi nominis fieri *L* 21 mater] *om. C* 24 praemium] proemium *B* 25 gratias tibi] tibi gratias *G* 29 es] est *D*

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND INDIVIDUAL TRINITY HERE BEGINS THE MARTYRDOM OF ST DIONYSIUS, WHO WAS KNOWN FROM HIS PLACE OF ACTIVITY AS THE 'AREOPAGITE' AND FROM HIS HOMETLAND AS THE 'IONIAN', BUT FROM HIS CHRISTIAN BAPTISMAL NAME WAS CALLED 'MACARIUS' ['BLESSED'], WHO WAS ORDAINED ARCHBISHOP BY ST PAUL THE APOSTLE, BUT WHO BY THE APOSTOLIC AUTHORITY OF THE BLESSED CLEMENT, THE UNIVERSAL POPE, WAS CONSTITUTED THE APOSTLE OF THE ENTIRETY OF GAUL; HIS ALLEGIANCE TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AT PARIS, WHOSE BISHOP IN PARTICULAR HE HAD BECOME, WAS UNCONQUERABLE DURING THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR DOMITIAN AND THE PREFECT SISINNIUS; AFTER MANY STRUGGLES UNDER TORTURE – DURING WHICH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST APPEARED TO HIM – TOGETHER WITH THE BLESSED RUSTICUS HIS ARCHPRESBYTER AND ST ELEUTERIUS HIS ARCHDEACON AND MANY OTHERS, HE SUFFERED MARTYRDOM ON 9 OCTOBER; AND, WITH THE GUIDANCE OF AN ANGEL, HE CARRIED HIS HEAD TO THE PLACE WHERE TOGETHER WITH HIS COMPANIONS HE NOW LIES IN PEACE, ABOUT THREE MILES FROM THE CITY OF PARIS.

1. After the blessed and salvation-bringing suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ, and His venerable resurrection from hell – or rather, His glorious ascension, in which He revealed that He had never been absent in divinity – whence He returned, the beneficial preaching mission of the apostles came into effect among all peoples, so that, as the faith grew stronger, many people were found worthy to confess the name of Christ, whom subsequently the Holy Mother Church rejoices to have acquired as martyrs and champions of the faith: it rejoiced to have such great leaders and teachers among the apostles. When they saw that their own martyrdoms were approaching, which through the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ they had learned to anticipate, filled with the grace of the Holy Ghost they revealed how they were to proceed to the glory of holy confession and to their heavenly reward. Accordingly we give thanks to You, Lord Jesus Christ, Who showed that the weapons of the attacking Enemy, rather than the wounds they inflict, constitute the real test of Your faithful. But amongst other gifts of grace You granted to Your witnesses a reward for their labour of this kind, that the Enemy should not rejoice that any of Your followers had given up without a struggle – rather You granted to them a perpetual triumph in that they should always stand by way of example for Your Church. From amongst their company the blessed apostle Paul (whom the humanity

tas et benignitas⁴ saluatoris nostri Dei compellans Saulum strauit ac Paulum statuit,⁵ eorumque merito ac numero sociauit, replens Christi euangelio, non solum ab Hierosolymis usque in Illyricum⁶ uerum et 'usque ad terminos',⁷ quomodo a Deo constitutus magister omnium gentium,⁸ peragrans superiores et uicinas ciuitates tempore quo princeps Claudius⁹ agebat in sceptris deuenit Athenas.¹⁰

2. Quae una urbium magnarum metropolis in confinio Thraciae prospiciens Lacedaemoniae terminos posita, media inter Achaiam et Macedoniam iacet,¹¹ qua nihil habuit Graecia clarius.¹² Situ terrarum, eminentibus et frequentibus collibus montuosa,¹³ antiqua scriptorum facundia, paterna uiscera et materna ubera appellata:¹⁴ Ionici maris faucibus bithalassi more interclusa, Ægeum pelagus a laeua contingit.¹⁵ Vrbs inclita et antiqua, sola praeter externum incrementum gloriosa. Cuius ciuibus non dedit initium conlectata¹⁶ natiuitas: sed quae illis sedes, eadem est et origo.¹⁷ Terrarum fertilitate opulenta, fandi et eloquentiae nutrix, philosophorum et sapientium genitrix; artium liberalium et diuitiarum omnium copia prae urbibus cunctis emicuit.¹⁸ Haec sita est in Attica, Helladis prouincia, qua Cecrops et Menander, reges generosi, splenduerunt; ubi Apollo et Hippocrates ac Aristoteles ceterique inuentores et propagatores totius peritiae sunt exorti, et in toto orbe suis praesentia et temporibus nostris memoria fulgent.¹⁹ In hac summopere urbe temporibus Cecropis et Menandri regumque succedentium, cultus simulacrorum et statuarum adoratio idolorumque superstitiosa religio primo est reperta et sanctionibus propalata.²⁰ Haec quoque in prouectu sui est Mineruae sacrata, et ipsi eius de nomine nomen aptatum.²¹ Haec prima cunctarum urbium leges condidit, et aliis iura uel tradidit uel mutuauit.²²

1 compellans] compellens *E* || Saulum] saluum *D* 2 eorumque] suorumque discipulorum *L* 3 terminos] Romanos *C*; post terminos *add. O* terrae, et *add. D* orbis 4 quomodo] *om. S* || constitutus] constitutos *S* 5 uicinas ciuitates] ciuitates uicinas *E* 7–20 Quae ... fulgent] ciuitatem nobilissimam in omni sapientia scripturarum artium *M* 7 urbium magnarum] magnarum urbium *L* 8 inter Achaiam] sterachiam *C* 11 ubera] libera *O* || bithalassi] bitalassi *ADFS*, bithalasso *P* (*p.c.*), biclassis *C* (*in litura*) || more] mare *P* (*p.c.*) || interclusa] introclusa *C* 12 pelagus] mare *R* || praeter] pretiosa *S* 13 conlectata] collecta *LRT* 14 illis] illi *C* 15 genitrix] *om. C* 18–19 et propagatores] *om. F* 22 primo] prima *MR* 22–23 propalata] prolata *LMP* (*propalata cum litteris -pa- expunctis*) *R* 23–24 Haec ... aptatum] *om. M* 23 Haec] hac *C* || prouectu] prouentu *O* || ipsi eius] ipsius *CE* 24 aptatum] *post* aptatum *S add. est* || cunctarum] coniunctarum *B*

and kindness of God our Saviour addressed, destroying Saul and making him Paul, and associated with their merit and number, filling him with the gospel of Christ) came not only from Jerusalem as far as Dalmatia [*Illyricum*], but 'even as far as the ends' of the earth, as having been made teacher of all peoples; passing through remote as well as nearby cities at the time when Claudius wielded the sceptre of authority, he came to Athens.

2. Athens is one of the great cities, a metropolis in the vicinity of Thrace, looking out over the boundaries of Sparta, situated midway between Achaia [the northern part of the Peloponnesus] and Macedonia. Greece has nothing more renowned. It is distinguished by its physical location, its mountainous terrain with lofty and numerous hills: through the ancient eloquence of writers it is referred to as 'the father's entrails' or 'the mother's breasts'. Separated from the inlet of the Ionian Sea [i.e. the Corinthian Gulf] with its two-pronged penetration (?), it touches the Aegean Sea on its left. It is a famous and ancient city, glorious enough in itself without considering its achievements abroad. The people were not brought together from different places abroad; rather, that which is their dwelling is likewise their origin [i.e. they are autochthonous]. It is bountiful through the fertility of its lands, the nurse of speech and eloquence, the mother of philosophers and sages; through the abundance of liberal studies and all wealth it shone out before all other cities. It is situated in Attica, a province of Hellas, where Cecrops and Menander, high-born kings, were once renowned, where Apollo and Hippocrates and Aristotle and the other discoverers and disseminators of all knowledge originated and shone out over the whole world – in their own times through their physical presence, in our times through the perpetuation of their memory. It was particularly in this city, in the times of Cecrops and Menander and of successive kings, that the worship of images and the veneration of statues and the superstitious cult of idols was first invented and disseminated by law. In the course of its development it became sacred to Minerva, and its name is taken from hers. It was the first of all cities to promulgate laws, and it both handed on its own laws to other cities, and borrowed theirs.

3. Quinque sane regionibus disternata signatur.²³ Prima regio est quae Ægeum mare respicit, in qua situs mons exstat supereminens urbi, ubi Saturni et Priapi aureae statuæ uariarum illusionum colebantur dementiis.²⁴ Haec enim regio Cronospagus appellatur ex Saturni nomine, qui Graece Cronos uocatur.²⁵ Secunda regio Athenae est, quae respicit Thraciam, ubi terebinthus mirae magnitudinis inerat, sub qua Siluani et Fauni agrestis hominis simulacra statutis diebus a pastoribus uenerabantur. Quae regio Panospagus appellatur ex nomine Siluani et Fauni (Graeci enim Siluanum Pan et Faunos ficarios Panitas uocitant).²⁶ Tertia regio Possedonospagus appellatur; quae intendit portum Neptuni.²⁷ Possedon namque Graece Neptunus dicitur, cuius simulacrum et Dianae effigiem Ægei ibidem colebant, et quo recursus totius populi luna renascente in multis functionibus confluebat.²⁸ Quarta regio in eadem urbe est, ubi idolum Martis et simulacrum Herculis in colle Tritonii montis, in medio urbis positi, steterat, ad colendum multis immolationibus et delusionibus Martem et Herculem, quos illi deos maximos et fortissimos adorabant;²⁹ ubi etiam exercebantur iudicia et docebantur fora ingeniique³⁰ omnis sollertia.³¹ Qui locus Areopagus appellatur a Marte (Mars enim Ares Graece uocatur). Quinta regio ciuitatis eiusdem uersa est ad Portam Scaeam, Hermispagus ex nomine Mercurii (qui Hermes Graece dicitur) appellata, in qua staticulum³² ipsius Mercurii ueneratione summa ceperat urbem.³³

4. Haec ciuitas munitissimis moeniis,³⁴ mari florido, mellitis (ut sic dictum sit) riuiulis et fluminibus, satis pinguis nemoribus consitis et aromatibus odoratis, uinetis nectareis et ubertatis copia effluentibus, oliuetis abundantissimis, uirectis florentibus, pascuis pecoribus sufficientissimis, auri, argenti ceterorumque metallorum omnium copiis, nauium quoque ac uectigalium commeatibus et uoluptatum cunctarum affluentibus, ultra urbes alias exornata, quondam nobilissime floruit.³⁵ Sed quae suo priori saeculo cunctis mundi felicitatibus supererat, modo gentium frequenti et condenso impetu oppressa et intercepta dirimitur.³⁶ Vbi in aduentu Pauli quidam uir nobilis (erat qui symmistes id est

1 Quinque sane ...] *dehinc usque ad 29* (intercepta dirimitur) *om. M* 3 Priapi] Priami *L* || dementiis] ementiis *C* 4 Saturni nomine] nomine Saturni *R* 6 agrestis hominis] agrestium hominum *LRS* 8–9 Panitas] panitans *S* 9 Possedonospagus] Possedonpagus *G*, Possedonospaus *S* 10 dicitur] uocatur *D* 11 Ægei] aggeum *T* || et] *om. C* (*fort. recte*) 12 confluebat] confluebant *O* 14 positi] positum *C* 18 Hermispagus] Ermispaus *S* 19 staticulum] statunculum *CEGOT*, statiunculum *R* 20 summa] summa *sic GLRT*, sui mente *ABCDEFOP*, sui monte *S* 21 munitissimis] minutissimis *B* 23 effluentibus] affluentibus *CLS* 24 florentibus] floribus *C* || argenti] argentique *F* 25 nauium] nauigium *C* 27 nobilissime] nobilissima *O* 28 frequenti] ac frequentia *L* || intercepta] inter capta *ABDEFGOPT* 29 Vbi in ...] *hic denuo incipit M* || uir] *om. O*

3. In fact Athens is divided up into five separate regions. The first region is that which looks out over the Aegean; in this region there is a mountain which towers over the city, where golden statues of Saturn and Priapus used to be worshipped though the insanity of various deceptions. This region is called Chronospagus from the name of Saturn, who in Greek is called Chronos. The second region of Athens looks towards Thrace; in this region was a turpentine-tree of great height, beneath which statues of Silvanus and Faunus the wild man were venerated by shepherds on certain appointed days. This region is called Panospagus from the name of Silvanus and Faunus (the Greeks call Silvanus Pan, and Fauns 'of figs' they call Panitae). The third region is called Possedonospagus; it stretches towards the port of Neptune. Neptune is called Poseidon in Greek; the Aegeans worshipped his statue as well as a likeness of Diana in that place, whither at each new moon floods of the entire populace used to assemble for various rites. The fourth region in the same city is that in which an idol of Mars and a statue of Hercules stood on the slope of Mt Tritonius, which is located in the midst of the city; they are the focal point of the cult, with its accompanying sacrifices and delusions, of Mars and Hercules, whom they used to worship as the greatest and mightiest of gods; there also judgements were passed and the people were instructed by the exercise of every kind of ingenuity [i.e. rhetorical display]. This place is called the Areopagus from Mars (Mars is called Ares in Greek). The fifth region of this same city, which faces the Scaean Gate, is called Hermispagus from the name of Mercury (who is called Hermes in Greek); in it a little statue of this same Mercury has captured the city with mighty veneration.

4. This city, adorned more than other cities with fortified walls, with the beautiful sea, with 'honied' (so to speak) streams and rivers, with planted groves fertile and redolent with fragrance, with nectared vineyards overflowing with abundance, with bounteous olive groves, with flowering greensward, with pastures sufficient for feeding flocks, with quantities of gold, silver and all other metals, with passages for ships and tolls, and with an extravagance of all pleasures, was at one time eminently distinguished. But this city, which in its previous glory had excelled in all the delights of this world, is now reduced to nothing, having been overwhelmed and destroyed by the frequent and relentless attacks of foreign invaders. On St Paul's arrival, there was a nobleman there

consecratalis),³⁷ Apollo Cronospagita, quoniam in eadem urbis regione ceteros praecellebat, nominabatur,³⁸ cuiusdam Apollinis³⁹ nobilissimi Atheniensium principis prosapia deriuatus. Cuius pater Nicolaus, uir magni ingenii, litterarum studio pollens, cuius et Argolicae artis magister fuit.⁴⁰ Huius igitur
 5 filius Apollo, dum inter philosophorum scholas clarus haberetur et authenticas bibliothecas reuolueret, deditusque esset philosophiae et uanis superstitionibus ritu⁴¹ paganorum, audiuit Paulum apostolum noua et inaudita antea dogmata praedicantem; et cum ei resistere non ualeret, inuenit ueram esse doctrinam quam Paulus apud Athenas docuit. Relinquens ergo daemonicas
 10 ludificationes et gentilitias adinventiones, prouolutus apostoli pedibus deprecatus est eum, ut illi ueram doctrinam et uiam salutis ostenderet, seque Christi et non Saturni professus est fore discipulum.⁴²

5. His ita gestis, cum uocis nouitate Athenienses permoti, quadam die Paulum ad Areopagum duxissent,⁴³ ut ibi examen sua doctrina acciperet, adorsus est
 15 Dionysium, qui ob plenitudinem diuae supernorum numinum scientiae theosophus (id est Deum sapiens)⁴⁴ et a regione urbis, qua sedulo commorabatur et innatus principabatur, 'areopagita' genuino quasi uocabulo utebatur; altissimo sanguine primi et magni Dionysi – non illius Semelae uel Deucalionis,⁴⁵ sed eius qui uitis inuentor apud Athenas insignis est habitus⁴⁶ – longissima et clara
 20 progenie propagatus. Hic namque annos aetatis quinque et uiginti agens,⁴⁷ et cunctis paene artibus copiose imbutus, crementi studio excitus, una cum Apollophanio conphilosopho suo astrologicae disciplinae uoto Ægypti Heliopolim transmigravit.⁴⁸ Vbi simul cum eo degens, quando Deus homo, Dominus noster Iesus Christus pro mundi salute inuidia Iudaeorum cruci pendit affixus, et sol
 25 sui domini mortem pauescens, lucis suae radios in tetrae noctis mutauit horrorem, atque orbis climata tenebrarum obtexit caligine. Earundem tenebrarum signo antea inuiso et inaudito attonitus, ut omnium litterarum disciplinis edoc-

4 cuius] cuius C, cui S 6 esset] est et G || philosophiae] sophiae L 8 ei] om. S 9 daemonicas] demoniacas CL 10 gentilitias] gentilitatis C, gentiliacas LS, gentilicas OR || apostoli pedibus] pedibus apostoli M 11 est] om. T 12 fore] esse L 13 cum] post cum add. L autem 15 diuae] diuinae GO, diui M 16 sedulo] sedule ABDG || commorabatur] om. S 17 innatus] in ea natus C, innatis O 18 non illius] om. S 20 progenie] progeniae EP (cum littera -a- expuncta in P) || quinque et uiginti] uiginti quinque C 21 crementi studio] om. R, stadio crementis T || excitus] excitatus C, exercitatis E 22 suo] om. P || Ægypti Heliopolim] aegypti iliopolim ADE, aegiptiopolim P 23 Deus] post Deus add. R et 24 mundi salute] salute mundi L || cruci pendit affixus] crucifixus pependit R 25–26 horrorem] errorem S 26 orbis] orbi E || obtexit ... tenebrarum] om. S (per saltum oculatorum) 27 antea] om. L || omnium] omnem M

named Apollo Chronopagita, who was the *symmistes* (that is, the ‘participant in sacred rites’), since he excelled all others in that region of the city, and who was descended from the family of Apollo, the noble leader of the Athenians. His father Nicholas was a man of great intelligence in the pursuit of letters, a citizen, and a master of Greek learning. Accordingly his son Apollo, at a time when he was regarded as outstanding in the schools of the philosophers and was working his way through their original libraries, and was dedicated to philosophy and to the empty superstitions of pagan rites, heard Paul the apostle preaching new doctrines previously unheard of; and since he was unable to oppose this, he found the doctrine which Paul was teaching in Athens to be true. He therefore abandoned his devilish game-making and his pagan fabrications and, prostrating himself at the apostle’s feet, he entreated Paul to show him the true doctrine and the way of salvation, and professed himself to be a disciple of Christ, not of Saturn.

5. When this happened the Athenians, prompted by their desire for novelty, having brought Paul one day to the Areopagus, so that his doctrine might there undergo some examination, he first addressed Dionysius, who was a *theosophus* (that is, one knowing God) through the profundity of his divine knowledge of heavenly powers, and who used the name ‘Areopagite’ as a sort of patronymic from the region of the city in which he dwelled constantly and where he held forth as a native; he was descended through a long and distinguished ancestry from the aristocratic blood of the first and great Dionysus – not the son of Semele and Deucalion, but of him who is well known in Athens as the inventor of the vine. He was then 25 years old and abundantly trained in nearly all the arts; inspired by the possibility of increasing his knowledge, he travelled to Heliopolis in Egypt together with Apollophanus his philosophical colleague, for the purpose of studying astrology. He was residing there with Apollophanus at the time when, for the salvation of the world, our Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man, hung suspended from the Cross through the envy of the Jews, and the sun, fearing the death of its Lord, changed the rays of its light into the horrific darkness of black night, and covered all the regions of the world with the obscurity of shadows. Astonished by the previously unseen and unheard-of sign of these shadows, he said, being a man learned in all disciplines: ‘This

tus, dixit: 'Haec nox, quam nostris oculis nouam descendisse miramur, totius mundi ueram lucem aduenturam signauit, atque Deum humano generi effulsurum serena dignatione dictauit.'⁴⁹

6. Vnde expletis pro quibus perrexerat,⁵⁰ feliciter rediit arcique totius urbis
 5 Athenae praeerat, et curiae Areopagi praesidens omnium negotiorum ciuilium
 publice et priuatim ut nobilior nobilissimis moderamina disponebat; atque
 inter primos primus sophistica et syllogistica uniuersalium doctrinarum acu-
 mina et strophas, infulatus toga philosophica, ciuibus ac undique ad id studium
 confluentibus profundeabat. Hunc siquidem uatem (qui olim paganis adhuc
 10 uisceribus tanti mysterii quod uentum erat quasi uenturum ualuit reserare)
 utpote loci primatem, cum Areopagum adisset, erectis ad uerbum omnium
 auribus, interrogare specialiter coepit Paulus quid coleret et quibus numinibus
 in tam spatioso et uenerabili loco inseruiret.⁵¹ Cui respondit Dionysius: 'Deos
 quos coluerunt patres nostri, quorum uirtute et sollertia mater terra continetur,
 15 hos colimus et adoramus. Aras, quas uides, Martis et Herculis, Mercurii et Priapi
 nomine et honore sacratae sunt.'⁵² Dum uero Paulus singula altaria et simula-
 cra falsorum deorum perlustrasset, inter ceteras aras repperit altare unum, cui
 erat titulus superscriptus: DEO IGNOTO.⁵³ Et conuersus ad eum Paulus, interro-
 gauit illum dicens: 'Quis est ille deus incognitus?' Ad quem Dionysius: 'Adhuc',
 20 inquit, 'non est ipse deus demonstratus inter deos, sed est incognitus nobis,
 et saeculo uenturo futurus. Ipse est enim Deus, qui regnaturus est in caelo et
 in terra, et regnum ipsius non accipiet finem.'⁵⁴ Subiungens itaque Paulus ait:
 'Quid uobis uidetur? Homo erit, an spiritus deorum?' Respondens Dionysius
 dixit: 'Verus Deus et uerus homo, et ipse renouaturus est mundum. Sed adhuc
 25 incognitus est hominibus, quoniam apud Deum in caelo conuersatio eius est.'⁵⁵
 Et ait Paulus: 'Illum Deum praedico uobis, quem incognitum appellatis. Natus
 enim ex Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, pro salute humana mortuus,

1 dixit] ait *R* || nox] *om. C* || nostris oculis] oculis nostris *S* 2 signauit] significauit *C* 5
 praeerat] proerat *F* || Areopagi] Ariopagita *T* 6 nobilior] *om. R*; post nobilior *add. S* et 7
 et syllogistica] *om. R* 7–8 acumina] *om. C* 9 confluentibus profundeabat] profundeabat
 confluentibus *E* || uatem] *om. M* 10 uentum ... uenturum] quasi uenturum uentum erat *G* ||
 uentum] uenturum *O* || uenturum] iam uenisset *O*; post uenturum *add. R* signum 11 cum]
om. T || adisset] adissent *T* 13 inseruiret] seruiret *R* || respondit Dionysius] Dionysius
 respondit *S* 15 Martis et] *om. O* 17 perlustrasset] post perlustrasset *add. L* et 18 DEO
 IGNOTO] IGNOTO DEO *L* || ad eum Paulus] Paulus ad eum *T* 18–19 interrogauit] interrogat
S 19 illum] eum *OS* || ille] *om. T* || incognitus] ignotus *EO* 20 est] *om. M* 21 uenturo
 futurus] futuro uenturus *LR* || est] *om. M* 23 erit] est *S* 26 Natus] post Natus *add. C* est
 27 sub] sup *P* || mortuus] post mortuus *add. O* est et

night, which we marvel to see with our own eyes as descended anew upon us, signified that the true light of the entire world is to come, and indicated that God will shine out on the human race with his bright regard.'

6. When he had accomplished the business for which he had set out, Dionysius happily returned and assumed charge of the citadel of Athens; and, presiding over the court of the Areopagus, he conducted the government of all civil affairs both publicly and privately, as an aristocrat among aristocrats; and as *primus inter pares* adorned with the toga of philosophy, he dispensed to all the citizens and to those pouring in from everywhere with that object in mind, the sophistic and syllogistic subtleties and devices of all branches of learning. When St Paul arrived at the Areopagus, and the ears of all listeners were pricked, he began to interrogate in person this great master (who once had been able to reveal through his innermost being, then still pagan, what mighty mystery had come to pass as if it were still to happen); he asked what Dionysius worshipped and what divinities he venerated in that vast and religious place. Dionysius replied to him: 'The gods whom our forefathers worshipped, the gods through whose power and intelligence mother earth is sustained, we too worship and adore. The altars which you see here are consecrated in the name and glory of Mars and Hercules, Mercury and Priapus.' While Paul was wandering around among the individual altars and the likenesses of false gods, he found one altar amongst others on which the following inscription was engraved: 'To the unknown god'. Turning to Dionysius, Paul asked him as follows: 'Who is that unknown god?' Dionysius said to him: 'Thus far this god has not been revealed amongst the gods, but he is unknown to us and is to come in a future age. But he is the God Who is to reign in heaven and on earth, and His realm shall have no end.' Paul accordingly added, 'How does it seem to you? Shall he be a man, or a spirit of the gods?' Dionysius said in reply: 'A true God and a true Man, and He is to renew the world. But He is thus far unknown to men, because His dwelling is with God in heaven.' And Paul said: 'I am here to preach that God to you, whom you call "unknown". He was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, died for the sake of human salvation, rose again and, ascending

resurrexit, caelosque ascendens, sedet in dextera Dei patris, uerus Deus et uerus homo, per quem facta sunt omnia, et uenturus est in fine saeculi iudex omnium quae geruntur,⁵⁶ qui notus est in Iudaea Deus, et magnum in Israel et sanctum nomen eius.⁵⁷ Quapropter quem incognitum usque nunc habuistis, modo cognoscite quia ipse est Deus solus, et praeter eum non est alter, qui nos de morte sanguinis sui pretio reduxit ad uitam, qui caelum et terram – homines scilicet et angelos – in unitate regni sui coniunxit, qui mortificat iustus et uiuificat pius, qui claudit et nemo aperit, aperit et nemo claudit.⁵⁸

7. Haec et alia plurima Paulo praedicante et templa singula perlustrante, commendando Christum Iesum Dei filium et Deum uerum esse – quae amica curiositate Athenienses propter ipsam nouitatem officiosissime acceptabant – Dionysius ueram doctrinam et dogma salutis audiens, et nihil esse idola quibus seruiebat, quin magis daemonia quam deos esse cognoscens, sanctum uero spiritum et uerba uitalia in Pauli doctrina euentissime sentiens, diuino lumine corde tactus, eidem Paulo cessit, et ab eo expetiit, quatenus pro illo ipsius Dei, quem praedicabat, misericordiam deprecaretur, ut illius cultor uerus et suus mereretur esse discipulus.⁵⁹

8. Postera autem die, cum Paulus ageret iter, caecus quidam coepit eum obsecrationis uocibus compellere. Sanctus autem apostolus crucis signum clausis a natiuitate eius oculis imposuit, dicens: ‘Christus Dominus et magister noster, qui oculis lutum imposuit caeci nati et lumen ei restituit, ipse te potentia sua illuminet.’⁶⁰ Quem mox uidentem his est uerbis affatus: ‘Vade’, inquit, ‘ad Dionysium, et dic ei quia Paulus seruus Iesu Christi ad te me misit, ut memor sponsionis tuae ad eum uenire non differas, quo baptismum salutis accipiens, ab omnibus possis absolui nexibus delictorum.’⁶¹ Is autem, qui lumen recepit, obediens uerba iubentis impleuit, et ad Dionysium properans Pauli ei uerba per ordinem nuntiauit.⁶² Dionysius uero, electionis gratia iam praeuentus, ut caecum respexit non ante habitis luminibus contuentem, ait ad eum: ‘Esne tu ille quem caecum natum cuncti cognouerunt affines?’ Cui ille respon-

1 resurrexit] surrexit S || sedet] sedens T || in dextera] nunc in dextera O 2 fine saeculi] seculi fine L 3 geruntur] reguntur T || est] post est add. DEFOP (s.l.) RT iam 3-4 et sanctum] om. M 5 Deus solus] solus Deus O 7 iustus] sic AB(p.c.)FLMRST, iustus C(p.c.)D(a.c.)P(p.c.), iniustus D(p.c.)EGO 8 pius] pius sic ABCDFLMRST, pius EGO 9 alia] his similia quam O || plurima] multa L 10 Deum uerum] uerum Deum F || quae] quem C 12 Dionysius] post Dionysius add. S uero || dogma] dogmata L 13 quin ... esse] om. R || quin] atquin L 14 in] om. B 16 suus] suis C 19 compellere] compellere E || apostolus] apostolis P, Paulus apostolus T || signum] signaculum M 24 baptismum] baptisma C 28 ut] om. C || ante] antea M 29 caecum natum cuncti] cuncti caecum natum E

to heaven, He sits at the right hand of God the Father, a true God and a true Man, through Whom all things were created, and Who is to come at the end of time as Judge of all things which happen, Who “is known as God in Judea and mighty and holy is His name in Israel”. Accordingly, him you have treated until now as unknown, realize that He alone is God, and “other than Him there is no other”, Who with the price of His own blood led us from death to life, Who joined heaven and earth – men, that is, and angels – together in the unity of His realm, Who as a just (God) destroys and Who as a merciful (God) gives life, “Who closes and no-one opens, Who opens and no-one closes.”

7. As Paul was preaching these and other things as he walked among the various temples, explaining that Jesus Christ was the Son of God and the true God – all of which the Athenians, given their friendly curiosity, accepted eagerly because of their very novelty – Dionysius, hearing this true instruction and the doctrine of salvation and recognizing that the idols which he worshipped were nothing, indeed were more demons than gods, but hearing clearly the Holy Spirit and the life-giving words in Paul’s teaching, was touched in his heart by the divine light, and gave in to Paul and begged him that he beseech mercy on his behalf from that God whom Paul was preaching, so that he might become a worshipper of that God and might deserve to become Paul’s disciple.

8. On the following day, as Paul set out on his way, a certain blind man began to accost him in beseeching tones. The holy apostle planted the sign of the Cross on his eyes which had been closed since birth, and said: ‘May Christ, Our Lord and master, Who placed mud on the eyes of a blind man and restored his sight, illuminate you through His divine power.’ Paul spoke to the man, who immediately gained his sight, in these words: ‘Go to Dionysius and say to him: Paul the servant of Jesus Christ sent me to you so that, being mindful of your promise, you will not put off coming to him in order to receive baptism of salvation, so that you can be freed from all the bonds of sin.’ This man, who had received his sight, obediently fulfilled the words of [Paul’s] command and, hastening to Dionysius, reported Paul’s words in order. But as Dionysius, now endowed with the grace of election, looked at the blind man surveying him with eyes previously blind, he said: ‘Are you not that man whom all our citizens know to have been born blind?’ He replied to him: ‘Indeed I am that man, for whom,

dit: 'Ego nempe sum, cui caeco nato hactenus sol non luxit; sed ipse Paulus, cuius tibi defero mandata salubria, Iesu Christi magistri sui inuocata uirtute, sanitatis mihi lumen indulsit.'⁶³ Qui protinus surgens,⁶⁴ cum omni domo et Damari uxore sua (quam ut sumeret more terrena nobilitatis, propter amorem suscipiendae carae sobolis, eum sui coegere parentes)⁶⁵ ad mandata properat sancti Pauli, credensque fideliter et abnegatis erroribus paganorum, sacri est baptismatis unda respersus. Ac sic demum se tradidit eius magisterio plenius imbuendum,⁶⁶ inque sanctae trinitatis fide et incarnationis, passionis ac resurrectionis Iesu Christi Domini nostri mysterio, seu cunctis arcanis ecclesiasticae sanctitatis affatim – ut comes eius inseparabilis, quocumque gressum mouerat – a beato Paulo per triennium institutus.⁶⁷ Thessalonica, magistrum obsequendo, reuertens, ab eodem beato Paulo apostolo Atheniensium est ordinatus antistes,⁶⁸ ac deinde, ipso iubente, Christi euangelium praedicauit,⁶⁹ eandemque ciuitatem et maximam partem patriae ad fidem ueritatis conuertit.

9. Scripsit et per idem tempus ad Timotheum Ephesiorum episcopum, suum autem condiscipulum, diuino usus stylo, fulguranti sermone, se eiusdem panis uerbo quo uiuunt angeli repletum ostendens, de caelesti principatu (id est de ordinibus angelorum) insigni eloquentia et reuerenda profundissimaque intelligentia:⁷⁰ sicut reuera is qui in caelo os suum posuerat,⁷¹ cum de caelestibus loquebatur, ubi corde et conuersatione degebat, haec per sequentia capitula sufficientissime disserens.

i. Quia omnis diuinus splendor secundum benignitatem uarie in prouidentibus procedens, manet simplex; et non hoc tantum, sed et coadunat illa quae splendorem accipiunt.⁷²

ii. Quia decenter diuina et caelestia per insimilitudinum symbola monstrantur.⁷³

1 luxit] illuxit O 3 sanitatis] sanctitatis L 4–5 (quam ... parentes)] om. R 6 credensque] credens O 7 se tradidit] tradidit se M 7–8 plenius imbuendum] imbuendum plenius M 10 affatim] post affatim add. O instructus (marg.) 11 Paulo] post Paulo add. ET apostolo 11–12 per ... Paulo] om. O 11 Thessalonica] Thessalonicam E 12 ab eodem] a MT 13 antistes] episcopus T 14 partem patriae] patriae partem E 16 se] sed C 18 reuerenda] reuera A 19 is] his AMS || caelo] om. S 20 haec per ...] dehinc usque ad finem c. 14 (in eo uiues) om. M || haec] hae P (a.c.) || sequentia] subsequentia S 22 benignitatem] dignitatem S || in] om. L 25 insimilitudinum] sic ABDEFLOP (a.c., sed P corr. postea in insimilitudina) RS, insimilitudinem CG

being blind from birth, the sun has not previously shone; but that same Paul, whose salvific words I bring to you, having invoked the miraculous power of Jesus Christ his master, has bestowed on me the light of sound vision.' Dionysius got up at once, with his entire household and with Damaris his wife (whom his parents, in accordance with the custom of earthly nobility, had compelled him to marry for the sake of begetting dear offspring), and hastened to carry out the commands of St Paul; and believing in true faith and rejecting the errors of the pagans, he was anointed with the water of holy baptism. And then at once he entrusted himself to St Paul's instruction in order to be more thoroughly trained; and for three years he was fully taught by St Paul in the faith of the Holy Trinity and in the mystery of the incarnation, the passion and the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in all the concealed aspects of ecclesiastical discipline, as his inseparable companion wherever he went. Returning from Thessalonica in the footsteps of his master, he was ordained bishop of Athens by the same St Paul; and subsequently, at Paul's command, he preached the gospel and converted Athens, and a substantial part of Greece, to the true Christian faith.

9. At this same time he wrote to Timotheus, bishop of Ephesus and a former classmate, employing the divine style of brilliant writing, revealing himself to be nourished on the same verbal bread on which the angels live; he treated the celestial hierarchy (that is, the orders of the angels) in outstanding elegance revealing the most reverend and profound intelligence: as will be seen from the fact that this person, who had placed his eloquent tongue in the heavens – where he dwelled in heart and habit – when he was discussing heavenly matters, treated these matters very fully, as the following chapter-headings indicate:

- i. That every divine enlightenment, although it proceeds in various ways towards those provided for, out of its goodness, it remains simple; and not only this, but it unifies those things which receive the enlightenment.
- ii. That divine and heavenly things are appropriately revealed through dissimilar symbols.

iii. Quid est hierarchia (id est sacer principatus) et quis est erga hierarchiam profectus.⁷⁴

iiii. Quid significat angelorum cognominatio.⁷⁵

v. Cur omnes caelestes substantiae in commune angeli dicuntur.⁷⁶

5 vi. Quis est primus caelestium substantiarum ornatus, quis medius et quis ultimus.⁷⁷

vii. De seraphim et cherubim et thronis, et de prima eorum hierarchia (id est de primo eorum sacro principatu).⁷⁸

viii. De dominationibus et uirtutibus et potestatibus, et de media eorum hierarchia (id est sacro principatu).⁷⁹

10

ix. De principatibus et archangelis et angelis, et ultima eorum hierarchia (id est sacro principatu).⁸⁰

x. Repetitio et congregatio boni et angelici ordinis.⁸¹

xi. Cur omnes caelestes potestates communiter uirtutes caelestes uocantur.⁸²

xii. Cur qui apud homines sunt hierarchi (id est sacri principes uidelicet sacerdotes) angeli uocantur.⁸³

15

xiii. Cur a seraphim dicitur mundari propheta Esaias.⁸⁴

xiiii. Quid significat traditus angelorum numerus.⁸⁵

xv. Quae sunt formales angelicarum uirtutum imagines et ordines: quid quod igneum est; et quid est, quod humana specie angeli apparent; qui sunt illi oculi; quae illae nares; quae sunt illae aures; quae illa ora; qui sunt illi tactus; quae sunt illae palpebrae; quae sunt illa supercilia; quis auditus; qui sunt illi dentes; qui sunt humeri; quae sunt illa brachia et manus; quod illud cor; quae

20

4 dicuntur] uocantur G 7 de] om. S 9 eorum] om. F 13 et²] om. ABCEFLPR 14 communiter] commuter C || uirtutes caelestes] caelestes uirtutes O 19 ordines] ordinem B 20 apparent] apparentur L 21 nares; ... illae] om. S || sunt¹] om. L 22 sunt³] om. L 23 illa] om. C

iii. What is a hierarchy (that is, a sacred principality) and what progress there is towards this hierarchy.

iiii. What the designation 'angel' signifies.

v. Why all celestial beings are called 'angels' in common.

vi. What is the first rank of celestial beings, what is the middle, and what is the last.

vii. Concerning the seraphim, cherubim and thrones, and concerning theirs, the first hierarchy (that is, their first sacred principality).

viii. Concerning the dominions, powers and authorities, and theirs, the middle hierarchy (that is, their sacred principality).

ix. Concerning the principalities and archangels and angels, and theirs, the final hierarchy (that is, their sacred principality).

x. Repetition and summation of the good and angelic order.

xi. Why all heavenly authorities are called 'heavenly powers' in common.

xii. Why those which among men are hierarchs (that is, holy princes, that is to say, priests) are called angels.

xiii. Why the prophet Isaiah is said to be purified by the seraphim.

xiiii. What the traditional number of angels signifies.

xv. What are the formal images and orders of the angelic powers; what is that which is fiery; how is it that the angels appear in human form; what are the eyes; what are the nostrils; what are the ears; what is the mouth; what is the sense of touch; what are the eyelids; what are the eyebrows; what is the hearing; what are the teeth; what are the shoulders; what are the arms and hands; what is the

sunt illa pectora; quae sunt illa dorsa; qui sunt illi pedes; quae sunt illae alae; quae est illa nuditas; quis est ille uestitus; quae est illa splendidissima uestis; quis ille sacerdotalis; quae sunt zonae; quae sunt illae uirgae; quae sunt illae lanceae; quae sunt illae secures; quis est ille geometricalis funis; qui sunt illi uenti; quae illae nubes; quod est illud aes; quod est illud electrum; qui sunt illi colores differentium lapidum; quis uisus leoninus; quis uisus aquilinus; quis uisus uitulinus; qui sunt illi equi; quae sunt differentiae equorum colorum; quae sunt illa flumina; qui sunt currus; quae sunt rotae; quid est quod dictum est gaudium angelorum.⁸⁶

- 10 10. Ad eundem etiam Timotheum alterum scripsit librum de ecclesiastico sacro principatu, distincte per capitula (quae infra sequuntur), elegantissime mysticum sacramentum prius ponens, et sic singulas singulis capitulis mysticorum sacramentorum theorias subiungens.⁸⁷ In quibus ostendit cuncta quae in ecclesiasticis et sacratissimis mysteriorum consecrationibus fiunt angelico ministerio secundum conuenientiam uniuscuiusque ordinis, una cum ministris sancti altaris, et praecipue hierarcha (hoc est sacerdote), qui unus de angelis secundum fas efficitur caelitus operari, maxime in ministerio sancti sacrificii dominicae passionis: sanctissimi principatus militiae caelestis cum consortibus suis in proprio ordine et laudis officio semper assistunt, et in consecratione sacratissimi chrismatis, quae uniformis et uniordo⁸⁸ est symbolis sanctissimae eucharistiae. In qua uidelicet chrismatis initiatione, ordinem seraphim, benignum⁸⁹ Iesum qui in omnibus sanctissimus sanctificat seipsum pro nobis, et omni nos sanctificatione replet in ipso perfectos, atque ex Deo natos circumstare, et multilauda illa hymnologia, quam propheta seraphim se audisse clamare describit,⁹⁰ eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum intelligibiliter laudare, obsequentibus etiam ceteris angelorum choris et sensualiter 'Alleluia' concinentibus, liquido manifestat. Cuius libri est prima ista capitulatio:

i. Quae est ecclesiastici principatus traditio, et quae est eius speculatio.⁹¹

1 sunt¹] *om. O* || illa] *om. O* || illi] *om. O* 2-4 quae ... lanceae] *om. S* 2 est²] *om. O* 3 ille] *post ille add. O* funis (*in marg.*) || sacerdotalis] *post sacerdotalis add. D* pileus (*s.l.*), et *E add. amictus* 5 illi] *om. CEGLORS* 10 librum] *libellum E (a.c.)* || sacro] *om. R* 13 theorias] *theorica C* || cuncta quae] *cunctaque C* 14 et sacratissimis] *om. R* 15 conuenientiam] *conuenientium CT* 17 ministerio] *ministerio sic BEP(p.c.)RT, mysterio ACDFGLOS* || sancti sacri] *CL* 20 chrismatis] *charismatis AOP* || uniordo] *uno ordo S* || symbolis] *symboli LT* 21 initiatione] *imitatione O* 23 natos] *natus B* 24 multilauda] *laude C* || hymnologia] *ymnologica O* || quam] *qua S* 26 Alleluia] *om. S* 28 ecclesiastici] *aeclesiastice C* || et ... speculatio] *om. S* || est] *om. F*

heart; what are the breasts; what are the backs; what are the feet; what are the wings; what is the nakedness; what is the clothing; what is the brilliant garment; what is the priestly vestment; what are the belts; what are the wands; what are the lances; what are the axes; what is the plumb-line; what are the winds; what are the clouds; what is the bronze; what is the electron; what are the colours of different stones; what is the likeness of the lion; what is the likeness of the eagle; what is the likeness of the calf; what are the horses; what are the differences of the horses' colours; what are the rivers; what are the chariots; what are the wheels; what is the so-called joy of the angels.

10. To the same Timotheus he also wrote another book concerning the sacred ecclesiastical principality, divided up into chapters, which follow on below, first laying out most elegantly the mystical sacrament, and then adding a 'theory' to each chapter of the mystical sacraments. In these he reveals all those things which take place through angelic ministry during ecclesiastical and holy consecrations of the mysteries, according to the requirements of each order, together with the ministers of the holy altar, and particularly the hierarch (that is, the priest), who alone among the angels according to custom is made to operate in a divine fashion, principally in the administration of the holy sacrifice of the Lord's passion: the holy principalities of the heavenly army, with their consorts, always take part in their appropriate order and in the duty of praise, as well as in the consecration of the most sacred chrism, which is uniform and of similar order to symbols of the most holy eucharist. In this initiation of the chrism he makes abundantly clear the order of the Seraphim, the kindly Jesus Who in all things sanctifies Himself for us as the holiest of holies, and fills us all with His sanctification to be complete in Him and to stand forth as born from God, and in that much-praised hymnology which the prophet describes himself as having heard the Seraphim cry out, he clearly shows that they praise the same Lord Jesus Christ intelligently, with other orders of angels following and singing the 'Alleluia' harmoniously. This is the first chapter-sequence of this book:

i. What is the tradition of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and what is its significance.

ii. De his quae in baptismatis illuminatione perficiuntur.⁹²

iii. De his quae in collatione eucharistiae perficiuntur.⁹³

iiii. De his quae in chrismate perficiuntur, et in ipso consecrantur.⁹⁴

v. De sacerdotalibus perfectionibus.⁹⁵

5 vi. De perfectis ordinibus (id est monachorum et saeculo renuntiantium etiam post baptismum).⁹⁶

vii. De his quae in dormientibus perficiuntur.⁹⁷

10 ii. Tertium quoque ipsi conscripsit tomum De diuinis nominibus,⁹⁸ quem et appellat De symbolica theologia, examussim et orthodoxe, ut sufficit, in eo disputans:

i. Quae est uerbi speculatio, et quae est de diuinis nominibus traditio.⁹⁹

ii. De coadunata et discreta theologia, et quae est diuina coadunatio et diuina discretio.¹⁰⁰

15 iii. Quae est orationis uirtus, et de beato Hierotheo, et de reuerentia et conscriptione theologica.¹⁰¹

20 In quo ostendit se apud sanctam ciuitatem penes sepulchrum Iesu,¹⁰² uitae principis,¹⁰³ a Iacobo fratre Domini et Petro apostolorum principe, necnon et a theologo Iohanne una cum praefato Hierotheo, et sancto Timotheo¹⁰⁴ aliisque quamplurimis sanctis fratribus audisse disputationem; et fidei sacramentum, quomodo ab omnibus tenebatur theologis, de diuinitate et humanitate Domini saluatoris; sed et ex consequentibus, suppresso nomine, beatum Paulum his interfuisse demonstrat.

1 perficiuntur] proficiscuntur *C* 8 ipsi] ipse *L* 9 symbolica] symbola *O* 11 est!] *om. S* ||
 uerbi] uerbis *E* 12 coadunata] quo adunata *T* 17 a] *om. A* 18 et sancto Timotheo] *om.*
O 21 et] *om. GS*

ii. Concerning those things which are accomplished through the illumination of baptism.

iii. Concerning those things which are accomplished during assembly for the eucharist.

iiii. Concerning those things which are accomplished in the chrism, and are sanctified by it.

v. Concerning clerical consecrations.

vi. Concerning the orders of those being initiated (that is, those of the monks and of those who renounce the world even after baptism).

vii. Concerning those rites which are performed for the dead.

11. Dionysius also wrote to him [Timotheus] a third book *Concerning divine names*, which he also called *Concerning symbolic theology*, treating in it precisely and in a way that was satisfactorily orthodox the following:

i. What is the significance of discourse, and what is the tradition regarding divine names.

ii. Concerning unified and differentiated theology, and what is divine union and divine differentiation.

iii. What is the power of prayer; and concerning the blessed Hierotheus, and concerning veneration and theological composition.

In this chapter he reveals that while he was in the holy city [i.e. Jerusalem] at the tomb of Jesus, the source of life, he heard a discussion by James the brother of our Lord, and Peter prince of the apostles, as well as John the Theologian together with the aforementioned Hierotheus and St Timotheus and various other holy brothers; and with respect to the sacrament of faith pertaining to the divinity and humanity of our Lord the Saviour, how it was maintained by all theologians; and he also reveals in what follows that, without mentioning his name, St Paul was present at these discussions.

iii. De benigno, de luce, de bono et cupiditate et ecstasi, et de zelo, et quia malum nec est, nec de existente, neque in existentibus est.¹⁰⁵

In quo capitulo beati Ignatii cupiditatem etiam in bono accipi debere asserens, cum uenerationis laude commemorat scribentis¹⁰⁶ in quodam loco sic: ‘mea cupiditas’, inquit, ‘crucifixa est’, Dominum Iesum uolens intelligi.¹⁰⁷ Sed et capitula suprascripti Hierothei contra philosophos non pauca interserit.¹⁰⁸ In quibus ita per strophatos syllogismos de malo disputans, constringit eos, ut in neutram partem deflectere, neque post tergum regredi, sed et nec alio seipsos possint dirigere, nisi quo ipse eos cogit impingere.

10 v. De esse et de paradigmis.¹⁰⁹ In quo sensum Clymis¹¹⁰ philosophi acute redarguit.

vi. De uita.¹¹¹ Et in hoc amentiam refellit Magi Simonis, et contentiosos eius sermones a diuino choro repellit.

vii. De sapientia, de mente, de uerbo, de ueritate, de fide.¹¹²

15 viii. De uirtute, de iustitia, de salute, de redemptione, et de inequalitate.¹¹³

Vbi Elymam magum ancipiti gladio percutit dicentem, ‘Si omnipotens est Deus, quomodo dicitur quid non posse?’ Et Paulum calumniantem syllogistico spiculo terebrat, et cor cerebrumque eius (id est intellectum et sensum) perfodit et comminuit.¹¹⁴

20 ix. De magno et minore, et de idipsum et de altero, de simili et insimili, de statu, de motu et aequalitate.¹¹⁵

x. De omnipotente, de antiquo dierum, et de saeculo et tempore.¹¹⁶

xi. De pace; et quid uult ipsum quod ipsum dicitur; et quae est ipsa uita et quae est ipsa uirtus, et quae sic dicuntur.¹¹⁷

1 de luce] dulce *O* || et¹] et de *C* 3 beati Ignatii] Ignatii beati *E* 6 suprascripti] suprita *B* 9 possint] possent *ABFGOPRT* 10 esse] *corr. ed.*; est *ABDEFLOPRST*, spe *C*, essentia *G* 12 in] *om. C* 14–15 de ... uirtute] *om. S* 17 quid] qui *E* 19 et] atque *RT* 20 idipsum] idipso *R* || de²] *om. ABDEFLOPR (recte?)* || statu] *post* statu *add. O* et 21 et] *post* et *add. ADEFLOPRS* de (*recte?*) 23 dicitur] deus est eorum *S* 23–24 et quae est] atque *P*

iiii. Concerning the 'good', 'light', 'beautiful', 'yearning', 'ecstasy' and 'zeal', and that evil neither exists, nor derives from something which exists, nor is present in things which exist.

Asserting in this chapter that the yearning of the blessed Ignatius ought to be accepted in good (faith), with the praise of admiration he recalls him writing somewhere as follows: 'My yearning', he said, 'is crucified', intending that the Lord Jesus be understood. But he also inserted no small number of chapters of the aforementioned Hierotheus attacking philosophers. In these chapters, treating the question of evil through elaborate syllogisms, he fetters them so that they cannot turn either way, nor retreat, nor direct themselves in any other direction except that in which he compels them to turn.

v. Concerning 'being' and also concerning paradigms. In this chapter he acutely refutes the interpretation of the philosopher Clymis.

vi. Concerning 'life'. And in this chapter he repudiates the foolishness of Simon Magus, and expels his contentious writings from the divine choir.

vii. Concerning 'wisdom', 'mind', 'word', 'truth', and 'faith'.

viii. Concerning 'power', 'righteousness', 'salvation', 'redemption', and 'inequality'.

Here he strikes down with a two-bladed sword Elymas the magician when he says, 'If God is omnipotent, how can it be said that He cannot do something?' And he pierces Elymas, (who is) falsely accusing St Paul, with a syllogistic arrow, and transfixes and smashes his heart and brain (that is, his intellect and understanding).

viii. Concerning 'the great' and 'the lesser', 'the same' and 'the different', 'the similar' and 'the dissimilar', 'rest', 'motion' and 'equality'.

x. Concerning 'omnipotent', 'ancient of days', and also concerning eternity and time.

xi. Concerning 'peace', and what is intended by 'being itself'; and what is 'life itself' and 'power itself', and what things are described thus.

xii. De sancto sanctorum, rege regum, Domino dominorum, Deo deorum.¹¹⁸

xiii. De perfecto et uno.¹¹⁹

12. Epitoma quinetiam eidem Timotheo composuit capitulatim, De mystica
 5 theologia¹²⁰ per cataphasin (id est affirmationem) et per apophasin (id est
 negationem), atque per hypotheticos (id est conditionales) syllogismos omnia
 sensibilia et intelligibilia, et quae in terra sunt et quae in caelo, sensu tran-
 scendens, ac prout mortali possibile est atque licitum, usque ad ipsius diuini-
 tatis sacrarium penetrans. Quapropter a Graecorum sapientibus extunc hodie-
 10 que Dionysius ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ,¹²¹ quod Latinus sermo explicat ‘ala
 caeli’, uocatur; quia illuc spiritali intelligentia et reuerentissimae reuelationis
 gratia euolans, non solum illa multimoda et magnifica mysteria ac ministe-
 ria sanctorum spirituum, uerum et sempiternae deitatis saporem palato cor-
 15 dis degustans didicit, unde haec humanae notitiae litteris eructauit. In cuius
 libri capitulo primo dicit intimatum sibi a beato Bartholomeo apostolo, qua-
 liter theologiam sanctumque euangelium debuerit intelligere; quod et argute
 cepit et breuibus sed profundissimis uerbis eiusdem apostoli, scriptis suis ea
 inserendo, definiuit.¹²² In secundo autem capitulo tradidit quomodo oporteat
 20 coadunari, et hymnos reponere omnium causae et super omnia.¹²³ In tertio
 uero, quae sunt cataphaticae (id est affirmatiuae) theologiae et quae sunt apo-
 phaticae (id est negatiuae).¹²⁴ In quarto, quia nihil est sensibile, quod omnis
 sensibilis secundum supereminentem causam.¹²⁵ In quinto, quia nihil est intel-
 ligibile, quod omnis intelligibile secundum supereminentem causam.¹²⁶

13. Sed et Gaio scripsit epistolam,¹²⁷ per sententias disserentem quomodo qua-
 25 dam ignorantia cognoscatur Deus et quomodo uisus sit ab his, qui eum uidisse
 leguntur;¹²⁸ et quod benignifico et deifico munere aliquo modo intelligatur;¹²⁹
 et quod non solum diuinitatis sed et humanitatis Christi mysterium et dictu
 arcanum maneat et intellectu ignotum;¹³⁰ et quomodo Iesus, qui est super
 omnia, hominibus est substantialiter constitutus, et quod secundum homi-

1 Domino ... deorum] deo deorum domino dominorum L 5 negationem] negotiationem S
 8 extunc] post extunc add. E et 8–9 hodieque] hodie L, et hodie R, et hodieque ST 10
 uocatur] uocantur S 11 multimoda] omnimoda C 11–12 ac ministeria] om. S 11 ac] ad
 L 12 palato] palatu LRT 16 cepit] coepit O || et] in S 17 inserendo] inserende C 18
 causae] causa L 19–20 affirmatiuae] ... est] om. C (per saltum oculorum) 21–22 sensibilis
 ... omnis] om. O (per saltum oculorum) 21 supereminentem causam] supereminentiam
 causa MSS. 22 supereminentem causam] supereminentiam causa MSS. 23 disserentem]
 differentem MSS. 23–24 quadam] quodam P 24 sit] est S 26 mysterium] ministerium
 L 27 intellectu] intellectum C || qui est] om. L 28 est] om. B 28–256.1 homines]
 hominem O

xii. Concerning 'holy of holies', 'king of kings', 'Lord of lords', 'God of gods'.

xiii. Concerning 'perfect' and 'one'.

12. He also composed for the same Timotheus, chapter by chapter, an epitome *On mystical theology*, through *cataphasis* (that is, through affirmation) and *apophasis* (that is, through negation), as well as through 'hypothetical' (that is, conditional) syllogisms, transcending in understanding all perceptible and intelligible things, both those which are on earth and those in heaven, and insofar as it is possible and permissible for a mortal, penetrating as far as the sanctuary of divinity itself. Accordingly, from then onwards and today as well, Dionysius is called by Greek scholars the ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ, which in Latin means 'wing of the heavens'; for, flying thither aloft with his spiritual understanding and for the sake of divine revelation, not only did he learn those manifold and magnificent mysteries and offices of the holy spirits, but also savoured with the palate of his mind the taste of eternal deity, whence he regurgitated these things in writing for (the advancement of) human knowledge.

In the first chapter of this book he says that it was revealed to him by the blessed apostle Bartholomew how he ought to understand divine theology and the holy gospels; he subtly adopted this and explained it in the brief but profound words of the same apostle, inserting them in his own writings. In the second chapter he explained how one should be united (to God), and set down hymns (of praise) to the cause of all things (Who is) beyond all things. In the third chapter, he explained what theologies are cataphatic (that is affirmative), and what are apophatic (that is negative). In the fourth chapter, that there is nothing by way of perceptible things, because every thing is perceptible in accordance with the supreme Cause. In the fifth chapter, that there is nothing by way of intelligible things, because every thing is intelligible in accordance with the supreme Cause.

13. And he wrote to Gaius a letter explaining in chosen words how God may be known through a kind of ignorance, and in what way He was 'seen' by those who are said to have seen Him; and that He is somehow understood through a bountiful and divine gift; and that the mystery not only of the divinity but also the humanity of Christ remains inexpressible in language and unknown by the intellect; and how Jesus, Who is beyond all things, is substantially constituted as men are, and that like men He was substantiated substantially from the

nes, de hominum substantia substantialiter est substantiatus, sicut ostendit uirgo superexcellenter¹³¹ pariens, et aqua instabilis materialem et terrestrem grauitatem sustinens; et quod non diuise secundum Deum tantum diuina egit benignus Iesus, neque humana tantum secundum hominem: sed uir Deus
5 factus, nouam quandam Dei uirilem operationem nobis perciuilitauit.¹³²

Dorotheo quoque ministro direxit litteras,¹³³ innotescens quod diuina caligo sit 'lux inaccessibilis',¹³⁴ in qua habitare Deus dicitur, et in qua fit omnis qui eum scire et uidere dignus in hoc corpore fuerit. Sosipatrem autem sacerdotem breui diplomate monuit, ne bona sua non manifestata iudicet esse neglecta, et
10 ut careat contentione uerborum.¹³⁵

14. Polycarpo etiam Smyrnaeorum episcopo,¹³⁶ beati uidelicet Iohannis apostoli discipulo, epistolam quasi apologeticam misit,¹³⁷ innuens quod pertinaces contradictores ueritatis saepius correpti aliquantulum sint declinandi, simul et Graecos accusans, quod per sapientiam a Deo acceptam non sancte diuinis
15 in diuina utentes, diuinum eicere temptent cultum, et per multam uanam gloriam poetarum, seruitutem inducere studeant creaturae potius quam creatori.¹³⁸ Vnde et Apollophanii sophistae, cultoris scilicet solis, faciens mentionem et sancto Polycarpo de eo suadens, acti in sole sub Ezechia miraculi recordatur,¹³⁹ cui fidem accommodare isdem Apollophanus detrectauit; atque ut
20 ei non possit monenti resistere, beatum Polycarpum instruit et rememorari eum Apollophanio petit de signo tenebrarum in saluatoris crucifixione facto,¹⁴⁰ earundemque tenebrarum accessionem et recessionem ab oriente¹⁴¹ in orientem exstitisse mirabilem, sicut in Heliopoli ciuitate pariter constituti uiderunt, addens et uerba, quae ei tunc saepefatus Apollophanus dixerat, uti plenius in
25 epistola ad ipsum directa infra docebitur. Quam ob pleniorum gestarum rerum cognitionem huic subnectere iudicauimus habentem in se haec uerba:

'Apollophanio concreto et conphilosopho.¹⁴² Nunc nunc ad te mihi sermo dirigitur, praecordialis amor, multos tibi sollicitudinum mearum angores de te replicans, teque miti mente super uecordi notae tibi friuolitatibus diutina pertinacia arguens, et de te fanatica illusionum phantasmata insultans, supernalem
30 modificationem benignitatis Dei magnificentissime et diligentissime ado-

1 substantiatus] substantiatus *R* 4 tantum] *om. L* 7 habitare Deus] Deus habitare *C* 8 Sosipatrem] Sosipatrum *G* 13 sint declinandi] declinandi sint *E* 14–15 diuinis] diuinitatis *G* 16–17 creatori] creatoris *ABDEGLOR*, creaturis *T* 18 suadens] *om. S* 19 detrectauit] detractauit *P* 20 monenti] momenti *E* 22–23 orientem] occidentem *S* 24 saepefatus] saepifatus *BC* || dixerat, uti plenius] *om. S* || dixerat] direxerat *B* || uti] ut *CD* 25 pleniorum] plenitudinem *T* 26 habentem ... uerba] *om. S* || in se] se in *MSS.* 27 Apollophanio ... conphilosopho] *litura in B* || nunc] *om. S* || ad te mihi] mihi ad te mi *O*

substance of men, as the Virgin revealed in giving birth supernaturally, and the fluid water (revealed) in sustaining His material and earthly weight; and that the kindly Jesus did not only perform divine miracles differently from God, nor did He perform human operations as a man: but as God-made-man, He accomplished for us a new kind of divine-manlike activity.

He also addressed a letter to Dorotheus, a minister, pointing out that divine obscurity is the 'unapproachable light' in which God is said to dwell, and into which everyone enters who in this flesh was worthy to know and see Him. He warned Sosipater, a priest, in a brief letter, not to think that his good (deeds) which had not been made known publicly were neglected, and that he should avoid verbal disputes.

14. To Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, the disciple of the apostle John, he also sent a letter by way of an *apologia*, arguing that stubborn opponents of the truth, having frequently been chastized, are somewhat to be avoided, and at the same time charging the Greeks that in not using divine reasoning reverently through wisdom received from God for their theological discussions, they try to reject divine worship and, through the great vainglory of the poets, seek to inculcate subservience to the creature rather than to the Creator. Then, making mention of Apollophanus, the sun-worshipper, and warning St Polycarp about him, he recollects the miracle involving the sun, (which occurred) under Hezekiah, to which this same Apollophanus refused to give credence; and in order that he not be able to resist his warning, he instructs St Polycarp and begs him to recall to Apollophanus the miracle of the darkness which took place at the time of the Saviour's crucifixion, and the miraculous advent and departure of this same darkness from the east back into the east, just as he [Dionysius] and Apollophanus witnessed it when they were together in Heliopolis, adding also the words which the aforementioned Apollophanus had said to him on that occasion, as will be explained more fully below in the letter addressed to him. Because of its importance for the complete understanding of these events, I have decided to subjoin this letter to him, containing within it these words:

'Dionysius to Apollophanus, his coeval and philosophical colleague. At this very moment my discourse is directed to you, dear sweet friend, revealing to you the many anxieties of my concerns for you, and, in a gentle spirit, reproving you over the lasting and silly stubbornness of a frivolity well known to you, and reviling the fanatical phantoms of deceptions involving you, while at the same time worshipping most grandly and attentively the heavenly measure of God's

rando. Tibi bene resipiscenti, pars animae meae, coniubilo; tuisque te despectionibus compellabo, ut illa tibi iterata commendem, quorum pridem contempseras notionem. Frequentissime quidem et diligenter satis dilucidavi tibi, Moysē prodente, a Domino hominem limo factum et transgressionē eius cataclysmo piatas, sequenter quoque eum in amicitia sumptum, multaque in Ægypto et egressionis suae itinere pro eo et in eo fecisse magnalia, atque theologos multimodos effecisse, quorum praenoscentia Deus humanatus fieri ex uirgine est dignatus. Vnde mihi responsalia multotiens remisisti non solum te haec esse uera funditus ignorare, uerum et quis idem Moyses fuerit, pernescire; euangeliumque Iesu Christi Dei totius maiestatis, quod meum uocabas, rennuere; Paulum uero hominem mundi circuitorem et seminiuerbium, (ducentem) de materialibus ad immaterialia, non uelle suscipere – immo me refellendo, quoniam paterna religionis iura degener omittens, in sacrilega nefaria me transfuderim; hortabaris aut ea quibus innitebar dediscere aut his delectis paterer mea mihi sufficere, et non numina diuina seu leges patrias derogare. Vt¹⁴³ autem lux superna paternae gloriae splendorem in tuae mentis tenebras radiare suo proposito destinauit, penetralibus cordis mei infudit, ut tibi memoriale piissimum recordarer, qualiter in Heliopoli,¹⁴⁴ paene coeue mihi, ego quinque et uiginti annorum fere tempus euoluens,¹⁴⁵ pariter morabamur; cum feria quadam sexta, ferme hora etiam quasi sexta,¹⁴⁶ luna se ei iniciente, sol est horribiliter obscuratus, quia non Deus sed creatura Dei, lucis suae occultu lucere nequiuit; quaestusque sum apud te, quid hinc tibi, prudentissime, uideretur. Ex quo prudentia tua respondit quod adeo tenaciter cordi mentis meae inhaesit, ut nulla obliteratione abradi, nulla mortis imagine ualeat aboleri. Obfuso namque orbe uniformiter tenebrarum caligine tabescente ut purgatum rediit solis diametrum, regulam¹⁴⁷ Philippi Arridei assumpsimus; cumque reperimus – quod et erat notissimum – eo tenus fatigatione ecliptica solem pati molestias non debere, et lunam ab oriente solarem fulgorem uelis Æthiopicis obducentem solere in occidua ora captare perfugia, tunc autem

1–2 despectionibus] disceptationibus G 3 notionem] notitiam C, notacionem T || satis] sacris ABCDFS, sacris uerbis G, sacris dictis O; *litura in E* 5 eum] *om. E* 6–7 theologos] theologus CT 7 multimodos] multimodis C || humanatus] homo natus E (*p.c.*) LR, humanitus T 9 esse uera] uera esse L 10 uocabas] uocabas C 11–12 (ducentem)] *suppl. ed.* 13 nefaria] nefariaque R, *om. S* 15 leges patrias] patrias leges R 17 proposito] proproposito A || penetralibus] penetrabilibus ABOP, penetrauilibus S 18 recordarer] recordare G || coeue] coeuo O || mihi] *om. R* || ego] *post ego add. R* quippe 19 annorum fere] fere annorum L 20 sexta] *om. B* 24 obliteratione] ratione G || ualeat] ualet S 25 Obfuso] obfuso *corr. ed.*; obfusi MSS. || orbe] orbes G, orbi S 26 regulam Philippi Arridei] regula philosophi aridei S || assumpsimus] sumpsimus L 27 eo] ea G 28 et] *om. O*

goodness. I rejoice with you, partner of my soul, that you have come to your senses; and I shall continue to take you to task for your contemptuous attitude, so that I may once again commend to you those things the knowledge of which you previously scorned. Very frequently, and patiently too, I explained to you, following Moses' account [i.e. the Pentateuch], that man was made by the Lord from clay and his sins were punished by the Flood and he was subsequently restored to favour; and the Lord performed many miracles for him [Moses] and through him, both in Egypt and on the exodus from Egypt, and brought forth various prophets through whose foreknowledge God deigned to become humanized through a Virgin. Whereupon you very frequently replied to me that not only were you completely unaware of the truth of these things, but that you had no idea who this Moses was; and that you rejected the gospel, which you referred to as *my* text, of Jesus Christ the God in all His majesty; but that you also did not wish to accept the man Paul, who travelled the world sowing the seed, leading (it) from the material to the immaterial – indeed you refuted me by saying that, in basely rejecting the ancestral laws of our religion I had turned myself over to evil sacrilege; and you advised me either to allow myself to forget those teachings from which I drew support, or else, having chosen them, to allow my own (views) to suffice me, and not to disparage the divine powers or the laws of the land. As the heavenly light determined for its own purposes to shine the brilliance of the Father's glory into the shadows of your mind, it (also) poured it into the recesses of my heart, so that I should remind you of a most affectionate memory, how when we were together in Heliopolis, O friend who are nearly my coeval – I then being nearly twenty-five years old – on a certain sixth day [Friday] at nearly the sixth hour, with the moon casting itself on to it, the sun was terrifyingly darkened, because not God but God's creation [the sun] was unable to shine given the extinction of its light; and I asked you, wisest (of men), what seemed to you (to follow) from this. Thereupon your wise self replied something which stuck so fixedly in the depth of my mind that it cannot be erased by any forgetfulness nor expelled by any phantom of death. For with the darkness of the shadows beginning to recede evenly from the darkened sky as the purified disk of the sun returned, we took up the *Regula* of Philip Arrhidae; and when we found – what indeed was well known – that the sun ought not to suffer losses (of light) to such an extent through the exhaustion of an eclipse, and that the moon, drawing the sun's light from the east behind Egyptian veils, should normally take refuge in western regions, that

lucigenos thesauros, caligines quas genuerant, usque in iliacos terminos,¹⁴⁸ ut
 putauimus, proferentes recondere occidentes, praesertim cum lunae deesset
 et nec conuentus tempus propinquaret, aio ad te, peritiae uastae sacrarium,
 adhuc nescius tantae rei mysterium: 'Quid', inquam, 'speculum doctrinae, Apol-
 5 lophani, his secretis adscribis?' Ad quae mihi tu inquiring omine diuo et non
 humani sensus sermone: 'Ista, o bone Dionysi, diuinarum retributiones sunt
 rerum.'¹⁴⁹ Denique notatum feriae diem et annum annuntiationi, quam Paulus
 noster auribus suspensis intonuit, signis acclamantibus concordari¹⁵⁰ expertus;
 dedi ueritati manus et falsitatis sum nexibus absolutus.¹⁵¹ Quam ineffabiliter
 10 effero, tibi que infero, quae est et uia ac uita, et uerum lumen est, "quod illumi-
 nat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum".¹⁵² Cui tu tandem, ut uere pru-
 dens, cessisti; cessisti nempe uitae cum abdicasti mortem; cuique bene facies
 inhaerendo, cum hinc nobis arctius iunctus eris. Is enim est illud "est": cuius me
 fulgore obtenebrans, eras solitus hinc inde fucis multicoloriis et multiplicibus
 15 etiam intra penetralia infuliginare et acuminatis spiculis terebrare, quoniam, ut
 fatebare, illius notitia sapida nosci ut inhiabas, mentali palato se resultabat, et
 dedignans in uentre tuae notitiae sedem sumere abnuebat. Sic sic modo cogno-
 scentiam et prouida corda gerens, suscipe, ne pro his qui non sunt "est" uerum
 remutes; et pertinacior ad falsa temptantibus esto quam ad uerum "est" sug-
 20 gerentibus nostris uotis extiteras. Ita nam in Iesu esse et uita mea laetus iam
 moriar, cum ipse in eo uiues.'

15. Demophilum nihilominus de proprio actu horribiliter increpans, quoniam
 eum qui a fide apostatauerat prohibuit recipi, ualde utilem scripsit episto-
 lam,¹⁵³ exemplis ac scripturarum testimoniis in modum serti, de agro pleno
 25 sacrae scripturae cui benedixit Dominus, collecti redolentem. In qua ubicum-
 que uocabulo Domini saluatoris uti illum causa poposcerit, benignum¹⁵⁴ eum
 appellat. Quam etiam si quis intente perlegerit, non mediocriter cuius benigni-

2 occidentes] occidentis *F* 4 Quid] qui *C*, quod *G* || inquam] quam *C* 5 Ad quae]
 atque *P*, atque *S* || mihi tu] tu mihi *B* || omine] homine *ABS* 6 retributiones] retributione
B 7 Paulus] *om. C* 8 noster] nostris *C* || intonuit] innotuit *R* || concordari] concordari *sic*
ABCOPRST; concordare *DEFGLM* 10 effero] offero *C* || quae est] qui esset *G* || et uia] et illa *A*
 11 in] *post in CEG add. hunc* 13 est] *om. D* 14 obtenebrans] obterebrans *C* 15 penetralia]
 penetrabilia *L*, penetrauiia *S* || terebrare] tenebrare *C* 16 mentali palato] e mentali palatio *C*,
 mentali palatu *R* 17 abnuebat] obnuebat *C* || Sic] Si *S* 17-18 cognoscentiam] cognoscentia
ABDFGLOR 18 suscipe] suspisce *ADFT* || qui] quae *FRT (recte?)* || uerum] uerbum *G*, uere
S 19 esto] est *C* 20 Ita ... esse] iam in Iesu ita esse *O*, ita nam et in Iesu esse *S* 21 ipse]
 ipso *P* || uiues] uiuas *CFO*, diues *E (littera -d- expuncta)* 22 Demophilum nihilominus ...] *hic*
incipit denuo M 23 apostatauerat] apostauerat *L* 26 poposcerit] poposcerat *R* || eum]
 cum *B* 27-262.1 benignitatis et misericordiae] misericordiae et benignitatis *F*

these light-bearing treasures [sun and moon], projecting the shadows which they had created as far as the sun's limits, so we thought, should then hide themselves in decline, particularly since the time for the moon was not nigh and neither was that for their conjunction approaching, I say to you, O treasury of vast knowledge, though at that point ignorant of the mystery of so mighty an event: "What", I say, "Apollophanus, mirror of learning, do you impute to these secret happenings?" To which you said to me in reply, drawing on divine prognostication and not on the words of human understanding: "These things, good Dionysius, are the retribution of divine events." Finally I realized that the designated day of the week and the year, which the astronomical signs were proclaiming, squared precisely with the prediction which our colleague Paul dinned into my attentive ears; I stretched out my hands to the truth and was freed from the bonds of falsehood. I proclaim this (truth) to you inexpressibly and commend it to you – (this truth) which is the way and the life and the true light, "which illuminates every man who comes into the world". Like a genuinely wise man, you gave in to it; indeed you gave in to life when you rejected death; and in committing yourself to it you shall do well, since you will henceforth be closely associated with us (Christians). For He is that "Essence": overshadowing me with its brilliance, you were accustomed now and then to blacken even my innermost recesses with its manifold and many-coloured disguises and to pierce me with poisoned arrows, since, as you used to say, as you were longing to be acquainted with that Essence's savory knowledge, it was springing back from your mental palate, and was scornfully refusing to take up a place in the stomach of your knowledge. Thus, now that you have acquired knowledge and provident intelligence, accept it, so that you do not grow dumb on behalf of those things which are not the true "Essence"; and be more stubborn with those people who tempt you to falsehood than you were when I was trying to prompt you with my prayers to the true "Essence". And thus I shall now die happily in Jesus and in my own life, since you too live in Him.'

15. Upbraiding Demophilus no less vehemently for something he had done, he composed an extremely useful letter, because he forbade someone who had apostasized from the faith to be received back into it; the letter abounds in examples and biblical quotations in the manner of a garland gathered from the entire field of Holy Scripture, on which the Lord bestowed His blessing. In this letter, wherever an occasion would require him to use the name of the Lord our Saviour, he calls Him 'kindly'. If someone should read this letter carefully, he will observe in no small measure – to the extent that it is possible for man

tatis et misericordiae sit Iesus Dominus, quantum possibile homini est cognoscere, intuebitur; et qua fiducia post lapsum, si contigerit, ad benignum recurrere quisque debeat, peruidebit. Ministrorum etiam ecclesiasticorum ordinem et excellentiam atque auctoritatem sacerdotum in ea plenissime satis ostendit.

5 Cui hanc quoque non dicam fabulam, sed rem spiritalem spiritaliter gestam subiungit. Quam hic ob utilitatem ista legentium, in quorum manus fortasse plenitudo ipsarum non perueniet litterarum, narrare censuimus. Ait enim post multa et inter alia:¹⁵⁵

“Non habemus”, inquit, “pontificem qui non possit compati infirmitatibus nostris”,¹⁵⁶ sed “innocens”¹⁵⁷ et “misericors”,¹⁵⁸ “non erumpet neque clamabit”.¹⁵⁹ “Mitis”¹⁶⁰ enim est, et “propitiatio pro peccatis nostris”.¹⁶¹ Quapropter non recipiemus, O Demophile, tuos zelantes impetus, etiam si decies milies resumas¹⁶² Phineem et Heliam,¹⁶³ cum audierimus¹⁶⁴ illa, quae (non) placebant¹⁶⁵ et displicebant benigno Iesu, a discipulis eius, qui fuerunt in carnis commoratione participes mansueti et benigni ipsius spiritus.¹⁶⁶ Docere enim, non cruciare, oportet ignorantes, sicut et caecos non cruciamus, sed manu ducimus. Benignus namque errantem inquit et refugientem uocat, atque uix inuentum in humeris tollit.¹⁶⁷ Qui et refugientibus cupide iungitur, et non dedignatur dedignari a se reicientibus, et sine causa prouocantes se tolerat et ipse excusat – immo promittit mederi eos, et appropinquantibus sibi praeoccurrit et obuiat, et totus totos complectens deosculatur, et non accusat aut improperat eis priora eorum; sed diligit praesentia, et diem festum agit, et conuocat amicos (benignos uidelicet angelos) ut sit omnium delectantium habitatio.¹⁶⁸ Quicumque igitur inique agere aut benefacere incipiunt, illos sibi spiritus benignitate aut malitia sociant, quorum uoluntatem facere inchoant.¹⁶⁹ Et¹⁷⁰ hi quidem, benignorum angelorum discipuli ac comites, ad semper existens saeculum beatissimas suas delegant terminationes, ubi semper cum Deo erunt, quod est bonorum omnium maximum; isti autem et hic decident a diuina simul et perpetua pace, et post mortem, cum domesticis¹⁷¹ suis erunt daemonibus. Non ergo oportet nos multa festinatione cum Deo benigno per multam benignitatem et misericordiam fieri et semper manere cum eo et segregari de malis

1 sit] est S || Iesus Dominus] Dominus Iesus O || homini est] est homini MS 2 qua] quia CS
 3 peruidebit] prouidebit CL 4 plenissime] om. R 5 spiritaliter] om. C 7 censuimus]
 censuebimus S 10 sed] post sed add. ABCDEFGRS ipse 12 milies] miles B 13 (non)]
 suppl. ed. 14 fuerunt] fuerant L 15 commoratione] commemoratione CE || participes]
 particeps B 16 cruciare] cruciari O 17 uix] om. C 18 refugientibus] fugientibus
 O 19 dedignari] dedignare M || se reicientibus] reicientibus se R 25 hi] hic M 26–27
 saeculum] om. S 29 post] om. O || daemonibus] daedemonibus B || Non] nonne C, non D
 (uel nunc s.l.), nunc L

to understand (such things) – of what sort of kindness and mercy our Lord Jesus is; and he will realize with what confidence everyone ought to return to the kindly Lord after a fall, if that should befall him. He also sets out fully in this letter the hierarchy of ecclesiastical ministers, and the excellence and authority of priests. To this letter he also adds – I shall not say a fable, but rather a spiritual event related spiritually. I decided to recount it here for the benefit of those reading these things, who do not perhaps have the complete text of these writings to hand. He said at length as follows:

“We do not have”, he said, “a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses”, but (rather) he is “blameless” and “merciful”; “he will not sally forth nor will he cry out”. He is “gentle” and is “the expiation for our sins”. Therefore, Demophilus, we shall not tolerate your zealous onslaughts, even if you rehearse the examples of Phineas and Elijah ten thousand times, when we hear those things which did not please and (indeed) displeased the kindly Jesus (when said to Him) by his disciples, who while dwelling in the flesh were participants in His gentle and kindly spirit. It is appropriate to teach the ignorant, not to punish them, in the same way that we do not punish the blind, but rather lead them by the hand. The Kindly One [Christ] seeks the one straying (lamb), and calls it back from its flight, and as soon as He finds it He carries it back on His shoulders. And He is (similarly) associated with those who are eagerly fleeing, and does not scorn to be scorned by those who reject Him, and He tolerates and even forgives those who provoke Him without reason – indeed He promises to heal them, and runs out to meet those who approach Him, and embracing them all He kisses them, and He does not blame them or reproach them for their former (deeds); but rather He loves their present behaviour, and declares a holiday, and summons his friends (namely the kindly angels) so that it can be an occasion for everyone’s enjoyment. Accordingly, those who set out to act either out of malice or of good intention, join themselves to Him either in kindness or malice of spirit, whichever of these two things they undertake to make their intention. And indeed these latter disciples and companions of the kindly angels direct their blessed efforts to that perpetually existing world, where they shall forever be with God, which is the greatest of all goods; the others [i.e. those of malicious intent] shall both fall away from the divine and perpetual peace, and after their death shall be with their tame (?) demons. Is it not, therefore, appropriate for us with great haste to be with the kindly God through His great goodness and mercy, and to remain forever with Him, and to be separated from the evil persons accusing

iniustificantibus nos?' Atque post pauca: 'Et si uis',¹⁷² ait, 'diuinam uisionem sancti cuiusdam uiri referam tibi; quam¹⁷³ non deridebis: uera enim dicam.'¹⁷⁴

'Cum essem aliquando secus Cretam,¹⁷⁵ hospitio me suscepit sanctus Carpus – uir et si aliquis alius,¹⁷⁶ per multam mentis munditiam ad Dei uisiones diuinissimus.¹⁷⁷ Qui non inchoabat¹⁷⁸ sanctas mysteriorum consecrationes, nisi prius ei ostenderetur de supernis propitia uisio oranti ante oblationem sanctissimi sacrificii.¹⁷⁹ Conferentibus namque nobis quaedam adinuicem,¹⁸⁰ retulit mihi idem se nimis contristatum a quodam infidelium. Causa autem erat ipsius tristitiae,¹⁸¹ quoniam isdem infidelis, dum celebrarentur dies festi eorum, aberrare fecit quendam fidelem a benigno Iesu Domino nostro. Quem consolans suasi ei opportunum esse, ut pro illis diuinam clementiam peteret, et a Deo saluatore opitulationem accipiens, infidelem quidem conuerteret, apostatam autem benignitate uinceret; et hortando eos conuerti, donec est hodie non deficeret, sicque illos in diuinam scientiam duceret.¹⁸² Sed is hoc patienter non sufferens, et nescio quo modo multa quadam infestatione et amaritudine tabescens, dormitum perrexit, ex hoc male habens. Vesperi enim erat.¹⁸³ Circa mediam autem noctem (sollicitus¹⁸⁴ namque erat isto in tempore ad diuinos hymnos euigilare), surrexit ex somnis et, turbatione nimia anxians, stetit ad orationem non beneducte.¹⁸⁵ Tristabatur enim et grauabatur¹⁸⁶ ultra modum, dicens non esse iustum ut uiuerent uiri, qui erant sine Deo et peruertebant 'uias Domini rectas'.¹⁸⁷ Et haec dicens, postulauit Deum ut igne caelesti ambo simul immisericorditer amitterent uitam. Quod cum dixisset, statim est raptus in spiritu,¹⁸⁸ et uisum sibi fuisse dixit, uidisse se repente domum in qua stabat concussam, et a culmine per medium in duas partes diuisam, et ita se sub diuo remansisse;¹⁸⁹ quendam etiam rogum multo igne flammantem¹⁹⁰ usque ad ipsum descendentem, caelum autem ipsum totum accensum, atque in parte australi Iesum benignum in throno sedentem, et adstantem ei in hominum speciebus inestimabilem angelorum numerum.¹⁹¹ Haec uidens desuper et admirans Carpus, cum se inclinasset deorsum, uidit terram horribili hiatu apertam et tenebrosam barathrum hiscens, et eosdem uiros de quibus temptabatur ante se in margine lubrico tenebrosissimi barathri stare trementes et miseros nimis, nondum tamen deiectos ab instabilitate lubricationis in qua uacillantes

1 iniustificantibus] iniustificationibus *CO*, iustificationibus *S* || nos] nostris *C* 2 referam] ostendam *F* || uera] ueram *M* 8 idem] *om. O* 11 suasi] suasi *sic ABDEFM* (*corr. ex suei*) *R*, suasit *G*, sua si *cett.* 13 hortando] orando *S* 14–16 Sed ... perrexit] *om. S* 14 is] his *ADMO* || hoc patienter] patienter hoc *R* 16 enim] non *C* 18 anxians] anxius *C* 19 beneducte] beneducere *L* 21 Domini] *om. R* || postulauit] postulabat *G* 22 immisericorditer] misericorditer *M* || amitterent] perderent *L* 22–23 est raptus] raptus est *LR*, raptus *S* 23 se] *om. C* || in] *om. G* 25 se] *om. S* || flammantem] flammante *C* 27 in throno] *om. L* 32 lubricationis] lubricationes *L*

us unjustly?' And a little further on: 'And if you wish', he said, 'I shall tell you the divine vision of a holy man: don't scoff at it; I shall tell you the truth.'

'When I was once on Crete, St Carpus received me into his hospitality – a man unlike any other, who through the abundant purity of his mind was utterly divine in respect of visions of God. He never began the holy sacraments of the mysteries [i.e. Mass] unless a propitious vision had first been shown to him from on high while he was still praying, before he commenced the offertory of sacred oblation. While we were conversing with each other, he told me that he had been greatly saddened by one of the unbelievers. The reason for his sadness was that this unbeliever, during the celebration of a feast day, had caused a believer to stray from his faith in our kindly Lord Jesus. In consoling Carpus, I exhorted him that it would be appropriate for him to seek divine mercy for (the two of) them [i.e. both unbeliever and apostate], and, receiving assistance from God our Saviour, he might even convert the unbeliever and overcome the apostate with kindness; and would not cease urging them to be converted up to the present day, and thus would lead them both to knowledge of the divine. But he [Carpus], not putting up with this in a patient manner, and somehow or other wasting away through great anxiety and bitterness, went off to sleep feeling resentful. For it was evening. Around midnight he got up from his sleep, for he was very careful to awaken for divine hymnody at this hour, and, distressed by great anxiety, he stood in prayer, but in a foul mood. For he was saddened and exceedingly annoyed, saying that it was not right that men who were godless and were perverting the just ways of the Lord should live. And, saying this, he petitioned God that both of them should mercilessly lose their lives (through destruction) by heavenly fire. When he had said this, he was suddenly transported in spirit, and he said that it seemed to him that he suddenly saw the building in which he was standing shattered, and split into two parts from the roof down, with him remaining in the open air; he saw a pyre burning with much flame descending towards him, and the sky wholly on fire, and kindly Jesus sitting on His throne in the southern sector, and an incalculable number of angels in the likeness of men attending Him. Carpus saw and wondered at these things from up above; when he bent downwards, he saw the earth split open by a terrible chasm and a gaping, shadowy abyss; and he saw those (two) men who had angered him standing trembling before him on the slippery edge of the dark abyss in a state of extreme misery, not yet cast down from the insecurity of the slippery slope on which they were struggling

collabebantur.¹⁹² De deorsum uero barathri uidit serpentes horribiles repere et circa pedes eorum se subicere, atque interdum illos trahere inuoluentes se eis simul et cruciantes eos. Aliquando etiam dentibus trahebant, et uellebant idem serpentes eosdem uiros, qui caelesti igne consumebantur, et conabantur
 5 illos trahere in barathrum unde ipsi exierant.¹⁹³ Vidit quoque et esse uiros quosdam in medio serpentium cum tumultu personantes,¹⁹⁴ et percutientes atque impellentes in barathrum eos qui cruciabantur. Videbatur itidem ei quosdam alios uiros accessisse ad illos, qui uolebant ut ipsi miseri in breui cruciarentur et satisfacerent; sed hi qui percutiebant et impellebant eos nolebant.¹⁹⁵ Cumque
 10 his quae deorsum conspexerat Carpus intenderet, et superna quae prius uiderat negligeret et taedere coepisset atque lassari, quia iam rei non caderent in profunditatem uoraginis – insuper immisericorditer maledixisset illis – respexit sursum et uix se uidere posse caelum denuo dixit.¹⁹⁶ Sed Iesum benignum intuitus est, miserantem super peccatores qui torquebantur et exurgentem
 15 illum de caelesti throno ac descendentem usque ad illos, et manum benignam illis in tormentis positam porrexisset. Moxque angelorum multitudines, qui cum eo descenderant, coacceperunt illos de utraque parte in qua stabant dum torquerentur, quando eis manum porrexit benignus Iesus, et continuerunt illos.¹⁹⁷ Et conuersus ad Carpum Iesus dixit ei: “Carpe, manu in istos constituta et non
 20 per misericordiam retracta, percute¹⁹⁸ aduersum me. Nam paratus sum pro hominibus resaluandis iterum pati, et complaceo super his quam super alios hominibus qui non peccauerunt. Verumtamen uide, si sic bene habetur tibi, in barathro cum serpentibus mansionem commutare, sicut mecum ac cum benignis ac humanis angelis esse.”¹⁹⁹ Ista sunt quae ego audiens credo uera esse.
 25 Haec ad Demophilum dicta sunt.

16. Tito uero interroganti per epistolam, quae est sapientiae domus, et quis est crater, et quae sunt escae eius, et qui potus, luculentissime et disertissime satis respondit.²⁰⁰ Et quamuis breuis, sermonum tamen lepore sensusque honorabilitate egregia, ad Iohannem apostolum et euangelistam in Patmo insula
 30 relegatum, consolatoria et prophetalis extat ipsius epistola,²⁰¹ qua praedixit ei

1 De] *om. BEMS* 3 cruciantes] cicatrices *M* || uellebant] euellebant *M* 7 Videbatur] uidebantur *M* 8 illos] eos *L* 9 sed ... nolebant] *om. R* || et impellebant] *om. S* 10 quae] qui *E* 11 rei] ei *O* 13 posse caelum] caelum posse *E* 15 descendentem ... illos] usque ad illos descendentem *L* || benignam] suam *R* 16 positam] *post* positam *add. R* benigne 19 non] *om. S* 21 his] *post* his *add. R* magis 23 sicut] an *C* || ac cum] et cum *ABD*, et *S* 24 ac humanis angelis] angelis ac humanis *F* 27 et disertissime] *om. S* || satis] *om. R* 28 respondit] respondet *EF* || sermonum] sermone *G* 30 et] ex *B* || extat ipsius] ipsius extat *L* || qua] quam *T*

and tottering. He saw horrible snakes slithering up from the depth of the abyss and wrapping themselves around their feet, sometimes coiling themselves to drag them off, and at the same time tormenting them. Sometimes they dragged them along in their teeth, and these same snakes tortured the men who were being consumed by the heavenly fire, and were trying to drag them into the abyss whence they [the snakes] had come. He also saw certain men in the midst of the snakes shouting with a great uproar, and striking and driving towards the abyss those who were being tortured. Likewise it seemed to him that other men had approached them, who wished that these wretches would be tormented only briefly and would thus make amends; but those who were striking and driving them did not wish this. And while Carpus was gazing on those whom he had seen from above and was neglecting the heavenly occurrences which he had previously witnessed, and began to grow weary and feel tired, because the guilty men had not yet fallen into the depths of the abyss – what is more, he cursed them mercilessly – he looked up and said once again that he could scarcely see the sky. But he saw kindly Jesus taking pity on the sinners who were being tortured, and getting up from His celestial throne, and coming down towards them; and saw that He stretched out His kindly hand to those placed in torment. And at once the throngs of angels, who had come down with Him, received them from either side of where they were standing while being tortured when kindly Jesus reached out His hand to them, and they held them fast. And Jesus, turning towards Carpus, said to him: “Carpus, with your hand raised up against them and not withdrawn through mercy: strike against me! For I am prepared to suffer once again on behalf of men’s salvation, and I derive as much pleasure from these as from other men who did not sin. See to it, therefore, if it thus seems right to you, that you change places with the snakes in the pit, instead of with me and with the kindly and human angels.” I believe to be true these things which I heard.’ These things were written to Demophilus.

16. Dionysius replied, clearly and learnedly, in a letter to Titus, who had asked (him) what is the house of wisdom, and what is the mixing bowl, and what are its foods and what are its drinks. And there is his consolatory and prophetic letter to John the apostle and evangelist exiled in Patmos which, although short, yet in elegance of wording and clarity of meaning is outstanding, in which he

sicut ex Deo didicerat, quod adhuc de eodem exilio rediturus et in Asia euangelium foret praedicaturus. Quam etiam hic gestorum narrationi inserere dignum duximus, ita exordientem:

5 'Iohanni theologo apostolo et euangelistae, determinato et credito Patmo insulae.²⁰² Appellans sacram animam, dilectissime, est mihi hoc ad te, apud apostolos praecipuum:²⁰³ aue, uere dilectissime, a dilecto et desiderabili atque carissimo ualdeque amantissimo! Quid mirum, si Christus uerum dixit, et iniqui eius discipulos de ciuitatibus persequuntur?²⁰⁴ Digna siquidem eis agunt, cum a sanctis scelerati se segregant, uerum abigentes et secernentes eos, ex uisibilibus inuisibilium praetendunt imaginem; neque enim in saeculis uenturis
10 erit culpandus Deus de iustis segregationibus, cum impii seipsos fecerunt²⁰⁵ ab illis secretos; et pios iam cum Deo inde uideamus affectos,²⁰⁶ quoniam ueritatis cum²⁰⁷ sint amatores: a libidine quidem recedunt rerum materialium, ac in omnibus malorum omnium liberi, cupiditate diuina bonorum omnium pacem
15 diligunt et sanctificationem, et de praesenti inchoant uitam futuram, angelice decenterque in medio hominum conuersantes, cum omni animi affectione et diuina nominatione, atque benignitate seu ceteris bonis. Quapropter non uos hoc conturbet, quasi suspicantes non pati, sed et corporis passiones tantummodo iudicare: non autem eas te credo sentire. De his uero qui inique agunt in uos,²⁰⁸ et determinant uos non recte, euangelii solem conueniens inuoco – his omissis, qui seipsos agunt in bonum conuertere: nobis uos opto adiungere et luminis participes esse. Nos autem nulla aduersitas priuabit a Iohanne splendidissimo radio! Nunc quidem interpellans memoriam et renouationem tuae uerae theologiae, paulo post – etsi audacter – dico uos ipsos mihi coadunari.
20 Idoneus autem omnino sum praenuntiare tibi, et discens ex Deo et dicens, quia et Patmo carcere dimitteris et in Asiaticam terram reuerteris, ibique ages benigni Dei imitationes, et his qui post te futuri sunt eas trades.²⁰⁹

17. Multa praeterea tam uoluminibus quam differentibus ad diuersos epistolis²¹⁰ ut fluuius eloquii mystici edidit, et uelut oraculum sancti spiritus praecipuo opere et uero ac philosophico magisterio praesagauit, ad subuertendos
30

4–5 Iohanni ... insulae] *om. B* 6 dilectissime] amantissime *F* || atque] *om. F* 7 amantissimo] dilectissimo *F* 9 se] *om. C* || abigentes] ambigentes *M* 10 uenturis] uenturus *M* 11 iustis segregationibus] iustorum segregatione *R* || fecerunt] fecerunt *sic ABDFGOR (a.c.) ST*, fecerint *CELMP* 12 affectos] affectos *sic L*, effectos *cott.* 13–14 in omnibus] nominibus *O* 18 quasi] qua *A* 19 eas te credo] te credo eas *L*, caste credendo *T* || eas] *om. E* 20 uos¹] uos *corr. ed.*, nos *MSS.* || uos²] uos *corr. ed.*, nos *MSS.* 22 participes] particeps *ABEMOP* 24 uos] uobis *C* || ipsos] ipsis *S* 25 discens] dicens *M* || et dicens] *om. M* 26 et¹] et ex *E*, ex *L* || terram] *om. O* 30 subuertendos] conuertendos *L*

foretold to him what he had learned from God, (namely) that he [John] was to return from this very exile and go on to preach the gospel in Asia. I thought it appropriate to insert the letter here into the narrative of his achievements; it begins thus:

‘To John the theologian, apostle and evangelist, relegated and consigned to the island of Patmos. The act of appealing to your sacred soul, beloved friend – this is something (especially reserved) for me in respect of you, (who are) outstanding among the apostles: greetings, truly beloved [by Him] Who is loved and yearned for and dearest and greatly loved! Is it a cause for wonder, if Christ spoke the truth, and wicked men drive His disciples from the cities? They fashion worthy rewards for themselves when these criminals separate themselves from the saints; expelling the truth and exiling them, they present the likeness of invisible things from visible ones; nor in coming ages will God be guilty for separating out the just, since the wicked dissociated themselves from them; and then we may see the holy ones enjoying favour with God, since they are lovers of truth: they draw back from desire for material things, and, freed from all evils in every respect, they love the peace and holiness of all good things with divine longing, and from the present they begin their future life, living properly like angels in the midst of men, with every affection and divine application, and with goodness itself or with other goods. Therefore do not let this (exile) disturb you, imagining as it were that you do not suffer, but only judge the feelings of the body: for I do not believe that you feel them. Concerning those who act wickedly against you, and exile you unjustly, I appropriately invoke the Sun of the gospel – omitting those persons who undertake to convert themselves to good: I hope to associate you with me and to be a participant in the light. No adverse circumstance shall deprive me of John, that most brilliant ray of light! Now, indeed, calling on memory and on the renewal of your true theology, I say – even if rashly – that a little later you yourself will be reunited with me. I am a wholly appropriate person to announce to you – learning this from God and speaking of it – that you will be released from prison on Patmos and will return to the mainland of Asia, and there you will act in imitation of our kindly God, and transmit (your legacy) to those who will come after you.’

17. Moreover, like a river of mystic eloquence he produced many writings, as much in books as in different letters to various recipients, and in his excellent and truthful work and in his philosophical teaching he prophesied like an ora-

errores et destruendos nodos syllogismorum gentilium atque euacuandum cultum idolorum seu commendandam patriae caelestis beatitudinem et aeternae uitae immortalitatem: quorum magna excellencia exiguitatem nostri sensus uidetur excedere. Plura etiam scripsit quae non est dubium notitiam nostram
5 latere.

Paulo autem Romae, et post primam suam defensionem in occiduis partibus²¹¹ (ut sibi ipse praedixerat) Christum testificante, pretiosus et facundissimus Dionysius – qui a patria ‘Ionicus’, Christiano autem agnomine propter maximam sanctitatem uocabatur ‘Macarius’, quod interpretatur ‘beatus’ – ne
10 post discessum magistri lupi rapaces et gregi non parcentes Dominicas oues inuaderent,²¹² quod institutor suus plantauit abundanti sollicitudine rigare contendit. Vnde uicinas et longe positas pertransiens ciuitates praedicando, et ad fidem populos conuertendo fidelesque in uerbo confirmando atque oppres-
15 sos uariis languoribus sanando, usque Troadem secessit euangelii gratia, atque in eisdem partibus aliquanto tempore deguit.²¹³ Sed et post aliquot annos cum Pelio Lacedaemoniorum positus,²¹⁴ Petrum et Paulum apostolorum capita Romae tentos, et Petrum ergastulo Paulum secundo uinculis, peruulgata fama affici comperisset, Athenas rediens, subrogato sibi episcopo plebem tradidit et per contiguas parochias uerbi spargens semina, quatenus Romam perueniret
20 cum quibusdam officialibus, quos sibi comites sumpserat, gnauiter ministravit; sicque Achiae alumnus fortunae et doctus architectus ecclesiae se Romanae amplitudini contulit – et Graeciam, cui doctrina ac miraculorum memoria manet, nequaquam deseruit. Magno enim apostolorum amore et martyrii desiderio, festinantiae itineris²¹⁵ Romam accelerans insistebat, ut simul cum eis –
25 si ita uellet Christus – occumberet. Sed uota eius praeuenit dispositio diuina, et uiri diabolici dementissima satis uesania. Nam cum impiissimus Nero, terra marique imperii sui frena laxasset, et nimiae uoluptatis successu, inter cetera nequitiarum suarum cumulamenta, etiam furor crudelitatis eius dira rabie in Christi famulos ebullisset, quarto decimo imperii sui anno,²¹⁶ antequam beatus
30 Dionysius Romam adiret, sanctos Dei apostolos, alterum per crucis trophaeum, alterum autem gladio animaduersum, felici cruore perfusus et martyrii gloria dignos transmisit ad superos; seque uiuendi faciens finem obitu nefando, ut fuerat et uita, in breui destinauit ad inferos.

1 destruendos] destruendo *L* || nodos] *om. B* 4 uidetur] uideretur *C* 6 autem] igitur *T* || et] *om. T* 12 ciuitates praedicando] praedicando ciuitates *L* 12–13 et ... confirmando] *om. S* 14 Troadem] Troadis *ABCDEFG* (post Troadis *add. G* partes) *MOPS*, Troades *LRT* 15 in] *om. S* 16 Pelio] prelio *O* || Lacedaemoniorum] Lacedemonium *C* 17 Paulum] Paulo *E* 19 contiguas] continuas *E* || Romam] Roma *S* 24 festinantiae] festinanti *C*, festinantia *D* (*p.c.*) *G* || insistebat] insistebant *C* 27 nimiae] *lacuna in O* (*dehinc usque ad c. 20*, Gallia ministravit) 31 gloria] gloriam *S* 33 fuerat] *post fuerat add. E* dignus

cle of the Holy Ghost, in order to overturn error and destroy the entanglements of pagan syllogisms and nullify the cult of idols, or to commend the bliss of the heavenly homeland and the immortality of eternal life: their magnificent perfection is seen to exceed the modest capacity of my intelligence. He also composed many writings which no doubt escape our notice.

With Paul bearing witness to Christ at Rome, and following his first prosecution in western regions (as he had himself predicted), the dear and eloquent Dionysius – who was called ‘Ionicus’ from his homeland, but because of his great sanctity was called by the Christian by-name ‘Macarius’ which means ‘blessed’ – strove with abundant care to nourish what his teacher had planted, so that after the departure of the master ravening wolves, not sparing the flock, should not attack the Lord’s sheep. Whence passing through cities near and far with his preaching, and converting peoples to the faith and confirming the faithful in the Word and healing those afflicted by various illnesses, he withdrew to the Troad for the sake of (preaching) the gospel, and passed some time in those same parts. But, after a number of years, when stationed with Pelion of the Lacedaemonians, he learned through widespread report that Peter and Paul, the leaders of the apostles, were being held at Rome, and that Peter was in prison and Paul was in chains a second time, returning to Athens he entrusted his congregation to a bishop chosen in his place, and, scattering the seeds of the Word through neighbouring parishes, he conscientiously arranged his affairs so that he could travel to Rome with certain attendants whom he had adopted as his companions; and thus the foster-son of Greek culture and the learned architect of the Church took himself off to the grandeur of Rome – and yet he by no means abandoned Greece, in which the lessons and the memory of his miracles abide. Through his great love of the apostles and his desire for martyrdom he pressed on, hastening to Rome on a swift journey, so that he could die together with them, if Christ should so wish. But divine dispensation, and the mindless insanity of a diabolical man, frustrated his prayers. For when the wicked Nero was wielding the reins of his dominion over land and sea, and, with the progress of his excessive indulgence, amidst other accumulations of wickedness, the rage of his cruelty was even boiling over with fearful frenzy on the servants of Christ, in the fourteenth year of his reign [A.D. 68], before St Dionysius had reached Rome, he consigned the holy apostles of God, steeped in their blessed blood and worthy of the glory of martyrdom, to the upper regions – one by the victory of the cross, the other punished by the sword; and, putting an end to his own life by means of a wicked death, as (wicked) as his life had been, he swiftly dispatched himself to the lower regions [Hell].

18. Pretiosus denique Dionysius, cum arcis Romanae moeniis sui auspice Christo praesentiam intulit, quoniam fidei necessitas et ad suscipiendum Dei uerbum euidentis in gentibus quas pertransierat, ostii apertio morosius eum detinuit, beatum Clementem pontificem,²¹⁷ sanctae et summae apostolicae sedis
 5 iam apicem gubernantem, inuenit. A quo idem gloriosus Domini Atheniensium archiepiscopus Dionysius,²¹⁸ mox ut se potuerunt inuicem salutare, digno est cum honore susceptus, et pro sanctitatis ac eruditionis suae reuerentia seu anterioris fraternitatis coniunctione loco maximae uenerationis est habitus. Cum quo etiam pro mutua conlocutione apostolicarum sanctionum et
 10 dulcedine spiritalis dilectionis aliquandiu familiarissime conuersatus, immodici amoris uterque uinculis sese constrinxerant. Sed cum Deus omnipotens ueri solis, Domini scilicet Iesu Christi, radio splendidissimo et orientali, id est sanctissimo Dionysio, occidentales tenebras uellet sua gratia illustrare, et murum ualidissimum infidelitatis, qui totius Galliae et Germaniae terminos
 15 paene irremediabiliter occupauerat, prouideret ariete tali destruere tantoque peritissimae eloquentiae spiculo gentilitatem perfodi, quo ante ut munitissima defensione erat solita gratulari, atque omnem hanc Galliam ipsius Dionysii apostolatu disponderet subleuari, quam Mercurio daemonica seruitute constabat miserabiliter ancillari, beati Clementis 'cor tetigit'²¹⁹ et, ut istiusmodi uerbis
 20 pretiosum Dionysium alloqueretur, accendit.

19. 'Vides', inquit sanctus Clemens, 'mi frater carissime Macari Dionysi, quanta est messis Dominicae sationis, et quam pauci sunt operarii?'²²⁰ Quia ergo de omnibus catholicae pietatis es sufficienter edoctus, et omni Christiana uirtute ac religione admodum roboratus: perge in nomine Domini, partes aggrediens
 25 occidentis, et ut bonus miles Christi proeliare proelia Domini Dei tui; atque sicut Dominus Iesus Christus magistro meo Petro tradidit, et ego sanctae haereditatis iure suscepi, ut in ligandi soluendique auctoritate²²¹ tibi semper praesto sit diuina potestas, nostris orationibus comitatus et sanctorum apostolorum intercessionibus roboratus, in tui apostolatus sorte, apostolica nostra aucto-

1 auspice] *post* auspice *add.* *L* autem 2 et] *om.* *L* 3 euidentis] euidentissime *C* (*p.c.*), *om.* *R* || ostii apertio] ostio aperto *T* 10 familiarissime] familiarisissime *B* 11 constrinxerant] constrinxerat *L*, constrinxer[...]*R*, constrinxerunt *S* 13 occidentales] orientales *L* 15 destruere] destrueret *S* 16 gentilitatem] *om.* *L* || perfodi] perfodere *E* (*p.c.*) || ut] in *M* 17 hanc] *om.* *R* 18 quam] quem *E* || Mercurio] *om.* *R* || daemonica] demoniaca *LRS* 18–19 constabat] *om.* *S* 19 miserabiliter] *om.* *L* || cor tetigit] contigit *S* || ut] *om.* *LRT* || uerbis] uerbo *G* (*p.c.*) 20 Dionysium] *post* Dionysium *add.* *LRT* cum 23 catholicae] *om.* *E* || es sufficienter] sufficienter es *R* || omni] omnium *G* || Christiana uirtute] uirtute Christiana *E* 25 Christi] *om.* *C* 26 Dominus] *post* Dominus *add.* *S* noster 27 iure] iura *CT* 29 tui] *om.* *S*

18. When finally the dear Dionysius, with Christ as his protector, betook his presence to the walls of the Roman citadel, because the need of the manifest faith and of acquiring the Word of God amongst the peoples he had traversed the opening of the gate detained him lingeringly: he thereafter encounters Pope Clement, then ruling the summit of the holy and exalted apostolic see. This same Dionysius, the Lord's glorious archbishop of the Athenians, was received by him [Clement] with fitting dignity as soon as they were able to greet each other, and as a result of esteem for his holiness and learning, or of the connection of their previous brotherhood, he was accorded a place of the greatest respect. Having conversed intimately with him for some time through the mutual exchange of apostolic decrees and the delight of spiritual affection, they had bound each other with the chains of an immoderate love. But since Almighty God wished through His mercy to illuminate western shadows with the brilliant ray of the true Sun, namely our Lord Jesus Christ, and with that of the east, that is the most holy Dionysius, and wanted to destroy the mighty wall of paganism, which had almost irreparably taken over the territories of all Gaul and Germany, with such a battering-ram, and to pierce their irreligion with a mighty arrow of accomplished eloquence, where previously it had been accustomed to rejoice in its fortifications as if they were invincible, and decided through the apostolate of this same Dionysius to relieve all Gaul, which was known to be wretchedly enslaved in demonic servitude to Mercury, He 'touched the heart' of St Clement, and enflamed him so that he could address the dear Dionysius with words of this sort:

19. 'Do you see, my brother Macarius Dionysius,' said St Clement, 'how great is the harvest of the Lord's crop, and how few are the labourers? Because, therefore, you are sufficiently trained in all aspects of catholic worship, and are fully strengthened in every Christian virtue and belief: go forth in the name of the Lord, entering the regions of the West, and like a good soldier of Christ fight the battles of your Lord God; and just as the Lord Jesus Christ handed over to my master Peter, and I received in accordance with the law of holy inheritance, such that divine authority may always accompany you with the power of binding and releasing, joined to us in our prayers and strengthened by the intercession of the holy apostles, in the destiny of your apostolate, taking over responsibility for all Gaul under our apostolic authority: do the work of an

ritate omnem suscipiens Galliam, opus fac euangelistae; ministerium tuum imple, ut Christi notitia per te ubique diffusa, a Domino in die retributionis merearis audire: “Euge, serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam; intra in gaudium Domini tui.”²²² Et ne uerearis
 5 multitudinem et atrocitatem gentis barbaricae, pro certo sciens quia “qui plus laborat, plus mercedis accipiet.”²²³ Socios quoque ei et comministros uerbi plures et probatos uiros adhibuit,²²⁴ illique dixit: ‘Sicut fuit Dominus cum dominis et patribus ac magistris nostris apostolis suis Petro et Paulo, ita sit
 10 tecum in omnibus, quocumque te uerteris. Esto robustus: tu enim maximam et innumerabilem populi multitudinem introduces in ueram repromissionis terram filiorum Israel.’²²⁵ Et dans pacem omnibus, ita hanc uerae fraternitatis societatem soluit abire.

20. Qui simul properantes et circumcirca Dominum praedicantes, appulerunt portum Arelatensium ciuitatis.²²⁶ Et exinde quibusdam in partes necessarias,
 15 prout ei uisum fuerat, destinatis, idem Macarius Dionysius, qui sedis apostolicae priuilegio, tradente sibi beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina Gallicis gentibus eroganda susceperat,²²⁷ beatissimi principis apostolorum et magistri sui informatum exemplo, qui Romanae crudelitati se propter Iesu Christi nomen immerserant, quo amplius apud Gallias gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei armatus acces-
 20 sit,²²⁸ ac Lutetiam Parisiorum,²²⁹ Domino ducente, peruenit,²³⁰ doctrinaque praeclarus, miraculis coruscans et uirtutum signis, quae Atheniensium magister Paulo docente didicerat, Galliis ministravit: non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem, quia uirtutem suam praeteritarum poenarum recordatio
 25 roborabat;²³¹ tormentis expertus multis, morte tandem assecuturum se uitam tota nihilominus intentione desiderans, ut qui iam erat Christi nominis inter multa tormentorum flagella perfectus confessor, fieri mortis multatione mere-
 retur et martyr. Tunc memorata Parisiorum ciuitas, ut sedes regia, et conuentu Gallorum ac Germanorum et nobilitate pollebat,²³² quia erat salubris aere,
 30 iucunda flumine, fecunda terris, arboribus nemorosa et uineis uberrima, con-

1 opus fac euangelistae] euangelistae opus fac *L* 6 comministros] ministros *S* 8
 ac magistris nostris] nostris ac magistris *S* || apostolis] discipulis *L* || suis] *om. C* 9 in
 omnibus] *om. L* || quocumque] quaecumque *S* 10–11 ueram repromissionis terram] terram
 repromissionis *S* 12 soluit] sinit *LR* 13 et] *om. G* 14 portum] portui *F* || Arelatensium]
 Arelatensis *F* || Et] *om. S* 15 ei] eis *M* || destinatis] destinatus *C* || idem] *om. MRT* 16
 priuilegio] priuilegium *T* || uerbi] *om. S* 17 gentibus] *om. LS* 19 immerserant] immerserat
L 20 illuc] illic *T* 21 ac ... peruenit] *om. S* 22–23 magister] magistro *E* 23 non
 ueritus ...] *hic denuo incipit O (fol. 82^r) post lacunam* 24 quia] *post quia add. O* erat 27
 tormentorum] *om. R* 27–28 mereretur] meretur *B* 29 et] *om. R* 30 flumine] flumina *S*

evangelist; fulfil your duty so that, with knowledge of Christ spread everywhere by you, you may deserve to hear from the Lord on the Day of Judgement: "Well done, good and faithful servant; because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." And do not fear the multitude and ferocity of barbaric peoples, knowing for certain that, "he who works harder will receive the greater reward". He [Clement] also brought to him several companions of the Word, tested men, and said to him: 'As the Lord was with our lords and fathers and masters the apostles Peter and Paul, so may it be with you in every respect, wheresoever you turn. Be strong: for you will lead a great and countless multitude of people into the land of promise of the sons of Israel.' And giving (the kiss) of peace to them all, he allowed these companions of true brotherhood thus to depart.

20. Setting off together and preaching the Lord at every turn, they landed at the port of Arles. And from there, having resolved various matters in the necessary areas, as had seemed (best) to him, this same Macarius Dionysius, who through the favour of the apostolic see had taken on the duty, as entrusted to him by St Clement the successor of Peter the apostle, of distributing the seeds of the divine Word among the Gallic peoples, informed by the example of the most blessed prince of the apostles [Peter], and of his own master [Paul], who had both immersed themselves in Roman cruelty for the name of Jesus Christ, wherever he [Dionysius] recognized that the error of paganism was raging the most amongst the Gauls, there he went, fearless and armed with the fervour of faith, and, with the Lord leading him, he arrived at Paris; and, excelling through his teaching and shining forth in miracles and shows of divine power, he furnished the Gallic peoples with the things which, as a teacher of the Athenians, he had learned from St Paul his teacher: he was not afraid to seek out the wildness of an unbelieving people, because the recollection of former trials strengthened his resolve; having experienced many torments, desiring nevertheless with total application that in the end he should follow life with death, so that he who now had been perfected as a confessor of Christ through the torture of floggings, should also deserve to become a martyr through the penalty of death. At that time the aforementioned city of the Parisians, like a seat of royalty, was thriving as a result of the combined settlement and outstanding qualities of Gauls and Germans, because it was healthy for its climate, delightful with its river, fertile with its surrounding lands, wooded with trees and abounding in vineyards, crowded with inhabitants, filled with

stipata populis, referta commerciis ac uariis commeatibus, unda fluminis circumfluente.²³³ Quae siquidem inter multimoda commoditatum genera, etiam alueo suo magnam piscium copiam ciuibus ministrabat.²³⁴

21. Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum. Ad quem cum primo fide
 5 armatus et confessionis constantia roboratus accessisset intrepidus atque ibidem deductiore tempore immoratus,²³⁵ maximam Christi gratiam in lucrandis populis fuisset indeptus, quendam Lisbium,²³⁶ uirum honoratissimum ciuitatis Parisiacaе,²³⁷ qui eius praedicatione in Dominum Iesum Christum crediderat, et illi fideliter adhaerebat, allocutus est, dicens: 'Vir illustrissime, quia iam
 10 operante gratia Iesu Christi Domini nostri plurima populi multitudo in credulitate et confessione sui sancti nominis benedictione baptismatis consecratur, et cotidie fidelium numerus augmentatur, uisum est mihi agrum sacrarii²³⁸ tui pretio a tua fraternitate suscipere, et domum baptismatis ibi construere ac consecrare,²³⁹ quo ad laudes diuinas sacramentorum ministris celebrantibus populus Deo dignus possit confluere et charismata diuina percipere.' Cui
 15 Lisbius: 'Gratis', inquit, 'eum, pater beatissime, offeram per sanctitatem tuam Domino Iesu Christo.' 'Non', ait beatus Dionysius, 'ita nobis in huiusmodi negotio est agendum, quia Deus et Dominus noster Iesus Christus pro salute nostra, operante spiritu sancto, ex beata Maria semper uirgine, cum ipse fecerit mundum, in locato est diuersorio natus.²⁴⁰ Quapropter non uidetur aequum, ut
 20 gratis accepto agro praeparem domum, in qua ei filii adoptionis per nostrum ministerium renascantur. Sed et de eius pretio captiuorum est sepultura comparata.²⁴¹ Propterea rationabile iudicatur, ut pretio sumam locum ubi illi, qui in commercio sanguinis illius, morte intercedente, de captiuitate diaboli et mortis
 25 perpetuae baptizati fuerint, redimantur. Commutationem uero pretii tu Christi pauperibus largieris, qui te illi deuotissime obtulisti.'

22. His ita expletis, ecclesiam²⁴² illic Dei se omnipotentis semper in omnibus et ubique comitante auxilio, iuxta facultatem suarum uirium, utque nouus adhuc aduena poterat, in honorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi,²⁴³ quae necdum locis
 30 illis et populis nota erat, construxit; ac officia deuote Domino seruientium

1 fluminis] fluminibus *R* 3 magnam] *om. S* || ciuibus] *om. O* 4 Ad] At *P* 6 deductiore] productiore *R* 8 Parisiacaе] acaie *S* 10 Iesu ... nostri] Domini nostri Iesu Christi *L*, Christi Iesu Domini nostri *M* 12 sacrarii] secretarii *MSS.* 16 per] *om. S* 17 Domino] post Domino *add. LS* nostro || ait] inquit *O* || nobis] *om. ABCDGO* 19 sancto] post sancto *add. O* natus || beata Maria] Maria beata *E* || fecerit] fecit *C* 20 locato] loco *E* 21 gratis] gratias *C*, ingratias *T* 26 largieris] largiens *C* 27 ita] *om. G* || ecclesiam] ecclesia *G* || Dei se omnipotentis] se Dei omnipotentis *F*, Dei omnipotentis se *R* 28 utque] ut quae *B* || adhuc] *om. F* 29 honorem] honore *AD*

businesses and various comings and goings, with the waters of the river [Seine] flowing around it. In fact, among the variety of its products, it even provided from its banks a great abundance of fish for its citizens.

21. The servant of God therefore chose to seek out this place. When, armed with his faith and strengthened by the constancy of his profession, he had first gone there fearlessly, and, remaining there for an extended period, he had achieved the greatest bounty of Christ in winning over the populace, he addressed a certain Lisbius, a distinguished man of the city of Paris, who had come to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ through his preaching, and was his close follower, saying: 'Most distinguished man, because now through the operation of the mercy of Jesus Christ our Lord a numerous multitude of the populace is being consecrated through the blessing of baptism into the belief and profession of His holy name, and the number of the faithful is being increased daily, it seems to me appropriate to acquire for a price from your brotherly self an estate of your private treasury, and to construct and consecrate there a baptistery, so that the people worthy of God can assemble there for celebration of the divine sacraments, with ministers officiating, and receive the divine gifts.' Lisbius (said) to him: 'Blessed father, I shall offer it to the Lord Jesus Christ free of charge, through your holiness.' The blessed Dionysius said: 'It is not to be done by us through a transaction of this sort, because God and our Lord Jesus Christ was born for our salvation in a rented inn, of the blessed Mary ever virgin, through the agency of the Holy Ghost, even though He had Himself created the world. Therefore it does not seem just that, having accepted the estate free of charge, I should make ready a building in which the sons of adoption may be reborn for Him through my ministry. But the burial of captives is also provided from its price. Accordingly, let it be judged reasonable that for the price I take over the place where those who shall have been baptized in the transaction of His blood may be redeemed from the captivity of the devil and everlasting death, when death intervenes. You shall donate this adjustment of the price to Christ's poor – you who most devoutly offered yourself to Him.'

22. When this transaction was complete, he built there a church in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the best of his abilities and as a newcomer to those parts could have done, with the help of Almighty God accompanying him always everywhere and in every respect – a thing [the church] which was as yet unknown to those parts and peoples; and in the usual way he instituted liturgical ceremonies of clerics devoutly serving the Lord, and promoted tested persons to the distinction of the second order [i.e. the diaconate], ceaselessly

clericorum ex more constituit, probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliauit,²⁴⁴ incessanter restituens populos creatori, quos a deuio cultu reuocauerat creaturae. Cinctus ergo fide et deuotione populi, quam in constructione et reuerenti basilicae frequentatione cernebat, admodum roboratus, Deum et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, quem pectore purissimo nouerat et corde ardentissimo diligebat, insinuare gentibus non cessabat; cunctisque misericordiam eius in hoc tempore et iudicium futurum proponens, paulatim sociabat Deo, quos diabolo subtrahebat;²⁴⁵ atque totis exhortationis nisibus et signorum prodigiis satagebat, quatenus quos abripiebat mundo, dignos faceret caelo.²⁴⁶ Tantas enim per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret.²⁴⁷ Et cum saepissime ab idolorum pontificibus contra eum seditio excitaretur in populos, ita ut plebes innumerae – etiam et de uicinis regionibus – cum armis ac bellico apparatu propter fideles, qui iam per illum in Christum crediderant, ad perdendum eum gregatim, ubi ipsum esse audiebant, concurrerent, mox ut illum cernere poterant, tanta et ita ineffabiliter in eo lux caelestis gratiae radiabat, ut aut omni ferocitate una cum armis deposita se illi prosternerent, aut qui compuncti spiritus sancti dono ad credendum non erant, pauore nimio soluerentur et territi a praesentia eius aufugerent. Miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere, sed subdebat se illi potius certatim Gallicanus cothurnus atque Germanica ceruicositas, iugumque Christi suaue imponi sibi, acta cordis contritione, posebat.²⁴⁸ Ab ipsis quoque destruebantur idola, quorum sumptu fuerant et studio fabricata; et inuento salutis portu, idolorum gaudebant naufragio. Lugebat quoque portio uicta diaboli, cum de ea uictrix ecclesiae legio triumphabat.²⁴⁹

23. Tunc hostis antiquus, uidens sibi perire quod Domino constabat assidua populorum conuersione proficere, totam artificii sui machinam ad impugnanda quae fuerant constructa conuertit.²⁵⁰ Vnde suae partis auctores, deorum suorum flentes exitia, quos ad impietatem persecutionis in eos arma-

2 ampliauit] *om. R* || a] *om. B* || deuio] deuotionis *O* 3 quam] quem *R* 4 reuerenti basilicae frequentatione] frequenti basilice reuerentia *L* || reuerenti] reuerentia *ACDGMOP* || frequentatione] frequentatione *E* 5 nostrum] *om. G* 8 exhortationis] exhortationum *O* || et] *ex B* 10 enim per illum] per illum enim *E* 14–15 in Christum crediderant] crediderant in Christum *E* 15 gregatim, ... audiebant] *om. R* 16 et ita ineffabiliter] *om. R* || ineffabiliter] affauiliter *S* 18 spiritus sancti] sancti spiritus *S* 19 territi] perterriti *E* || aufugerent] afugerant *C* 20 subdebat] subsedebat *G* || illi] *om. L* 21 iugumque] iugum enim *C* 22 sibi] *hic explicit B* || acta] aucta *F* 24 gaudebant] *post* gaudebant *add. C* euadere || Lugebat] lugebant *T* 27 artificii] artificis *L* 27–28 impugnanda] pugnanda *O* 28 fuerant] fecerant *S* || suae partis] partis suae *L* 29 impietatem] pietatem *O*

restoring to the Creator peoples whom he had reclaimed from the deviant worship of creation. Girded therefore with his faith and very much strengthened by the people's devotion, which he observed during the construction and through their respectful attendance at the basilica, he did not cease from introducing to the people God and our Lord Jesus Christ, Whom he knew in his very pure breast and loved with a burning heart; and explaining (Christ's) mercy to everyone in this world, as well as at the future judgement, he slowly began to associate with God those whom he was taking away from the Devil; and with the exercise of exhortation and displays of miracles he concerned himself that those whom he was snatching from the world he would make worthy of heaven. The Lord deigned to accomplish such great miracles through him, that he acquired the hearts of recalcitrant pagans no less by miracles than by preaching. And when very often insurrection amongst the people was stirred up against him by the high-priests of the idols, so that countless throngs even from neighbouring regions gathered in numbers with weapons and warlike equipment to destroy him where they heard that he was, because of the faithful, who had already believed in Christ through him: yet as soon as they could see him, so greatly and inexpressibly did the light of heavenly grace shine in him, that either they prostrated themselves before him, having abandoned all their ferocity together with their weapons, or else those who had not been pricked into believing the gift of the Holy Ghost, were dissolved by excessive fear and fled terrified from his presence. And it was marvellous the way the armed populace could not resist an unarmed man, but rather Gallican arrogance and Germanic obstinacy eagerly subjected itself to him, and sought to have the gentle yoke of Christ placed on it through its act of contrition. Idols were also destroyed by these same peoples, through whose finances and enterprise they had been built; and, having found the haven of salvation, they rejoiced in the shipwreck of the idols. The defeated party of the Devil was in mourning, because the victorious legion of the Church had triumphed over it.

23. Then the ancient Enemy, seeing that what was benefiting the Lord through the relentless conversion of peoples was being lost to him, turned the entire contrivance of his ingenuity towards attacking the things which had been built up. Whence he instructed, with the cunning of his craft, the agents of his party,

uerat, qui unum et uerum Deum, Dominum Iesum Christum cum patre et sancto spiritu colendum praedicauerant et timendum,²⁵¹ pariterque in eos, qui hanc salutis fidem deuoto corde receperant, cum quod male cupierant, perficere propter fidelium multitudinem non ualerent, hac calliditate suae artis
 5 instruxit, quo efficerentur compotes uoti sui, ut Domitiano, qui post Neronem, perditionis filium, secundam persecutionem in Christianos exercuit,²⁵² super uirtutum et praedicationis praeconio sancti uiri, quod se iam longe lateque diffuderat, intimarent: quatenus ocius deorum suorum uenerationi consuleret, quae iam etiam ab ipsa hominum memoria per Dionysium, ut asserebant,
 10 quendam praestigiatores et magum inuictissimum eiusque sequaces abolebatur. Quae audiens immanissimae crudelitatis belua Domitianus, in tantam rabiem indignationis exarsit, ut ubicumque per se uel per suos satellites Christianum quempiam reperisset, aut cogere diis sacrificare incestis aut, diuersis poenis addictum, gladio traderet puniendum.²⁵³ Sed et totum per sibi subditum orbem in cunctis ciuitatibus, oppidis, municipiis quoque et uicis publicum
 15 pendit edictum, ut administrationis infulis seruientes, omnes Christi nominis amatores exponere diuersitate supplicii maturarent, ne superesse posset qui ualere acquirere quod peribat.

24. Persecutionis ergo publicata sententia, iniquorum gaudens turba in omnem mundi partem bacchando progreditur, et contra Dominicum populum pugnatura conspirat, non cunctati appetere gladio quos Dominus suos monstrauerat esse signaculo.²⁵⁴ Qua de re nulla iam pro Christo certantibus praesentis uitae indulgebatur tranquillitas, nulla sanctorum martyrum erat excusata libertas; sed cuncti, pro dolor, aut impiis iussionibus oboediebant, aut quod statutum a crudelissimo Caesare fuerat, perferebant.²⁵⁵ Dirigitur proinde praefectus Fescenninus Sisinnius,²⁵⁶ tradita sibi electa apparitione, cum ingenti strepitu ad partes occidentalium regionum, ut sanctum senem, nominatissimumque doctrina uirum, et uirtutum insignibus, praecipuum Macarium Dionysium,

1 unum ... Christum] unum Deum et uerum Dominum Iesum Christum *F* || Dominum] *post* Dominum *add. CGS* nostrum 2 sancto spiritu] spiritu sancto *LMOS* || et timendum] *om. R*
 3 receperant] repererant *O* || cum quod] quod cum *S* 4 fidelium] *om. O* || hac] haec *C*, hinc *S* || suae artis] *om. R* 5 efficerentur] officerentur *M* || compotes uoti sui] uoti sui compotes *R* || uoti] uotis *ES* 7 uirtutum] uirtutem *C* 9 quae iam] quadam *E* 10 praestigiatores] praestigiatorem *A (a.c.)CDELMOPR*, praestigiator *S* 13 reperisset] comperisset *R* || cogere diis] diis cogere *T* 14 sibi] *om. O* 19 ergo] *om. S* || in] *om. L* 20 progreditur] pergitur *C* 24 aut impiis ...] *lacuna in D (usque ad c. 25 ad fidem inueniunt), folio amisso* || oboediebant] oboedibant *FP* 25 crudelissimo] crudelissimis *L* 26 Sisinnius] Sininnius *C*
 28 uirtutum insignibus] uirtute insignem *O*, uirtutibus *R*

weeping for the destruction of their gods, (the agents) whom he had armed for the wickedness of persecution against those who had preached the one and true God, our Lord Jesus Christ, to be worshipped with the Father and the Holy Ghost – and to be feared as well – and likewise against those who had received this faith of salvation in devout hearts, since they were not able to accomplish what they had wickedly desired because of the multitude of the faithful, so that they (the agents) would be made accomplices of his will, that they report to Domitian – who, after Nero, the son of destruction, was mounting a second persecution against the Christians – concerning the renown of the miracles and preaching of the holy man, which had already spread itself far and wide: that he swiftly pay attention to the veneration of his own gods, which, so they alleged, was already being expelled from the very mind of men by Dionysius, a certain impostor and unconquerable magician, and his followers. On hearing this Domitian, a monster of enormous cruelty, burned with such rage of indignation that, wheresoever he discovered, either by himself or through his agents, any Christian, he would either compel him to sacrifice to the polluted gods or would hand him over to be executed by sword, having first been subjected to various tortures. But he also promulgated a public edict throughout the world subject to him – in all the cities, towns, *municipia*, and villages – that all those who served the offices of the administration were to hasten to expose to a variety of tortures all admirers of the name of Christ, so that no one would survive who could reclaim what was lost.

24. When the proclamation of persecution has been published, therefore, a rejoicing crowd of enemies advances in a frenzy into every part of the world, and plots to attack the Lord's people, not hesitating to seek the execution by sword of those whom the Lord had revealed as His by means of a sign. For this reason no peace in this present life was granted to those struggling on Christ's behalf, no freedom was allowed to the holy martyrs, but rather – alas! – everyone either obeyed the wicked commands, or else supported what had been decreed by the hard-hearted emperor. Accordingly the prefect, Fescenninus Sisinnius, with a hand-picked company assigned to him, is dispatched with a mighty shout to regions of the western provinces so that, seeking out wherever he could find him the aged man renowned for his teaching and outstanding for the display of his miracles, Macarius Dionysius, he would either compel him

ubicumque reperire potuisset, perquirens, aut decreto principis idolis turificare compelleret, aut tormentis laceratum immensis et poenis exquisitissimis tormentatum, inter cetera etiam secundum leges Romanas, utpote eum, qui praestantissima nobilitate terrena floruerat, et contra senatus ac reipublicae
 5 promulgationes contraque imperium egerat, nudum, publice uirgis caesum, securi percuteret.

25. Itaque cum praedictus Fescenninus Sisinnius sui que commanipulares praecceptum principis suscepissent, pro Macarii Dionysii inquisitione Galliarum penetrant fines. Quibus adhuc procul positus sancti uiri celebre nomen inno-
 10 tuit. Vnde amplius efferati, cursu uelociori, tumentibus animis, uultibus trucissimis, Parisius adierunt,²⁵⁷ ubi beatum Dionysium contra incredulos dimicantem, et praedicatione continua populi multitudinem ad fidem inueniunt exhortantem. Cum quo etiam beatum uirum Rusticum archipresbyterum et Eleutherium archidiaconem, quos ipse famulus Domini in suis ordinibus con-
 15 secrarat, praedicationis et diuini obsequii comministros, persecutorum dirus furor inuenit.²⁵⁸ Hi sancti uiri a beatissimi Dionysii numquam sustinuerunt abesse praesentia;²⁵⁹ quos diuina dignatio aeterni regni iam praesciebat esse consortes, quosque ab inuicem ignitae tempestatis insectatio, per martyrii certamina nullo suae calliditatis aut seueritatis astu separare praeualuit. Denique
 20 aduentus praefecti Fescennini Sisinnii cum Romanorum militum apparitione in urbe Parisiorum et per omnem regionem subito personatur; et a primoribus ciuitatum Galliarum ei occurritur; imperialis iussio urgens super captura sancti pontificis Macarii Dionysii cum omni imperio diuulgatur.

26. Et quia Dominus Iesus Christus diu laboranti seni sanctissimo sudores certaminum suorum decreuerat proprii sanguinis fonte abluere, quo posset
 25 liberius, carnis sarcina liberatus et super niuem dealbatus, praesentiae illius adstare, et qui semetipsum holocaustum odoriferum offerebat sacrificium laudis iugiter immolare, ab innumerabili paene caterua daemoniorum uirorum curritur, et sanctus Domini capitur, colafizatur, conspuitur, deridetur, illudi-

1 reperire] repperiri *O* || perquirens] requirens *O* 2–3 et ... tormentatum] *om. R* 7
 Sisinnius] Sininnius *C (a.c.)* 9 procul] longe *O* 10–11 trucissimis] *sic FG (p.c.)*, trucidissimis
ACELMOPRST 11 Parisius] Parisium *G* || beatum] beatissimum *C (p.c.)* 12 inueniunt] *finis*
lacunae in D 14 archidiaconem] archidiaconum *CLO* || quos] quo *M* || famulus] famulos
LT, om. R || Domini] Christi *G, om. R* || ordinibus] orationibus *S* 16 a] *om. L* || beatissimi]
 beati *CO* 19 aut seueritatis] *litteris expunctis in P; om. FLMRT* 22 Galliarum] Gallicarum *R*
 24 laboranti] laborante *L* 28 immolare] Domino immolans *O* || innumerabili] innumerali
D 29 capitur] rapitur *O*

by the emperor's decree to sacrifice to idols, or else, after he had been afflicted with mighty torments and tortured with exquisite punishments, amidst other penalties according to Roman law – indeed that he should execute him, naked and beaten in public with rods, with an axe, the man who had been distinguished by outstanding worldly renown and had acted contrary to the decrees of the senate and republic, and against imperial authority.

25. And so, when the aforementioned Fescenninus Sisinnius and his accomplices had undertaken the emperor's command, they cross the borders of the Gallic provinces in their search for Macarius Dionysius. The renowned name of the holy man was made known to them even when they were still far distant. Whence, enraged even more, they proceeded to Paris by a swift route, their passions aroused, their countenances grim, where they find St Dionysius struggling against unbelievers and urging the multitude of people to the faith by relentless preaching. The savage fury of the persecutors found with him co-workers in preaching and divine service – the holy man Rusticus the archpriest, and Eleutherius the archdeacon, whom the Lord's servant had himself consecrated in their holy orders. These saintly men had never allowed themselves to be separated from the presence of St Dionysius; the divine dispensation already recognized them as companions of the eternal realm, men whom the pursuit of the fiery tempest could not separate from each other by means of any craft or cunning or cruelty during the trials of martyrdom. And then the arrival of the prefect Fescenninus Sisinnius with his company of Roman soldiers is suddenly announced in the city of Paris and through the entire region; he is met by the highest-ranking officials of the cities of Gaul; the imperial command, insisting on the capture of the holy bishop Macarius Dionysius, is broadcast with full authority.

26. And because the Lord Jesus Christ had decreed that the sweat of his struggles should be wiped away from the old man, labouring so long, with the outpouring of his own blood, so that he might freely stand in His presence, freed from the burden of the flesh and cleansed whiter than snow, and he who was offering himself as the fragrant holocaust might perpetually immolate the sacrifice of praise, an almost countless throng of demonic men rushes up, and the Lord's saint is seized, beaten with fists, spat upon, ridiculed, jeered at,

tur, loris durissimis crudelissime ligatur, trahitur, et una cum sancto Rustico archipresbytero et Eleutherio archidiacono suo, praefecti praesentiae sistitur. Quem cum nimia seueritate praefectus alloquitur, dicens: 'Tunc es ille infandissimus senex, qui diceris Dionysius Ionicus et agnominaris Macarius, qui etiam deorum nostrorum culturam euacuas, et inuictissimi principis statuta contemnis?' Cui beatus Dionysius ait: 'Senex quidem sum corpore, sed feruore deuotionis et fidei atque salutari confessione Domini et saluatoris mei Iesu Christi maneo semper nouus; et nouos illi genitos per ministerium praedicationis meae infantes, quos illi fons sacri baptismatis parturit rationabili lacte pascere sine dolo non cesso. Sed et illius principis scita, qui uere est inuictissimus, innocenti opere et mundo corde conseruo.' Cui praefectus: 'Dic ergo cuius numinis te profiteris esse cultorem, et cuius conditionis te asseris.' Tunc hi tres beatissimi uiri – Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius – ita dono sancti spiritus inspirati et zelo fidei inflammati, sono unius uocis eisdemque uerbis (cum non nisi unus interrogaretur) reddidere responsum, acsi unius hominis ore sermo procederet. 'In hoc', inquit, 'manifestum est nos esse uerissimos Christianos, cum corde credamus, ore confiteamur, et opere pio colamus patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, unum Deum et Dominum, ita ut in trinitate perfecta, et plenitudo sit diuinitatis et unitas potestatis. Dominum autem nostrum Iesum Christum, unam ex eadem sancta trinitate personam, Deum ante tempora saecularia, hominem uerum propter salutem hominum ex beata Maria semper uirgine in fine temporum factum, passum, mortuum et sepultum, et ab inferis resuscitatum, sedere super omnem principatum et potestatem caelestem, ad dexteram paternae maiestatis in excelsis, uenturum ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos, et saeculum per ignem in melius immutandum fideliter praedicamus.'²⁶⁰ Tunc praefectus dixit: 'Non mihi iussum est de his quiddam uobiscum agere, praesertim cum te decrepitae et pessimae senectutis nimia eloquentia, et profundissimorum uerborum tergiuersatione, atque ultra naturam hominum in populi seductione una cum magicis praestigiis, orbi paene Romano callere innotuerit. Ex his enim Romae satis audiuimus. Tantum

1 loris ... trahitur] *om. O* || durissimis] dirissimis *D* || crudelissime] *om. R* || trahitur] traditur *S* 4 Ionicus ... Macarius] *om. R* 5 euacuas] euacuans *S* 7 et!] *om. O* 8 ministerium] mysterium *O* 10 sine dolo] *om. R* || scita] se ita *C* 14 eisdemque] eiusdemque *A* || uerbis] *om. R* 17 credamus] credimus *C* || opere] ore *R* 19 unitas] unitatis et *M* 20 ex] in *E* 23 resuscitatum] suscitatum *O* 23–24 et potestatem] *om. R* 24 dexteram] dexteram *EGP*, dextram *S* 25 et] ac *O* 26 dixit] ait *F* 27 quiddam] quid dicam *S* || praesertim cum] cum praesertim *S* || te] *om. G* || et] *om. CFGLMPR* 28–29 atque ... seductione] *om. S* 29 populi] populis *CE* 30 callere] post callere *add. CDG* te || Romae satis] satis Romae *O*

bound cruelly with harsh thongs, dragged along and brought – together with St Rusticus the archpriest and Eleutherius his archdeacon – into the presence of the prefect. The prefect addresses him with extreme gravity, saying: ‘Are you that most unspeakable old man, who are named Dionysius Ionicus and called Macarius, who are also rejecting the worship of our gods and scorning the decrees of the unconquerable emperor?’ To whom St Dionysius said: ‘I am indeed an old man in body, but I remain ever young through the passion of my devotion and faith and through the health-bringing confession of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and I do not cease from feeding with the milk of reason, without deceit, those children born anew for Him through the agency of my preaching, whom the fountain of holy baptism generates for Him. But with harmless effort and pure heart I also keep the decrees of that Ruler who truly *is* unconquerable.’ To whom the prefect: ‘Say, therefore, of whose divinity you profess yourself to be a worshipper, and of whose dispensation you declare yourself.’ Then these three blessed men – Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius – inspired so much by the gift of the Holy Ghost and inflamed by the zeal of their faith, gave their reply with the sound of one voice, and in the very same words (although no more than one of them had been asked) as if the speech was coming from the mouth of one man. ‘In this respect’, they say, ‘it is clear that we are very true Christians, since we believe in our hearts, confess with our mouths and worship in holy deeds the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, one God and Lord, such that He is complete in the Trinity, and His Unity is the completeness of divinity and might. For we faithfully proclaim our Lord Jesus Christ, one Person from the same Holy Trinity, God before the ages, true man created, from the blessed Mary ever Virgin, at the end of time for the salvation of men, suffered, dead and buried, and raised up from the dead to sit on high, above every principality and heavenly power, at the right hand of the paternal majesty, Who will come to judge the living and the dead, and the world will be changed for the better through fire.’ Then the prefect said: ‘I have not been ordered to discuss such things with you in any respect, particularly since you are known throughout nearly the whole Roman world to be skilled in the excessive eloquence of a decrepit and foul old age, and in the twisting of profound words, and in the seduction of the populace with magic tricks, beyond what is natural for men. I heard enough about this at Rome. Simply

edicito si magni principis Domitiani iussis oboedire et immortalium deorum iura uenerari disponitis; sin autem, non uerborum sed uerberum conflictatione uobiscum uiriliter decertabo.²⁶¹

27. Cumque haec agerentur et secum – praefectus scilicet et sancti Domini –
 5 quaererentur, quaedam inclytæ familiae matrona nobilis, multo comitatu sti-
 pata, nomine Larcia²⁶² superuenit, compellans praefectum a Dionysio Ionico
 agnomine Macario uirum suum Lisbium magicis artibus mente captum, et eius
 transgressionibus sociatum.²⁶³ Qui statim quaesitus, repertus est et adductus,
 10 atque in Christi nominis confessione, praefecto dictante sententiam transmis-
 sus est uitae perpetuae. Sancti uero Domini tortoribus traditi, ad loca poenalia
 ducti sunt; et in conspectu sanctorum Rustici et Eleutherii, ut tormentorum
 ipsius terrore ab intentione sua resipiscerent, pretiosus campidoctor²⁶⁴ eorum,
 et fortissimus athleta Domini Dionysius exspoliatur, et toto corpore nudus, a
 ternis militum ternionibus uicissim flagellatur;²⁶⁵ nec uincitur. Qui inter cre-
 15 pitus uerberum Dei gloriam collaudare et commilitones suos, ut ad haec se
 inuictos praeparent, commonere, omnesque fideles, ut hinc in Dominica fide
 corroborentur, non desinit praedicare, dicens: “Laudem Domini loquetur os
 meum, et benedicat omnis caro nomen sanctum eius”,²⁶⁶ quoniam stigmata
 20 passionis Christi perferre dignus habitus sum pro confessione eius in corpore
 meo:²⁶⁷ quod est gloria uestra, o uiri fideles et dilectissimi fratres. Ideoque
 uidete, ne deficiatis in tribulationibus meis, sed magis armentur corda uestra,
 et ad similia propter amorem Domini nostri Iesu Christi offerite promptissime
 corpora uestra.’

28. Flagellantur etiam Rusticus et Eleutherius satis acerrime, et immenso cate-
 25 narum pondere simul sancti Domini onerantur, et in ergastulum tenebrosis-
 simi carceris retruduntur; indeque, ad praefecti auditionem reducti, in catastis

1 edicito] edicite S 2 uenerari] uenerare S 4 sancti] spiritus C 5 inclytæ familiae]
 familiae inclite S || multo] multa C 5–6 stipata] fulciata S 6 nomine Larcia superuenit]
 superuenit nomine Larcia L || nomine] nomina M || a] om. E 7 agnomine Macario] om.
 R 9 in] ad O || confessione] confessionem O || dictante] post dictante add. DO capitalem ||
 sententiam] sententia C; post sententiam add. F mortis excipiens 11 ducti] adducti E 12
 campidoctor eorum] om. R 13 Domini] om. O 13–14 Dionysius ... militum] a S || a ternis]
 aeternis C 16 praeparent] praepararent CDEGO || commonere] commanere T || ut hinc] et
 hic et S 17 corroborentur] corroborarentur CDO || desinit] desinebat DO 18 et ... eius]
 om. F 20 quod] quae S 21 armentur corda uestra] corda uestra armentur M 22–23 et ...
 uestra] om. S 26 retruduntur] detruduntur L || indeque] deinde S || auditionem] auditione
 S || catastis] catasta S

say if you are willing to obey the orders of the great emperor Domitian and to venerate the laws of the immortal gods; otherwise I shall vigorously debate with you not through the confrontation of words, but of blows.'

27. While this was going on and they were asking these things of each other – the prefect, that is, and the Lord's saints – a certain noble lady of outstanding family named Larcia arrived on the scene, accompanied by a large retinue, addressing the prefect to the effect that her husband, named Lisbius, had been mentally seduced through magic arts by Dionysius Ionicus known as Macarius, and had been associated with his transgressions. Lisbius was immediately summoned, discovered, and brought in, and, for his confession of the name of Christ, was consigned to perpetual life, with the prefect pronouncing the death sentence. The Lord's saints, however, having been handed over to torturers, were taken to the place of punishment; and in the sight of Rusticus and Eleutherius – so that they might repent of their intentions from terror of his tortures – their dear drill-master, Dionysius, the Lord's contestant, is stripped, and is flogged, naked, by three groups of three soldiers at a time, one after the other; he is not overcome. Amidst the crack of the blows he did not cease from praising the glory of God, and from reminding his cohorts to prepare themselves to be unvanquished in these afflictions, and all the faithful to be strengthened henceforth in the Lord's faith, saying: 'Let my mouth speak praise of the Lord, and let all flesh bless His holy name, for I am considered worthy to bear the stigmata of Christ's passion on my body as a result of my confession of Him: which is your glory as well, O my faithful followers and beloved brothers. And therefore see to it, that you do not grow disheartened in my tribulations, but rather that your hearts be armed; and offer most readily your bodies to similar tortures for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

28. Rusticus and Eleutherius are also flogged fairly severely, and all the Lord's saints are together weighed down by a mighty weight of chains, and are thrust back into the confinement of a murky prison-cell; and from there, having been led back to an audience with the prefect, then being stretched out on the rack

extensi et flagellati, Domino gratias referebant. Tunc beatissimus et acceptabilis Christi hostia Dionysius, in oculis suorum super lectum ferreum, suppositis flammis, nudus extensus est; et cantabat, dicens: “Ignitum eloquium tuum, Domine, uehementer et seruus tuus dilexit illud.”²⁶⁸ Propterea, Domine Iesu

5 Christe, omnipotentis Dei patris uirtus et sapientia, qui dixisti, “Cum transieris per ignem, flammae non nocebunt te”²⁶⁹ et dedisti mihi periculosiorem ignem in cupiditatibus uincere: fac et ad nominis tui gloriam hanc adustionem me superare.’ Et sic cum ambusto toto corpore fuisset leuatus, ad bestias ferocissimas, in rabiem multo ieiunio excitatas, proiectus subrigitur. Quas cum

10 impetu ualidissimo conspexisset accurrere, contra eas faciens signum crucis, et suspiciens in caelum, ait: ‘Tu, Domine, qui semper idem es, adesto nunc mihi eandem potentiam exerendo, quam in lacu seruo tuo Danieli misericorditer contulisti.’²⁷⁰ Peruenientes autem ad eum bestiae, mansuetissime procidebant ei. Praeparantur quoque ingentia clibani incendia, et in ea uir Domini sanctus

15 Dionysius, uexillo sanctae crucis armatus, proicitur, ‘et hic’, inquit, ‘mihi non deeris, Domine Iesu Christe, ut illaesus hac etiam perpetui tormenti imaginaria concrematione egrediar; roreque tui sancti spiritus hos fidei meae sedes rogos, qui rumpheam ignitam in custodiam Paradisi cruoris tui latice, fidelibus tuis ad uitam praebens transitum, exstinxisti.’²⁷¹

20 29. Inter haec sancti Domini Rusticus et Eleutherius, flentes et ad poenas similes uoto promptissimo properantes, uincti differuntur: non dimittuntur. Cumque extincto ad orationem eius fornacis incendio, beatus Domini pontifex Dionysius fuisset splendidior auro eductus, patibulo cruciariae stipitis²⁷² tormentalium instrumentorum confixione appenditur. Vnde semper Iesum Christum uerum Deum esse cunctis spectantibus praedicans, diutius tortus nec

25 mortuus deponitur; et in carcere Glaucini²⁷³ tres simul electi Domini cum fidelium multitudine recluduntur. Ducebantur sane a delicto obligatis – iusti in uinculis, condemnandi a damnatis; et innocentes a nocentibus exponuntur. Vbi cum post multas et pernecessarias populi, qui eum sequendo car-

2 Christi] Christo *ACFMR*, Deo *D* || Dionysius, in ...] *lacuna in D* (*usque ad c.* 29 *similes uoto promptissimo*), *folio amisso* 4 Domine] *om. S* 6 nocebunt] *nocebit CM* || mihi] *om. M* 8 me] *om. S* 10 eas] *eos CO* 11 suspiciens] *suscipiens P* 12 exerendo] *exercendo COT* 12–13 misericorditer contulisti] *contulisti misericorditer S* 13 autem] *om. CG* 14 ei] *coram eo R* 15 hic] *om. E* || mihi non] *mi non F* 16 illaesus] *post illaesus add. R. ex* 17 roreque] *roremque C* || fidei meae] *om. R* || sedes] *sedabis M* 21 properantes, uincti ...] *fnis lacunae in D* || non] *nec T* 22 Domini pontifex] *om. R* 23 cruciariae] *cruciari GL* 25 Deum] *om. D* 27 obligatis] *obligati G* 29 multas] *multos C, om. S*

and flogged, they continually gave thanks to the Lord. Then Dionysius, the most blessed and acceptable victim of Christ, was stretched out naked on an iron bed, with flames supplied from beneath, in full sight of his followers; and he sang out, saying: "Fiery is your speech, O Lord, and Your servant loved it ardently." Therefore, Lord Jesus Christ, (Who are) the power and wisdom of Almighty God the Father, You Who said, "When you shall pass through the fire, the flames will not harm you", and You granted to me to conquer the even more dangerous fire in my desires: grant that I may overcome this conflagration to the glory of Your name.' And thus, when he had been released, with his entire body burned, he is raised up to be thrown to ferocious beasts, aroused to frenzy by lengthy deprivation of food. When he saw them rush up with mighty violence, making the sign of the Cross over them and looking up to heaven, he said: 'You, O Lord, Who are always the same, attend me now by revealing the same power which You mercifully bestowed on Your servant Daniel in the (lions') den.' When the beasts reached him, they fell down gently before him. Mighty fires are also stoked up in the furnace, and the man of God, St Dionysius, armed with the standard of the Cross, is cast into it while saying, 'And here, O my Lord Jesus Christ, You will not abandon me, so that I may emerge unharmed from this imaginary conflagration of perpetual torment; and may You assuage these fires of my faith with the dew of Your Holy Spirit, You Who put out the fiery sword at the guard-house of Paradise with the waters of Your blood, thus offering to Your faithful the passage to life.'

29. During all this the Lord's saints Rusticus and Eleutherius, weeping and anticipating similar torments with most eager desire, are held waiting in chains: they are not released. And when the Lord's blessed bishop Dionysius was led out, more radiant than gold, the fire of the furnace having been extinguished by his prayer, he is suspended from the gibbet of a gallows-tree, attached by means of instruments of torture. Whereupon, proclaiming Jesus Christ the true God to all those watching, he is tortured at length and then taken down, not yet dead; and the three chosen men of the Lord are locked up together with a multitude of the faithful in the prison of Glaucinus. They were of course being led there by those who were liable to sin: the just in chains, to be condemned by the damned; and the innocent are exhibited by sinners. There, when after many and very essential exhortations to the populace, who following him had

- cerem irruperant, exhortationes, et ad absentes directa institutionum praecepta, Dominica missarum solemnia, ut confirmarentur participatione corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideles uelut iam in caelis positus, celebraret, hora, qua frangebatur panis sanctus, quo ipse et populus communicare debebant, resplenduit huiusmodi lux de caelo super eum et omnes qui
 5 ibi aderant, qualem nemo eorum antea uiderat, in qua ueniens apparuit ei Dominus Iesus Christus,²⁷⁴ etiam cunctis uidentibus quibus est datum uidere, cum multitudine angelorum; et accipiens panem sanctum, dedit illi, dicens: ‘Accipe hoc, care meus, quod mox complebo tibi una cum patre meo; quoniam
 10 mecum est maxima merces tua, et his qui audierint te, salus in regno meo. Nunc facies fortiter, et memoria tua erit in laude. Dilectio autem et benignitas quam habes, semper pro quibuscumque petierit impetrabit.’ Huius uero terribilis et admirandi spectaculi mysterio, quamquam adhuc pagana curiositate, tamen miraculorum sollicita, praedicta Larcia intererat.
- 15 30. His quoque explicitis, adsunt carnifices; qui Christi famulos de squalore carceris educentes, praefecti obtutibus iterum praesentarunt. Quibus praefectus ait: ‘Si prudenti consilio tandem ad uitam tenditis, immolate diis, et uiuite; si uero mori eligitis, mortuorum quos seduxistis cadauera infeliciter inhumata et tormentorum adhuc signa seruantia, euntes cernite; et si non resipueritis, infelicitatem eorum infelicitate excedite, et infeliciter ut desideratis obite.’ Ad hanc uocem Christi martyres – Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius – in agonia pari confessione fidei et uirtutis constantia roborati, post nimia tormenta gloriosum complere martyrium elegerunt. Et iudicis abstracti conspectibus, ac funeribus sibi sanctorum ostensis, diuina, iusta et occulta laudauere iudicia: qui sic eos
 20 in praesenti humiliare disponit, quos in caelesti regno tam gloriose exaltari ante omne tempus decreuit. Deinde terrore subiuncto multisque iniuriis et non antea perlatis suppliciis macerati, Christi se famulos magna confessionis uoce pronuntiant. Lacerabaturque praecipue sanctus Dei sacerdos humana rabie, cui seruiuit et bestia; qui praecurrebat ad tormenta, ne tarde iret ad gloriam.
 25 Prouocabat in se poenam, ut maior esset et uictoria. Confligebant inter se –
 30

1 absentes] obsequentes C; post absentes add. F per 4–5 quo ... huiusmodi] om. T 4 quo] quod M 5 omnes] omnibus S 6 apparuit ei] om. S 7 est datum] datum est L 9 quoniam] et R 11 memoria tua erit] erit nomen tuum L || autem] om. L 12 habes, semper] semper habes L || quibuscumque] quibusquum S 13 mysterio] ministerio L 14 sollicita] om. C 17 tenditis] post tenditis add. L et 18 seduxistis] eduxistis R 19 seruantia] seruantes C || resipueritis] respueritis CES 20 eorum] post eorum add. D cum || ut] om. C 21 Christi] om. S 21–22 pari ... constantia] om. C 23 complere martyrium] martirium complere C 24 diuina] domini R || eos] om. M 25 tam] om. L 28 sanctus] om. O 30 et] om. ACDEGMOS

burst into the prison-cell, and (after) precepts of instruction directed to those who were absent, he was celebrating mass – as if he were already stationed in heaven – so that the faithful could be strengthened by participation in the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the moment when the consecrated bread was being broken, when he and the people were to take communion, a light of such a nature shone down from heaven on him and those who were present there such as none of them had ever seen before, in which the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him and also to all those to whom the vision was granted, with a host of angels; and taking the consecrated bread, He gave it to him [Dionysius], saying: ‘Take this, my dear man, which I together with my Father shall soon make full for you; because the greatest reward for you and for those who will have listened to you is salvation with me in my kingdom. Now you shall act bravely, and you will be remembered in praise. For your love, and the kindness which you have, will always be effective on behalf of whomsoever it shall petition.’ The aforementioned Larcia, although she was still drawn by pagan curiosity yet was thoroughly moved by miracles, was present at the mystery of this terrible and wonderful spectacle.

30. When these events have taken place, the executioners arrive; leading the servants of Christ out of the squalor of the prison-cell, they presented them once again to the inspection of the prefect. The prefect said to them: ‘If in the end you incline, through wise resolve, to life, sacrifice to the gods, and live; if, however, you choose to die, note in passing the unburied bodies of the dead whom you sadly seduced, still showing the marks of their tortures; and if you will not come to your senses, surpass their misfortune with (your own) misfortune, and die wretchedly, as you wish.’ At these words the martyrs of Christ – Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius – strengthened in their suffering by a similar confession of faith and constancy of virtue, chose to finish off their glorious martyrdom after extreme tortures. And so, removed from the sight of the (earthly) judge – and when the deaths of other saints had been shown to them – they praised the divine, just and hidden decrees: He Who thus decides to abase them in the present life had before all time decreed them to be exalted gloriously in the heavenly kingdom. Thereafter, tormented by additional terror, and after many injuries and tortures not previously applied, they announce in a loud voice of confession that they are servants of Christ. And the holy bishop of God [Dionysius] was particularly abused by the human frenzy – he whom even the beast respected; he rushed forward to his torment so that he would not go slowly to glory. He was calling the punishment down on himself so that his victory would be the greater. They were competing among themselves –

illinc carnifices, hinc palmata uox martyris. Ambiebat supplicia ut, tormento crescente, cresceret et corona. Quapropter iterum, uelut ab initio, uirgis in conspectu omnium sancti martyres nudi caesi; et suis uestibus reinduti, e regione idoli Mercurii²⁷⁵ ad locum constitutum educti, ad decollationem sunt
5 genua flectere iussi.

31. Tunc beatus antistes Domini Dionysius manus expandens et oculos ad caelos erigens, ait: 'Deus, Deus meus, qui creasti me et gratia tua in uitam hanc induxisti me, qui aeterna sapientia tua docuisti me et consilia secretorum tuorum non abscondisti a me, sed semper in misericordia et miserationibus tuis
10 multis consolatus es me, et fuisti mecum in omnibus ad quaecumque perrexi: tibi gratias ago pro cunctis quae fecisti et ostendisti mihi, atque dignatus es operari per me, maxime quia nunc humilitatem meam uisitasti per te, et uocasti senectutem meam, tuo desiderio fatigatam, ad te, sciens quia iam ex multo tempore largius concupiui uidere te. Nunc iam, Domine, per coronam
15 martyrii cum fratribus meis – seruis tuis – suscipe me; tuosque tuae custodiae commendo, quos ministerio nostro et tibi tuo sanguine adquisisti; cunctos etiam, qui te per nos in nomine tuo petierint, ut pollicitus es clementer exaudi: quoniam tuum est regnum et potestas cum patre et sancto spiritu, ante omnia et in omnia saecula saeculorum.' Cumque beatus Rusticus et Eleutherius cunctique fideles – et multi etiam paganorum, qui eum lamentantes
20 prosequabantur – respondissent 'Amen', positis genibus et protensis ceruicibus uno eodemque momento, hebetatis, secundum principis praeceptum, securibus decollati sunt; atque in hac fidei constantia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt.²⁷⁶ Talique ad Dominum meruerunt
25 professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Iesum Christum Dominum confiteri,²⁷⁷ quoniam unde mentibus inerat amor, licet praecisis capitibus, quod ore iam sumpserat sermonibus aestuabat ardor. Vere beata nimium et Deo nostro grata societas, inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse, nec tertius: sed trinitatem confitentes, trino meruere decorari
30 martyrio, quatenus fide pares gloria coronaret aequalis.²⁷⁸

1–2 Ambiebat ... corona] *om. R* 6–7 caelos] caelum *FRS* 7 Deus¹] Domine *CRS* || creasti me] me creasti *E* || in uitam hanc] hanc uitam *L* 8 me¹] *om. O, expunct. in T* || qui] quia *A* || consilia] consilio *S* 9 in misericordia] *om. S, misericordia T* 10 multis] *om. L; add. P in marg.* 12 quia nunc] nunc quia *F* 13 ex] *om. C* 15–16 custodiae] *om. A* 18 sancto spiritu] spiritu sancto *EGRS* 24 Talique] tali namque *CO* 25 professione] pro confessione *S* || migrare] *post migrare add. O profutura, add. S laudare* 26 Iesum Christum Dominum] Dominum Iesum Christum *L* 27 iam] *om. O* || sumpserat] assumpserat *O* || aestuabat] conuacabat *M*

on one side the executioners, on the other the crowned voice of the martyr. He was embracing his punishment so that, as the torture increased, the crown (of his martyrdom) would increase. Accordingly, just as at the beginning, the holy martyrs, naked once again, are beaten with rods in full view of everyone; dressed again in their clothing, taken from the vicinity of the statue of Mercury to the appointed place, they were ordered to bend their knees (in readiness) for decapitation.

31. Then Dionysius, the blessed bishop of the Lord, extending his hands and raising his eyes to heaven, said: 'God, my God, Who created me and brought me by Your mercy into this life, Who taught me with eternal wisdom and did not conceal from me the plans of Your secrets, but always consoled me in mercy and in your many commiserations, and were with me in all places wherever I went: I thank You for all things which You did and showed to me, and deigned to accomplish through me, most of all because You visited my humble self in person and called to You my aged self, exhausted through doing Your will, knowing that for a very long time I greatly wished to see You. Now, Lord, receive me through the crown of martyrdom together with my brothers, Your servants; and I commend your (servants) to Your protection, whom You acquired for Yourself through my ministry and Your blood; and listen mercifully, too, as You promised, to all those who through me shall petition You in Your name: because Yours is the kingdom and power with the Father and Holy Ghost, before all things and forever and ever.' And when Rusticus and Eleutherius and all the faithful – and even many of the pagans who were following him in tears – replied 'Amen', on bended knee and with outstretched neck they were all beheaded in one and the same moment with axes blunted in accord with the emperor's command; and persisting in this constancy of faith, yielding their bodies to the earth, they brought their blessed souls to heaven. And they were found worthy to travel to the Lord with a profession of this sort, that with their heads cut off their trembling tongues were thought still to be confessing Jesus Christ the Lord, because where love remained in their hearts, ardent desire was burning, even though their heads were cut off, to express in speech what now had been taken from their mouths. This was a truly blessed fellowship exceedingly welcome to our God, among whom the first could not be the second nor the third; but, confessing the Trinity, they deserved to be adorned by a triple martyrdom, such that equal distinction should crown those who were equal in faith.

32. Tantaque multitudo fidelium quae per eum crediderat,²⁷⁹ eadem die cum illo et in circuitu ciuitatis pro Christi nomine caesa et diuersissimis ac antea inauditis suppliciis est affecta, ut Parisius²⁸⁰ uideretur impletum quod de Hierusalem prophético uaticinio fuerat peroratum: ‘posuerunt mortalia seruorum
 5 tuorum in circuitu eius et non erat qui sepeliret.’²⁸¹ Namque ad declaranda martyris et Galliarum primi sacerdotis merita gloriosa, ut ubi salutifer primo coeperat fructus oriri eo amplius gloriae ipsius pateret triumphus, maximus cunctos assistentes horror inuasit, ac lux ineffabilis cunctis resplenduit; et beatissimi Dionysii se cadauer erexit, sanctaque manu caput a corpore dolabra
 10 lictoris truncatum, angelico ductu gressum regente et luce caelesti circumfulgente, pendulis coepit brachiis uectitare.²⁸² Et facta est comes multitudo caelestis exercitus exanimi eius corpori caput proprium, ab ipso monte, ubi fuerat decollatus, per duo fere milia deportanti usque ad locum,²⁸³ in quo nunc Dei dispositione et sua electione requiescit humatum, sine cessatione hymnis
 15 dulcisonis Deum laudans. Sed et caelos potentia diuinorum spirituum innumera-
 bilia agmina sunt audita, canore inestimabilis suauitatis modulantia ‘Gloria tibi, Domine’, adiuncto frequentius ‘Alleluia’. Nam prout discerni potuit tantus auditus, uelut alternatim chori angelici, haec et alia quorum intellectus non potuit percipi, concinebant. Quod uidentes et audientes innumeri populi – et
 20 multi etiam persecutorum – in Dominum crediderunt. Non credentes autem, nimio terrore percussi, quique in suas partes fugerunt.

33. Competens profecto erat diuinae dignationi mirificatum sanctum suum in caelis taliter demonstrare in terris, qui ad ferocissimos populos inclytus nuntius et confessor ipsius pretiosus, succensus igne diuini amoris, constanter sustinuit
 25 supplicia passionis, et per immanitatem tormentorum peruenit ad societatem angelorum. Nempe nouum – prius et inauditum – miraculum, exanime corpus uiuentis currere more, et hominem iam mortuum recto gressu incedere.²⁸⁴ Sed quamquam sit mirum, non est tamen difficile praeciso capite sanctissimi uiri

1 quae] qui *ACEGLMOP* || per eum] preerat *S* || crediderat] crediderant *GLO* 3 Parisius uideretur] uideretur Parisius *C* || Parisius] Parisiis *GLPRST* 3–4 Hierusalem] *post* Hierusalem *add. S* per 5 tuorum] *post* tuorum *add. L* Domine 8–9 beatissimi] beati *O* 9 corpore] *post* corpore *add. C* securis dextralis 11 comes] omnis *G* 12 corpori] corporis *DR* 13 milia] miliaria *O* || deportanti] deportantis *R* 13–14 nunc Dei] diuina *R* 14 requiescit humatum] humandum fuerat *R* || humatum] humatus *O* 15 petentia] petenti *G* 16 sunt] sicut *S* 18 alternatim] cateruatim *O* || alia] alii *C* 21 fugerunt] fugierunt *RS* 23 demonstrare] monstrare *LO* || qui ad] quia *S* || nuntius] *post* nuntius *add. O* missus 24 ipsius] Domini *O, om. S* 26 prius] nunc *O* 27 currere more] more currere *O* 28 quamquam] quam *S* || praeciso] pretioso *S*

32. And so great a multitude of the faithful, which had come to believe through him, was slaughtered with him for the name of Christ, and subjected to such diverse and previously unheard-of tortures, on the very same day within the compass of the city, that at Paris would seem to have been fulfilled what had been preached concerning Jerusalem in a prophetic prediction: 'They deposited the mortal remains of your servants within its compass and there was no one who could bury them.' For a great terror overcame all those present, and an inexpressible light shone on everyone in order to make clear the glorious accomplishments of the martyr and first bishop of the Gauls, so that, where the health-bringing fruit had first begun to grow, the triumph of his glory should be all the more fully revealed; and the corpse of the blessed Dionysius raised itself up, and began – with angelic guidance directing its steps and heavenly light shining all around – to carry in his holy hand the head cut from the body by the lictor's axe, cradling it in his arms. And a multitude of the celestial army, praising God without cease in sweet-sounding hymns, accompanied his lifeless body as it carried its own head from the hill where he had been decapitated, for almost two miles to the place where it now lies buried through the disposition of God and through His choice. But also countless throngs of divine spirits seeking the heavens were heard, singing with the melody of incalculable sweetness 'Glory be to Thee, O Lord', to which was frequently added 'Alleluia'. For in accord with as much of the sound as could be distinguished, (it was) as if angelic choirs were alternately singing these and other hymns whose meaning could not be made out. Countless people – and many even of the persecutors – seeing and hearing this, believed in the Lord. The non-believers, struck by extreme terror, fled each to his own place.

33. It was assuredly fitting for the divine dispensation to display its saint, admired in heaven, on earth in such a way – a saint who, enflamed by the fire of divine love, having gone as its distinguished messenger and esteemed confessor to the most ferocious of peoples, steadfastly underwent torments of suffering, and through the enormity of his torments arrived in the company of angels. For it was a new – and previously unheard-of – miracle for a lifeless corpse to move in the manner of a living person, and for a man already dead to walk with a steady gait. But although it is miraculous, it is not however difficult for the body

corpus angelico ministerio in modum uiuentis ambulare, cum idem Deus sua omnipotentia efflato spiritu, cadauer eius facile propter fidei suae commendationem, quam isdem suus fidelis seruus praedicauerat facile ut iret, potuit regere – qui idipsum corpus de puluere terrae compingens, spiritu quo uegetaretur dignatus est inspirare: eundemque redactum in cinerem dignabitur reparare, et qua uixerat anima uiuidum perenniter reddere.

Quod stupendum miraculum, cum superius praefata Larcia conspexisset, prosluit in infidelium turbas, et uociferata est se esse Christi gratia Christianam.²⁸⁵ Quae mox capta et in Christi Domini nostri confessione, sanguinis sui fonte ab immunditia idolorum occubuit baptizata in remissionem peccatorum. Cuius filius Visbius, quem ex praescripto Lisbio uiro suo susceperat, Romam ductus, Domitiano euissillato, per tres Caesares militauit,²⁸⁶ et sub sancto Masso episcopo, qui tertius a beato Dionysio Parisiorum rexit ecclesiam,²⁸⁷ reuersus, omnibus quae sunt mundi relictis, baptizatus, et religiosorum Christique pauperum numero est sociatus. Ceterum metuentes persecutores et gentilium phalangae, ne conuersi populi fidelissima probataque deuotio, sanctorum corpora Rustici et Eleutherii, quae in monte, ubi ipsi una cum beato Dionysio fuerant martyrizati, iacebant, profutura sibi ad patrocinium colligerent et tumularent, inito consilio eligunt tetris Sequanae profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere. Quae imposita nauibus, ad prouisum gurgitem ministros iubent demergenda perferre;²⁸⁸ sed Deus omnipotens, praescius futurorum – qui mutat tempus et quod praedestinauit non mutat consilium: qui malum Holophernis conceptum prudentia beneuolentis feminae immutauit²⁸⁹ – iniquorum consilia suae dispositionis arti industria qua uoluit seruire coegit.

34. Nam nobilis quaedam materfamilias, Catulla nomine,²⁹⁰ quae licet paganorum adhuc erroribus necessitate potius quam uoluntate teneretur addicta, conuerti tamen ad fidem Christi per exempla martyrum atque ad baptismi

1 in modum] *om. LR*, more *T* 2 eius] *om. S* 3 isdem] idem *S* || suus] *om. L* || fidelis seruus] seruus fideliter *O* 4 qui idipsum] qui ipsum *L*, quod ipsut *S* || spiritu] spiritum *R* 5–6 eundemque ... reparare] *om. C* 5 eundemque] idemque *FL* 6 qua] qui *M* 7 cum] quod *S* || praefata] fata *ACDEFGMORT* 10–11 occubuit ... peccatorum] baptizata in remissionem peccatorum occubuit *O* 11 filius] *om. C* 12 euissillato] eius pilato *CM*, in palatio *L* (*super lituram*), eiusque palatio *R* 16 deuotio] deuotione *O* 17 beato] beatissimo *O* 23 malum] malo *S* 24 dispositionis] disponionis *M* || arti] artis *OP* 26–27 paganorum adhuc] adhuc paganorum adhuc *L* 27 uoluntate] fide *L* 28 ad baptismi] baptismatis *L*, babtismi ad *S*

of a very holy man, once decapitated, to walk, with angelic attendants, in the manner of a living person, since God Himself in His omnipotence could easily guide his corpse, once he had breathed out his spirit, in accordance with the excellence of his faith, which as His faithful servant he himself had foretold, so that he might easily walk – God Who, fashioning this very same body from the dust of the earth, deigned to breathe into it with the spirit by which it would be animated: and He shall deign to renew this same body, reduced to ash, and render it vital with the soul by which it once had lived.

When Larcia, mentioned previously, had witnessed this stupendous miracle, she leapt into the crowds of unbelievers, and shouted out that she was a Christian through the mercy of Christ. She was immediately captured and died in confessing Christ our Lord, away from the impurity of idols, having been baptized for the remission of sins in the fountain of His blood. Her son Visbius, whom she had begotten with her aforementioned husband Lisbius, was taken to Rome and served under three emperors, when Domitian had been carted off by lowly corpse-bearers. He [Visbius] returned and, having relinquished all the things of this world, was baptized under Bishop Massus, who was the third to rule the church of Paris after Dionysius, and joined to the number of Christ's religious poor. Moreover, the persecutors and throngs of pagans, fearing lest the faithful and proven devotion of a converted populace should gather up and bury the bodies of SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius, which were lying on the hill where they had been martyred with St Dionysius so as to afford them protection in the future, after consultation choose to commit the bodies of the martyrs to be destroyed in the murky and deep waters of the Seine. The bodies were placed in boats; they order their agents to take them to be plunged into the agreed-upon whirlpool; but God Almighty, mindful of future events – He Who alters the time and does not alter His resolution concerning what He fore-ordained, Who altered the evil intention of Holofernes by the wisdom of an obliging woman – constrained the intentions of the wicked to the design of His intention through the application by which He wished to be of assistance.

34. For a certain noble-woman, named Catulla, who although she was still bound of necessity rather than volition to the errors of the pagans, revealed in her attitude and actions that she nevertheless wished to be converted to belief in Christ through the examples of the martyrs, and to attain to the blessedness

gratiam peruenire se desiderare et mente demonstrabat et opere. Dei misericordia inspirata, mactae uirtutis consilium appetiuit: atque ad conuiuium uenire postulat sanctorum corporum perditores. Et dum eis copiam oblatae humanitatis expendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit;²⁹¹
 5 fidelibusque suis et familiaris uoti consciis secreta ordinatione committit, ut subtracta furto pretiosa corpora beatorum diligens elaboraret occultare prouiso.²⁹² Qui dominae uoluntate et iussione comperta, festinanter quod eis praeceptum fuerat exsequuntur; furtumque laudabile – quod nemini damnum intulit, et omnibus pie credentibus lucrum maximum contulit²⁹³ – sexto
 10 a memorata urbe lapide in sulcis autumnalibus, quos tunc seminibus iacendis praescripta matrona in abundantia parabat arantium, speciem agricolarum praetendentes uelut quiddam ruralis operis laborantes abscondunt.²⁹⁴ Locum etiam certo notamine assignare procurant. Ex quo eadem Dei futura plenius femina, ac sibi collegae Christiani, inter nocturna secreta silentia, praescripta martyrum corpora tollentes, beati Dionysii corpori coniunxerunt, et ueneratione qua inter persecutorum rabiem poterant deuotissime frequentabant. Facta deinceps satione, nec suum seges negauit obsequium, quae tali est fecundata pinguedine: atque sic se in eam beneficium ubertatis effudit, ut centuplicatos fructus deuotissima cultrix acquireret, et patria mereretur salutem.²⁹⁵
 20

35. Praedicta itaque materfamilias, cum primum uidit persecutionis tepuisse feruorem, locum tantorum martyrum ossa seruantem qua oportuit honorificentia una cum sanctis Domini sacerdotibus et fidelium turbis reuerentissime satis aggredditur;²⁹⁶ et incomparabilem thesaurum, quem diu sibi et posteris
 25 profuturum seruauit, omnibus patenter eadem sacratissima die innotuit, qua beatus Dionysius cum sociis suis triumphans agonem expleuit, et coronam uictoriae accipere de manu Domini meruit atque testis Iesu Domini pretiosus siderum senatum possedit;²⁹⁷ ipsumque locum eminentis mausolei aedificatione signauit.²⁹⁸ Sanctorum quoque corporibus digna ueneratione sepultis, eorum

1 se desiderare] desideraret *O* || mente ... opere] opere demonstrabat et mente *O* 2 mactae] acte *S* || atque] et *C* 3 eis copiam] epicopium *C* 4 humanitatis] humilitatis *T* 5 familiaris] familiaribus *O* 6 elaboraret] elaboret *CFRT* 10 memorata] memorato *E* 11 parabat] preparabat *L* 12 quiddam] quidam *S* 13 etiam] uero *G* 14 plenius] *om. O* || sibi] pii *G* || secreta] *om. R* 15 tollentes] *post* tollentes *add. O* et 17 seges negauit] negauit seges *E* 18 eam] eadem *O* || effudit] infudit *O* 23 sanctis] *om. O* || Domini] *om. C* 24 incomparabilem] incomparabile *EMO* || quem] quod *ET* 25 innotuit] *om. L* 26 beatus] beatissimus *M* 27 de ... meruit] meruit de manu Domini *C* || Iesu Domini] Domini Iesu *L* || Domini pretiosus] *om. R* 28 eminentis] *hic explicit G (foliis euulsis)*

of baptism. Inspired by the mercy of God, she implemented a plan of outstanding daring: and she invites the destroyers of the saints' bodies to come to a feast. And while she lavished on them the abundance of proffered hospitality, she drove from their minds the things they had undertaken to do; and by secret command she arranges with her faithful followers and those aware of her private plans, that their loyal concern should undertake to hide the precious bodies of the martyrs, having first removed them by stealth. When they had ascertained the wish and command of their mistress, they quickly accomplish what had been asked of them; and, presenting the appearance of agricultural workers as if engaged in some rural activity, they conceal this praiseworthy theft – which brought loss to no one and conferred the greatest reward on all devout believers – at the sixth milestone from the aforementioned city [Paris], in the autumn furrows, which the aforesaid noblewoman with a number of her ploughmen was then preparing in readiness for sowing. They also take care to identify the place with a clear marker. From there this same woman, fully to be God's in the future, and some Christians who were her colleagues, taking up the aforementioned bodies of the martyrs during the secret silences of night, united them with the body of Dionysius and devoutly attended them with such veneration as they could manage during the frenzy of persecution. When the sowing had been done, the crop – which was fertilized by such riches – did not thereafter deny its obedience: and it poured itself out in the bounty of its fruitfulness such that the exceedingly devout lady farmer would acquire a hundredfold return and the country would merit its salvation.

35. And so the aforementioned noblewoman, when she saw that the first heat of persecution had abated, goes very reverently, with such honour as was fitting, together with holy priests of the Lord and crowds of the faithful, to the place preserving the bones of these great martyrs; and she revealed plainly to everyone the incomparable treasure which she kept hidden so long for the benefit of herself and posterity, on the very same holy day on which St Dionysius with his companions triumphantly completed his trials and deserved to receive the crown of victory from the hand of God, and as a precious witness of the Lord Jesus took possession of the sidereal senate; and she marked out this same place with the construction of an imposing tomb. And when the bodies of the saints had been buried with fitting respect, their clothing – the tunic, that is, hair-shirt

uestimenta – tunica uidelicet, cilicium et caligae Dionysii pretiosi, et casula sancti Rustici archipresbyteri, atque dalmatica beati Eleutherii archidiaconi (exceptis portionibus quae pro reliquiis electorum Domini a fidelium deuotione sumptae sunt) – usque hodie debiti cultus reuerentia conseruantur.²⁹⁹

5 Quorum meritis et precibus eadem uenerabilis femina in nomine sanctae trinitatis ex aqua et spiritu sancto renata, cuncta quae habere potuit Domino Iesu Christo saluatori nostro atque ipsis martyribus tradidit, et sacras excubias apud eorum corpora, quamdiu superuixerat, celebrans, in bona confessione ac conuersatione, ad Christi et sanctorum martyrum gloriam, ipsis intercedentibus,
10 migrare promeruit.

36. Processu uero temporis, multiplicata fidelium numerositate, Christiani et beati Dionysii patrociniis deuotissimi, basilicam super pretiosorum martyrum corpora, magno sumptu cultuque eximio construxerunt;³⁰⁰ ubi cotidie, operante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, merita eorum uirtutum probantur monstrari frequentia. Quorum miraculorum insignia non solum sermo non praeualet enarrare, uerum nec ipsis queunt humanis mentibus comprehendere, unde nec dignitas honoris et magnificentiae eorum hominis cogitatu potest attingi. Experiuntur tamen infirmi ac quibuscumque anxietatibus afflicti, in eodem loco et ubique Domini clementiam per eorundem merita martyrum inuocantes, quantum Dei famulos conueniat honorari, quorum interuentu recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum et obstrictae aurium ianuae recipere merentur auditum.³⁰¹ Sed nec illud silendum est, quod immundorum spirituum infestatione uexati, dum ad memoratorum Christi testium tumulos examinandi uirtute diuina ducuntur, sanctorum ipsorum coguntur imperio, quo quisque
25 sit martyrum positus loco, designatis nominibus indicare.³⁰² Quorum memoranda et gloriosissima passio e regione urbis Parisiorum in colle qui antea Mons Mercurii (quoniam inibi idolum ipsius principaliter colebatur a Gallis), nunc uero Mons Martyrum uocatur,³⁰³ sanctorum Domini gratia, qui ibidem triumphale martyrium perpetrarunt, celebrata est .vii. idus Octobris, anno ab
30 incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi nonagesimo sexto, a passione autem sexagesimo quarto: aetatis uero beatissimi Dionysii circiter nonagesimo, imperii quoque Domitiani crudelissimi Caesaris sexto decimo ingruente.³⁰⁴ Quem ultio diuina, ut et Neronem, cuius hic portio fuerat post necem apostolorum,

1 caligae] caligas S 4 conseruantur] seruantur R 7 apud] ad C 11 uero] autem C 14–15 monstrari] ministrari O 16 enarrare] narrare C 17 cogitatu] cogitatus O 19 ubique] ubicumque C 23 examinandi] exanimandi L, exinandi S 27 inibi idolum] idolum inibi F 28 qui] quia O; post qui add. P in 29 vii] octauo O

and shoes of dear Dionysius, and the chasuble of St Rusticus the archpriest, and the dalmatic of St Eleutherius the archdeacon (not counting the pieces which were removed by the devotion of the faithful to serve as relics of the Lord's elect) – is preserved until the present day with the veneration of due worship. This same honourable woman, reborn from water and the Holy Ghost in the name of the Holy Trinity, through the merits and prayers of the martyrs, handed over to the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour and to these same martyrs everything which she could lay claim to, and, keeping devoted watch over their tomb in worthy confession and behaviour for as long as she lived, was found worthy to proceed to the glory of Christ and the holy martyrs, with these same martyrs interceding for her.

36. But with the passage of time and the increase in the number of the faithful, the Christians and those persons most dedicated to the patronage of St Dionysius built a basilica over the bodies of the precious martyrs, at great expense and with exceptional care, where through the agency of our Lord Jesus Christ the saints' merits are daily revealed by the frequency of miracles. Not only is speech incapable of recording the outstanding nature of these miracles, but they cannot be understood even by human minds, whence the greatness of their distinction and magnificence cannot be approached by man's intelligence. Yet the infirm and persons afflicted by any kind of trouble, calling through the merits of the martyrs on the Lord's mercy in that same place, and elsewhere as well, experience how greatly it is appropriate for the servants of God to be honoured, through whose intercession blindness receives sight, lameness locomotion and blocked passages in the ears are found worthy to receive hearing. But it must not be passed over in silence that those persons possessed by the assault of impure spirits, when they are led to the tombs of the aforesaid witnesses of Christ to be examined by divine agency, are compelled by the command of the saints themselves to indicate by their designated names the place where each of the martyrs is buried. Their memorable and most glorious suffering is celebrated, from the area of Paris on the hill which was formerly the 'Hill of Mercury' (because his idol was principally worshiped there by the Gauls) but is now called the 'Hill of Martyrs' [Montmartre] through the favour of the Lord's saints who achieved their martyrdom there, on 9 October, in the year of Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ A.D. 96, the sixty-fourth year of His passion; in roughly the ninetieth year of St Dionysius' life, and with the sixteenth year of the reign of the excessively cruel emperor Domitian progressing. Divine vengeance attended him without any hesitation, as it did Nero, whose come-uppance had followed on from the death of the apostles [SS. Peter and Paul];

sine ulla est procrastinatione secuta; qua percussus, uitam cum tyrannico principatu miserabiliter, ut par erat, amisit, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est honor et gloria, uirtus et imperium cum patre, in unitate spiritus sancti ab aeterno, et nunc et per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

3-4 uirtus ... omnia] in *M* 4 ab aeterno] *om. S*

struck down by this (vengeance), he wretchedly lost his life together with his tyrannical rule, as was appropriate, in the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom is honour and glory, power and dominion with the Father, in the unity of the Holy Ghost from eternity, both now and throughout all time. Amen.

The Verse Passio S. Dionysii



Siglum

MS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 535 (Winchester, s. xi^{3/4}), fols. 1^r–37^r

IN CHRISTI NOMINE INCIPIT PASSIO BEATI DIONYSII SOCIORVMQVE
EIVS HEROICO CARMINE EDITA.

⟨LIBER PRIMVS⟩

f. 1^r

Post crucis insignes subiit quam sponte triumphos
perfractis Herebi claustris cum principe mortis
spreuit ubi stupido liber custode sepulchrum
Christus, et ad patrem remeans conscendit Olympum,

[c. 1]

5 Eoo surgens occasum tendit adusque
Arcton nec refugit inloto sidere claram
aestu quaeque calet tangit plaga solis iniqui –
quippe crucis signo mundum quadrante redemptum
(sitque Dei nomen omni laudabile saeclo!) –

10 enitet ille dies, uertex et origo dierum,
bis senas sibi qui rutilas aptauerat horas,
quas super haud uoluit nocuas inuoluier umbras
quin magis aeterno iungi de lumine claras –
hae sunt ille chorus orbis per climata missus

15 quem duodena notat taxatio iure beatum
nec pessumdare uult pietas diuina per aeuum,
praeter qui crepuit multatus in aere uasto
uili distraxit uitam quia nempe metallo,
cuius sorte locum ne sit iactura perennis
20 uir supplet uirtute nitens et corde beatus.

Post, inquam, uexilla crucis mortisque trophaeum
hos ad apostolica delegat culmina Iesus,
nacturos spondens in mundi fine tribunal
iudice quo secum duodenas ordine plebes

25 Israel atque genus hominum de morte renascens
iudicii libra ualeant discernere recta.

f. 1^v

Haud mora discurrant latum iubet ipse per orbem,
ut fidei dantes studio mandata citato
percipiant cuncta munus caeleste creata.

30 Maximus ergo micat horum sic dogmate mundus,
nititur atque magis stabili fundamine firmus
Herculeae steterint olim quam forte columpnae;
gymnasia crepitant seu quae sudore palaestrae:

1 triumphos] triuphos *MS* 6 nec] ne *MS*; inloto] in loco *MS* 13 iungi] iugi *MS*

IN THE NAME OF CHRIST HERE BEGINS THE *PASSIO* OF ST DIONYSIUS
AND HIS COMPANIONS, COMPOSED IN HEXAMETER VERSE.

BOOK I

[c. 1]. After Christ willingly underwent the glorious triumph of the Cross, with the confines of Erebus [Hell] together with the Prince of Death having been shattered, when to the astonishment of the guards He spurned the tomb and, going free and returning to His Father He ascended Olympus [Heaven], that great day [Pentecost] shines forth; rising in the East it travels as far as the West [5], nor does it avoid Arctos bright with its unwashed star and it burns with heat whatever the zone of the pitiless sun touches – namely the world redeemed by the four-armed sign of the Cross (and may the name of God be praiseworthy throughout all time!) – [Pentecost], the turning-point and fount of days [10], which had accommodated to itself twelve shining hours, which moreover it did not wish to be enveloped in harmful shadows but rather to be joined to bright (lights) emanating from the eternal light – these (twelve) are that choir, sent through the regions of the world, which twelfefold enumeration duly marks as blessed [15], nor does divine mercy wish ever to destroy them, except for the one who burst asunder [Judas], punished in the open air, because he had sold a life [Christ's] for worthless metal, whose place, so that there would not be a perpetual vacancy, a man gleaming in virtue and blessed in spirit [Matthias] filled by lot [20]. As I say, following the banners of the Cross and His triumph over death, Christ marks out these (twelve) for apostolic prominence, promising that they will participate in the tribunal at the end of the world, where, in the presence of the Judge, they may be able to assess in order, with accurate scales of judgement, the twelve tribes of Israel and the entire race of men, then coming back to life after death [25]. Without delay He Himself orders that they disperse throughout the wide world, so that, dispensing the commandments of the faith with swift enterprise, all created things might receive celestial bounty. The great world therefore gleams thus through their teaching [30], and stands more firm on a stable foundation than perhaps the Pillars of Hercules once stood; the gymnasia are loud as if with the sweat

- artibus egregiis complent quae sane sophistae.
 35 Creuit namque fides diuini nominis aucta
 delegitque uiros Christus ad proelia fortes,
 ardorem pariens saeuos tolerare tyrannos
 sanguinis ut possent roseam disquerere palmam.
 Ergo duces orbis et maxima lumina mundi
 40 auctorem uitae comitati iure magistrum
 quem – Domino reserante – sibi meruere doceri.
 Iussi mox pandunt quadrum documenta per orbem,
 exemploque sui (quantum fas inde) magistri
 gratis ferre cruces et carnis uincere poenas
 45 fortiter ediscunt, caeli quo praemia captent.
 Hinc tibi, lux hominum patris quoque splendor amoenus,
 Christe, damus dignas pro tanto munere grates,
 qui uirosa tuis infringere spicula praestans
 in magnam transfers haec uulnera mox apodixen,
 50 hostis quae famulis infligere temptat amarus,
 gaudeat inbellem quo nullum cernere testem:
 perpete quin immo mauis donare triumpho,
 semper ut ecclesiae praestent exempla salutis.
 His auctus collega pius fit maximus heros,
 55 gentes quem recolunt Paulum pietate magistrum.
 Hunc caelo residens cunctorum celsa potestas
 euocat; et uerbi prostratum cuspidi Saulum
 erexit mitem fuso karismate Paulum.
 Qui fidei saeptus armis ac fulmine uerbi
 60 aggreditur gentes alta caligine mersas
 quas sibi contulerat caeli rex Christus Iesus;
 gentibus infudit stolidis mox dona salutis
 aeternumque docet caecos agnoscere lumen.
 Impiger Illiricas testis mirandus ad oras
 65 euolat, hinc plures studio deuctus ad urbes
 tempore Romulea quo Claudius haeret in arce,
 ac sceptris pollens populis dat frena per orbem.
 Attingit fines tandem celer ipse Pelasgos,
 multifidoque deo cretam letaliter urbem
 70 uerborumque simul matrem sophiaequae feracem
 magnus Paulus adit – magnus iam doctor – Athenas.

f. 2^r

of wrestling: teachers fill them with excellent arts. For the increased faith of the Holy Name grew [35] and Christ chose men strong in battle, engendering in them a burning desire to withstand cruel tyrants, so that they could seek out the rosy palm of martyrdom. Therefore the earth's leaders and the greatest lights of the world accompanied their teacher, the Author of life [40], by Whom with the Lord's guidance they were found worthy to be instructed. Thus commanded they straightway reveal these teachings throughout the four-cornered world, and through the example of their teacher (insofar as it was permissible to do so), they learn willingly to bear crucifixion and mightily to overcome tortures of the flesh, so that they might attain the rewards of Heaven [45]. Hence to You, O Christ, light of men and kindly splendour of the Father, we repay worthy thanks for so great a bounty, You Who, granting to Your [apostles] the power to mitigate (the effects of) poisonous darts, You straightway convert into a great proof these wounds, which the bitter Enemy tries to inflict on Your followers [50], whereby he may rejoice to behold no martyr without a warlike nature: moreover, You rather prefer to grant by means of their perpetual triumph that they always display models of salvation to the Church. Strengthened by these (examples), their holy companion becomes the greatest of heroes: Paul, a man whom the nations celebrate as teacher for his holiness [55]. The heavenly Might of all things, residing in heaven, calls him forth; and it raised up Saul, laid low by the sword of the Word, as the gentle Paul, through an infusion of divine grace. Surrounded by the weapons of faith and the lightning-bolt of the Word, he goes to nations immersed in deep fog [60], (nations) which Jesus Christ, the King of Heaven, had allocated to him; he soon poured out the gifts of salvation on these stupid peoples, and taught these blind (peoples) to recognize the eternal Light. A marvellous witness, he energetically rushes to the regions of Illyria; from there, he travels to many cities in his eagerness [65], at the time when Claudius is ensconced in the Romulean citadel [Rome] and, exulting in the sceptres (of power) is placing shackles on peoples throughout the world. In his swift progress Paul reaches at last the borders of Greece, and the city lethally sprung from its manifold gods: to Athens, at once the fecund mother of words and wisdom [70], the great Paul – already a great teacher – comes.

DE SITV ATHENARVM ET QVINQVE PARTITA REGIONE EIVSDEM. [c. 2]

- Floruit haec tantis urbs olim condita gazis,
 exstitit et magnis adeo glomerata sophistis
 clarius hac unquam quo nil constaret Achiuis.
- 75 Huius nempe situs uarios et scribere cultus
 Argolico leuius ritu tunc posset Homerus.
 Sed quia nominibus decurrens ordo Pelasgis
 suggerit has species nota depromere lingua –
 nec fas cuncta locis inuertere nomina Graecis –
- 80 obsequium quo sermo uales, fer, uerna, Latinis!
 Arcibus erectis et claris moenibus aucta
 inter praecipuas quondam caput extulit urbes,
 metropolimque cient festiuo nomine Grai.
 Respicit haec Traces, Lacedaemona, necne reuisens
- 85 Achaiam, seu unde trahit genus ille Macedo,
 olim cui tandem uixdum suffecerat orbis.
 Interiecta manet largis stipata cateruis;
 collibus est claris pulchre porrecta sub astris. f. 2^v
- Vbera materna seu uiscera dicta paterna
- 90 eloquiis foueat matrum quod more clientes.
 Faucibus Ionici maris est haec undique clausa,
 Aegeum laeua contingens comminus aequor.
 Haud aliena tulit latos cui gloria fasces
 nec peregrina trahunt huius exordia ciues.
- 95 Gleba ferax nitidisque micat cumulata metallis.
 Nutrix eloquii cunctas supereminet urbes;
 Attica sed regio retinet hanc Elladis urbem
 qua generosa trahunt praeclari stemmata reges:
 floruit inde Cecrops sceptro, rex inde Menander.
- 100 Hinc et Apollo trahit alto genus ipse coturno;
 pollet Aristoteles; Yppocras inde relucet;
 artis seu Graiae plures hinc lampade splendent
 aeuo qui nostro memorandi rite refulgent.
 Hac tamen hac urbe dictorum tempore regum
- 105 falsorum comperta manent simulacra deorum.
 Nomine sacratam tradunt hanc esse Mineruae,
 nomen et ipsius de nomine rite tulisse.

81 aucta] auctis *MS*

[c. 2]. CONCERNING THE SITE OF ATHENS AND ITS PARTITION INTO FIVE REGIONS.

This city, endowed with such great treasures, once flourished, so clotted with great sophists that no Greek city was ever more distinguished. Homer could then easily describe its various sites and cults [75] in Argolic manner. But because his narrative, replete with Greek vocabulary, prompts me to set their meanings down in a familiar tongue – but it is not appropriate to change all the names for Greek places – may you, diction my slave, pay obeisance, as best you can, to the Latins [80]! Endowed with standing arches and magnificent walls it once held up its head among the principal cities – by use of a pleasing name the Greeks call it a ‘metropolis’. It looks to Thrace, to the Peloponnesus, also overseeing Achaia, or where that Macedonian has his origins [85] – the Macedonian [Alexander] for whom the entire world had once been scarcely sufficient. Athens lies between (these regions), populated by dense throngs; it is beautifully situated among mountains stretching themselves up to the bright stars. Called ‘the mother’s breasts’ or ‘the father’s innards’, let it cherish in the speech of its mothers what its allies (cherish) in its behaviour [90]. It is surrounded on all sides by inlets of the Ionian Sea, touching closely the Aegean Sea on the left. The glory of foreigners did not exercise proud authority in it, nor do its citizens trace their ancestry from foreign origins. The soil is rich, and gleams with an abundance of shining metals [95]. As the nurse of eloquence it excels all other cities. The Attic region contains this city of Hellas, whence famous kings trace their noble ancestries: Cecrops once ruled here with his sceptre, and after him King Menander. From here Apollo himself, with his tragic buskins, traces his ancestry [100]; Aristotle flourishes here; here Hippocrates is resplendent. Many persons shine here with the torch of Greek learning, who are rightly to be remembered by our own age. Yet in this very city, from the time of the afore-said kings, many idols of false gods remain in approbation [105]. They say that Athens is sanctified by the name of Minerva, and that it duly took its name from

Dixeris egregie fuerint quae uana secuta
lumine sub tali cum sint fundamina iacta.

- 110 Qui uir apostolicus, Christi mandata secutus,
auctorem caeli spectans, seu quique fidelis
non optet lacrimis oculos, caput imbre rigari,
urbem cum cernit tanta sub morte grauari?

- 115 Sane locis est quinque diis signata profanis, [c. 3]
haud experta crucis labaro decurrere partes
orbis, quas monstrat quadrato limite Iesus.

PRIMA VRBIS REGIO

Respicit Aegeum pars urbis prima fluentum
qua uersus fatae collis supereminet urbi,
quo colitur sacro Saturni forma metallo

- 120 et foedo curuant homines, heu, membra Priapo. f. 3^r
Cronospagos habet Saturni nomine nomen,
Cronos quem noto designat famine Graecus,
'tempus' quod transfert interpret iure Latinus.
Desine, docta, malis his, Graecia, flectere mentem!

SECVNDA VRBIS REGIO

- 125 Spectat Treiciam pars urbis porro secunda
Quo terebinthus inest, praecelsis frondibus haerens,
sub qua pastores fidei splendore carentes
Siluani Faunique colunt figmenta deorum.
Quae Panospagos Siluani nomine fertur,
130 Pan uocitat quem gens propria sub uoce Pelasga,
Pan nobis 'omne' resonat sed uoce Latina.
Desine, docta, malis his, Graecia, flectere mentem!

TERTIA VRBIS REGIO

- Tertia Neptuni portum prouincia spectat,
Possedonos- quae -pagos cognomine gaudet.
135 Possedon etenim Neptunus rite citatur,

113 urbem] orbem *MS* 116 quadrato] quadrate *MS*

hers. You might well say what vain things ensued after the foundations had been laid under such a light. What apostolic man, following Christ's commands [110], looking only to the Creator of Heaven, or what faithful Christian would not wish his eyes to be flooded with tears, or his head with water, when he sees the city struggling under such a (sentence of) death?

[c. 3]. Indeed it was marked out into five regions for the pagan gods, not yet having experienced the passage by the standard of the Cross through the regions of the world [115], which Jesus marks out by means of His four-armed Cross.

THE FIRST REGION OF THE CITY

The first part of the city looks to the Aegean waters, facing which a hill towers above the aforesaid city, where an image of Saturn, (fashioned) in sacred metal, is worshipped, and where men (alas!) bend their limbs to foul Priapus [120]. It takes the name 'Chronospagus' from the name of Saturn, whom the Greek designates in familiar language as 'Chronos', which the Latin translator duly renders as 'time'. Stop, O learned Greece, bending your mind to these evils!

THE SECOND REGION OF THE CITY

The second part of the city looks towards Thrace [125], where the turpentine-tree, standing fixed with its lofty boughs, is native; beneath it shepherds, lacking the illumination of the (Christian) faith, worship idols of the gods Silvanus and Faunus. It is called 'Panospagus' from the name of Silvanus, whom the people call 'Pan' in their own Greek language [130], but for us, 'pan' in the Latin language means 'all'. Stop, O learned Greece, bending your mind to these evils!

THE THIRD REGION OF THE CITY

The third region looks to the port of Neptune; it rejoices in the soubriquet 'Possedonospagus'. For 'Possedon' is there known as Neptune [135], whom

Graecia quem fallax fingit regnare per undas.
 Huius ad effigiem saeuae simulacra Dianae
 prima nouos cum luna means transiret ad ortus
 Aegei uotisque simul plebs dona ferebat.

140 Desine, docta, malis his, Graecia, flectere mentem!

QVARTA VRBIS REGIO

Quarta dehinc sequitur forti sub nomine nota;
 collis consurgit media Tritonius urbe,
 Herculis et Martis ubi stat mala forma deorum
 quos sibi praecipuos gens haec insana ferebat,
 ius ubi contradit arte sollertia Graia.
 Hunc 'Areopagum' Martis de nomine signant,
 uirtutem qui nempe sonat si rite resoluas.
 Aiunt hunc belli saeuos miscere tumultus,
 nec sine (heu!) fuso disquerere sanguine palmam.

150 Desine, docta, malis his, Graecia, flectere mentem!

f. 3^v

QVINTA VRBIS REGIO

Quinta subit portam cernit quae denique Sceam,
 Mercurii quae forte trahens de nomine nomen:
 Ermespagos et haec regio est sortita uocamen.
 Consonat 'interpres' Graece qui dicitur 'ermes',
 interpres maneat pernix quod forte deorum.
 Fusoris studio stat in urbe statunculus huius,
 demens cui properat uotum persoluere Graecus.
 Egregium numen uirtus et magna deorum,
 possit ad incudem quorum caput arte resolui
 urceus unde queat seu uas quodcumque plicari!
 Desine, docta, malis his, Graecia, flectere mentem!

155

160

Robore sane uiget, pelago seu gaudet amoeno
 urbs antiqua diis sic est quae cincta nefandis;
 manant praepingues circum quam dulciter amnes
 atque caret nihilo nemorum redimita uirore.
 Gaudet oliuetis, uinetis ampla redundat,

[c. 4]

165

145 arte] artes *MS* 165 nihilo] nullo *MS*; nemorum] nemerum *MS*

deceitful Greece imagines as ruling the waves. To his effigy the Aegean people used to bring an idol of savage Diana, when the moon first set out on its new phases, and gifts with their prayers. Stop, O learned Greece, bending your mind to these evils [140]!

THE FOURTH REGION OF THE CITY

The fourth region follows, marked out by a powerful name: Mount Tritonius rises in the midst of the city, where stands a wicked statue of the gods Hercules and Mars, whom this demented people treated as the mightiest of their gods. From here Greek sagacity skilfully transmits its law [145]. They call it the 'Areopagus' from the name of Mars, which in fact means 'strength', if you break it down properly. They say that he stirs up the savage uproar of war, and seeks victory, not, alas, without the spilling of blood. Stop, O learned Greece, bending your mind to these evils [150].

THE FIFTH REGION OF THE CITY

Finally, the fifth region looks on the Scean Gate; perchance it [the region] takes its name from the name of Mercury: and this region was assigned the name 'Ernespagos'. He who is called 'Hermes' means 'interpreter' in Greek, because perchance he is the swift interpreter of the gods [155]. A little statue of him, made by the skill of the metal-caster, stands in the city, to which the insane Greek hastens to offer his prayers. O, the surpassing power and might of these gods, whose head can be destroyed by (the metal-worker's) skill on the anvil, whence a pitcher or any other kind of vessel can be beaten out [160]! Stop, O learned Greece, bending your mind to these evils!

[c. 4]. The ancient city certainly revels in the strength (of its walls) and rejoices in its pleasant sea-scape – the city which is invested with such abominable gods. On its periphery fertile streams flow by sweetly, and it lacks nothing, being encircled by green woods [165]. It rejoices in olive groves, it abounds with a sufficiency of vineyards; no less do its meadows bloom with a variety

nec minus ac redolent uario sub flore uirecta,
 pabula quae pecori praebent largissima pingui.
 Haec auro argentoque nitet, reliquoque metallo;
 170 nauibus Argiuis huc fert uectigal et orbis.
 Defuit ast tanta nec mollis in urbe uoluptas,
 summum quod censet Epicuri secta bonorum,
 eminus a summo distans errore bonorum.
 Sic locuples nimium reliquas supereminet urbes.
 175 Sed quae sic aeuo gaudebat in orbe priore,
 dum stabat regno incolomis, regnumque uigebat,
 conciliis rerumque opibus foret ipsa supina;
 impetus hanc pressit quondam gentilis et arma.
 Desine, docta, malis his, Graecia, flectere mentem –
 180 diuinum tandem gaudes quae cernere uatem!

QVALITER APOLLO PHILOSOPHVS DOCTRINA BEATI PAVLI AD
 FIDEM CHRISTI CONVERSVS EST.

f. 4^r

Aduentus Pauli totam mox commouet urbem
 cum fidei spargit tenebrosa per oppida lucem.
 Hinc stabilis completa manet sententia Christi
 qua promit modium non subter inesse lucernam,
 185 quin super accensa constet candelabra lampas,
 luceat ut cunctis ampla testudine tectis,
 utque iubar solis densa sub nube retentum,
 clausis interdum ceu uasto carcere flammis,
 exactis subito tenebris radiisque refusis
 190 emicat, atque acies rutilo fert igne uigoris:
 pressa nube nitet, hinc mulcet corda sereno.
 Haud secus accensus diuino lumine Paulus
 pectora perterebrat nocuo fuscata colore,
 et dulci stupidas affamine mulcet Athenas.
 195 Hic uir Apollo fuit claris natalibus ortus
 Cronospagita dictus et in urbe uerendus,
 Saturni cultu caeca sed mente ligatus;
 archanis iugiter dignum quem sistere rebus
 'sinmisten' cuncti merito dixere coloni.
 200 Sic genus et nomen clarens ab Apolline traxit

175 gaudebat] plaudebat *MS* 189 exactis] exectis *MS*

of flowers, which offer abundant food to the fattening flock. It gleams with gold and silver, and the remaining kinds of metal; and the (entire) world brings its revenue here in Greek ships [170]. There was no lack of gentle pleasure in so great a city – pleasure, which the sect of Epicurus thinks is the greatest good, standing far off in their error from the (true) greatest good. Thus in its vast wealth it excels all other cities. But the city, which thus rejoiced in the world at an earlier time [175], when it stood secure in its kingdom and its kingdom was flourishing, would itself become negligent in respect of counsel and resources: at a certain point the assault of foreign peoples and arms overwhelmed it. Stop, O learned Greece, bending your mind to these evils – you (can) rejoice at last to see (the advent of) the divine prophet [180]!

HOW APOLLO THE PHILOSOPHER WAS CONVERTED TO BELIEF IN
CHRIST THROUGH THE TEACHING OF ST PAUL.

The arrival of Paul immediately excites the entire city, when he casts the light of faith over the shadowy settlement. As a result the lasting utterance of Christ is fulfilled, by which He says that the lantern should not lie hidden beneath a bushel, but rather that the lighted lamp should stand (visible) on the lampstand [185], so that it can illuminate all the dwellings in a vast arc, and, just as the radiance of the sun, having been hidden behind dense clouds, like flames trapped for a time in an immense prison, when the shadows are suddenly expelled and its rays pour forth, it shines out, and carries its battle-lines with the blazing fire of its energy [190]: with the cloud suppressed it shines out; henceforth it soothes minds with its serenity [i.e. clear sky]. Not otherwise did Paul, enflamed with divine light, bore through hearts blackened by harmful discoloration and soothe astonished Athens with sweet address. Here was the man Apollo, born from a distinguished family [195], known as ‘Cronospagita’ and revered in the city, but enchained in his blinded mind with the cult of Saturn; all the citizens rightly called him *symmistes* as being a man always worthy to participate in hidden mysteries. Thus he took his parentage and distinguished name from Apollo [200], who had attained high office

alto qui meruit praeclaros stemmate fasces
 dum uiguit haec urbs rerum suffulta nitore.
 Ingenio magnus Nicholaus pater extitit huius,
 littera quem docuit uitae spiramine nuda;
 205 Argolicae fuerat artis sed forte magister.
 Filius hunc aequae studiis imitatus Apollo,
 inter magniloquos clarus dum ualde sophistas.
 Antiquos cupidus sensu percurrere libros
 sollicitus satagit, haerens multumque sophiae,
 210 ritibus, heu, miseris tremere nec subdere mentem.
 Hausit diuinum reboantem dogmata Paulum,
 ipse quibus patulas nondum commiserat aures
 obuius his igitur nutans occurrere dictis.
 Doctrinam Pauli cernit iam lumine plenam.
 215 Denique uir tantus caelesti lumine dignus
 daemonicos ritus, erroris necne tenebras,
 dogmate cum uano mox numina falsa refutans,
 sternitur ante pedes fidei iam compede uinctus
 flagitat atque sibi doctrinam pandere sanam
 220 necne salutiferum uitae depromere callem.
 Spondet sic plane sub recta mente professus
 discipulum semet potius exinde futurum
 Christi – quo regitur mirandi machina mundi –
 Saturni denuo quam sternere corda metallo.

f. 4^v

DE EO QVOD BEATVS DIONYSIVS HELIOPOLIM AEGYPTI ADIIT
 VOTO DISCENDI ASTROLOGIAM; ET DE VATICINIO QVOD
 PRAEDIXIT.

[c. 5]

225 Auspicio celebri rebus sic rite peractis
 faucibus ac mortis clementer Apolline rapto,
 olim quem plures imitati dogmate prauo
 praecipites tetro demergebantur Auerno,
 protinus attoniti stipant hinc inde sophistae;
 230 permotique simul diuae nouitate sophiae
 more uocant Paulum pergat quo Martis ad aedem
 (est Areopagus locus hic a Marte uocatus)
 eius ut examen caperent noua dogmata tandem.

210 ritibus] mitibus *MS*

through his ancient ancestry, when Athens was in power, sustained by the splendour of its affairs. Nicholas, great in intelligence, was his father, (a man) whom the simple letter had instructed with the breath of life. He had been perchance a teacher of Argolian learning [205]. His son Apollo imitated him similarly in his studies, since he was very distinguished among magniloquent sophists. He eagerly seeks to devour ancient books with his careful intelligence, clinging greatly to wisdom; but, alas, he would not fear to submit his mind to wretched pagan cults [210]. He eagerly heard the divine Paul as he was broadcasting his doctrines, to which he had not previously committed his open ears, hesitating to oppose them when confronted with them. He now sees that Paul's teaching is filled with light. At length this great man, worthy of celestial light [215], straightway denouncing demonic cults and the shadows of error, and false divinities with their empty doctrine, prostrates himself at (Paul's) feet, bound already in the fetters of faith, and he beseeches (Paul) to explain to him the sound doctrine and to reveal the salvific path of life [220]. He promises instead, obviously professing (this) in his right mind, to be henceforth a disciple of Christ – by Whom the structure of the marvellous universe is regulated – rather than abase his intelligence ever again to the metal (images) of Saturn.

[c. 5]. CONCERNING THE FACT THAT DIONYSIUS WENT TO HELIOPOLIS IN EGYPT, FOR THE SAKE OF LEARNING ASTROLOGY; AND CONCERNING THE PROPHECY WHICH HE MADE.

When these events had duly taken place through a favorable omen [225], and Apollo had mercifully been snatched from the jaws of (eternal) death – (a man) whom many had formerly imitated in evil doctrine and were (therefore) being drowned headlong in hideous Avernus [Hell] – straightway in astonishment the wise men crowd around Paul on this side and that; and, aroused by the novelty of the divine wisdom [230], they summon him, in their usual way, to go to the temple of Mars (this place 'Areopagus' is so called from Mars [Ares]), so that his new teachings can undergo examination at length. Those about to deliver

Rethora dicturi sic ducebantur ad aram
 235 dogmatis ut proprii captaret quisque coronam,
 nescius aeternam sed dogmate quaerere uitam.
 Huc ubi progressus mirandus in orbe magister
 constitit, eloquii sacri fusurus habenas,
 eximium quendam reliquos praestare sophistas
 240 cultoremque loci uerbis et sanguine comptum,
 cernens, aggreditur: est hic Dionysius heros.
 Hunc Areo- signant -pagitam nomine claro –
 innatus ueluti, seu quouis dignus honore.
 Et quod calleret falsorum iure deorum
 245 cultus ac species – ciues quae magna putabant –
 aptatur nomen cum laude ‘theosophus’ illi.
 A magno prorsus nomen genus atque receptat
 stirpe Dionyso praeclara ualde creato –
 non, inquam, Semelae uel Deucalionis ab ortu:
 250 ualde magis renitet Dionysi germine prisco,
 sanguinis existens olim qui comptus honore
 rebus seu pariter refluxis opulentus in urbe.
 Nectareae uitis fertur uiguisse repertor;
 munere quo grato laetas subuexit Athenas.
 255 Omnibus ergo uirum uirtutis dote colendum
 tam clarae sobolis tantis natalibus ortum
 artis et ingenii natiuo lumine plenum,
 cuncta sophistarum cui parent agmina Graium.
 Inuictus doctor est dictis Paulus adorsus.
 260 Dilatis tamen his fuerint quaeserta uicissim,
 nimirum superet torrens quia pectus uterque,
 audeo nec praeceps ualidos dare uela per amnes.
 Alternare iuuat bifidos in carmine calles,
 atque Dionysii decus hinc distinguere clarum
 265 quo gentilis adhuc et Martis amore retentus.
 Ceu mundi uates micuit satis ipse coruscus,
 gens antiqua decem quondam deterrita plagis,
 spreuerat auctorem tumida quia mente polorum.
 Incolit Aegyptum Nilo manante feracem.
 270 Haec contecta graui falsorum nube deorum

f. 5^r

248 Dionyso] Dionysio MS. 250 Dionysi] Dionysii MS 257 natiuo lumine] nati uolumine
 MS 261 superet] superat MS

prize speeches used to be led to the altar (of Mars), so that each one could (try to) capture the prize for his own doctrine [235], but (they did this) in ignorance of how to seek eternal life through their teaching. The master (Paul), admired throughout the world, having made his way here, stopped, ready to unleash the reins of holy eloquence; noticing a frequenter of the place, an excellent man excelling the other sophists, distinguished for his speech and nobility [240], he approaches: it is the great Dionysius. They call him by the distinguished title 'the Areopagite' – as though he were a native of that region, or worthy of some sort of honour. And because he was duly experienced in the cults and manifestations of false gods – things which the citizens thought to be important [245] – the name 'Theosophus' was applied to him with distinction. He takes his name and ancestry directly from the great Dionysus, begotten of a very distinguished line – not, I say, from the race of Semele or Deucalion: rather he shines forth from the ancient seed of Dionysus [250], who once was adorned with the distinction of his lineage or equally was wealthy through transient possessions in that city. He is said to have become rich as the inventor of the nectared vine. By means of this generous gift he elated the happy Athenians. Accordingly, he [Dionysius the Areopagite] was a man to be worshipped by everyone for his gift of virtue [255], a man sprung from the stock of so distinguished a clan, (a man) filled with the inborn light of talent and genius, whom all the throngs of Greek sophists obey. Paul, the unconquerable scholar, addressed (him) with his words. Yet when these words had been expressed, which would have been answered in turn [260], because either torrent would truly overwhelm my senses, I dare not unfurl my sails headlong into powerful waters. It is more fitting to follow the twin paths in my poem, and to mark out on one side the outstanding distinction of Dionysius, when he is still as a pagan detained in the love of Mars [265]. He shone out brilliantly like the prophet of the world [Moses], because that ancient race, once terrified by ten plagues, had in its overweening arrogance scorned the Creator of the heavens. It [the race] inhabits Egypt, made fertile by the overflowing Nile. Obscured by the heavy cloud of false gods [270], it tolerates the even greater darkness

carnis maiores tolerat sub corde tenebras,
 auctoremque ualet quoniam non cernere caeli,
 caeli praerapida figit uertigine corda,
 ac demens nimium speculatur acutius astra
 275 quis hominum censet cuncta decernere fata:
 uestigat gelidum Saturni namque cubile
 et lentis quantos gradibus discurrat in axes;
 sidere porro Iouem fingit radiare sereno
 rerum quo capitur foedus splendente serenum;
 280 stella rubet Martis rutilus quam concitat ignis
 que saeuis miscet mortales saepe periclis.
 Omnia sic stellis affigunt uana coruscis
 fingentes harum fato subsistere uitam,
 auctor quam caeli potius dispensat Iesus.
 285 Latius hic pateat igitur quo pestifer error,
 gens praefata sibi solis de nomine dictam
 eximiis struxit decoratam moenibus urbem
 sol flammis lustret totum quod concitus orbem.
 Hanc igitur densant astrorum ualde periti
 290 praestantes multum reliquos hac arte sophistas.
 Ergo Dionysius iuuenili robore fultus –
 quinque etenim pariterque decem bis clarus in annis –
 artibus Elladicis nulli qui nempe secundus
 egregio comitante uiro sibimetque coaeuo,
 295 nomen Apollo- cui compactum -phanus exstat.
 Arte mathematica cupiens pollere magister
 uoto discendi stellarum rite meatus
 Heliopoleos sic fatae migrat ad arcem.
 Deguit ast aeuo semet comitante sophista,
 300 quo cupiens mundo pretium se ferre salutis
 Iudaico liuore crucem conscendit Iesus.
 Cuius ceu domini sol prorsus morte paescens
 cum lucis radios tetras mutaret in umbras
 obtegeretque graui totum caligine mundum,
 305 attonitus signo cunctis per saecula stupendo
 nec frustra tenebris cernens inuoluier orbem
 utpote multiplici studiorum luce refulgens
 acsi iam sacro praeuentus pignore uates,

f. 5^vf. 6^r

305 stupendo] stupenda *MS*

of the flesh in its heart; and because it is not able to recognize the Creator of heaven, it fixes its minds on the swift turning of the sky, and very foolishly observes the stars closely, through which it thinks it can discern all the fates of men [275]: for it traces the chilly mansion of Saturn, and by how many slow steps it veers towards the poles; it fancies that Jupiter glows with its serene light by which, when glowing, a peaceful concord of things is achieved; the planet of Mars glows red, which a burning fire ignites [280], which often embroils mortals in cruel dangers. They [the Egyptians] ascribe all these idle notions to the shining stars, imagining that life depends on their fate – (life) which Jesus, the Creator of heaven, rather dispenses. So that this perfidious error might stand out more clearly [285], the aforementioned race built for itself a city named for the sun [i.e. Heliopolis], adorned with outstanding walls, because the swift sun traverses the entire world with its rays. Those very knowledgeable in the stars crowd into this city, greatly excelling other wise men in this science [290]. Accordingly Dionysius, still in the vigour of youth – he was five and twice-ten years old – a man who was second to none in Greek learning, had an excellent man of the same age accompanying him, whose name is compounded of *Apollo-* and *-fanius* [295]. Wishing to excel as a master in astrological science, for the sake of learning properly the movements of the stars he travels to the citadel of the aforementioned Heliopolis. He was there, with the sophist [Apollophanes] accompanying him, at that point in time when Jesus, wishing to offer Himself to the world as the price of salvation [300], ascended the Cross through the malice of the Jews. The sun, as if truly fearing the death of its lord, had altered the rays of its light into black shadows and had covered the entire world with intense darkness; astonished by this amazing sign, (visible) to everyone throughout generations [305], nor thinking that the world was being wrapped in darkness to no purpose, Dionysius, shining as it were with the manifold light of his studies, as if already a prophet anticipated by the

ista palam fertur Dionysius ore profatus:
 310 'Haec nox nempe uiri quam descendisse stupemus
 uisibus atque nouas nostris inferre tenebras,
 ueram designat lucem descendere mundo
 humanoque deum generi in splendore futurum.'
 O quam uera tulit sollers oracula mundo
 315 cuius adhuc fuerat mens caeco mersa profundo,
 ast cuius nutu silicis scintilla relucet,
 saxeus atque rigor in pignera cara resurgit!
 Non tulit hunc tanti praesagum muneris hostem
 esse diu sibimet nec tanto errore grauari.
 320 Post aliquot magnis exempto namque tenebris
 effudit donum fidei cum luce salutis,
 quo capiens clarum mox fortis ab hoste trophaeum
 caelorum posset compos conscendere regnum.

Expletis igitur quorum perrexerat ergo [c. 6]
 325 ac clarus studiis Aegypto sponte petitis,
 sic rediens patriam repetit feliciter altam,
 praesidet atque gradu potiori magnus in urbe.
 Subiacet hinc illi iam curia clara Gradiui.
 Ius ciuile decus iusto libramine pensans
 330 priuatim seu luce palam, causasque retractans,
 nec minus exornans primos ut dogmate primus
 sillogismorum nodos, et acumina promens,
 necne strophas uarias et iura sophistica fundens –
 ueste philosophica ueluti qui iure togatus –
 335 ciuibus et cunctis studium sitientibus istud:
 integer omnigena uelut et perfectus in arte f. 6^v
 ritu torrentis munus fundebat amoenum.

VBI BEATVS PAVLVS, SINGVLAS LVSTRANS ARAS, REPPERIT CUI
 INSCRIPTVM ERAT 'IGNOTO DEO'.

Hunc uatem Paulus Martis promotus ad aram
 mysterii qui sacra sagax archana retexit
 340 utpote primatem primaque in sede nitentem
 auribus arrectis cunctorum ad uerba salutis

320 exempto] exemptis *MS* 329 Ius] Is *MS* 336 arte] arce *MS*

holy sign, is said to have spoken the following words openly: 'This night which we as (mortal) men are astonished to see to have descended [310] and to be bringing new darkness to our sight, signifies that the True Light is descending upon the world, and that a God will come to the human race in splendor.' O what true prophecies did this ingenious man offer to the world, (a man) whose mind even then was still immersed in blind darkness [315], but through Whose will a spark struck from flint is lit, and rocky hardness rises up in its dear descendants! He did not allow this prophet of so great a bounty to remain an opponent to Himself for long, nor to be weighed down under such great error. For after a few (hours) [320], He poured out the gift of faith together with the light of salvation on the one redeemed from great darkness, so that, mightily snatching the glorious trophy from the Enemy, He could ascend safe to the kingdom of Heaven.

[c. 6]. Having completed, therefore, the studies for the sake of which the distinguished man had voluntarily gone to Egypt [325], he cheerfully seeks on his return his exalted homeland, and presides in the city as a great man of even higher station. Henceforth the famed assembly of Mars [i.e the Areopagus] lies subject to him. (This man), the glory (of Athens), weighing out civil jurisdiction in a just balance either privately or in plain light of day, and examining cases [330], and also explaining the first knotty problems of syllogisms as a leader in this discipline, and disclosing their subtleties, not to mention pouring out various rhetorical turns and sophistic pronouncements – as one who is appropriately cloaked in philosophical dress – to the citizens and all those thirsting after this knowledge [335]: like a man accomplished and perfected in every kind of learning, he poured forth this glorious gift in the manner of a torrent.

HOW ST PAUL, VISITING THE INDIVIDUAL ALTARS, FOUND ONE ON WHICH WAS INSCRIBED, 'TO THE UNKNOWN GOD'.

Paul, having moved onwards to the altar of Mars [Ares], seeing this distinguished prophet, who cleverly uncovered the holy secrets of mystery, a prophet as it were gleaming as the principal and located in the primary position [340], with everyone's ears pricked up for words of salvation, approached him ready for verbal exchange. He asks that he explain the cults and the holy powers

perspicuum spectans, sic uerbis promptus adibat.
 Edicat cultus rogitat et sacra deorum
 numina, colla quibus mage sint deuincta sophistae.
 345 Magnus ad haec responsa parans Dionysius inquit:
 ‘Antiqui quos nempe patres coluisse feruntur
 ui quorum matris terrae stringuntur habenae,
 hos uenerando deos colimus nos ecce tremendos.
 Inspice nunc aras sacro sub scemate stantes:
 350 enitet haec magni digne sub nomine Martis.
 Hercules Inuictus aliam sibi uendicat aram;
 hanc quoque Mercurius interpretis numine sancit;
 incelebris nec sane manet haec ara Priapi.’
 Macte Dionysi, uatum uirtute nouate,
 355 magnifico nimium quid Paulo friuola laudas
 et summo praeferre Deo tua numina temptas?
 Denique dum Paulus lustrans altaria circum,
 multa diis sacrata uidet simulacra profanis.
 Inter mox reliquas scelerati numinis aras
 360 cui titulata manet 〈sacram〉 res nominis aram
 conspicit, ‘ignotoque deo’ uidet esse dicatam.
 At tunc conuersus toto conamine Paulus
 quam placidis uatem dictis stipulando requirit,
 ‘Quis deus ignotus, reseres, sit, quaeso, sophista,
 365 nomine sub cuius haec unica sistitur ara.’
 Graius ad haec magnus, ficta non uoce profatus,
 ‘Hic deus’, inquit, ‘adhuc non est taxatus in illis,
 quorum nos numen sacris ueneramur in aris;
 sed quamquam nobis latitans incognitus exstet,
 370 uenturo tamen est aeuo ditione futurus.
 Ipse quidem deus est simplex et non deus alter,
 cui modo terrarum uastus non subditur orbis;
 imperat ast etiam terrae librator Olympo.
 Huius quippe Dei regnum non clauditur hora.’
 375 Paulus ad haec sequitur: ‘Quid uobis ergo uidetur?
 Numquid homo, potius an spiritus ille deorum?’
 Atticus haec prompto properans sermone refundit:
 ‘Hic Deus est uerus, homo uerus, spiritus almus,

f. 7^r

360 sacram] *suppl. ed.* 371 simplex] *corr. ex unus MS* 378 homo ... almus] *corr. ex fuerit*
 homo deus et idem *MS* (cf. *infra*, i. 394)

of those gods to whom the neck of the sophist is particularly bowed. Preparing an answer the great Dionysius begins [345]: 'Those gods whom our ancient fathers are said to have worshipped, by whose might the chains of Mother Earth are drawn tight – these terrible gods we worship in adoration. Inspect now the altars standing here in sacred array: this one worthily shines forth in the name of great Mars [350]. Hercules Invictus claims another altar for himself; this one Mercury the Interpreter [Hermes] sanctions with his power, nor of course does this altar of Priapus remain undistinguished.' O glorious Dionysius, refreshed with the power of the prophets, why do you cite trivialities to the august Paul [355] and try to prefer your divinities to the greatest God? Eventually, as Paul is touring around the altars, he sees many idols dedicated to profane gods. At once he notices, among the remaining altars of wicked divinity, a sacred altar on which the titlature remains [360], and sees that it is dedicated 'To the unknown god'. Turning towards it with his utmost effort, Paul asks the prophet, questioning him with exceedingly pleasing speech: 'I ask, great sophist, that you reveal who this unknown god is, in whose name this single altar is set up' [365]. To this the great Greek (philosopher), speaking in words not feigned, said: 'This god has not yet been reckoned among those whose divinity we worship at sacred altars; but even though he remains hidden from us and unknown, yet through his authority he will be known to a coming age [370]. Indeed he is one god and there is no second god, to whom the vast span of lands is not as yet subjected, but who, as having sway on earth, commands even Olympus itself. The realm of this god is not enclosed in time.' Paul replies as follows to these remarks: 'What does he seem like to you [375]? Is he a man, or is he rather the spirit of the gods?' The Athenian quickly flings back these words in ready reply: 'He is the true God, a true man, a kindly spirit,

qui proprio nati renouabit numine mundum.
 380 At tamen est ideo nobis incognitus idem
 quod procul existens nostris sullimis ab horis
 est deus ille deo caelo coniunctus in alto.
 Doctoris factus sed Paulus abinde magister
 altius orsa trahens reserat pia iura Tonantis,
 385 Mauortis cupiens Christo conferre clientem:
 'Illum sane Deum Paulus ego praedico uobis,
 quem nunc ignotum uobis (male!) fingitis ipsis.
 Virgine nam sacra natus manet ille Maria,
 praeside Pilato crucis est et fixus in ara;
 390 mortuus est ultro, uitam tribuendo perhennem,
 uictor ab occasu trina sub luce resurgens
 hinc caelos subiit, repetens patris ardua regna
 in cuius dextra Deus est – homo necne – locatus.
 Est unus uerus Deus, est homo uerus et idem,
 395 quo sine nil fuerit, fit prorsus mundus ab illo,
 seu quaecumque uigent uita potiuntur et esse.
 Hic uenturus erit iudex in fine tremendus,
 examen cunctis gestorum ualde seuerum
 proponens, capiat quo quis sibi praemia digna.
 400 Iudea qui notus, inest deus ille colendus,
 eius in Israel et magnum sanctum quoque nomen.
 Suggero iamque Deum non uos nescire potentem
 hactenus "ignotum" caeca quem mente uocastis.
 Hic Deus est unus quo non praestantior alter
 405 nosmet qui rapuit fuso de morte cruore,
 et reduces uitam pie donat adire beatam,
 qui caelum terramque diu distare retractans
 scilicet angelicas humanas atque phalanges
 aptauit regno pariter compage sub una.
 410 Idem mortificat aequo moderamine iustus,
 uiuificatque pius numquam qui constat iniquus:
 solus et hic claudit aperit quod nulla potestas;
 solus et hic aperit claudit quod nulla potestas.'

f. 7^v

Haec et plura satis dum Christi praeco ministrat
 415 singula necne deum properans altaria lustrat,
 commendando Deum patrem Iesum quoque Christum,
 esse Dei prolem ueram testatus eundem.

[c. 7]

who will redeem the world through the special might of His Son. And yet this same god is unknown just because [380], existing in a realm remote from our shores, he is that god joined to God in the lofty heavens.' But Paul, having become the instructor of the sage from this point onwards, drawing his words from deep down reveals the holy laws of the Thunderer, seeking to convert the follower of Mars to Christ [385]: 'I, Paul, proclaim to you that very God, Whom you now conceive (wrongly!) as being unknown to yourselves. For He remains the Son born of the holy Virgin Mary, and with Pontius Pilate as judge he was affixed to the altar of the Cross. He died willingly, thus granting eternal life [390], and rising as conqueror from death on the third day, He ascended from here to the heavens, seeking the lofty realms of His Father, at whose right hand He is established as God – and also man. He is the one true God, He is true man as well, without Whom nothing would exist, since the world truly comes into existence from Him [395], and all living things obtain their life and being. He will come at the end as the awesome Judge, providing for everyone a very strict evaluation of their deeds, such that each person may receive his just rewards. He is known in Judea: He is a god to be worshipped there [400], and His mighty name is revered in Israel. I suggest that you are not unaware of this mighty God Whom you hitherto described as "unknown" out of blind ignorance. He is the One God, than Whom there is none more exalted, Who with His own spilled blood snatched us away from death [405] and mercifully grants us to be led back to the blessed life, Who, realizing that heaven and earth have long stood apart, He accommodated as it were angelic and human throngs to His realm under the one edifice. In His justice He brings death with equable moderation [410] and mercifully gives life: He is never wicked. He alone closes what no power opens; He opens what no power closes.'

[c. 7] While the herald of Christ provides these and much more, and visits in haste the individual altars of the gods [415], by commending God the Father and also Jesus Christ, he testified that this same God is the true Son of God.

Coetus Athenarum gratis quae cuncta ferebat
 quo magis atque nouum Pauli tunc dogma patebat,
 420 altius hoc dignum praeclara laude canebant.
 Tanta Dionysius replicans sub mente sagaci,
 doctrinam ueri cernens summaeque salutis,
 ulterius nec sane ualens obsistere Paulo
 iam nihil esse uidet manibus compacta deorum
 425 idola: nempe deos ulla nec laude uerendos
 daemonicas potius artes cultusque fugandos.
 Denique spiramen cum tanto in dogmate sanctum
 ac uitae uerbum prudens in fame sensit,
 numine diuino mox cordis tactus in antro
 430 Argolicus princeps iam Paulo cessit eidem.
 Cessit dando manus fidei quoque compede strictus,
 cuius et altisonum posebant dogma sophistae,
 haustum doctrinae Pauli deposcit ab ore.
 Ecce reclusa patent uatis praesagia Iacob:
 435 Benjamin de prole lupum canit ille rapacem.
 Clarius hoc spolio rapuit quis ab hoste trophaeum?
 Reddidit imbelles insignis miles Athenas;
 argutos pressit uerbi mucrone sophistas.
 Fortem cultorem Martis detraxit ab aris
 440 artis quem uinctum fidei per colla catenis
 obtulerat Domino, qui stat speculator ab alto.
 Compellat precibus Dionysius inde magistrum
 quatinus – adprime cuius secreta retexit –
 ut bene promeritus faciem deposcat herilem
 445 quo qui cuncta regens pariter reflectit ad unum
 se statuatur dignum tanti doctoris alumnum,
 eius quo ualidi redimitus lampade uerbi
 posthabito spernens quicquid iam Marte profanum,
 cultus ipse Deum proprios diffundat ad unum
 450 quem solum didicit digne sub sole colendum.

f. 8^r

DE CAECO ILLVMINATO A PAVLO ET AD DIONYSIVM MISSO.

[c. 8]

Postera sane dies solari lampade surgens
 omnibus optatos signabat inire labores
 cui uia Christus erat praesens et ubique regebat.
 Paulus tunc gradiens tellurem calce terebat;

The assembly of the Athenians treated all these things kindly, and as the new teaching of Paul was revealed more and more, they loudly sang that it was worthy of exceptional praise [420]. Dionysius, turning over such (mighty things) in his wise mind, and recognizing the doctrine of the truth and of the highest salvation, and not being able any longer to resist Paul, he sees that the manufactured idols of the gods are nothing: indeed that such gods are to be venerated with no praise at all [425], but rather, that their demonic crafts and cults are to be rejected. At length, when the wise man perceived the Holy Spirit in such great teaching, and the word of life in (Paul's) speech, touched suddenly by divine power in the depths of his heart, the Argolian leader now gave in to this same Paul [430]. He gave way by yielding his hands and also, bound by the fetter of faith, whose profound doctrine wise men were seeking, he seeks the draught of doctrine from the mouth of Paul. Behold, the revealed prophecies of the prophet Jacob lie open: he sings of that greedy wolf from the tribe of Benjamin [435]. Who snatched from the enemy a trophy more distinguished than that booty? The excellent soldier (Paul) rendered the Athenians harmless; he assailed the clever sophists with the sword of the Word. He drew away from the altars of Mars the mighty worshipper whom he had brought, bound round the neck by the tight chains of faith [440], to the Lord, Who stands watching these events from on high. Dionysius then addresses the master in his prayers to ask, as one truly deserving, the Lord's presence, Whose secrets he had revealed for the first time, that He Who rules all things but attends equally well to one (individual) [445], might appoint him [Dionysius] a student worthy of so great a teacher, so that, crowned with the lantern of his powerful teaching, scorning whatever was profane by having abandoned Mars, he might himself pour forth the appropriate devotion to the one God Whom he had learned was alone to be worshipped worthily beneath the sun [450].

[c. 8]. CONCERNING A BLIND MAN WHOSE SIGHT WAS RESTORED BY PAUL AND SENT TO DIONYSIUS.

The following day, rising with the solar lantern, gave the sign to him for whom Christ was present as the way and Who was reigning everywhere to undertake those duties desired by all. Setting out, Paul trod the earth with his heel; he

- 455 obuius est caecus sed caecus carnis ab ortu.
 Hunc ubi persensit neutro quem lumine cernit
 dictis compellans precibus quam maxime pulsat.
 Tunc uir apostolicus interno uiscere motus,
 uirtutisque Dei lato sibi munere fisus,
 460 substitit, atque cruce clausas notat ipse fenestras. f. 8^v
 Talibus affatus fraudatum lumine uerbis:
 ‘Christus cunctorum Dominus, magnusque magister
 imposuit qui nempe lutum caeci super orbes
 reddidit et lumen sibi quod natura negaret,
 465 is uirtute ferat lucem tibi, quaeso, potenti.’
 Haud mora, multigenos rerum stupet ille colores:
 quos natura tulit, solares haurit et orbes.
 Quem mox affatus uerbis est ipse uidentem:
 ‘Vade Dionysium directo tramite poscens
 470 et sibi parte mei dicens te concite missum
 nuntius haec fido fer famina fidus amico:
 “Paulus me Domini seruus Iesu quoque Christi
 me tibi directum iussit haec uerba fateri,
 quo memor existens quae mens bene sana sponndit
 475 non ultra differre uelis hunc promptus adire.
 Baptismi nam rite sacri sunt parta lauacra
 nomine uiuifico cuius demersus in unda
 nexibus absolui merearis abinde malorum”’
 Protinus is parens lumen qui nempe recepit
 480 iussa facit Pauli complens ex asse relata.
 Porro Dionysius, Christi quem gratia lectum
 est sortita sibi sacra ad certamina testem,
 ut caecum uidet ante habita non luce tuentem,
 magnum miratus, mox sic est ore profatus:
 485 ‘Esne, rogo dicas, natus tu caeculus ille
 lumine quem primo damnatum carnis ab ortu
 uicini cunctique simul nouere parentes?’
 Collati compos praeclari luminis inquit:
 ‘En ego sum plane (nec te res ipsa fefellit)
 490 caeco cui nato et tenebrarum carcere clauso
 Phoebeus splendor non canduit hactenus iste; f. 9^r
 sed magnus Paulus cuius tibi iussa plicauit

478 abinde] abunde *MS*

encountered a blind man, one who had been blind from birth [455]. When the blind man senses the presence of him whom he could see with neither of his eyes, he accosts him, reproaching him as much as possible with spoken entreaties. Then the apostle, moved in his innermost being and trusting in the gift of God's (miraculous) power that had been bestowed on him, stopped, and marked the closed orbs with the sign of the Cross [460]. He addressed the man deprived of sight with these words: 'Christ, the Lord of all, and our great Master, Who placed clay on the eyes of a blind man and restored to him the sight which nature had denied, let Him bring light to you through His mighty power' [465]. Without delay, that man was astonished by the multi-coloured appearance of things: he takes in the heavenly bodies which nature had taken from him. At once he (Paul) addressed the sighted man in these words: 'Go, and seek out Dionysius by a direct route, saying to him on my behalf that you have been sent hurriedly [470], and as a trustworthy messenger carry these words to my faithful friend: "Paul, the servant of the Lord and of Jesus Christ, commanded me to say these words to you directly. Being mindful of those things which your sane mind promised to him, you [Dionysius] will not wish further to delay in approaching him [Paul] [475]. For the immersion of holy baptism has been made ready: immersed in the water in His life-giving name you will be worthy to be freed henceforth from the shackles of evil". Straightway the man who had received his eyesight does this obediently, fulfilling the instructions of St Paul to the last detail [480]. Then Dionysius, whom the grace of Christ had chosen to be His witness in holy undertakings, when he saw the blind man staring with vision he had not previously enjoyed, wondered greatly, and spoke at once as follows: 'I ask you to tell me: are you that poor little man born blind [485] whom all your neighbours and kinsmen know to have been deprived of sight from birth?' He said, in full possession of the clear eyesight which had been bestowed on him, 'Here I am indeed (nor does the situation deceive you), the man in whom Phoebean radiance had not shone hitherto, since, being blind from birth, I was enclosed in a prison of shadows [490]; but the great St Paul, whose orders I have explained to you, and have brought the sincere

ac sincera tui summae mandata salutis,
 ut Christi Iesu memorans nomenque magistri
 495 diuinam forti uirtutem mente uocauit,
 restituens sanum placida me luce leuauit.

VBI A BEATO PAVLO SANCTVS DIONYSIVS BAPTISMVM SVSCEPTIT.

Vt sacra percepit a magno iussa magistro
 fonte sibi sacro caeli spondentia uitam,
 uidit et introrsus fidei iam lumine plenum
 500 perspicuas capitis caecum monstrare fenestras
 per quem curauit sibi mittere famina Paulus,
 protinus attonitus hac et uirtute gauisus
 soluit sponte moras Dionysius ille uenustus
 cumque domo propria dulci turbaque clientum
 505 exurgens spernit laquearia pulchra domorum.
 Accelerat festinus iter metuitque morari.
 Hoc comitatur iter Damaris castissima coniunx –
 dedita nempe uiro coniunx castissima casto.
 Nam uelut egregio primorum sanguine Graium
 510 est copulata uiro nimis haec generosa puella.
 Non tamen hoc foedus struxit lasciuiam mollis
 qua maculare thorum gaudet saeuissimus hostis.
 Traxit ad hoc potius carorum turba parentum
 et ritu solito generandi digna cupido.
 515 Haec tam sancta cohors Paulum duce poscit honesto.
 Denique iamdudum diuino dogmate fultus
 abdicat errores nocuos ritusque profanos.
 Credulus hinc Christo factus Dionysius almus,
 ecce salutifera mox est respersus ab unda,
 520 plenius et Paulo iungit se sponte magistro,
 quo reserante sibi pateant archana Tonantis.
 Inque fide patris et nati cum flamine sancto –
 quae tria sunt unum, uis simplex, gloria compar –
 qualiter aeterni fuit incarnatio uerbi
 525 atque crucis poenae mundo quae causa salubris
 necne resurgentis doctus quam gloria celsa.
 Imbuitur plene tanti doctoris ab ore,

f. 9^v

514 solito] solio MS; generandi] generandae MS 525 causa] clausa MS

requests of highest salvation, that, invoking the name of Jesus Christ and of the Master, he called forth the divine power with his powerful mind [495], and raised me up, restored with pleasing eyesight.'

HOW ST DIONYSIUS RECEIVED BAPTISM FROM ST PAUL.

When Dionysius received from the great master the holy commands, promising heavenly life to him from the sacred font, and saw the blind man, now inwardly filled with light, exhibiting the clear-sighted windows of his head [500], through whom St Paul had undertaken to send his message, he was immediately thunderstruck, and, delighted by this miracle, that charming man Dionysius decided to delay no longer, and with his own household and sweet throng of retainers, he arose, scorning the gorgeous panelled ceilings of his residence [505]. He hastens quickly on his way, and is fearful of delay. His chaste wife Damaris accompanies him on his journey – for a very chaste wife had been given to a chaste man. Descended, as it were, from the outstanding stock of Greek ancestors, this exceedingly high-born young lady had been wedded to her husband [510]. Nor indeed had soft wantonness created this union, by which the wicked Enemy delights to stain the marriage-bed. A throng of dear kinsfolk had rather drawn them to the union, and the worthy desire of producing offspring in the usual manner. This holy assembly, with its virtuous leader, seeks out St Paul [515]. In due course, sustained now by divine teaching, he rejects harmful errors and pagan practices. Holy Dionysius, now become a believer in Christ, is straightway anointed with the health-giving waters, and he willingly commits himself to St Paul his teacher [520], through whose instruction the mysteries of God may lie open to him. And through his faith in the Father and the Son together with the Holy Spirit – which three are one, a single power, equal glory – he was instructed as to how the incarnation of the eternal Word took place, and what was the health-bringing effect on the world of the torment of the Cross [525], as well as the heavenly glory of His resurrection. He is fully taught from the mouth of this great teacher, and he imbibes the holy cus-

haurit et ecclesiae sacros ex ordine mores.
 Quicquid ab archana triplicique reuexit ab arce
 530 et paradisiaco quicquid fortassis ab horto –
 quantum fas homini fuerat reserasse caduco –
 impigra perdidicit Dionysii magna cupido.
 Nec patitur comes a Paulo diuellier usquam:
 peruigili penetret quo cuncta archana labore –
 535 nimirum spatio detritus abunde trienni –
 aemulus efficitur dignissimus ille magistri.

VBI A BEATO PAVLO ATHENARVM EST ORDINATVS EPISCOPVS.

Huc Thessalonica pariter regressus ab urbe
 (hic etenim fuerat sacro feruore retentus),
 ut comes assiduus pareret saepe magistro
 540 censetur sacro iam demum dignus honore.
 Paulus namque Deo caelis residente uocatus
 gentibus et toto delectus apostolus orbe,
 quem tulit ex sacri respersum fonte lauacri
 olim quo capiens caelestis gaudia regni
 545 proles iure Dei dignus foret ipse uocari.
 Fascibus euexit iam pontificalibus ipsum.
 Applicat ergo manum populis ut praeferat illum;
 ordinat et Paulus Christi sub nomine magnus
 ac iuris sacri plene contradit honorem,
 550 dignus quo ualeat moderari plebis habenas.
 Quod tibi, sancte, tulit caeli iam sessor Iesus
 per te, Paule, capit munus Dionysius istud!
 Antistesque dehinc clara sic urbe creatus
 pontificale decus meritis sustollit opimis.
 555 Ciuibus effundit Iesu magnalia Christi
 ac, placido complens praeceptum corde magistri,
 mox euangelicae pandit documenta salutis:
 praedicat, ore tonat, caelorum gaudia narrat,
 urbem quo Christo dudum feritate rebellem
 560 ad fidei uictor ualeat deflectere lumen.
 Anxius ast uerbi superat mucrone sophistas
 et tandem totas Domino conuertit Athenas.

f. 10^r

toms of the Church in proper sequence. Whatsoever Paul brought back from the hidden third heaven, and whatsoever he had learned perchance from the paradisaal garden [530] – as much as it was licit to divulge to transient mankind – the vast (and) energetic enthusiasm of Dionysius learned completely. Nor is the companion ever allowed to be separated from St Paul: so that he might learn all the mysteries through attentive effort – indeed he was exceedingly worn out over a space of three years [535] – he is made the worthy equal of his master.

HOW HE WAS ORDAINED BISHOP OF ATHENS BY ST PAUL

Returning here in like manner from the city of Thessalonica (for he had been detained there by holy zeal), so that, as a diligent follower, he might often obey his master, Dionysius is now at last deemed worthy of holy office [540]. For with Paul having been called by God dwelling in heaven and chosen as apostle to the Gentiles throughout the entire world, the man whom he had raised up from immersion in the holy font of baptism through which he received the joys of the heavenly kingdom, might himself be found worthy duly to be called the offspring of God [545]. Paul promoted him to the pontifical insignia. Accordingly, Paul grasps [Dionysius'] hand (to show) that he chooses Dionysius before the people; and the great Paul ordains him in Christ's name and fully consigns to him the office of sacred law, so that he may be worthy to exercise control over the people [550]. What Jesus, now seated in heaven, bestowed on you, O saintly Paul, Dionysius receives through you the same gift! Made bishop henceforth in this fair city, he sustains the pontifical glory with his own abundant merits. He pours out to the citizens the mighty glories of Jesus Christ [555] and, fulfilling in his gentle heart the orders of his master, he reveals at once the teachings of evangelical salvation: he preaches, he thunders forth, he explains the joys of heaven, so that, through this same Christ the conqueror, he might be able as victor to bend the city, formerly recalcitrant in its pagan savagery, to the light of faith [560]. Indeed the solicitous man overcomes the sophists with the sword of the Word and in the end converts all Athens to the Lord. He toils no less to con-

Nec minus insudat patriam conuertere totam,
 quam male daemonico deflent errore ligatam.
 565 Illi sed parens regionis portio magna
 ad sacra promeruit fidei pertingere dona.
 Ardens et lucens late micat ecce lucerna,
 taliter accendit Domini quam gratia larga,
 uerbis ut ualidus et sano dogmate manans,
 570 demulcens mites, feriens et rite procaces,
 auctori plures cumulet pietate cateruas.

Hac aetate dehinc doctrinae cultibus haerens
 omnibus et uitae studiosus semina spargens,
 pontificem recolit Ephesus quem necne patronum
 575 sed condiscipulum clamans Dionysius alium.
 Magna Timotheo direxit scripta beato
 usus ad ista stilo deitatis acumine recto
 ac sermone satis caelesti luce corusco
 angelici panis uerbo se namque refertum,
 580 ostendens superae quo uiuunt nempe cohortes.
 Mox sublatus humo carnalia quaeque relinquens,
 ipse potentatum caelestem rite reponit,
 scilicet angelicos distantes ordine coetus
 hymnos reddentes deitati iure canoros.
 585 Haec super insigni pariter quoque fame pulchro
 atque uerendo intellectu nimiumque profundo,
 mystica desudans cudebat gnauiter orsa,
 is uelut in caelo posuit qui mentis hiatum,
 caelica dum reserans aeterna cubilia lustrat,
 590 corde quibus mundo iam Christo dante manebat.
 Quae tamen ediderit libro mandanda capaci,
 horum distincte subiuncta exordia darent.

[c. 9]

f. 10^v

i. Quia omnis diuinus splendor secundum benignitatem uarie in prouidentibus procedens, manet simplex; et non hoc tantum, sed et coadunat illa quae splendorem accipiunt.

vert the entire country, which they lament to be bound up with demonic error. But the greatest part of the region, obeying him [565], deserved to attain to the holy gifts of faith. Behold the lantern, shining and gleaming far and wide, which the bounteous grace of the Lord kindles in such a way that, vigorous in his preaching and overflowing with healthy doctrine, soothing the weak and duly striking down the insolent [570], he may acquire many throngs for the Creator by means of his holy conduct.

[c. 9]. At this time Dionysius, adhering henceforth to all the observances of (Christian) doctrine, and eagerly scattering the seeds of life, calls upon a genial fellow student [Timotheus], whom Ephesus cherishes as its bishop and patron [575]. Dionysius sent an important letter to the holy Timotheus, employing for the purpose a style appropriate for the subtlety of the deity and language sufficiently gleaming with celestial light, revealing himself to be filled with the Word of angelic bread by which the heavenly hosts live [580]. Raised at once from the ground and abandoning all things of the flesh, he duly expounds the heavenly powers, namely the angelic throngs set out in order, rightly rendering harmonious hymns to the deity. What is more, in distinctive and also beautiful wording [585], and with an awesome intellect and one exceedingly profound, he energetically forged mystical expressions with his exertions, just as He, Who established in heaven the high-flown mental style, revealing heavenly mysteries while He traverses His eternal dwelling-place, remained in those of pure heart through Christ's beneficence [590]. The things which he committed to this ample book the following incipits would clearly indicate.

i. That every divine enlightenment, although it proceeds in various ways towards those provided for, out of its goodness, it remains simple; and not only this, but it unifies those things which receive the enlightenment.

- ii. Quia decenter diuina et caelestia per insimilitudinum symbola monstrantur.
- iii. Quid est ierarchia (.i. sacer principatus), et quis est erga ierarchiam profectus.
- iiii. Quid significat angelorum cognominatio.
- v. Cur omnes caelestes substantiae in commune angeli dicuntur.
- vi. Quis est primus caelestium substantiarum ornatus, quis medius et quis ultimus.
- vii. De seraphin et cherubin et thronis, et de prima eorum ierarchia (.i. de primo eorum sacro principatu).
- viii. De dominationibus et uirtutibus et potestatibus, et de media eorum ierarchia.
- ix. De principatibus et archangelis et angelis et ultima eorum ierarchia.
- x. Repetitio et congregatio boni angelici ordinis.
- xi. Cur omnes caelestes potestates communiter uirtutes caelestes uocantur.
- xii. Cur qui apud homines sunt ierarchiae (.i. sacri principes uidelicet sacerdotes) angeli uocantur.
- xiii. Cur a seraphin dicitur mundari propheta Ysaias.
- xiiii. Quid significat traditus angelorum numerus.
- xv. Quae sunt formales angelicarum uirtutum imagines et ordines; quid quod igneum est; et quid est quod humana specie angeli apparent; qui sunt illi oculi; quae illae nares; quae illae aures; quae illa ora; qui illi tactus; quae illae palpebrae; quae illa supercilia; quis auditus; qui illi dentes; qui illi humeri; quae illa brachia et manus; quod illud cor; quae illa pectora; quae illa dorsa; qui illi pedes; quae illae alae; quae illa nuditas; quis ille uestitus; quae illa

- ii. That divine and heavenly things are appropriately revealed through dissimilar symbols.
- iii. What a hierarchy (that is, a sacred principality) is, and what its benefit is towards this hierarchy.
- iiii. What the designation 'angel' signifies.
- v. Why all celestial beings are called 'angels' in common.
- vi. What is the first rank of celestial beings, what is the middle, and what is the last.
- vii. Concerning the seraphim, cherubim and thrones, and concerning theirs, the first hierarchy (that is, their first sacred principality).
- viii. Concerning the dominions, powers and authorities, and theirs, the middle hierarchy (that is, their sacred principality).
- viiii. Concerning the principalities and archangels and angels, and theirs, the final hierarchy (that is, their sacred principality).
- x. Repetition and summation of the good and angelic order.
- xi. Why all heavenly authorities are called 'heavenly powers' in common.
- xii. Why those which among men are hierarchies (that is, holy principalities, that is to say, priests) are called angels.
- xiii. Why the prophet Isaiah is said to have been purified by the seraphim.
- xiiii. What the traditional number of angels signifies.
- xv. What are the formal images and orders of the angelic powers; what is that which is fiery; how is it that the angels appear in human form; what are the eyes; what are the nostrils; what are the ears; what is the mouth; what is the sense of touch; what are the eyelids; what are the eyebrows; what is the hearing; what are the teeth; what are the shoulders; what are the arms and hands; what is the heart; what are the breasts; what are the backs; what are the feet; what are the wings; what is the nakedness; what is the clothing; what is the brilliant garment;

splendidissima uestis; quis ille sacerdotalis; quae /f. 11^r/ illae zonae; quae illae uirgae; quae illae lanceae; quae illae secures; quis est ille geometricalis funis; qui illi uenti; quae illae nubes; quod est illud aes; quid illud electrum; qui sunt colores differentium lapidum; quis uisus leoninus; quis aquilinus; quis uitulinus; qui illi equi; quae differentiae equorum colorum; quae illa flumina; qui currus; quae rotae; quid est quod dictum est gaudium angelorum.

EXPLICIT LIBER .I.

what is the priestly vestment; what are the belts; what are the wands; what are the lances; what are the axes; what is the plumb-line; what are the winds; what are the clouds; what is the bronze; what is the electrum; what are the colours of different stones; what is the likeness of the lion; what is the likeness of the eagle; what is the likeness of the calf; what are the horses; what are the differences of the horses' colours; what are the rivers; what are the chariots; what are the wheels; what is the previously-mentioned joy of the angels.

HERE ENDS BOOK I.

INCIPIT <LIBER> .II.

DE EO QVOD ALIVM LIBRVM AD TIMOTHEVM MISIT EPISCOPVM.

Expositis caeli primis ex ordine castris [c. 10]
ter terna sacro nutu statione locatis,
ecclesiae reserare sacros maturat honores.
Sortitus dignam praesul cum laude cathedram
5 edidit hinc aliud redolenti flore uolumen,
ecclesiae cupidus primatum tradere sacrum,
idque Timotheo speculandum mente remittit.
Ex quibus annectit subter primordia causis,
ante sacramenta ponens sat mystica clare
10 sicque theorias subiungens quasque quibusque
uerticibus, refluo clausarum syrmate rerum.
In quibus ostendit ceu prudens cuncta patenter
quae fiunt sacris in cultibus mysteriisque
ecclesiae, magno quae nunc consistit in orbe
15 caelitus ac pariter diuinitus angelicarum.
Virtutum obsequio, Domino spectante, patrari
angelicus iuste concors quod flagitat ordo,
praesto quippe manet caelebs astantibus arae
praecipueque fauens ierarchae sorte minister,
20 fit qui iure sacer iuxta fas angelus idem:
munia uiuifica supplet uirtute sacranda.
Mysterio tamen implendo quam maxime sacro
passio dum Christi sacra celebratur in ara
militiae caeli uirtutis necne supernae,
25 ordine sub proprio socium comitante caterua f. 11^v
sancti primates assunt cum laudis honore;
par quoque conficitur sacrando in chrismate munus
signis assimile necnon simul unus et ordo
praedictis per quae uiget eucharistia sacra,
30 porro sacramento diuini chrismatis alto,
praestantes seraphin reliquos uelut ordine coetus.
Nimirum Domini quem uisio semper adurit
circumstare canit Iesum cum laude benignum,
sanctificat qui nos cum sit sanctissimus idem

11 syrmate] symate MS 12 patenter] patentem MS 17 iuste] iusta MS 31 coetus] cecum MS

BOOK II

CONCERNING THE FACT THAT HE SENT ANOTHER BOOK TO BISHOP TIMOTHEUS.

[c. 10] Having set out [i.e. in *De caelesti hierarchia*] in order the principal companies of heaven established in ninefold station by holy command, he hastens on to reveal the holy distinctions of the Church [i.e. in *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*]. Having by acclamation been elected bishop of a worthy see, he produced from there another volume in fragrant bloom [5], being eager to propound the sacred primacy of the Church, and he sends it to Timotheus to be mulled over in his mind. Of these matters he appends the chapters, putting at the fore the mystical sacraments in a very clear manner, and then adding a 'theory' to each individual [10] chapter, with a following train of concluding discussion. In these he reveals clearly, like a wise man, all things which take place in the sacred worship and mysteries of the Church, which now exists, in heavenly and likewise in divine manner, in the great world of angelic beings [15]. What the harmonious angelic order rightly asks to be accomplished through obedience to the virtues, under the Lord's observance, the celestial officiant certainly achieves by remaining in attendance on those standing at the (heavenly) altar, and promoting in particular the chosen hierarch [i.e. priest], who duly becomes the same angel according to custom [20]: he provides sacred gifts through his life-enhancing power. Yet when fulfilling the sacred mystery as effectively as possible while the suffering of Christ is being celebrated at the sacred altar of the heavenly militia as well as of the supernal power, the holy leaders are present with the distinction of praise, each in his allocated position, accompanying their associate [25]; an equal gift is also accomplished in the consecration of the chrism, similar to the aforementioned symbols through which the holy eucharist flourishes, at the same time as the one order, namely the Seraphim [30], excelling in turn the other assemblies through the profound sacrament of the divine chrism. He whom the sight of the Lord always thoroughly consumes [i.e. Dionysius] sings in praise that the kindly Jesus is present, Who sanctifies us since He Himself is most holy, the kindly

35 se quoque sanctificans nostrum mitissimus ergo,
 nempe Deo nati qui sanctificamur in ipso.
 Nec minus ostendit praefatus qualiter ordo
 laudibus attollat Iesum modulanter eundem
 scilicet omnimoda praestantius hymnologia
 40 quam uates magnus seraphin clamasse fatetur,
 obsequium simile reliquis concorditer auctis
 rite choris sacras etiam mentaliter odas
 dantibus altisonum super 'Alleluia' canendo.
 Codicis est cuius iam nunc titulatio prima:

i. Quae est ecclesiastici principatus traditio, et quae eius speculatio.

ii. De his quae in baptismatis illuminatione perficiuntur.

iii. De his quae in collatione eucharistiae perficiuntur.

iiii. De his quae in chrismate perficiuntur, et in ipso consecrantur.

v. De sacerdotalibus perfectionibus.

vi. De perfectis ordinibus (.i. monachorum et saeculo renuntiantium etiam post baptismum).

vii. De his qui in dormientibus perficiuntur.

ITEM DE TERTIO LIBRO QVEM TIMOTHEO SCRIPSIT.

45 Insignis pietate pater facundus et ore [c. 11]
 ut sibi congeminet contradita iure talenta
 aedificetque Dei collato dogmate templa,
 haud parci scriptis gratum praestare laborem
 hisque uirum crebro Domini ditare fidelem.
 50 Tertius unde liber Timotheo innititur almo f. 12^r
 quem de symbolica praescribit theologia;
 in cuius serie doctrinae fruge uirente
 disputat, orthodoxe examussimque retractans.

One also sanctifying Himself because of us [35], for we His offspring are sanctified in God Himself. No less does he reveal how the aforementioned order harmoniously exalts this same Jesus in its praise, that is to say, more excellently than the multifarious hymnology which the great prophet [Isaiah] states that the Seraphim proclaimed [40], in harmoniously singing a similar obeisance, with the remaining choirs duly increased, by also producing spiritually sacred odes, above all the lofty-sounding 'Alleluia'. The first chapter-arrangement of this book is now (as follows):

- i. What is the tradition of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and what is its significance.
- ii. Concerning those things which are accomplished through the illumination of baptism.
- iii. Concerning those things which are accomplished during assembly for the eucharist.
- iiii. Concerning those things which are accomplished in the chrism, and are sanctified by it.
- v. Concerning clerical consecrations.
- vi. Concerning the orders of those being initiated (that is, those of the monks and of those who renounce the world even after baptism).
- vii. Concerning those rites which are performed for the dead.

LIKEWISE CONCERNING THE THIRD BOOK WHICH HE WROTE FOR TIMOTHEUS.

[c. 11] The father [Dionysius], distinguished for his sanctity and eloquent in speech [45], in order that he might duly double the talents entrusted to him and might construct churches for God with the teaching bestowed on him, does not shrink from devoting pleasurable effort on his writings, and with these repeatedly to enrich the faithful man of the Lord. Hence a third book is completed for the good Timotheus [50], which he entitles *De symbolica theologia* [i.e. *De diuinis nominibus*]; throughout its length he argues with the flourishing harvest of knowledge, treating (things) correctly and precisely.

i. Quae est uerbi speculatio, et quae est de nominibus traditio.

ii. De coadunata et discreta theologia, et quae est diuina coadunatio et diuina discretio.

iii. Quae est orationis uirtus; et de beato Hierotheo, et de reuerentia et de descriptione theologica.

Pandit in hoc libro uirtutum comptus honore
 55 qualiter in sancta fuerit remoratus in urbe
 atque penes Iesu deuinctus amore sepulchrum
 est qui principium uitae fons atque salutis
 ab Iacobo frater Domini qui fertur haberi
 ac pariter Petro reliquorum uertice primo
 60 necnon theologo penetrat qui celsa Iohanne,
 cumque Hierotheo, Timotheo necne beato,
 cumque choro fratrum sacra compagine iuncto,
 audierit summae fidei sermone fideli
 iure sacramentum, sacris foribusque reclusis,
 65 integer attigerit archanum quodque supernum,
 scrutans humana pariter diuinaque Iesu,
 omnis uti teneat haec cuncta theologus ordo.
 Attamen et rebus mox concurrentibus apte
 nomine suppresso quamquam per cuncta uolantem
 70 dogmate uiuifico Christi quoque dona ferentem
 ostendit Paulum his inter rite fuisse.

CAPITVLA.

iiii. De benigno, de luce, de bono, de cupiditate, de extasi, et quia malum nec est, nec de existente, neque in existentibus est.

Codicis ast huius inter primordia quaedam,
 martyris Ignatii summa uirtute beati,
 commemorat meritum, ueneranda laude per aeuum
 75 ipsius inque bono quod sit capienda cupido.
 Asserit eiusdem mox ordine uerba reponens:
 ‘Est’, inquit, ‘mea fixa cruci uotiuua cupido’,

f. 12^v

69 nomine] homine *MS*; quamquam] quamque *MS*

i. What is the significance of discourse, and what is the tradition regarding divine names.

ii. Concerning unified and differentiated theology, and what is divine union and divine differentiation.

iii. What is the power of prayer; and concerning the blessed Hierotheus, and concerning veneration and theological composition.

In this book he [Dionysius], adorned with the distinction of virtues, explains how, when staying in the holy city [Jerusalem] [55], and, bound by love at the tomb of Jesus – Who is the beginning of life and the fount of salvation – by James, who is said to be the Lord's brother, and likewise by Peter, the highest apex of the remaining (apostles), as well as John the theologian, who penetrates heavenly regions [60], and with Hierotheus as well as the blessed Timotheus, and with the band of brothers joined in a sacred bond, he duly heard in reliable speech the sacrament of the highest faith, and with the holy doors closed, he in his purity attained to what is hidden and divine [65], investigating the human and likewise the divine affairs of Jesus, so that the entire theological order might retain all these things. And yet, with things proceeding suitably, having suppressed the man's (name) – although he was flying over all things with the life-enhancing doctrine and bringing the gifts of Christ [70] – he shows that Paul was duly present in these (proceedings).

CHAPTER-HEADINGS.

iiii. Concerning the 'good', 'light', 'beautiful', 'yearning', 'ecstasy' and 'zeal', and that evil neither exists, nor derives from something which exists, nor is present in things which exist.

And among certain principal themes of this book he recalls, in praise to be venerated forever, the merit of the martyr Ignatius, blessed for his lofty virtue, and that his 'yearning' is to be understood in a good sense [75]. Repeating at once the words of this same martyr in order, he declares: 'My yearning', he said,

sentiri debere uolens hoc fame Iesum,
qui pro morte tulit nostra crucis ipse trophaeum.

- 80 Interponit item Hierothei quaelibet orsa
argutos contra sapienter scripta sophistas,
deque malo tractans effamine ualde diserto,
per sillogismos currit sic ipse strophatos
undique quo strictos simul arte ligante repressos,
85 in neutram uersos laxet deflectere partem
omnino post terga sinit nec cautus abire
ast alio neque uictores concurrere semet
illuc ni tandem quo flectit abire coactos.

CAPITVLA.

v. De esse; de paradigmis; in quo sensum Clymis philosophi acute redarguit.

vi. De uita. Et in hoc amentiam refellit magi Symonis et contentiosos eius sermones a diuino choro repellit.

vii. De sapientia, de mente, de uerbo, de ueritate, de fide.

viii. De uirtute, de iustitia, de salute, de redemptione, et de inaequalitate.

- Hic Elimam ferit ense magum bis uictor acuto
90 plurima sectantem peruerso dogmate uana:
qui quaedam penetrare uolens indagine claustra,
'Si Deus omnipotens est', inquit, 'magnus ubique
qualiter hic fertur quiddam non posse patrare?'
Hunc etiam Paulo, caelesti luce corusco,
95 interno liuore dolos fraudemque parantem
cuspide perterebrat ceu campi doctor honestus;
cor cerebrumque terit nullo medicamine digna
intellectus ubi sensus quoque noscitur esse.

CAPITVLA.

viii. De magno et minore, et de idipsum et altero, de simili et insimili, de statu, de motu, de aequalitate.

82 deque] neque *MS*

'is crucified', intending by this expression that Jesus ought to be understood, Who in lieu of our death bore the trophy of the Cross. Likewise he [Dionysius] inserts certain sayings of Hierotheus [80], sagely written against clever sophists, and, treating (the question) of evil in extremely learned discourse, he proceeds by means of elaborate syllogisms in such a way that he does not release them, bound everywhere and at the same time curbed by his constricting art, to turn to either side [85], nor, exercising caution, does he allow them in any way to go backwards, nor otherwise to compete with him as victors, unless finally compelled to go there where he directs them.

CHAPTER-HEADINGS.

v. Concerning 'being'; concerning paradigms; in this chapter he acutely refutes the interpretation of Clymis the philosopher.

vi. Concerning 'life'. And in this chapter he repudiates the foolishness of Simon Magus, and expels his contentious writings from the divine choir.

vii. Concerning 'wisdom', 'mind', 'word', 'truth', and 'faith'.

viii. Concerning 'power', 'righteousness', 'salvation', 'redemption', and 'inequality'.

Here in victory he strikes down with a two-bladed sword Elymas the magician, (who was) pursuing many idle (notions) in his perverse doctrine [90]: he [Elymas], wishing to penetrate certain enclosures with his investigation, says, 'If God is omnipotent, great everywhere, how can He be said not to be able to do something?' Like a field general, he [Dionysius] pierces him with a spear, as he with inward envy is preparing deceit and fraud [95] against Paul, radiant with celestial light; he smashes his heart and brain, worthy of no medication, where intellect and also understanding are to be understood.

CHAPTER-HEADINGS.

viii. Concerning 'the great' and 'the lesser', and concerning 'the same' and 'the different', 'the similar' and 'the dissimilar', 'rest', 'motion' and 'equality'.

x. De omnipotente, de ‘antiquo dierum’, et de saeculo et tempore.

xi. De pace, et quid uult ipsum quod ipsum dicitur; et quae est ipsa uita et quae est ipsa uirtus, et quae sic dicuntur.

xii. De sancto sanctorum, rege regum, Domino dominorum, Deo deorum.

xiii. De perfecto et uno.

ITEM AD TIMOTHEVM EPITOMA CAPITVLATIM COMPOSVIT.

	Hinc epitoma libens fato componit amico	f. 13 ^r
100	<i>De sacra</i> titulans signanter <i>theologia</i> ; distincteque notat primordia singula libri clareat utque magis qua stet dialecticus arte. Per cataphasin illa struit necnon apophasin uera quibus firmet ac falsa neganda refellat.	[c. 12]
105	Nectit ypotheticos ad haec texanda profatus, cunctum sensibile nitens peruertere sollers quaeque manent agili mentis capienda uigore. Quid fatear? Terrena premens, transcendere caelos mente cupit uigili, pennis ut in ardua tranans –	
110	quantum fas homini mortis sub fasce ruenti – ipsa Dei ualeat penetralia sacra subire. Vnde satis digno sapientes nomine Graeci hunc admirantes sensu super astra uolare diuinumque stilo celebri reserare cubile	
115	PTERYGION TOY OYRANOY, quod sermo Latinus explicat ‘ala poli’, tunc sic hodieque fatentur; interno quod eo subuectus acumine cordis atque reuelatu sacro tam sacra recurrens non modo mysteria perscrutans angelicorum	
120	spirituum, seu quae iussi per saecula ministrant, aeternae uerum deitatis adire saporem sincerae meruit mentis sophos ipse palato, degustans Dominus constet quam sane suauis mentibus eructet hominum quem munere diuo.	

In .i. capitulo huius libri dicit intimatum sibi a beato Bartholomeo apostolo qualiter theologiam sanctumque euangelium debuerit intelligere; quod et

x. Concerning 'omnipotent', 'ancient of days', and also concerning eternity and time.

xi. Concerning 'peace', and what is intended by 'being itself'; and what is 'life itself' and 'power itself', and what things are described thus.

xii. Concerning 'holy of holies', 'king of kings', 'Lord of lords', 'God of gods'.

xiii. Concerning 'perfect' and 'one'.

LIKEWISE HE COMPOSED AN EPITOME, CHAPTER BY CHAPTER, FOR TIMOTHEUS.

[c. 12] Hence he willingly composes for his said friend an epitome, significantly entitling it *De sacra theologia* [i.e. *De mystica theologia*] [100]; and he distinctly notes the individual chapters of the book so that it will be more clear by what skill it stands as a (work of) dialectic. He constructs them by *cataphasis* and *apophasis*, by which he can confirm true (propositions) and reject false ones requiring to be negated. In order to compose these, he adds hypothetical expressions [i.e. syllogisms] [105], striving cleverly to subvert all things perceptible, and which remain to be understood by the active vigour of the mind. What should I say? He seeks with his alert mind to transcend the heavens, repressing earthly (desires) so that, sailing aloft on feathered wings – in so far as this is licit for man, sinking beneath the burden of death [110] – he would be able to enter the sacred recesses of God. Whence Greek scholars worthy of the name, seeing him fly beyond the stars with his mind and unlock the divine precincts with his renowned writings, then and even today call him ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ, which the Latin language [115] explains as 'wing of the heavens'; because he is borne aloft by that internal sharpness of mind and, revisiting such sacred things through holy revelation, not only investigating the mysteries of angelic spirits, or the things which by command they perform through the ages [120], this same wise man was found worthy to approach the true savour of eternal deity with the palate of his sincere mind, tasting how sweet is the Lord, Whom he regurgitated for the minds of men with his divine gift.

In the first chapter of this book he says that it was revealed to him by the blessed apostle Bartholomew how he ought to understand divine theology and the holy

argute cepit et breuibus – sed profundissimis – uerbis eiusdem apostoli scriptis suis ea inserendo definiuit. In .ii. tradidit quomodo oporteat coadunari et ymnos reponere omnium causae et super omnia. In .iii. uero quae sunt cataphaticae .i. affir- /f. 13^v/ -matiuae theologiae, et quae sunt apophaticae .i. negatiuae. In .iiii. quia nihil est sensibile quod omnis sensibilis secundum supereminentem causam. In .v. quia nihil est intelligibile quod omnis intelligibilis secundum supereminentem causam.

DE EPISTOLA PER SENTENTIAS DISCREPANTE GAIO DIRECTA.

- 125 Fertur item docto sullimis epistola Gaio [c. 13]
ponderis haud expers quouis nec cassa momento;
haud tamen unimodo currit compacta tenore
quin magis ab reliqua refert sententia quaeuis
et breuibus pretiosa refert munuscula uerbis:
- 130 quippe Deum reteggit nescitu quolibet altum
cognosci; satius est quod (mirabile dictu)
nescitus scitur, quid sit nescire superstet
(mors nescire Deum, cognoscere uita Tonantem)
ceu quoque uisus ab his fert qui uidisse leguntur;
- 135 quodque benignifico diuino munere necnon
intellectus eum penetret aliquatinus imus.
Nectit ad hoc quod non solum deitatis honore
uerum mysterium hominis sub tempore facti
et dictu archanum maneat et mente retrusum:
- 140 praeterit haud illud quod qui super omnia Iesus
est hominis factus substantis more creati,
materia carnis humanae iure creatus
qualiter ostendit pariens praecelsa uirago.
Testis quae simul est horum leuis unda fluentis
- 145 instabilis terrestre ferens et nobile pondus.
Nec celat Gaium sapiens Dionysius illud
quod non diuise tantum diuina benignus
iuxta rite Deum patrauit munia Iesus;
nec rursus humana modo patrasse secundum
- 150 naturam hominis partito iure putandus,
uir Deus ast factus, celso de cardine missus,
ciuibus ut notis quendam pietate uirilem:

149 humana] humamana MS

gospels; he subtly adopted this and explained it in the brief but profound words of the same apostle, inserting them in his own writings. In the second chapter he explained how one should be united (to God), and set down hymns (of praise) to the cause of all things (Who is) beyond all things. In the third chapter, he explained what theologies are cataphatic (that is affirmative), and what are apophatic (that is negative). In the fourth chapter, that there is nothing by way of perceptible things, because every thing is perceptible in accordance with the supreme Cause. In the fifth chapter, that there is nothing by way of intelligible things, because every thing is intelligible in accordance with the supreme Cause.

CONCERNING THE LETTER SENT TO GAIUS, DISAGREEING IN OPINION.

[c. 13] Likewise, a sublime letter is delivered to the learned Gaius [125], not devoid of importance nor pointless in any respect; it does not, however, proceed as being composed in a uniform manner – rather a particular utterance derives its significance from the remainder and conveys precious treasures in brief words: indeed he reveals that the highest God may be known by means of a certain unknowing [130]; it is sufficient that – marvellous to say! – the unknown is known: what it is not to know still remains (it is death not to know God, life to know the Thunderer) and also as (He is) seen by those who are said to have seen Him; and that our base intellect somehow penetrates Him by means of a kindly divine gift [135]. He adds to this that not only through the glory of the deity should the true mystery remain concealed from the speech of man created in time, and remote from his mind: he does not bypass the fact that Jesus, Who is above all things [140], was made in the manner of a man of created substance, duly created from the material of human flesh, as the heavenly Virgin revealed in giving birth. The light surface of water is simultaneously a witness of these things, a shifting (element) bearing the terrestrial and noble weight (of the Lord) [145]. Nor does the wise Dionysius conceal from Gaius the fact that the kindly Jesus did not customarily perform divine miracles differently from God, nor again is He to be thought to have performed human (operations) by a separate law according to the nature of man [150], but (rather) as God-made-man, sent from the heavenly summit, so that He (should perform) a particular human act through

effectum Domini mira nouitate refertum
donauit mitis Phoebi sub lampade nobis.

f. 14^r

DE LITTERIS DOROTHEO DIRECTIS.

- 155 Apta Dorotheo transmisit scripta ministro
quo uelut haec speculum studio miratus amoenum
per quod distortum quoddam pulchrumque patescit,
internos discat mentis contemnere fucos
et uerae radios lucis spectare coruscos.
- 160 Miro namque modo calamum defixit in altum
uix uelut eliciens deitatis ab ore profundum:
pectoribus mauult scriptis quod ferre piorum.
Nempe 'Dei caligo' refert quod ualde profunda.
Lux sit inaccessa cunctis spirantibus aura
- 165 qua Deus inhabitet iugiter sine limite solus!
Quisquis et hoc fuerit mortali in corpore dignus
scire, uidere simul, dum fas condigna patrare,
unitur tandem compagem nactus in illa.
Suffragatur huic talis sententia Pauli:
- 170 'Spiritus est unus Domino qui dignus adheret.'

DE SCRIPTO COMMONITORIO AD SOSIPATRVN.

- Sosipatri ciatum ueluti dat rursus amico
applicitus Domino est nitida qui mente sacerdos,
arto dum monuit quaeuis diplomate iura
scilicet existens operum ne censor iniquus
- 175 ceu neglecta putet quamuis bona non manifesta
litibus atque iubet uerborum rite carere,
quo patiens Domini ualeat imitator haberi
mitis et hunc sectans sincero corde uidere.

DE EPISTOLA APOLOGETICA AD POLYCARPVM.

- 180 Auget item scripti Polycarpum dote beatum
auditor meruit fieri qui nempe Iohannis
uirtutum pennis facile super astra uolantis.

[c. 14]

169 suffragatur] suffragatur *MS*

mercy for the known citizens (of the world): he gave to us an event, replete with the marvellous novelty of the Lord, under the lamp of gentle Phoebus.

CONCERNING A LETTER SENT TO DOROTHEUS.

He sent appropriate writings to his assistant Dorotheus [155], so that, having observed these things as if (in) a pleasing mirror through which some things appear distorted, some beautiful, he should learn to scorn the internal deceits of the mind and to look at the brilliant rays of true light. For in an amazing manner he fixed his pen on high [160] as if drawing forth with difficulty profound (meaning) from the mouth of the godhead: which he prefers to bring to the hearts of the faithful in his writings. Indeed he says that the 'darkness of God' is very profound. May the light be inaccessible to all those who breathe air, in which God alone may dwell forever without end [165]! And whoever in this mortal body should be worthy to know, to see at the same time, while it is licit to do such worthy things, is eventually united in that (godhead), having achieved union. The saying of Paul supports this: 'he who worthily adheres to the Lord is one spirit' [170].

CONCERNING HIS ADMONITORY LETTER TO SOSIPATER.

Again, he gives a measure to Sosipater as if to a friend, a priest who is attached to the Lord by his shining mind, when he reminded him of various obligations in a brief document, namely that, behaving as a wicked censor of actions, he should not think that deeds, although good ones, were neglected or not manifest [175], and he duly urges him to avoid verbal disputes, so that he may be accepted as a patient imitator of the Lord and, as a gentle follower, see Him with his pure heart.

CONCERNING HIS APOLOGETIC LETTER TO POLYCARP.

[c. 14] Likewise he exalts with the gift of a letter the blessed Polycarp, who was found worthy to be an auditor of St John [180], (who) flew easily beyond the stars on the wings of his virtues. For at that time he [Polycarp] was a great

Ast tunc magnus erat Smyrnensi praesul in urbe
 pagina dum fertur sat pulchro fame turgens;
 excusatio ceu quodam condita more f. 14^v
 185 innuit hac equidem praecepti lege salubri
 contradictores ueri multumque rebelles
 uerborum miti correptos saepe flagello
 mox fore uitandos, abituros eminus, ipsos.
 Graecos nec parcens accusat abunde propinquos
 190 quod uelut accepta Domino tribuente sophia
 in fastum uersi, non in diuina uerenter;
 nec sancte studeant diuinis (pro dolor!) uti,
 temptantes sacrum Domini depellere cultum.
 Sane poetarum pellekti laudibus ipsi
 195 instar et aurai fugitio forte fauore
 falso pertemptent cultum praebere creatis
 et seruire, magis regi quam cuncta creanti.
 Hinc et Apollo- facit -phanii memorabile quiddam
 cultoris solis praeclari necne sophistae,
 200 de quo persuadens Polycarpo sanctus eidem
 ad mentem reuehit, scribens de †sole stupore
 Iudaico sub rege fuit qui forte patratu,
 ipse fidem cui nec uoluit praestare sophista.
 Vnde Dionysius sibimet ne forte resistat
 205 blando quae condigna manent sub corde monenti
 instruit ipse uirum per cuncta Iohannis alumnum;
 anxius atque petit memorari ualde sophistae,
 signa tenebrarum cunctum cum magna per orbem
 accessu fuerint pariterque stupenda recessu,
 210 Heliopoleos uelut est miratus uterque
 tempore saluator crucis est quo fixus in ara;
 addit ad haec etiam praefati uerba sophistae
 illo quae tulerat ceu diuinissimus aeuo,
 sicut ei plene contextit epistola missa.
 215 Quam ne transgressus aliis inuadere uerbis
 audacter uidear constructam fame sancti,
 seruatur proprio cunctis sermone legenda,
 talia promulgans galeato scemate uerba. f. 15^r

bishop in the city of Smyrna, as writings say, brimming with very beautiful eloquence; he intimates, by means of this salutary law of precept [185], as if it were established through a certain habit of excuse, that those who contradict the truth and are greatly recalcitrant, (even if) frequently corrected by the gentle lash of reproof, are presently to be avoided, placed at a distance. He abundantly accuses the neighbouring Greeks, not sparing (them), because, having as it were accepted wisdom through the Lord's bounty [190], they turned to arrogance, not reverently to holy pursuits; they would not, alas, seek to make use of divine affairs in a holy way, attempting to drive out the sacred worship of the Lord. These same (persons), inveigled of course by the praise of poets in the likeness of air in fleeting approbation [195], falsely attempt to offer worship to created things and to serve (them), rather than the King creating all things.

He [Dionysius] reproduces something memorable concerning Apollophanus, a worshipper of the sun and a distinguished wise man, concerning whom the holy man [Dionysius], warning the same Polycarp [200], recalls to his mind, writing of the sun's confusion, which perchance took place beneath the Judaeian king [Hezekiah], to which the wise man himself [Apollophanus] did not wish to lend credence. Whence Dionysius, so that he should not perhaps oppose him, teaches the student of John [i.e. Polycarp] in every detail the worthy matters which lie within his gentle, mindful heart [205]; and he very anxiously asks him to recollect the wise man [Apollophanus], when the great miracle of the shadows by their advent had covered the entire world, and were equally astonishing in their retreat, just as the two of them observed at Heliopolis [210] at the time the Saviour was fixed on the altar of the Cross; he also adds to these things the words of the aforementioned wise man, which he uttered like the most divine (prophet) of that age, just as the letter (which was) sent to him [Apollophanus] fully sets out. So that I do not seem boldly to invade with alien words this letter [215], constructed from the wording of the saint [Dionysius], it is preserved in its own speech to be read by everyone, making known the following words in rhetorical form:

EPISTOLA APOLLOPHANIO MISSA.

Apollophanio concreto et conphilosopho. Nunc nunc ad te mihi sermo dirigitur, praecordialis amor, multos tibi sollicitudinum mearum angores de te replicans, teque miti mente super uecordi notae tibi friuolitatibus diutina pertinacia arguens, et de te fanatica illusionum fantasmata insultans, supernalem modificationem benignitatis Dei magnificentissime et diligentissime adorando. Tibi bene resipiscenti, pars animae meae, coniubilo, tuisque 〈te〉 despectionibus compellabo, ut illa tibi iterata commendem, quorum pridem contempseras notionem. Frequentissime quidem et diligenter satis dilucidauit tibi, Moyse prudente, a Domino hominem limo factum et transgressionem eius cataclysmo piatas, sequenter quoque eum in amicitia sumptum multaque in Ægypto et egressionis suae itinere pro eo et in eo fecisse magnalia, atque theologos multimodos effecisse, quorum praenoscentia Deus humanatus fieri ex uirgine est dignatus. Vnde mihi responsalia multotiens remisisti non solum te haec esse uera funditus ignorare, uerum et quis idem Moyses fuerit, pernescire; euangeliumque Iesu Christi Dei totius maiestatis, quod meum uocabas, rennuere; Paulum uero hominem mundi circuitorem et seminiuerbium, 〈ducentem〉 de materialibus ad immaterialia, non uelle suscipere – immo me refellendo, quoniam paterna religionis iura degener omittens, in sacrilega nefaria me transfuderim; hortabaris aut ea quibus innitebar dediscere aut his delectis paterer mea mihi sufficere, et non numina diuina seu leges patrias derogare. Vt autem lux superna paternae gloriae splendorem in tuae mentis tenebras radiare suo proposito destinauit, penetralibus cordis mei infudit, ut tibi memoriale piissimum recordarer, qualiter in Heliopoli, paene coaeue mihi, ego .xxv. annorum fere tempus euoluens, pariter morabamur; cum feria quadam sexta, ferme hora etiam quasi sexta, luna se ei iniciente, sol est horribiliter obscuratus, quia non Deus sed /f. 15^v/ creatura Dei lucis suae occubitu lucere nequit; quaestusque sum apud te, quid hinc tibi, prudentissime, uideretur. Ex quo prudentia tua respondit quod adeo tenaciter cordi mentis meae inhaesit, ut nulla obliuione abradi, nulla mortis imagine ualeat aboleri. Obfuso namque orbe uniformiter tenebrarum caligine tabescente ut purgatum rediit solis diametrum, regulam Philippi Aridei

Tit.: *prosa post 218 (Epistola Apollophanio missa)* 1 conphilosopho] *post* conphilosopho *MS add.* Dyonysius 6 〈te〉] *om.* *MS* 16 〈ducentem〉] *suppl. ed.* 17 uelle] non uelle] nolle *MS* 29 Obfuso] obfusi *MS*

THE LETTER SENT TO APOLLOPHANIUS.

‘(Dionysius) to Apollophanus, his coeval and philosophical colleague. At this very moment my discourse is directed to you, dear sweet friend, revealing to you the many anxieties of my concerns for you, and, in a gentle spirit, reproving you over the lasting and silly stubbornness of a frivolity well known to you, and reviling the fanatical phantoms of deceptions involving you, while at the same time worshipping most grandly and attentively the heavenly measure of God’s goodness. I rejoice with you, partner of my soul, that you have come to your senses; and I shall continue to take you to task for your contemptuous attitude, so that I may once again commend to you those things the knowledge of which you previously scorned. Very frequently, and patiently too, I explained to you, following Moses’ account [i.e. the Pentateuch], that man was made by the Lord from clay and his sins were punished by the Flood and he was subsequently restored to favour; and the Lord performed many miracles for him [Moses] and through him, both in Egypt and on the exodus from Egypt, and brought forth various prophets through whose foreknowledge God deigned to become humanized through a Virgin. Whereupon you very frequently replied to me that not only were you completely unaware of the truth of these things, but that you had no idea who this Moses was; and that you rejected the gospel, which you referred to as *my* text, of Jesus Christ the God in all His majesty; but that you also did not wish to accept the man Paul, who travelled the world sowing the seed, leading (it) from the material to the immaterial – indeed you refuted me by saying that, in basely rejecting the ancestral laws of our religion I had turned myself over to evil sacrilege; and you advised me either to allow myself to forget those teachings from which I drew support, or else, having chosen them, to allow my own (views) to suffice me, and not to disparage the divine powers or the laws of the land. As the heavenly light determined for its own purposes to shine the brilliance of the Father’s glory into the shadows of your mind, it (also) poured it into the recesses of my heart, so that I should remind you of a most affectionate memory, how when we were together in Heliopolis, O friend who are nearly my coeval – I then being nearly twenty-five years old – on a certain sixth day [Friday] at nearly the sixth hour, with the moon casting itself on to it, the sun was terrifyingly darkened, because not God but God’s creation [the sun] was unable to shine given the extinction of its light; and I asked you, wisest (of men), what seemed to you (to follow) from this. Thereupon your wise self replied something which stuck so fixedly in the depth of my mind that it cannot be erased by any forgetfulness nor expelled by any phantom of death. For with the darkness of the shadows beginning to recede evenly from the darkened sky as the purified disk of the sun returned, we took up the

70 assumpsimus; cumque repperimus – quod et erat notissimum – eo tenus fati-
gatione ecliptica solem pati molestias non debere, et lunam ab oriente solarem
fulgorem uelis Æthiopicis obducentem solere in occidua ora captare perfu-
gia, tunc autem lucigenos thesauros, caligines quas genuerant usque in ilia-
cos terminos, ut putauimus, proferentes recondere occidentes, praesertim cum
75 lunae deesset et nec conuentus tempus propinquaret, aio ad te, peritiae uastae
sacrarium, adhuc nescius tantae rei mysterium: ‘Quid’, inquam, ‘speculum doc-
trinae, Apollophani, his secretis ascribes?’ Ad quae mihi tu inquiring omine
diuo et non humani sensus sermone: ‘Ista, o bone Dionysi, diuinarum retri-
butiones sunt rerum’. Denique notatum feriae diem et annum annuntiationi,
80 quam Paulus noster auribus suspensis innotuit, signis acclamantibus concor-
dare expertus; dedi ueritati manus et falsitatis sum nexibus absolutus. Quam
ineffabiliter efferro, tibi que infero, quae est et uia ac uita et uerum lumen (est),
“quod illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum”. Cui (tu) tandem, ut
uere prudens, cessisti; cessisti nempe uitae cum abdicasti mortem; cuique bene
85 facies inhaerendo, cum hinc nobis artius iunctus eris. Is enim est illud “est”:
cuius me fulgore obtenebrans, eras solitus hinc inde fucis multicoloriis et mul-
tiplicibus etiam inter penetralia infuliginare et acuminatis spiculis terebrare,
quoniam, ut fatebare, illius notitia sapida nosci ut inhiabas, mentali palato se
resultabat, et dedignans in uentre tuae notitiae sedem sumere abnuebat. Sic
90 sic modo cognoscentiam et prouida corda gerens, suscipe, non pro his qui non
sunt “est” uerum remutes; et pertinacior ad falsa temptantibus esto quam ad
uerum “est” suggerentibus nostris uotis extiteras. Ita nam in Iesu esse et uita
mea laetus iam moriar, cum ipse in eo uiues.’

79 rerum] *post rerum add. MS* respondisti 80–81 concordare] concordari *MS* 82 (est)] *om. MS* 83 (tu)] *om. MS* 86 multicoloriis] multicolis *MS* 90 cognoscentiam] cognoscentia *MS*

Regula of Philip Arrhidei; and when we found – what indeed was well known – that the sun ought not to suffer losses (of light) to such an extent through the exhaustion of an eclipse, and that the moon, drawing the sun's light from the east behind Egyptian veils, should normally take refuge in western regions, that these light-bearing treasures [sun and moon], projecting the shadows which they had created as far as the sun's limits, so we thought, should then hide themselves in decline, particularly since the time for the moon was not nigh and neither was that for their conjunction approaching, I say to you, O treasury of vast knowledge, though at that point ignorant of the mystery of so mighty an event: "What", I say, "Apollophanus, mirror of learning, do you impute to these secret happenings?" To which you said to me in reply, drawing on divine prognostication and not on the words of human understanding: "These things, good Dionysius, are the retribution of divine events." Finally I realized that the designated day of the week and the year, which the astronomical signs were proclaiming, squared precisely with the prediction which our colleague Paul dinned into my attentive ears; I stretched out my hands to the truth and was freed from the bonds of falsehood. I proclaim this (truth) to you inexpressibly and commend it to you – (this truth) which is the way and the life and the true light, "which illuminates every man who comes into the world". Like a genuinely wise man, you gave in to it; indeed you gave in to life when you rejected death; and in committing yourself to it you shall do well, since you will henceforth be closely associated with us (Christians). For He is that "Essence": overshadowing me with its brilliance, you were accustomed now and then to blacken even my innermost recesses with its manifold and many-coloured disguises and to pierce me with poisoned arrows, since, as you used to say, as you were longing to be acquainted with that Essence's savory knowledge, it was springing back from your mental palate, and was scornfully refusing to take up a place in the stomach of your knowledge. Thus, now that you have acquired knowledge and provident intelligence, accept it, so that you do not grow dumb on behalf of those things which are not the true "Essence"; and be more stubborn with those people who tempt you to falsehood than you were when I was trying to prompt you with my prayers to the true "Essence". And thus I shall now die happily in Jesus and in my own life, since you too live in Him.'

QUALITER DEMOPHILVM HORRIBILITER IMBVENVS VTILEM AD EVM
SCRIPSIT EPISTOLAM.

Demophilum quendam proprii nihilominus actus [c. 15]
 220 arguit adprime nimis accensumque cohercet,
 quod fidei pietate semel cum fraude reuulsum f. 16^r
 prohibuit recipi spem tollens ipse misello,
 quem potius decuit medicari pectore blando.
 Vtilis unde satis ac laudis epistola plena
 225 est porrecta uiro, uirtutis odore redundans,
 floribus et sacrae scripturae sane uirescens;
 floret uti sertum uiolis nitidisque ligustris
 quod sacri quondam uerbi decorauit agellus.
 Huius in extenso sermonis iure tenore
 230 cum poscit series Iesum uocat ipse benignum;
 hanc si quisque uelit uigili percurrere mente
 quam pius et clemens lapsis, quam sane benignus,
 ni uacuus cerebro signis ex asse uidebit.
 Nectit in hac etiam, componens rite ministros,
 235 ecclesiae magnum decus ac uis ualde uerendam,
 nec minus excellens reliquis substantibus infra –
 iure sacerdotum gradibus sacrisque ministris.
 Res inserta patet celebris – non fabula quaeuis,
 res equidem sancto flatu dictante peracta.
 240 Quam modo quo ualeat sapidos hinc carpere fructus
 lector quisque sagax ac caeli claustra requirens,
 censuimus grata metri depromere lege.
 Haec ait; haec etenim post plures ipse profatus:
 ‘Nobis magnus inest antistes dignus honore,
 245 inualidus prorsus ullo nec constat in aeuo;
 compatitur nostris idem languoribus ultro,
 ast insons nimium lapsis et blandus in ore:
 non uocis strepitum nec quemuis forte tumultum
 mitis quippe manens conceptum pectore promit.
 250 Hinc, o Demophile, modo nec – si forte resumas
 Heliam Phineemque tibi ceu nempe patronos
 plurima zelatos sacra pro lege Tonantis – f. 16^v
 nostra tuos robusta fides admittere motus

235 uerendam] uerendum MS 247 ore] orbe MS

HOW IN UPBRAIDING DEMOPHILUS VEHEMENTLY, HE WROTE HIM A USEFUL LETTER.

[c. 15] No less does he censure a certain Demophilus for a particular deed, and above all restrains him from being exceedingly worked up [220] because he prevented someone, who had once been torn away from the devoutness of the faith, from being received (back into it), thus removing (all) hope from the wretch, whom it was more fitting to have healed with a gentle heart. Whence a very useful letter, full of praise, is sent to the man [Demophilus], abounding with the fragrance of virtue [225], and of course blooming with the flowers of holy scripture: it flowers like a garland (woven with) violets and gleaming white privet which the field of holy writ once adorned. In the extended compass of its discussion, whenever the argument requires, he himself calls Jesus 'kindly' [230]; if someone should wish to peruse it with an attentive mind, he shall see in detail – unless he is brainless – how merciful and forgiving, indeed how 'kindly', (He is) to the fallen. Duly treating the ministers, he also adds in this (letter) the great glory of the Church and its strength much to be revered [235], excelling no less in the orders remaining below – the grades of priests and the sacred ministers. A renowned event inserted here is revealed – not some fable, but an event accomplished at the command of the Holy Spirit. I decided to set it out now according to the pleasing law of metre, so that some wise reader, and one seeking the precincts of heaven, may be able to pluck tasty fruits from it [240]. He said these things; and, following other discussion, said this: 'A great bishop, in my view, one worthy of the honour, is not feeble in any respect [245]; he willingly sympathizes with our weaknesses, and he is utterly blameless and gentle in speaking to the fallen: remaining gentle indeed, he does not bring forth some noise nor emit some roar conceived in his breast. Hence, O Demophilus – if perchance you re-enact [250] Elijah and Phineas as your patrons, (both) being overly zealous on behalf of the Thunderer's sacred law – my staunch faith will not now inwardly agree to tolerate your outbursts, enflamed with

plus aequo zeli succensus sane calore
 255 introrsus capiet, nobis cum plura patescant,
 quae fuerint placita Iesu, quae foeda, benigno,
 magnorum sermone ipsius discipulorum
 cuius participes fuerant qui in carne morantes.
 Namque docere magis quam deterrere flagello
 260 expedit ignaros; alta caligine pressos
 caecos, ut quondam per deuia quaeque uagantes,
 errent auersi recto qui calle relicto,
 haud cruciare decet; manibus sed ferre leuamus.
 Inquirat Dominus errantem namque benignus
 265 ac refugam reuocat, humeris portatque repertum.
 Iungitur hinc refugis et se temnentibus ultro;
 nec minus aduersos tolerat – excusat et ipse.
 Quin etiam spondet larga pietate medelam;
 obuiat ante uolans ad se currentibus idem,
 270 gratis et amplexis clementius oscula figit.
 Accusat nullum nec criminis ante patrati;
 arguit admissos ad sacra pingua cenae,
 est illi potius horum praesentia grata
 luxuriae demum quos nouit linquere caenum.
 275 Sane diem celebrat festum, ciet huc et amicos
 scilicet angelicos ad tam pia gaudia coetus
 mansio quo cunctis iam delectabilis assit.
 Incipiunt igitur quicquid sub sole caduci
 dextro seu laeuo conamine forte patrare,
 280 hos sibi consociant sanctos reprobos quoque flatus,
 quorum se uotis potius concurrere censent.
 At tamen hi qui sunt coetus melioris alumni
 ac fidi comites caelesti luce nitentes
 semper ad existens delegant gnauiter aeuum,
 285 dispositas operum perfecto limite causas;
 cum Christo qui semper erunt, caput esse bonorum
 quod constat summum cunctorum; porro profani,
 hic collabentur diuina pace carentes
 denique post mortis praedirae lege soluti:
 290 daemoniis iuncti lugebunt semper amicis.
 Praeproperos non ergo decet nos semper adire,

f. 17^r

the heat of zeal more than is just, since many things are manifest to me [255] which would have been pleasing to kindly Jesus, (but) which (were) unseemly in the speech of His great disciples, who had been His partners while dwelling in the flesh. For it is appropriate to teach the ignorant rather than to frighten them with the lash [260]; just as it is not seemly to punish the blind, enclosed in deep darkness, who may stray, wandering at times on to byways, having turned from the straight abandoned path; but rather with our hands we raise them up to walk. For the kindly Lord seeks out the wandering (sheep), and calls back the stray, and, once found, carries it back on His shoulders [265]. Hence He is willingly joined to fugitives and those scorning Him; no less does He tolerate His adversaries – He even excuses them. He also promises a remedy from His abundant mercy; flying out in front, He meets those running towards Him and, out of kindness, with his embraces mercifully imprints kisses (on them) [270]. He accuses no one of a sin previously committed; He argues that they (are to be) admitted to the sacred delights of the feast: the presence of those, whom He knows to have finally abandoned the filth of licentiousness, is even more welcome to Him. Of course He (then) celebrates a feast day, and summons hither his friends [275], that is, the angelic throngs, to these holy delights, where a delightful dwelling is now available for everyone. Accordingly, whatsoever transitory (beings) beneath the sun begin to accomplish by way of either a righteous or an evil undertaking, they associate with Him these saintly or spurious intentions [280], which they think best accord with their wishes. And yet those who are the disciples of a higher assembly and (are) faithful companions gleaming with heavenly light, always knowingly entrust to the eternal age the causes of deeds, set out with exact limit [285]; they shall always be with Christ, which is known to be the highest summit of all goods; moreover, the wicked, being devoid of divine peace, will fall away from here, dissolved hereafter by the process of an exceedingly cruel death: joined to their friends the demons they will mourn always [290]. Is it not, therefore, seemly for us in great haste to approach

allis qui fert solamina sponte benignus?
 An piget ut iubeat nos secum forte manere
 deque malis nostris ultro nos segreget ipse?
 295 Et post pauca refert doctor nec parua secutus,
 ‘Est’, ait, ‘est animo tibimet si grata uoluntas,
 uisio tradetur iam nunc diuina patenter,
 est ostensa uiro quodam quae tempore sancto.
 Quam dignam nulli poteris aptare cachinno,
 300 nimirum cum uera loquar; nec friuola secter.’

VISIO SANCTI CARPI A SANCTO DIONYSIO PROLATA.

‘Tempore cum quodam Cretae uicinus adessem
 Carpus ad hospitium traxit me sanctus amoenum,
 uir mentis plane nulli candore secundus
 atque reuelatus Domini cognoscere dignus.
 305 Moris huic inerat non consecranda subire
 ni prius illapsa caelesti cardine sacra
 uisio lustraret internaе mentis ocellos,
 ante sacram danti libam suffragia uoti.
 Inter nos igitur cum quaedam ferre iuuaret
 310 atque salutiferas pariter miscere loquelas,
 is mihimet retulit passus quem corde dolorem
 olim perfidia tristis cuiuslibet esset.
 Ast talis fuerat huius moeroris origo,
 quod cum forte dies instaret dignus honore,
 315 redderet ac celebrem sacrae deuotio plebis,
 perfidus ille Deo subtraxit forte fidelem
 et procul a Christo secum subreptor abegit.
 Cui mox ipse, ratus solamina iungere sancto,
 fundere continua Domino pia uota rogauī,
 320 utque manum miseris praeberet cautus utrisque;
 nactus et ab Iesu mundum redimente fauorem,
 expertem fidei sacrae conuerteret ipse,
 uinceret ac rursus blandis sermonibus usus,
 astu qui fuerat uitandus apostata factus;
 325 donec est hodie praesens dum uita superstat
 impiger hortatu crebro pulsaret utrumque

f. 17^v

320 utque] atque *MS*

the Kindly One Who willingly offers comfort to the downtrodden? Or is it shameful that He commands us to remain with Him and that He should willingly separate us from our evils?' And the learned man [Dionysius], continuing after no few (words) [295], says, 'If the intention should be pleasing to your mind, let a divine vision now be communicated openly, which was revealed at some point to a holy man. You will be able to submit it to no sneering, particularly since I speak the truth; let me not pursue trivialities' [300].

THE VISION OF ST CARPUS RETAILED BY ST DIONYSIUS.

'At a certain time when I was in the neighbourhood of Crete, St Carpus drew me into his pleasant hospitality – a man evidently second to none in mental brilliance and worthy to recognize revelations of the Lord. It was a custom of this man not to enter into sacred rites [305] unless a holy vision, sent down from the heavenly axis, had first illuminated the eyes of the inward mind of him offering the petition of prayer, before the sacred oblation (of the eucharist). When it was pleasing, therefore, to exchange various conversation between ourselves and likewise to share in salvific discussion [310], he reported to me (that the) sadness which he had suffered in his heart was the sad treachery of a certain person some time ago. But the origin of this sadness had been such that, when perchance a day worthy of celebration was at hand, and the devotions of the holy populace were making of it a feast day [315], that treacherous person seduced by chance a faithful believer away from God, and the seducer drove him, along with himself, far away from Christ. I myself, thinking to bring comfort to the saintly man [Carpus], asked him to pour out continuous holy prayers to the Lord, so that He should providently offer His hand to both the wretches [320]; and, obtaining favour from Jesus Who redeems the world, he [Carpus] would himself convert the man lacking in holy faith, and, employing gentle words, would once again prevail upon the other one who, having become an apostate, was (otherwise) to be shunned for his scheming; from the present day, for as long as life should last [325], he was tirelessly to beseech (Him) with

quotenus aeternum ualeant ediscere lumen.
 Saeuus at is nimium diuersa mente resultat,
 impatiens ueluti magis hoc et felle tabescens,
 330 dormitum petiit maestus, iam uesperis hora.
 Sed mediam circa statuens consurgere noctem –
 horis his etenim decusso saepe sopore
 extiterat solitus ymnos exsoluere sacros –
 excutitur somni iam peruigil ipse quiete;
 335 anxius atque stetit fusurus uota precando.
 Ast male turbatus non fudit coepta serenus,
 〈ultra〉 namque modum ualido moerore grauatus,
 uir tristis fuerat iustum non esse profatus
 expertes ut sane uiri deitatis in orbe
 340 gauderent hilares uitali flaminis aura:
 quippe uias Domini, directo tramite planas,
 dogmate peruerso cupiebant reddere prauas.
 Dicta sub haec nimium precibus pulsare Tonantem,
 ignis ut aetherei correptus uterque uigore
 345 perderet horrendo praesentem scemate uitam.
 Protinus ad uerbum fuerat in pneumate raptus
 ac sibi condixit uisum post ista fuisse:
 quod fuerat concussa domus sat uasta repente
 per mediumque duas in partes culmine secta,
 350 taliter et sese sub diuo forte stetisse;
 flammium tunc sicque rogem descendere fatus,
 est idem supero ceu cardine semet adusque,
 ast caelum clara succensum lampade totum,
 australi Iesumque dehinc in parte sedere.
 355 Astabat cuius mirabilis ante tribunal
 angelica formas hominum sortita caterua.
 Desuper haec spectans stupidus miracula Carpus;
 inclinans denuo cum se flexisset ad ima,
 horribili terram scissam conspexit hiatu
 360 ac baratrum tenebris penitus uoluentibus hiscens.
 Praefatos lubrico baratri sub margine uidit
 stare uiros, nimium miseranda sorte grauatos –
 haud tamen inmersi baratro, nec margine fisi –
 nempe uacillantes inerant per lubrica lapsi.

f. 18^r

incessant prayer, so that they both would be able to experience eternal light. But he [Carpus] recoils in extreme rage with a different opinion and, dissolving into this bile as if with even more impatience, set off dejected to sleep, it being the hour of evening [330]. But, deciding to get up around midnight – for, having often shaken off sleep at this time, he had been accustomed to recite sacred hymns – he is shaken awake from the quiet of sleep; he then stood anxiously ready to pour out his prayers in supplication [335]. But, being much disturbed, he did not calmly pour out those (prayers) he had begun, for, burdened beyond measure with mighty sadness, the disconsolate man had said it was not fair that men, having no part of the godhead in (this) world, should happily rejoice in the vital breath of the spirit [340]: indeed they were seeking to render the paths of the Lord, accessible by a direct route, into something distorted through their perverse doctrine. In these words he (begins) intently to beseech the Thunderer with his prayers, so that either (of the two sinners), chastized by the force of aethereal fire, should lose this present life in a horrendous manner [345]. At this word he had straightway been carried up in spirit, and he proclaimed that these things had subsequently appeared to him: that his very large house had suddenly been shattered, split through the middle into two parts from the roof down, and that he was left standing thus in the open air [350]; he said he then (saw) a flaming torch descend, as if from the heavenly axis, right up to him, and that the entire sky was lit by a clear light, and that Jesus was then sitting in the southern sector. Before His tribunal [355] there was standing a marvellous angelic throng having been assigned human forms. Observing these marvels from above, Carpus (was) stupefied; leaning forward once again, when he had bent himself down towards the lower reaches, he saw the earth, split open with a terrifying chasm, and hell gaping inwardly with rolling shadows [360]. He sees the aforementioned men standing on the slippery edge of the abyss, greatly burdened with their wretched lot – not yet submerged in the abyss, nor securely fixed on the edge – for they were tottering there ready to slip on the slopes. Then in astonishment he saw many snakes

365 Denique miratus baratro conspexit ab imo
 horribili specie serpentes repere plures
 circa saepe pedes inuoluere tunc miserorum:
 implexos notis temptabant laedere spiris
 cogentes imo gemebundos esse dolore.
 370 Mordebant miseros immites dentibus angues
 et sibi concessas uellebant corporis offas.
 Cum satis aethereo constaret ab igne perire
 insuper in baratrum caecas et ualde cauernas
 secum serpentes unde procedere uisi,
 375 tandem uexatos cogebant ire misellos.
 Vidit adesse uiros hos inter Carpus et angues
 ingenti strepitu resonantes atque tumultu,
 qui nimis infesti miseris crepitante flagello
 artabant poenis et mergere funditus ipsos
 380 certabant baratro, nullo resonante patrono.
 Est itidem uisum post haec spectacula Carpo
 accessisse uiros alios qui forte uolebant
 in paruo miseris poenas finire momento.
 Sic satis ac facerent; feritas sed dira uirorum
 385 sub quorum manibus miseri tormenta luebant,
 artius instabat longas infligere poenas
 uulneribusque datis producere pessime plagas.
 At Carpus nimis intentus cum uisa deorsum
 anxius hauriret fortasse libentius haerens,
 390 negligeretque magis fuerant quae uisa superne,
 pertaesus nimium, quod nondum funditus ipsos
 quis maledicta tulit sorberi uidit hiatu.
 Sursum respiciens uix caelum cernere posse
 se denuo retulit. Iesum sed ualde benignum
 395 intuitus fuerat solacia ferre uolentem,
 plura quibus fuerant tortis iniecta flagella,
 denique caelesti placidum consurgere sede
 atque manum miseris sic porrexisset benignam;
 angelicusque chorus Iesum comitatus ab alto
 400 quam pie commiserans illos in margine stantes:
 accepit de parte uiros utraque receptans.
 Postquam clementer dextram porrexit Iesus

f. 18^v

 383 miseris] miseros *MS*

of horrid appearance crawl up [365] from the depths of the abyss and then wrap themselves around the feet of the wretches: they were trying to harm them when wrapped in their familiar coils, forcing them to howl from deep pain. The merciless snakes were biting the wretches with their teeth [370] and were plucking out such bits of their body as were allowed them. Although one could be sufficiently destroyed by the eternal fire, in the end it was the serpents (which) were forcing the tormented wretches to go with them into the abyss and the exceedingly dark caverns whence they were seen to issue forth [375]. Carpus sees men between these (two wretches) and the snakes, roaring with mighty noise and tumult, who, in great hostility, were pressing them with miserable torture, cracking their whips and trying to plunge them completely in the abyss, with no defender calling out (on their behalf) [380]. After these scenes it likewise seemed to Carpus that other men arrived who were intending to end the punishment for the wretches for a brief moment. And they would have done so well enough; but the terrible ferocity of the men at whose hands the wretches were suffering the tortures [385] was pressing severely to inflict lengthy torments and viciously to produce weals on the wounds they had already inflicted. But Carpus, greatly concentrating, when he had anxiously taken in the things seen down below, perhaps attending too willingly to them and rather neglecting the things which had been seen up above [390], he is exceedingly disgusted, because he does not yet see those on whom he had placed his curses being wholly absorbed into the abyss. He reported that, looking up, he once again could scarcely see the sky. But he had observed kindly Jesus wishing to bring comfort [395] to those on whom the many lashes had been inflicted, and (he saw Him) calmly get up from His heavenly seat and thus stretch out His kindly hand to the wretches; and the angelic throng, accompanying Jesus from on high, very mercifully having pity on those standing at the edge [400]: He received men from either side. After Jesus mercifully stretched out His right hand to those long suffering

multa diu passis et crebro uerbere fessis,
 cumque uacillarent lubricaque crepidine demum
 405 collapsi tremarent, solido nec caespite starent,
 incerto caeli statuerunt calle ministri,
 iam tandem miseros grato solamine fultos.
 Et conuersus ait ad Carpum mitis Iesus:
 “Percute, Carpe, manu nondum pietate retracta,
 410 qua, semel exerta, plus aequo corripis istos;
 percute quos tueor, si fas contendere contra!
 Nam petii terras ultro passurus in orbe,
 quo fierem lapsis aeternae causa salutis,
 pro quibus ipse pati sum rursus et ecce paratus.
 415 Et nunc sane super potius mihi complacet istis,
 quam quos nulla ualet peccati tangere culpa.
 At tamen ipse uide; causam simul inspicere sollers:
 si tibi cum saeuis sit mansio grata chelidris
 in caeco baratri sic sic repentibus antro,
 420 et non hoc potius ualeas ut degere mecum,
 cumque mihi iugiter humanis atque benignis
 spiritibus iunctus socieris et hospes amicus.”
 Haec audita mihi certo sunt corde tenenda
 et stringenda fide, quoniam sunt uera patenter.’
 425 Talia Demophilo constant documenta relata.

f. 19^r

DE EO QVOD TITO PER EPISTOLAM INTERROGANTI SAPIENTER
RESPONDIT.

Consulit hinc sanctum dum mitis epistola Titi,
 est Domino iunctus qui per uestigia Pauli,
 perspicue quae forte domus sapientia dicit,
 quis crater, necnon quis potus huius et escae,
 430 respondit nitido satis et sermone diserto
 et, contracta licet breuiato rite tenore,
 sermonum tamen eximio suppleta lepore
 intus et egregia sensus suffusa medulla.
 Exulat in Pathmo magnus dum forte Iohannes,
 435 illi pulchra uolat properanter epistola missa;

[c. 16]

419 caeco] ceto *MS* 421 benignis] benignus *MS* 422 iunctus] iunctis *MS* 428 sapientia
 dicit] sapientiae infit *MS*

and exhausted by such intense battering, and when they were tottering and were afraid just then of falling from their slippery foothold, nor were standing on solid terrain [405], the ministers of Heaven at last raised them up from their insecure position, supporting the wretches with welcome comfort. And turning to Carpus the gentle Jesus said: 'Strike, Carpus, with your hand not yet withdrawn through mercy, by which, once (it is) stretched out, you chastize these (men) more than is just [410]; strike those whom I protect, if it is permissible to struggle against (me)! For I sought out the earth, willingly to suffer in this world, so that I would be the cause of eternal salvation for the fallen, for whom I myself am again prepared to suffer. And now, concerning these (men), it is indeed more pleasing to me (to rescue them) [415] than those whom no guilt of sin is able to touch. But nevertheless, you investigate; look carefully into the matter (to see) if a dwelling with savage serpents creeping just so in the dark cavern of the abyss, be welcome to you, and you do not rather prefer to dwell with me [420], although you would be joined perpetually to me and to the human and kindly spirits and (would be) a welcome guest.' These things, once heard, are certainly to be kept in my heart and bound by my faith, because they are obviously true.' Such are the texts conveyed to Demophilus [425].

CONCERNING THE FACT THAT HE REPLIED SAGELY IN A LETTER TO
 QUERIES FROM TITUS.

[c. 16]. When a letter of the gentle Titus, who, through the footsteps of Paul was joined to the Lord, asks the advice of the saint, as to what perchance Wisdom clearly says is the house, what (is) the mixing bowl and what is its drink and food, he replies in satisfactorily brilliant and learned discourse [430], and, although (the letter is) drawn up in abbreviated form, yet it is filled with the excellent charm of words and is suffused inwardly with an outstanding quintessence of intelligence. While the great John is in exile on Patmos, a beautiful letter addressed to him flies swiftly to him (there) [435]; this (letter) is prophetic as well as consolatory, for in it the prophet [Dionysius] brought the prescient

prophetalis et haec consolatoria necnon,
 hac etenim praesaga tulit oracula uates,
 exilio quod nempe foret reuocandus iniquo,
 mox euangelii diuini praeco futurus, f. 19^v
 440 uitalesque daret Asianis gentibus haustus,
 pectore quos Iesu meruit haurire Iohannes.
 Quae ne forte putes in uas transire secundum,
 optima iam retegat Dionysius orsa suapte.

'Iohanni theologo apostolo et euangelistae, determinato et credito Pathmo
 insulae. Appellans sacram animam, dilectissime, est mihi hoc ad te, apud apo-
 stolos praecipuum: 〈aue〉, uere dilectissime, a dilecto et desiderabili atque
 karissimo ualdeque amantissimo! Quid mirum, si Christus uerum dixit, et ini-
 5 qui eius discipulos de ciuitatibus persecuntur? Digna siquidem eis agunt, cum
 a sanctis scelerati 〈se〉 segregant, uerum abigentes et secernentes eos, ex uisi-
 bilibus inuisibilium praetendunt imaginem; neque enim in saeculis uenturis
 erit culpandus Deus de iustis segregationibus, cum impii seipsos fecerunt ab
 illis secretos; et pios iam cum Deo inde uideamus affectos, quoniam uerita-
 10 tis cum sint amatores: a libidine quidem recedunt rerum materialium, ac in
 omnibus malorum omnium liberi, cupiditate diuina bonorum omnium pacem
 diligunt et sanctificationem, et de praesenti inchoant uitam futuram, angelice
 decenterque in medio hominum conuersantes, cum omni animi affectione et
 diuina nominatione, atque benignitate seu ceteris bonis. Quapropter non uos
 15 hoc conturbet, quasi suspicantes non pati, sed et corporis passiones tantum-
 modo iudicare: non autem eas te credo sentire. De his uero qui inique agunt
 in uos, et determinant uos non recte, euangelii solem conueniens inuoco – his
 omissis, qui seipsos agunt in bonum conuertere: nobis uos opto adiungere et
 luminis particips esse. Nos autem nulla aduersitas priuabit a Iohanne splen-
 20 didissimo radio! Nunc quidem interpellans memoriam et renouationem tuae
 uerae theologiae, paulo post – etsi audacter – dico uos ipsos mihi coadunari.
 Idoneus autem omnino sum praenuntiare tibi, et discens ex Deo et dicens,
 quia et Pathmo carcere dimitteris, et in Asiaticam terram reuerteris, ibique ages
 benigni Dei imitationes, et his qui post te futuri sunt eas trades.'

440 uitalesque] uitalisque MS

prosa post 443 (Epistola Dionysii ad Iohannem) 2 insulae] *post insulae add. MS* Dionysius
 3 〈aue〉] *om. MS* 5 Digna] *Signa MS* 6 〈se〉] *om. MS* || segregant] *segregantur MS*

announcement that he [John] would be recalled from his unjust exile, soon to be the future herald of the divine gospel, and would give to the Asian peoples life-bringing draughts [440], which he, John, deserved to draw up from the breast of Jesus. So that you do not think perchance that these (words) are passing into a second vessel, let Dionysius now reveal his own excellent words:

‘To John the theologian, apostle and evangelist, relegated and consigned to the island of Patmos. The act of appealing to your sacred soul, beloved friend – this is something (especially reserved) for me in respect of you, (who are) outstanding among the apostles: greetings, truly beloved [by Him] Who is loved and yearned for and dearest and greatly loved! Is it a cause for wonder, if Christ spoke the truth, and wicked men drive His disciples from the cities? They fashion worthy rewards for themselves when these criminals separate themselves from the saints; expelling the truth and exiling them, they present the likeness of invisible things from visible ones; nor in coming ages will God be guilty for separating out the just, since the wicked dissociated themselves from them; and then we may see the holy ones enjoying favour with God, since they are lovers of truth: they draw back from desire for material things, and, freed from all evils in every respect, they love the peace and holiness of all good things with divine longing, and from the present they begin their future life, living properly like angels in the midst of men, with every affection and divine application, and with goodness itself or with other goods. Therefore do not let this (exile) disturb you, imagining as it were that you do not suffer, but only judge the feelings of the body: for I do not believe that you feel them. Concerning those who act wickedly against you, and exile you unjustly, I appropriately invoke the Sun of the gospel – omitting those persons who undertake to convert themselves to good: I hope to associate you with me and to be a participant in the light. No adverse circumstance shall deprive me of John, that most brilliant ray of light! Now, indeed, calling on memory and on the renewal of your true theology, I say – even if rashly – that a little later you yourself will be reunited with me. I am a wholly appropriate person to announce to you – learning this from God and speaking of it – that you will be released from prison on Patmos and will return to the mainland of Asia, and there you will act in imitation of our kindly God, and transmit (your legacy) to those who will come after you.’

Edidit haec magno praesagus uerba Iohanni [c. 17]
 diuino splendens Dionysius ecce nitore.
 445 Horum nec quicquam frustra cecinisse putandum
 dum completa manent ueri prognostica uatis.
 Liber ab exilio nam mox Pathmoque solutus, f. 20^r
 sic Asiam repetit Effesum laetamque reuisit,
 450 urbs equidem celebris dudum spoliata patrono.
 Semet abhinc lacrimis transfert ad gaudia maestis
 cum complexa suum meruit haurire Iohannem:
 sic sua non ualuit sententia fallere uatem.
 Multa uoluminibus uarioque diplomate scripsit,
 455 mystica delegans diuersis ipse fluenta.
 Et uelut oraculum sancti spiraminis exstans
 ore philosophico praesagat plura magister,
 mitibus arma uelut praebens ualidasque sagittas
 ad debellandas acies erroris iniqui,
 460 perplexosque simul soluendos concite nodos
 syllogismorum, gaudet quibus ethnicus astu
 incautos laqueare uiros ac reddere uanos.
 Ius docuit contra falsorum iura deorum,
 quo patuit frangenda suis simulacra metallis.
 465 Denique commendat patriae caelestis amorem,
 †et uitae decus immortale piis dat scire perennis.†
 Haec et plura tulit Domini monimenta sacerdos
 quae congesta libris pandunt iter ipsa salutis:
 quorum grandis apex et mystica dona sophiae
 470 ante uolant nostros superant et pondere sensus.
 Plurima quin etiam cumulasse uolumina constat
 quae ueluti torrens rapido depromserat amne;
 haec quamuis gazis sint inter mixta Pelasgis,
 nostra tamen non aspirant his uota libellis.

EXPLICIT LIBER .II.

[c. 17] Dionysius, gleaming with divine radiance, produced these words in prophecy for the great John [445]. Nor is it to be thought that he sang any of them in vain, since they remain as prophecies of a true prophet fulfilled. For, soon free and released from exile in Patmos, John seeks out Asia and revisits joyous Ephesus, a city famous indeed (but) deprived some time ago of its patron [450]. It henceforth transforms itself from sad tears to joy when, embracing him, it deserved to drink in its own John: thus his pronouncement could not belie the prophet [Dionysius]. He wrote many things in books and various (kinds of) document, assigning his mystical torrents to different (destinations) [455]. And, standing out like an oracle of the Holy Spirit, the master foretells many things in philosophical discourse, as if offering arms and mighty arrows to the innocuous in order to combat the armies of wicked error, and at the same time for solving swiftly the complex knots [460] of syllogisms in which the pagan with his cunning rejoices to ensnare heedless men and render them null. He [Dionysius] expounded the Law against the laws of false gods, in which it was revealed that idols were to be smashed by the metals of which they were made. And then he recommends the love of the heavenly homeland [465]; he grants (the possibility) to know the immortal glory of eternal life. The Lord's priest produced these and other (writings) which, gathered together in books, open the way to salvation: their sublime summit, and the mystical gifts of their wisdom, fly to the fore and exceed our understanding with their weight [470]. It is known that he had assembled a number of volumes which a torrent has, as it were, carried away in its swift current; although these may be mixed up among Greek treasures, our present wishes do not aspire to (describe) these books.

HERE ENDS BOOK .II.

INCIPIT <LIBER> .III.

DE EO QVOD SVBROGATO SIBI EPISCOPO AMORE SANCTI PETRI ET PAVLI
ROMAM VENIT.

Eloquium uocale iuuat modulosque canoros [c. 17]
hinc ad praecipua Dionysii gesta beati,
et quibus enituit roseos aptare triumphos:
ductus ab integro currat propensius ordo,
5 martyr is ut tanti clarescat passio mundo. f. 20^v
Paulus in occiduis cum praesudaret in oris
testificans Christum Romano doctor in orbe,
iam fatus Domini testis Dionysius heros
(Ionicus patria dictus qui rite Pelasga
10 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC digno prorsus agnomine dictus
quod merito fidei fuit et pietate beatus),
sollicitus ne forte lupi laniare rapaces
temptarent feritate gregem (heu!) prorsus herilem,
aestuat et magno mentis feruescit amore
15 quo fidei radice queat plantata rigare,
ore manuque sui seu orbis nempē magistri.
Quare uicinas urbes simul atque remotas
percurrens lustrat, Christum quo spargat ubique
et fidei nectat caecatas fraude cateruas
20 et iam conuersos confirmet uoce fideles;
nec differt uirtute sibi diuinitus aucta
oppressis languore graui praeberē salutem,
partes Troadis donec secessit adusque
magnus ubi doctor aliquanto deguit aeuo.
25 Annos post aliquot rursus Pelioque moratus,
ueriloqua dum forte capit decurrere fama
Petrum Iudaicum, Paulum gentisque magistrum,
hinc et apostolico lectos simul ordine primos,
uinclis artatos et caeco carcere clausos,
30 accelerat gressum, magnasque reuisit Athenas;
tunc sibi suffecto commendat praesule plebem
et per contigua spargens loca semina uerbi,
quotenus attingat Romani nominis urbem

10 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC] ΜΑΚΑΡΥΟΥC MS.

BOOK III

CONCERNING THE FACT THAT, HAVING APPOINTED A BISHOP IN HIS PLACE, HE CAME TO ROME OUT OF LOVE FOR SS. PETER AND PAUL.

[c. 17] It delights my verbal eloquence and melodious measures (to proceed from here to the outstanding deeds of St Dionysius, and to bring out the roseate triumphs by which he shone forth: let the (narrative) sequence, developed afresh, run on readily, so that the suffering of so great a martyr may be clear to the world [5]. When Paul was struggling in western regions, a teacher bearing witness to Christ in the Roman world, the aforementioned hero Dionysius, a witness of the Lord (he was duly called 'Ironicus' from his Greek homeland, then subsequently called 'Macarius' through a fitting by-name [10], because he was rightly 'blessed' through the devoutness of his faith), being anxious lest ravening wolves should perchance directly threaten the Lord's flock (alas!) with their savagery, he burns and seethes with the great love of his heart that he might be able to water the seedlings of faith from the roots up [15] with his own word and effort – or, indeed, with those of the Master of the world. Therefore he travels in haste through cities both near and far, so that he can disseminate Christ everywhere and bind to the faith the crowds blinded by deception, and strengthen with his preaching the faithful already converted [20]; nor with the powers bestowed on him from on high did he postpone offering salvation to those oppressed by serious illness, until at length he reached the regions of the Troad, where the great teacher [St Paul] once spent some time. When after a number of years, while staying once again in Pelion [25], he learns perchance through truthful report that Peter the Jew and Paul the teacher of the gentiles – henceforth taken together as the leaders of the apostolic order – have ended up bound in chains and enclosed in a dark prison, he [Dionysius] quickens his step and returns to great Athens [30]; then, having chosen a bishop (as replacement), he hands over to him the congregation and, casting the seeds of the Word in adjacent regions so that he might reach the city of Roman name

cum sibi compactis comites quos legerat ipse,
 35 gnauiter accelerans Domini pia iussa ministrat.
 Fortunae sic Argolicae praeclarus alumnus,
 architectus et ecclesiae tam doctus in orbe,
 confert se tandem Romanam laetus ad arcem.
 Nec te deseruit uerborum, Graecia, matrem:
 40 doctrina nimium cuius per saecula polles.
 Festinabat enim casto succensus amore
 sanguinis ut posset uictricem sumere palmam;
 tertius atque ducum cupiebat inesse duorum
 annecti collega necis per proelia sacrae,
 45 gratis ut oppeteret Christi si gratia uellet.
 Praeuenit Domini tamen haec prudentia uota
 atque diabolici rabies uesana ministri.
 Namque Nero cum forte sui laxaret habenas
 imperii totoque malus saeuiret in orbe,
 50 ac praeter cumulum reliquorum nempe malorum
 subiectis uelut olla focus quae despuit undas
 quas seruare nequit aestus urgente calore,
 in Christi famulos rabie bulliret iniqua.
 Imperii quarto decimo cum perfidus anno
 55 elatus sceptris claro polleret et ostro,
 ante Dionysius Romae quam prenderet arcem,
 caeli clauigerum mundi pariterque magistrum
 alterius crucis attollens sacra membra trophaeo
 alterius caput ense iubens damnare cruento –
 60 ambos perfusos proprio cum laude cruore,
 martyrii rosea iam dignos atque corona:
 ad ciues superos et caeli maxima regna
 transmisit. Nec longa trahens post gaudia uitae:
 mox obitu metam rebus facit ipse nefando.
 65 Vt uita foedus fuerat actuque nefandus,
 nudus et in puncto se sic demersit Auerno
 ultrices flammis subiturus limite nullo.

f. 21^r

 37 tam] quam *MS.*

accompanied by those whom he himself had chosen as companions, he wisely accomplishes in his haste the holy commands of the Lord [35]. Thus the outstanding product of Greek civilization and the very learned architect of the Church in this world happily betakes himself at last to the Roman citadel. Nor, O Greece, did he desert you, the mother of eloquence: through his learning you remain powerfully preeminent throughout the ages [40]. For, enflamed by chaste love, he hastened on, so that he might take the victorious palm of blood(shed); and he desired to be joined as a third colleague with the other two leaders [*scil.* Peter and Paul] through the battles of holy martyrdom, so that he would die willingly, if the grace of Christ should so wish it [45]. However, the providence of the Lord, and the insane fury of a diabolical agent, frustrated these wishes. For when perchance Nero was unleashing the reins of his empire and was raging wickedly through the entire world, and – in addition to the heap of his other crimes [50] – just as a cooking-pot with flames underneath spits out water which it cannot retain, as the heat of the fire drives it, he [Nero] boiled over in wicked rage against the servants of the Church. When the wretch was ruling, inflated by his sceptres and the royal purple [55], in the fourteenth year of his reign [A.D. 68], before Dionysius had reached the citadel of Rome, he [Nero], ordering that the key-bearer of heaven [St Peter] and likewise the teacher of the world [St Paul] – the one betaking his holy limbs to the victory of the cross [Peter], the head of the other [St Paul] doomed by the bloody sword – both of them being steeped with praise in their own blood [60], and being thereupon worthy of the rosy crown of martyrdom: he sent them to the heavenly citizens and the mighty realms of heaven. Nor does he afterwards obtain lengthy joys in life: he himself quickly makes an end to things with his own wicked death. As he had been foul and wicked in life and deed [65], he thus at that point plunged himself naked into hell, to undergo there the avenging flames without end.

QUALITER A SANCTO CLEMENTE SANCTVS DIONYSIVS IN
GALLIAS DIRECTVS EST.

f. 21^v

Auspice iam Christo cum sic patefacta subiret
urbis praecellens auratae moenia miles,

c. 18

70 uirtutum merito pretiosus et auctor Achiius
repperit ecce sacrae summae quoque sedis honorem
Clementem retinere, uirum per cuncta benignum.

Abs quo pro meritis digno susceptus honore
et quia sanctus erat seu prudentissimus idem,
75 iam ueteri dudum papae deuinctus amore,
pontificem praesul ueneratur summus opime.
Mystica dumque serunt diffusius orsa uicissim,
ius et apostolicum replicant indagine sacra,
otia tenduntur aliquanto latius aeuo,

80 Graecus Romano quibus est remoratus in aruo.
Haud frustra tamen hoc triuit sacer ille momentum:
foedus promeruit magni Clementis inire
iamque fide comes stringi cum pacis amore.

Ast Deus omnipotens cum ueri lampade solis
85 nimirum Iesu mundi pro crimine passi
occiduas radio et tenebras miseratus Eoo;
scilicet egregio Dionysii fame uellet
iam tandem lustrare sacrae karismate lucis
perfidiae simul et ualidum pessumdare murum,

90 inuasus fuerat quo pessime Gallicus axis
et deflenda nimis simili Germania sorte,
eloquii mucrone sacri seu ariete tali,
prouidus ut pressas rigido sub Marte cateruas
abreptas tenebris fidei releuaret in auras.

95 Clementis tetigit iam tunc praecordia magni,
accenditque uirum sat congrua uota refundens
Elladicis ut qui fuerat deuectus ab oris,
legatum ferret populis ocissime Gallis.

f. 22^r

100 Haec ignara iugo fuerat gens trita maligno,
Mercurio libans ancillae more subactae.
Sic igitur Clemens Dionysii conuenit aures.

83 stringi] astringi *MS*.

HOW ST DIONYSIUS WAS SENT TO GAUL BY ST CLEMENT.

[c. 18] With Christ as his protector, when the outstanding combatant had thus entered the open walls of the gilded city, the Greek author, precious by virtue of his merits [70], found Clement occupying the dignity of the holy see, a kindly man in every respect. He was received by him with the honour worthy of his achievements, and because this same man was holy as well as most intelligent, he [Dionysius], overcome by his long-standing love of the pope [75], venerates the pontiff sumptuously (while being himself) the highest patriarch. And while they copiously exchange spiritual utterances in turn, and reiterate the apostolic law with holy examination, over some time the pleasures are broadly extended by which the Greek (scholar) is detained in Roman territory [80]. That holy man did not while away this moment in vain: he promised to undertake the stipulation of the great Clement, and henceforth to be bound as a companion in faith through his love of peace. And God Omnipotent, with the light of the True Sun – that is of Jesus, Who suffered for the sin of the world [85] – took pity on western shadows by means of an eastern ray (of light); that is to say, He wished by means of the excellent preaching of Dionysius now at last to illuminate with the grace of holy light as well as to destroy the mighty wall of infidelity, by which the Gallic region had wickedly been besieged [90] and, by a similar fate, wretched Germany too, by means of the sword of holy eloquence or by a great battering-ram, so that the provident one [Dionysius] could relieve the throngs, held down by unyielding warfare, (but now) snatched from darkness (and taken) into the bright atmosphere of the faith. He had at that point touched the heart of great Clement [95], and enflamed the man into pouring out fitting prayers, that he who had been brought from Helladic regions would swiftly take an embassy to the Gallic peoples. This ignorant race had been ground down by an evil yoke, sacrificing to Mercury in the manner of a subjected slave-girl [100]. Therefore Clement addresses the ears of Dionysius as follows:

'Prospicis ecce, mihi multum karissime frater,
 quanta sub aestiuo flauescat sidere messis,
 et quam rarus eat ad tam sata larga colonus?
 105 Sed quia doctus ines, fidei pietate redundans,
 et Christi uirtute manes accinctus abunde,
 eia age, perge celer in Christi nomine miles,
 occiduas recto partes et tramite prendens,
 optimus ut campi doctor sere bella Tonantis;
 110 contulit utque meo Christus pietate magistro
 heres ac ueluti Petro assignante recepi –
 quo tibi praesto sit iugiter diuina potestas,
 accipe soluendi ualidum ius atque ligandi.
 Inde precum uotis comitatus, amice, mearum,
 115 fultus apostolico pariterque leuamine sancto,
 solus apostolica Gallos sub sorte recepta,
 contra quos opus est armis contendere sacris.
 Ore tona Christum, uerbi pia dona ministra,
 quo per te Iesus tandem uulgatus ubique,
 120 haec tibi depromat supremo examine uerba:
 "Euge, serue bone, simul et per cuncta fidelis!
 Dona super quondam fueras quia pauca fidelis,
 supra multa feram, statuens te iure ministrum.
 Intra iam Domini gaudens ad gaudia magni?"
 125 Addit ad haec Clemens uerbi solamina praebens:
 'Miles Christicola, iam nunc ad bella paratus,
 ne uereare truces numerosas atque phalanges,
 gentes barbaricas, nec perfida tela malorum.
 Scis etenim sollers, nec te sententia fallit,
 130 quod qui plus duro committit membra labori,
 plus mercedis ei potior quoque palma fauebit.'
 Tum comites auget uerbi pariterque ministros –
 haud quoscumque uiros sacrae sed legis amicos;
 et tandem paucis affatur mitis amicum:
 135 'Sicut cum dominis Dominus nostrisque magistris,
 auctor ubique fuit Petro Pauloque beatis,
 sic et ubique comes non dedignetur adesse,
 quamlibet in partem gradiens te uertere mauis.
 Concipe sed robur, robustus miles et esto:
 140 nimirum magnas numerosas atque cateruas
 praeuius induces promissae ad pascua terrae –

c. 19

f. 22^v

[c. 19] 'Do you see, brother most dear to me, how much the harvest grows golden beneath the summer star [i.e. Sirius], and how rarely the farmer goes out to (harvest) such abundant crops? But because you are learned, abounding with the holiness of faith [105], and you are abundantly girded with the virtue of Christ, well then, go quickly as a combatant in the name of Christ and, taking the western regions by a direct route, sow like an excellent field-general the wars of the Thunderer; and as Christ through His mercy bestowed it on my master (Peter) [110] and just as I received it as heir when Peter entrusted it (to me) – so that divine authority may always be at your service, receive this mighty law of releasing and binding. Whereupon, dear friend, accompanied by the best wishes of my prayers, and sustained equally by holy apostolic solace [115], recover on your own through apostolic destiny the Gauls, against whom it is needful to strive with holy arms. Intone Christ from your mouth, administer the holy gifts of the Word, so that, through you, Jesus – at last made known everywhere – may utter these words to you at the Last Judgement [120]: "Well done, good servant, and at the same time faithful in every respect! Because you have once been faithful over a few gifts, I shall place you over many, duly establishing you as my agent. Enter joyfully into the joys of the great Lord!" Clement adds to these, offering the solace of this message [125]: 'O Christian soldier, now made ready for wars, do not fear the numerous savage armies, the barbarian peoples, nor the treacherous weapons of evil men. For you know wisely, (and) the statement does not deceive you, that whoever more earnestly commits his limbs to hard labour [130] shall have more reward, and the greater palm shall also favour him.' Then he increases the companions of the Word and likewise the agents – not any men (chosen) at random, but friends of the sacred law; and in the end he gently addresses his friend in these few words: 'Just as the Lord was everywhere with our lords and masters [135], the blessed Peter and Paul, so too will He not disdain to be present everywhere as your companion, into whatsoever region you prefer to turn in your progress. But take courage, and be a stout soldier: leading the way you will convey amazingly great and numerous throngs [140] to the meadows of the Promised Land – Israel,

Israel est natis quae perpete forte tenenda.
 Dans igitur pacem pacis compage ligatis,
 atque 'uale' dicens, coetum sic soluit abire.

QUALITER ROMA DIGRESSVS EST.

- 145 Roma digrediens igitur chorus ille uirorum, c. 20
 egregius cui dux inerat prudensque magister,
 Romuleo Grais qui iuncto dogmate libris,
 ibat in occiduas fulgens Dionysius oras.
 Maturat properans morulas innectere nullas,
 150 circumquaque Dei spargens magnalia mundo,
 peruenit donec Arelatum concite portum.
 Exin ut antistes delectos ualde ministros
 in quascumque iubet quosdam procedere partes
 et lumen fidei populis infundere caecis –
 155 Ionicus pulchre patria est qui dictus ab alta.
 Denique praecipuos imitatus iure magistros
 Romana rabie, cruce, ferro necne peremptos,
 qui Clemente sibi Romano praesule pridem
 praecipiente sacri tulerat iam spermata uerbi,
 160 contribuenda feris constanti pectore Gallis,
 quo magis illorum fastus et sceptrata uigere,
 erroremque magis sensit feruescere gentis,
 illuc intrepidus fideique calore coactus –
 obseruans acies ceu stat cum miles in armis,
 165 hostis et aduersi tractat perfringere uires,
 nulla pauens frustra sibimet uenientia tela,
 quin mage spe captat iam clara referre trophaea.
 Haud secus accessit Dionysius ille coruscus,
 et duce iam Christo gressum pietate regente,
 170 Parisii tandem compos sic prendidit urbem.
 Nec mora praefulget, doctrina fultus opima,
 et fautore Deo praebens miracula plura
 uirtutum signis iam notus abunde coruscat.
 Denique quae didicit Paulo tradente magistro
 175 magnus Athenarum rector clarusque magister
 impiger expendit Gallis bonus ipse minister.
 Effera nec ueritus praefatae pectora gentis
- f. 23^r

which is to be held in perpetuity for its children.' And giving the kiss of peace therefore to those bound by the bonds of peace, and saying 'farewell', he thus allows the group to depart.

HOW HE SET OUT FROM ROME.

[c. 20] Accordingly, setting out from Rome, that cohort of men [145] – to which the excellent leader and wise master belonged, he who, with his Latin learning combined with Greek books, shining Dionysius – departed for western regions. He hastens on his way, hurrying so as not to be entangled in any trivial delays, spreading the wonders of God everywhere in the world [150], until at length he quickly arrived at the port of Arles. Then, being a good bishop, he commands certain of his much-loved agents to proceed to various regions and to pour the light of faith on the blind populace – he who is fittingly called 'Ionicus' from his exalted homeland [155]. At length, duly imitating those excellent masters killed through Roman rage by the cross [St Peter] and the sword [St Paul], he [Dionysius], who had borne away the seeds of the sacred Word at the command of the Roman bishop Clement, to be imparted with steadfast heart to the savage Gauls [160], wherever he sensed that their (pagan) rites and authority were flourishing the most, and the error of this race was simmering the most, there (went) the fearless man, driven by the heat of his faith – just as a soldier, when he stands in battle surveying the battle-array and considers how to break through the forces of the opposing enemy [165], does not fear any of the weapons assaulting him in vain, but rather strives with hope to bring back gleaming trophies. No differently did that shining Dionysius advance and, with Christ his leader lovingly guiding his steps, he finally took possession of the city of Paris [170]. Without delay he shines out, sustained by his abundant learning, and revealing many miracles with God as his supporter, he gleams resplendently, being known already through the signs of his miraculous powers. And then the great leader and distinguished teacher of the Athenians [175] tirelessly bestows on the Gauls, being himself a good minister, the things which he had learned

protinus appeteret rigidas ferroque cohortes
 uirtutem quia poenarum memoratio claram
 180 dudum quas passus solidabat amica suarum.
 Tormentis equidem multis expertus et idem
 optabat sacram leto disquerere uitam –
 uitam quam nemo raperet uiolentus adeptam.
 Et qui iam crebris attritus membra flagellis
 185 confessor fuerat in Christi nomine clarus,
 clarior exstaret mortis discrimine martyr.
 Vrbs illo prorsus multum pollebat in aeuo:
 nimirum sedes fuerat gratissima regum,
 et sceptris potius olim sublata tumebat –
 190 stipabant Galli, miles Germanicus ipsam.
 Huius et in gremio uernabat laeta iuuentus –
 aere quippe suo fuerat perfusa salubris –
 flumine iocunda ceu caespite fertilis ipso,
 arboribus nemorosa satis et uite referta.
 195 Hinc populis uallata suis et fulgida gazis
 saepe carinarum quas uectrix unda ferebat
 urbis celsa sinu circumflua moenia cingens.
 Haec etiam praeter compendia plura redundans
 ciues pisce suo saturatos gurgite ditat,
 200 fluctuagas escas facili sudore ministrans.

f. 23^v

Tantis ergo locum donis sublimiter auctum
 expetiit Christi famulus pietate regendum.
 Quem cum lorica fidei succinctus adisset
 atque inibi traheret ductos ex ordine soles,
 205 lucra popellorum satagens augere Tonanti
 quos plures sacro iam merserat ipse lauacro,
 conuenit ecce uirum praeclaro sanguine cretum
 urbis primatem fidei iam signa gerentem –
 Lisbius est illi subiunctum rite uocamen.
 210 Taliter affatus: 'Vir praestantissime nobis,
 iam numerosa satis quia crescunt agmina plebis
 et confessa Deo baptismi dona receptant,
 inque dies multi cumulantur in urbe fideles,
 est opus, est, inquam, pretii libramine iusto,

c. 21

178 appeteret] appetere *MS.* 180 suarum] suorum *MS.*

as they were handed down (to him) by St Paul his master. Not fearing the savage spirits of the aforesaid people, he immediately sought out the enemy armies, stiff with weaponry, because the pleasant recollection of his torments which he formerly suffered strengthened his excellent virtue [180]. This same man had indeed experienced many torments, and was hoping to explore the holy life through death – the life which, once obtained, no one would take away through violence. And he who, having had his limbs worn down by many beatings, had already been a distinguished confessor in the name of Christ [185], would stand out more distinctly as a martyr through the separation of death. The city was greatly flourishing at that time: indeed it had been a most welcome seat of kings and was puffed up more than previously, exalted by sceptres: Gauls crowded into it, as did German soldiery [190]. In its bosom joyous youth was blooming – indeed it had been healthily imbued with its own climate – it was delightful with its river and fertile with its green fields, wooded sufficiently with trees and filled with vines. Hence it was thronged with its own populace and gleaming with treasures [195] which the water frequently brought with the conveyance of ships, surrounding the lofty ramparts of the city with its flowing embrace. This (city), overflowing (in bounties) in addition to these many benefits, enriched its citizens with fish from its own waters, providing water-sourced food with easy effort [200].

[c. 21] The servant of Christ sought to make this place, sublimely endowed with such great gifts, subject to holy religion. When, girded with the breastplate of faith, he had gone there, and had spent in it many days in succession, concerning himself to increase for the Thunderer the revenue of peoples [205], many of which he had himself immersed in the sacred font, behold he meets a man sprung from noble blood, the prefect of the city, (a man) already bearing the signs of the (Christian) faith – Lisbius is the name duly given to him. He addressed (him) thus: ‘O excellent man (who are superior) to us [210], because the numerous throngs of people are increasing sufficiently and are receiving the gifts of baptism through confession to God, and day by day many faithful are accumulating in the city, it is essential, I say, for the just payment of price, that

215 commutes ut sponte tuum possessor agellum,
 quo ualeam fundare domum baptismatis illic,
 quatinus ad laudes diuini nominis amplas
 sacramenta gerant inibi condigna ministri,
 et deuota Deo iunctis plebs rite cateruis
 220 diuini capiat illic karismata doni.
 Lisbius haec contra praebet responsa fidelis:
 ‘Gratis’, ait, ‘uenerande pater, te iure sequestro;
 haud pretii cupidus Iesu contrado benigno.’
 ‘Absit’, ait placido Dionisius ore beatus,
 225 ‘Inter nos non sic fuerit res ista patrandā.
 Namque sator caeli necnon telluris Iesus
 in causa nostrae demissus ab arce salutis
 uirginis intactae cum sit conceptus in aluo,
 nasci sub tecto uoluit tunc sponte locato.
 230 Aequum quapropter mihimet non ergo uidetur
 gratis ut accepto – quem uis dare promptulus – agro,
 maturem fundare domum his usibus aptam,
 officio nostri ualeant ut quique renasci,
 abluti tandem sacri baptismatis unda,
 235 in natos sibi quos mundi moderator adoptat.
 Quid referam? Christus pretio cum uenditus esset
 busta peregrinis illo sunt empta metallo,
 pars igitur manet ut Domini documenta secutus.
 Accipiam fundum pretii ratione petitum
 240 eripiantur ubi saeua de morte redempti
 hostis et antiqui iam dudum compede uincti
 quos maculis puri deterserit unda lauacri,
 quos et morte leuat mors fuso sanguine Christi.
 Tu quoque mox pretium manibus expende receptum
 245 pauperibus, caeloque puta sic condere gazas
 temet deuota Domino qui mente tulisti.’

f. 24^r

DE EO QVOD AEDIFICANS ECCLESIAM MINISTROS SACRI ORDINIS
STATVIT.

His ita decursis maturat protinus illic
ecclesiam populis ignotam condere praesul.

c. 22

229 locato] locate *MS*.

you as owner willingly transfer a bit of your property [215], so that I may be able to establish there a baptistery, so that ministers may perform there the appropriate sacraments to the ample praise of the divine name, and the populace devoted to God in combined assemblies may receive there the gifts of divine bounty' [220]. The faithful Lisbius offers these words in reply: 'I surrender (it) legally to you, free of charge, venerable father', he says; 'not being desirous of reward, I convey it to the good Jesus'. 'Heaven forbid', said the blessed Dionysius with a gentle countenance: 'this business should not be thus concluded between us [225]. For Jesus, the maker of Heaven as well as of earth, sent down from the citadel (of heaven) for the sake of our salvation, even though He was conceived in the womb of an intact virgin, wished then of His own will to be born in a rented shelter. Accordingly, it does not therefore seem equitable to me [230], having accepted free of charge the estate – which you wish most willingly to give – that I should hasten to establish a building suitable for these purposes, so that anyone can be reborn through our ministry, purified in the end by the waters of holy baptism, whom the regulator of the world chooses for Himself as children [235]. What shall I say? Although Christ was sold for a price, those tombs are purchased for pilgrims by that (same) coinage so that a part will therefore remain, (and I will have) followed the teaching of the Lord. I shall accept the estate, determined by (these) terms of price, where those redeemed from cruel death [240] and formerly bound by the shackles of the ancient Enemy may be snatched away, whom the water of the (baptismal) font shall have washed free of their stains and whom death may redeem from death through Christ's spilled blood. As for you, pay out straightway from your own hands the agreed price to the poor, and consider that you are thus storing up treasure (for yourself) in heaven [245], you who have taken yourself to the Lord with devout intention.'

CONCERNING THE FACT THAT, AFTER BUILDING THE CHURCH, HE
APPOINTED MINISTERS TO HOLY ORDERS.

[c. 22] When this business had been completed, the bishop hastens forthwith to build there a church, (something hitherto) unknown to the people.

Quantum posse fauet ueluti nouus aduena namque
 250 impendit uires – uires quas celsa ministrat
 dextra Dei, cuius magno sub numine templum
 digne fit sacrum seu clarum prorsus asyllum.
 Denique constituit Domino famulantia cleri
 agmina, necne gradus pariter dicat ordine sacros, f. 24^v
 255 sicque creatori satagit reuocare superno
 abstulerat cultu quos hostis et ipse profano.
 Ergo fide cinctus populique fauore gauisus
 deuotum quem forte uidet propensius esse –
 templum quod fieret Domino templique ministri –
 260 gentibus insinuat stolidis instantius ipsum,
 omnia qui super est, Dominus moderator et auctor.
 Dumque palam uulgat prudenti fame doctor,
 temporis incursu fluuii labentis adinstar,
 cum deflere libet pondus quodcumque malorum,
 265 quam facilis uenia cunctis, quam blandus et exstat
 iudex in fine districtus et ipse futurus,
 paulatim sociat Domino quos fauce draconis
 eripit absortos, et uitae reddit ouantes.
 Hortatu sic sane pio signisque stupendis
 270 anxius instabat, quo mundi sorde leuatos
 caelesti faceret regno Macarius aptos.
 Tantas nam Dominus uirtutes esse per illum
 annuit, ut gentes fuerant quae ualde rebelles
 non minus ex signis quam uerbi semine mites
 275 efficeret, comitesque sibi sub iure teneret.
 At cum pontifices simulacris tura ferentes
 contra temptarent nocuos agitare tumultus,
 inque sui populos uellent accendere uota
 idque parum plures etiam nisi forte citarent
 280 contribules sibimet armis ad bella coactos –
 accumulatus enim fuerat grex ille fidelis –
 ut terrere minis possent et frangere telis:
 protinus ut sanctum porrecto lumine cernunt –
 gratia caelestis adeo radiabat in illo! –
 285 cum minus auderent nimio terrore soluti
 comminus astantes quiddam leuitate patrare; f. 25^r

264 cum] dum *MS.*

For like a new arrival, as much as his ability allowed, he applied all his energies – energies which the heavenly right hand of God bestows [250], through Whose mighty powers a holy church worthily comes into being, or rather a truly resplendent sanctuary. And then he appoints throngs of clergy serving the Lord, and also consecrates holy orders in succession, and thus is concerned to recall to the heavenly Creator [255] those whom he himself had taken away from the profane worship of the Enemy. Accordingly, girdled with his faith and enjoying the favour of the populace which by chance he observes to be willingly devout – because the church and the church's ministers come into existence for the Lord – he insistently introduces to these stolid peoples Him [260] Who is above all things, the Lord, our regulator and creator. And while the learned man openly makes known with wise speech how, with the swift passage of time in the likeness of a flowing river, although it is agreeable to bewail any burden of sins, how easy is forgiveness for everyone, and how kindly is [265] the severe Judge Who will Himself be present at the end, he [Dionysius] slowly associates with the Lord those whom he snatches from being swallowed by the jaws of the dragon, and restores them rejoicing to (eternal) life. With encouragement so obviously merciful and with astonishing miracles, Macarius anxiously urged them, so that he could make those released from the filth of the world [270] suitable for the celestial kingdom. For the Lord granted such mighty powers to exist in him, that the peoples who had been extremely rebellious he would make gentle, no less from miracles than from the seed of the Word, and would retain them as his companions under his own law [275]. But when the pagan priests, bearing incense to their idols, had tried to arouse the noxious multitudes against (him), and would provoke curses against his [Dionysius'] people, lest they [the Christians] should not perchance also summon up sufficiently numerous fellow citizens driven to wage war with weapons against them [280] – for that faithful flock had greatly increased – so that they could terrify them with threats and smash them with their weapons: as soon as they see the saint with focused vision – the heavenly grace was shining so greatly in him! – since they would not dare to try something through mere silliness, (even though) standing close at hand they were dissolved in excessive fear [285]; but rather, having put aside their ferocity and also their swords, they prostrate themselves before the man; or else an unholy part (of them), not

ast feritate magis pariter ferroque reiecto
 prosternunt se nempe uiro; pars siue profana,
 haud fidei succensa foco, deterrita passim
 290 aufugeret, trepidumque pedem malefida referret.
 Miro quippe modo plebs armis ipsa coruscans
 deflexa ceruice uiro cedebat inermi.
 Gallicus hinc illi parebat nempe coturnus
 et ceruix tumidos fugiens Germanica fastus
 295 dulce iugum Christi contrito corde petebat
 imponi sibimet, cupiens parere Tonanti.
 Conflabant simulacra uiri iam falsa deorum –
 sumptibus et studio quorum fabricata nitebant –
 atque salutarem portum uigilanter adepti,
 300 idola naufragio pessumdare uana studebant.
 Portio uicta dehinc hostis lugebat amari
 ecclesiam claros cernit cum ferre triumphos
 uictioresque modo Christi gaudere cohortes.

QUALITER AD DOMITIANVM FACTA EST RELATIONE, FESCENNINVS IN
 GALLIAM MITTITVR.

Antiquus tunc ille uidens dirissimus hostis
 305 iacturam se forte pati sibimetque perire,
 gratia captabat in quo diuina profectum
 toruas inuersans acies uultumque minacem
 artes mille capit fraudes quoque mille nocendi.
 Feruet mole grauis et uix tolerabilis ulli
 310 ac fidei firmum solido fundamine murum
 uiribus applicitis et saeuus ualde ministris
 frangere contendit pugna congressus iniqua.
 Instruit ergo suos iam calliditate clientes
 auctoresque suae partis cum felle seueros,
 315 arma quibus dederat mortis confecta ueneno,
 uincere quis possent Christi fortasse ministros,
 illos atque noua fidei qui luce recepta
 dudum conuersi fuerant ad dona salutis,
 320 insinuat – plane priscae non immemor artis
 qua strauit primos uesanus in orbe parentes.
 Datque uiam lubricus trucibus hac fraude ministris
 flentibus exitia falsorum ualde deorum

c. 23

f. 25^v

being enflamed by the fire of faith, would flee terrified in all directions and faithlessly retreat on fearful foot [290]. In wondrous manner indeed the crowd, itself gleaming with weaponry, yielded with bended neck to the unarmed man. For Gallic dignity obeyed him on one side, and Germanic pride, fleeing from its swollen haughtiness, sought with humble heart to have the sweet yoke of Christ [295] placed upon it, desiring to obey the Thunderer. The men now melted down the false idols of their gods – (the men) through whose expense and application they stood gleaming when constructed – and, having vigilantly reached the port of salvation, they sought to sink the vain idols in a shipwreck [300]. A conquered remnant of the bitter enemy was in mourning when it saw the Church carrying off shining triumphs and the victorious cohorts of Christ now rejoicing.

HOW WHEN THE REPORT OF THIS REACHES DOMITIAN, FESCENNINUS IS SENT TO GAUL.

[c. 23] Then that detestable ancient Enemy, perhaps seeing himself suffer a loss and (his forces) being lost to him [305] – in which divine grace obtained success – deepening his savage looks and his threatening visage, adopts a thousand devices and a thousand tricks for causing harm. He seethes with this heavy burden, scarcely tolerable for anyone, and, with concentration of his forces and his extremely savage agents, attacking with wicked assault, tries to smash the wall of faith, immovable on its solid foundation [310]. He therefore instructs his clients in cunning, and the agents of his party, crabbed with bile, to whom he had issued weapons infected with the poison of death [315], with which they can perhaps conquer the ministers of Christ, and he infiltrates those who, having received the new light of faith a short time ago, had been converted to the gifts of salvation – evidently not having forgotten the ancient device with which in his rage he brought down the first parents in this world [320]. And with this deceit the slippery one points a way to his savage agents, bewailing the loss of their false gods, by which they can achieve

qua uelut est uisum possent percurrere uotum.
 Cumque Dei sanctis ualidum committere bellum
 325 suggerit ergo malus seu funestissimus anguis,
 uirtutum fama pariter meritumque beatis,
 quae longe lateque uolans compleuerat orbem.
 Inuisum tamen esse diis sibi iamque ferebat,
 induperatoris quo iam referatur ad aures
 330 (ultores quod adesse deos sibi nec reputabat,
 quorum lapsa solo passim simulacra iacebant).
 Mittitur egregia iam sic legatio Romae,
 Caesaris et magni sacras decurrit ad aures,
 qui clarus sceptro, saeui post sceptrum Neronis,
 335 in Christi famulos rabiem diffundere totam
 haud metuit nomenque Dei delere sub astris.
 Consulat ipse diis, designat epistola sacris,
 quorum strata solo fractis figmenta metallis;
 humanas mentes iam nec memoranda relinquunt,
 340 aedibus inque suis sacrorum iura quiescunt.
 Id fieri uirtute Dei legatio pandit,
 artes per magicas simul ac portenta nefanda,
 inuictum quae nempe magum patrare ferebat,
 quendam qui fuerat Gallis nouus aduena missus.
 345 Haec ubi persensit crudelis belua Caesar
 haurit mox rabiem, caecum bibit atque furorem,
 anguis uti saeuus stimulis qui forte coactus
 paulatim tellure caput sustollit in altum,
 pectore subrigitur, reliquo sed corpore repens,
 350 semet inmensos glomerat cum feruidus orbes,
 squamea colla tumens, linguis micat atque trisulcis:
 nota sub extremo disquirat et arma uenenum
 euomat aduersum quod uel furibundus in hostem.
 Haud aliter Caesar, furiis agitated iniquis,
 355 pectoris in latebris rabidos fouet ipse tumultus;
 et cum sit monstrum nulla uirtute redemptum,
 foedere cum uitii et saeuo daemone pacto,
 aestuat ut possit Iesu praeconia Christi,
 nomen et aeternum uirtutum necne trophaea
 360 de sibi collatis penitus abradere terris.

f. 26^r

326 beatis] beati *MS.* 328 diis sibi] sibi diis *MS.*; iamque] atque *MS.* 346 haurit] hausit *MS.*

their wish, just as they prefer. Therefore the Evil One, or rather the most poisonous snake, prompts them to undertake a mighty battle with the saints of God [325], (who are) blessed through the reputation of their virtues and achievements – (a battle) which, spreading far and wide, had filled the world. However, he now treated this as detestable to himself and the gods, so that it would now be reported to the ears of the emperor (nor did he think that the avenging gods [330], whose fallen idols lay everywhere on the ground, were supporting him). Thus an egregious embassy is sent to Rome, and comes to the accursed audience of the great Caesar, who, distinguished by imperial authority in the aftermath of cruel Nero's reign, was not afraid to unleash total fury against the servants of Christ [335] and to erase the name of God beneath the stars. He himself consults the gods; an imperial rescript communicates this to their shrines, whose remnants lie scattered on the ground as fragments of metal; nor do these memorable events depart from human minds, and in their halls the laws regarding their rites lie dormant [340]. The embassy reveals that this takes place through the power of God, through magic arts, and at the same time through evil portents; which it [the embassy] alleged were performed by an unconquerable magician, someone who had been a recent arrival sent to the Gauls. When the cruel beast Caesar learns these things [345], he swallows his rage and absorbs his blind fury, just as a savage serpent, driven by prods, slowly raises its head up above the earth, stiffens in its resolve but, crawling along with the rest of its body, gathers to itself its mighty coils in a rage [350], swelling its scaly neck, and it flashes out its three-pronged tongue: at the last moment it resorts to its well-known weapons and vomits poison towards what in its fury it regards as its enemy. Not otherwise did Caesar, aroused by the wicked Furies, nourish raging agitation in the depths of his breast [355]; and since he is a monster redeemed by no virtue, having agreed a treaty with the vices and the savage Demon, he burns to be able to erase completely the tidings of Jesus Christ and His eternal name, as well as the trophies of His miracles, from all the lands subject to him [360]. The imperial proclamation is

Imperialis ad haec fertur sententia porro
 et funesta ferus proponit iussa tyrannus,
 ut quemcumque suus posset reperire satelles
 Christicolam – quamuis sacro latitaret asylo –
 365 Martis et Herculeas traheret mox compos ad aras,
 cogeret atque diis libamina ferre profanis.
 His si forte Deum caeli praeponere uellet,
 transiret gladius post plura flagella cruentum.
 Inque suburbanis cunctis seu denique uicis
 370 parebant sibimet latum quae forte per orbem,
 Caesaris edictum confestim tale pependit.
 Qualiter imperii fautores atque ministri
 cultores Christi properarent ocius omnes
 ius nacti saeuum tormentis subdere saeuus;
 375 quippe ratus uecors in hoc elidere posse
 perdita qui domino possent adquirere summo.

Gaudet iniquorum tali sub lege caterua,
 progrediturque celer bachantum more per orbem,
 utque piis ualidam ualeat infligere pugnam.
 380 Heu, male conspirat cuneis stipata gregatim!
 Nec dubitant rigido sanctos extinguere ferro,
 quos fidei signo Christus monstrabat aperto
 esse suos denuo pius incunctanter amicos.
 Vitae quapropter praesentis tollitur omnis
 385 mox ablata quies, pacis simul omne serenum
 cunctis qui cupiunt Christi certamen inire.
 Libertas nec martyribus tunc ulla dabatur,
 sed magis aut flexi metuentes uerbera quidam
 parebant iussis, eheu, properanter iniquis,
 390 aut fidei robur casta qui mente fouebant,
 pectus et inpauidum nota uirtute gerebant,
 quod nollent ultro dictis parere malignis
 protinus iniectis artati quam male uinclis
 Caesaris edictum soluebant morte nefandum.
 395 Ostia sic fidei fuerant obstrusa per orbem,

[c. 24]

f. 26^v

 368 gladius] gladium *MS.*

straightway addressed to these, and the fierce tyrant promulgates deadly decrees, that if his agent can discover any Christian – even if he should be hiding in a holy sanctuary – he is to drag him at once to the altars of Mars and Hercules [365] and compel him to offer libations to the pagan gods. If perchance he should wish to prefer the God of Heaven to these, the sword is to transfix him after he has been bloodied by many tortures. This very edict of Caesar was immediately posted in all suburban locales and then in villages which were subject to him throughout the wide world [370]. As the supporters of the empire and its agents, implementing this cruel law, hastened swiftly to subject all worshippers of Christ to savage tortures, they thought – insanely indeed! – to be able to destroy [375] things lost, which they could then acquire for their great lord.

[c. 24] The throng of the wicked rejoices in such a law, and it advances swiftly through the world in the manner of Bacchantes, so that it might be able to inflict a mighty battle on the holy. Swollen (alas!) by throngs from all over, it conspires wickedly [380]. Nor do they hesitate to destroy by means of hard iron (swords) those whom merciful Christ once again showed unhesitatingly to be His friends, by means of a clear sign of faith. Accordingly, all peace in this present life is soon taken away, as is all security of peace [385] for all those who desire to undergo the struggle for Christ. Nor was any freedom granted to martyrs at that time; but rather some, fearing beatings, swiftly bent in obedience, alas, to the wicked commands, or else those who nourished in their chaste minds [390] the strength of their faith, and with recognized virtue had fearless hearts, because they did not wish willingly to obey the evil commands, being bound straightway with imposed shackles they fulfilled the wicked edict of Caesar with their death. Thus the doors of faith had been closed

iustitiaeque simul, heu, pessime ianua clausa,
ni reseret Christus, lux mundi, spes, uia, uita.

EXPLICIT LIBER .III.

throughout the world [395] and, alas, the gates of justice were wickedly shut, unless Christ, the light of the world, its hope, way and life, were to open them.

HERE ENDS BOOK .III.

INCIPIT <LIBER> .IV.

DE EO QVOD SISINNIVS ROMA VENIENS SANCTVM DIONYSIVM
COMPREHENDIT.

Gallia dum recolit pietatis dogmata tandem
iam complexa fidem, tenebris exempta profundis
passa diu fuerat ueteris quas fraude chelidri,
Romana plures mittuntur ab urbe cohortes,
5 et framea tumidus dirus quicumque satelles,
multo plus rabie gladio quam cinctus honesto,
Caesaris imperium cuperet qui sanguine fuso
commaculare magis insontum nempe uirorum,
optatae pacis quam poscere foedus amoenum.
10 Sic equidem prudens praeceperat induperator,
aemula uotorum cuius fit torua iuuentus.
Fescenninus erat dictusque Sisinnius idem,
plenus inexhausta quidam feritate tyrannus,
orbis cui princeps contradit habere maniplos
15 atque truces pariter ad quaeuis iniqua ministros.
Cedit huic delecta uiro iam legio iuncta
et iamiam paritura nefas – sine laude triumphi –
armis atque animis, furiis stimulisque seueris:
omnis tyronum stipat secus undique turba,
20 parta probare sacro proprias in uulnere uires.
Hoc igitur strepitu turbis uallatus opimis
Caesareis necnon iussis imbutus iniquis,
mittitur occiduas iam Fescenninus ad oras,
moribus ut sanctum fama uirtutis et auctum
25 aeuo maturum doctrinae lampade clarum
indagare uirum uigili cum mente studeret,
et tandem captum decreto principis ipsum,
ceruicem curuare de his nil sane morantem
cogeret atque sacrum pariter thus ferre nefandis.
30 Quod si detrectans his iussis obuius iret,
ad poenas raptim traheretur sanctus acerbis
ac lacerus grauia primo tormenta subiret;
post illata dehinc nimia feritate flagella
iuxta Romuleae decretum scriptaque legis –
35 quam transire nefas scelus et crudele putabant –

BOOK IV

CONCERNING THE FACT THAT SISINNIUS, ARRIVING FROM ROME, ARRESTED ST DIONYSIUS.

[c. 24 cont'd] While Gaul finally practises the teachings of (Christian) worship, having now embraced the faith (and) having been delivered from the vast shadows which it had long experienced through the deception of the ancient serpent, a number of agents are sent from the Roman city, and (include) a certain savage deputy, exulting in his weapon [5], girded more with rage than with a respectable sword, (a man) who wished rather to stain the command of Caesar with the spilled blood of innocent men than to seek the delightful truce of a desirable peace. For thus the crafty emperor, whose grim youth is jealous for votive offerings, had advised [10]. He was called Fescenninus Sisinnius, a particular despot brimming with inexhaustible savagery, to whom the ruler of the world assigns the command of a company and similarly cruel agents (ready) for any wickedness [15]. A chosen legion, attached to this man, sets off, ready now to accomplish – without the commendation of a triumph – any evil, through arms and arrogance, through rage and dreadful provocation: the whole throng of recruits crowds closely together, ready to prove their own strength through worthy wounds [20]. Surrounded therefore by this rabble (and) these splendid throngs, and being instructed in the wicked commands of Caesar, Fescenninus is now sent to western regions, so that with vigilant application he could try to track down the man, holy in his behaviour and exalted by the renown of his virtue, a man advanced in age (and) distinguished by the lamp of his learning [25], and then, having captured him in accordance with the decree of the emperor, would compel him to bend his neck – not of course reluctantly in this matter – and likewise to offer wicked incense to the unspeakable (gods). If he [Dionysius] were by his refusal to proceed in opposition to these commands [30], the holy man would be swiftly dragged off to bitter punishments and would first undergo mutilation through serious tortures; thereafter, when whippings had been administered with excessive ferocity according to the decree and edicts of Roman law – which they considered to surpass every abomination and cruel vice [35] – stripped of his clothing

uestibus exutus uirgis ac publice caesus,
 obtunsam flexa caperet ceruice securim:
 utpote terreno florens qui nobilis ortu,
 gentis patriciae claris natalibus auctus,
 40 egerat aduersus senatus iura uerendi,
 imperii ueluti contempnens scita superbus
 dignus et idcirco tali discrimine plecti.

Haec igitur praecepta ferens ac Caesaris orsa
 cum sibi coniunctis uesano foedere turmis
 45 Gallorum penetrat iam forte Sisinnius oras.
 Haud mora fama uolat Dionysii magna beati
 atque duci nomen celebri rumore patescit,
 eminus astanti quamuis necdumque propinquo.
 Amplius unde feri rabie feruente manipuli
 50 conglomerant saeuo cuneos urgente magistro:
 fiunt praecipites cursu magis ergo cohortes.
 Et tandem tumidis animis uultuque feroci
 Parisii subeunt inmensi roboris urbem;
 non armis ferri sed sacri cuspidis uerbi
 55 perfidiae coetum cernunt ibi flectere sanctum,
 atque docere fidem Christi sub nomine sacram
 quam sitibunda capit gens effera Gallica dudum.
 Dirus et ipse furor bachantum sane uirorum
 repperit illustres etiam pietate sodales
 60 pontifici iunctos ad munia sacra beato.
 Rusticus est unus, est Eleutherius alter:
 presbiter hic fulget, sequitur leuita secundus.
 Hi sancti comites, a, terque quaterque beati,
 praesulis obtutu non se diueller usquam,
 65 perpersi fuerant aliquo discrimine leti.
 Par equidem mansit tali compage ligari,
 praescia quos Domini iam tunc dignatio summi
 caeli consortes cernebat in arce futuros.
 Denique praefecti Romano milite saepti
 70 aduentus tota non solum fertur in urbe,
 circumiecta capit uerum prouincia lata.
 Occurrunt ultro primates undique Galli:

c. 25

f. 27^v

63 terque] ter *MS.*

and lashed with whips in public, he would receive the blunt axe on his bended neck: inasmuch as he who, being distinguished as a nobleman through his earthly birth (and being) blessed with the aristocratic origins of patrician gentility, had acted against the decrees of the feared senate [40], proudly scorning as it were the ordinances of the empire, would therefore be worthy to be decapitated in accordance with such a law.

[c. 25] Bringing, therefore, the decrees and utterances of Caesar, together with the throngs attached to him in insane allegiance, Sisinnius now perchance enters the territories of the Gauls [45]. Without delay the great reputation of St Dionysius flies about, and the name is disclosed to the leader with celebrated report, even though he was still at a distance and not yet close at hand. Whereupon the cruel soldiers, with burning fury, assemble their battle-lines, with their savage leader driving them on [50]: in their haste, therefore, they become even swifter cohorts. And at last, with their arrogant spirits and ferocious appearance, they enter Paris, a city of immense majesty; they see there the holy throng yielding to (what they regard as) treachery [55], not through weapons of iron but through the javelin of the sacred Word, and (see Dionysius) teaching the holy faith in the name of Christ – (the faith) which the Gaulish people, once savage, is thirstily absorbing. And the savage fury of these raging men discovers (his) companions, illustrious too through their holiness, joined to the blessed bishop for the sake of sacred duties [60]. One of these is Rusticus, the other Eleutherius: the former shines out as a priest, the second as a deacon. These holy companions – ah, thrice and four times blessed! – had not allowed themselves ever to be torn away from the sight of the bishop through any separation of death [65]. Indeed it remains for them to be bound with such a fetter – those whom the provident regard of the highest Lord considered to be future colleagues in the citadel of heaven. At length the arrival of the prefect, surrounded by Roman soldiery, is not only announced in the entire city [70], but the extensive adjacent province receives it as well. The leading men of the Gauls willingly run up from all

imperialis et hos sententia nota perurget.
 Insontis captura uiri uulgatur ubique;
 75 nullas ast latebras quaerit fidissimus heros.

Et quia iam Dominus – cunctorum rector et auctor,
 qui stans inmotus causas disponit ab aeuo,
 humanos moderans actus libramine recto –
 militis inuicti nec belli pondere fracti
 80 (exhausti quanquam longaeua luce senectae)
 maluerat proprii sudores fonte cruoris
 sanctius abluere, quo carnis mole solutus
 candidiorque nitens omni candore niuali,
 ante Dei possit praesens astare tribunal;
 85 semet quique sacer libamen promptus odorum
 pontifici Christo mentis pietate ferebat,
 ciuibus adiunctus superis holocausta ualeret
 aeternae uictor laudis offerre Tonanti.

c. 26

Iam tunc daemonico concurrunt more cateruae
 90 atque magis cursu praeceps fit quisque satelles,
 et captum Domini contrectant impie sanctum.
 Iamque graues colaphi nuda ceruice resultant
 conspuiturque nefas derideturque sacerdos:
 scemate diuerso prudens deluditur auctor.

95 Artatus lentis demum uir tantus habenis
 attrahitur, grauida gressum tardante senecta,
 unacumque suis iamfatis ipse ministris.
 Sistitur ante acies praefecti miles honestus.

f. 28^r

Quem mox alloquitur iudex sermone seuero:

100 ‘Tune, senex’, inquit, ‘exstas uitabilis ille
 ora Dionysius uolitans per cuncta uirorum
 Ionicus, temere spernis qui iura deorum,
 principis haud metuens inuicti tempnere iussa?’
 Sanctus ad haec placido Dionysius ore profatur:

105 ‘Corpore nempe senex, aeuo defunctus et assum;
 sed fidei sacrae nimio feruore calescens
 exutus ueterem uir sum nouus ecce creatus.
 Vnde nouos populos baptismi fonte renatos
 lacte salutari necnon ratione sapura

96 attrahitur] ah trahitur *MS.* (*recte?*) 101 ora] ore *MS.* 109 sapura] sapor *MS.*

over: and the well-known imperial edict impels them. The (reason for the) capture of the guiltless man is made known everywhere: and the faithful hero does not seek any hiding-place [75].

[c. 26] And because the Lord – the ruler and creator of all things Who, remaining motionless, ordains all events for all time, governing human affairs with a just balance – had preferred divinely to wash away with the flow of his own blood the sweat of His soldier, unconquered and not shattered by the burden of war, even though exhausted by the lengthy passage of old age [80], so that, released from the encumbrance of the flesh and shining more brightly than any gleaming white snow, he can stand in person before the judgement seat of God; and who readily brought himself in mental devotion as a sacred libation of incense [85] to Christ the high-priest, and who, joined to the heavenly citizens, could offer holocausts of eternal praise to the Thunderer. At that point crowds run up in a demonic way, and each agent turns headlong in his charge [90], and they wickedly seize in capture God's saint. And now heavy blows bounce off his naked neck, and his offence is spat upon and he is ridiculed as a bishop: the wise champion is mocked in various ways. At length the great man, constricted by sluggish chains [95], is dragged forth, with his tired old age slowing his steps, and in company with his aforementioned attendants. The distinguished soldier (of Christ) is stationed before the gaze of the prefect. The judge immediately addresses him in threatening speech: 'Do you', he says, 'stand here present as that despicable old man [100], (known by report) flying through all the mouths of men as Dionysius Ionicus, who rashly scorn the laws of the gods, not fearing to disdain the commands of the unconquerable emperor?' St Dionysius replies to these (charges) with calm countenance: 'I am indeed old in body, and decrepit with age I am present here [105]; but, warmed by the excessive heat of sacred belief, having cast off my old (self), behold I am here as a newly-created man. Whereupon I do not cease from feeding new peoples, reborn through the font of baptism, with health-bringing milk as well as

110 pascere non cesso, depulsa fraude dolosa.
 Principis ast etiam, quo non praestantior alter,
 inuicti plane, scita conseruo uerenter
 ore manue simul et mundo corde frequento.⁷
 Cui praefectus ait: 'Dic cuius numinis ergo
 115 cultor ines, uel quae tibi conditionis origo.'
 Tunc tres ecce uiri, diuino flamine pleni,
 cum fidei zelo pietatis et igne uigentes,
 uerbis atque sono uocis concorditer uno
 unius uelut ore uiri uox missa mearet,
 120 responsum retulere simul constanter honestum:
 'Constat in hoc', aiunt, 'Christo nos esse subactos
 cum patrem et natum colimus, sanctum quoque flamen,
 unum nempe Deum, Dominum nihilominus unum,
 scilicet hoc pacto, quo sit perfectio trina,
 125 in qua sit deitas plena, sit et una potestas.
 At Dominum nostrum Iesum diuinitus unctum
 natura ex gemina personam pandimus unam,
 ante Deum uerum quam quaeuis saecla fuissent,
 hunc hominem uerum hominum propterque salutem
 130 uirginis ex aluo natum sub tempore certo,
 hunc passum mortis etiam post damna sepultum,
 post Herebi claustra clausum liquisse sepulchrum,
 hunc super aethereos euectum denique coetus
 atque potentatum caeli cum laude sedere,
 135 ad patris dextram summi post atque futurum,
 iudicet ut uiuos et mortis lege solutos,
 mutet ut in melius saeclum uirtute per ignem:
 cum fidei uoto concordi uoce fatemur.'
 Tunc praefectus ad haec: 'Non id mihi Caesare iussum,
 140 nec super his ullam uobiscum ferre loquelam,
 praesertim cum te nimium ueterata senectus
 eloquio grandi uerborum fraude dolosum
 naturam super humanam faciliue suasu,
 ad subuertendos insontum pessime mores,
 145 imbutum magicis temet callere patescat.
 Orbi Romano Romae satis hausimus ista.
 Dictandum iussa magni si Domitiani

f. 28^v

 147 Dictandum] dictantum *MS.*

with savoury doctrine, having driven off deceptive deceit [110]. But I also reverently preserve the decrees of the Ruler than whom there is no other more distinguished – He is of course unconquerable – in word and deed together, and I celebrate Him with a pure heart.’ The prefect said to him: ‘Tell me therefore whose divine power you are a worshipper of, or what is the source of your creation’ [115]. Then the three men, filled with the Holy Spirit, thriving with the zeal of faith and the fire of devotion, with their words, and harmoniously with one utterance of their voice, as if the voice were to issue forth from the mouth of one man, calmly gave together the (one) virtuous reply [120]: ‘It is clear in this respect’, they say, ‘that we are subject to Christ when we worship the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit – One God, in fact, and One Lord no less, on this condition, that the Trinity is perfect in which there is total deity and one power [125]. But we make known Our Lord Jesus Christ, divinely anointed from a twofold nature, as one person, the true God before ages had elapsed, this one true Man born from the womb of a Virgin for the salvation of men at a fixed point in time [130], this Man (having) suffered and been buried even after the penalties of death, having left the enclosed tomb after the confines of Hell, this Man ultimately transported beyond the aethereal assemblies to sit in glory as ruler of Heaven at the right hand of the highest Father, afterwards and in the future [135], that He may judge the living and those released through the law of death, that He may change the world for the better with strength through fire: (Him) we confess in harmonious voice with the undertaking of our faith.’ Then the prefect (replied) to these remarks: ‘It is not a command issued by Caesar to me, to bandy about any word with you on these matters [140], particularly since it is clear that you, an excessively aged old man, deceitful in fraud through your great eloquence of words, and through your persuasive power, ready beyond (the limits of) human nature, foully to pervert the morals of the guiltless, having been trained in magic arts [145]. I heard enough about this at Rome from (elsewhere in) the Roman empire. It is now for you to say if it is your wish to respect the commandments of the great Domitian and the laws

magnorumque deum uenerari iura uoluntas;
 sin secus est animo uobis inserta cupido,
 150 propositamque dehinc uultis contempnere legem,
 iam non uerborum sed uerberis ipse seueri
 conflictu ualido mox insinuabo palaestram.’

QUALITER LISBII VXOR SE PRODENTE CAPITE CAESVS EST, ET SANCTVS
 DIONYSIVS NVDVS CAESVS EST.

Inter praefecti sanctorum necne querelas c. 27
 nobilis ecce uenit mulier comitante caterua
 155 Larcia cui nomen, rebus non indiga largis.
 Denique compellat praefecti comminus aures
 et querula captum deplorat uoce maritum
 artem per magicam Dionysii – Lisbius idem –
 dogmatibus transgressoris iam sane ligatum.
 160 Femina delatrix comitem struit atque perhennem.
 Mox quaesitus adest coniunx, adductus, et ultro
 inque fide Christi persistens pectore forti, f. 29^r
 praefecto dictante tulit discrimina leti,
 liber ad aeternam meruit quo tendere uitam.
 165 At uero testes Domini, probitate corusci,
 carnificum manibus iam contraduntur iniquis,
 et loca deuincti loris poenalia poscunt.
 Hinc in conspectu Dionysius ipse suorum –
 tormenti quo forte minis respiscere possent
 170 et rectae fidei coeptam (male!) flectere normam –
 ceu campi doctor primus processit in aequor;
 uestibus exuitur et, toto corpore nudus,
 militibus ternis laniatur ualde per artus.
 Dant crepitum flagra, minime sed uincitur heros:
 175 quin potius inter crepitus et uerbera dira
 glorificat caeli regem cum laude potentem
 et certamen ad hoc inuitat uoce sodales,
 inque fide Domini cunctos stabilire fideles
 contendens, pulchrum modulanter concinit hymnum.
 180 ‘Os’, ait, ‘ecce meum laudem Domini resonabit,
 illius atque caro nomen benedicet in aeuum,

174 minime] minimum *MS.* 181 benedicet] benedicat *MS.*

of the great gods; if a different desire is implanted in your hearts, and you wish henceforth to scorn the published law [150], then I myself shall thrust you into the arena for a vigorous engagement not of words but of a harsh flogging.’

HOW WITH THE WIFE OF LISBIUS BETRAYING HIM, HE (LISBIUS) WAS BEHEADED, AND ST DIONYSIUS WAS BEATEN NAKED.

[c. 27] During the arguments of the prefect and the saints, behold a noblewoman comes forth with an accompanying retinue, whose name was Larcia, (a woman) not lacking in abundant wealth [155]. Thereupon she accosts the ears of the prefect at close quarters and in querulous tones bewails the fact that her husband – the same Lisbius – has been captured by the magic art of Dionysius, and is now of course bound up with the teachings of this transgressor. And this female informer hands over her lifelong companion [160]. The husband, quickly sought, is present, is brought forward, and willingly persisting with strong resolve in the faith of Christ he undergoes the death sentence at the prefect’s command, whereby he deserved to proceed unencumbered to the eternal life. But the Lord’s witnesses, radiant in their goodness [165], are now consigned to the wicked hands of torturers and, bound with leather thongs, seek out the place of punishment. Then Dionysius himself, in the sight of his own (companions) – so that they might perhaps come to their senses under the threats of torture and (wrongly!) bend from the rule of the orthodox faith (they had) undertaken [170] – like a field general he proceeds first into the field; he is stripped of his clothing and, with his entire body naked, is lashed powerfully on his limbs by three relays of soldiers. The lashes give off a report, but the hero is not overcome: instead, amidst the cracks (of the whips) and the dire blows [175], he glorifies the mighty King of Heaven with praise, and with his words invites his companions to this struggle, and striving to strengthen all the faithful in faith in the Lord, he melodiously chants a beautiful hymn. ‘Behold’, he says, ‘my mouth shall resound with praise of the Lord [180], and my flesh shall bless His name forever, that I should

quod steterim dignus Christi iam stigmata passi
corpore ferre meo, quod gloria uestra, fideles,
et mihi compacti perfecto foedere fratres.

185 Vnde, uiri, moneo ne deficiatis in istis –
laetus quas patior – capti formidine poenis.
Armentur quin corda magis hoc scemate uestra,
amplexique Dei nostri feruenter amorem
promptius ad similem conuertite pectora pugnam.’

190 Pontificis dictum comitum mox flagra secuntur; [c. 28]
haud illata tamen fregit praecordia poena
et simul immensis artati membra catenis
carceris obscuri sancti truduntur in ima;
indeque praefecti rursus ad iussa reducti
195 eius et ad nutum protensi membra catastis
uulneribus capiunt iterum tormenta nouandis. f. 29^v
Inter et haec testes Domini constanter ouantes
appositis epulis ueluti fruerentur amoenis
gratificum Domino resonant propensius hymnum.

VBI SANCTVS DIONYSIVS, SVPER LECTVM FERREVM POSITVS, SVBIECTIS
IGNIBVS TORRETVR.

200 Tunc accepta Deo Dionysius hostia sanctus
obtusus comitum procedens ante suorum –
robustos quos extulerat hortamine blando
promptius ut uellent quaeuis tormenta subire –
in ferrugineum pergit requiescere lectum
205 subiectisque focus torretur nudus ibidem.
O rabies hominis, flammis urenda gehennae
et luitura suas quas nescit cernere culpas!
Ignibus iniectis in morem piscis adurit
iudex insontem, repetet quem Tartarus hiscens,
210 immersus Stygios lugubre sentiet ignes
tristis et Eumenidum toruos mirabitur angues.
At Domini famulum pietatis dote uenustum,
excipiet digne caelestis regia quendam,
angelicis permixtus ubi iam coetibus ipse

209 repetet] repetit *MS.* 210 post Stygios *add. MS.* ubi 213 quendam] quondam *MS.*

now stand worthy to bear on my body the stigmata of the suffering Christ, which (is) your glory, my faithful brothers, bound to me in perfect agreement. Whereupon, good men, I urge you not to weaken [185], overcome by fear, in these tortures which I suffer joyfully. Indeed let your hearts be armed all the more by this model and, having fervently embraced the love of our God, turn your hearts more readily to a similar struggle.'

[c. 28] Lashings for the companions immediately follow the utterance of the bishop [190]; yet the punishment inflicted did not break their resolve, and with their limbs encumbered by immense chains the saints are thrust together into the depths of a dark prison; and, brought out from there once again at the command of the prefect, and, with their limbs stretched out on scaffolds at his wish [195], they once again receive tortures on their reopened wounds. During these (proceedings) the Lord's witnesses, rejoicing continually, as if they were enjoying delightful feasts placed before them, willingly sing out a hymn of thanksgiving to the Lord.

WHERE ST DIONYSIUS, PLACED ON AN IRON BED, IS ROASTED BY FIRES
KINDLED BENEATH.

Then St Dionysius, as a victim acceptable to God [200], advancing before the sight of his companions – whom he had raised up in strength through his gentle exhortation, so that they would wish readily to undergo any tortures – proceeds to lie down on an iron bed, and is roasted naked there by the fires kindled beneath [205]. O the madness of man, which is to be burned in the flames of Hell and is to expiate there the guilt which it is unable to recognize! The prefect roasts the guiltless man in the manner of a fish – (the prefect) whom gaping Tartarus will seek out when, immersed, he shall mournfully experience the Stygian flames [210] and will sadly gaze on the fierce snakes of the Eumenides. But the celestial kingdom shall worthily receive any servant of the Lord, pleasing with his gift of devotion, where, mixed with the angelic throngs, he shall then himself

215 iustitiae solem gaudens cum laude uidebit.
 Laus quoque nunc resonat crepitans dum flamma coartat
 Dauiticumque melos illud cum uoce resultat:
 “Ignitum eloquiumque tuum, Domine, uehementer
 seruulus alme tuus uoto dilexit et illud.”
 220 Vnde benigne precor Iesu, sapientia patris,
 uirtus atque Dei necnon praecelsa potestas,
 cuius promissum memori sub mente reuoluo
 ignem cum tuleris uis flammae nulla nocebit,
 uincere quique mihi tribuisti funditus ignem
 225 mente fouere solet quem carnis foeda cupido:
 iam nunc flammaram fac me superare uaporem
 laus ut in hoc tibi sit et gloria celsa per aeuum.⁷
 Sic calibis grato complexus amore rigorem
 uim quoque flammiumam robusto pectore uincens,
 230 omnigenum Domino grates cum laude frequentat.

VBI BEATVS DIONYSIVS BESTIIS PROICITVR.

f. 30^r

Martyr ut ambusto uenerandus corpore toto
 de lecto ferri sic est sublatus et igne,
 pectore quod ualido fuit amplexatus utrumque
 nactus placidam pro duris iure quietem,
 235 ecce ferae natura tulit quas ipsa feroces
 in rabiem uersae producta fame citantur,
 et uelut optatam iam producuntur ad escam.
 Ad quas subrigitur pecudis proiectus adinstar
 sanctus, et intrepido persistit pectore uictor,
 240 nimirum celeri spectat dum tendere cursu
 ad praedamque uelut solitos ostendere rictus.
 Protinus humanae concurrat ad arma salutis;
 nam crucis accelerans uitalis pandere signum
 suspexit caelos ac tali uoce profatur:
 245 ‘O Deus omnipotens, solus qui semper es idem,
 nunc mihi, quaeso, libens propius digneris adesse
 atque potestatem replicans opereris eandem,
 ostensam meruit quondam quam cernere uates,
 laedere quem fortes penitus tremuere leones.’

216 nunc] tunc *MS.*

see rejoicing in his praise the Sun of justice [215]. Now, too, the praise rings out, while the crackling flame contracts, and that Davidic melody resounds with the voice (of Dionysius): “Fiery is your speech, O Lord, and Your kindly little servant loved it ardently.” Whence I beseech You, kindly Jesus, Wisdom of the Father [220] and power of God and also heavenly might, Whose promise I turn over in my receptive mind – when You shall take away the fire, no strength of flame will cause harm – and Who granted to me utterly to overcome the fire which the foul desire of the flesh is accustomed to nourish in the mind [225]: grant that I may now overcome the heat of the flames, so that there may be praise and heavenly glory for You in this forever.’ Thus, embracing the strength of the iron with thankful love, and conquering the fire-belching force with determined resolve, with his praise he pours out thanks to the Lord of all creatures [230].

WHERE ST DIONYSIUS IS THROWN TO THE BEASTS.

The venerable martyr, when with all his body burned he is raised up from the bed of iron and the fire, because he embraced both with stout resolve so as duly to obtain peace and quiet for his pains, behold, ferocious beasts which Nature herself produced [235] are summoned, turned to fury through extended hunger, and are brought forth as if to an anticipated meal. Thrown before them like a sheep, the saint stands up straight and remains standing as a victor with fearless heart while he watches (them) approach at an astonishingly swift pace [240] and reveal their customary gaping jaws as if ready for prey. He [Dionysius] straightway resorts to weapons of human well-being; for, hastening to make the sign of the life-giving Cross, he looks up to the heavens and speaks in words such as these: ‘O omnipotent God, Who alone are always Who You are [245], may You willingly deign to attend closely to me now and, unfolding Your power, may You implement it, that (power) which the prophet [Daniel], whom mighty lions feared utterly to harm, was once found worthy to see revealed.’

250 His igitur fuis ex imo pectore uerbis,
 fit stupor, et cunctis uirtus diuina patescit:
 flectunt colla ferae subito dum comminus assunt;
 ostendunt mites insueto pectore mores.
 Procubuere solo, sancto famulantur et ultro.
 255 Res titulo digna, multis quia iure stupenda! –
 armari pietate feras quam spernere mauult
 mens hominum, rabidis (eheu!) suffusa medullis,
 quam decuit praeferre sui pia iura satoris!
 Vir necat ecce uirum cui bestia praebet honorem;
 260 ferrea fit ceruix hominis temnitque Tonantem
 cuius ad imperium deflectit belua collum.

VBI IN FORNACEM ACCENSAM MISSVS EST.

Horribili satis existens certamine uictor,
 ut reparet uires nullum capit ipse momentum
 fessis nec feritas membris dat habere quietem.
 265 At sacer ille senex artus ad bella reformat
 et fidei clipeo minitancia pila refringens
 certamen geminat – segni nec pectore pugnat!
 Qualis bellator, lorica fultus et armis,
 forte lacessitus Mauortis tendit in aequor
 270 belli dat signum, trepidum iamiamque morantem
 arguit, et tremulo telo iam concitat hostem.
 Haud ueritus pugnae quoduis discrimen inire
 sic athleta Dei, casus quoscumque minaces
 post tergum statuens, ualidum fert pectus in hostem.
 275 Fornax nam flammis nimium succensa paratur,
 cuius ad ima ruit manibus proiectus iniquis.
 Ante crucis signo munitus abunde sacerdos
 ‘Hic mihi’, proclamans, ‘ne dedigneris adesse,
 spes mea certa Deus et semita certa salutis,
 280 tutus uti merear tormenti perpetis istam
 flammigeram facile nunc deuitare figuram.
 Flatus rore tui flammae compesce uigorem
 rumphea cuius inest olim sopita cruore
 ignea post lapsum uersatilis atque parentis,

f. 30^v

Having therefore poured out these words from his innermost heart [250], there is great astonishment, and divine agency is revealed to all: the wild beasts suddenly bend their necks as they draw near; they reveal gentle behaviour from their unaccustomed feelings. They fell to the ground, and they willingly obey the saint. A deed worthy of notice, because it duly caused astonishment to many [255]! – the mind of men, suffused (alas!) with savage instincts, which ought to prefer the merciful laws of its Creator, prefers that wild beasts be armed with mercy. Behold, a man kills a man to whom a beast offers obeisance; the neck of man becomes ironclad and scorns the Thunderer [260], at Whose command the beast bows its neck.

WHERE HE IS SENT INTO A FIERY FURNACE.

The victor in this terrible struggle allows no pause for him [Dionysius] to recover his strength, nor does his savagery allow exhausted limbs to have peace. But that holy old man recovers his strength for battle [265] and, breaking up threatening javelins with the shield of faith, he redoubles the fight – and he does not fight with slack courage! As a warrior, protected by his breastplate and weapons, advances once provoked into the field of battle, he gives the signal for battle, reproves his anxious and now hesitating (soldiers) [270], and rouses the enemy with brandished sword. Not fearing to enter any engagement of the battle, the athlete of God, putting any threatening circumstances behind him, thus takes his valiant courage to the enemy. For a furnace, heated up exceedingly with flames, is made ready [275], into the depths of which he is cast by wicked soldiers. The bishop is fortified abundantly beforehand by the sign of the Cross, shouting: ‘Do not disdain to be present here for me, O God my certain hope and certain path of salvation, so that I may now easily deign [280] to escape this fiery simulation of eternal torment. Restrain the force of the flame by the dew of Your breath, You through Whose blood the fiery sword was stilled, after the fall of the labile (first) parent, so that the faithful

285 quatinus ad uitam possent transire fideles,
hac obstante quibus fuerat paradisi abactus.’

Inter quae sanctus auri dum more probatur,
impauidi comites deuoto pectore flentes,
constanter cupiunt similes percurrere poenas.

c. 29

290 Sed tamen artati uinclis dureque ligati,
differri modicum sed non impune remitti,
hi gemini testes praefecti uoce iubentur.
Clibanus ast nimium flammis crepitantibus ardens;
praesulis ad uoces, auram dum spirat amoenam,
295 splendidior cocto prodit Dionysius auro.
Sic fera quem coluit seruauit pendulus ignis:
uis in utraque fuit, sed res praeclara Tonantis.

VBI PATIBVLO CRVCIARI STIPITIS APPENDITVR.

Hostis adhuc animo rabiem truculentus anhelans
dum pudet aduerso uires sibi milite frangi,
300 nec solitum se posse ratus captare trophaeum,
poenarum species dirum genus atque requirit,
ne quid in egregio sancti certamine desit.
Plurima post etenim costis iniecta flagella,
post rigidum flammis sub stratum denique lectum,
305 utque feras uidit solitum mutasse furorem,
nec laesisse uirum quamuis leuitate beatum –
immo magis haesisse solo ceruice remissa –
ignibus ut uacuum conspexit et esse caminum
quis sanctum penitus corpus decreuit aduri,
310 uictorem se forte putans post tanta futurum
si quid ad has demens species crudelius addat,
plus serpente ferox iam tandem gliscit in iras.
Vires sed uacuas frustra fusurus in auras –
scilicet expertus nil iam transacta ualere
315 argumenta uirum quis posset perdere sanctum –
ecce crucis patulae proponit robur adesse
quod defessa senis tormento membra fatiget,
frangere quem ualuit nulla ratione cruentus.

f. 31^r

286 abactus] abactus *MS.* 297 res] re *MS.*

could proceed to (eternal) life [285], to whom Paradise had been closed off, with this (fiery sword) obstructing the way.'

[c. 29] While during all this the saint is being tested in the manner of gold, his fearless companions, weeping with devout affection, seek continually to undergo similar tortures. But nevertheless, bound with chains and harshly shackled [290], these two witnesses are ordered by the command of the prefect to (have their torture) postponed a little, but not to be released with impunity. For an iron oven (is) burning with crackling flames; at the command of the prefect, Dionysius, while he is still breathing the gentle air, comes forth, more brilliant than purified gold [295]. Thus the hesitant fire, which the savage (pagan) worshipped (as a god), preserved him [Dionysius]: there was power in both, but the outstanding achievement was the Thunderer's.

WHERE HE IS HANGED FROM THE GIBBET OF A GALLOWS TO BE TORTURED.

The cruel enemy [Sisinnius], still breathing out fury from his soul, since he is ashamed (to see) his forces shattered by the soldier [Dionysius] opposing him, nor does he think that he can capture the usual trophy [300], looks for a terrible form and kinds of tortures, so that nothing will be wanting in this surpassing struggle with the saint. For after the many lashings applied to his ribs, after the stiff bed laid with flames beneath (it), and as he sees that the wild beasts have exchanged their customary ferocity [305] and have not harmed the man, though he was fortunate in (the beasts') mildness – indeed they had pulled up short with their necks prostrate on the ground; and as he saw the furnace devoid of flames with which he determined that the holy body would be completely burned, perhaps thinking himself yet to be the future victor after such great (setbacks) [310] if in his insanity he could add anything more cruel to these types (of torture), he at length swells up in rage, more violent than a serpent. But as he is about vainly to vent his anger into the empty air – that is to say, that he realized that the stratagems by which he could destroy the holy man were worthless [315] – behold, he decides to bring forward the oaken strength of a wide-spreading cross which could torment with pain the exhausted limbs of the old man, whom the blood-thirsty (prefect) could not by any (other) means

Promptus et hoc subiit minime deterritus heros
 320 ut sibi congeminet pulchram certamine palmam.
 Tortus sane diu ligno suspensus inheret;
 inde palam cunctis Iesum diffundit ab ore
 commendatque Deum semet spectantibus unum.
 Iamque satis lacerus, uita sed forte superstes,
 325 haudquaquam uictus – potius sed uictor opimus –
 excelsa crucis est tandem resolutus ab ara.

QUALITER IN CARCERE GLAUCINI SANCTI RETRVDVNTVR.

Insanus iudex, crebro certamine segnis,
 uiribus aduersis metuens iam dampna subire,
 prouidus utque sibi ne quo discrimine frangi
 330 ulterius posset, stomacho calefactus iniquo
 inter pestiferos uersat quos mente tumultus,
 consultus capit et quaedam solatia uictus,
 certamen differre suum dubiamque palaestram
 humanis remouere parans obtutibus illos
 335 extiterat penitus quorum iam uiribus impar.
 Carcer Glaucini – denuo signatus in urbe
 horrendus tenebris, nigra deterrimus umbra,
 asper et ipse situ ceu digna cauerna reorum –
 excipit insontes insignia clara gerentes;
 340 clauditur ac pariter non parua caterua fidelis.
 Cernere fas aderat peccati reste ligatis
 iustos nempe uiros sed non impune ligari,
 damnatosque pios damnati forte trahebant
 et mites saeui cogebant carcere claudi.
 345 Praesul ubi magnus, caelesti lumine dignus,
 otia grata trahens et uerbi mella refundens,
 post praecepta piis dederat quae carcere clausis,
 dum sacra missarum celebraret munia uotis
 corpore quo Christi possent sanctoque cruore
 350 participes fieri digne quicumque fideles,
 panis qua sanctus debebat frangier hora
 ut sibi cum populo fieret communio sacra,
 emicuit tunc ualde iubar ergastula lustrans

f. 31^v

319 minime] minimum *MS.* 331 pestiferos] pestiferas *MS.*

break down. And the hero, not at all terrified, readily undergoes this so that he might by this struggle double for himself the exquisite palm (of victory) [320]. Tortured for a long time, he hangs suspended from the wood (of the cross); then from his mouth he openly proclaims Jesus to all (bystanders), and commends the one God to those watching him. And now, wounded sufficiently but perchance still alive, in no way vanquished – but rather (surviving as) a splendid victor [325] – he is at last taken down from the lofty altar of the cross.

HOW THE SAINTS ARE THRUST INTO THE PRISON OF GLAUCINUS.

The insane prefect, (left) sluggish from the intensive struggle, fearing now to suffer losses from the opposing forces, anxious lest he could be further weakened by some engagement, vexed by discontented irritation [330] amid the poisonous turmoil which he is turning over in his mind, he even takes certain refreshments of consultation and food, and, preparing to postpone the struggle and the uncertain conflict, to remove from human observation those (against) whose forces he had proved wholly unequal [335]. The prison of Glaucinus – well known in the city as being horrendous for its darkness, foul with its black shadow, harsh, and from its location like a cavern suitable for the guilty – receives the guiltless men, bearing their marks of distinction [i.e. the wounds from their tortures]; and no small crowd of the faithful is enclosed as well [340]. It was the custom to see there just men bound up together, not safely, with those tied by the cord of sin, and the condemned used perchance to drag down respectable men (who had been falsely) condemned, and the cruel ones used to cause gentle persons to be enclosed in the prison (with them). When the great bishop [Dionysius], deserving of celestial light [345], extracting welcome delight (from this place) and pouring out the honies of the Word, after the injunctions which he had given to the devout persons enclosed (with him) in the prison, while he was celebrating the holy sacrifice of mass in his prayers, so that any of the faithful could worthily become participants [350] in the holy body and blood of Christ, at the point where the holy bread was to be broken so that holy communion between Him and the people could take place, then suddenly there shone powerfully a light, illuminating the prison, descended from

caelitus illapsum, cunctis tulit atque stuporem:
 355 amplexanda nimis res est tunc uisa beatis! –
 dextera quippe patris et uirtus Christus Iesus
 splendor et aeternus, sapientia quique character,
 idem spes hominum, uia, lux et uita perhennis,
 angelica saeptus solito de more caterua
 360 cunctis hoc quibus est latum spectantibus ista
 inter sacra suo comparuit ipse ministro
 atque manu sanctum dignatus sumere panem,
 tradidit, haec illi sumpturo famina nectens:
 ‘Hoc cape, care meus, quod mox tibi cum patre iunctus
 365 dignabor complere, manet quia maxima merces:
 inque meo regno cunctis donabo salutem
 quos audire iuuat pandis quae uerba salutis.
 Fortiter hinc facies et laus memoranda manebit
 ast pietas mundo gestas quam corde benigna
 370 castus amorque tuus mihimet quo semper inhaeres
 pro quibus ipse petes ueniam praestabit opimam.’
 Defuit haud istis delatrix femina signis,
 Larcia, quae mersit leto pagana maritum.

f. 32^r

QVOMODO AD EXTREMVM VIRGIS CAESI SVNT SANCTI ANTE
 DECOLLATIONEM.

His quoque sic Domino pie disponente peractis,
 375 assunt lictores, Christi qui carcere seruos
 productos, iterum praefecti uisibus aptant.
 Talibus est ad quos praefectus uocibus usus:
 ‘Prudens si uestro sistit sententia corde
 innuat ad uitam quae uos nunc tendere saltem,
 380 ultro diis magnis sacra iam libamina ferte;
 taliter et placidam uitae praebebo quietem;
 sin potius, stolidi, legitis succumbere morti.
 Fetida caesorum spectate cadauera primum
 terra quibus cohibet optatum clausa sepulchrum,
 385 damnatis penitus peruerso dogmate uestro.
 Et si non coeptis cupitis absistere uotis,
 illorum clades aerumnis uincite uestris,

c. 30

380 ultro diis] diis ultro *MS.*

on high, and caused astonishment in all (those present): an event much to be cherished was then seen by the blessed [355]! – for Jesus Christ, the right hand of the Father and His vital strength, His eternal splendour, His characteristic wisdom, the same Who is the hope of men, the way, the light and the eternal life, surrounded as usual by an angelic throng, appeared during mass to His minister, with all those watching these (events) to whom it was granted [360], and, deigning to pick up the sacred bread in His hand He gave it over, adding these words to him about to receive it: ‘Take this, my dear (follower), which I will deign to bring to fulfilment for you when I am reunited with my Father, because the greatest reward still remains [365]: in my kingdom I shall grant salvation to all those for whom it is a delight to hear the words of salvation which you are offering. You shall henceforth act resolutely and memorable praise shall remain (for you), and the kindly devotion which you bear in your pure heart, and your chaste love by which you always cling to me [370] shall provide abundant forgiveness (to those) on whose behalf you yourself are petitioning.’ Larcia, the female informer who as a pagan plunged her husband [Lisbius] into death, was not absent from these miracles [i.e. she witnessed them].

HOW IN THE END THE SAINTS WERE LASHED WITH WHIPS BEFORE
THEIR DECAPITATION.

[c. 30] When these events had taken place through Christ’s merciful disposition, the executioners arrive, who, taking the servants of Christ from the prison [375], present them once again to the inspection of the prefect. The prefect uses these words (in addressing) them: ‘If wise counsel subsists in your hearts, which might now incline you at the least to proceed to life, present willingly to the great gods your sacred libations [380]; in this way I shall offer you the peaceful quiet of life. If not, you fools, you choose to succumb to death. Look first at the stinking corpses of executed (criminals), utterly damned by your perverse doctrine [385], to whom the forbidden earth refuses the hoped-for burial. And if you do not desire to abstain from the vows (you have) undertaken, surpass their

et calicem, miseri, iam sic haurite seuerum.
 Magnus ad hanc uocem Dionysius atque sodales
 390 uoce pari necnon uoto constanter eodem,
 robore concepto fidei certamina poscunt.
 Postque flagellorum cruciatus ualde frequentes
 martyrium complere suum legere ualenter,
 iudicis abstracti pariter conspectibus ergo,
 395 funeribusque sibi sacris penitus inhumatis
 ostensis, sceleris tanti sol testis et ipse.
 O quam iudicio libram pensare Tonantis
 occultam quamuis tacito sub corde periti –
 sullimare suos qui sic praefixit ab aeuo
 400 aethereo necnon et dignos reddere caelo
 quos in praesenti ceu uile peripsema factos
 sic humiles statuit abiecta morte solutos –
 subiuncto terrore dehinc crebrisque flagellis
 Christi se famulos rediuiua uoce fatentur.
 405 Ergo sacerdotem niueo uel crine uerendum
 belua cui mitis diuino numine cessit,
 (heu!) fera dilacerat rabies humana patenter:
 ad tormenta celer sed praecurrebat ouanter,
 lentus ad optatam ne pergeret ipse coronam.
 410 Poscebat poenam, foret ut uictoria maior.
 Conflictusque graues geminabant forte uicissim:
 illinc carnifices, insana mente furentes,
 inde triumphalis placido uox martyris ore.
 Quapropter rabido magis ardescente furore
 415 uulnera uulneribus et plagas pessime plagis
 instaurare parant uecordes nempe ministri.
 Insignes etenim uirtutum robore testes
 solis in aspectu cunctorum necne uirorum
 ut nouiter uirgis nudi caeduntur acerbis.

f. 32^v

QVALITER HEBETATIS SECVRIBVS PARITER SANCTI MARTYRES
 DECOLLATI SVNT.

420 Vestibus inde suis post stigmata plura receptis
 Mercurii contra simulacrum caespate sacro

416 instaurare] instaure MS.

misfortune with your own tribulations, and, you wretches, drain the bitter cup.' To this speech, great Dionysius and his companions, with the same voice and the very same vow [390], calmly seek the engagement through the strength of the faith they have nurtured. And after many more lashings of whips, they chose valiantly to complete their martyrdom, having been removed together from the sight of the prefect, and, with the thoroughly detestable unburied bodies [395] having been shown to them, the sun itself was the witness to so great a crime. O how to weigh out the scales of the Thunderer with (sound) judgement, even though it is hidden from the silent heart of a wise man – (the Thunderer) Who thus from the beginning predetermined to elevate His own (followers) and to return them worthy to the ethereal heaven [400] whom He placed in the present life as humble beings created like vile rubbish, undone by abject death – with the added terror and intensive whippings they confess themselves servants of Christ with reawakened voice. Therefore savage human rage (alas!) openly lacerates the bishop, reverend for his snowy-white hair [405], to whom even the gentle beast gave way at divine prompting: but he joyfully ran forward in haste to his tortures, lest he should proceed too slowly to his hoped-for crown. He sought his punishment, so that his victory would be the greater [410]. And in turn they redoubled the serious contests: on one side the executioners, raging with insane fury, on the other the triumphant voice of the martyr, issuing from his calm mouth. Accordingly, with their rabid fury burning all the more, the insane agents prepare savagely to inflict wounds on wounds and blows on blows [415]. For these martyrs, outstanding for the strength of their powers, in the sight of the sun and of all men, are whipped, naked, with cruel lashes, as (happened) recently.

HOW THE HOLY MARTYRS WERE DECAPITATED TOGETHER WITH BLUNT AXES.

Then, having received back their clothing after many more weals [420], led forth from the sacred lawn in front of the idol of Mercury, they see the

educti, spectant perfectae praemia pugnae:
 flectere genua solo, ceruicem tradere leto
 perfidus imperitat truculento pectore lictor.

- 425 Ast praesul Domini Dionysius ille beatus c. 31
 uictrices tunc sane manus aciesque serenas
 erigit ad caelos ac tali uoce perorat:
 ‘O Deus ipse meus, qui me bonitate creasti,
 et uitam cuius me gratia duxit in istam,
 430 perpes et edocuit cuius sapientia memet –
 consilium nec me latuit, Deus alme, supernum,
 quin potius mihimet mitis clementia semper
 affuit, aduersos tua consolata labores;
 quique mihi fautor iugiter dignatus adesse
 435 ad quaecumque magis statui deflectere gressum:
 immensas tibi nunc refero, sanctissime, grates
 pro mihi collatis donis liquidoque reclusis.
 Et quia me placida patrasti plura ministro,
 maxime quod per te miserans inuisere seruum f. 33^r
 440 me prorsus humilem uoluisti carceris antro
 atque fatigatam uocitasti iure senectam,
 largius exacto cognoscens tempore multo
 castis me uotis tua gaudia uelle uidere:
 nunc iam, Christe Deus, per sanguinis, oro, triumphum
 445 fratribus his iunctis me tandem suscipe seruum.
 Ecce (sed) hos tibimet iam nunc commendo fideles,
 sanguinis unda tui ueteri quos sorde piauit,
 officium tibi perque meum sunt optime iuncti.
 Sponsio, quaeso, dehinc simul inconuulsa supersit:
 450 supplex ut quisquis per nos tua dona rogarit
 impetret auditus ueniam miseranter adeptus.
 Namque tuum perstat regnum, uiget atque potestas,
 aeterno cum patre simul ac flamine sancto,
 saecula quam fuerint prius et per saecula cuncta.’
 455 Cum resonasset ‘Amen’ ad uocem protinus istam,
 poplitibus flexis necnon ceruicibus ultro
 principis edicto pertunsa nempe securi
 excepere necem Christi pro nomine pulchram:

446 sed] *suppl. ed.*

rewards of their completed struggle: with grim disposition the wretched executioner orders them to bend their knees to the ground and to give over their necks to death.

[c. 31] But Dionysius, the blessed bishop of the Lord [425], raises his victorious hands and his serene gaze to the heavens and prays in words such as these: 'O God my God, Who created me out of Your goodness, and Whose mercy brought me into this life, and Whose perpetual wisdom instructed me [430] – nor, O bountiful God, was heavenly guidance denied me, but rather Your gentle mercy was always with me, as Your consolation for my struggles; and You deigned perpetually to be present as my supporter in whatsoever (enterprise) I decided to direct my steps [435]: O holy One, I now pay back to you mighty thanks for all the gifts bestowed and clearly revealed to me. And because You performed numerous pleasing (services) for me Your minister, most of all because in Your mercy You wished in person to visit me, Your humble servant, in the darkness of prison [440], and you duly summoned my tired old age, generously recognizing that it had completed a lengthy span, to wish through my chaste prayers to see Your joyous presence: now, Christ my God, receive me Your servant, I pray, joined with my brothers, through the triumph of blood [445]. But behold, I now commend to You these faithful (servants), whom the flow of Your blood cleansed from ancient filth, and are splendidly joined to You through my offices. Let one promise remain henceforth unchallenged, I pray: that whosoever through me should humbly request Your bounty [450], may receive it, having mercifully obtained the indulgence of Your audience. For Your Kingdom endures, and Your might flourishes, together with the Eternal Father and the Holy Spirit before ages earlier than may have been and throughout all ages.' When he had next shouted out 'Amen' to this speech [455], (he and his companions), having bent their knees and willingly bowed their heads, at the emperor's command they received their glorious death by means of a blunt axe for the

tres pariter comites uno passique momento
 460 in fidei sacrae constanter laude manentes.
 Telluri glebas, animas retulere Tonanti.
 Adque Deum tali sunt uocis dote profecti
 ut capitis secti cum magno lingua stupore
 mobilis in proprio Iesum depromeret ore.
 465 O nimium Domino gratissima copula nostro
 in quibus haud primus nec tertius alter inesse!
 Eualuit trina decoratis optime palma,
 quod sint testati trinum deitate sub una,
 quatinus ornaret pulchre par gloria sanctos
 470 in fidei qui rite pares compage fuere.

Taliter impleta sanctorum caede uirorum, c. 32
 passim grassatur furiis mens capta malorum;
 tantas nam strages dant tempestate sub ipsa
 suppliciiisque nouis affligunt ualde fideles, f. 33^v
 475 Parisii possit quo iam complerier illud
 De Iero- uates -solimis quod prompserat olim:
 ‘Seruorum strauere cadauera plura tuorum,
 illius in giro nec sunt inclusa sepulchro.’

QVOMODO CAPVT PROPRIVM ANGELICO DVCTV PORTAVIT.

Hactenus excursus Christo praebente fauorem
 480 externa gessit bellum quod miles harena,
 admissus Gallis olim tellure, pelasga,
 uitali uiguere sua dum membra calore;
 quae praeclara dehinc tulerit uexilla triumphans
 martyr post obitum existens baiulus horum
 485 iam cantare libet ac stricto claudere uersu.
 Corpus dum sancti deciso uertice truncum –
 caelorum gremio sacra iam mente recepta –
 sanguine perfusum proprio sub sole iaceret,
 martyris ut tanti uirtus meritumque pateret
 490 eius et eximiae laudes per saecula manerent,
 maximus asstantes cunctos inuaserat horror,
 caelitus ac micuit lux haud effabilis ulli.

462 Adque] atque *MS.* 483 quae] quam *MS.*

name of Christ: three companions having suffered together in the one moment, remaining continually in praise of the sacred faith [460]. They consigned their bodies to the earth, their souls to the Thunderer. And they travelled to God with a gift of speech distinguished in such a way that, to great astonishment, the moving tongue of (each) severed head announced Jesus from its own mouth. O the bond (of fellowship) most welcome to our Lord [465], in which neither the first nor the third is present as the second! The triple palm grew splendidly with these adornments, because they witnessed to the Three-in-One godhead, such that an equal glory would attractively adorn the (three) saints who were duly equal in the (one) bond of their faith [470].

[c. 32] When the execution of the three saintly men had been accomplished, the minds of evil men, seized by fury, advanced on all fronts; for they produce such butchery at that time, and severely afflict the faithful with new tortures, that at Paris could be fulfilled that which the prophet [i.e. the Psalmist] had once disclosed concerning Jerusalem: 'They cast down many bodies of your servants, nor were they enclosed in tombs within its compass.'

HOW ST DIONYSIUS CARRIED HIS OWN HEAD, WITH AN ANGEL GUIDING HIM.

Thus far, with Christ granting His favour, the war (has been narrated) which the soldier [Dionysius] waged on foreign soil [480], having once been admitted to Gaul by land (and) by sea, while his limbs were still alive with vital heat; it is fitting henceforth to sing, and to enclose within strict metre, the distinctive battle-standards which the triumphant martyr, as their bearer, carried forth after his death [485]. While the dismembered body of the saint, with its severed head – his sacred soul had already been received in the bosom of the heavens – was lying in the sunlight drenched in blood, in order that the power and achievement of so great a martyr should be clear and his outstanding glory should endure forever [490], the greatest horror had assailed all the bystanders and a light scarcely describable to anyone shone down from heaven. Without

Nec mora res populis digne celebranda patrat:
 praesulis extincti subrectum namque cadauer
 495 contrectante manu sacrum caput excipit ipsum
 corpore quod secuit lictoris dira bipennis,
 angelicoque gradum ductu per plana regente
 caelestisque simul lucis comitante nitore,
 ulnis mobilibus coepit uectare patenter;
 500 est et facta comes caelestis magna caterua.
 Nobile dum manibus caput effert forte cadauer,
 progrediens cliuo fuerat quo passus ab illo
 donec adusque locum uenit qui corpus obumbrat,
 numine diuino digne tegit atque sepultum.
 505 At chorus ille sacer, caelo directus ab alto,
 hymnis dulcisonis modulanti inter agendum
 congeminat Domino psallens praeconia summo.
 Agmina sunt etiam caelo scandentia plura
 aere sub uacuo sensus percepta uigore,
 510 ‘Gloria, Christe, tibi’ dulci modulantia uoce,
 ‘Alleluia’ simul crebro reboantia clarum.
 Haec et plura satis quae non peruenit ad aures
 assistens Domino celebs chorus ille canebat:
 auribus et uisu populi – quod forte stupendum! –
 515 insontes sontesque simul dum mente sub ima,
 perceptum librant et uiua uoce susurrant:
 artius insontes fidei feruore calescunt;
 aptius at sontes fidei pia dona capessunt;
 frigida sed quorum male mens errore labascit
 520 mox latebras terrore suas confusa reposit.

f. 34^r

Caelorum terraeque simul sic nempe satorem
 per quem cuncta uigent serie currente decebat
 inuictum testem, caeli iam luce coruscum,
 in terris monstrare suum, qui nuntius olim
 525 directus populis animi feritate seueris.
 Inclitus et Domini confessor quam pretiosus,
 flamma diuini nimium succensus amoris,
 constanter poenas est passus suppliciorum
 ac tormentorum tolerans inmania quaeuis,

c. 33

514 quod] quem *MS.*; stupendum] stuporem *MS.*

delay an event worthy to be celebrated by the people takes place: for the stretched-out corpse of the dead bishop, with its hand reaching out, picks up the very head [495] which the terrible battle-axe of the executioner had cut from the body, and with angelic guidance leading the way along the ground, and with the accompanying brilliance of celestial light, he began visibly to carry it cradled in his arms; and a vast heavenly throng is in attendance [500]. While perchance the corpse is bearing the noble head in its hands, proceeding from that hill where he had been martyred, until at last it arrives at the place which conceals the body, and worthily covers it up, buried there by divine assent. But that sacred choir, sent down from heaven on high [505], reduplicates the praises to the highest Lord, chanting harmoniously in sweet-sounding hymns throughout the proceedings. Numerous throngs are also ascending to heaven – in the empty air they overwhelmed the senses with their strength – hymning in a sweet voice, ‘Glory be to Thee, O Christ’ [510], frequently reverberating together a clear ‘Alleluia’. That blessed choir was singing these (chants) and plenty more which did not reach the ears. What perhaps is most to be marvelled at, the peoples – the guiltless and the guilty together – weigh up in the depths of their minds [515] what they have perceived with their ears and eyesight, and mutter aloud: the guiltless grow more securely warm with the heat of faith; the guilty appropriately grasp the holy gifts of faith; but those whose mind totters wickedly in error (remains) frigid: confused in terror it soon revisits its own retreats [520].

[c. 33] Thus it was fitting for the Creator of the heavens and earth, through Whom all things draw their life, to demonstrate on earth His unconquered witness, shining now with the light of heaven, who had once been sent as messenger to peoples rough in the savagery of their spirit [525]. The distinguished and exceedingly valuable confessor of the Lord, kindled indeed with the flame of divine love, continually suffered the pain of tortures and, tolerating various

530 coetibus annecti meruit quandoque supernis.
 Hoc magnale nouum sit fas uulgare per orbem:
 corpus defunctum uiuentis currere more,
 exanimemque hominem recto procedere gressu.
 En quae patrato retulit uexilla trophaeo:
 535 expertus bello quondam Dionysius heros
 uictor post pugnam nullum spoliauerat hostem,
 captis detestans phaleris ornare triumphum.
 Missus ad inmensam sed miles forte palaestram
 compressis uitiiis claris uirtutibus auctus:
 540 miro nempe modo caput a ceruice recisum
 sublatumque manu crebro libamine sacra
 aeterno regi uictricia signa reportat.
 O caput aeterna decorandum iure corona
 oblatum Christo quinque cum sensibus ultro!
 545 Id quamquam rude sit maneat nimis atque stupendum
 in morem uiui defunctum pergere corpus:
 difficilis res ista tamen qui cuncta creauit
 haud credenda Deo. Nam sanctum corpus idipsum
 puluere compactum solus formauerat idem,
 550 aurai tribuens uitalis opime uigorem;
 rursus et in cinerem naturae lege redactum
 in priscum ditione statum reparare ualebit,
 uiuat ut aeterna denuo cum pace uenustum.

 Hoc igitur uigili signum cum mente stupendum
 555 Larcia praeclaro spectans priuata marito
 clamat in infaustas Christo se credere turbas.
 Capta sub hoc strepitu Iesum simul ore profata
 hausit mox mortem, proprio sed lota cruore
 cultibus et nocuis penitus purgata deorum
 560 cunctorum ueniam meruit captare malorum.
 Filius ast huius nomen cui Visbius haeret
 cuius et ipse pater generosus Lisbius esset,
 est Romam ductus uelut alto sanguine cretus
 tresque per induperatores – iam Caesare dicto
 565 imos ad manes letali sorte profecto –
 praeclarus miles transegit rite iuuentam.
 Qui post ad patriam Domino donante reuersus
 praesule sub Masso, uirtutum munere compto,

f. 34^v

monstrosities of torment, was found worthy to be joined at some point to the heavenly assemblies [530]. It is right to publicize this mighty new event throughout the world: that a dead corpse could run in the manner of a living person, and a lifeless man could walk with steady steps. Behold the battle-standards which he brought back, having obtained the victory: Dionysius the hero, having once been tested in war [535], had not as victor despoiled any enemy, scorning to extol his triumph with captured trappings. But the soldier, sent out into the vast arena, was enriched by his evident virtues, having restrained the vices: for in an astonishing manner he carries his head, cut off at the neck [540], and transported in his sacred hand by way of bountiful offering, as a victorious trophy to the eternal King. O the head, rightly to be embellished by an eternal crown, offered voluntarily to Christ with its five senses! Although it might be simple, let it remain greatly to be wondered at [545] that a dead body could walk in the manner of a living person: yet it is not difficult for this event to be believed of God, Who created all things. For He Himself had alone created this same holy body, having assembled it from dust, by generously bestowing on it the vigour of vital breath [550]; and, when it is reduced to ash by the law of nature, will be able to restore it to its pristine condition by His command, so that it may live again, (restored to its) beauty, in eternal peace.

Accordingly, as Larcia, bereft of her excellent husband, is watching [555] this astonishing miracle with awakened understanding, she shouts out among the accursed crowds that she believes in Christ. Arrested on the strength of this outburst, having confessed Jesus with her voice, she straightway suffers death; but, bathed in her own blood and wholly purged of the noxious cults of (pagan) gods, she deserved to obtain forgiveness for all her sins [560]. But her son, to whom the name Visbius attaches and whose father was the noble Lisbius himself, was taken to Rome inasmuch as he was born of noble blood, and duly passed his youth as an outstanding soldier in the service of three emperors – the aforementioned Caesar [i.e. Domitian] having passed on to the underworld shades by a deadly fate [565]. Returning afterwards to his homeland through the Lord's dispensation, having resigned the pomp of the world and abandoned its affairs, he was found worthy to be purified in the fountain of baptism

570 addictis mundi pompis rebusque relictis,
 baptismi meruit mundari iure lauacro:
 ut Christum pauper uotis imitatus egenum
 ipsius demum membris taxatus inesset.

QUALITER CORPORA SANCTORVM PER CATVLLAM SEPVLTA SVNT, QVAE
 MERGI IVSSA SVNT.

Quod superest narrare libet ne tramite flexo
 linea gestorum plenum sortita tenorem
 575 quid minus aut supra quam res petit ipsa reponat.
 Thema loquax tamen hic posset captare tragedus,
 cantibus et querulis amplas distendere scaenas,
 dum ueluti post bella, tubas, et classica saeua,
 post strages hominum herbosos forte per agros
 580 defunctis bellum rursus feritate paratur.
 At nos, heroum pro uiribus acta canentes
 carmine ueridico nihilominus atque canoro,
 lasciuos temptare modos fictasque Camenas
 linquere maluimus, depromere dummodo sacras
 585 sanctorum pugnas, obitus ualeamus et ipsos
 post obitus alias iterum perstringere pugnas.
 Corpora dum comitum ferro truncata duorum
 quatinus alitibus escae fierent inhumata
 dudum quo passi fuerant in colle iacerent,
 590 rursus uecordes uirosa mente cohortes
 incipiunt tractare dolos solitoque furore
 funeribus sacris fraudem temptare malignam.
 Arcent a tumulis defuncta cadauera porro
 gurgitibusque iubent iactari ualde profundis –
 595 hoc errore rati proprium supplere triumphum.
 Viribus inbelles et mentis acumine segnes
 hos penitus remouere putant et radere terris,
 insertum fuerat quorum iam nomen Olympo.
 Insanire docet frustra saeuissimus anguis,
 600 saltem nec luteis post mortem parcere glebis,
 Christicolae post hanc celebrent ne forte patronos.
 Gurgite pro uiso tandemque uoragine caeca

f. 35^r

590 cohortes] chohortes *MS.* 597 hos] hoc *MS.*

under Bishop Massus, a man adorned with the gift of virtues [570]: as a pauper he imitated the needy Christ in his prayers, being reckoned at last to be among His members.

HOW THE BODIES OF THE SAINTS, WHICH HAD BEEN ORDERED TO BE SUBMERGED (IN THE RIVER), WERE BURIED BY CATULLA.

It is a pleasure to narrate what remains, so that the time allotted to the full course of his accomplishments should not, by (following) a stray path, put aside anything less or more than the matter itself requires [575]. A verbose tragedian could here take up the subject and draw out numerous scenes with songs and laments, while after the battles, as it were, after the horns and harsh battle-trumpets, after the slaughter of men scattered across the grassy fields, war in all its ferocity is again prepared for the dead [580]. But I, singing the deeds of heroes to the best of my abilities in truthful and melodious verse, no less, have preferred to abandon the attempt to try luxuriant measures and fictive songs, provided that I am able to bring out the sacred struggles of the saints and their very deaths [585], to describe again their other struggles after their death. While the bodies of the two companions, cut down by the sword, were lying on the hill where they had previously suffered (death), so that, unburied, they would become food for the birds, the soldiers, insane with their poisonous attitude [590], begin to practise deceit and in their usual fury to perpetrate a wicked deception on the sacred corpses. They keep the dead bodies far away from burial and order that they are to be thrown into very deep waters – thinking that by this deception they can furnish a triumph of their own [595]. These (men), unwarlike in their strength and lazy in mental application, think that by this means they can remove and completely erase from the earth those whose names had by now been recorded in Heaven. In vain did the ferocious serpent instruct (them) to rage and not least to spare the muddy fields after their death [600], lest the Christians should perchance venerate them as patron-saints thereafter. With the river, and ultimately the blind whirlpool in view, the pernicious sailors place the precious bodies in the

imponunt puppi pretiosa cadauera nautae
 pestiferi, liquidas iamiam mergenda sub undas.
 605 Ast Deus astriferum uoluit qui turbine caelum
 inque modum puncti librat moderamine terram
 et transacta uidet solus qui cuncta futura,
 temporis et cursum nutu disponit ab aeuo,
 consilium stabilisque suum non mobile seruat,
 610 mortiferos quondam motus Holofernus iniqui
 conceptos animo uitiiis et fraude referto,
 astu femineo miserans qui iure repressit:
 nunc quoque conatus sibimet reflexit iniquos
 nutibus atque suis stolidos seruire coegit,
 615 quo series antiqua manens remearet ad unum,
 extra quod nihil est totum sed constat ab uno.

f. 35^v

Nam generosa satis mulier haec dicta Catulla,
 erroris nebula quamuis pagana retenta
 sed cultrix fidei sacrae quandoque futura,
 620 cordetenus hausto iam tunc pietatis amore.
 Prouida consultum sollerti mente capessens
 prouocat ad cenam funestos sponte ministros.
 Largius ast epulas hilari dum fronte refundit,
 efficit inmemores inter conuiuia mentes;
 625 conuocat ergo suos denudans uota fideles;
 furtim rapta rogat iam dicta cadauera sollers
 puppibus euelli tumulis citiusque recondi.
 Iussio mox ad herae completur uota citatim.
 O gratum furtum necnon laudabile multum!
 630 Nulli fert damnum, cunctis dat nempe profectum
 uotis aeternam cupiunt qui quaerere uitam.
 Limite quod sexto fata qui constat ab urbe
 abscondunt pingui demum in tellure ministri;
 agricolae ritu fingunt et cernere sulcos
 635 ne quis ut exploret sanctos hac arte sepultos.
 Assignare locum noto sed caespitem curant.
 Femina post celebris plures Christique fideles
 asciti properant subducta cadauera noctu
 cum magni sacro Dionysii corpore iungi,
 640 et quantum rabies sinit hinc sociata celebrant.
 At tellus sanctos gremio quae fouerat ipsos

c. 34

boat, in order to submerge them beneath the flowing waters. But God, Who rotates the starry sky in a circle [605], and with His governance weighs the earth in the likeness of a pin-prick, and Who alone sees all things past and future, and with His command orders the course of time for all ages, and steadfastly preserves His immutable purpose, Who in His mercy once rightly checked the deadly intentions, conceived in a mind crammed with vice and deceit, of the wicked Holofernes [610], by means of feminine cunning; now likewise He turned back attempts hostile to Him and compelled the fools to serve His commands, so that the ancient enduring course (of events) would return to the One [615], the Whole beyond which there is nothing but which exists from the One.

[c. 34] For this noble-woman named Catulla, although she was a pagan, restrained by the cloud of error, was however to be a worshipper of the holy faith sometime in the future, having at that time drawn her love of holiness from her innermost heart [620]. Seizing hold of a plan in her shrewd mind, the provident woman willingly invites to dinner the murderous agents. But as she pours out hospitality with a smiling face, she causes them to become forgetful during the feasting; she thereupon summons her faithful followers, laying bare her wishes [625]; she cleverly asks that the aforementioned corpses be stealthily removed from the boat and quickly reburied in graves. The command is swiftly obeyed to the mistress's specifications. O what a welcome theft, and one that is entirely praiseworthy! It causes a loss to no one, it gives benefit to all those who desire to seek the eternal life in their prayers [630]. At the sixth milestone from the aforesaid city [Paris], the (mistress's) agents hide (the corpses) at last in the rich soil; they arrange to mark the furrows in the manner of a farmer, so that no one will discover the saints buried in this fashion [635]. But they take care to mark out the place with recognizable turf. Thereafter, the distinguished woman and a number of Christian faithful hasten at night to reunite the corpses, extracted (from the field), with the sacred body of Dionysius, and they commemorate the reunited (relics), as much as the fury (of persecution) allows [640]. And the earth, which had

obsequium segetis denuo cumulata refudit
centuplicata ferens grauidatis semina culmis.

- Denique post aliquot diro frigente furore c. 35
 645 haec eadem casto mulier redimita pudore
 deuote famulis Domini comitantibus ipsam,
 aggreditur pietate locum quo magna teguntur
 corpora sanctorum clarum, reseratque uerenter
 thesaurum populis solamen in orbe futurum. f. 36^r
 650 Denotat atque diem clarum quo nactus agonem
 uictricem meruit palmam roseamque coronam.
 Sane manu Domini decus id sortitus utrumque
 inuictus Iesu testis pretiosus et idem
 senatum sibi stelliferi consciuit Olympi.
 655 Ingens mausoleum sumtu fabricatur opimo
 femina quod prudens miro construxit honore:
 talibus aeternam studiis habitura coronam!
 Sanctorum glebis igitur cum laude sepultis,
 uestimenta sacris dantur seruanda locellis.
 660 Magnis sanctorum meritis sed fulta Catulla
 amplexata triplex uno sub nomine nomen
 enasci denuo meruit baptismatis unda;
 quae tribuens Domino pie rerum lucra suarum
 martyribusque piis Christo sine limite iunctis
 665 excubat ad tumulos praesens dum uita superstes.

- Temporis accessu populo crescente fideli c. 36
 atque iugo Christi domitorum colla terente,
 deuoti Domino patefacta luce fideles,
 saepius experti signis florere patronos
 670 horum sacra tegunt praeclaro corpora templo
 perpes ubi uirtus quorum meritumque patescit,
 Christo dante Deo mundi qui frena coercent.
 Plura sed historicus quorum miracula sermo
 haud tetigit multo metuens se fasce grauari;
 675 sic fas arguto mihimet postponere uersu,
 dummodo praeualeam – non ficto scemate cautus –
 stringere magnificos sanctorum iure triumphos.
 Altius infirmi tamen haec magnalia pangunt
 saepius experti morbosos sane per artus

nourished these saints in its bosom, poured out its obedience afresh by an increase in the crop, producing hundredfold seeds on their heavily laden stalks.

[c. 35] And then, after some time, with the terrible fury (of persecution) cooling, this same woman, crowned with her chaste modesty [645] and with the servants of the Lord devotedly accompanying her, proceeds in reverence to the distinguished place where the important bodies are concealed, and she reverently lays bare the treasure which is to be a future consolation to people throughout the world. And she marks out the important day on which he [Dionysius] completed his struggle [650] and earned his victorious palm and roseate crown. Of course the unconquered (and) invaluable witness of Jesus was apportioned either distinction [i.e. palm *and* crown] by the hand of the Lord, and he appropriated to himself the governing senate of starry Olympus. A mighty tomb is constructed with lavish expenditure [655] which the wise woman built with marvellous grace: she is to have an eternal crown for such undertakings! Therefore, with the mortal remains of the saints buried with fitting praise, their clothing is committed to be preserved in holy shrines. But Catulla, sustained by the great merits of the saints [660], having embraced the Three-in-One name, was found worthy to be born again in the water of baptism; giving away the riches of her own property to the Lord and to the holy martyrs joined to Christ without end, she keeps vigil at their tomb for as long as this present life remains (to her) [665].

[c. 36] With the Christian populace increasing with the passage of time, and the yoke of Christ subduing the necks of the conquerors, the faithful (who were) devoted to the Lord, when the light had been revealed, having often observed that the patron-saints abounded in miracles, cover their sacred bodies with a splendid church [670], where their miraculous power and worth is revealed in perpetuity, with Christ our God, Who controls the reins of the world, granting (this). But the historical narrative did not touch on many of their miracles, fearing that it would be weighed down by a great burden; thus it is fitting for me to disregard them in my wordy verse [675], provided that I am able to touch lightly upon the magnificent triumphs of the saints – being guided by a model that is not fictional. Yet sick persons make these mighty events widely known, having often experienced in their diseased limbs how easily the saints are able to

680 quam facile sibimet ualeant conferre salutem
 et quantum testes Domini mereantur honorem.
 Ad quorum tumulos reserantur claustra genarum,
 caeca diu rutilum nec discernentia solem;
 loripedes gressum solidato poplite captant,
 685 aures at patulae penitus sed ad organa clausae
 admittunt uoces horum uirtute receptas.
 Illud praeterea mihimet non esse silendum
 autumo, quod plures infesto daemone capti,
 commemorata petunt sanctorum corpora fessi
 690 illorum meritis Christi ac uirtute coacti,
 designant quo quaeque loco sint corpora tecta
 horum nominibus pariter signantius auctis.
 Passio per totum sed iam uulgabilis orbem
 tempore quoque loco sit consummata superstat,
 695 utile quod fuerit certo percurrere uersu,
 lectoris posthac ne mens suspensa uacillet.
 E regione patet urbis mons sane supinus,
 nomine Mercurii fuerat qui nomen adeptus
 fusilis extiterit huius quod forma metallo
 700 hoc celebrata solo studiis et laude uirorum
 quos errore malus ueteri pessumdabat hostis –
 hostis qui falso primos deitate parentes
 promissa fregit, et leto mersit amaro.
 Hic testes Iesu notum subiere triumphum
 705 et fuso dignam meruerunt sanguine palmam
 Nomine mons igitur mutato rite nefando,
 horum martyrio nomen sortitur honestum.
 Denique bis denas et tres cum Phoebus in axe
 expleret Librae partes et lampade lances,
 710 occubuere uiri Christo assumente soluti;
 cuius ab exortu carnis, quo causa salutis
 elisis fieret seu mortis carcere clausis,
 sextus manabat tunc nonagesimus annus;
 a crucis est magno tulerat quam sponte trophaeo,
 715 plane quartus erat et sexagesimus idem.
 Forte Dionysii quaeras si martyris aeuum,
 paene senex lenti ter tractus hauserat astri
 obtutu carnis ualido mentisque uigore,
 aetheream passus cum iam conscendit ad aulam;

f. 36^vf. 37^r

bestow health on them [680], and what great glory these witnesses of the Lord may deserve. At their tombs closures of the eyes are opened, having long been blind and not seeing the bright sun; bandy-legged (cripples) strive to walk with strengthened knee-joints, and open ears – but which are closed completely in respect of their natural function [685] – admit sounds received through the saints' miraculous power. I think it should not be passed over in silence by me that many people, seized by a troublesome demon, seek in exhaustion the aforementioned relics of the saints and, driven by their merits and the power of Christ [690], point out in which place the particular bodies are buried, having also distinctly added their names. But their martyrdom, now publicizable throughout the world, and when and where it took place, is well known, so that it would be useful to treat (it) in dedicated verse [695], lest the mind of the reader henceforth hesitate suspended (in doubt). On the contrary, the flattened hill of the city lies open (to view), (the hill) which had acquired the name of Mercury, because his idol cast from metal was worshiped on this land through the efforts and praise of men [700] whom the Evil Enemy was destroying with ancient delusion – the Enemy who falsely broke off our first parents from their promised godhood, and submerged them in bitter death. Here the martyrs of Jesus underwent their notable triumph, and were found worthy to receive the appropriate palm, having shed their blood [705]. Therefore the hill, having duly changed its abominable name, is given an honourable name as a result of their martyrdom. Accordingly, when Phoebus [the sun] with its light had traversed twice-ten and three units of Libra and its scales, the men died, released with Christ receiving them [710] – from Whose birth in the flesh, so that the cause of salvation might come to those (persons) downtrodden or enclosed in the prison of death, the ninety-sixth year was passing; evidently this was the sixty-fourth year from the great triumph of the Cross which He endured [715]. If you should seek (to know) the age of the martyr Dionysius, the old man had scarcely taken in three orbits of the slow star [i.e. the planet Saturn] with vigilance for his flesh and vigour of mind, when, after suffering (martyrdom), he ascends to

720 Caesaris at sextus pariter decimusque cruenti,
 sub quo passus erat Christi iam sane coheres
 annus currebat solis uertigine ductus.

Ecce trium pariter sanctorum passio clara
 commate rethorico quondam prolata diserte:
 725 ad nostrum deducta stilum multumque liquata
 carmine ueriloquo – minus et si forte uenusto –
 nunc deprompta patet, ueri non deuia norma.
 Sit laus unde Deo, sit honor, sit gloria perpes
 patri cum nato, necnon cum flamine sancto,
 730 solus principium regnans qui nescit habere
 finis et est rerum uiuens per saecula cuncta.

EXPLICIT EXAMETRO DECVRRENS PASSIO VERSV
 MAGNI CVM SOCIIS DIONYSII IURE VERENDIS
 QVOS CELEBRENT SVMMOS POPVLI PER SAECLA PATRONOS.

the ethereal hall; and it was the sixteenth year of the blood-thirsty Caesar (Domitian) [720], under whom the co-heir of Christ was martyred, as the solar year ran its course.

Behold the shining *passio* of the three saints, once learnedly composed in rhetorical prose, (is) brought under my writing-style and greatly clarified [725] in true verse – even if perhaps less attractive – and now stands published, having not departed from the rule of truth. Wherefore let praise be to God, let there be veneration and perpetual glory to the Father with the Son and Holy Ghost, Who alone while reigning knows no beginning [730] and is the living end of things throughout all time.

HERE ENDS THE *PASSIO*, FLOWING IN HEXAMETRICAL VERSE, OF THE GREAT DIONYSIUS TOGETHER WITH HIS VENERABLE COMPANIONS, WHOM THE PEOPLE CELEBRATE FOREVER AS THEIR SPECIAL PATRON-SAINTS.

Commentaries



Commentary to the Three *Epistolae*

¹On Louis the Pious (b. 778; emperor 814–840), see ch. 1, above, p. 11, n. 36.

²As Mabillon was the first to point out, the formula *Chludowicus diuina repropitiante clementia imperator augustus* was used by Louis in charters issued after his restoration to the throne at Saint-Denis on 1 March 834 (see above, p. 45); before that time he had used the formula *Hludowicus diuina ordinante prouidentia imperator augustus*: see J. Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1681–1704), I/i, ch. 3, n. 13, followed by A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1925), II, pp. 722–723, and Théry, *Études*, I, p. 16 n. 1. The formula is first attested in a charter issued by Louis at Aachen on 15 May 834 (BM² 927 = D-LdF 337, ed. Kölzer, pp. 831–833, at 833), and is repeated in subsequent charters (DD-LdF 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, and 346, all issued in 834). The use of this formula thus confirms the indication of date discussed below, n. 18.

³The abbey of Saint-Denis in Paris: see the entries in Cottineau II, cols. 2650–2657 [with extensive bibliography]; *DACL* IV/i [1920], cols. 588–642 [H. Leclercq]; *LMA* VII, cols. 1145–1148 [M. Bur]; Wyss, *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis*, esp. pp. 17–107; and the (still indispensable) study by Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France*. For the appearance of the church of Saint-Denis during the abbacy of Hilduin, see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 59–64, and Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 85–94. Hilduin was abbot of Saint-Denis from 814 to 830 (see Introduction, above, pp. 11–22), and again from 832 to 840.

⁴On the association of St Dionysius with the Capetian kingship, and his growing importance as the national patron-saint of France, see G. Spiegel, 'The Cult of Saint Denis and the Capetian Kingship', *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), 43–69, as well as J. Ehlers, 'Kontinuität und Tradition als Grundlage mittelalterliche Nationsbildung in Frankreich', in *Beiträge zur Bildung der französischen Nation*, ed. H. Beumann (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 15–47; C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), pp. 83–125; O. Guillot, 'Les saints des peuples et des nations dans l'Occident des VII^e–X^e siècle. Un aperçu d'ensemble illustré par le cas des Francs en Gaule', *Settimane* 36 (1989), 205–252; and A.M. Romero, *Saint-Denis, la montée des pouvoirs* (Paris, 1992), esp. pp. 35–38.

⁵Dagobert I (c. 608–638/9): see *LMA* III, cols. 429–430 [U. Nonn], as well as Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 144–149. Dagobert's royal support for

the church of Saint-Denis is the subject of the *Gesta Dagoberti*, which were composed at Saint-Denis in 835 or later, arguably by Hincmar: see below, n. 22. Under Dagobert, the original basilica of Saint-Denis was enlarged, probably during the 620s, with the provision of a semi-circular eastern apse extending 4 m. beyond the eastern end of the original rectangular basilica; the walls of the earlier basilica were also extended, to an overall length of 27.2 m., and side aisles (*porticus*) 3.3 m. wide were added as well: see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 49–57, and Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 29–50. And note that, among various *tituli* preserved in a manuscript *syloga* of Latin inscriptions (Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 2078 (Rheims, s. ix^{1/3})), is one recording the enrichment of ‘this church’, that is, presumably, Saint-Denis, by Dagobert and his wife Nanthild:

Egregii proceres Clotharius ac Dagobertus,
 filius et pater hic memorantur laude perenni;
 sed magis ecclesiam ditavit hanc Dagobertus
 cum Nanthilde sua, quam exornant aurea busta.

MGH, PLAC i. 404–405

For the increase of the landed endowment of Saint-Denis under Dagobert I, see Peters, *Die Entwicklung des Grundbesitzes*, pp. 12–23.

⁶Louis refers here to the so-called *Visio Iohannis*, which was allegedly based on a charter in favour of St Audoenus and is preserved as part of the *Gesta Dagoberti*, c. 44 (ed. Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Meroving. ii. 421). According to this *visio*, a bishop of Poitiers named Ansoald, while passing through Sicily on ecclesiastical business, happened to interrogate a solitary monk named Iohannis concerning the late king. The monk claimed to have seen in a vision the soul of King Dagobert being dragged towards the volcano of Etna by a host of demons; in the vision Dagobert called upon the assistance of SS. Dionysius, Maurice and Martin: and behold, a host of men/angels in white appeared and conducted Dagobert safely to the bosom of Abraham. See discussion by Levillain, ‘Études sur l’abbaye de Saint-Denis’, pp. 100–101; on the *Gesta Dagoberti*, see below, n. 22.

⁷It is not known what source Louis the Pious is referring to here; according to the electronic databases, the adjective *mellifluus* never occurs in combination with the name Dionysius.

⁸Charles Martel, mayor of the palace (723–741): see *LMA* v, cols. 954–956 [U. Nonn], as well as U. Nonn, ‘Das Bild Karl Martels in den lateinischen Quellen vornehmlich des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 4 (1970), 70–137.

⁹Pippin III (reigned 741–768): see *LMA* vi, cols. 2168–2170 [J. Fleckenstein], as well as E. Caspar, *Pippin und die römische Kirche*, esp. pp. 68–95 (on Pippin and Pope Stephen). According to the *Annales regni Francorum* (‘Royal Frankish Annals’), s.a. 757, Pippin in that year exacted allegiance from Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, by having him swear on the relics of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius (ed. Kurze, pp. 14–16; trans. Scholz, p. 42), a reflection of Pippin’s devotion to the patron-saints of Saint-Denis. The devotion is also reflected in the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (see Appendix XI, below, pp. 848–865).

¹⁰The altar described here, which was placed in front of the tomb of St Dionysius, was located in the apse built as an extension to the original basilica by King Dagobert; see Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen der Franken, Angelsachsen und Langobarden*, pp. 171–189, 493–496. The altar has not itself been identified during the excavations by Jules Formigé and later by Sumner McKnight Crosby, although its appearance is known from a passage in the *Vita S. Eligii* [*BHL* 2474], c. 1 (ed. Krusch in *MGH*, *SS rer. Meroving.* iv. 663–741, at 688–689). See discussion by Crosby, who suggested that a small piece of polychrome cloisonné metalwork now in the Cabinet de Médailles in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, may be from the cross which was placed behind the altar in question (*The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, p. 36).

¹¹Pope Stephen II (752–757): see the *vita* of Pope Stephen II in the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xciv (ed. Duchesne, I, pp. 448–449; trans. Davis, pp. 51–76), as well as *DHGE* xv/i, cols. 1184–1190, and Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, pp. 71–88, 90–98.

¹²The dedication of the altar to SS. Peter and Paul, which was prompted by the vision revealed in Saint-Denis to Pope Stephen while on his sick-bed in January 754, is recorded in the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [*BHL* 2176] (on which see below, n. 21, and Appendix XI, below, pp. 848–865). The only indication of *when* the altar was consecrated is that the consecration took place when Pope Stephen was ‘restored to health’, that is, presumably, in the early spring of 754.

¹³Carloman (reigned 768–771): see *LMA* v, col. 996 [J. Jarnut], and Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, pp. 120–127.

¹⁴Charlemagne (co-regent, 768–771; king 771–814). There is vast bibliography on Charlemagne, but helpful orientation is found in *LMA* V, cols. 956–966.

¹⁵The emperor here conflates two separate events. The dedication of the altar of SS. Peter and Paul must presumably have taken place while Pope Stephen was resident at Saint-Denis during the early months of 754, once he had recovered from the illness which detained him at Saint-Denis (see above, n. 12). The anointing of King Pippin by Pope Stephen took place later the same year, on 28 July 754, according to the *Reuelatio ostensa Papae Stephano*, c. 2 (Appendix XI, below, p. 860); the same date is given in the *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis* (ed. Waitz, *MGH*, SS xv/1. 1; ed. Stoclet, ‘La “Clausula de unctione Pippini regis”’, p. 3), a work which is now regarded as the genuine composition by a monk of Saint-Denis in 767 (thus Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, pp. 87–88). The anointing is also recorded in the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xciv. 27 (ed. Duchesne, I, p. 448; trans. Davis, p. 64), and in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 754: ‘Supradictus apostolicus Stephanus confirmavit Pippinum unctione sancta in regem et cum eo inunxit duos filios eius, domnum Carolum et Carlomannum in regibus’ (ed. Kurze, p. 12; trans. Scholz, p. 40).

¹⁶No archaeological evidence for either the tomb or the inscription has been found, and no epitaph for King Pippin III appears to survive among verse *tituli* in manuscript *syllogae* of the Carolingian period. The *Epitaphium Pippini* printed in *MGH*, PLAC i. 405, from the *sylloga* in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 2078 (Rheims, s. ix^{1/3}), is for Pippin, Charlemagne’s son, who died as king of Italy in 810 and was buried in Verona. In the metrical part of his *Vita S. Willibrordi*, however, Alcuin preserved four lines from a poem (otherwise lost) in honour of Pippin, king of the Franks, allegedly composed by one of the disciples of St Willibrord, which may possibly derive from an original verse epitaph:

Omnibus iste aliis fuerit sublimior infans
 Francorum ducibus, quos saecula longa tulerunt.
 Hic reget imperium felix feliciter istud,
 dilatans fines magnis hinc inde triumphis.

MGH, PLAC i. 215

¹⁷For the *cingulum militare*, one of the regalia which kings adopted at their investiture, see *MLW* II, cols. 579–580. The *cingulum militare* was in origin simply a belt worn by Roman soldiers (cf. Isidore, *Etym.* xix. 33. 2: ‘balteum cingulum militare est, dictum pro quod ex eo signa dependant ad demonstrandum legionis militaris summam’), but subsequently came to symbolize the

military life in general; accordingly, those who entered the religious life were symbolically obliged to renounce the *cingulum militare* (cf., e.g., Alcuin, *Ep.* ccxxxviii: 'Ego militaris cingulo laboris deposito, quietus Deo servire desiderans' [MGH, *Epist.* iv. 382]), whereas those entering military service, including kings or counts or dukes, were invested with the same symbol (cf. the *Annales Scheftlarnienses maiores*: 'multis principibus presentibus, filius ducis Bawarie, Otto comes palatinus Rehni, cingulum militare favorabiliter suscepit' [MGH, *SS* xvii. 338]).

¹⁸ On the rebellion against Louis the Pious, which broke out in 830, see Introduction, ch. 1, above, pp. 36–38. Unfortunately, as often happens, the rebellion was accompanied by envy and distrust among the sons (Louis 'the German' abandoning the cause of Lothar and joining with Charles), with the result that all the sons were obliged to agree on the restoration of Louis as a sort of compromise. Louis was restored to his kingdom at Saint-Denis (where Lothar had been holding him) on 1 Mar. 834 [BM² 926p], and was solemnly recrowned at Metz on 28 Feb. 835 by his half-brother, Archbishop Drogo [BM² 938b]. During the rebellion Hilduin had sided with Lothar (see Introduction, above, p. 36), as a result of which he was dismissed from his post as *archicapellanus*, and stripped of his various abbacies (see above, pp. 36–37). As part of Louis's first amnesty, Hilduin regained the abbacy of Saint-Denis in 832, but not the other abbacies nor the post of *archicapellanus*. From all this it is clear that the present letter from Louis to Hilduin (*Ep.* 1), which refers to Louis' restoration, cannot have been composed before 1 Mar. 834 at the earliest, and possibly not before 28 Feb. 835. The letter reflects Louis' appreciation of the 'hospitality' he had received at Saint-Denis, and represents an attempt at compromise between the reinstated king and abbot. See von Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs* 11, pp. 90–91 (s.a. 834) and BM², pp. 362–380 (nos. 917–937), as well as Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, pp. 203–210.

¹⁹ That is, presumably, the *Libellus antiquissimus passionis S. Dionysii* or 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius [BHL 2171], ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', pp. 241–285, and also below, Appendix I (pp. 611–659). In his reply to the Emperor, Hilduin refers to the use he intends to make of this 'ancient *passio*'; but his reference is complicated by the fact that, in composing his *Passio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2175], Hilduin drew not on one but on two earlier *passiones* of the saint, BHL 2171 and 2178. See below, n. 46.

²⁰ Louis refers here to the text which Hilduin subsequently describes as the *Conscriptio Visbii* (*Ep.* 11, c. 5), printed and discussed below, Appendix VI (pp. 762–773).

²¹The *Reuelatio ostensa Papae Stephano* [BHL 2176]: ed. Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, v [1580], pp. 740–741; it is repr. in PL lxxxix. 1022–1024 (from Mansi), and ed. by Georg Waitz, in MGH, SS xv/1. 2–3; it is re-edited below, Appendix XI (pp. 848–865). The *Reuelatio* is a brief text which recounts a vision by Pope Stephen II which took place during a severe and life-threatening illness (as described in the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xciv. 27: ed. Duchesne, I, p. 448; trans. Davis, p. 64), while the pope was staying at Saint-Denis during his extended visit to Francia to seek Frankish support in his struggle with the Lombards. In the vision, which allegedly took place in January 754, Pope Stephen saw himself visited by SS. Peter and Paul, together with St Dionysius, at the altar of the two apostles beneath the bell-tower in Saint-Denis, who all assured him that he would recover from his illness, as he subsequently did; in the vision, St Dionysius also asked Pope Stephen formally to consecrate the altar in question to SS. Peter and Paul, which the pope duly did as soon as he had recovered from his illness. The *Reuelatio* is not contemporary with the events it describes, but is clearly a later confection made (probably) in the earlier ninth century, its ostensible purpose being to emphasize the apostolic authority of Saint-Denis and its principal martyr. This aspect of the *Reuelatio* has been variously interpreted; see M. Buchner, *Das Vizepapstum des Abtes von St. Denis. Studien zur 'Offenbarung des Papstes Stephan II' (Reuelatio) und ihrem Anhang (Gesta)* (Paderborn, 1928), together with the searching review by W. Levison, 'Zu Hildvin von St. Denis', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 49 (1929) [Kanonistische Abteilung 18], 578–590 [repr. in his *Aus rheinischer und fränkischer Frühzeit*, pp. 517–529].

²²The *Gesta Dagoberti*, which treat the reign of this king, and esp. his patronage of Saint-Denis, have been described as a 'cento' of earlier sources: they are drawn, *inter alia*, from the pseudo-Fredegar *Chronicon*, the *Liber historiae Francorum*, several Merovingian saints' Lives (*Vita S. Arnulfi* [BHL 689], *Vita S. Amandi* by Baudemund [BHL 332], *Vita S. Audoeni* [BHL 750]) as well as the will of Dagobert and a charter of Clovis II (dated 654), and especially the *Miracula S. Dionysii* (see BHL 2202, and discussion above, pp. 92–103). The *Gesta Dagoberti* are ed. by Bruno Krusch in MGH, SS rer. Meroving. ii. 399–425. On the sources of the *Gesta*, see Krusch, 'Über die *Gesta Dagoberti*', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 26 (1886), 163–191, as well as Léon Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis (I)', pp. 71–116, and M. Buchner, 'Zur Entstehung und Tendenz der *Gesta Dagoberti*', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 47 (1927), 252–274. Levillain demonstrates in detail the dependence of the *Gesta* on the *Miracula S. Dionysii*, and makes a powerful case that the author of both works was Hincmar, then a student and protégé of Hilduin at Saint-Denis and subsequently (many years later) archbishop of Rheims ('Études', pp. 88–114).

²³The two hymns which Hilduin ‘had to hand’ are one beginning ‘Caeli ciues adplaudite’, attributed to Eugenius of Toledo (*ICL* 1789) and one beginning ‘Fortem fidelem militem’, attributed to Venantius Fortunatus (*ICL* 5307). Hilduin mentions each of these hymns in his reply to Louis the Pious, *Ep.* II, cc. 7 (‘Caeli ciues adplaudite’) and 12 (‘Fortem fidelem militem’). Both hymns are discussed and printed below, Appendix VII (pp. 774–794).

²⁴On the earliest form of the Night Office for St Dionysius, which was made up of texts (antiphons and responsories) drawn from the ‘ancient *passio*’ [*BHL* 2171] and is preserved in a number of manuscripts, among them the late ninth-century ‘Antiphoner of Compiègne’ (BNF, lat. 17436: Bischoff, *Katalog* III, no. 5018), see Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*, Hilduin, and the early Liturgical Celebration of St. Denis’, and Appendix IX, below, pp. 801–840.

²⁵Louis is here referring to the *Corpus Dionysiacum* of the pseudo-Dionysius, as it was translated into Latin by Hilduin and his *interpretes*; see above, pp. 71–80.

²⁶A statement by Hilduin of personal loyalty to Louis would have been especially pertinent (and desirable) after the deposition and restoration of Louis in 834, and his own restoration to the abbacy of Saint-Denis.

²⁷1 Sm. ii. 1.

²⁸Cf. Ps. xii. 6.

²⁹From 1 Esdr. vii. 6 we learn that, after the so-called Babylonian Captivity, Ezra formed a preliminary collection of scriptures; in IV Ezra xiv. 37–44 it is stated further that, following the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, Ezra miraculously restored the whole of Holy Scripture (see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, ed. and trans. G. Vermes and F. Millar, 3 vols. in 4 (Edinburgh, 1973–1987), III, p. 301). The story is repeated in patristic sources such as Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* i. 22 (PG viii. 893), but Hilduin’s source was presumably IV Ezra.

³⁰Hilduin is here referring to the so-called *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum* [*BHL* 2182], a work of uncertain date and origin (neither Aristarchus nor Onesiphorus can be identified) which has not come down to us in manuscript. However, the relevant parts of the work were excerpted in a sermon in praise of St Dionysius, the so-called *Laudatio S. Dionysii* [*BHL* 2187], which is pre-

served in a small number of manuscripts, and is almost invariably transmitted in manuscript alongside the ‘anonymous *passio*’ [BHL 2178]. See Appendix IV, below, pp. 724–727.

³¹The excerpt of the *Epistola Aristarchi* preserved in the *Laudatio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2187] does not include any account of Dionysius’s trip to Rome.

³²Note Hilduin’s explicit statement that the *Epistola Aristarchi* was originally written in Greek. The original Greek text has never been identified, but, if indeed it ever existed, there may be reason to think that it was translated (if not fabricated) by Hilduin and his circle of *interpretes*.

³³The letter to Polycarp is preserved as *Ep. VII* among the *Corpus Dionysiacum* [CPG 6610; ed. CD II, pp. 165–170; trans. Luibheid, pp. 266–269]; Hilduin’s Latin version of *Ep. VII* is ed. Théry, II, pp. 311–315, with mention of the trip to Heliopolis at p. 314. In choosing the name Polycarp the pseudo-Dionysius evidently wished to suggest – without stating specifically – the name of Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna, who was allegedly a disciple of John the Evangelist and whose lifetime (traditionally dated to c. 69 – c.155 A.D.) therefore fell a generation or two later than the period of St Paul’s apostolate in Athens. The suggested identity, which is implicit in the pseudo-Dionysian *Ep. VII*, is made explicit by Hilduin, who apparently had no means of establishing the correct chronology, even though Polycarp of Smyrna is mentioned several times in the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Eusebius (iii. 28, 36 and 39; iv. 14–15; v. 5, 20 and 24), a work which Hilduin knew in the Latin version of Rufinus (see below, n. 62).

³⁴The Greek original of the pseudo-Dionysius ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ does not survive. It is often referred to as *Ep. XI* of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (see CPG 6630). Hilduin evidently had access to this (lost) Greek original, which he translated and incorporated in c. 14 of his *Passio S. Dionysii* as the *Epistola ad Apollophanium* (‘Apollophanus’ is Hilduin’s Latinization of the Greek name ‘Apollophanes’); see Appendix V, below, pp. 744–759.

³⁵Act. xvii. 34 (‘quidam vero viri adherentes ei [*scil.* Paulo] crediderunt, in quibus et Dionisius Ariopagita et mulier nomine Damaris et alii cum eis’). Note that the biblical passage does not state that Damaris was the wife of Dionysius; in order to demonstrate that she *was* his wife, Hilduin now quotes a number of patristic authorities, including John Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine (see following notes).

³⁶The *Dialogus Basilii et Iohannis* is in fact a chapter (iv. 5) of the treatise *De sacerdotio* of John Chrysostom [CPG 4316]; the treatise was available to the West in the Latin translation arguably by Annianus of Celeda (see Siegmund, *Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur*, pp. 92 n. 1, 95 and 97; and PG xlvi. 623–692), where it is unambiguously stated that Damaris was the wife of Dionysius: ‘Areopagita vero ille, superstitiosissimae urbis illius civis, nonne ex sola eius [scil. Pauli] concione cum uxore sequutus est eum?’ (PG xlvi. 669). But note that there is no evidence earlier than Hilduin for the existence of the Latin translation of this work: see A.-M. Malingrey, ‘La tradition manuscrite du “De sacerdotio” de saint Jean Chrysostome à la lumière du “vetus interpres latinus”’, in *Antidoron: hulde aan Dr Maurits Geerard bij de voltooiing van de Clavis patrum Graecorum*, 2 vols. (Wetteren, 1984), I, pp. 27–32, who lists thirty-five manuscripts of the Latin translation.

³⁷Ambrose, *Ep. ad Vercellenses*, c. 22 (CSEL lxxxii. 235–295, at 247: ‘Siquidem etiam Dionysius Areopagites cum Damari uxore sua, aliisque multis credit’).

³⁸Act. xvii. 32 (‘audiemus te de hoc iterum’).

³⁹Augustine, *Serm. cl* [*De verbis Actuum Apostolorum*]. 1: ‘Denique sermone finito, audita illi resurrectione mortuorum, quae praecipua fides est Christianorum, alii iridebant; dicebant autem alii, *Audiemus te de hoc iterum*. Nec defuerunt qui crediderunt, atque in eis nominatur quidam Dionysius Areopagites, id est Atheniensium principalis (Areopagos enim Atheniensium curia vocabatur); et mulier quaedam nobilis, et alii’ (PL xxxviii. 808). Note that the words *nomine Damaris* were added by Hilduin and are not found in the text of Augustine, and also that Augustine does *not* say that Damaris was the wife of Dionysius. On the text and transmission of *Serm. cl*, see J. Elfassi, ‘Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin. Edition critique et tentative de datation’, *Revue des études augustiniennes* 45 (1999), 21–50.

⁴⁰I Cor. i. 23 (‘nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum: Iudaeis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam’).

⁴¹*Serm. cl. 9: Iudaeis enim scandalum, Gentibus autem stultitiam: sed ipsis vocatis Iudaeis et Graecis, hoc est, ipsi Paulo ex Saulo, et Dionysio Areopagitae, et talibus his, talibus et illis, Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam*’ (PL xxxviii. 813; ed. Elfassi, ‘Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin’, p. 47).

⁴²On the role of the *echonomus* (οἰκονόμος), ‘steward’ or ‘estates bursar’, in Byzantine ecclesiastical administration, see *ODB* III, p. 1517. The *echonomus* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople at the time of the embassy of 827 was Theodoros Krithinos, who had also been a member of the embassy to Louis in 824, and was subsequently to become archbishop of Syracuse (Sicily). He was a well-known and eloquent champion of iconoclasm. On Theodoros Krithinos, see J. Gouillard, ‘Deux figures mal connues du second iconoclisme’, *Byzantion* 31 (1961), 371–401, at pp. 387–401. Theodoros is named as a member of the embassy to Louis in the letter of the Emperors Michael and Theophilus of 824, ptd MGH, *Concilia* ii/2. 478 (‘Theodorum reverentissimum diaconum et oeconomum istius sanctissimae Dei catholicae et magnae ecclesiae sanctae Sophiae’).

⁴³On Michael II ‘the Stammerer’ (820–829), see *ODB* II, p. 1363.

⁴⁴See *Annales regni Francorum* s.a. 827: ‘Legati Michahelis imperatoris de Constantinopoli ad imperatorem quasi propter foedus confirmandum missi Septembrio mense Compendium venerunt; quos ille ibi benigne receptos et audivit et absolvit’ (ed. Kurze, p. 174; trans. Scholz, p. 122: ‘Envoys of Emperor Michael were sent from Constantinople to the emperor to ratify their treaty. They arrived at Compiègne in September. The emperor received them graciously and heard and dismissed them’).

⁴⁵The Greek manuscript in question survives as Paris, BNF, gr. 437 (Constantinople, s. ixⁱⁿ); on which see H. Omont, ‘Manuscrit des oeuvres de S. Denys l’Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827’, *Revue des études grecques* 17 (1904), 230–236; G. Théry, ‘Recherches pour une édition grecque historique du pseudo-Denys’, *New Scholasticism* 3 (1929), 353–442 [+ 2 pls. of BNF, gr. 437]; Théry, I, pp. 63–100; M. Richard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits grecs*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1958), I, pp. 47–48, and II, pp. 111–112 [no. 75]; and esp. *CD* I, pp. 28, 31, and 52, from which it is clear that, although BNF gr. 437 is the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, it is very far from being the most accurate, and was apparently written at Constantinople in a hurry in order for it to be taken as a diplomatic gift to Francia (see esp. p. 52, where BNF gr. 437 is described as an ‘Eilabschrift minderer Qualität’).

⁴⁶Hilduin’s apparently simple statement masks a rather complex situation, because in his subsequent *Passio S. Dionysii* [*BHL* 2175], edited below, he drew not on *one* ‘very ancient booklet’ of this *passio*, but on two: that which I

refer to as the ‘ancient *passio*’ [BHL 2171], apparently composed in the mid-eighth century somewhere in Aquitaine; and that which I call the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ [BHL 2178], which was probably composed at Saint-Denis itself during the period 778×834. The two works are edited and discussed below, as Appendix I (the ‘ancient *passio*’) and II (the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’). (For the pervasive debts to these two works, see the Introduction, c. 3 (above, pp. 87–90), and commentary to Hilduin’s prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, below, pp. 470–526). Note that the episode of the cephalophory (*quomodo caput proprium ... detulerit*) is contained in the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, c. 13 (below, p. 696), but not in the ‘ancient *passio*’. The landowner Catulla, on whose property the saint and his companions were buried, is alluded to in the ‘ancient *passio*’ (cc. 4–5), but not named; she is, however, named and described in the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, c. 14 (below, p. 698). The fact that St Dionysius was ‘afflicted by various cruel tortures’ is not mentioned in either of the earlier *passiones*, and is first described at length by Hilduin himself (*Passio S. Dionysii*, cc. 27–28: below, pp. 286–288).

⁴⁷The *Conscriptio Visbii* [BHL 2183] is a brief text which purports to be the will or testament of one Visbius, the son of the Parisian nobleman Lisbius who donated land to St Dionysius on which the first baptistery was constructed in Paris. Following the death of his father, Visbius claims to have served in the Roman army under three emperors; in his will he renounces any hereditary claim on the land now belonging to the basilica of Saint-Denis. The text also contains a fleeting description of Christ’s appearance to St Dionysius while the latter was celebrating mass in prison. The text is ed. Lapidige, ‘Hilduin of Saint-Denis and the *Conscriptio Visbii*’, and again in Appendix VI (below, pp. 762–773).

⁴⁸By *more Gallico*, Hilduin is apparently referring to what modern students of the liturgy describe as the ‘Gallican rite’. Very few Gallican sacramentaries or mass-books survive (see K. Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd ed. (Fribourg, 1968), pp. 156–170), and none of them preserve mass-sets for SS. Dionysius and his companions. In fact the earliest surviving mass-sets for these saints are found in Gregorian sacramentaries dating from no earlier than the second half of the ninth century: see Appendix VIII (below, pp. 795–800). It is therefore impossible to identify the ‘two masses’ referred to here by Hilduin.

⁴⁹The reading *concordari* (instead of the correct infinitive form *concordare*) is preserved here by all manuscript witnesses, and suggests – in combination with similar evidence from Hilduin’s prose *Passio S. Dionysii* – that Hilduin understood *concordari* to be a deponent verb; see also below, p. 493 and n. 150.

On the interchange of deponent with active forms of the infinitive in Medieval Latin, see Stotz, *Handbuch*, IV, pp. 338–344 [IX, §73].

⁵⁰ Among the *epistulae* of Pope Innocent [CPL 1641] there is only one letter addressed to a bishop in Gaul concerned with liturgical observance, namely *Ep.* II, to Victricius of Rouen, concerning recitation of *sacrae lectiones* according to the *Romanae ecclesiae norma* (PL xx. 469–481, esp. 469).

⁵¹ Among the small collection of surviving *epistulae* of Pope Gelasius [CPL 1667] are only two letters addressed to bishops in Gaul: *Ep.* XII, to Aeonius, bishop of Arles, on the need for harmony among the Christian churches (PL lix. 60), and *Ep.* XV, to Rusticus, bishop of Lyon, reiterating the gist of his earlier letter to Bishop Aeonius (PL lix. 158–160). Neither of these *epistulae* is concerned with ‘the Roman rite as it is to be imitated in all functions of ecclesiastical celebration’. Note that a single leaf of a manuscript containing part of a letter of Pope Gelasius (*Ep.* x. 5–8), written at Saint-Denis in the first quarter of the ninth century, now survives as Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 81: see Bischoff, *Katalog*, no. 1616; this manuscript is presumably a fragment of the manuscript of Gelasius consulted by Hilduin.

⁵² Among the huge corpus of letters which constitutes Pope Gregory’s *Registrum epistularum* [CPL 1714] there is inevitably a substantial number of letters addressed to bishops in Gaul (note that my references are to the numbering of the letters in the edition of Dag Norberg, CCL cxl–cxIA): one in Book V (*Ep.* LIX to all bishops in Gaul); five in Book VI (*Ep.* L to Palladius, bishop of Saintes; *Ep.* LII to Bishops Pelagius of Tours and Serenus of Marseilles; *Ep.* LIV to Virgil, bishop of Arles; *Ep.* LV to Bishops Desiderius of Vienne and Syagrius of Autun; and *Ep.* LVI to Virgil, bishop of Arles); seven in Book IX (*Ep.* CCIX to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles; *Ep.* CCXV, to Syagrius, bishop of Autun; *Ep.* CCXVII, to Virgil, bishop of Arles; *Ep.* CCXIX to Bishops Syagrius of Autun, Aetherius of Lyon, Virgil of Arles and Desiderius of Vienne; *Ep.* CCXX to Arigius, bishop of Gap; *Ep.* CCXXIII to Syagrius, bishop of Autun; and *Ep.* CCXXV to Bishops Virgil of Arles and Syagrius of Autun); eight in Book XI (*Ep.* X to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles; *Ep.* XXXIV to Desiderius, bishop of Vienne; *Ep.* XXXVIII to Virgil, bishop of Arles; *Ep.* XL to Aetherius, bishop of Lyon; *Ep.* XLI to all the bishops of Gaul; *Ep.* XLII and XLIV to Arigius, bishop of Gap; and *Ep.* XLV to Virgil, bishop of Arles); and one in Book XIII (*Ep.* VI to Aetherius, bishop of Lyon). None of these letters contains any discussion whatsoever of the ‘the Roman rite as it is to be imitated in all functions of ecclesiastical celebration’. Letters preserved elsewhere in the *Registrum epistularum* do contain such discussion (for example,

Book VIII, *Ep.* XXVIII, to Bishop Eulogius of Alexandria, on the proper form of recitation of saints' names in the mass, and Book IX, *Ep.* XXVII, on the use of the *Alleluia* and *Kyrie eleison* in the mass); but it is not clear that these are the discussions which Hilduin has in mind. One suspects that he was simply trying to impress the king with the great range of his learning.

⁵³Hilduin's enthusiasm here exceeds his understanding of the history of the liturgy: it is highly unlikely that mass formularies of any kind were composed 'in the period following their deaths', that is, shortly after 96 A.D., according to Hilduin's chronology of the career of St Dionysius. The earliest references to the composition of mass formularies in Gaul date from the second half of the fifth century, namely the compositions of Musaeus of Marseilles (d. c. 460) and Sidonius Apollinaris (d. c. 480); but none of these compositions survive (see C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. W.G. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986), p. 35). The earliest surviving *libellus missarum* dates from the early seventh century (ibid. pp. 38–46).

⁵⁴Hilduin's reference is to the hymn 'Caeli ciues adplaudite' (*ICL* 1789), ed. and discussed in Appendix VII (below, pp. 776–785). Once again Hilduin's tendentious argumentation is suspect, since the 'kind of mass handed down in Gallican services from the beginning' could hardly be established by reference to Eugenius of Toledo, who died in 657.

⁵⁵*Expositio Actuum Apostolorum* [*CPL* 1357], *ad Act.* xvii. 34: 'Hic est Dionysius qui post episcopus ordinatus Corinthiorum gloriose ecclesiam rexit' (*CCSL* cxxi. 73–74). Bede has confused Dionysius the Areopagite with Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (d. c. 170), who is mentioned by Eusebius in the *Historia ecclesiastica* (iv. 23. 3). Note that Bede does not say that Dionysius died at Corinth; and cf. Hilduin's discussion in c. 9, below.

⁵⁶Once again it is not clear which *libellus passionis istius* Hilduin has in mind: both the 'ancient *passio*' [*BHL* 2171], c. 2, and the 'anonymous *passio*' [*BHL* 2178], cc. 3–4, state that it was Pope Clement who sent St Dionysius to Gaul.

⁵⁷*Historia Francorum* i. 30: 'Huius tempore septem viri episcopi ordinati ad praedicandum in Galleis missi sunt, sicut historia passionis sancti martyris Saturnini denarrat. Ait enim: "Sub Decio et Grato consulibus, sicut fidei recordationi retinetur, primum ac summum Tholosana ciuitas sanctum Saturninum habere coeperat sacerdotem". Hii ergo missi sunt: Toronicis Catinus episcopus,

Arelatensibus Trophimus episcopus, Narbonae Paulus episcopus, Tolosae Saturninus episcopus, Parisiacis Dionisius episcopus, Arvernus Stremonius episcopus, Lemovicinus Marcialis est destinatus episcopus. De his vero beatus Dionisius Parisiorum episcopus, diversis pro Christi nomine adfectus poenis, praesentem vitam gladio imminenti finivit' (ed. Krusch and Levison, MGH, SS rer. Meroving. i/1. 48). The *Passio S. Saturnini* is listed BHL 7495; the consulship of Decius and Gratus fell in 250 A.D.

⁵⁸Decius was emperor 249–251 A.D. The persecution of Decius is mentioned by Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* vii. 1. 1–2 (ed. Mommsen, p. 637), and described in more detail by Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* vii. 21.

⁵⁹There is confusion here: Sixtus II (257–258) was not pope during the persecution of Decius, but during the later persecution under Valerian when, *inter alia*, St Laurence was martyred. Hilduin's confusion probably derives from Gregory of Tours, who at the beginning of the chapter of the *Historia Francorum* (i. 30) quoted in a previous note (n. 57), states that Pope Sixtus and St Laurence were martyred under Decius: 'Sub Decio vero imperatore multa bella adversum nomen christianum exoriuntur, et tanta strages de credentibus fuit, ut nec numerare queant. Bibillus episcopus Antiochenus cum tribus parvulis, id est Urbani, Prilidani et Epolon, et Xystus Romanae ecclesiae episcopus, et Laurentius archidiaconus et Hyppolitus ob Dominici nominis confessione per martyrium consummati sunt' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. i/1. 48).

⁶⁰It is true that Bede wrote a *Retractatio* [CPL 1358] of his earlier *Expositio* on the Acts of the Apostles: but he did not add to, or alter in any way, what he had earlier written concerning Dionysius the Areopagite.

⁶¹A problematical passage. The text as transmitted seems to say, 'Let them make a hole for vision to come there where the other eye ought to have been'; but the word *scobis* ('ditch', 'trench', 'hole') seems inappropriate in context. One wonders if Hilduin wrote *scobem*, from *scobis* ('sawdust' *vel sim.*), something which might have impeded vision: but one would then expect a somewhat different construction: *scobem, quae in altero oculo esse debuerat, aperiant* (but what does *aperiant* mean in such a context?). As often, Hilduin's delight in verbosity for its own sake thoroughly obscures his meaning.

⁶²Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* iv. 23, in the Latin translation of Rufinus [CPG 3495]: ed. Mommsen, p. 375.

⁶³Jerome, *De uiris inlustribus* [CPL 616], c. 27: ed. PL xxiii. 645.

⁶⁴*Historia ecclesiastica* iii. 4, trans. Rufinus (ed. Mommsen, p. 195). It was widely accepted in patristic times that the evangelist Luke was the author of the Acts of the Apostles; this view is stated explicitly *inter alia* by Eusebius *ibid.* iii. 4. 1: 'Lucas in Actibus apostolorum plurimos eius socios memorat' (ed. Mommsen, p. 193), etc.

⁶⁵Hilduin evidently had in his possession a Greek *synaxarion* (συναξαριον) of some sort, which possibly had been brought to Paris by the emissaries of Michael II. (On Greek *synaxaria* in general, see *ODB* III, p. 1991.) The Greek *synaxarion* corresponded roughly to the Latin *martyrologium*, and listed, in calendar order, the days on which saints were to be commemorated, and included brief hagiographical notices (as distinct from a *menologium*, which like a Latin legendary contained more extensive Lives of the individual saints). The book in question unfortunately does not survive: unfortunate above all because no Byzantine *synaxarion* as early as the ninth century survives (see W. Vander Meiren, 'Précisions nouvelles sur la généalogie des synaxaires byzantins', *AB* 102 (1984), 297–301). The famous 'Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople' (ed. *Acta ss., Propylaeum ad Acta SS. Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels, 1902)) dates from no earlier than the tenth century. Its entry for St Dionysius, given against 3 Oct., is reprinted and discussed in Appendix x (below, pp. 845–847). As may be seen, this entry has been interpolated by reference to Hilduin's identification (in his *Passio S. Dionysii*) of Dionysius the Areopagite and the pseudo-Dionysius, author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, with the bishop of Paris, executed under Domitian and buried at what later became Saint-Denis. It is possible that the first sentences of the entry in the *synaxarion* (giving the date of commemoration of Dionysius as 3 October, and describing his role in the Areopagus), and the final sentence (describing his physical appearance) preserve the form of the original entry contained in the decrepit martyrology which Hilduin had before him in Paris.

⁶⁶Hilduin here refers to the rescript by Jerome which prefaces the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* [CPL 2031; ed. De Rossi and Duchesne, in *Acta ss., Novembris* 11/i]: 'nam Constantinus augustus cum Caesaream fuisset ingressus et diceret memorato antestiti [*scil.* Eusebio] ut peteret aliqua beneficia Caesariensi aecclesiae profutura ... monimenta publica discutiendo perquirent ... de ipsis arcivis sublata ipsi Eusebio regio iussu diregerent' (ed. De Rossi and Duchesne, p. lxxxii). The 'decrepit martyrology' which Hilduin describes was apparently *not* the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which records against

9 Oct.: 'PARISIVS. sanctorum Dionisi episcopi Eleuteri presbyteri et Rustici diaconi' (ibid. p. 130), whereas the 'decrepit martyrology' or *synaxarion* recorded the death of Dionysius as 'bishop of Athens' (not Paris).

⁶⁷ Cf. Act. xvi. 1, 1 Cor. iv. 17, 1 Thess. iv. 2, etc. Among the Pauline epistles are two addressed to this Timotheus (at 1 Tim. i. 3 it is stated that Timotheus was Paul's representative at Ephesus).

⁶⁸ Tarasius was patriarch 784–806; see *ODB* III, p. 2011, and *DTC* XV, pp. 54–57. It was Tarasius who with the Empress Irene convoked the Second Council of Nicaea (787), at which Iconoclasm was condemned.

⁶⁹ Hilduin is the earliest source to mention the promotion of Athens to metropolitan status during the patriarchate of Tarasius. Possibly he derived this information from one of the Byzantine embassies to the Carolingian court (in 824 or 827); possibly the promotion was inspired by the Empress Irene, who was herself a native of Athens, and who was sole ruler from 797 to 802: see V. Laurent, 'L'érection de la métropole d'Athènes et le statut ecclésiastique de l'Illyricum au VIII^e siècle', [*Revue des Études byzantines* 1 (1943) 58–72, esp. 67–71.

⁷⁰ This matter is complex. We do not know the identity of Hilduin's detractors who say that Clement ordained Dionysius a bishop. It is true, as Hilduin says, that no such statement is found in the 'ancient *passio*' [*BHL* 2171], which has only the following vague assertion (c. 2): 'Sanctus igitur Dionysius qui tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda susceperat ...' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 269; ed. Appendix 1, below, p. 646). But neither does the 'ancient *passio*' – *pace* Hilduin – state that Dionysius was ordained 'apostle of all Gaul'; and, of the fifteen manuscripts of the 'ancient *passio*' which I have collated in Appendix 1, no variant reading concerning an apostolate of all Gaul is found, which makes me suspicious of Hilduin's statements concerning a corrupt exemplar. Interestingly, the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' [*BHL* 2178] *does* contain the explicit statement that Pope Clement ordained Dionysius a bishop (c. 4): 'Tum beatus Clemens sanctum Dionysium episcopum ordinavit' (Appendix 11, below, p. 684). It seems clear that the author of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', which was certainly in existence before Hilduin composed his own *Passio S. Dionysii*, is one of the detractors against whom Hilduin is railing (see Introduction, c. 3, above, p. 85). If so, Hilduin's words in the present chapter all but rule out the possibility that he had any role in the composition/redaction of the 'anonymous *passio*'.

⁷¹As in c. 5, above, the deponent form *concordari* is transmitted by the majority of witnesses (*concordare* in MS. L is presumably a scribal correction), suggesting once again that Hilduin understood *concordare* to be a deponent verb; cf. the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 14 (below, p. 493, with n. 150). On the interchange of deponent with active forms of the infinitive in Medieval Latin, see Stotz, *Handbuch*, IV, pp. 338–344 [IX, § 73].

⁷²Among the *Carmina* of Venantius Fortunatus are a number of poems (and two prose epistles) addressed to Gregory of Tours: *Carm.* v. 3–5, 8–17 [twelve poems]; viii. 11–21; ix. 6–7; and x. 12 [four poems] (ed. F. Leo, MGH, AA iv/1. 106–112, 118–122, 196–121, 211–214, 246–247). On the warm friendship between Venantius and Gregory, see J.W. George, *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 124–131 *et passim*.

⁷³Hilduin is the earliest author to attribute the hymn in question (inc. ‘Fortem fidelem militem’: *ICL* 5307) to Venantius Fortunatus. Although no manuscript earlier than Hilduin attributes the hymn *nominatim* to Venantius, and although it is not transmitted as part of the usual eleven-book collection of his verse, the attribution is entirely plausible, given the excellence of the poet’s handling of the quantitative iambic dimeter. (Note that, in spite of what Hilduin says, the hymn is quantitative, not rhythmical, verse.) The hymn is ed. and discussed in Appendix VII, below, pp. 785–794; the reference to Pope Clement is in stanza 2 (‘Clemente Roma praesule / ab urbe missus adfuit’).

⁷⁴It is not clear who Hilduin is arguing with here: who in the late 830s had denied that St Dionysius (of Paris) was identical with Dionysius the Areopagite? The notion was a very recent one, since the identification was first made by the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ which, as I suggest (Appendix II, below, p. 664) was composed, probably at Saint-Denis itself, during the period 790 × 834.

⁷⁵Cf. John viii. 44 (‘quia non est veritas in eo cum loquitur mendacium ex propriis loquitur, quia mendax est et pater eius’).

⁷⁶Apc. xiv. 4 (‘hii qui sequuntur agnum quocumque abierit’).

⁷⁷The account of wild beasts venerating St Dionysius is found only in Hilduin’s own *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 28 (above, p. 288); it is neither in the ‘ancient *passio*’ nor in the ‘anonymous *passio*’.

⁷⁸ Cf. Rom. vi. 9 ('Christus surgens ex mortuis iam non moritur').

⁷⁹ Cf. 1Pet. iii. 22 ('qui est in dextera Dei profectus in caelum, subiectis sibi angelis et potestatibus et virtutibus'). Hilduin has imported the 'Principalities' (*Principatus*) and 'Powers' (*Potestates*) from his own translation of pseudo-Dionysius, *De caelesti hierarchia*, c. 11 (ed. Théry, II, p. 50).

⁸⁰ The difference in the treatment of Dionysius lies in the fact that, as a citizen of Athens, Dionysius was a Roman citizen; and, in case of executions for capital crimes such as *maiestas*, Roman citizens were granted the privilege of a swift and relatively painless death by decapitation with a sharp axe (the use of a blunt axe would inevitably increase the pain), whereas non-Roman citizens such as slaves were sentenced to death through the most excruciating tortures imaginable, such as exposure to wild beasts or burning alive. The fact that most Christian martyrs were not Roman citizens explains the fact which Hilduin found most puzzling, namely that by and large Christians were executed by means of torture rather than decapitation.

⁸¹ Quoted from Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius, *Chronicon* [CPG 3494]: ed. PL xxvii. 473–474; ed. R. Helm, GCS xlvii. 123. The story of T. Manlius Torquatus the younger, who was condemned to be flogged to death by his father T. Manlius Torquatus Imperiosus (consul in 347, 344 and 340 B.C.) for having fought a duel in single combat with an enemy commander against orders (*extra ordinem*), is known from Roman historians such as Livy (viii. 7. 16). The duel took place before the battle of Vesperis (340 B.C.). Eusebius mistakenly placed the event in the 111th Olympiad (corresponding to 332–329 B.C.); Hilduin, who was simply following Eusebius/Jerome, had no means of correcting the error.

⁸² On the meaning of *matricularius* (equivalent to *famulus*, 'servant') in early Medieval Latin contexts, see P. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, IV, pp. 150–151.

⁸³ Eccl. ix. 10.

⁸⁴ The quotation is not recorded in the electronic databases; but cf. Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* ccxxiii. 1: 'Ab ipsis enim sanctorum martyrum in ueritate festiuitatum gaudia celebrantur, qui ipsorum martyrum exempla sequuntur. Sollemnitates enim *martyrum exhortationes sunt martyriorum*; ut imitari non pigeat, quod celebrare delectat' (CCSL civ. 882).

⁸⁵The quotation is not recorded in the electronic databases, nor in H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, 6 vols. (Göttingen, 1963), with the *Neue Reihe* of same, ed. P.G. Schmidt, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1982–1986). Cf., however, S. Singer, *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi*, 13 vols. in 14 (Berlin, 1995–2002), VII [1998], p. 66, s.v. KLEID 1. 4. 2. 2, nos. 45 ('Rara in tenui facundia panno' = Iuvenal, *Sat.* vii. 145) and 46 ('Si careas veste nec sis vestitus honeste / Nullius es laudis quamvis sapis omne quod audis').

⁸⁶Act. x. 34 ('non est personarum acceptor Deus').

⁸⁷Cf. Eccli. xviii. 1 ('qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul').

⁸⁸See IV Reg. xxii. 8–10.

⁸⁹Dan. xii. 4.

⁹⁰The words *cuius hic gesta scribuntur* seem to imply that the present letter was intended to be prefixed to, or transmitted with, the *Passio S. Dionysii*.

Commentary to the Prose *Passio S. Dionysii*

¹The statement that the place to which St Dionysius carried his head, which became his final resting-place, namely Saint-Denis, was ‘about three miles from the city of Paris’, is in blatant contradiction both to geography and to the text of Hilduin itself, according to which (c. 34) the place of deposition was at the *sexto a memorata urbe lapide* (above, p. 298, and see below, n. 303). The discrepancy raises the possibility that the introductory *capitulum* was composed by someone other than Hilduin; or else that *tertio* should be emended to *sexto*.

²Here, and frequently throughout his *Passio S. Dionysii*, Hilduin repeats the wording of the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2171], the work which he referred to in his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II, c. 5: above, p. 206) and which is edited by Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, and in Appendix I (below, pp. 611–659); but he also drew heavily on a second work concerning St Dionysius, what I call the ‘anonymous *passio*’ [*BHL* 2178], as the following notes make clear: the ‘anonymous *passio*’ is edited by Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, and in Appendix II (below, pp. 660–703). These two earlier works provided Hilduin with the framework for his narrative of St Dionysius. With Hilduin’s first sentence, compare that of the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 1 (and note that here and throughout these notes I italicize the words of the ‘ancient *passio*’ which were retained by Hilduin): *Post Domini nostri Iesu Christi salutiferam passionem, post resurrectionis unice singularisque mysterium, post ascensionem eius, qua manifestavit hominibus numquam se defuisse quo rediit, apostolorum praedictio uniuersis gentibus profutura successit. Qui cum imminere suas cernerent passiones, quod Domino Iesu Christo docente didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt, adeo ut fide crescente non pauci mererentur fieri confessores, quos modo ecclesia catholica gaudet promeruisse martyres* (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 268; Appendix I, below, p. 640). The words omitted here by Hilduin (‘Qui cum imminere ... docuerunt’) were moved by him to the following sentence (see following note).

³Hilduin continues to draw on the wording of the ‘ancient *passio*’, with minor modifications and additions: *Qui cum imminere suas cernerent passiones, quod Domino Iesu Christo docente didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt, adeo ut fide crescente non pauci mererentur fieri confessores ...* etc. (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 268, and Appendix I, below, p. 640). At this point, however, Hilduin abandons the narrative of the ‘ancient

passio' in order to interpolate the story of the meeting of Dionysius with St Paul at the Areopagus in Athens.

⁴ As Théry has pointed out, Hilduin characteristically used Latin *benignitas* to render Greek ἀγαθότης throughout his translation of the pseudo-Dionysius (I, pp. 29–32); whereupon the term enters his vocabulary to describe the divinity. Cf. also below, n. 72 (the adjective *benignus* used by Hilduin to render Greek ἀγαθός).

⁵ Act. xiii. 9.

⁶ Cf. Rom. xv. 19 ('ita ut ab Ierusalem per circuitum usque ad Illyricum repleverim evangelium Christi').

⁷ Eccli. xli. 23.

⁸ II Tim. i. 11.

⁹ Claudius was emperor 41–54 A.D.; he is mentioned in Act. xi. 28 and xviii. 2, the source which Hilduin was here following.

¹⁰ St Paul's trip to Athens is described in the 'anonymous *passio*' [BHL 2178], though not in the 'ancient *passio*' [BHL 2171]; in this case, cf. the wording of the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 3: 'aduenit Athenis ibique sanctum uirum Dionysium gentilibus inueniens erroribus implicatum ...' (Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 43, and Appendix II, below, p. 682).

¹¹ Hilduin draws his description of Athens and of the conversion of Dionysius (cc. 2–8) principally from the *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum* (ptd below, Appendix IV, pp. 728–743); however, he frequently interpolates wording drawn from other sources (such as Augustine, Isidore and Aethicus Ister), and of his own devising. Cf. his version of the first sentence of c. 3 with that in the *Epistola Aristarchi* (here and throughout I mark Hilduin's verbal debts with italics): 'Athenae ciuitas est *in confinio Thraciae et Lacedaemoniorum posita*' (below, p. 730); here the words 'media inter Achaiam et Macedoniam' have been interpolated, perhaps from Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 10.

¹² This phrase ('qua nihil ... clarius') derives ultimately from Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* xviii. 9: 'Ita illa ciuitas mater et nutrix liberalium doctrinarum, et tot tantorumque philosophorum, qua nihil habuit Graecia clarius atque nobilius'

(CCSL xlvi. 600). Augustine's sentence is repeated nearly verbatim by Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 10; but for evidence that Augustine rather than Isidore was Hilduin's source, see below, n. 42.

¹³ Expanded from a brief phrase in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 3: '*situ terrarum montuosa*' (Appendix IV, below, p. 730).

¹⁴ From Æthicus Ister, *Cosmographia*, c. 72a: 'Annos quinque ambiens omnem Greciam laudationem intulit, paterna viscera et materna ubera eam nuncupavit' (ed. Prinz, p. 185; ed. Herren, p. 158).

¹⁵ Hilduin is apparently trying to say that Athens has the Aegean on one side and (although separated by an isthmus) the Ionian on the other (cf. the verse *Passio S. Dionysii*, i. 91–92: above, p. 312). The words *bithalassi more* have been interpolated here into a sentence from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 3 ('*Ionici maris faucibus interclusa, Aegeum pelagus sinistra parte contingit*': Appendix IV, below, p. 730). For the meaning of *bithalassi*, cf. *TLL* s.v. 'bithaliassus', 'a place where two seas meet' (and cf. the Greek text of Act. xxvii. 41: περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον διθάλασσον, 'when we were fallen into a place where two seas met', which would suggest that *bithalassi* is an error for a transliterated form *dithalassi*); for the adjective *bithalassus* in a glossary added to a copy of the 'Philoxenus Glossary' in Paris, BNF, lat. 7651, which is clearly linked in some way with Hilduin, see Lapidge, 'Hilduin of Saint-Denis and the *Conscriptio Visbii*', pp. 414–415.

¹⁶ The word *conlectata* is recorded only as a glossary word in *TLL* (glossing συλλέγω).

¹⁷ The words 'sola praeter ... est et origo' have been interpolated by Hilduin into a sentence from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 3: '*Vrbs inclita et antiqua, terrarum fertilitate opulenta, fandi et eloquentiae nutrix, philosophorum et sapientium genetrix, artium uariarum et diuitiarum opulencia prae ceteris urbibus pollebat*' (Appendix IV, below, p. 730).

¹⁸ Slightly altered from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 3, which has: '... artium uariarum et diuitiarum opulencia prae ceteris urbibus pollebat' (Appendix IV, below, p. 730). For the phrase *inuentores totius peritiae*, cf. perhaps the panegyric of Claudius Mamertinus, *Gratiarum actio* ix. 3, addressed to the emperor Julian (the 'Apostate'): 'Ipsae illae bonarum artium magistrae et inuentrices Athenae' (ed. R.A.B. Mynors, *Panegyrici Latini* (Oxford, 1964), p. 127).

¹⁹ Cf. *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 3: 'Istaec posita est in Attica prouincia, ubi Cecrops et Menander reges gentium claruerunt, ubi Apollo et Hypocrates et Aristoteles nati sunt, qui toto orbe in ipsis temporibus sapientiae floribus fulserunt' (Appendix IV, below, pp. 730–732). For Hilduin's addition *Helladis*, cf. perhaps Bede, *Nomina regionum atque locorum de Actibus Apostolorum*: 'Graecia: prouincia quaedam Achaiae quae a Graecis scriptoribus Ἑλλάς uocata est, quondam Attica dicta, in qua Athenarum ciuitas est' (CCSL cxxi. 171), and Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 4. 10.

²⁰ Cf. *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 3: 'In hac magnopere urbe tempore Cecropis et Menandri regum simulacrorum cultus et idolorum superstitionosa religio primitus reperta emicuit' (Appendix IV, below, p. 732).

²¹ Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 9: 'et Atheniensium urbs ex Mineruae appellatione nomen sortita est.'

²² The final two sentences in c. 2 ('Haec quoque ... mutuauit') have no correlate in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, and are an addition by Hilduin, influenced perhaps by Hegesippus, *Historiae* [= Josephus, *De bello Iudaico*] ii. 9: 'illae Athenae, quae leges aliis dabant, nunc alienis legibus famulantur' (PL xv. 2047 [2148] = CSEL lxvi. 149).

²³ Hilduin's c. 3 is drawn almost entirely from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 4. Hilduin's rephrasing of the first sentence shows his peculiar penchant for difficult and obscure language; the *Epistola Aristarchi* has simply 'Quinque etenim regionibus dispartita describitur' (Appendix IV, below, p. 732).

²⁴ This sentence is taken from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 4, with minimal alteration: 'Prima regio est, quae Aegeum mare respicit, mons supereminens urbi, ubi Saturni et Priapi aurea simulacra uariis colebantur illusionibus' (Appendix IV, below, p. 732).

²⁵ Hilduin spells out the etymology which is merely implicit in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 4: 'quam regionem Cronopagum Graeci nuncupant (Cronos etenim Graeci Saturnum uocant)' (Appendix IV, below, pp. 732–734). For the identification of Cronospagus with either Lykabetos or (perhaps more likely) the Acropolis, see Appendix IV, below, p. 734 with n. 29.

²⁶ The first sentence describing the *secunda regio* closely follows the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 4: 'Secunda regio Athenarum est, quae respicit contra Thraciam, ubi

terebintus mirae magnitudinis inerat, et ubi Fauni, agrestis hominis, simulacrum a pastoribus diebus constitutis colebatur' (Appendix IV, below, p. 734). Note that the *Epistola* reads 'respicit contra Thraciam' (suggesting that *contra* should be restored to Hilduin's text; but note that in the first sentence of c. 3 Hilduin construes *respicio* with direct object: *Ægeum mare respicit*), and that Hilduin complicates the reference to Faunus by adding an unnecessary reference to Siluanus. The following sentence ('Quae regio Panospagus ... uocitant') has no correlate in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, which suggests that Hilduin had before him a more complete text of the *Epistola Aristarchi* than that which has been transmitted. Hilduin may also have drawn here on Isidore, *Etym.* xi. 31. 3: 'Dicuntur quidam et silvestres homines, quos nonnulli Faunos ficarios vocant'. Where he found the word *Panitae*, and what he thought it meant, is unclear to me: possibly it is a calque on the Greek adj. Πανικός, '(follower) of Pan', latinized as **Panicus*, hence nom. pl. **Panicae*, with subsequent interchange in spelling of *c* and *t*. Note also that the *Epistola Aristarchi* does not specify that the statues are venerated 'under' (*sub qua*) the turpentine-tree, which is merely Hilduin's inference. For the identification of Panospagus with the northern districts of Athens, see Appendix IV (below, p. 735 with n. 30).

²⁷The description of the *tertia regio* also follows that of the *Epistola Aristarchi* fairly closely, except that Hilduin characteristically replaces plain (and clear) expressions in his source, such as *respicit portum*, with tortuous expressions (in this case *intendit portum*). Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 4: '*Tertia regio urbis Athenarum est, quae respicit portum Neptuni*' (Appendix IV, below, p. 734). For the identification of Possedonospagus and the *portus Neptuni* with the Piraeus, the principal port of Athens, see Appendix IV (below, p. 735 with n. 31).

²⁸The statement that the populace assembles at the new moon to worship Neptune and Diana has been mistakenly transferred by Hilduin from the description of the *quarta regio* in the *Epistola Aristarchi*: '*in colle Tritoniae, mons in medio urbis positus, ubi concursus totius urbis, luna renascente, ueniebat ad colendum scilicet Martem et Herculem*' (Appendix IV, below, p. 734); and see following note.

²⁹Hilduin's description of the *quarta regio* refers to the Areopagus, and has been taken over from a confused passage in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 4: '*Quarta regio Atheniensis urbis est, ubi idolum Martis et Herculis simulacrum colebatur ... quos deos fortissimos adorabant*' (Appendix IV, below, p. 734). Hilduin has added to the confusion by altering the *Epistola's* phrase *in colle Tritoniae* to

the meaningless (in terms of Athenian topography) *in colle Tritonii montis*: there is no Mt Tritonius in Athens. *Tritonia* was an epithet of Minerva, the Latin name of Pallas Athena; the phrase *collis Tritoniae* in the *Epistola* can only refer to the Acropolis, which was sacred to Athena, and on which stood her most glorious temple, the Parthenon (see Appendix IV, below, p. 734 with n. 29). The Areopagus, by contrast, was a lower hill located to the northwest of the Acropolis. Its name derives from Ἄρειος + πάγος, ‘Hill of Ares’, and is well attested in ancient sources, not least biblical Act. xvii. 19–22. Note that the Areopagus is the only one of these five regions of Athens which is attested in classical sources; the remainder – or at least their names – were apparently fabricated by the author of the *Epistola Aristarchi* (see Appendix IV, below, p. 733 with n. 27).

³⁰Although the manuscripts are unanimous in reading *ingeniique*, the enclitic *-que* is superfluous.

³¹The phrase *ubi etiam exercebantur ... sollertia* is Hilduin’s addition, and refers to the well documented fact that the Areopagus was the original meeting-place of the *boule* or ‘council’ of Athens, which met to promulgate laws and to try major offences such as homicide. The statement is not found in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, but was probably known to Hilduin from Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* xviii. 10: ‘ex quo loco Areopagitae appellati sunt curiales urbis eiusdem’ (CCSL xlvi. 600); Augustine goes on to describe how Mars himself was tried for homicide on the Areopagus.

³²There is not much to choose between *staticulum* and *statunculum* (the reading of MSS. CEGOT): both are exceptionally rare. For *staticulum*, cf. Pliny, *NH* xxxiv. 17. 48 [§163], xxxvii. 10. 54 [§140]. But note that Hilduin’s poetic *Passio S. Dionysii* reads *statunculus* at this point (i. 156; above, p. 316).

³³The description of the *quinta regio* follows the *Epistola Aristarchi* fairly closely, although the garbled structure of the final clause (‘in qua ... ceperat urbem’) has no correlate in the *Epistola*: ‘*Quinta regio* urbis Atheniensis est, quae respicit *ad portam Scaeam*, ubi idolum et simulacrum Mercurii positum est; qui locus Ermipagus nominatur (Ermis enim graece, latine Mercurius dicitur)’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 736). The name *Porta Scaea* (‘Western Gate’) is not attested outside of Hilduin and the *Epistola Aristarchi*. It presumably refers to the Dipylon Gate on the western perimeter of the city, on the *dromos* (later called the Panathenaic Way) leading from the agora through the gate to the principal cemetery (the Ceramicus) and the Academy of Plato, and then on

to Megara and Corinth. The double gates enclosed an altar dedicated to Zeus Herkeios and Hermes: see Appendix IV (below, p. 736 with n. 33).

³⁴Hilduin evidently preferred the abl. pl. form *moeniis* to the more usual form *moenibus* (see Kühner – Holzweissig, p. 472 (§107), and *TLL* VIII, col. 1326; cf. also below, c. 18 (*cum arcis Romanae moeniis*)). In his verse *Passio S. Dionysii*, by contrast, Hilduin uses the form *moenibus* when followed by a word beginning with a vowel (i. 81: *moenibus aucta*, i. 287: *moenibus urbem*), for the simple reason that *moeniis* would not scan in a hexameter.

³⁵The description of Athens is greatly expanded from what is found in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 5: ‘Haec urbs maris terraeque, siluarum et montium, fluminum et uirectarum opulentia prae ceteris urbibus Graeciae nobilissima floruit’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 736). The source of Hilduin’s expansion is the lengthy description of Athens in the *Cosmographia* of Æthicus Ister (c. 72a), which is signalled by his parenthesis, *ut sic dictum sit*: ‘Moenia munita mare floredo cincta, melliflua rivola seminibus pinguissima, fluminibus consitis, stipatis virentia coma, arbusta et nemora ornata mala punica, aequora culta odoratis aromatibus vernantia, colles eminentes nicolais atque olivis, coaltis vinitis nectaria gignentis falerna ... Pascua provida pecudum armentorum conmeantia pastorum adferre duplicitia. Contenta auro fulvo argoinea metallo argentique fodina non alta clandestina ... opes suavesque et dulces, crispantia vectigalia aequor defert, unda mater fecunda’ (ed. Prinz, pp. 185–187; ed. Herren, pp. 158–160). Comparison of this passage with Hilduin’s abbreviation shows at a glance what a careless redactor Hilduin was, and why his text as transmitted often verges on nonsense.

³⁶This sentence is from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 5: ‘... quae tunc urbibus ceteris praeferebatur, modo gentium impetu oppressa et intercepta deprimitur’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 736). Comparison with the source suggests that Hilduin’s *dirimitur* is a corruption of *deprimitur*. It is perhaps worth asking whether the sentence betrays any genuine knowledge of Dark Age Athens, which was indeed perennially subject to invasion and conquest; see K.M. Setton, ‘On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries and their Alleged Occupation of Athens’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 58 (1954), 311–319, esp. pp. 311–314 [repr. in his *Athens in the Middle Ages*, no. 11].

³⁷The gloss *consecratalis* on *symmistes* does not occur anywhere in Hilduin’s translation of the *Corpus Dionysiicum*.

³⁸The words *Vbi in aduentu ... nominabatur* have no correlate in the *Epistola Aristarchi*. It would appear that this Apollo Cronopagita was concocted by Hilduin to serve as a foil for Dionysius Areopagita, yet to be introduced (the name was possibly suggested by the mention of an Apollo from Alexandria, active in Ephesus, in Act. xviii. 24). The author of the *Epistola Aristarchi* had mentioned, among the *auditores* of St Paul at Athens, one Apollinaris Cronopagita (c. 2), otherwise unknown, and then, further on (c. 5), one Apollo, with no epithet, said to be the descendant of another Apollo, an Athenian nobleman: 'Apollo dictus est Apollinis cuiusdam nobilissimi Atheniensium principis prosapia deriuatus' (Appendix IV, below, p. 736). Hilduin, it seems, mistakenly conflated the mention of Apollinaris Cronopagita with this Apollo of Athens (otherwise unknown) to create his Apollo Cronopagita.

³⁹This Apollo, prince of Athens (and ancestor of Apollo Cronopagita) is otherwise unknown (see previous note). The *Epistola Aristarchi* makes him the son of one Nicholas, a man distinguished in Greek learning, a detail which is taken over by Hilduin.

⁴⁰The words 'cuiusdam ... magister fuit' are taken more or less verbatim from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 5: 'Apollinis cuiusdam nobilissimi Atheniensium principis prosapia deriuatus. Cuius pater Nicolaus, uir magni ingenii, litterarum studio pollens, ciuis et inclitus Argolicae artis magister' (Appendix IV, below, p. 736). The adj. *Argolicus* properly means 'of the Argolid' (that is, the northern part of the Peloponnesus). According to *TLL* and the databases, the phrase *Argolica ars* is not attested. In medieval Latin, the adjective came to mean, more generally, 'Greek', as in Aldhelm, *De pedum regulis*, c. 143: 'ceteri Graeci disertitudinis facundia freti et Argolicae urbanitatis privilegio praediti' (MGH, AA xv. 202), and that is probably its meaning here.

⁴¹Although the manuscripts are unanimous in reading *ritu*, better syntax would have been achieved by the gen. pl. *rituum* (thus taking *paganorum* as adj.).

⁴²The remainder of c. 4 ('Huius igitur ... discipulum') is taken nearly verbatim from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 5: 'Cuius filius Apollo, dum inter philosophorum scolas clarus haberetur et autenticas bibliothecas reuolueret, dum deditus erat philosophiae et uanis superstitionibus ritus paganorum, audiuit Paulum apostolum noua et inaudita antea dogmata praedicantem. Qui, dum ei resistere non ualeret, inuenit ueram esse doctrinam quam Paulus apud Athenienses docuit. Relinquens uanas superstitiones gentium, prouolutus pedibus apostoli, deprecatus est, ut ei ueram doctrinam et uiam salutis ostenderet, seseque Christi, non

Saturni, proferebat esse *discipulum*' (Appendix IV, below, pp. 736–738); but note that Hilduin replaced the simple phrasing of his source ('uanas superstitiones gentium') with the bombastic 'daemoniacas ludificationes et gentilitias adinventiones'. It is possible that the phrase *daemoniacas ludificationes* was suggested by phrasing in Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* xviii. 9: '[Athenae] qua nihil habuit Graecia clarius atque nobilius, ludificantibus daemonibus de lite deorum suorum' (CCSL xlviii. 600). Hilduin quoted part of this passage above, c. 2 (p. 471 and n. 12). The meaning of the obscure phrase 'authenticas bibliothecas reuolueret' is clarified by Hilduin's rendition in the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* i. 208–209 ('antiquos cupidus sensu percurrere libros / sollicitus satagit'), above, p. 320.

⁴³The ultimate source for St Paul's debate on the Areopagus is Act. xvii. 19 (and cf. Act. xvii. 20 for the sense of *uocis nouitate*). With the exception of the first few words (*His ita gestis, quodam die*) the *Epistola Aristarchi* is not laid under contribution in this chapter.

⁴⁴Hilduin uses the word *theosophus* twice in his translation of the pseudo-Dionysian *De caelesti hierarchia* (ed. Théry, II, pp. 46, 65), but does not explain it on either occasion as *Deum sapiens*.

⁴⁵In spite of what Hilduin says, the reference is unmistakably to the god Dionysus (*sic*, not Dionysius!), who, in Greek mythology, was the son of Zeus (not Deucalion) and Semele. The story of his unusual birth is mentioned in Ovid, *Fasti* vi. 483–485 ('Bacche, racemiferos hedera redimite capillos ...: arserat obsequio Semele Iouis' etc.), *Met.* iii. 287–321, and Nemesianus, *Cynegetica*, lines 16–20. (On Hilduin's knowledge of the *Cynegetica*, see Introduction, above, p. 18). Why Hilduin replaced Zeus with Deucalion is not clear (Deucalion had nothing to do with Dionysus): perhaps through simple ignorance of Greek mythology.

⁴⁶The inventor of viticulture was Liber Pater, the Roman god of wine, who corresponded to (and was identified with) the Greek god Dionysus. For the phrase *uitis inuentor*, cf. Sedulius Scottus, *In Donati artem maiorem*, iii: 'nam ut uinum pro uitis inuentore hoc est Libero patre posuit' (CCCM xl C. 380). Recall that Sedulius Scottus was a protégé of Hilduin during the period of the latter's sojourn in Lotharingia as archbishop-elect of Cologne (see Introduction, above, pp. 57–58).

⁴⁷The detail that Dionysius was twenty-five years old at the time derives from the *Epistola ad Apollophanium* or *Letter to Apollophanes*, which is quoted in

extenso in c. 14 (on this text, see below, Appendix v). The statement in the *Letter to Apollophanes* derives in turn from the *Scholia* of John of Scythopolis to the text of pseudo-Dionysius (quoted below, n. 145).

⁴⁸The statement that Dionysius went with Apollophanes (Latinized by Hilduin as Apollophanus) to Heliopolis derives from the pseudo-Dionysius *Ep.* VII, paraphrased in detail by Hilduin above, c. 14 (p. 256); it is also found in the (pseudo-)pseudo-Dionysius *Letter to Apollophanes* (which is heavily dependent on *Ep.* VII). Note that neither *Ep.* VII nor the *Letter to Apollophanes* specifies that the Heliopolis in question was in Egypt (there was also, for example, a Heliopolis in Syria). The smaller Heliopolis was in the remote Egyptian desert, some 100 miles (176 km) southeast of Alexandria; Heliopolis in the Roman province of Coele Syria was some 35 miles (55 km) north of Damascus. In fact the earliest source to specify that the Heliopolis in question was in Egypt was apparently John of Scythopolis, who in his *Scholia* on the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius [CPG 6852], commenting on *Ep.* VII, wrote that 'He is probably speaking of Heliopolis in Egypt, for he was still studying at this time' (PG iv. 541; trans. Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus*, p. 255).

⁴⁹These words, which have the semblance of a direct quotation, are not in fact found in the *Epistola ad Apollophanium* (quoted in full above, c. 14).

⁵⁰Hilduin now returns to the biblical account of St Paul's journey to Athens as narrated in Act. xvii. 16–34.

⁵¹Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 6: '... beatum Dionysium interrogare coepit quid coleret aut quibus numinibus in tam spatioso et uenerabili loco inseriret' (Appendix IV, below, p. 738).

⁵²Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 6: 'Cui ait Dionysius: "Deos, quos coluerunt patres nostri, quorum uirtute et sollertia mater terra continetur, hos colimus et adoramus; aras, quas uides, Martis et Herculis, Mercurii et Priapi nomine et honore sacratae sunt"' (Appendix IV, below, p. 738).

⁵³Act. xvii. 23 ('praeteriens enim et videns simulacra uestra inueni et aram in qua scriptum erat ignoto deo'); cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 6: 'Dum uero Paulus singula altaria et simulacra falsorum deorum perlustrasset, inter ceteras aras repperit altare unum, in quo erat titulus desuper scriptus: DEO IGNOTO' (Appendix IV, below, p. 738). On the concept of the 'unknown god' in Hel-

lenistic and Roman religion, see E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos: Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1956), esp. pp. 58–62 and 78–80, and P.W. van der Horst, ‘The Altar of the “Unknown God” in Athens (Acts 17.23) and the Cult of “Unknown Gods” in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods’, in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II. *Principat*, XVIII/ii [1989], pp. 1426–1456.

⁵⁴ Cf. Luc. i. 33 (‘et regni eius non erit finis’); cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 6: ‘... et conuersus Paulus ad eos interrogauit illos: “Quis est ille deus ignotus?” Cui respondit inter ceteros Dionysius: “Quia adhuc non est ipse deus demonstratus inter deos, sed est incognitus nobis et uenturo saeculo futurus, et ipse est Deus, qui regnaturus est in caelo et in terra, et regnum ipsius non accipiet finem”’ (Appendix IV, below, pp. 738–740).

⁵⁵ Cf. Phil. iii. 20 (‘nostra autem conversatio in caelis est’); cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 7: ‘Interrogans Paulus ait: “Quid uobis uidetur? Homo erit, an spiritus deorum?” Respondentes dixerunt quia et uerus Deus et uerus homo, et ipse renouaturus est mundum, sed adhuc incognitus est hominibus, quia apud Deum in caelo conuersatio eius est’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 740). For the phrase *uerus Deus et uerus homo*, see the following note.

⁵⁶ Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 7: ‘Paulus dixit: “Illum Deum praedico uobis, quem incognitum usque nunc habuistis. Natus est de uirgine, sedet ad dexteram patris, uerus Deus, uerus homo, per quem omnia facta sunt”’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 740). The formulation in the *Epistola Aristarchi* takes as its point of departure St Paul’s words to the Athenians in Act. xvii. 24 (‘Deus qui fecit mundum et omnia quae in eo sunt’ etc.). Hilduin’s formulation has been amplified in turn by the incorporation of wording from the Apostles’ Creed, in the version known as the ‘Textus receptus’ (T), which evolved in S.W. France in the seventh century or earlier, and was current in France and Germany from the eighth century onwards: ‘qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria uirgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis, inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos’ (cited by J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London, 1972), p. 369). It is this version of Apostles’ Creed with which Hilduin was evidently familiar; it is cited again in c. 26, when St Dionysius and his companions make their confession of faith at their trial before the prefect (below, n. 260). Note also that the phrase *uerus Deus et uerus homo* has been interpolated, either from a patristic source such as Augustine, *Serm.* ccxxxvii. 2 (PL xxxviii. 1123) or Hilary of Poitiers, *De*

Trinitate i. 11 (PL x. 32), or from a source nearer in date to Hilduin himself, such as Paulinus of Aquileia, *Contra Felicem* ii. 2: 'quia de spiritu sancto natus et uirgine Maria et uerus Deus et uerus homo' (CCCM xcv. 49), or Alcuin, *Contra Felicem* i. 13 and iii. 13 (PL ci. 138 and 169), *Adversus Elipandum* i. 9 (PL ci. 248), and as part of a credal statement in the *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*, c. xi (PL ci. 1137).

⁵⁷ Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 7: "Notus in Iudaea Deus et magnum in Israel" et sanctum nomen eius' (Appendix IV, below, p. 740); the biblical quotation is from Ps. lxxv. 2 ('notus in Iudaea Deus, in Israhel magnum nomen eius').

⁵⁸ Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 7: 'quem incognitum usque nunc habuistis, modo cognoscite, quia ipse est Deus solus et praeter illum non est alius deus, qui nos de morte reduxit ad uitam, qui caelum et terram, homines et angelos in unitate regni sui coniunxit, qui uiuificat et mortificat, qui claudit et nemo aperit, qui aperit et nemo claudit' (Appendix IV, below, p. 740); for the embedded biblical quotations, cf. 1Sm. ii. 2 ('non est sanctus ut est Dominus neque enim est alius extra te'), 1Sm. ii. 6 ('Dominus mortificat et vivificat'), 1Petr. iii. 18 ('mortificatus quidem carne, vivificatus autem spiritu'), and Apc. iii. 7 ('qui aperit et nemo cludit, et cludit et nemo aperit').

⁵⁹ The entire chapter is expanded from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 8: 'Haec et alia plurima Paulo praedicante, cum per singula templa praedicaret Christum Dei filium esse, Dionysius ueram doctrinam et dogma salutis audiens et nihil esse idola, quibus seruiebat, et daemonia magis quam deos esse recognoscens, spiritum sanctum et uerba uitae in Pauli doctrina euidenter sentiens, diuina gratia instigatus ad Paulum se conuertens expetiuit ab eo, ut pro illo diuinam misericordiam deprecaretur et eius discipulus esse mereretur' (Appendix IV, below, p. 740).

⁶⁰ Io. ix. 1–6 ('et praeteriens uidit hominem caecum a nativitate ... et fecit lutum ex sputo et linuit lutum super oculos eius'); cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 9: 'Cumque die altero iter ageret Paulus, caecus quidam, oculorum luce priuatus, Pauli se postulat uirtute sanari. Mox ergo sanctus apostolus, Domini et magistri sui Iesu imitator effectus, crucem eius diu clausis oculis imposuit' (Appendix IV, below, p. 742).

⁶¹ Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 9: 'Vade ad Dionysium et dic ei, quia Paulus seruus Iesu Christi ad te me misit, ut memor sponsionis tuae ad eum uenire non pigriteris, et baptismum salutis accipiens ab omnibus absolui possis nexibus delictorum' (Appendix IV, below, p. 742).

⁶² Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 9: ‘Mox is, qui lumen receperat, obedientiae pede uerba iubentis impleuit et ad Dionysium properans Pauli ei uerba per ordinem nuntiauit’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 742).

⁶³ Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 10: ‘Sed electus iam Domini Dionysius, ut caecum respexit firmis luminibus palpitantem, his eum uerbis allocutus est, dicens: “Tune es ille, quem caecum natum cuncti cognouerant affines?” Cui ille respondit: “Ego nempe sum, qui caecus natus, usque nunc lux mihi uitae est negata praesentis; sed ipse Paulus, qui te ad se uenire mandauit, inuocata Iesu Christi et magistri sui uirtute sanitatis mihi lumen indulsit”’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 742).

⁶⁴ Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 10: ‘Qui protinus surgens ...’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 742).

⁶⁵ Act. xvii. 34 (‘quidam uero uiri adherentes ei [*scil.* Paulo] crediderunt, in quibus et Dionysius Ariopagita et mulier nomine Damaris et alii cum eis’). Note that the biblical text does not state that Damaris was the wife of Dionysius (nor does it say anything about their desire for offspring). As he states explicitly in his *Ep.* 11 to the Emperor Louis (above, p. 204, with nn. 35–39), Hilduin derived this information from various patristic sources, among them John Chrysostom, *De sacerdotio* iv. 5, probably in the Latin translation of Annianus of Celeda (PG xlvi. 669: ‘Areopagita uero ille, superstitionissimae urbis illius ciuis, nonne ex sola eius [*scil.* Pauli] concione cum uxore sequutus est eum?’) and Ambrose, *Ep. ad Vercellenses*, c. 22 (CSEL lxxxii. 247: ‘Siquidem etiam Dionysius Areopagites cum Damari uxore sua, aliisque multis credit’).

⁶⁶ Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 10: ‘... abnegatis erroribus paganorum, eius se tradidit magisteris imbuendum’ (Appendix IV, below, p. 742).

⁶⁷ Because there was a lacuna in the exemplar of MS. O (caused by eye-skip from *Paulo* to *Paulo*) at 244.11–12, including the past participle *institutus*, the scribe of O attempted to rectify the omission by supplying the word *instructus* in the margin.

⁶⁸ There is no biblical authority (see Act. xvii. 34) for the statement that Dionysius the Areopagite subsequently became bishop of Athens. However, Eusebius, in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, on the authority of lost letters by Dionysius of Corinth (fl. c. 170), states that Dionysius the Areopagite was the first bishop of Athens (iii. 4. 10; cf. iv. 23. 3). The information was repeated by Rufinus in his Latin translation of Eusebius, and was presumably known to Hilduin from Rufi-

nus. See esp. *HE* iv. 23. 3: 'et illud in eadem designat [*scil.* Dionysius Corinthius] epistula, quod Dionysius Areopagites, qui ab apostolo Paulo instructus credit Christo, secundum ea, quae in apostolorum Actibus designantur, primus apud Athenas ab eodem apostolo episcopus fuerit ordinatus' (ed. Mommsen, p. 375).

⁶⁹Cf. the *Epistola Aristarchi*, c. 10: 'ac deinde, Paulo iubente, Christi euangelium praedicauit' (Appendix IV, below, p. 742). At this point the *Epistola Aristarchi* ends, and Hilduin's use of it ceases.

⁷⁰The work sent to Timotheus of Ephesus is the pseudo-Dionysian treatise *De caelesti hierarchia* [*CPG* 6600]: ed. *CD* II, pp. 7–59; trans. Luibheid, pp. 143–191. Hilduin reproduces the chapter-headings from his own, earlier Latin translation of the pseudo-Dionysian corpus (ed. Théry, II, pp. 55–74), with very little modification (see following notes).

⁷¹Cf. Ps. lxxii. 9 ('posuerunt in caelum os suum').

⁷²Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 1 of Hilduin's translation of *De caelesti hierarchia* (ed. Théry, II, p. 5). Note that Hilduin characteristically renders Greek ἔλλαμψις as *splendor* (see Théry, I, p. 28; John Scottus normally uses *illuminatio* for the same term). Hilduin renders Greek ἀγαθότης as *benignitas* (cf. Théry, I, pp. 29–32, and above, n. 4), whereas John Scottus uses *bonitas*.

⁷³Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 2 (ed. Théry, II, p. 9); comparison with Hilduin's translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* confirms that the reading *insimilitudinum* (as in MSS. LP) is correct here, as against *insimilitudinem* in MSS. CG.

⁷⁴Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 3 (ed. Théry, II, p. 19), but with the addition of the gloss to *hierarchia*. Hilduin normally uses the term *sacer principatus* to render Greek ἱεραρχία throughout the *Corpus Dionysiacum*; note his translation of c. 1 of *De caelesti hierarchia*: 'et ab ipsis symbolice nobis et anagogice proditos celestium spirituum sacros principatus [= ἱεραρχίας], sicut potentes sumus, perspiciemus' (ed. Théry, II, p. 6, with discussion *ibid.* I, p. 32).

⁷⁵Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 4 (ed. Théry, II, p. 23).

⁷⁶Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 5 (ed. Théry, II, p. 28).

⁷⁷ Quoted verbatim, but with the addition of *est*, from the heading to c. 6 (ed. Théry, II, p. 29).

⁷⁸ Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 7 (ed. Théry, II, p. 31), but with the addition of the gloss (*id est ... sacro principatu*); for this characteristic interpretation of *hierarchia*, see above, n. 74.

⁷⁹ Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 8 (ed. Théry, II, p. 38), but with the addition of the gloss (*id est sacro principatu*), as in the preceding chapter-heading.

⁸⁰ Quoted nearly verbatim from the heading to c. 9 (ed. Théry, II, p. 42), but with the omission of *de* (before *ultima*), and the addition of the gloss (*id est sacro principatu*), as above.

⁸¹ Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 10 (ed. Théry, II, p. 48), but with the omission of *et*, as in MSS. CLP, which on this evidence should be removed from the text.

⁸² Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 11 (ed. Théry, II, p. 50).

⁸³ Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 12 (ed. Théry, II, p. 51), but with the addition of the gloss (*id est sacri principes uidelicet sacerdotes*), as in previous chapter-headings.

⁸⁴ Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 13 (ed. Théry, II, p. 53).

⁸⁵ Quoted verbatim from the heading to c. 14 (ed. Théry, II, p. 61).

⁸⁶ Of this long account of the contents of c. 15 of *De caelesti hierarchia*, only the first clause (*Quae sunt formales angelicarum uirtutum imagines et ordines*) derives from the chapter-heading (ed. Théry, II, p. 62); the remaining attributes of representations and properties of angels have been extrapolated in summary fashion from the contents of c. 15 (ed. Théry, II, pp. 64–74). As an illustration of Hilduin's method of extrapolation, cf., with the wording of the summary given here in the *Passio S. Dionysii* (*quae sunt illae aures ... quae sunt illa supercilia*) the wording of Hilduin's translation of *De caelesti hierarchia*: 'Aurium autem uirtutes, quod est participale et cognitivum ac susceptibile dei principatus inspiracionis. Gustales uero, intelligibilium escarum replecionem, et quod est diuinorum escalium riuorum susceptibile. Tactale siquidem, quod est familiaris

aut nocentis in disciplina percognitivum. Palpebre vero et supercilia, quod est devisorum intellectus custodiale' (ed. Théry, II, p. 66).

⁸⁷This is the treatise *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* [CPG 6601]: ed. CD II, pp. 63–132; trans. Luibheid, pp. 193–259; trans. Hilduin in Théry, II, pp. 75–162.

⁸⁸The word *uniordo* is a coinage by Hilduin to represent Greek ὁμοταγής, 'of the same order'; cf. CD II, p. 64: τῶν ὁμοταγῶν τοῖς θρονόις οὐσιῶν, which was translated by Hilduin in his earlier translation of *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* as 'uniordinum thronis substantiarum' (ed. Théry, II, p. 76).

⁸⁹For Hilduin's characteristic use of *benignus* to render Greek ἀγαθός, see Théry, I, pp. 29–32, and above, n. 4.

⁹⁰Isa. vi. 2–6.

⁹¹The first chapter of Hilduin's translation of *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* is ed. Théry, II, pp. 75–81, but it contains no rubric; the rubric supplied here by Hilduin (*Quae est ecclesiastici principatus traditio, et quae est eius speculatio*) is found nowhere in his translation of this chapter. The characteristic Hilduinian term *speculatio* corresponds to Greek σκοπός, 'object', 'significance' (it is used again in c. 11 to translate the first chapter-heading of *De diuinis nominibus*).

⁹²This is indeed the chapter-heading to c. 2 in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 81), except that in the translation the relative pronoun employed is *qui*, not *quae*, as also in the chapter-headings to cc. 2, 3, 4 and 7, below. The manuscripts of the *Passio S. Dionysii* are, however, unanimous in reading *quae* in these locations.

⁹³This is indeed the chapter-heading to c. 3 in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 94), except that, once again, the relative pronoun in the translation is masculine (*qui*); *in collatione* is Hilduin's overly-literal rendering of Greek ἐν τῇ συνάξει ('in the assembly').

⁹⁴This is indeed the chapter-heading to c. 4 in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 113), except that, once again, the relative pronoun in the translation is masculine (*qui*).

⁹⁵This is precisely the wording of the rubric to c. 5 in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 130).

⁹⁶The chapter-heading in Hilduin's translation reads simply *De perfectis ordinibus* (ed. Théry, II, p. 140); the words *id est monachorum ... post baptismum* are a gloss added here in the *passio* by Hilduin.

⁹⁷This is indeed the chapter-heading to c. 7 in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 147), except that, once again, the relative pronoun in the translation is masculine (*qui*).

⁹⁸The treatise *De diuinis nominibus* [CPG 6602]: ed. CD I, pp. 95–231; trans. Luibheid, pp. 47–131; trans. Hilduin in Théry, II, pp. 167–290.

⁹⁹As in the case of the *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*, Hilduin did not supply a chapter-heading to c. 1 of his translation of *De diuinis nominibus* (ed. Théry, II, pp. 167–177). In BNF grec 437, however, there is a list of chapter-headings (fol. 103^v), of which that to c. 1 reads as follows: τὶς ὁ τοῦ λόγου σκοπὸς, καὶ τίς ἡ περὶ θείων ὀνομάτων παραδόσις (CD I, p. 107 *apud app. crit.*). The implication is that, in his *Passio S. Dionysii*, Hilduin decided to translate the list of chapter-headings which he had earlier omitted to translate in his full-blown translation of *De diuinis nominibus*.

¹⁰⁰The identical chapter-heading to c. 2 is given in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 178).

¹⁰¹This is the chapter-heading given to c. 3 in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 191).

¹⁰²According to Théry, Hilduin has here made an error of translation: 'Ce qu'il importe surtout de noter c'est qu'au lieu de σῶμα, *corpus*, Hilduin a lu ou entendu σῆμα, *sepulchrum*, et traduit: *penes sepulchrum Iesu*, s' éloignant ainsi du sens original de la pensée de Denys' (Théry, I, p. 27); but in fact Greek σῆμα ('sign') can mean the sign marking a grave. There is perhaps no great difference in meaning, therefore, between the body itself and the 'sign' marking the location of the body.

¹⁰³The phrase *uitae princeps* is used in Hilduin's translation: 'ad visionem vite principis' (ed. Théry, II, p. 194).

¹⁰⁴The mention of St Timotheus in this context is bizarre, inasmuch as Timotheus is the dedicatee of the treatise itself. Timotheus is not mentioned at this point in the Greek text (nor is Hierotheus): see Théry, II, p. 194. Note that MS. O omits the words *et sancto Timotheo*, perhaps rightly.

¹⁰⁵The wording here is slightly different from that given by Hilduin in his translation, particularly in respect of the preposition *de* (in the Greek original, the single preposition περί stands at the head of the following list of genitives): ‘De benigno, luce, bono, de cupiditate, extasi, zelo, et quia malum nec est, nec de existente, neque in existentibus est’ (ed. Théry, II, p. 196). In this sentence, *benignus* translates ἀγαθός (a characteristically Hilduinian rendering; see above, n. 4), and *bonus* translates καλός.

¹⁰⁶The construction of *commemoro* with genitive object is extremely odd; one would normally expect *commemorat (eum) scribentem*. One might suspect that the bizarre Latin usage is calqued on a Greek expression; but there is no support for this in the Greek original, which says simply γράφει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεῖος Ἰγνάτιος. ‘Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται (CD I, p. 157), nor indeed in Hilduin’s own translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*: ‘scribit autem et divinus Ignatius: *Mea cupiditas crucifixa est*’ (ed. Théry, II, p. 210).

¹⁰⁷The quotation is from the *Epistula ad Romanos* of Ignatius (see Théry, II, p. 210, n. 9); the Greek text is preserved only in the proem to Origen’s *Comm. in Canticum canticorum*: ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται [= *meus autem amor crucifixus est*] (PG xiii. 70).

¹⁰⁸For these insertions, see Théry, II, pp. 214–235.

¹⁰⁹Cf. Hilduin’s translation, where the chapter-heading is rendered *De esse et de paradigmis* (ed. Théry, II, p. 235; and note that no manuscript of the *Passio S. Dionysii* has the reading *esse* for the transmitted *est* at this point).

¹¹⁰The Greek text refers to Κλήμης (CD I, p. 188: ὁ φιλόσοφος ... Κλήμης, ‘Clement the philosopher’), which Hilduin mistakenly transliterated as *Clymis*, not apparently realizing that the Greek name was conventionally Latinized as *Clemens* (cf. Théry, II, p. 243, ‘Si autem philosophus dignum ducit Clymis ...’).

¹¹¹The identical chapter-heading in Hilduin’s translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 245).

¹¹²Cf. Hilduin’s translation: ‘De sapientia, mente, uerbo, ueritate, et fide’ (ed. Théry, II, p. 248).

¹¹³Cf. Hilduin’s translation: ‘De uirtute, iusticia, salute, redemptione, et de inequalitate’ (ed. Théry, II, p. 255).

¹¹⁴Cf. Hilduin's translation: 'At quin inquit Helimas magus: si omnipotens est deus, quomodo dicitur quid non posse? et nostrum theologum calumniatur diuinum Paulum dicentem, non posse deum se ipsum negare' (ed. Théry, II, p. 259). Elymas the magician is mentioned in Act. xiii. 8.

¹¹⁵Cf. Hilduin's translation: 'De magno, minore, et idipsum et altero; de simili et insimili, statu, motu et de equalitate' (ed. Théry, II, p. 264). The bizarre Latin expression *de idipsum* is meant to correspond to Greek (περὶ) ταύτου (*CD* I, p. 207 *apud app. crit.*: Περί μεγάλου, μικροῦ, ταύτου, ἑτέρου, ὁμοίου, στάσεως, κινήσεως, ἰσότητος).

¹¹⁶Cf. Hilduin's translation: 'De omnipotente, uetere dierum, et de seculo et tempore' (ed. Théry, II, p. 272). The expression *antiquus* (or *uetus*) *dierum* ('Ancient of Days') corresponds to Greek (περὶ) παλαιοῦ ἡμερῶν (*CD* I, p. 214 *apud app. crit.*), and is an expression taken from Dan. vii. 9, 13 and 22.

¹¹⁷Cf. Hilduin's translation: 'De pace, et quid uult ipsum quod ipsum dicitur, et que est ipsa uita, et que est ipsa uirtus, et que sic dicuntur' (ed. Théry, II, p. 275). The awkward expression *quid uult ipsum quod ipsum dicitur* translates Greek τὸ βούλεται αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτοεῖναι (*CD* I, p. 217 *apud app. crit.*).

¹¹⁸Cf. Hilduin's translation: 'De sancto sanctorum, rege regum, Domino dominorum' (ed. Théry, II, p. 283); the words *Deo deorum* are an addition made in the *Passio S. Dionysii*, though their equivalent occurs in the Greek of the pseudo-Dionysius: (περὶ) θεοῦ θεῶν (*CD* I, p. 224 *apud app. crit.*). Discrepancies such as this, and those noted above (nn. 97, 105) indicate that, in composing his *Passio S. Dionysii*, Hilduin was working from a copy of his translation of the pseudo-Dionysius which differed from that preserved in the Paris manuscript (BNF lat. 15645), in particular that, like the Greek text in BNF grec 437 (fol. 103^v), it had a list of capitula to *De diuinis nominibus* (no such list is found in the Latin translation as preserved in BNF lat. 15645).

¹¹⁹The identical chapter-heading is found in Hilduin's translation (ed. Théry, II, p. 285).

¹²⁰The treatise *De mystica theologia* [CPG 6603]: ed. *CD* II, pp. 141–150; trans. Luibheid, pp. 133–141; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 293–302.

¹²¹The phrase πτερύγιον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is not recorded in any text contained in the *TLG Database*; the sense is similar to that expressed in a prayer to

St Dionysius in a Greek *menaion* printed by P. Halloix, *Illustrium ecclesiae orientalis scriptorum qui sanctitate iuxta et eruditione, primo Christi saeculo floruerunt, et Apostolis conuixerunt, vitae et documenta*, 2 vols. (Douai, 1633), I, p. 117: *πάσαν ὡς ὑπόπτερος ἐμυθήθη τὸν νοῦν τὴν οὐράνιον γνῶσιν* (repr. PG iv. 584: 'like a winged bird he teaches the entire understanding of celestial knowledge'). The formulation may owe something to Matt. iv. 5 (= Luc. iv. 4), *πετερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, 'the pinnacle of the temple'.

¹²²Cf. Hilduin's translation of c. 2 of *De mystica theologia*: 'sic enim diuinus Bartholomeus factus est, et multam theologiam esse et minimam; et euangelium latum, et magnum, et iterum adbreuiatum' (ed. Théry, II, p. 295). As Théry points out, Hilduin's *factus est* used to render Greek *φῆσι* seems on the face of it an appalling error; but it seems more likely that the transmitted *factus est* is a scribal error in Paris BNF lat. 15645 for an original *fatus est*.

¹²³Hilduin here simply repeats the chapter-heading of c. 2: 'Quomodo oportet et coadunari, et ymnos reponere omnium cause, et super omnia' (ed. Théry, II, p. 296).

¹²⁴Cf. Hilduin's translation of the chapter-heading: 'Que sunt *καταφατικαί* id est affirmatiue theologie et que sunt *ἀποφατικαί* id est negatiue' (ed. Théry, II, p. 297).

¹²⁵Cf. the chapter-heading as it is given in Hilduin's translation: 'Quia nichil est sensibilium, quod omnis sensibilis secundum super eminentem causam' (ed. Théry, II, p. 300). The parallel suggests that in the text of the *Passio S. Dionysii*, as transmitted in all MSS., *super eminentiam* is an error for *super eminentem*, and *causa* for *causam*; I have therefore emended the text, and translated accordingly.

¹²⁶Cf. the chapter-heading as it is given in Hilduin's translation: 'Quia nichil est intelligibilium, quod omnis intelligibilis secundum eminentiam causa' (ed. Théry, II, p. 300). This sentence is no more comprehensible than that transmitted in the *Passio S. Dionysii*, where – as in the previous note – *eminentiam* should be emended to *super eminentem*, and *causa* to *causam* (so translated).

¹²⁷In fact four Letters to Gaius: *Epp.* I–IV [CPG 6604–6607]; ed. CD II, pp. 156–161; trans. Luibheid, pp. 263–265; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 305–309. It is not possible to be certain which New Testament Gaius the pseudo-Dionysius

had in mind: Gaius of Macedonia (Act. xix. 29), or Gaius of Derbe (Act. xx. 4), or Gaius of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23; I Cor. i. 14), or the Gaius mentioned in III Ioh. i.

¹²⁸*Ep.* I [CPG 6604]: ed. CD II, pp. 156–157; trans. Luibheid, p. 263; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 305–306.

¹²⁹*Ep.* II [CPG 6605]: ed. CD II, p. 158; trans. Luibheid, p. 263; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 306–307.

¹³⁰*Ep.* III [CPG 6606]: ed. CD II, p. 159; trans. Luibheid, p. 264; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, p. 307.

¹³¹The adverb *superexcellenter* is taken over from Hilduin's earlier translation of this letter: 'et manifestat uirgo superexcellenter pariens' (ed. Théry, II, p. 308), where *superexcellenter* is calqued on Greek ὑπερφυῶς, 'supernaturally'.

¹³²*Ep.* IV [CPG 6607]: ed. CD II, pp. 160–161; trans. Luibheid, pp. 264–265; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 307–309. Cf. Hilduin's translation of this last sentence: 'sed uir Deus factus, nouam quandam deiuirilem operationem nobis perciuil- itans' (ed. Théry, II, p. 309, translating καινήν τινα τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν ἡμιν πεπολιτευμένος), where by the adj. *deiuirilis* Hilduin is reproducing the Greek θεανδρικός ('of the God-man'), and, by the verb *perciuilito*, Greek πολιτεύω ('to conduct oneself', 'to accomplish').

¹³³*Ep.* V [CPG 6608]: ed. CD II, pp. 162–163; trans. Luibheid, pp. 265–266; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 309–310. Dorotheus is unknown in first-century Greek sources.

¹³⁴This sentence is quoted nearly verbatim from Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep.* V: 'Diuina caligo est inaccessibilis lux, in qua habitare Deus dicitur ... In hoc fit omnis qui Deum scire et uidere dignus fuerit' (ed. Théry, II, p. 309). The phrase *lux inaccessibilis* is from I Tim. vi. 16 (φῶς ἀπόσιτον).

¹³⁵*Ep.* VI [CPG 6609]: ed. CD II, p. 164; trans. Luibheid, p. 266; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, p. 310. Hilduin has here merely paraphrased the content of *Ep.* VI. A Sosipater is mentioned as a friend of St Paul in Rom. xvi. 21.

¹³⁶The words *episcopo Smyrnaeorum* are an addition by Hilduin to the Greek text of *Ep.* VI; presumably Hilduin wished to suggest the better-known Poly-

carp of Smyrna (c.69–157), author of a Letter to the Philippians, and recipient of a letter from St Ignatius [CPG 1040–1042], without apparently realizing the chronological difficulties which this identification would pose for Hilduin's chronology of a martyr who died in 96 A.D.: some scholars (following Eusebius) have even suggested that Polycarp was martyred as late as 177 (see H. Grégoire and P. Orgels, 'La véritable date du martyre de Polycarpe (23 févr. 177) et le *Corpus Polycarpianum*', *AB* 69 (1951), 1–38; but their arguments are rejected by modern scholars, notably T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 367–378, who shows that the correct date of Polycarp's martyrdom is 23 February 157). According to Jerome, *De uiris inlustribus*, c. 16, Polycarp was a student of John the Apostle (ed. E.C. Richardson, p. 17).

¹³⁷*Ep.* VII [CPG 6610]: ed. *CD* II, pp. 165–170; trans. Luibheid, pp. 266–269; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 311–315.

¹³⁸Cf. Rom. i. 25 ('et coluerunt et seruiunt creaturae potius quam creatori').

¹³⁹11Sm. xx. 8–12; cf. Is. xxxviii. 8, xxxix. 1. The text as transmitted in the MSS. implies that Hilduin here construed the verb *recordari* with the genitive (on the analogy of Vulgate Amos vi. 11 or Lc xxiv. 8 etc.); but note that at a subsequent point he construes the verb with the accusative (c. 15: *memoriale piissimum recordarer*).

¹⁴⁰Mt. xxvii. 45; Mc. xv. 33; Lc xxiii. 44.

¹⁴¹The MSS. read *ab oriente in orientem* at this point. The statement is unclear at best, but appears to mean that the sun on this occasion reversed its normal progress from east to west by turning back (for the duration of the eclipse) to the east; see below, n. 146.

¹⁴²This is the so-called *Epistola ad Apollophanium* or *Letter to Apollophanes* (which would correspond to *Ep.* XI of the *Corpus Dionysiicum*, although it is not found in Greek manuscripts of the *Corpus*), falsely ascribed to the pseudo-Dionysius [CPG 6630]. The Greek original of this Letter has not been preserved, either in the *Corpus Dionysiicum* or elsewhere. The Latin translation (which Hilduin here quotes) was apparently made by Hilduin himself from the lost Greek original: see Appendix V (below, pp. 744–761).

¹⁴³At this point Paschasius Radbertus begins to quote, more or less verbatim, from the *Epistola ad Apollophanium* (and, it would seem, from the text of that

letter as preserved here in Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, thus frustrating the hope of finding an independent early witness to the Latin translation of the *Letter to Apollophanes*); the quotation from Paschasius continues until the words *falsitatis sum nexibus absolutus* (below, n. 151). For the full text of Paschasius's quotation, see below, Appendix v, pp. 760–761.

¹⁴⁴For the location of Heliopolis in Egypt, see above, n. 48. Another reason for placing Heliopolis in Egypt (rather than Syria) is that the 'Handy Tables', or *Regula Philippi Arrhidei*, which according to the author of the *Letter to Apollophanes* were consulted by Dionysius and Apollophanus (see following note), mostly relate to specified observation points in Egypt (such as Meroe, Syene, and lower Egypt).

¹⁴⁵The statement that Dionysius was twenty-five years old at the time he went to Egypt with Apollophanes was taken by the author of the *Letter to Apollophanes* from the *Scholia* of John of Scythopolis to the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius: ὑποθώμεθα δὲ καὶ τὸν θεῖον Διονύσιον, ὅτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου εἶδεν, εἶναι κε', ἅτε οἶμαι, καὶ ἔτι ἀναγινώσκοντα (PG iv. 573; trans. Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian Corpus*, p. 263: 'Let us suppose that the divine Dionysius was twenty-five years of age, as we can gather from the fact that he was still studying at the time'). See also above, n. 47.

¹⁴⁶In his *Ep.* VII. 2, the pseudo-Dionysius had stated, following the gospel of Luke (xxiii. 44–45), that 'from the ninth hour until evening [the moon] was supernaturally positioned in the middle of the sun' (CD II, p. 169; trans. Luibheid, p. 268); trans. Hilduin: '... rursus autem ipsam a nona hora usque ad uesperam, in solis diametrum superexcellenter reconstitutam' (ed. Théry, II, p. 314). However, although *Ep.* VII was the principal inspiration for the *Letter to Apollophanes* (see below, Appendix v), the author of that letter altered the time of the eclipse in the light of a *scholion* by John of Scythopolis, as follows: '[he says] that at the sixth hour [the moon] overtook the sun from the east, and that it intercepted the solar disc and passed [between it and the earth], moving in an easterly direction' (PG iv. 541; trans. Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis*, p. 255 with n. 13).

¹⁴⁷As Otto Neugebauer first pointed out ('Regula Philippi Arrhidei'), the reference here is to the so-called 'Handy Tables' (Πρόχειροι κανόνες) of Ptolemy (d. c. A.D. 170), a revised and expanded version of tables originally included in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and known in late antiquity in a revised edition by Theon of Alexandria. The only edition of this work is by Halma, *Tables manuelles*

astronomiques de Ptolémée et de Théon, I, pp. 23–155; for commentary, see Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, II, pp. 969–1028, with discussion of eclipses at 999–1001. The astronomical tables also include a set of chronological tables of kings' reigns (ed. Halma, II, pp. 139–143), and, omitting Babylonian and Persian kings, these begin with Philip Arrhidaeus (c. 357–317 B.C.), the mentally impaired son of Philip II of Macedon (see pp. 140 and 143). As Neugebauer ('Regula Philippi Arrhidei') showed, the most convenient way to refer to the 'Handy Tables' would be by the name of the first king mentioned in the chronological tables, hence the 'Handy Tables' are referred to by the author of the *Letter to Apollophanes* as the '*regula* (καλών) of Philip Arrhidei'.

¹⁴⁸The adjective *iliacus* is a calque by Hilduin on the Greek adjective ἡλιακός, 'solar'; as Canart pointed out ('En marge de la question aréopagitique', p. 25), the use of this calque indicates clearly that Hilduin was here working from a Greek text of the 'Letter to Apollophanes'. The adjective ἡλιακός had originally been used by the pseudo-Dionysius in *Ep.* VII. 2: καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ πέρατος ἐλθοῦσαν (*CD* II, p. 169), which was translated by Hilduin as 'usque ad iliacum terminum uenientem' (ed. Théry, II, p. 314).

¹⁴⁹This phrase was taken over by the author of the 'Letter to Apollophanes' from pseudo-Dionysius, *Ep.* VII. 3: ταῦτα, ᾧ καλεῖ Διονύσιε, θείων ἀμοιβαί πραγμάτων (*CD* II, p. 170), which had been rendered by Hilduin as, 'Ista, o bone Dionisi, diuinarum retributiones sunt rerum' (ed. Théry, II, p. 315).

¹⁵⁰The evidence of the manuscripts suggests that Hilduin wrote *concordari* rather than (the correct infinitive form) *concordare*, on the mistaken understanding that the verb was deponent (in which case *concordare* in MSS. DEFGLM is a scribal correction); for similar uses of the deponent form by Hilduin, see *Ep.* II, cc. 5 (*seriei concordari uidentur*) and II (*in quibusdam sensu uidebantur concordari*), above, pp. 208 and 214. On the interchange of deponent with active forms of the infinitive in Medieval Latin, see Stotz, *Handbuch*, IV, pp. 338–344 [IX, § 73].

¹⁵¹Paschasius' quotation from the *Epistola ad Apollophanium* ends at this point.

¹⁵²Ioh. i. 9 ('Erat lux vera quae inluminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum').

¹⁵³*Ep.* VIII [CPG 66II]: ed. *CD* II, pp. 171–192; trans. Luibheid, pp. 269–280; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 316–334.

¹⁵⁴ Another example of Hilduin's characteristic use of *benignus* to translate Greek ἀγαθός: see above, nn. 4, 72.

¹⁵⁵ At this point Hilduin begins to quote more or less verbatim from his earlier translation of the pseudo-Dionysius, *Ep.* VIII. 5–6 (ed. Théry, II, pp. 328–334).

¹⁵⁶ Hebr. iv. 15.

¹⁵⁷ Hebr. vii. 26.

¹⁵⁸ Hebr. ii. 17.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Isa. xlii. 2 and Matt. xii. 19.

¹⁶⁰ Matt. xi. 29.

¹⁶¹ I Joh. ii. 2.

¹⁶² Hilduin here substitutes *resumas* for *reaccipias* of his earlier translation, which reads: 'etiam si decies milies reaccipias Fineem et Heliam' (ed. Théry, II, p. 328), reproducing the Greek οὐδ' εἰ μυριάκις ἐπαναλάβοις τὸν Φινεὲς καὶ τὸν Ἡλίαν (*CD* II, p. 186). As usual, Hilduin's rendition of the Greek verb ἐπαναλαμβάνω ('to take up again, resume') with *re-accipio* (a nonce form) is overly literal; the correction to *resumas* is a significant stylistic improvement.

¹⁶³ Cf. Num. xxv. 6–12 and III Reg. xviii. 36–40.

¹⁶⁴ For no apparent reason, Hilduin has replaced the present participle of his earlier translation, *audientes* (ed. Théry, II, p. 328), referring to Dionysius himself, with *audierimus*, still referring to Dionysius. But Hilduin had misunderstood the Greek original (ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκούοντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν: *CD* II, p. 186), where it is clear that the reference is to Jesus hearing, and not being persuaded by, His disciples quoting to Him the examples of Phineas and Elijah. Hilduin has here made matters worse by changing the present participle to the future perfect *audierimus*.

¹⁶⁵ The transmitted text here (*quae placebant et displicebant benigno Iesu*) is nonsensical; the intended sense is clear from the corresponding passage of Hilduin's translation of pseudo-Dionysius, *Ep.* VIII. 5: 'Ipsa audientes que non

placebant Ihesu' (ed. Théry, II, p. 328). In light of this parallel I have restored *non* to the text; Hilduin's addition here – *et displicebant* – is otiose.

¹⁶⁶ Hilduin has here bombastically expanded what in his earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII was a simple statement: 'discipulis, qui tunc erant mansueti et benigni spiritus participes' (ed. Théry, II, p. 328). Following *participes*, Hilduin in the present text omits a sentence from his translation ('Etenim sacratissimus ... doctrinam dei').

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Mt. xviii. 12 and Luc. xv. 5.

¹⁶⁸ The words *Qui et refugientibus ... delectantium habitatio* are not taken from (Hilduin's translation of) *Ep.* VIII (see Théry, II, p. 329), and have apparently been interpolated by Hilduin, perhaps from a different source.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. the more verbose formulation in Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 5: 'Non deprecor non male istud de nobis ipsis consiliemur, neque in nos ipsos impellamus gladium, quicumque enim inique agere, aut quicumque, e contrario bene agere inchoant, illos quorum voluntatem faciunt, sibi aut malicia aut benignitatem consociant' (ed. Théry, II, p. 329).

¹⁷⁰ With this word Hilduin resumes his verbatim quotation of his translation of *Ep.* VIII. 5 (ed. Théry, II, p. 329).

¹⁷¹ The text of the *passio* here faithfully reproduces Hilduin's (nonsensical) translation of *Ep.* VIII. 5. The Greek text reads *καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἅμα τοῖς ἀνημέροις ἔσσονται δαίμοσιν* (*CD* II, p. 188), where the adjective *ἀνήμερος* means 'wild', 'savage', not 'domesticated'. Théry suggested that Hilduin may have overlooked the privative *ἀν-* and read the word as *ἡμέρος*, 'tame' (Théry, II, p. 330 n. 2). In any event, the reading *domesticis* is nonsensical in context.

¹⁷² The quotation resumes from Théry, II, pp. 330–334.

¹⁷³ The awkward syntax of this sentence is explained by the fact that Hilduin has translated Greek *καὶ* as *quam* (rather than *et*); cf. his Latin translation of this sentence in the *Corpus Dionysiacum*: 'Et si uis, diuinam uisionem sancti cuiusdam uiri referam tibi. Et non ridebis, uera enim dicam' (ed. Théry, II, p. 330).

¹⁷⁴The story of Carpus was taken by Hilduin from pseudo-Dionysius, *Ep.* VIII. 6 (*CD* II, pp. 188–192; trans. Luibheid, pp. 278–280; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 330–334). A person named Carpus is mentioned in 1Tim. iv. 13, without further specification. The pseudo-Dionysius took the story from one of the *Epistulae* of Nilus of Ancyra (ob. c. 430) [*CPG* 6043]: *Epistulae* bk. II, no. cxc, addressed to Bishop Olympios (ed. PG lxxix. 297–300). Nilus's version of the story concerns one Bishop Carpus, who is said to have lived in apostolic times (σύγχρονος τῶν ἀποστόλων: PG lxxix. 300). On one occasion, two young men, converts from pagan error, came to the church of Carpus and begged the bishop to be baptized. When they learned ... – and here there is a lacuna in Nilus's *Epistula*, so we have no way of knowing what it was they learned. The letter continues after the lacuna by stating that Christ descended from heaven, and the fiery dragons were put to flight, and Christ mercifully raised up the young men from the abyss and placed them on firm ground, after which they remained true Christians: κατήλθεν οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐρανόθεν, καὶ φεύγουσι μὲν οἱ φλογώδεις δράκοντες, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τὸν νέον μετ' εὐμενείας, καὶ πραότητος πολλῆς ἀναφέρει τοῦ χάσματος, καὶ τίθησιν ἐπὶ γῆς, διὰ τούτου δεινῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν (PG lxxix. 300). Christ then chastized Carpus for his impatient and unforgiving attitude to the sinners. Nilus concludes his letter by telling Bishop Olympios not to chastize sinners mercilessly, but to pour forth Christ's mercy. Because of the lacuna in Nilus's text, it is impossible to determine the full extent of the indebtedness of the pseudo-Dionysius to this source; but it was evidently extensive. The debt of the pseudo-Dionysius to Nilus was first discussed in detail by Joseph Stiglmayr ('Die Eschatologie des pseudo-Dionysius', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 23 (1899), 1–21, at p. 18, n. 1). More recently, R.F. Hathaway has demonstrated that the pseudo-Dionysius also drew on a number of philosophical sources in his account of the vision of Carpus, pointing in particular to borrowings from Plato's *Gorgias*, and from the commentaries by Proclus on Plato's *Republic* and *First Alcibiades* (*Hierarchy and the Definition of Order*, pp. 92–99; cf. also Rorem, *Biblical and Liturgical Symbols*, pp. 133–140).

¹⁷⁵The attribution of Carpus to Crete was first made by the pseudo-Dionysius (*Ep.* VIII. 6); no such attribution is found in Nilus. The odd use of the preposition *secus* here (literally 'by', 'beside') is taken over from Hilduin's translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6 (ed. Théry, II, p. 330), and corresponds to κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην in the Greek original (*CD* II, p. 188).

¹⁷⁶The precise meaning of this phrase is obscure; it is repeated from Hilduin's translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6 (ed. Théry, II, p. 330), and corresponds to the phrase

ἀνὴρ εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, ‘if ever there was a man ... it was he’ (CD II, p. 188; trans. Luibheid, p. 278).

¹⁷⁷Théry (II, p. 330, n. 5) pointed out that Hilduin apparently translated only the final element of the word ἐπιτηδειότατος, ‘most useful, necessary’ (CD II, p. 188), understood by him as θειότατος and hence rendered mistakenly as *diuinissimus*.

¹⁷⁸On Hilduin’s idiosyncratic use of *inchoare* to render Greek ἐγχείρειν, see Théry, I, pp. 35–36; his use of *inchoabat* here corresponds to ἐνεχείρει in the Greek text (CD II, p. 188): see Théry II, p. 330, n. 6.

¹⁷⁹On the notion that divine visions were only vouchsafed to those who were spiritually pure, Andrew Louth (*Denys the Areopagite*, pp. 99–100) points to a relevant parallel in the *Apophthegmata patrum* (‘collectio alphabetica’) [CPG 5560], at the beginning of the letter ‘O’, concerning Abba Olympios, who had instructed some monks who had come to visit him at Scete that they could only see God in a vision if there were no evil thoughts in their minds (PG lxv. 313).

¹⁸⁰The Greek text of the pseudo-Dionysius reads here simply ἔλεγεν οὖν, ‘he therefore said’ (CD II, p. 188), which Hilduin had earlier rendered faithfully as, ‘Qui dixit [se nimis contristatum ab infideli quodam]’ (ed. Théry, II, p. 330). Théry (I, p. 25) discusses Hilduin’s reasons for this elaborate paraphrase; Hilduin had evidently decided that the curt phrase required some explanation, whereupon he expanded it to *Conferentibus nobis ... adinuicem*.

¹⁸¹The Greek here simply states ἡ λύπη δὲ ἦν (CD II, p. 189), ‘there was sadness’, originally rendered by Hilduin as ‘Tristitia autem eius erat’ (ed. Théry, II, p. 330); Hilduin’s present paraphrase clarifies the statement: see discussion by Théry, I, p. 25.

¹⁸²Cf. the corresponding passage in Hilduin’s earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6: ‘Cui oportunum suasi utrosque benedecenter superiorare, et a deo saluatore opitulacionem accipientem, quemdam quidem conuertere, quemdam quidem benignitate uincere; et non deficere hortando conuerti, donec est hodie, et sic in diuinam eos ducere scientiam’ (ed. Théry, II, p. 331).

¹⁸³The construction with the ablative of time (*uesperi*) is repeated verbatim from Hilduin’s earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6 (ed. Théry, II, p. 331); it corresponds to the Greek ἐσπέρα γὰρ ἦν, ‘for it was evening’ (CD II, p. 189; trans. Luibheid, p. 279), where ἐσπέρα is given in the nominative.

¹⁸⁴Hilduin reproduces verbatim his earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6: 'Circa mediam autem noctem, sollicitus namque erat isto in tempore ad diuinos hymnos euigilare' (ed. Théry, II, p. 331), where the expression *sollicitus erat* corresponds to Greek εἰώθει, from ἔθω, 'to be accustomed'. A more accurate translation here would have been *solebat*, as John Scottus Eriugena subsequently rendered it (see Théry, II, p. 331 n. 9).

¹⁸⁵The phrase has been slightly recast from Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6: 'surrexit ex somnis turbacione anxians, stetit ad diuinam sermocinationem non beneducte' (ed. Théry, II, pp. 331–332), where the unusual adverb *beneducte* is a coinage by Hilduin calqued on the Greek εὐαγως (*CD* II, p. 190), literally 'in an accommodating spirit' (LSJ s.v.).

¹⁸⁶In his earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6, Hilduin had rendered the Greek ἐδυσχέραινεν (*CD* II, p. 190, from δυσχεραίνω, 'to feel disgust') as *gravidabatur* (ed. Théry, II, p. 332). In the intervening period he had perhaps realized that the verb *grauido* means 'to make pregnant', and hence had replaced it with *grauabatur*, from *grauo*, 'to feel annoyance'.

¹⁸⁷Cf. Osee xiv. 10 ('quia rectae viae Domini'), and Dan. iii. 27 ('et viae tuae rectae').

¹⁸⁸The phrase *statim est raptus in spiritu* is an addition to Hilduin's earlier translation of this passage: 'Ista autem dicens, dixit sibi uisum uidisse repente domum, in qua stabat, concussam', etc. (ed. Théry, II, p. 332).

¹⁸⁹The phrase *et ita se sub diuo remansisse* has been added to Hilduin's original translation of the passage; but cf. the following sentence, following mention of the *rogus*: 'idem enim illi iam sub diuo fruebatur locus' (ed. Théry, II, p. 332).

¹⁹⁰In lieu of *quendam rogum multo igne flammantem*, Hilduin's original translation reads *quendam rogum multiluminem* (ed. Théry, II, p. 332), where the neologism *multiluminem* is a calque on the Greek πολύφωτον, 'brightly shining' (*CD* II, p. 190).

¹⁹¹Cf. the wording of Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6: 'in australi uero parte celi Ihesum et adstantem ei in hominum specie inestimabilem angelorum numerum' (ed. Théry, II, p. 332), from which it is clear that the words describing Jesus *in throno sedentem* are an addition in the present text.

¹⁹²This sentence has been taken over from Hilduin's earlier translation, with two minor changes: the addition of the adjective *tenebrosissimi* to qualify *barathri*, and the words *deiectos ... collabebantur* substituted for the earlier wording *deiectos a propriorum pedum instabilitate* (ed. Théry, II, p. 332).

¹⁹³Hilduin has expanded this sentence from his earlier translation so as to clarify the sense of his original wording: 'et aliquando dentibus tantum trahentes, et celitus ardentis uiros uellentes, et omnimodis in baratrum trahere conantes' (ed. Théry, II, p. 335).

¹⁹⁴In his earlier translation of *Ep.* VIII. 6, Hilduin attempted with the word *personantes* to render the Greek διαδονούντας, 'shaking (them)' (*CD* II, p. 191), from the verb διαδονέω, 'to shake violently'. Théry plausibly suggested that Hilduin misread διαδονούντας as διαδοντας, from δι-ᾶδω, 'to contend in singing' (Théry, II, p. 333, n. 4). Hilduin then added the words *cum tumultu* to make sense of (the nonsensical) *personantes*.

¹⁹⁵Hilduin has rephrased this sentence from his earlier translation: 'Videbatur ei etiam quosdam eis accessisse, qui nolebant, quosdam autem uolentes, ut mala paterentur in breui simul et satisfacerent' (ed. Théry, II, p. 333).

¹⁹⁶Here, too, Hilduin has substantially recast the sentence from his earlier translation, thereby altering its meaning: 'Dicebat nichilominus Carpus se intendisse his que deorsum conspiciebat, superiora autem neglexisse; tedere autem se et lassari, quia non iam rei ceciderant, et multocius imposuisse illis, et se sine uirtute anxiami, et maledixisse eis' (ed. Théry, II, p. 333).

¹⁹⁷The passage from *Sed Iesum benignum* to *Et conuersus ad Carpum Iesus dixit ei* is considerably expanded from Hilduin's earlier translation, which simply reads: 'uidisse autem se sicut et prius Ihesum miserantem quod factum erat, et exsurrexisse de celesti throno, et usque ad eos descendentem, ac manum benignam porrigere uiris, et angelos coapprehedentes eos, utrumque, et continuisse eos' (ed. Théry, II, p. 334; for discussion, see *ibid.* I, pp. 25–26).

¹⁹⁸The impv. *percute* is incomprehensible in context; one would expect the indic. *percutis*. However, Hilduin is here following literally his own translation of pseudo-Dionysius, *Ep.* VIII. 6: 'Carpe, manu preconstituta percutite aduersus me' (ed. Théry, II, p. 334), which in turn is a literal rendition of the Greek text: τῆς χειρὸς ἤδη προτεταγμένης παῖε κατ' ἐμοῦ (*CD* II, p. 191), where παῖε is the impv. sg. of παῖω, 'to strike'.

¹⁹⁹Once again Hilduin expands his earlier translation of Jesus' words to Carpus: 'Carpe, manu preconstituta percute aduersus me. Nam paratus sum iterum pro hominibus resaluandis pati; et amabile michi est, istud super aliis non peccantibus hominibus. Verumtamen uide, si bene se habet tibi, in baratro cum serpentibus mansionem commutare, sicut cum deo et benignis ac humanis angelis' (ed. Théry, II, p. 334).

²⁰⁰This is *Ep.* IX to Titus [*CPG* 6612]: ed. *CD* II, pp. 193–207; trans. Luibheid, pp. 280–288; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 334–345. Here Hilduin provides only the briefest of summaries.

²⁰¹*Ep.* X [*CPG* 6613]: ed. *CD* II, pp. 208–210; trans. Luibheid, pp. 288–289; trans. Hilduin, ed. Théry, II, pp. 345–347. This time the letter is reproduced literally.

²⁰²Given that this is the salutation of a letter, one would expect the phrase to be concluded with words such as *Dionysius salutem*.

²⁰³The Latin here, which is repeated verbatim from Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep.* X (ed. Théry, II, p. 345), is obscure at best, perhaps because Hilduin did not fully understand the Greek original: προσαγορεύω σε τὴν ἱερὰν ψυχὴν, ἡγαπημένε, καὶ ἔστι μοι τοῦτο πρὸς σὲ παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἰδιαιτέρον (*CD* II, p. 208; trans. Luibheid, p. 288: 'Beloved and blessed soul – and this is something which I, more than many, can say – I salute you').

²⁰⁴Cf. Matt. xxiii. 34.

²⁰⁵The reading *fecerunt* (MSS. ABDFGORST) rather than *fecerint* is confirmed by the text of Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep.* X (ed. Théry, II, p. 346: 'cum impii se ipsos fecerunt ab illis secretos').

²⁰⁶The reading *affectos*, preserved uniquely in MS. L (against the reading *effectos* of all other MSS.), is the reading of Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep.* X (ed. Théry, II, p. 346: 'et pius iam cum deo inde uideamus affectos').

²⁰⁷In this clause either *quoniam* or *cum* would appear to be superfluous; but the clause is repeated verbatim from Hilduin's translation of *Ep.* X: 'quoniam ueritatis cum sint amatores' (ed. Théry, II, p. 346). Comparison with the Greek original – ἐπειδὴ ἀληθεῖς ὄντες ἐρασταί (*CD* II, p. 208) – suggests that it is *cum* that is superfluous, for *quoniam* here renders ἐπειδὴ.

²⁰⁸Whereas all manuscripts of the *Passio S. Dionysii* here read *nos*, Hilduin's earlier translation of *Ep. x* reads *uos*: 'de his vero qui inique agunt in uos, et determinant uos non recte, euangelii solem conueniens inuoco, his omissis ...' (ed. Théry, II, p. 346). The Greek original has ὑμεῖς (*CD* II, p. 209), corresponding therefore to *uos*. I have therefore corrected both instances of transmitted *nos* in this clause to *uos*.

²⁰⁹At this point Hilduin ceases to quote from (his translation of) the *Corpus Dionysiicum*.

²¹⁰In fact the *Corpus Dionysiicum* as it has come down to us, and as it was translated by Hilduin, contains no letters or treatises other than those which are represented in the *Passio S. Dionysii*. However, at various points in the *Corpus*, the pseudo-Dionysius refers to other works, including treatises entitled *Theologicae deformationes* (mentioned in *De theologia mystica*, c. 3: ed. Théry, II, pp. 297–298 and in *De diuinis nominibus*, c. 1: ed. Théry, II, p. 167 *et passim*), and *Symbolica theologia* (mentioned in *Ep. IX. 1*: ed. Théry, II, pp. 334–335). Hilduin's present reference is presumably to one or both of these, although neither of them has come down to us (and may never have existed).

²¹¹If by *in occiduis partibus* Hilduin means simply 'outside Judaea', then we know from Acts that Paul was arraigned before municipal authorities at Philippi and Thessalonica, before the proconsul Gallio at Corinth, and before the municipal authorities at Ephesus (Act. xvi. 19–40, xvii. 6–10, xviii. 12–17, and xix. 24–40); the first formal trial (*prima defensio*) of St Paul in Judaea was that before Felix (Act. xxiv).

²¹²Act. xx. 29 ('ego scio quoniam intrabunt post discessionem meam lupi graves [rapaces FSΦc] in vos non parcentes gregi').

²¹³The Troad (*Troas*) is the mountainous, inaccessible and uninhabited region of Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey), bordered on the northwest by the Hellepont, with Mt Ida as its high point and Troy/Ilium as its most famous settlement. Hilduin presumably sent Dionysius to the Troad because St Paul had preceded him there (II Cor. ii. 12; cf. Act. xvi. 8 and 11, xx. 5–6). The location sits ill with the statement in the following sentence that, after a few years, Dionysius was *cum Pelio Lacedaemoniorum positus* – in the Peloponnesus, presumably (see following note). But perhaps this is simply another instance of Hilduin's ignorance of the geography of Greece.

²¹⁴It is not clear whether *Pelion* is intended by Hilduin as a personal name or a place-name. If the former, *Pelion* is unattested elsewhere (see the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, s.v.); if the latter, the reference would presumably be to Mt Pelion in Thessaly; but this identification squares poorly with *Lacedaemoniorum*, which presumably refers to citizens of Sparta in the Peloponnesus. Hilduin's Greek geography is poor at best; possibly what he intended is a person called Pelion who was a Spartan.

²¹⁵The genitive construction is bizarre: did Hilduin intend to write *festinantiae itinere*, 'by a journey of haste'?

²¹⁶The information about the executions of SS. Peter and Paul could have been learned from any of a number of sources. Cf. Orosius, *Historiae aduersum paganos* vii. 7. 1 ('anno ab Vrbe condita DCCVIII [= A.D. 54] Nero Caesar principatum adeptus est mansitque in eo annis non plenis quattuordecim') and vii. 7. 10 ('nam primus Romae Christianos supplicii et mortibus affecit ac per omnes prouincias pari persecutione excruciarum imperauit ipsumque nomen extirpare conatus beatissimos Christi apostolos Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit'); Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* ii. 25. 5, trans. Rufinus: 'Igitur Nero, ut apertum se hostem diuinitatis pietatisque professus est, ipsorum prius apostolorum, quippe qui duces et signiferi erant in populo Dei, expetit neces. Et Paulum quidem capite in ipsa urbe Roma, Petrum vero crucis patibulo, condemnat' (ed. Mommsen, I, p. 177); Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* i. 25 ('Hunc elisum per apostulos Domini Petrum atque Paulum, commotus contra eos, cur Christum filium Dei praedicarent et idola adorare contemnerent, Petrum crucem, Paulum gladio iubet interfeci'); and Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. lxvi: 'Primus Nero super omnia scelera etiam Christianos persequitur, quorum eximios Romae Petrum cruce, Paulum occidit gladio' (CCSL cxxiiiB. 498); Bede's entry is taken nearly verbatim from Eusebius, *Chronicon*, trans. Jerome: 'Primus Nero super omnia scelera sua etiam persecutionem in Christianos facit, in qua Petrus et Paulus gloriose Romae occubuerunt' (GCS xlvi. 185). The fourteenth year of Nero's reign corresponds to A.D. 68, the date against which the martyrdoms are recorded in Eusebius/Jerome. Modern scholars assign the execution of St Peter to Nero's pogrom against Christians following the great fire in Rome in A.D. 64, as described by Tacitus (see Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, pp. 3–9); the execution of St Paul by decapitation is assigned by scholars to sometime during the years A.D. 62 × 64: see R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 45–46, and cf. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, pp. 31–35, who argues that St Paul was executed by decapitation not in Rome but in Spain.

²¹⁷From various sources, Clemens Romanus or 'Clement of Rome' is known to have been the third bishop of Rome in succession to St Peter: see the *Liber pontificalis*, c. iv (ed. Mommsen, MGH, *Gesta pontificum Romanorum* i/1 (Berlin, 1898), p. 7), and Eusebius, *HE* iii. 15, trans. Rufinus: 'Anacletus ... sacerdotii sedem Clementi tradidit' (ed. Mommsen, I, p. 229). Eusebius notes that Clement was mentioned by St Paul as one of his helpers (Phil. iv. 3). He is known as the author of a genuine *Epistula ad Corinthios* [CPG 1001; ed. PG i. 199–328], which can be dated to c. A.D. 96. The precise dates of his episcopate are unknown (A.D. 92–101?), and are usually given simply as 'c. A.D. 96', the date of the *Epistula ad Corinthios*. His bishopric thus coincided with the principate of Domitian, as Hilduin clearly realized. A spurious body of Christian literature was subsequently associated with Clement, notably the second *Epistula ad Corinthios* [CPG 1003], and the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* [CPG 1015(5)]; he was also the subject of a late Roman *Passio S. Clementis* [BHL 1848], in which St Clement was banished to the Crimea under the Emperor Trajan, forced to work in the mines, and then eventually martyred by being thrown into the Black Sea with an anchor attached to his neck.

²¹⁸The earliest source for the statement that Dionysius the Areopagite was 'bishop' of Athens appears to be Eusebius, *HE* iii. 4. 10, trans. Rufinus: 'sed et Dionysium Areopagiten apud Athenas, quem Lucas describit primum Paulo praedicante credidisse, inter socios eius fuisse et ecclesiae Atheniensium constat sacerdotium suscepisse' (ed. Mommsen, I, p. 195); cf. also *HE* iv. 23. 3, trans. Rufinus: 'quod Dionysius Areopagites, qui ab apostolo Paulo instructus credidit Christo, secundum ea, quae in apostolorum Actibus designantur, primus apud Athenas ab eodem apostolo episcopus fuerit ordinatus' (ibid. I, p. 375); see M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1740), II, col. 167, and G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, I. *Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus* (Padova, 1988), p. 489, where the dates A.D. 81–96 are assigned to Dionysius's episcopate, and the source cited as Eusebius, *HE*, as above. Note also that Hilduin has altered *episcopus* in Eusebius to *archiepiscopus*. It is not clear whether this alteration is based on knowledge of (Greek) sources, or is simply a reflection of the fact that in western (Latin) sources, *archiepiscopus* was the higher ecclesiastical office. The corresponding title in the Greek East was 'metropolitan' (μητροπολίτης), a title which had been sanctioned by the first Council of Nicaea (canon 5). But some bishops without suffragans were nevertheless given the title 'metropolitan', and some metropolitans – e.g. those of Athens, Thessalonike and Ephesus – could also be called 'archbishops' (see *ODB* I, pp. 155–156); so it is remotely possible that Hilduin was reflecting genuine Byzantine historical tradition.

²¹⁹ Jer. iv. 18.

²²⁰ Cf. Matt. ix. 37 [= Luc. x. 2] ('messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci').

²²¹ The ultimate source of this expression is Matt. xvi. 19 ('quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis; et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum in caelis').

²²² Matt. xxv. 21. Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 4: 'Vade in *partibus occidentis* praedicare euangelium regni caelestis *et ligandi soluendique tibi sit concessa potestas ut, Christi euangelium per te longe lateque diffusum, illud a Domino cum fidei seruo merearis audire: "Euge serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam. Intra in gaudium Domini tui"*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', pp. 43–44, and Appendix II, below, p. 684).

²²³ Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 8 ('mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem').

²²⁴ It is unclear why Hilduin did not here name the helpers of Dionysius as Eleutherius and Rusticus, whose names are withheld until c. 25 (above, p. 282).

²²⁵ Cf. Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 66: 'quando *terram repromissionis* intrauit ... habitatio autem *filiorum Israhel*' (CCSL cxxiiiB. 471).

²²⁶ Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 5: 'Qui cum simul peruenissent pergentes peruenerunt ad *portum Arelatensium ciuitatis*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 44, and Appendix II, below, p. 684).

²²⁷ From this point onwards, Hilduin's narrative is based heavily both on that of the 'ancient *passio*' [BHL 2171] and of the 'anonymous *passio*' [BHL 2178], the wording of which he frequently repeats verbatim; with the present passage, cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2 (the wording taken over by Hilduin is italicized): 'Sanctus igitur *Dionysius, qui ... tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda suscepit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 269, and Appendix I, below, p. 646), and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 5: 'Sanctus igitur *Dionysius, sancti spiritus calore succensus et apostolica praeditus potestate, quique a beato Clemente diuini uerbi semina gentibus suscepit eroganda*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 44, and Appendix II, below, pp. 684–686). This passage provides an example of Hilduin collating both the earlier *passiones* of St Dionysius: the wording of Hilduin's

sentence most closely follows that of the ‘ancient *passio*’ [BHL 2171], but the word *eroganda* is taken from the ‘anonymous *passio*’ [BHL 2178], for all MSS. of the ‘ancient *passio*’ read *parturienda*, not *eroganda*, at this point.

²²⁸ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei flammatus accessit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 646), with the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 5: ‘*sed beatissimi principis apostolorum informatus exemplo, qui Romanis fuerat poenis atrocibus datus, ubi apud Gallias amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc diuina protectione munitus fortis se et uerus proeliorum immersit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 44, and Appendix II, below, p. 686).

²²⁹ The original site of Paris was on the largest of two islands in the river Seine, now called the Île de la Cité. Under the Romans it was the *civitas*-capital of the Parisii, and was called *Lutetia Parisiorum*; its importance derived from its defensible location on a navigable river at the crossing of two north-south Roman roads. The population was originally confined to the Île, and was probably a relatively small population (calculated, on the basis of the aqueduct which supplied it, to be between 4,500 and 5,000 inhabitants). Although the population soon spread out to the North and South banks, in the face of the third-century Germanic invasions, Paris retreated back to within the fortified walls of the Île de la Cité (to within, that is, an area occupying approximately eight hectares). See Pachtère, *Paris à l’époque gallo-romaine*, pp. 98–110; *DACL* XIII/ii, cols. 1789–1816 (s.v. ‘Paris. Histoire’); and *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIII^e siècle*, VIII. *Province ecclésiastique de Sens*, ed. J.-C. Picard et al. (Paris, 1992), pp. 97–129, esp. 97–107 on early Christian Paris (with a valuable map on p. 99).

²³⁰ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*ac Parisius Domino ducente peruenit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 646).

²³¹ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*Non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem, quia uirtutem suam praeteritarum poenarum recordatio roborabat*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 646), with the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 5: ‘*non ferocitatem incredulae reputans gentis*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 44, and Appendix II, below, p. 686). The ‘recollection of former trials’ (mentioned only in the ‘ancient *passio*’) apparently refers to the sufferings of SS. Peter and Paul.

²³²There is no question that there was any settlement of Germans (Franks), either in Paris or elsewhere in Gaul, at the end of the first century A.D. (in the time, that is, of Pope Clement, *sedit* c. 96). According to Orosius (*Hist.* vii. 41. 2), the first Frankish invasions began in 256, and continued for twelve years, with further incursions following the death of the emperor Aurelian in 275. Frankish presence in Paris and its environs is attested by various archaeological evidence, notably that of coin-hoards and signs of burning: see Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, pp. 111–117. Extensive Frankish settlement took place at a subsequent period, in the later fourth and fifth centuries, with the result that by 486 or so, Paris became in effect a Frankish city: Pachtère, *ibid.* pp. 159–170, esp. 169, and Duval, *Paris*, pp. 353–363.

²³³The description of Paris is taken nearly verbatim from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*Tunc memorata ciuitas et conuentu Germanorum et nobilitate pollebat, quia esset salubris aere, iucunda flumine, fecunda terris, arboribus nemorosa, uinetis uberrima, constipata populis, referta commerciis ... circumfusa fluminis unda*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 646); the words *Parisorum, ut sedes regia, Gallorum* and *ac uariis commeatibus* are additions by Hilduin. Cf. the similar wording of the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 6: '*Nam licet magnis esset paganorum faecibus inuoluta, fecunda tamen terris, arboribus nemorosa, uineis uberrima ac referta pollebat commerciis trapezetarum; quae, Sequanae uallata perplexu ...*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 44, and Appendix II, below, p. 686).

²³⁴Hilduin's remark, concerning the abundance of fish in the river Seine, has no correlate in the 'ancient *passio*', but was clearly prompted by wording in the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 6: '*et copiam piscium aluei sui ciuibus unda ministrat*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 44, and Appendix II, below, p. 686).

²³⁵The beginning of c. 21 is taken verbatim from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum: ad quem cum primum fide armatus et constantia confessionis accessit intrepidus ...*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 648); cf. the somewhat different wording of the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 6: '*Hunc ergo locum cum Dei famulus expetisset fidei armatus constantia ...*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 44, and Appendix II, below, p. 686). Hilduin now turns to the *Conscriptio Visbii* for his narrative of the church-building activities of St Dionysius in Paris.

²³⁶The narrative of Lisbius, and his donation of land on which Dionysius was able to build a baptistery, is taken from an anonymous document called the *Conscriptio Visbii* (*BHL* 2183; ed. Lapidge, ‘The *Conscriptio Visbii*’, and below, Appendix VI, pp. 762–773). This text is not mentioned by any author earlier than Hilduin. It purports to be a will or testament by Visbius, who describes himself as the son of Lisbius and Larcia, in which he formally relinquishes to Massus, the third bishop of Paris in succession to Dionysius, any (residual) rights he might have to the property formerly donated by his father Lisbius to Dionysius: ‘Dono illi [*scil.* Dionysio] et tibi, bono ministro eius Masso presbytero, schopos omne postliminium meum, cum illo quod est in urbanio huius’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The *Conscriptio Visbii*’, p. 412, and below, Appendix VI, p. 766). The statement that Lisbius was a *uir honoratissimus* (see following note) of Paris, and the dialogue between Lisbius and Dionysius, is not found in the *Conscriptio Visbii*, and has apparently been invented by Hilduin. No person named Lisbius is recorded in Roman historical sources of the late first century A.D.: see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III.*, ed. Groag, Stein et al., s.v. It is possible that the author of the *Conscriptio Visbii* took the name from Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli*, cc. 22–25, where a proconsul of Patras in Achaia bears the name Lisbius (*MGH*, SS. rer. Meroving. I/2. 388–391); the name recurs in the pseudo-Abdias *De historia certaminis apostolici*, III [St Andrew], but this author is thought to have based his narrative on that of Gregory of Tours (*Abdiae Babyloniae primi episcopi ab apostolis constituti, De historia certaminis apostolici libri X, Iulio Africano interprete* (Paris, 1571), fol. 33^v).

²³⁷In late antiquity, the upper/senatorial class of Roman society were referred to as (*uiri*) *honorati*: see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964), I, pp. 523–562; and there were various sub-classes of *uiri honorati*, including *illustres*, *spectabiles*, and *clarissimi* (*ibid.* pp. 528–529). Needless to say, perhaps, the application of such terms to the late first century A.D. is anachronistic, as is the use of the term *honoratissimus* itself; see *TLL* VI/iii, col. 2951, and Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* xxi. 12. 16 (‘ut viso *honoratissimo* viro compertaque per eum morte Constanti solveretur obsidium ...’).

²³⁸The precise meaning of the transmitted term is unclear. The genitive would seem to derive from either of two Medieval Latin nouns: *secretarium* (‘secret place’, ‘sacristy’, ‘reliquary’), or *secretarius* (‘secretary’, ‘sacrist’), but neither seems appropriate in context. For that reason I have emended *secretarii* to *sacrarii*.

²³⁹This information was prompted once again by the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2 [Visbius speaking]: '[agrum] quod Dionysius Macarius a patre meo [*scil.* Lisbio] comparauit ad domum baptizalem faciendam' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412; and below, Appendix VI, p. 766). Early Christian baptisteries were often sited near sources of water; in this case, it would have been entirely practical to construct a baptistery on the Île de la Cité, surrounded as it is by the river Seine. In the Roman empire at large, dedicated baptisteries date from no earlier than the mid-third century (Hilduin's attribution of such a building to a saint who was martyred in A.D. 96 is therefore utterly anachronistic), and most surviving examples date from the fifth and sixth centuries. There was apparently a baptistery near Notre Dame on the Île de la Cité, which was subsequently replaced by a round church, Saint-Jean-le-Rond (itself demolished in 1748): see H. Leclercq, 'Baptistère', *DACL* II/i, cols. 382–469, at 465, and, for an overview, A. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens: plans, notices et bibliographie* (Paris, 1962), who surveys some 382 baptisteries, none of them in Paris.

²⁴⁰The argument of St Dionysius, that he could not accept from Lisbius the estate free of charge, given that even Christ Himself had (in effect) paid for rented accommodation in the inn in which He was born, is based on a cryptic statement in the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2: 'quia dicebat [*scil.* Dionysius] Deum Iesum in locato natum', 'because he said that the God Jesus was born in hired accommodation' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412; and below, Appendix VI, p. 766), where the reference is to Christ's birth (in stables attached to) a rented inn: '[natus] in praesepio quia non erat eis locus in diversorio' (Luc. ii. 7).

²⁴¹This statement, too, derives from the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2, according to which St Dionysius acquired for the price of the land 'a burial-place for captives': 'et de eius pretio captiuorum sepulturam comparatam' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412; ed. below, Appendix VI, p. 766). In early Christian times it was relatively common for newly-converted wealthy landowners to donate land for (Christian) cemeteries, so there is nothing unusual in the bequest of Lisbius. What is not clear is why the cemetery should have been designated for the burial of *captiui* ('slaves'), rather than simply for newly-converted Christians in general. Perhaps there is some recognition here that the early Christian community was largely made up of slaves and the lower orders of society. It is also not clear where Hilduin thought this cemetery was located. In c. 20 he had specified (following the 'ancient *passio*') that St Dionysius established his base of operations on the Île de la Cité; and at the beginning of c. 22 he states that it was there (*illuc*) that he built his church dedicated to the Lord Jesus Christ

(the dedication to Christ is equally problematic: see below, n. 243). But there was no available space for a cemetery on the Île de la Cité, and the extensive nineteenth-century excavations in the precincts of Notre Dame found no trace of one. In fact the burial-place for the early Christian community of Paris was the vast cemetery of Saint-Marcel on the Left Bank (its extent bounded by the rue du Petit Moine, the rue Scipion (east), and the rue Pascal (west), an area south of the present Gare d'Austerlitz and north of the Boulevard de Port-Royal (and Boulevard de Saint-Marcel)): see *DACL* XIII/ii, col. 1864, and Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, pp. 137–139, with Plan 1. The cemetery of Saint-Marcel dates from the fourth century A.D.; whether it was still in use during Hilduin's lifetime is unknown.

²⁴² Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*ecclesiam illic quae necdum in locis erat et populis illis nota construxit; ac officia seruientium clericorum ex more constituit probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliauit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 648), and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 6: '*ecclesiam ibidem iuxta uirium suarum uirtutem, ut nouus adhuc aduena poterat, Domini nostri Iesu Christi ... in honore construxit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', pp. 44–45, and Appendix II, below, pp. 686–688).

²⁴³ Note that the baptistery (*domum baptismatis*) of c. 21 is now described as an *ecclesia*. The statement that a church building was something previously unknown to the inhabitants of Paris derives from the 'ancient *passio*' (see previous note). Hilduin now adds the fact that the church in question was dedicated to 'our Lord Jesus Christ' (this dedication was already found in the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 6, as quoted in the previous note). Such a dedication to Jesus Christ is very problematic. Documentary evidence indicates that the *cathedra* established on the Île de la Cité was originally dedicated to St Stephen, with adjacent churches dedicated to St Germanus and to the Virgin Mary. From the ninth century onwards, however, the cathedral church was dedicated solely to the Virgin Mary (hence known subsequently as Notre-Dame): see V. Mortet, *Étude historique et archéologique sur la cathédrale et le palais épiscopale de Paris du VI^e au XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1888), esp. pp. 1–9, and L. Levillain, 'Le vocable de la cathédrale de Paris à l'époque franque', in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), pp. 443–476, at 445–457, as well as *DACL* XIII/ii, cols. 1854–1862. In a word, there is no documentary evidence for an early church dedicated solely to Jesus Christ. Why, then, should Hilduin have specified this otherwise unattested dedication? The answer is probably that Hilduin wished to avoid giving the clerics of the cathedral of Notre-Dame any pretext whatsoever for claiming the glories of St Dionysius as their own; so

he invented a church dedicated to the Saviour over which no ninth-century churchman could claim jurisdiction.

²⁴⁴ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*ac officia seruientium clericorum ex more constituit probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliavit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 648), and the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 7: ‘*probatasque personas et dignas meritis suis ordinibus ampliaret*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 45, and Appendix II, below, p. 688).

²⁴⁵ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*Cinctus ergo fide et iam constructione basilicae roboratus, Deum gentibus non desinebat insinuare quem nouerat, eiusque omnibus et iudicium et misericordiam anteponens, paulatim sociabat Deo quos diabolo subtrahebat*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, below, p. 648). These words have no exact correlate in the ‘anonymous *passio*’ [BHL 2178]; but cf. the following note.

²⁴⁶ Cf. the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 7: ‘*ut, quos subtrahebat mundo, dignos transmitteret caelo*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 45, and Appendix II, below, p. 688).

²⁴⁷ This sentence is quoted verbatim from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*Tantas etiam per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and Appendix I, below, p. 648); cf. the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 7: ‘*tantas per illum dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus praedicationibus quam ipsis uirtutibus cotidie roboraret*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 45, and Appendix II, below, p. 688): once again, Hilduin’s wording most closely resembles that of the ‘ancient *passio*’ [BHL 2171]. Following this quotation, Hilduin inserts a few sentences of his own.

²⁴⁸ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere; subdebat se certatim Germaniae ceruicositas et iugum Christi suaue imponi sibi, acta cordis compunctione, poscebat*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and Appendix I, below, p. 648; these words have no correlate in the ‘anonymous *passio*’ [BHL 2178]). Hilduin has substituted *contritione* for *compunctione* in his source; no MS of the ‘ancient *passio*’ appears to have the variant reading *contritione*. Furthermore, he has taken over the *Germani[ca] ceruicositas* from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2 (whose author apparently

derived the unusual word *ceruicositas* from Sidonius Apollinaris: see below, p. 649, n. 118), but added the phrase *Gallicanus cothurnus*. The phrase literally means ‘Gallican buskin’; but in Merovingian sources of the sixth century and later, the word *cothurnus* was used to mean ‘arrogance’ or ‘pride’, as in the following sources: Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* iv. 11: ‘erat enim vanitatis coturno elatus’ (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. i/1. 142); Julian of Toledo, *Historia Wambae regis*, c. 8: ‘pars aliqua Tarraconensis provinciae cuturnum rebellionis adtemptat’ (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. v. 507); *Chronicon Fredegarii*, continuatio c. 28: ‘provocati coturno Wasconorum’ (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. ii. 181); and the eleventh-century *Chronicon* of Hugo of Flavigny: ‘humiliabitur Gallicus cothurnus substratus sancti viri pedibus’ (MGH, SS viii. 293). The last usage was possibly indebted to Hilduin. See *MLW* II, col. 1966.

²⁴⁹ Quoted verbatim from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*Ab ipsis quoque destruebantur idola, quorum sumptu fuerant et studio fabricata; et inuento salutis portu idolorum gaudebant perire naufragia. Lugebat portio uicta diaboli, cum de ea uictrix ecclesiae legio triumphabat*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and Appendix I, below, pp. 648–650); cf. the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 11: ‘*Ab ipsis denique destruebantur idola, quorum sumptu fuerant et studio fabricata, et, portu salutis inuento, idolorum gaudebant perire naufragia. Lugebat tunc portio uicta diaboli cum de ea uictrix ecclesiae legio triumpharet ...*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 47, and Appendix II, below, p. 692). Note that Hilduin omitted the word *perire* and corrected the ungrammatical *naufragia* to *naufragio*.

²⁵⁰ Verbatim from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 3: ‘*Tunc hostis antiquus, uidens sibi perire quod Domino constabat assidua populorum conuersione proficere, totam artificii sui machinam ad impugnanda quae fuerant constructa conuertit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and Appendix I, below, p. 650); cf. the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 10: ‘*Tunc hostis antiquus, uidens sibi perire quos Domino constabat seruari et assidua populorum conuersione proficere, totam artis suae calliditatem ad impugnanda quae fuerant constructa conuertit ...*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 46, and Appendix II, below, p. 692).

²⁵¹ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 3: ‘*et suae partis auctores, deorum suorum flentes exitium, ad impietatem subitae persecutionis armauit, ut eos qui unum et uerum Deum colendum insinuauerant et timendum*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and Appendix I, below, p. 650). The remainder of c. 23 has no correlate in the ‘ancient *passio*’ (which makes no mention of Domitian).

²⁵² Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos*, vii. 10. 5 ('idemque [scil. Domitianus] efferatus superbia, qua se deum coli uellet, persecutionem in Christianos agi secundus a Nerone imperauit'); cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 8: 'ut *Domitiani, qui secundam in Christianos post Neronem persecutionem exercuit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 45, and Appendix II, below, p. 688). In fact there is no reliable contemporary evidence for the persecution of Christians by Domitian: see Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History*, p. 37 and nn. 89–90, who shows that it was a polemical invention by Melito of Sardis (quoted in Eusebius, *HE* iv. 26. 7–11) based on the perception that Domitian was a 'bad' emperor.

²⁵³ Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 8: 'qui in tanta rabie indignationis exarsit ut, ubicumque Christianum quempiam repperisset, aut diis sacrificaret incestis aut diuersis poenis addictus puniendus gladio traderetur' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 45, and Appendix II, below, p. 688).

²⁵⁴ Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: '*Persecutionis ergo publicata sententia, impiorum gaudens turba progreditur et contra dominicum populum pugnatura conspirat, non cunctati appetere gladio quos Dominus suos monstrauerat esse signaculo*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, below, p. 650); and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 10: '*Persecutionis ergo publicata sententia, impiorum gaudens turba progreditur et contra Dei famulos pugnatura conspirat*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 46, and Appendix II, below, p. 690). The remainder of c. 24 has no correlate in the 'ancient *passio*' (which contains no mention of Fescenninus Sisinnius, and does not name the agents of persecution).

²⁵⁵ Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 8: '*... nulla iam pro Christo certantibus praesentis uitae indulgebatur tranquillitas, nulla sanctorum martyrum erat excusata libertas, sed omnes, impium seruantes edictum quod statutum a Caesare fuerat, transgredi nullatenus audebant*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 45, and Appendix II, below, p. 690).

²⁵⁶ As is typical in late antique *passiones martyrum*, Hilduin does not specify which prefecture – urban or praetorian – was held by Fescenninus Sisinnius, possibly because his grasp of late Roman administrative terminology was unsound. From the time of Constantine onwards, the praetorian prefecture was reconceived, with the establishment of four huge territorial prefectures, so that, whereas in c. 100 A.D. the praetorian prefect was the commander of the imperial guard, closely attached to the emperor's person, by the fourth

century there were three (and later four) prefectures: of the Gauls, including Britain, Spain and the two Gallic dioceses; of Italy (including the dioceses of Africa, Pannonia, Dacia and Macedonia); and of the East (including the dioceses of Thrace, Asiana, Pontica and Oriens): see Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, pp. 370–371. Fescenninus Sisinnius is apparently being conceived as praetorian prefect of the Gauls, although such a post was an anachronism in 96 A.D. In any event, this Fescenninus is wholly fictitious, as can be determined by consulting the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I. II. III*, ed. Groag, Stein et al., s.v. However, as Hippolyte Delehaye pointed out, a persecuting Roman agent named Sisinnius is found in several late antique *passiones*, including the *Passio S. Anastasiae* [BHL 401], the *Passio S. Clementis* [BHL 1848], and the *Passio S. Marcelli* [BHL 5234]: see *Étude sur le légendier romain. Les saints de novembre et de décembre* (Brussels, 1936), p. 103. One of these, rather than a historical source from the principate of Domitian, will have been Hilduin's source for the name Sisinnius; but his source for the name Fescenninus remains to be identified.

²⁵⁷ Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 9: 'sicque ... *ueloci cursu, tumentibus animis, uultibus trucidissimis Parisius adierunt*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 46, and Appendix II, below, p. 690). Note that the form *trucidissimus* is a solecism (there is no such word as *trucidus*, and *trucissimus* is the superlative of *trux*); the superlative form is correctly *trucissimus*. Hence the form preserved in MSS. F and G – *trucissimis* – is the correct one, and I have accordingly adopted it in the text, on the assumption that Hilduin knew what the correct form was. But the solecism *trucidissimis* was that used by the author of the 'anonymous *passio*', and, since this form is transmitted in a large number of Hilduin MSS (ACELMOPRST), may well have been what Hilduin wrote.

²⁵⁸ Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: 'Itaque cum occiduum orbis partem pro Christianorum inquisitione percurrerent, sanctum *Dionysium contra incredulos dimicantem* Parisius reppererunt, *cum quo Rusticum presbyterum et Eleutherium archidiaconem persecutionis dirus furor inuenit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, below, p. 650); and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 9: 'Sanctum uero *Dionysium contra perfidos inueniunt dimicantem et praedicatione continua uulgi multitudinem ad fidem inueniunt iam uocantem; cum quo etiam beatum uirum Rusticum et Eleutherium diaconem, quos ipse beatus uir in suis ordinibus consecrarat, praedicationis eius socios et discipulos persecutorum dirus furor inuenit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 46, and Appendix II, below, p. 690).

²⁵⁹ Quoted verbatim from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 3: ‘*Hii sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam se sustinuerunt abesse praesentia*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and Appendix I, below, p. 650); cf. the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 9: ‘*Hi sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam patiebantur abesse praesentia; quos diuina pietas aeterni regni iam praesciebat esse consortes*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 46, and Appendix II, below, p. 690). The remainder of c. 25, and all of cc. 26–30, have no correlate in either the ‘ancient *passio*’ or the ‘anonymous *passio*’. Hilduin returns briefly to these texts in c. 31, when describing the execution itself.

²⁶⁰ This speech by the three saints, setting out the tenets of their Christian belief, is in effect a much-embroidered rewording of the so-called ‘Apostles’ Creed’, in the version – known to students of creeds as the *Textus receptus* or T – which was current in France and Germany from the eighth century onwards, and which apparently originated in S.W. France (Septimania) in the seventh century or earlier: see Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, pp. 368–434, with discussion of its origins at pp. 414–426. The following wording most clearly betrays Hilduin’s debt to T (for convenience T is quoted from Kelly, *ibid.* p. 369): *ex beata Maria semper uirgine* (cf. T: *ex Maria uirgine*); *passum, mortuum et sepultum* (cf. T: *passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus*); *sedere ... ad dexteram paternae maiestatis* (cf. T: *sedet ad dexteram Dei patris omnipotentis*); and *uenturum ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos* (cf. T: *uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos*).

²⁶¹ The prefect’s play on the words *uerborum* and *uerberum* is common in late Roman *passiones martyrum*: cf. the *Passio SS. Alexandri, Eventii et Theoduli* [BHL 266], c. 4.16, where the prefect [Aurelianus] says to the martyrs: ‘cessent uerba, quia praesto sunt uerbera’ (*Acta ss., Maii*, I, p. 374); the *Passio SS. Rufinae et Secundae* [BHL 7359], c. 3, where the prefect [Arcesilaus] says: ‘cessent ista uerba; quia parata sunt uerbera’ (*Acta ss., Iulii*, III, p. 30), and the *Passio SS. Nerei et Achillei* [BHL 6058], c. 1.3: ‘et has non tantum uerbis, at etiam uerberibus ulciscuntur’ (*Acta ss., Maii*, III, p. 7). The same word-play is found in the *Passio S. Albani* as it is quoted by Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* i. 7. 3, where the enraged prefect decides to try to weaken the martyr’s resolve by blows rather than by words: ‘autumans se uerberibus, quam uerbis non poterat, cordis eius emollire constantiam’. Hilduin could have known any or all of these texts.

²⁶² Four women named Larcia are attested in Roman sources of the first to third century A.D.: Larcia, wife of one Statilius Tritonianus; Larcia Isidora nea, of Crete; Larcia Priscilla; and Larcia Sabina, who lived during the principate of

Hadrian: see *Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I. II. III.*, ed. Groag, Stein et al., v/i [Berlin, 1970], p. 20 (nos. 104–107). It needs hardly to be said that Larcia of the present narrative is not identical with any of these.

²⁶³The story of Larcia's betrayal of her husband Lisbius (who was first mentioned in c. 21, above) is mentioned, but not fully narrated, in the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2, where Visbius, the son of Lisbius, states that the property donated to the church by Lisbius had passed to him (Visbius) from his mother Larcia, 'who betrayed my father (made a Christian by Macarius Dionysius) to Fescenninus Sisinnius': 'et de matre mea Larcia remansit [*scil.* the property] mihi, quae prodidit patrem meum (a Macario Dionysio Christianum (factum)) Fescennino Sisinnio' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412, and in Appendix VI, below, p. 766).

²⁶⁴On the use of the term *campidoctor* in Medieval Latin sources, see J.F. Domínguez-Domínguez and R. Manchón Gómez, 'Recherches sur les mots *campidoctor* et *campiductor* de l'antiquité au moyen âge tardif', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange)* 58 (2000), 5–44. The word *campidoctor* would not scan in hexameter verse, and hence was replaced by *campi doctor* (two words) in the poetic *Passio S. Dionysii* (iii. 109 with note).

²⁶⁵The detail concerning the three relays, each consisting of three soldiers, who flogged Dionysius, was possibly developed from a cryptic allusion in the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2: 'post nimias torturas, catastas et catenas, et militum terniones' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412, and Appendix VI, below, p. 766). It is unclear how Hilduin was able to expand this cryptic mention of *militum terniones* to *ternis militum ternionibus uicissim flagellatur* (see discussion in Lapidge, *ibid.* p. 412). Hilduin could possibly have known of the Roman practice of using relays of soldiers to flog prisoners from an earlier martyr's *passio*, such as the *Passio SS. Firmi et Rustici* [BHL 3023], c. 1.4, where two relays of three soldiers are commanded to flog the martyrs: 'his auditis, imperator commotus graviter iussit fustes adferri, et beatos viros nudos extendi, binosque terniones super eos transire ...' (*Acta SS., Aug.*, II, p. 420). Note also a brief allusion to the practice of using relays for floggings in pseudo-Abdias, *De historia certaminis apostolici* (a work probably of sixth-century date), bk III [St Andrew]: 'sic Proconsul [Aegeas] septem eum ternionibus flagellorum caesum crucifigi praecipit, mandans nominatim quaestionariis, ut ligatis manibus & pedibus & non clavis affixus suspenderetur, quo diutino cruciatu deficeret' (*Abdiae Babylo-niae primi episcopi ab apostolis constituti, De historia certaminis apostolici libri X, Iulio Africano interprete* (Paris, 1571), fol. 43^r). (Note that this passage concerning

the *terniones* is not found in Gregory of Tours, *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli*, the source on which the pseudo-Abdias is thought to have based his narrative.)

²⁶⁶ Cf. Ps. cxliv. 21 ('Laudationem Domini loquetur os meum et benedicat omnis caro nomini sancto eius').

²⁶⁷ Cf. Galat. vi. 17 ('ego enim *stigmata* Iesu *in corpore meo* porto').

²⁶⁸ Ps. cxviii. 140.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Isa. xliiii. 2 ('cum transieris per aquas tecum ero et flumina non operient te').

²⁷⁰ Dan. vi and xiv.

²⁷¹ On the 'fiery sword' (*rumphaea ignita*) with which the Cherubin guard the entrance to Paradise, see Apc. ii. 12, as well as Jerome, *Epist.* lx. 3: 'flammea illa rumphaea, custos Paradisi' (CSEL liv. 552), and Isidore, *Etym.* xiv. 3. 4: 'Cherubin quoque, id est angelorum praesidium, arcendis spiritibus malis, super rompheaie flagrantiam ordinatum est, ut homines flammae, angelos uero malos angeli submoueant, ne cui carni uel spiritui transgressionis aditus Paradisi pateat.'

²⁷² Although Hilduin apparently took the noun *stips* to be fem. (*cruciariae*), it is in fact masc., and should correctly have been construed with *cruciarii*.

²⁷³ The reference to the *carcer Glaucini* has been taken over from the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2: 'uideret [*scil.* Larcia] in carcere Glaucini Dionysium Macarium dominicas celebrantem' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412, and below, Appendix VI, p. 766). It has not been possible to identify this *carcer Glaucini* in the topographical sources for Paris, nor to identify a person named Glaucinus after whom it might have been named (the name Glaucinus is not recorded in prosopographical sources such as *Prosopographia Imperii Romani, saec. I. II. III.*, ed. Groag, Stein et al.).

²⁷⁴ The story of Christ appearing to Dionysius as he was celebrating mass is taken nearly verbatim from the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2: 'cum in frangendo pane Iesum Dominum *cum multitudine* albatorum illi dedisse, et audisse dicentem: "Accipe hoc, care, munus, quod mox complebo tibi una cum patre meo, quoniam

mecum est maxima merces tua, et omnibus qui audierint te, salus in regno meo. Nunc facies fortiter, et memoria tua erit in laude; dilectio autem et benignitas quam habes semper pro quibuscunque petierit, impetrabit" (ed. Lapidge, "The *Conscriptio Visbii*", p. 412, and Appendix VI, below, p. 766).

²⁷⁵ As we learn from c. 36 (above, p. 300), the place of execution was called the *Mons Mercurii*, because a statue of Mercury was worshipped there by the Gauls; it was subsequently named the *Mons Martyrum* (see below, n. 303).

²⁷⁶ Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: *In hac ergo fidei pertinacia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and Appendix I, below, p. 652), and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 12: *In hac sanctos uiros fidei constantia permanentes ... persecutoris mucro truncavit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 47; and Appendix II, below, p. 694). Hilduin took over the structure of the sentence from the 'ancient *passio*', but in lieu of *pertinacia* substituted the word *constantia* from the 'anonymous *passio*'. Note, however, that two witnesses to the 'ancient *passio*' – Bosquet and MS. A – have the reading *constantia* (possibly from contamination with either the 'anonymous *passio*' or with Hilduin's text).

²⁷⁷ Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: *Tali ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and Appendix I, below, p. 652). The grisly detail of the palpitating tongue receives confirmation of a sort from the imperial physician Scribonius Largus (first century A.D.), who in his *Compositiones* or 'Prescriptions', c. 194, notes that when water is given to certain sick persons, it causes immense pain in their interior organs and causes them to howl and their tongues to palpitate, 'in a way similar to that of decapitated heads: nothing can be understood of what they say': *cogitque exululare et palpitare lingua similiter decollatorum capitibus: nihil enim potest intellegi ex voce eorum*' (ed. G. Helmreich (Leipzig, 1887), p. 78). The Elder Pliny refers to a similar phenomenon (*NH* xi. 173: 'in fauces *palpitante* ibi *lingua* ululatus eliditur'). However, the source of the present description is not an ancient medical treatise, but probably a passage in Ambrose, *De uirginibus* iii. 6. 30, where he is speaking of the decapitated head of John the Baptist: *lingua tamen, quae solet etiam post mortem officium seruare uiuentis, palpitante licet motu damnabat incestum*' (PL xvi. 241).

²⁷⁸ Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: *Beata nimium et Domino nostro grata societas: inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse nec tertius, sed trinitatem confitentes non potuerunt non uenerabilem locum trino decorare martyrio*' (ed. Lapidge, "The

ancient *passio*', p. 272, and Appendix I, below, p. 652), and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 12: 'O uere *beata nimium et Deo nostro grata societas*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 47, and Appendix II, below, p. 694). Hilduin now abandons the 'ancient *passio*' until near the end of c. 33, but draws several times on the wording of the 'anonymous *passio*'.

²⁷⁹The ambiguity of the syntax caused scribal uncertainty as to whether the construction was (*multitudo*) *quae crediderat* or (*fideles*) *qui crediderant*. Two manuscripts (DF) have *quae ... crediderat*, which is what is printed here.

²⁸⁰Here as elsewhere Hilduin employs the indeclinable locative form *Parisius* (attested in MSS. ACDEFMO), rather than the abl. pl. form *Parisiis* attested in GLPRST. His usage of the indeclinable form is clear from *Ep.* II. 5 ('*quae in tomo satis superque abdito Parisius diuino est nutu inuenta*') and *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 25 ('*Parisius adierunt*'). On the indeclinable locative form, attested already in Gregory of Tours, see M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), pp. 565–568; E. Löfstedt, *Late Latin* (Oslo, 1959), pp. 136–137; and Stotz, *Handbuch*, IV, pp. 114–115.

²⁸¹Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 3 ('*Posuerunt morticina servorum tuorum escas volatilibus caeli ... in circuitu Hierusalem et non erat qui sepeliret*'), and 1 Macc. vii. 17 ('*carnes sanctorum tuorum et sanguinem ipsorum effuderunt in circuitu Hierusalem, et non erat qui sepeliret*'). It is not clear how Hilduin managed to corrupt *morticina* to *mortalia*.

²⁸²After describing how the trembling tongues of the decapitated martyrs continued to confess the Lord, Hilduin goes on to describe how St Dionysius carried his decapitated head for nearly two miles, from the *Mons Mercurii* (subsequently named the *Mons Martyrum*) to the final resting-place of his remains, that is, the site of the later church of Saint-Denis (see below, n. 303). The cephalophory (that is, the carrying of an amputated head) is not mentioned in the 'ancient *passio*', but is taken over by Hilduin from the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 13: '*Namque ad declaranda martyris et sacerdotis primi merita gloriosa, ut per quem salutifer primo coeperat fructus oriri, eo amplius gloria ipsius pateret et triumphus, beatissimi se Dionysii et pontificis uenerandi sanctum exanime cadauer erexit beataque manu caput a corpore lictoris ense truncatum, pendulum coepit brachiis uectitare ...*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 48, and Appendix II, below, p. 696); oddly, however, the 'anonymous *passio*' does not mention the final destination of St Dionysius, save to say that it was nearly two miles from the site of the execution. Hilduin elaborated this

account considerably. Cephalophory is a phenomenon attested in the folklore of many cultures (see P. Saintyves, 'Les saints céphalophores. Étude de folklore hagiographique', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 99 (1929), 158–231), but it would seem that Hilduin derived the notion from seventh-century Merovingian hagiography, as the Bollandist Maurice Coens demonstrated clearly: 'Nouvelles recherches sur un thème hagiographique: la céphalophorie', in his *Recueil d'études bollandiennes*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 37 (Brussels, 1963), pp. 9–31; cf. also A. Simonetti, 'Santi cefalofori altomedievali', *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 28 (1987), 67–121, at 105–114. In particular, Hilduin may have known the *Passio S. Iusti* [BHL 4590], a work probably of seventh-century date (it is partly preserved in a manuscript dated s. viii¹: see M. Coens, 'Un fragment retrouvé d'une ancienne Passion de saint Just, martyr de Beauvais', *AB* 100 (1956), 86–114), in which the boy martyr, after being decapitated, picks up his head and places it in his lap: 'cum autem tollissent capud suum, erexit se corpus suso et accipit caput suum in manibus suis et posuit illud in sinu suo' (*Acta ss., Oct.* VIII, pp. 338–339). In another Merovingian text of similar date, the *Passio SS. Fusciani, Victorici et Gentiani* [BHL 3226], c. 11, the three martyrs, after decapitation, carried their heads a distance of a mile or more (*uno fero miliario aut circiter amplius*) to the home of Gentianus: 'divino intuente Spiritu, gestantes manibus propria capita, ad hospitium Gentiani martyris gressu remigero pervenerunt' (*Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, ed. J. Ghesquiere, 6 vols. (Brussels, 1783–1794), 1, pp. 166–169, at 169; see discussion by Coens, 'Nouvelles recherches', p. 20). Either of these texts might have inspired the addition of the episode of the cephalophory to the account of St Dionysius – which, in the event, has become the most famous episode of the legend of the Parisian saint.

²⁸³ Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 13: 'atque ab illo montis cacumine duobus fere milibus firmis gressibus apportavit' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 48, and Appendix II, below, p. 696).

²⁸⁴ Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 13: 'nouo et prius inaudito miraculo – exanime corpus uiuentis currere more et homo iam mortuus firmis incedere plantis' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 48, and Appendix II, below, p. 696).

²⁸⁵ The story of Larcia's conversion and execution is taken from the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2: 'Et sic cum caesa ceruice uidisset caput suum illum cum luce grandi portare, clamauit se esse Christianam; et occisa est' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412, and Appendix VI, below, p. 766).

²⁸⁶The story that, following the execution of Larcia, Visbius was taken to Rome and served under three emperors, once Domitian had been buried, is also from the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 2: 'Ego nam Romam ductus, Domitiano euispillato, per tres caesares militavi' (ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412, and Appendix VI, below, p. 766). The three emperors following Domitian were Nerva (96–98), Trajan (98–117), and Hadrian (117–138). *Domitiano euispillato*: it is clear that the word *euispillato* is a coinage based on the rare noun *vispillo*, *-onis*, a 'corpse-bearer who carried out the bodies of the poor at night' (thus Lewis & Short, s.v.). With respect to Domitian, the word occurs in a passage of Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, c. 17. 3: 'cadaver eius populari sandapila per vispillones exportatum Phillis nutrix ... funeravit'. Orosius adapted the sentence of Suetonius in his *Historiae adversum paganos*: 'continuo tamen Domitianus crudeliter in Palatio a suis interfectus est: cuius cadaver populari sandapila per vispillones exportatum atque ignominiosissime sepultum est' (vii. 10. 7). From these passages, it is clear that the form *euispillatum*, p.p. of a verb **euispillare*, was coined from *e(x) + uispill(o) + are*, meaning 'to take out by the agency of *vispillones*'. The only recorded occurrence of the form *euispillatum* is in a glossary referred to by Georg Goetz in the index to his *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*; the entry, found among a series of entries added c. 1100 to a copy of the 'Philoxenus Glossary' in Paris, BNF, lat. 7651: '*uispillones. cadaverum curatores. Vnde et euispillatum Domitianum imperatorem legimus, id est a popularibus curatum atque in uili sepulchro, non in imperiali, sepultum. Dicti uispilloniones quasi uixpelliones, eo quod tantae sunt inopiae uel qui curant uel quorum corpora curantur, ut uix pelles ad tegendum ualeant inuenire*' (see Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 414).

²⁸⁷Massus was allegedly the third bishop of Paris in succession to St Dionysius. He is recorded as such in the earliest surviving list of the bishops of Paris, as preserved in a sacramentary, now Paris, BNF, lat. 2291 (s. ix^{3/4}), fol. 6^v, printed and discussed by L. Duchesne, *Les fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1894–1915), II, pp. 460–470, with mention of Massus at pp. 460, 463 and 465. Massus is mentioned in the *Conscriptio Visbii*, c. 1, as the ecclesiastic to whom Visbius made his testamentary disposition ('Dono illi et tibi, bono ministro eius Masso presbytero': ed. Lapidge, 'The *Conscriptio Visbii*', p. 412, and Appendix VI, below, p. 766); at the time of the disposition, Massus was still a priest. His episcopate apparently fell during the principate of Hadrian (117–138 A.D.).

²⁸⁸Hilduin now returns to the 'ancient *passio*', c. 4, from which the present sentence is derived, with substantial modification: *Metuentes igitur percussores,*

ne conuersi populi fidelissima probataque deuotio sanctorum corpora profutura sibi ad patrocinium tumularet, eligunt tetris Sequanae profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere; quae imposita nauibus ad prouisum iubentur gurgitem destinari' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and Appendix I, below, p. 652); cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 14: *'metuentes impii ne conuersi populi fidelissima probataque deuotione corpora profutura sibi ad patrocinium tumulata consecrarent, inito consilio, imposita nauibus in profundissimum decreuerunt gurgitem dimergi'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 48, and Appendix II, below, p. 698). It would appear that Hilduin altered *percussores* of the 'ancient *passio*' to *persecutores*; but note that one witness of the 'ancient *passio*', MS. D, does have the reading *persecutores* at this point: a possible indication of the text of the 'ancient *passio*' which Hilduin had before him (or, alternatively, that MS. D had been contaminated by the text of Hilduin). The following clause in Hilduin (*sed Deus omnipotens ... uoluit seruire coegit*) has no correlate in the 'ancient *passio*'.

²⁸⁹Iudt. xiii. The reference to Judith was taken from the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 14: *'sed Deus omnipotens ... qui Pharaonis consilium Rubri Maris unda submersit et Holofernis ictu femineo colla truncauit'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 48, and Appendix II, below, p. 698).

²⁹⁰The name of the noblewoman (Catulla) and much of the present wording was taken by Hilduin from the 'anonymous *passio*' (the woman is not named in the 'ancient *passio*'). The name *Catulla* was derived from the Gallo-Roman name for the site at which St Dionysius was buried, namely *Catulliacus*. The earliest securely datable witness to this name is the *Testamentum* of Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Denis, dated to 777, where *Cadolaco* is used as a synonym for Saint-Denis: *'loca sanctorum martirum Dionisio, Rustico et Eleutherio, ubi ipsi domni corpore requiescunt, in loco qui dicitur Cadolaco, ubi plurima seruorum Dei turma laudes Christi die noctuque adesse videntur'* (J. Tardif, *Archives de l'empire* (Paris, 1866), p. 61); but it is also referred to as the *Catulacensem vicum* by the author of the *Vita S. Genovefae*, c. 17; cf. discussion by Krusch, 'Die Fälschung der Vita Genovefae', pp. 27–28. The form *Catulliacus* is also attested in the *Miracula S. Dionysii* II. 3 and 4 (ed. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Saeculum III, pars II, p. 353 [*Catulliacus*]; see above, p. 98), and in the *Gesta Dagoberti*, c. 2: *'tandem ergo victus ad vicum qui Catulliacus dicitur se contulit'* (MGH, SS rer. Merov. II. 401). On the location of Catulliacus/Catolacus, see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 1–2.

²⁹¹Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 14: *'Nam matrona quaedam, Catulla nomine, quae, licet paganorum adhuc erroribus teneretur addicta, conuerti tamen ad fidem Christi per exempla martyrum se desiderare et mente monstrabat et opere; Dei ergo misericordia inspirata, mactae uirtutis consilium appetiuit atque ad conuiuium uenire postulat percussores; cumque eis copiam allatae humanitatis expendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', pp. 48–49, and Appendix II, below, p. 698). (It will be noted that the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' was drawing in turn on the wording of the 'ancient *passio*'.)

²⁹²Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 4: *'ac fidelibus suis secreta ordinatione committit, ut subtracta furto corpora diligens elaboraret occultare prouisio'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 273, and Appendix I, below, p. 654), and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 15: *'Denique fidelibus suis archana sui pectoris reserauit, ut subtracta furto preciosa corpora martyrum beatorum ...'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 49, and Appendix II, below, p. 698).

²⁹³Cf. the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 15: *'O furtum laudabile, quod cuiquam non intulit damnum, sed magis omnibus beatum contulit lucrum'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 49, and Appendix II, below, p. 700).

²⁹⁴Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 4: *'Qui dominae ordinatione comperta, festinanter quod eis praeceptum fuerat exsequuntur, furtumque laudabile in sexto ab urbe memorata lapide, id est in aratam quam seminibus praeparauerat terram industria colentis, abscondunt'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 273, and Appendix I, below, p. 654), and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 15: *'ut subtracta furto preciosa corpora martyrum beatorum in sexto procul ab urbe memorata lapide in agello, quem <cultor> segeti parauerat affuturum, latenter absconderent'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 49, and Appendix II, below, pp. 698–700).

²⁹⁵Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 4: *'Facta deinceps, ut moris est, satione nec suum seges negauit obsequium, quae tali fecundata pinguedine, sic in ea beneficium ubertas effudit, ut centuplicatos fructus et cultor acquireret et patria mereretur salutem'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 273, and Appendix I, below, pp. 654–656), and the 'anonymous *passio*', c. 15: *'ut et centuplicatum fructum cultor acquireret et patriae mereretur salutem et magnum thesaurum posteris consecraret'* (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', p. 49, and Appendix II, below, p. 700).

²⁹⁶ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 5: ‘*Antedicta tamen materfamilias ... cum primum persecutionis uidit tepuisse feruorem, locum tantorum martyrum ossa seruantem qua oportuit sollicitudine requisuit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 273, and Appendix I, below, p. 656), and the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 16: ‘*Praedicta itaque materfamilias ... cum primum persecutionis uideret tepuisse feruorem ...*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 49, and Appendix II, below, p. 700).

²⁹⁷ That is to say, 9 October.

²⁹⁸ Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 5: ‘*atque inuentum eminentis mausolei constructione signauit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 273, and Appendix I, below, p. 656), and the ‘anonymous *passio*’, c. 16: ‘*locum sanctorum martyrum ossa seruantem ... ingentis mausolei constructione signauit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, p. 49, and Appendix II, below, p. 700). According to the two earliest *passiones*, therefore, the site to which St Dionysius first carried his head (and to which the remains of SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius were subsequently brought) was originally marked by a tomb-structure (*mausoleum*), over which a basilica was later constructed (c. 36; see below, n. 300). No trace of the original tomb-structure or *mausoleum* has ever been found. However, during his excavations in 1958, Jules Formigé claimed to have found a large pit (*grande fosse*) at the site of the crossing, the presumed site of the original burial; and since this pit was too large to house a single coffin, he concluded that it might originally have housed coffins of all three martyrs, a fact which would account for the unusual size of the pit (*L’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 2–3 with fig. 2). Sumner McKnight Crosby, the later excavator of the site, treated Formigé’s conclusion with suspicion (*The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, p. 23).

²⁹⁹ Crosby (*The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, p. 14) noted that ‘three small lead coffins discovered in 1577 under the sanctuary of [the nearby church of] Saint-Denis-de-l’Estrée bore inscriptions indicating that they contained vestments of the three martyrs’. These lead coffins, and the vestments which they contained, have not been preserved, but may have existed in some form during Hilduin’s lifetime; on the other hand, it is not impossible that the three lead coffins were fabricated so as to realize Hilduin’s description.

³⁰⁰ The account of the development of the site given in the ‘ancient *passio*’, which is followed without elaboration by Hilduin, in fact simplifies a complex architectural history, as it has been clarified by excavation. Three phases of construction have been identified. (1) under the crossing of the present abbey

church, hence presumably at the site of the original tomb of the martyrs, excavators found a series of large, re-used stone blocks of Gallo-Roman date (2nd–3rd century) which apparently served as the foundation of the original basilica; these foundation stones were aligned east–west, and supported a substantial rectangular building of 19.9 × 9.1 m., dating probably from the late fifth century A.D.: see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 39–48, and Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 15–27; (2) this original basilica was subsequently enlarged during the reign of King Dagobert I (d. 638/9), probably during the 620s, with the provision of a semi-circular eastern apse extending 4 m. beyond the eastern end of the original rectangular basilica; the walls of the earlier basilica were also extended, to an overall length of 27.2 m., and side aisles (*porticus*) 3.3 m. wide were added as well: see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 49–57, and Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 29–50; (3) during the abbacy of Fulrad (750–784), and possibly during or shortly after the period which Pope Stephen II spent at Saint-Denis (753–754), the eastern apse was reconstructed as an annular crypt, so as to facilitate access to the martyrs' relics, and the overall dimensions of the church were extended to approximately 40 m. × 20 m., and (arguably) provided with a tower at the crossing and two western towers; see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 59–64, and esp. Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 51–83. It was this mighty church with which Hilduin was familiar, and to which he himself added a chapel at the eastern end in 832 (Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 87–94). It is perhaps slightly odd that in his *Passio S. Dionysii* Hilduin simply repeats the description of the basilica from the 'ancient *passio*', and makes no attempt to describe the magnificence of the abbey church which he inherited.

³⁰¹ Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 5: '... ubi recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum, et obstrictae aurium ianuae recipiunt auditum' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', pp. 273–274, and Appendix I, below, p. 656).

³⁰² Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 5: 'Sed nec illud silendum est, quod immundi spiritus infestatione uexati, dum ad memoratum locum examinandi uirtute diuina ducuntur, sanctorum ipsorum coguntur imperio, quo quisque sit martyrum positus loco assignatis nominibus indicare' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 274, and Appendix I, below, p. 658).

³⁰³ The name given by Hilduin to the place of execution, namely *Mons Martyrum*, evolved predictably into the present name of the site, Montmartre, a substantial hill in the northern part of Paris (18th arrondissement): see A. Longnon, 'L'étymologie du nom de Montmartre', *Société des antiquaires de*

France, Mémoires du centenaire (Paris, 1904), pp. 251–255. (On the other hand, the name which, according to Hilduin, was previously given to the site, *Mons Mercurii*, could not on philological grounds have developed into *Mons Martyrum*.) The distances given in the text are approximately correct: St Dionysius walked *per duo fere milia* (c. 32) from Montmartre to the place where he is now buried, i.e. Saint-Denis; and the remains of SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius were concealed in a field at the sixth milestone from Paris: *sexto a memorata urbe lapide* (c. 34). According to Hilduin's arithmetic, therefore, Montmartre is approximately four miles, and Saint-Denis approximately six miles, from Paris (that is, from the Île de la Cité): see detailed discussion of these figures by Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, pp. 124–125, who pointed out that although the distance from Paris to Montmartre was not precisely four miles as the crow flies, 'la route de Paris à Saint-Denis n'était pas directe et qu'elle empruntait d'abord le trajet de la voie de Senlis jusqu'à ce qu'elle eût dépassé le pas de la Chapelle. De là, longeant au Nord de la colline de Montmartre, elle se dirigeait sur Saint-Denis' (ibid.). (These figures and calculations, however, are greatly at variance with that given in the *capitulum* to the entire work, which states that St Dionysius and his companions were buried 'at about three miles from the city of Paris': 'AD LOCVM VBI SIMVL CVM PRAEDICTIS SVIS SOCIIS TERTIO FERME AB EADEM VRBE MILIARIO REQVIESCIT' (above, p. 232, with n. 1)). Neither Hilduin nor the two earlier *passiones* explain when and where the remains of SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius were combined with those of St Dionysius: we are left to infer that the site in the field, where the bodies of Rusticus and Eleutherius were hidden, was part of the estate of *Catulliacus* owned by Catulla on which she erected the *mausoleum* to commemorate all three martyrs (implying that the place to which St Dionysius carried his head was identical with that where the bodies of SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius were hidden). There is some archaeological evidence for the existence of a shrine or temple (Hilduin's *idolum*) dedicated to Mercury dating from the Gallo-Roman period; at a later period there was a Merovingian cemetery at Montmartre, and, from at least the tenth century onwards, and possibly earlier, a small church or chapel existed on the site, dedicated to 'the Martyrs': see *DA CL XI/ii*, cols. 2673–2691, and *XIII/ii*, col. 1744, as well as Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, pp. 123–129, and E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1856–1865), I, pp. 270–277.

³⁰⁴The chronology here is derived from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius as translated by Jerome [*CPG* 3494], according to which the *passio* of Christ was placed in 32 A.D. (GCS xlvii. 175); accordingly, the sixty-fourth year after Christ's *passio* would be 96 A.D. (ibid. p. 192). According to Eusebius/Jerome, Domitian

became emperor following the death of his brother Titus in 81 A.D. (*ibid.* pp. 189–190); his murder is recorded in the same source against the year 96 A.D.: which is indeed the sixteenth year of his reign, as Hilduin has it (*imperii ... sexto decimo ingruente*).

Commentary to the Verse *Passio S. Dionysii*

[note that the following commentary is concerned principally with Hilduin's poetic language (his debts to earlier or contemporary poets, etc.) and technique (scansion, etc.), and not principally with historical sources, which are treated in the corresponding part of the prose *Passio S. Dionysii* (above). I cite parallels from poets earlier than c. 850, but not later; for details concerning the editions of Late Latin and Carolingian poets cited, see the Bibliography, below, pp. 866–868.]

Book i

i. 1 *insignes ... triumphos*: Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm.* lxxvi. 5 ('perferat *insignes* semper ex hoste *triumphos*').

i. 4 *Christus ... conscendit Olympum*: Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* iv. 12. 7 ('exin siderum *Christus conscendit Olimpum*'); cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* cix. 5. 4 ('de cruce qui sacra felix *conscendit Olimpum*'). *ad patrem remeans*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 5. 61 ('post triduum *remeans* sanat nos uulnere longo').

i. 6 *inloto*: Arctos (the constellation Great Bear, with the north star) is 'unwashed' (*inloto*) because it never sinks into the Ocean beneath the horizon.

i. 7 *plaga solis iniqui*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 227 ('quattuor in medio dirimit *plaga solis iniqui*'). As the allusion to Vergil indicates, the sun is *iniquus* (in the etymological sense of the word: *in-aequus*) because its heat is unevenly distributed in temperate and torrid zones, and is thus sometimes simply too hot.

i. 8 *enitet ille dies*: i.e. Pentecost. For the poetic phrase and positioning within the hexameter, cf. Statius, *Theb.* viii. 206 ('iamque erit *ille dies* quo te quoque conscia fatis'). *crucis signo*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 337 ('en *signo* sacrata *crucis* uexilla coruscant'); Walahfrid Strabo, *Passio S. Mammetis* xvii. 13 ('munitus *signo*que *crucis*'); and Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* i. 18. 41 ('et *crucis* *signo* radiante cornu').

i. 10–20 As the physical sun sends out its rays during the twelve hours of daylight in order to illuminate the world, so Christ, the metaphorical Sun, sends out His apostles to illuminate the world: Act. i. 12–13 (the first eleven apostles);

i. 25–26 (Matthias, the twelfth apostle, chosen by lot in place of Judas); ii. 1–11 (the Pentecostal mission).

i. 12 *inuoluier*. On the use by poets of the (archaic) passive infinitive in *-ier*, see Kühner–Holzweissig, pp. 689–690 and LHS i. 581–582, as well as Janssen, ‘Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana’, p. 99, and Leumann, ‘La lingua poetica latina’, pp. 155–156. For further examples, see below, i. 306 (*inuoluier*), i. 533 (*diuellier*), iv. 64 (*diuellier*), iv. 351 (*frangier*), and iv. 475 (*complierier*).

i. 13 *aeterno ... lumine*: Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* i. 46 (‘tum pater omnipotens aeterno lumine laetum’), and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* xi. 3. 16 (‘rursus in aeterno lumine iungat amor’).

i. 14 the phrase *per climata* is frequently used in these same metrical feet by Walahfrid Strabo (*Carm.* vi. 17, xix. 1, l. 2. 11, lvi. 29, etc.); cf. *HexLexikon* i. 363–364.

i. 17 *qui crepuit*: Judas hanging himself: ‘et suspensus crepuit medius’ (Act. i. 18).

i. 18 *uili ... metallo*: Matt. xxvi. 15 (the 30 pieces of silver).

i. 20 *uir supplet*: Matthias (Act. i. 26). *uirtute nitens*: Theodulf, *Carm.* xxix. 77 (‘sic uirtute nitens fandi facundus in arte’; repeated at *Carm.* lxxv. 59). *corde beatus*: cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 222 (‘Gallus ad haec loquitur stabili sub corde beatus’).

i. 21 *Post, inquam*: Hilduin indicates that he is here paraphrasing line 1 above (‘post crucis insignes ... triumphos’). *uexilla crucis*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 337 (‘en signo sacrata crucis uexilla coruscant’), Dracontius, *Laud. Dei* ii. 506 (‘per uexilla crucis hostis populando cohortes’), Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 967 (‘quae retinet uexilla crucis’), and various Carolingian imitations: Alcuin, *Carm.* vi. 27, Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici* ii. 140, etc.

i. 23–26 Judgement Day and the twelve tribes of Israel: Apc. vii. 1–8.

i. 23 *in mundi fine*: cf. Paulinus of Aquileia, *Carm.* xiv. 5. 5 (‘in fine mundi iudex erit saeculi’).

- i. 27 *Haud mora*: a Vergilian transition-formula (*Georg.* iv. 548, *Aen.* iii. 548, v. 140, v. 749, vii. 156, xi. 713, etc.). *latum ... per orbem*: Ovid, *Met.* v. 481 ('fertilitas terrae *latum uulgata per orbem*').
- i. 29 *munus caeleste*: Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 820 ('fermento par est *munus caeleste salubri*').
- i. 30 *dogmate mundus*: cf. Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* i. 273 ('insuper et proprio complevi *dogmate mundum*'), and *Carmina Sangallensia* v. 3d. 2 ('claro qui totum docuerunt *dogmate mundum*').
- i. 35 *diuini nominis*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 372 ('toto corde fidem *diuini nominis* hausit'), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 332 ('per quam religio *diuini nominis orbi*').
- i. 37 *saeuos ... tyrannos*: cf. Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xxiii. 49 ('nonne vides humiles *saeuos* quasi amare *tyrannos*?').
- i. 39 *lumina mundi*: for this common hexameter cadence (used from Catullus onwards), see *HexLexikon* iii. 250–251.
- i. 47 *pro tanto munere grates*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* vi. 81 ('ergo ad condignas *tanto pro munere grates*'), and Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 890 ('sanus *pro munere grates*').
- i. 48 On the construction of *praesto* + acc. + inf. ('to be responsible for seeing that ...'), see LHS ii. 345 (*praesto* [with infinitive] zunächst nur Apul met. 4, 1, 2, dann wieder ganz spät'), and *TLL* X/2, col. 908.
- i. 49 *apodixen*: from Greek ἀπόδειξις ('a conclusive proof, demonstration'). The word is attested in Latin prose in e.g. Quintilian v. 10. 7 (see *TLL* II, col. 242), but has not previously been used in verse; it should correctly have been given as *apodixin*, not *apodixen*.
- i. 53 *exempla salutis*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 34. 61 ('multis *exempla salutis* / prebuit').
- i. 54 *maximus heros*: Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 192 ('tum *maximus heros* / maternas agnouit auis').

- i. 56 *celsa potestas*: a frequent hexametrical cadence: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvi. 338; Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ix. 2. 53 and *Vita S. Martini* iv. 143; Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* ii. 28; and cf. *HexLexikon* i. 214.
- i. 57 *uerbi ... cuspide*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 215 ('confossus *cuspide uerbi*').
- i. 58 Note the erroneous scansion *kārismate* (the first syllable is correctly short), which is repeated at iii. 88 and 220. The correct scansion, with short first syllable, was used by Prudentius, *Apotheosis*, proem. 11 and *Liber peristephanon* xiii. 61, and by poets after him, so there is no precedent for Hilduin's erroneous scansion.
- i. 59 *fulmine uerbi*: cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* lii. 36 ('*fulmine uerbi*') and Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* xiii. 72 ('*uerbi fulmine funditus cremantem*').
- i. 60 *alta caligine mersas*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 267 ('*pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas*'); see also below, ii. 260.
- i. 62 *dona salutis*: an extremely common hexameter cadence, used again by Hilduin at iii. 318; see *HexLexikon* ii. 141–143.
- i. 64–65 St Paul in *Illyria* (i.e. Macedonia and Thrace): Rom. xv. 19 and Act. xvi. 10–12 *et sqq.*
- i. 68 St Paul arrives in Greece (Act. xvii. 1–14) and comes to Athens (Act. xvii. 15–18).
- i. 76 *Argolico ... Homerus*: cf. the *Carmina Sangallensia* iii. 6 ('*ratus et Argolicum rimans figmentum Homerus*'). Hilduin had no first-hand knowledge of Homer, and his statement that Homer could describe the 'various sites and cults' of Athens is merely an assumption; in fact the few references to Athens in the Homeric poems are allusive, not descriptive: at *Iliad* ii. 546–548 the goddess Athena is described as establishing Erectheus in Athens; in the *Odyssey*, Cape Sounion is mentioned at iii. 278, and the 'hill of sacred Athens' – presumably either Lykabettos or the Acropolis – is mentioned at xi. 323.
- i. 78 *depromere lingua*: cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *De laude sanctae crucis*, fig. xi. 32 ('*lingua creaturae poterit depromere laudem*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 843 ('*ne lingua torpente palam depromere visa*').

- i. 82 *caput extulit urbes*: Vergil, *Ecl.* i. 24 ('alias inter *caput extulit urbes*').
- i. 84 *Respicit haec*: cf. Iuvenal, *Sat.* vii. 141 ('*respicit haec* primum qui litigat'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* xlix. 29 ('*respicit haec* illos qui cum sint, fabula, nacti').
- i. 85 *unde trahit genus*: Ovid, *Fasti* vi. 802 ('aspicis, *unde trahit* Marcia casta *genus*').
- i. 86 *uixdum suffecerat orbis*: the phrase probably originates in Iuvenal, *Sat.* x. 168 ('non sufficit orbis'), a poet well known to Hilduin. Interestingly, it recurs in twelfth-century verse, invariably in descriptions of Alexander the Great: John of Hanville, *Architrenius* vi. 200 ('cui non *suffecerat orbis* / Magnus Alexander'), and Walther of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* x. 448 ('cui non *suffecerat orbis*').
- i. 87 *stipata cateruis*: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* vii. 492 ('densis acies *stipata cateruis*') and Symposius, *Aenigmata* xiii. 2 ('innumeris pariter comitum *stipata cateruis*'); cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 497, iv. 136.
- i. 89 *Vbera materna*: Prudentius, *Liber cathemerinon* xii. 103 ('interque *materna ubera*'). *uiscera paterna*: cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* ii. 103 ('colla *paterna* ferunt extincti *uiscera* nati').
- i. 93 *aliena ... gloria*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 1023–1024 ('*gloria* de meritis a te, delator honeste, / non *aliena* foret').
- i. 95 *nitidisque ... metallis*: cf. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* i. 348 ('iusserunt *nitido* fulgere polita *metallo*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxii. 9 ('non fulvi *nitidive* tibi fero dona *metalli*').
- i. 98 *generosa ... stemmata*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 15. 29 ('emicat altus apex *generosa stemmata* pandens').
- i. 102 *lampade splendent*: cf. Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxix. 3 ('qualiter ex luna *splendescat lampade pura*').
- i. 105 *simulacra deorum*: Ovid, *Met.* x. 694 ('ligna contulerat ueterum *simulacra deorum*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 162 ('omnia sternantur fundo *simulacra deorum*').

i. 110 *qui uir apostolicus*: cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 578–579 ('Ergo age, nunc sancti virtus patefacta nitescat / *qui vir apostolicus* Germanis constat in aevum'). On the use of *qui* for the interrogative substantive *quis*, see Kühner–Holzweissig, p. 614 [§ 141 (b)]. *mandata secutus*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 268 ('moribus egregius, Christi *mandata secutus*').

i. 111 *auctorem caeli*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 713 ('*caelique agnoscitur Auctor*').

i. 112 *imbre rigare*: cf. Ovid, *Ars amatoria* i. 532 ('indigno teneras *imbre rigante* genas'), imitated by Theodulf, *Carm.* xvii. 34 ('fallaci incultas *imbre rigante* genas').

i. 113 *morte grauari*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 145 ('oculos iam *morte grauatos*'), Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 232 ('iam *morte grauato*'), and Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm.* vi. 11 ('uiuis an *morte grauaris*').

i. 114–116 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. Whereas the pagan city of Athens was marked out by five regions, it awaited the fourfold (i.e. four-armed) sign of the Cross. By referring to the ensign or *labarum* of the Cross, Hilduin is clearly alluding to the famous dream of Constantine concerning the founding of the (Christian) city of Constantinople. In this dream, the emperor was instructed to mount his horse and, holding in his hand his ensign (*labarum*) decorated with the sign of the Cross, to let the horse proceed wherever the angel of God led him; the limits marked out by the horse would then become the limits of the new Christian city of Constantinople. Hilduin possibly knew the story from Aldhelm, prose *De uirginitate*, c. 25, where the vision is related as follows: 'tene labarum tuum, quod signo Christi ex auro et gemmis est pictum. Hoc labarum tenens in dextera tua demitte frenum equi, ut, quo eum duxerit angelus Dei, illuc eat; tu autem fixum cuspidem labari in terra sic trahe eum, ut semitam faciat transitus sui, per quam semitam exstrui facies muros' etc. (MGH, AA xv. 259). (The story was taken by Aldhelm from the *Gesta Siluestri* [BHL 7725–7730], but there is no version of this work in print which includes the relevant episode.) The sign of the Cross had previously been revealed to Constantine in another dream, on the eve of his great victory at the Mulvian Bridge; thereafter, according to Eusebius, Constantine had placed the sign of the Cross on all his military banners: 'exin signum quod in caelo sibi fuerat demonstratum, in militaria vexilla transformat ac labarum, quem dicunt, in speciem crucis dominicae exaptat et ita armis vexillisque religionis instructus aduersum impiorum arma proficiscitur' (*Historia ecclesiastica*, trans. Rufinus, ix. 8. 15; ed. Mommsen, ii. 829).

i. 121–123 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. The statement that the element *Cronos-* in the name *Cronospagos* derives from the Greek word for 'time' (i.e. *chronos*) is mistaken: the element *Cronos-*, from the name of the Greek god *Kronos* (Κρόνος), is etymologically distinct from the word for 'time' (χρόνος). However, the association between the two words is attested as early as Aristotle, and would scarcely have been understood in ninth-century Francia; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 31: 'Vnde et eum [*scil.* Saturnum] Graeci Cronos nomen habere dicunt, id est tempus'; cf. iv. 6. 1: 'χρόνος enim apud Graecos tempus dicitur'.

i. 124 (and **132, 140, 150, 161, 179**) *Desine*: cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* viii. 61 ('*Desine Maenalius ...*'), ix. 66 ('*Desine plura, puer ...*'). *flectere mentem*: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* iii. 304 ('uiri de *flectere mentem*').

i. 128 *figmenta deorum*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1052 ('ut supplex veterum oraret *figmenta deorum*').

i. 130 *uoce Pelasga*: Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xxxv. 6 ('Romuleis scribor biblis, sed *uoce Pelasga*').

i. 134 *cognomine gaudet*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 383 ('corde dolor tristi, *gaudet cognomine terra*').

i. 138 *prima nouos*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 584 (and ix. 459): 'et iam *prima nouo* spargebat lumine terras'.

i. 139 *dona ferebat*: Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 545 ('ille patris Genio sollempnia *dona ferebat*'); and cf. the cadence of the famous line of Vergil's *Aeneid*, 'timeo Danaos et *dona ferentis*' (ii. 49), as well as Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xviii. 52 ('*dona ferebant*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 11 ('aethereo regi regalia *dona ferentes*'). Cf. also below, note to ii. 70.

i. 143 *forma deorum*: Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecl.* vii. 78 ('dic, age, dic, Corydon, quae sit mihi *forma deorum*').

i. 147 [Mars] *uirtutem qui nempe sonat*: cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 11. 50: 'Martem deum belli esse dicunt, et Martem appellatum quia per viros pugnatur, ut sit Mars mas'.

i. 148 *saeuos miscere tumultus*: Juvencus, *Euang.* iv. 614 ('plebs incensa malo *saeuos miscere tumultus*').

i. 149 *fuso ... sanguine*: the words *sanguine fuso* are a common hexameter cadence from Lucan onwards (*Bellum ciuile* ii. 158, ii. 439, iv. 278, vi. 250, vi. 310, etc.); cf. *HexLexikon* v. 38–39. *sanguine palmam*: cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* i. 497 ('si quis macularit *sanguine palmas*').

i. 151 Note that *denique* is here scanned incorrectly (as *dēñiquē*; correctly *dēñiquē*); the same error of scansion is repeated at i. 215, 357, 427, 516; ii. 289, 365, 398, 465; iii. 156, 174, 253, 369; iv. 69, 133, 156, 304, 644, 708.

i. 154 Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. ii. 49: 'Hermes autem Graece dicitur ἀπό τῆς ἑρμηνείας, Latine interpreś'.

i. 163 *urbs antiqua*: Vergil, *Aen.* i. 12 ('*urbs antiqua fuit*') and ii. 363 ('*urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos*').

i. 172–173 the Epicureans and the 'highest good': cf. Isidore, *Etym.* viii. 6. 15 ('Epicurei dicti ab Epicuro quodam philosopho ... voluptatem corporis summum bonum adserens').

i. 176 The entire line is taken from Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 88 (with the exception that Hilduin replaced Vergil's *regumque* with *regnumque*).

i. 182 *spargit ... lucem*: cf. Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* ii, met. iii. 2 ('*lucem spargere coeperit*').

i. 183 *sententia Christi*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Passio S. Mammetis* xxi. 44 ('hos canibus porcisque pares *sententia Christi* | sancta vocans').

i. 184–185 Matt. v. 15 ('neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt').

i. 185 Note the scansion of *candēlābrā*, with third syllable shortened *metri gratia*: the word is correctly scanned *candēlābrum*.

i. 187–194 The epic simile has no correlate in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. St Paul's advent is compared to the sun emerging from behind dark clouds. Similar similes are found throughout the metrical *Passio S. Dionysii* (see below, iii. 51–52, 347–360, and iv. 255–274), and are modelled on the epic similes in Vergil's *Aeneid*. The transition-formula *haud secus* (i. 192) is used by Vergil on numerous occasions to bring out the point of the simile (e.g. *Aen.* ii. 382, iii. 236, iv. 447, viii. 414, xi. 456, xi. 814, xii. 9, xii. 124), and again by Hilduin at iii. 168.

i. 187 *iubar solis*: cf. Dracontius, *Laud. Dei* i. 409 ('dum solis micat axe *iubar*'), Aldhelm, *Enigm.* iv. 4 ('alta poli solisque *iubar*'), and Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* li. 25 ('*iubar solis* ut refulgens noctis fugat tenebras').

i. 190 *rutilo ... igne*: Ovid, *Epist.* iii. 64 ('aut *rutilo* missi fulminis *igne* cremer'), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxii. 248 ('*rutilo* nimis *igne* coruscat'), and Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* iv, met. vi. 6 ('non sol *rutilo* concitus *igne*'); cf. also below, i. 280 (*rutilus ... ignis*).

i. 191 *corda sereno*: [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 726 ('Dominum metuunt qui *corda sereno*'); cf. *HexLexikon* i. 456.

i. 192 *diuino lumine*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxii. 83 ('*diuino*que tuam perfundet *lumine* mentem'), xxxi. 577 ('uestitique suum *diuino lumine* corpus'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 143 ('sic pater ille pius *divino lumine* verbi').

i. 193 *fuscata colore*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 357 ('discedat synagoga suo *fuscata colore*').

i. 195 *claris natalibus ortus*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1266 ('nititur indolem *claris natalibus ortam*') and 1883 ('de stirpe bona et *claris natalibus ortam*'); and cf. below, i. 256 ('tantis *natalibus ortum*'), iv. 39 ('*claris natalibus* auctus').

i. 198 *sistere*. The use of the simplex *sistere* is not entirely appropriate (*sistere* is normally construed with the accusative, and means 'to stand', 'to stay'), and one wonders whether Hilduin had learned, above all from his reading of Vergil, that Latin poets frequently used the simplex form when the sense of a compound form was understood: in this case, the simplex *sistere* for the compound *assistere*, construed with the dative to mean 'to take part in', as in Horace, *Serm.* i. 6. 114 ('adsisto diuinis'). Thus Vergil uses simplex forms such as *solari* in the sense of *consolari* (*Aen.* v. 41), *fidere* in the sense of *confidere* (*Aen.* v. 69), *figere* in the sense of *transfigere* (*Aen.* x. 343), *mittere* in the sense of *dimittere* (*Aen.* v. 286), *suescere* (*Aen.* v. 402, 414) in the sense of *consuescere*, *uertere* in the sense of *euertere* (*Aen.* i. 20, i. 528, vi. 620, x. 35), etc.; for the phenomenon, see LHS ii. 298–300, Marouzeau, *Traité*, pp. 130–134, and Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', pp. 127–128. That Hilduin intended the sense *assistere* is underlined by the meaning of *symmistes* in the following line. Of course Hilduin could simply have written *archanis ... qu(em) assistere rebus*, but he habitually avoids elision, especially of monosyllables. It seems to me more likely, therefore, that he is using *sistere* in the sense of *assistere*, on the model of Vergilian poetic diction.

i. 200 *genus ... traxit*: Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici* iv. 202 ('crevit, et ad finem traxit ut omne *genus*'). *nomen ... traxit*: Ovid, *Met.* iv. 291 ('*nomen quoque traxit ab illis*'), viii. 230 ('*quae nomen traxit ab illo*').

i. 201 *alto ... stemmate*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* viii. 40 ('*tumes alto Drusorum stemmate*'); Alcimus Avitus, *Poema app.* xi. 25 ('*nobilis eloquiis et stemmate nobilis alto*'). *stemmate fasces*: Alcimus Avitus, *Poema app.* vii. 8 ('*spreuerit antiquo demissos stemmate fasces*').

i. 203 *magnus ... pater*: Alcuin, *Carm.* ix. 171 ('*magnus et ipse pater*'), xlv. 58 ('*magnus in orbe pater*'). *pater extitit huius*: Ovid, *Met.* xv. 751 ('*ullum maius opus, quam quod pater extitit huius*').

i. 205 *forte magister*: Dracontius, *Romulea* iii. 14 ('*discipuli sic quippe silent, si forte magister*').

i. 212 *patulas ... aures*: cf. Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* 318 ('*carmen nequitiae patulas deus addidit aures*'), and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* viii. 12. 3 ('*quale nec ante oculos patulas neque polluit aures*').

i. 214 *lumine plenam*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 722 ('*multorum lumine plena*') and ii. 498 ('*uas lumine plenum*'); and cf. below, i. 257 and 499.

i. 215 *caelesti lumine*: Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* iii. 8. 11 ('*pollet ubi populus caelesti lumine gaudens*').

i. 218 *compede uinctus*: Horace, *Ep.* i. 3. 3 ('*nivali compede uinctus*'); but cf. also Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* x. 311 ('*qui per inane leues neque mundi compede uinctos*') and Cyprianus Gallus, *Exod.* 493 ('*illicet exsanguis immensaque compede uincti*').

i. 221 *recta mente*: cf. Ovid, *Tristia* ii. 275 ('*sic igitur carmen, recta si mente legatur*').

i. 223 *quo regitur*: Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* ii, met. viii. 30 ('*quo caelum regitur, regat*') and iii, met. x. 15 ('*splendor quo regitur uigetque caelum*'). *machina mundi*: a common hexameter cadence from Lucretius (*De natura rerum* v. 96) onwards; see *HexLexikon* iii. 267–268, and esp. the references to Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 158 and 1679.

i. 224 Note that *denuo* is here scanned incorrectly (as *děňŭō*, correctly *dēňŭō*); the error of scansion is repeated at ii. 358, 394; iii. 383; iv. 336, 553, 642, 662.

i. 225–229 These lines are a verbose expansion of the opening three words of c. 5 of the prose *Passio S. Dionysii: his ita gestis*.

i. 225 *rite peractis*: a cadence common in Carolingian verse (*HexLexikon* iv. 528–529), notably Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 859, and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 785 and 1514.

i. 227 *dogmate prauo*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 599 ('vel in exemplo seu *dogmate pravo*').

i. 228 A hexameter consisting of only four words; for other examples in Hilduin's poem, see ii. 39, ii. 53, ii. 186, ii. 257, and iv. 93. *praecipites ... demergebantur*: cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 207 ('*demergis praeceps furuis, miserande, tenebris*'). *tetro ... Auerno*: cf. Ovid, *Amores* iii. 9. 27 ('*nigro summersit Auerno*').

i. 233 *noua dogmata*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 2 ('*qui noua pectoribus monstravit dogmata nostris*').

i. 235 *captaret ... coronam*: cf. Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 105 ('*capit ille coronam*') and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 183 ('*caperet mercede coronam*').

i. 236 *quaerere uitam*: Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* iii. 8 ('*exin sacratam perrexit quaerere uitam*'). The phrase recurs at iv. 631.

i. 238 *fusus habenas*: cf. Silius Italicus, *Punica* iv. 137 ('*ni fusus habenas*').

i. 241 *Dionysius*. Throughout his poem, Hilduin scans the name *Dionysius* in one of two ways: either with a long second and a short third syllable (*Dīōňsīus*), as in i. 264, 291, 421, 469, 481 etc.; or with a short second and a long third syllable (*Dīōňsīus*), as here and in i. 250, 309, 345, 442, 503, 518, 32, 552, 575 etc. At i. 248, treating an oblique case of the name *Dionysus* (not *Dionysius*), he scans both the second and third syllables as long (*Dīōňsō*).

i. 242 *nomine claro*: Hibernicus exul, *Carm.* xiii. 5 ('*in hac aede Dei tolli qui nomine claro*').

i. 243 *dignus honore*: a common hexametrical cadence, from Prudentius onwards (see *HexLexikon* ii. 80–81); it is used again by Hilduin at i. 540, ii. 244 and ii. 314.

i. 248–250 Although the scribe has here written *Dionysio* (248) and *Dionysii* (250), it is clear that Hilduin was referring not to the saint but to his ancestor Dionysus – who is not, as he explains, the god of that name, but rather the inventor of wine (the distinction is erroneous, but Hilduin did not have access to sources of Greek mythology which would have allowed him to understand the identity of Dionysus / Bacchus); hence I have emended to *Dionyso* (248) and *Dionysi* (250), respectively. For the scansion, see above, note to i. 241.

i. 249 *non inquam Semelae*: cf. Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 715 ('nec referam Semelen'); cf. also Nemesianus, *Cynegetica* 16–18 ('quis non Semelen ignemque iugalem / letalemque simul novit de paelicis astu? / quis magno recreata tacet cunabula Baccho'). This reference in Nemesianus to the birth of Bacchus = Dionysus would have been familiar to Hilduin, since he had studied the text with his pupil Hincmar: see above, p. 18.

i. 251 *comptus honore*: [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1487 ('praesul et eximio virtutum *comptus honore*'); cf. *HexLexikon* i. 402, and below, ii. 54.

i. 255 *uirtutis dote*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Judices* 148 ('spiritus hunc domini *uirtutis dote* cluentem').

i. 256 The wording is indebted to Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1266, 1784, 1883; cf. above, i. 195 ('*claris natalibus ortus*'), and below, iv. 39 ('*claris natalibus auctus*').

i. 257 *lumine plenum*: see above, note to i. 214.

i. 258 *Graium*: Hilduin here uses the syncopated form of the gen. pl. (cf. *Graiorum*), on the model of Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 228, vi. 588, x. 81, 334, i. 289, xii. 538; cf. discussion in LHS i. 428, and below, i. 509, and note to iii. 326.

i. 259 *decus ... clarum*: Theodulf, *Carm.* xv. 45 ('per *decus* hinc *clarum*') and Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 7. 58 ('*clarum pontificale decus*').

i. 260–290 These lines have no correlate in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*; they are intended to supply an explanation of why Dionysius went with Apollophanes to Egypt to study astrology.

- i. 262 *dare uela*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini*, praef. 1 ('*dare uela profundo*').
- i. 265 *Martis amore*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 550 ('*accendamque animas insani Martis amore*').
- i. 275 *quis*: the archaic form (*quīs*) for *quibus*, used frequently in Latin verse (LHS i. 473). *decernere fata*: Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xlv. 6 ('*per me fata virum dicunt decernere Parcas*'). *cuncta ... fata*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* viii. 316–317 ('*sed cuncta reuoluens / uitae fata meae*').
- i. 280 *rutilus ... ignis*: see above, note to i. 190.
- i. 284 *Iesus*. Throughout his poem, Hilduin scans the name *Iesus* in one of two ways: either as a trisyllable, with short first syllable followed by two long (*Īēsūs*), as here and in i. 284, 302, 551, etc.; or as a bisyllable, with the initial *I* functioning as a consonant (*Iēsūs*), as in i. 416, 472, 494, 555 etc.
- i. 288 *sol flammis lustret*: Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 607 ('*sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras*'). *sol ... concitus*: Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* iv, met. vi. 6 ('*non sol rutilo concitus igne*').
- i. 289 *ualde periti*: cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 715 ('*praeceptor valde peritus*'). *astrorum ... peritus*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* vi. 586 ('*dabit astrorum mundique peritus*').
- i. 291 *iuuenili robore*: cf. Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecl.* iv. 85 ('*perpetuam regit iuuenili robore pacem*') and Silius Italicus, *Punica* ix. 106 ('*uerum ubi uigorem iuuenili robore cursus*'). *robore fultus*: cf. Ovid, *Tristia* v. 12. 11 ('*in ualido pectus mihi robore fultum*').
- i. 293 *nulli ... secundus*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Num.* 681 ('*nulli uirtutum laude secundus*'); Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 601 ('*nulli feritate secundus*'); and Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 4. 3 ('*nulli pietate secundus*').
- i. 303 *lucis radios*: Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xxvi. 2 ('*augustae lucis radios et lumina Phoebi*'). *tetras ... in umbras*: Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* iv. 1. 26 ('*funditus evacuans tetras detrusit in umbras*').
- i. 304 *grauī ... caligine*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 42 ('*circumagunt hebetantque graui caligine captos*'). *caligine mundum*: Prosper, *Epigr.* viii. 1: '*exueret Deus ut tetra caligine mundum*' (PL li. 501).

- i. 306 *inuoluier*. On Hilduin's use of the (archaic) passive infinitive in *-ier*, see above, note to i. 12.
- i. 307 *multiplīci ... luce*: cf. Theodulf, *Epitaph*. ii. 9 ('*cuius multiplīci pollebat gratia luce*'). *luce refulgens*: these words occur as a hexameter cadence in Cicero, *Aratea* 108 and 154 (a source known to Hilduin?), but cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 588 ('*luce refulsit*').
- i. 315 *mens caeco mersa profundo*: Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* i, met. ii. 1–2 ('*heu quam praecipiti mersa profundo / mens hebet ...*').
- i. 316 *scintilla relucet*: Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 109 ('*lucis ubi miseris nulla scintilla relucet*').
- i. 317 *pignera cara*: Vergil, *Ecl.* viii. 93, Ovid, *Met.* iii. 134, Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxv. 226, etc.
- i. 320 *donum fidei*: Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 396 ('*fidei uenerabile donum*', a phrase repeated by Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 280).
- i. 321 *cum luce salutis*: Juvencus, *Euang.* i. 762 ('*ueniet fructus cum luce salutis*').
- i. 322 *hoste trophaeum*: Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 64 ('*mulier referens ex hoste trophaeum*'); the same cadence is used by Hilduin below, i. 436; and cf. ii. 79.
- i. 323 *conscendere regnum*: Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 723 ('*uictor conscendere regnum*').
- i. 326 *patriam repetit*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 7. 7 ('*tu patriam repetis, nos triste sub orbe relinquis*'); Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* xii. 3 ('*qui patriam repetunt linquentes exera mundi*'). *patriam ... altam*: Vergil, *Aen.* x. 374 ('*hac nos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposit*'), xi. 797 ('*reducem ut patria alta uideret*').
- i. 327 *magnus in urbe*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* xlv. 58 ('*nobilis egregii, magnus in orbe pater*'), lxxxix. 22. 2 ('*praecursor Christi magnus in orbe Dei*'), xc. 3. 2 ('*confessor meritis magnus in orbe piis*'), etc.
- i. 328 The adjective *Gradiuus* is conventionally scanned with a long first syllable; but the scansion with short first syllable (*Grādiuus*) was sanctioned

by Ovid (*Met.* vi. 427), and so used by later poets. *Gradius* is an epithet for Mars (Ares).

i. 329 I have emended the transmitted *Is* to *Ius*, with the implication that *decus* is to be understood as nom., referring to Dionysius himself. For the phrase used in the same metrical feet, cf. Prudentius, *Praef.* i. 18 (*'ius ciuile bonis reddidimus'*). *iusto libramine*: *Passio S. Benedictae* [*'De sole et de duodecim signis'*], 6: *'quos moderas compos iusto libramine semper'* (*MGH, PLAC* iv. 210; the poem is copied in the unique manuscript, Paris, BNF, lat. 8431, in a hand of the ninth century, according to von Winterfeld; but the manuscript is dated to s. x by Bischoff, *Katalog* III, p. 143, which means that the poem was probably composed too late for its diction to have influenced Hilduin).

i. 330 *priuatum ... palam*: cf. Ambrose, *Epist.* vii. 7. 1: *'siquidem responsum est ei publice, et quod priuatim severat, palam messuit'* (*CSEL* lxxxii/2. 27). *luce palam*: Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 153 (*'luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros'*), whence the phrase is repeated by Statius, *Theb.* viii. 129, Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xx. 108, and Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 362.

i. 331 *dogmate primus*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ix. 2. 35 (*'princeps clauae Petrus, primus quoque dogmate Paulus'*).

i. 332 *sillogismorum nodos*: cf. Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, c. xi: *'non me hypothetici et categorici syllogismorum nodus intricat, non inania philosophorum sophismata decipiunt'* (*CCL* lxiv. 87).

i. 334 The second syllable of *philosophica* has been lengthened by Hilduin *metri gratia*; the word correctly consists of a sequence of five short syllables (*phīlōsōphīcā*), and as such would not fit into a hexameter.

i. 339 *sacra ... archana*: cf. Horace, *Epod.* v. 52 (*'arcana cum fiunt sacra'*), and Ovid, *Met.* x. 436 (*'regis adest coniunx arcanaque sacra frequentat'*).

i. 340 *sede nitentem*: *Waltharius* 433 (*'nomine Wormatiam regali sede nitentem'*).

i. 341 *auribus arrectis*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 303 (*'atque arrectis auribus asto'*) and *Waltharius* 1200 (*'auribus arrectis ventos captavit et auras'*). *uerba salutis*: the cadence first occurs in Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 453, but is common in Carolingian poetry (*HexLexikon* v. 559–560).

i. 342–344 The same metrical structure (DSSS) is used in three consecutive lines (and note that lines 340–341 have a (rare) elision in exactly the same position).

i. 343 *sacra deorum*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 286 ('signavit, quoniam destruxit *sacra deorum*').

i. 346 *Antiqui ... patres*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 37 ('*antiqui* tremuere *patres*'); Alcuin, *Carm.* xliii. 15 ('hoc opus *antiqui patres* fecere per orbem'); and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 678 ('*antiqui patres* quorum de stirpe uenimus'). Note that, unlike Alcuin and Walahfrid, Hilduin scans the first syllable of *patres* short, as did Paulinus of Nola.

i. 354–356 The apostrophe to Dionysius has no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

i. 359 *numinis aras*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 186 ('hanc tanti *numinis aram*').

i. 360 The line as transmitted in MS. is a foot short (lacking either a dactyl or spondee); the word *sacram* has been supplied to restore the metre.

i. 362 *toto conamine*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 89 ('et praecepta Dei *toto conamine mentis*').

i. 363 *placidis ... dictis*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 652 ('et *placidis* miscentem fortia *dictis*'), and Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* x. 175 ('*linigerum placidis* compellat *Acorea dictis*').

i. 366 *uoce profatus*: cf. Dracontius, *Rom.* viii. 327 ('tunc Polydamus ait submissa *uoce profatus*').

i. 372 *terrarum ... orbis*: Vergil, *Aen.* i. 233 ('cunctus ob *Italiam terrarum* clauditur *orbis*'), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2559 ('quem totus *celebrem terrarum* praedicat *orbis*').

i. 377–379 The same metrical structure (DSDS) is used for three consecutive lines.

i. 378 *spiritus almus*: a common hexameter cadence in Christian-Latin poets; cf. Dracontius, *Laud. Dei* ii. 79, Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 139, i. 221, i. 232, etc.;

and see *HexLexikon* v. 242–244. *Deus est uerus, homo uerus*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. app.* iii. 213 (*'uerus homo est uerusque Deus'*), and Alcuin, *Carm. rhythm.* i. 16. 4 (*'idem semper homo Deus, ipse Deus homo uerus'*).

i. 379 *renouabit ... mundum*: cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* lxiv. 3. 1 (*'qui cruce confixus renovavit sanguine mundum'*).

i. 382 *caelo ... alto*: cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* iv. 7 (*'iam noua progenies caelo demittur alto'*), and then frequently in the *Aeneid* (v. 542, v. 727, vii. 141, viii. 423, etc.) and in many later poets.

i. 384 *pia iura Tonantis*: Theodulf, *Carm.* v. 13 (*'praecedentque tuam faciem pia iura tonantis'*).

i. 390 *uitam tribuendo*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* xxxiii. 1. 4 (*'perpetuam tribuens clementi munere uitam'*). *uitam ... perhennem*: Juvenecus, *Euang.* iv. 799 (*'praeccepta, ut uitam possint agitare perennem'*), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxxxiv. 2 (*'det vobis requiem uitam donetque perennem'*).

i. 391 *trina sub luce*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Ios.* 73 (*'Aisano in colle trina sub luce latentes'*).

i. 392 *repetens ... regna*: Dracontius, *Laud. Dei* ii. 556 (*'inde reuersus abit, repetit sua regna triumphans'*). *ardua regna*: Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* xliv. 13 (*'tu florem meriti sequeris ad ardua regna'*).

i. 396 *quaecumque uigent*: cf. Cyprianus Gallus, *Exod.* 770–771 (*'his ternis Dominus fecit quaecumque diebus / in terris caeloque uigent'*).

i. 398–399 *gestorum ... capiat ... quis ... praemia*: Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 61 (*'iudicium ut capiat gestorum quisque suorum'*).

i. 399 *praemia digna*: the collocation is Vergilian (*Aen.* i. 605: *'praemia digna ferant'*), but is used in many later poets, notably (in this connection and in these metrical feet) Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 558 (*'pro meritis operis promittens praemia digna'*); for the construction *quis(que) capiat praemia digna*, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* i. 678 (*'ut capiant cultus praemia digna sui'*).

i. 400 Ps. lxxv. 1 (*'Notus in Iudaea Deus, in Israhel magnum nomen eius'*). *deus ... colendus*: cf. Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigr.* xx. 1 (*'hac desiderii Deus est pietate colendus'*).

i. 404 *quo non praestantior alter*: Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 164 ('Misenum Aeoliden, *quo non praestantior alter*'), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 776 and 2066, who recycles the phrase from Vergil; it is used again by Hilduin at iv. 111.

i. 405 *rapuit de morte*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 8. 7 ('vertice succiso *rapuit* qui ex *morte triumphum*'). *fuso ... cruore*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Iudices* 11 ('*milia ferme decem fuso cecidere cruore*'), and Dracontius, *Laud. Dei* iii. 218 ('*quae solet insontum fuso gaudere cruore*').

i. 406 Note that *pie* is here scanned incorrectly (as *pīē*, correctly *pīē*); the error of scansion is repeated at ii. 400, iv. 374 and 663.

i. 408 *angelicas ... phalanges*: cf. Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxvii. 2. 3 ('*astet et angelicae custodia sancta phalangis*').

i. 410 *aequo moderamine*: cf. Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigr.* xviii. 5 ('*quae ius naturae, ut moderamine temperet aequo*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xxiv. 17 ('*munere divino moderamine temperat aequo*'). *moderamine iustus*: Theodulf, *Carm.* xxviii. 63 ('*rex fuerat sapiens, legum et moderamine iustus*').

i. 412–413 *Apc.* iii. 7 ('*qui aperit et nemo cludit, et cludit et nemo aperit*').

i. 414 *Christi praeco*: cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* lxxvii. 9. 1 ('*hic praeco insignis Christi et baptista Iohannes*'). *praeco ministrat*: cf. Prudentius, *Liber peristephanon* x. 772 ('*cordis ministra praeco operi pectoris*').

i. 415 *deum*: note the contracted form of the gen. pl. *deorum*, a metrical device learned from Vergil, *Aen.* i. 9 and 229, ii. 54, 156, 248 and 257, etc.; see also note to iii. 326, below, and discussion in LHS i. 428, and Leumann, 'La lingua poetica latina', p. 155. *deum ... altaria*: cf. perhaps Cyprianus Gallus, *Gen.* 1070 ('*atque deum exstructis properans altaribus orat*'). *altaria lustrat*: cf. perhaps Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita S. Amandi* i. 396 ('*sed custos templi dum sacra altaria lustrat*'); Milo's *Vita S. Amandi*, composed 845×855, is possibly too late to have influenced the diction of Hilduin.

i. 416 On the scansion of *Iesus*, with the initial *I* functioning as a glide (consonant), see above, note to i. 284.

i. 417 *Dei prolem*: cf. Dracontius, *Laud. Dei* iii. 236 ('*ficta Dei proles*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* xv. 2 ('*proles amata Dei*').

i. 420 *dignum ... laude*: cf. Prosper, *Epigr.* lxxix. 1 ('*dignus laude quidem et*') and Alcimius Avitus, *Poema* iv. 170 ('*hunc praeter, dignum quem summus laude creator*'). *laude canebant*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm. spur.* i. 47 ('*sed redeo qua uirgo trahit mihi laude canenda*').

i. 421 *mente sagaci*: a cadence first used by Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 404, but common thereafter in Aldhelm and the Carolingian poets (*HexLexikon* iii. 339).

i. 427 *spiramen ... sanctum*: cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* i. 215 ('*femineam sancto complet spiramine mentem*') and 340 ('*abluet ille hominis sancto spiramine mentem*').

i. 429 *numine diuino*: the phrase is repeated at iv. 504; see Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* viii. 55 ('*numine diuino argentum uenerantur et aurum*') and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1660 ('*numine diuino quod gestum constat aperte*'); and cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* i. 264 ('*quam bonus Hieremias diuino numine iussus*'), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xiv. 37 ('*ista dies diuino numine soluit*'), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 2324 ('*ambas trudebant diuino numine fretas*'); see also below, iv. 504 (*numine diuino*). *cordis ... in antro*: cf. Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 19 ('*nec lateat quicquam culparum cordis in antro*').

i. 432 *altisonum ... dogma*: cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* xviii. 8 ('*condere et altisonum gracili sub arundine carmen*').

i. 434–441 The account of St Paul's doctrine has no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. Jacob's prophecy is related in Gen. xlix; Benjamin is described as a *lupus rapax* at Gen. xlix. 27; cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 717 ('*lupum domat ille rapacem*').

i. 434 *uatis praesagia*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* xv. 879 ('*si quid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam*') – the striking final line of the *Metamorphoses*; cf. also Dracontius, *Orestes* 754 ('*mox redeunt animo Phrygiae praesagia uatis*').

i. 436 *hoste trophaeum*: the same cadence is employed above, i. 322; see note ad loc.

i. 438 *uerbi mucrone*: cf. Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita S. Amandi* i. 72 ('*bellica quae fuerat uerbi mucrone subegit*').

- i. 440 *artis ... catenis*: cf. perhaps Silius Italicus, *Punica* ii. 340 ('cum geminas *artis* post terga *catenis*'). *colla catenis*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1836 ('sed Siculi nexis stringebant *colla catenis*').
- i. 441 *obtulerat Domino*: cf. perhaps Victorinus, *Versus de lege Domini* 26 ('*obtulerant Domino* Deo lac atque hordea ruris'; ed. PLS iii. 1139). *speculator ab alto*: Ovid, *Tristia* iii. 9. 11 ('quem procul ut uidit tumulo *speculator ab alto*').
- i. 442 *compellat precibus*: cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 907 ('*compellit precibus* multis varioque precatu'; note that the author of the *Vita S. Galli* employs the verb *compellere*, where Hilduin had used *compellare*). *compellat ... magistrum*: Prudentius, *Dittochaeon* 30 ('*compellat* iuuenem pecoris tunc forte *magistrum*'; note the placement of the two words at the beginning and end of the hexameter in each case).
- i. 447 *ualidi ... uerbi*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 215 ('dixerat, et *ualidi* confossus cuspide *uerbi*').
- i. 451 *Postera ... dies ... surgens*: Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 588 ('*postera* iamque *dies* primo surgebat Eoo').
- i. 453 *cui uia Christus erat*: Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigr.* xvii. 8 ('non capiet mundus *cui uia Christus erit*').
- i. 454 *calce terebat*: cf. Prudentius, *Dittochaeon* 138 ('*calce terens*') and Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* ii. 351 ('sicque solum fingens leuiter si *calce teretur*').
- i. 456 *lumine cernit*: Ovid, *Met.* ii. 787 ('illa deum obliquo fugientem *lumine cernens*') and Cyprianus Gallus, *Gen.* 854 ('illic perspicuo dominum cum *lumine cernit*').
- i. 457 *dictis compellans*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* viii. 794 ('talibus agrestem *compellat* Oreada *dictis*'; also xii. 585); Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* x. 175 ('linigerum placidis *compellat* Acorea *dictis*'); Cyprianus Gallus, *Gen.* 849 ('*compellat* meritis liuentia pectora *dictis*'); and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 812 ('talibus atque illos *dictis compellat* et inquit'). *precibus ... pulsat*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 31 ('sed potius nitar *precibus pulsare* Tonantem'). Note that *maxime* is here scanned incorrectly (as *māxīmē*, correctly *māxīmē*); this error of scansion is repeated at ii. 22 and iii. 439.

- i. 458 *Tunc uir apostolicus*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 138 ('*Tunc uir apostolicus nunc uilis apostata factus*'). *uiscere motus*: cf. Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm.* xiv. 43 ('*omnia uitali priuantur uiscere motu*').
- i. 459 *uirtutisque ... munere*: cf. Cyprianus Gallus, *Iudices* 552 ('*dotatus tacitae uirtutis munere factum*').
- i. 460 *clausas ... fenestras*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* iv. 38 ('*atque diu clausas reserans sub fronte fenestras*').
- i. 461 *fraudatum lumine*: cf. Claudian, *Carm. minora* xxx [Laus Serenae]. 23 ('*lumine fraudatus Cyclops*').
- i. 462 *cunctorum Dominus*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxi. 58 ('*cunctorum Dominus suscipiens famulus*').
- i. 463 Ioh. ix. 6 (Christ's healing of the blind man by placing clay on his eyes).
- i. 464 *quod natura negaret*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 528 ('*quod natura negat, propriis quam legibus uti*').
- i. 465 *uirtute ... potenti*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xxv. 1. 7 ('*hanc sacer aduentus Christi uirtute potenti*'), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 237 and 866 ('*uirtute potenti*').
- i. 469 *directo tramite*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 872 ('*quoque modo propere directo tramite sanctus*'). The phrase is repeated at ii. 341.
- i. 470 Note that *concite* is here scanned incorrectly (as *cōncītě*, correctly *cōncītē*); the error of scansion is repeated at ii. 460 and iii. 151.
- i. 474 *mens ... sana*: Iuuenal, *Sat.* x. 356 ('*orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*').
- i. 476 *baptismi ... sacri*: Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici* i. 290 ('*baptismique foret unguine tincta sacri*'); cf. Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigr.* lxxxix. 3 ('*fraudati non sunt sacro baptismate Christi*'). *parta*: syncopated form of *parata*, employed *metri gratia*; cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 706 ('*dum mens parta fuit mortis discrimina ferro*'), and Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 91 ('*fuerant quae parta malignis*'), and below, iv. 20.

- i. 477 *demersus in unda*: Persius, *Sat.* iii. 34 ('*demersus summa rursus non bullit in unda*').
- i. 478 *nexibus absolui*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxviii. 236 ('*nexibus absolui quam criminis ergo nouemus*').
- i. 480 *iussa ... complens*: cf. Aldhelm, *Enigm.* lxiv. 3 ('*prima praecepti complevi iussa parenti*'), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 13 ('*iussa redemptoris complere*'). *ex asse*: the phrase is rarely used by Latin poets, but cf. Martial, *Epig.* iii. 10. 5 and vii. 66. 1. Hilduin repeats the phrase at ii. 233.
- i. 481 *Christi ... gratia*: the phrase *gratia Christi* is a common hexameter cadence from Juvenecus (*Euang.* iv. 803) onwards; see *HexLexikon* ii. 457–460.
- i. 485 *caeculus*: Hilduin found this rare diminutive in Vergil (*Aen.* vii. 681 and x. 544).
- i. 486 *lumine ... primo*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 130 ('*quare agite et primo laeti lumine solis*'); cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 552 ('*hic ubi progressus primo cum lumine solis*').
- i. 488 *compos ... luminis*: Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* iv, met. i. 18 ('*compos uerendi lumine*'). *praeclari luminis*: cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* ii. 482 ('*dicite praeclaro nitidi sub lumine solis*'), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 180 ('*sidera praeclaro cedunt ut lumine solis*') and *Enigm.* lvii. 8 ('*post haec restauror praeclaro lumine Phoebi*').
- i. 489 *nec te res ipsa fefellit*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 30. 8 ('*per famulum Christi, nec se spes ipsa fefellit*').
- i. 490 *carcere clauso*: a cadence first used by Lucan (*Bellum ciuile* i. 294 and iv. 237), but common in Carolingian verse (*HexLexikon* i. 265–266).
- i. 492 *plicai*: another example of the simplex form *plicai* being used for the compound form *explicai*, which is clearly intended here; cf. above, n. to i. 198.
- i. 495 *forti ... mente*: Ovid, *Amores* iii. 2. 10 ('*insistam forti mente uehendus equis*'). *diuinam ... uirtutem*: cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 34 ('*quod mala cuncta illi uirtus diuina domaret*'), and Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 350 ('*nam diuina manus medica uirtute per omnes*'), and xxvi. 118 ('*uallabat socio uirtus diuina fauore*').

i. 496 *placida ... luce*: Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecl.* i. 78 ('fulgent et *placida* radiantem *luce* cometem').

i. 497 *sacra ... iussa*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 40–41 ('nec *sacra* morantur / *iussa* uiri'), Ovid, *Met.* iv. 32 ('*iussa*que *sacra* colunt'), and Cyprianus Gallus, *Num.* 443 ('qui *sacra* Deo non *iussa* ferebant'). Hilduin's scansion of *sacra* here reveals his awareness that forms of *sacer* can be scanned in one of two ways: either with short first syllable, as here and in i. 566 (*săcră*); or with long first syllable, as in i. 448 (*săcrō*), i. 543 and 549 (*săcrī*), etc.; and cf. i. 360 (*săcrām*). *magno ... magistro*: Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 11. 3 ('disceret ut *magno* fidei documenta *magistro*').

i. 498 *fonte ... sacro*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 939 ('*sacro fonte* carens'), Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 22. 5 ('lotus *fonte sacro* prius ille recessit in albis'). *caeli ... uitam*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxiv. 804 ('*caeli uitam* in terris age').

i. 499 *fidei ... lumine*: Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 30. 45 ('qui fuerant populi *fidei* sine *lumine* furvi'). *lumine plenum*: see above, i. 214 and 257, with nn.

i. 503 *soluit ... moras*: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* i. 204 ('inde *moras soluit* belli').

i. 507 *comitatur iter*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 112 ('ille meum *comitatus iter* maria omnia mecum'). *Damaris*: Act. xvii. 34 (but note that the biblical text does not state that Damaris was the wife of Dionysius; see above, p. 458, n. 35). *castissima coniunx*: cf. *Anthologia Latina* no. 209. 7 ('caueat *castissima coniunx*').

i. 509 *Graium* (gen. pl., for *Graiorum*). Hilduin learned the use of the synco-pated genitive plural from his reading of Vergil (*Aen.* iv. 228, vi. 588, x. 81, 334, xi. 289, xii. 538); and see also above, note to i. 258.

i. 511 *lasciuia mollis*: cf. perhaps Maximianus, *Elegiae* i. 83 ('corporis has nostri *mollis lasciuia* partes').

i. 512 *saeuissimus hostis*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 159 ('virtutum custos, vitiis *saeuissimus hostis*').

i. 513 *turba parentum*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 270 ('cetera per mundum ceu gessit *turba parentum*').

i. 515 *sancta cohors*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* viii. 127 ('si tibi *sancta cohors* comitum'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* xc. 23. 5 ('te quoque *sancta cohors* fratrum specialiter istic').

i. 516 *diuino dogmate fultus*: Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* ii. 3. 19 ('eloquio pollens, *diuino dogmate fultus*'); and cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 731 ('condidit egregiam *diuino dogmate* legem') and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 942 ('praeditus et pariter *diuino dogmate* praesul').

i. 517 *ritusque profanos*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2266 ('nec dilubrorum *ritus* offerre *profanos*').

i. 521 *reserante ... archana Tonantis*: cf. *Carmen de S. Cassiano* 359: 'edocet in populis, *reserans archana Tonantis*' (MGH, PLAC iv. 191), and Alcuin, *Carm.* ciii. 1. 3 ('hic inter Cherubim volitant *arcana Tonantis*').

i. 522 *flamine sancto*: the phrase is first used as a hexameter cadence by Juvenecus, *Euang.* i. 85 ('diuinae uocis completa est *flamine sancto*') and then by Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 246 ('qui ventura Dei prompserunt *flamine sancto*'), and numerous Carolingian poets; see *HexLexikon* ii. 291.

i. 523 *gloria compar*: Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* iii. 176 ('maiestas una est et *gloria compar* utrique')

i. 524 *aeterni ... uerbi*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxv. 171 ('inde manet mater *aeterni semine uerbi*').

i. 525–527 The same metrical structure (DSSS) is used in three consecutive lines.

i. 525 *crucis poenae*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. app.* i. 63 ('qui Christi passum *poenas crucis*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Passio S. Mammetis*, orat. 4 ('dum *poenas crucis* innocens luisti').

i. 526 *gloria celsa*: a common collocation in Christian-Latin and Carolingian poets (*HexLexikon* ii. 434–435), but no poet before Hilduin appears to have used the phrase as a hexameter cadence.

i. 529–534 St Paul and the third heaven: 11Cor. xii. 2 ('raptum ... usque ad tertium caelum'); and, for St Paul's vision of Paradise which it is not licit to describe, *ibid.* xii. 4 ('raptus est in paradisum et audivit arcana verba quae non licet homini loqui').

- i. 530 *et paradisiaco*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 3. 18 ('*et Paradisiaco germine dona metant*').
- i. 532 *magna cupido*: Hrabanus Maurus, *De laude sanctae crucis*, fig. xxviii. 20 ('hoc sitis est animi, mandendi *magna cupido*').
- i. 533 *diuellier*. For Hilduin's use of the (archaic) passive infinitive in *-ier*, see above, n. to i. 12.
- i. 534 *peruigili ... labore*: Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita S. Amandi* i. 48 ('hi quoque *pervigili* complentes iussa *labore*'). *cuncta archana*: [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 231 ('altithroni, quem *cuncta* tremunt *archana* polorum').
- i. 535 Note that *abunde* is here scanned incorrectly (as *ǎbūndē*, correctly *ǎbūndē*); the error of scansion is repeated at ii. 189, iii. 106 and 173, iv. 277.
- i. 539 *comes assiduus*: cf. perhaps Martial, *Epigr.* xi. 39. 2 ('et pueri custos *assiduusque comes*').
- i. 540 *dignus honore*: see above, i. 243 and n. *sacro ... honore*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxviii. 11. 5 ('cuius *honore sacro* praesens haec aula dicata est'); cf. *Carm.* lxxxix. 2. 2, xc. 9. 8, and cix. 2. 2.
- i. 543 *fonte lauacri*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxi. 5 ('atque bis infantem spatio aevi et *fonte lauacri*'), and Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* iv. 8. 11 ('flagitium sceleris purgantes *fonte lavacri*').
- i. 544 *caelestis ... regni*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 428 ('res igitur terrae *regni caelestis* emit spem'), Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* iii. 321 ('*caelestis regni*'; also iv. 12), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2005 ('aurea *caelestis* largitur praemia *regni*'). *gaudia regni*: a common hexameter cadence (*HexLexikon* ii. 402–403).
- i. 551 *moderari ... habenas*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 4. 19 ('pontificatus enim *moderans* ita rexit *habenas*').
- i. 554 *pontificale decus*: Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudberti* 812 ('*pontificale decus* plebisque instaurat honorem'). *meritis ... opimis*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 8. 37 ('dux *meritis* in gente sua qui pollet *opimis*'), iv. 26. 139 ('*meritis* quae uiuit *opimis*'), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 207 ('taliter hunc rogitat *meritis* confes-

sor *opimis'*), 479 ('*meritis felix et dignus opimis'*), and 1406 ('*meritis suffultus opimis'*).

i. 555 *magnalia Christi*: cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* xlvi. 3 ('*Christi magnalia scriptis'*).

i. 557 *documenta salutis*: Walahfrid Strabo, *De imagine Tetrici* 212 ('*tintinna sonant documenta salutis'*) and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1378.

i. 558 *ore tonat*: Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 510 ('*ter centum tonat ore deos'*), and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 7. 4 ('*ore tonat Paulus'*).

i. 559 *feritate rebellem*: cf. Milo of Saint-Amand, *Vita S. Amandi* iv. 51 ('*ut Gallis fuerat saeva feritate rebellis'*; and cf. ii. 138 and 169).

i. 561 *uerbi ... mucrone*: see above, i. 438 and n.

i. 565 *portio magna*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xiv. 129–130 ('*magna piorum / portio'*), and cf. Theodulf, *Carm.* lxxii. 26 ('*frater, pars animi portio magna mei'*).

i. 567 *ardens et lucens ... lucerna*: the phrase is biblical (Ioh. v. 35: '*ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens'*'); cf. perhaps Milo of Saint-Amand, *Carm. app.* iii. 2, stanza 6, line 2 ('*ut lucerna ardens fide / claro lucens opere'*). *micat ecce*: cf. Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 12. 9 ('*flos micat ecce uirens'*; cf. also *Carm.* ii. 59. 7–8).

i. 568 *Domini ... gratia larga*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxiii. 8 ('*larga Christi gratia'*), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1519 ('*gratia larga Dei quem sustulit atque probavit'*).

i. 572 *cultibus haerens*: cf. Alcimus Avitus, *Poema app.* x. 9 ('*cultibus Christi sapienter haerens'*).

i. 573 *uitae semina spargens*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1327 ('*qui belli semina spargit'*), and Alcuin, *Carm.* cix. 24. 10 ('*doctrinae populis et spargere semina vitae'*).

i. 574 *recolit*: the compound form with *re-* is simply equivalent here to the simplex *colo*.

i. 575 The transmitted text here ('sed condiscipulum reclamans Dionysius alium') would imply that the second syllable of *reclamans* was treated as short, whereas it is naturally long (*reclāmans*). I have therefore emended to *clamans*, on the assumption that the scribe wrote *reclamans* under the influence of *recolit* in the previous line.

i. 578 *caelesti luce corusco*: cf. Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 2. 182 ('hos homines iustos *caelesti luce coruscos*'). Hilduin repeats the phrase at ii. 94; cf. ii. 283.

i. 579 *angelici panis*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvi. 244 ('*angelico* plebem de caelis *pane* cibavit'). *panis uerbo*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xvi. 213 ('spiritus et cui *panis* erat *uerbum* Deus ipse').

i. 583 *angelicos ... coetus*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 72 ('agnus et *angelicus* cecinit miracula *coetus*'); Alcuin, *Carm.* xci. 2. 5 ('*angelicos coetus*', noctis qui tempore servant'); and below, ii. 276.

i. 590 *corde ... mundo*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxix. 22 ('sed pietate humiles et *mundo corde* capaces'); see also below, iv. 113 (*mundo corde*) and iv. 369 (*mundo ... corde*).

post 592 Hilduin simply reproduced the capitula to *De caelesti hierarchia* as he had given them in his prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 9 (above, pp. 244–248) and (mercifully, perhaps) did not attempt to render them into verse. Note that in the present version of these capitula to c. xv of *De caelesti hierarchia*, the scribe – or perhaps Hilduin himself – has eliminated nearly all occurrences of forms of the verb 'to be' (hence, for example, *quae illa pectora*, whereas witnesses to the prose version have *quae sunt illa pectora*; and so on throughout the chapter-headings to c. xv).

Book ii

ii. 1 *ordine castris*: cf. Claudian, *Carm. minora* ix. 22 ('interdum positus uelut *ordine castris*').

ii. 2 *statione locatis*: Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 728 ('sensibus in tuta ualli *statione locatis*'). The 'companies of heaven ... in ninefold station' are the angels, archangels, principalities, authorities, powers, dominions, thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim, listed conveniently in (Hilduin's translation of) *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* i. 2, ed. Théry, II, p. 76.

ii. 3 *sacros ... honores*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 269 ('gens hominum et *sacros demens libabat honores*').

ii. 8–10 The same metrical structure (DSSS) is repeated in three successive lines.

ii. 10 *theorias*. In his Latin translation of the pseudo-Dionysian *De hierarchia ecclesiastica*, Hilduin uses the word *theoria* to refer to a sort of sub-chapter or sub-division of the argument; see Théry, II, pp. 87, 96, 114, 134, 143, 151.

ii. 18 *caelebs*: although the adjective originally meant 'unmarried', 'single', it was used in Carolingian Latin onwards to mean 'celestial', as here; cf. *MLW* II, col. 27 (*caelebs* glossed as *caelestis, beatus*), citing the eleventh-century *Vita Conradi archiepiscopi Trevirensis* by Theodoric [*BHL* 1922]; cf. also Eugenius Vulgarius, *Sylloga* ii. 3 ('sacratio *celebs*', speaking of the consecration of a bishop), xxxiii. 6 2 ('legio chorusque *celebs*').

ii. 22 *quam maxime*: the phrase is used in these same metrical feet at i. 457; on the error in scansion (correctly *māxīmē*), see Introduction, p. 165, and the note to i. 457.

ii. 23 *sacra ... in ara*: Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* iv. 11. 5 ('cuius in hac aula *sacra* conservabitur *ara*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* xc. 5. 1 ('*sacra* memoratur *in ara*').

ii. 25 *socium*: the contracted form of gen. pl. *sociorum*, a form modelled on Vergil, *Aen.* v. 174, ix. 558, and x. 410; see discussion in LHS i. 428, and below, note to iii. 326. *comitante caterua*: the cadence is first attested in Vergil (*Aen.* ii. 40 and 370), then frequently thereafter: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* iv. 32; Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 554; Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1957; [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 826; and *HexLexikon* i. 381. The phrase is used again by Hilduin at iv. 154.

ii. 26 *laudis honore*: occurs as a hexameter cadence in Prosper of Aquitaine, *Carmen de ingratis* 838 ('et uerae priuentur *laudis honore*') and Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 25. 2 ('magno *cum laudis honore*').

ii. 32 *semper adurit*: Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 298 ('non semper furit unda maris nec *semper adurit*'), and Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 423 ('qui pectora *semper adurit*').

- ii. 39** A four-word hexameter; for other examples in Hilduin's poem, see above, note to i. 228.
- ii. 45** *insignis pietate*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 403 ('Troius Aeneas, *pietate insignis et armis*').
- ii. 46** The parable of the talents (not mentioned in the prose *passio*): Matt. xxv. 14–28.
- ii. 53** A four-word hexameter; for other examples in Hilduin's poem, see above, note to i. 228.
- ii. 54** *comptus honore*: see above, note to i. 251.
- ii. 56** *deuinctus amore*: Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 394 ('tum pater aeterno fatur *deuinctus amore*').
- ii. 57** *principium uitae*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 592 ('*uitae principium fuit et sine fine beatae*') and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 26. 12 ('*principium uitae finis acerbus habet*'); cf. *HexLexikon* iv. 358.
- ii. 63** *sermone fideli*: a hexameter cadence used twice by Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 241 and 638; cf. *HexLexikon* v. 117.
- ii. 64** *foribusque reclusis*: Ovid, *Met.* vii. 647 ('uenit Telamon properus *foribusque reclusis*') and Claudian, *Carm. maiora* xxxvi [*De raptu Proserpinae* iii]. 153 ('succidui titubant gressus *foribusque reclusis*').
- ii. 70** *dona ferentem*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 547 ('quos lumen lux ipse uocat, qui *dona ferentem*'); the expression derives from a famous line of Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 49 ('timeo Danaos et *dona ferentis*'), which inspired many later imitations (cf. *HexLexikon* ii. 138, and above, note to i. 139).
- ii. 73** *summa uirtute*: Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* v. 11 ('in quis Romuleum *summa uirtute* gubernat').
- ii. 90** *peruerso dogmate*: cf. below, ii. 342 ('dogmate peruerso').
- ii. 94** *caelesti luce corusco*: the same phrase is used by Hilduin at i. 578; see above, n. ad loc.

ii. 96 *campi doctor*: the question of whether this should be printed as two words, or as the single noun *campidoctor*, is clarified by metrical considerations. The poet evidently scanned the line as ‘ōptīmūs ūt cāmpī dōctōr sĕrĕ’ etc., whereas the single noun *campidoctor* would not scan in a hexameter (*cāmpīdōctōr*). In support of the reading *campi doctor*, cf. Augustine, *Sermo clxiiiA*: ‘tantus *campi doctor* captius ducitur’ (ed. G. Morin, *Sancti Augustini Sermones post Maurinos reperti*, Miscellanea Agostina I (Rome, 1930), p. 625), and Quodvultdeus, *Sermo viii* [*De accentibus ad gratiam*], c. 4: ‘fac, bonus miles, quod tuus te docuit *campi doctor*’ (CCSL lx. 443). *bella Tonantis*: cf. Claudian, *Carm. minora* xxvii. 79–80 (‘non armiger ipse *Tonantis* / *bella* mouet’). See also below, iii. 109 and iv. 171.

ii. 99 The form *epitoma* seems to be intended as the acc. sg. of *epitoma*; one would perhaps expect *epitomen*.

ii. 109 *mente ... uigili*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 158 (‘*uigili* si *mente* notares’) and Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* vi. 21 (‘*mente* satis *uigili* pensans et acumine magno’).

ii. 110 *quantum fas homini*: cf. Ovid, *Tristia* v. 2. 46 (‘si *fas* est *hominī*’) and Juvenecus, *Euang.* i. 538 (‘nec *fas* est *hominī* caelum iurare per altum’). *sub fasce ruenti*: Alcimius Avitus, *Poema* v. 690 (‘*alterno sub fasce ruunt* nexique necantur’) and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1597 (‘ne *sub fasce ruas*’).

ii. 115 *sermo Latinus*: Terentianus Maurus, *Ars metrica* 1648 (‘*versibus ostendit* quas aequo *sermo Latinus*’).

ii. 117 *acumine cordis*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 521 (‘*metitur Domini sincero acumine cordis*’).

ii. 124 *munere diuo*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* x. 6. 95 (‘*Martinum inlustrem* meritis qui *munere diuo*’). The collocation is frequent in Latin verse (cf. *HexLexikon* iii. 459), but, of poets earlier than Hilduin, is used as a hexameter cadence only by Venantius in the quoted line.

ii. 129 *breuibus ... uerbis*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 10. 7 (‘*quod tamen in breuibus* vix signat *epistula uerbis*’).

ii. 131 *mirabile dictu*: a poetic cliché, used in these same metrical feet from the time of Vergil onwards (*Georg.* ii. 30, iii. 275; *Aen.* i. 439, ii. 174, iv. 182, etc.).

ii. 135 *diuino munere*: Juvenecus, *Euangelia* ii. 187 ('atque nouam capiat *diuino munere* uitam'), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxv. 143 ('auxilioque uiri *diuino munere* factum'), Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 2903 ('ultimus in requiem *diuino munere* fretus'), Alcuin, *Carm.* xc. 9. 1 ('uictor ab hoste redit *diuino munere* clarus'), etc.; cf. *HexLexikon* ii. 103–105.

ii. 137 *deitatis honore*: Audradus Modicus, *Carm. supp.* [*De trinitate*] i. 1 ('te, genitor uerbi, summo *deitatis honore*'). There is no occurrence of the phrase earlier than Audradus (d. 853), who was an exact contemporary of Hilduin.

ii. 141 *hominis factus ... creati*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* lxi. 39 ('hic etiam legitur *hominis factura creati*').

ii. 144 *unda fluentis*: cf. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* xviii. 5 ('garrula Gauranis plus murmurat *unda fluentis*').

ii. 144–145 Christ walking on water: Matt. xiv. 22–28, Marc. vi. 45–51.

ii. 151 *celso de cardine*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* ix. 11 ('nil manet aeternum, *celso* sub *cardine* caeli').

ii. 153 *mira nouitate*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xx. 305 ('lusit opus Felix, *mira nouitate* retexam') and xxi. 597 ('ut sibi iam ferrent *mira nouitate* repletis').

ii. 154 *Phoebi sub lampade*: cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* liii. 8 ('soluanturque ... calefacte *lampade Phoebi*').

ii. 159 *radios ... coruscos*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 234–235 ('sol nube *coruscos* / abscondens *radios*').

ii. 166 *mortali in corpore*: Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 836 ('qui patrem proprium *mortali in corpore* monstrat'), 849 ('*mortali in corpore* posse'), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxi. 97 ('quare opifex hominum *mortali in corpore* uenit'), and Prosper, *Epigr.* lxi. 1 ('nulla quidem mens est *mortali in corpore* uiuens').

ii. 170 cf. I Cor. vi. 17 ('qui autem adheret Domino unus spiritus est').

ii. 171 *ciatum ... amico*: cf. *Carmina Centulensia* i. 59 ('cardiaco numquam *ciatum* missurus *amico*').

ii. 172 *mente sacerdos* as a hexameter cadence: Juvencus, *Euang.* i. 27 ('olli confusa respondit *mente sacerdos*'), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* vi. 86 ('diriguit trepida confusus *mente sacerdos*'), Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 1. 5 ('dignus apostolica praefulgens *mente sacerdos*'), ii. 15. 3 ('cum populum regeret diuina *mente sacerdos*'), and Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* xiii. 5 ('sanctus apostolica praefulgens *mente sacerdos*'); cf. *HexLexikon* iii. 339.

ii. 178 *sincero corde*: Paulinus of Aquileia, *Carm.* iia. 13 ('tantas ergo tibi *sincero corde* salutes').

ii. 180 *auditor ... Iohannis*: Jerome, *De uiris inlustribus*, c. 16: '[Ignatius] nauigans Smyrnam uenisset, ubi Polycarpus, *auditor Iohannis*, episcopus erat' (*Liber de uiris inlustribus: Hieronymus*, ed. E.C. Richardson, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 14 (Leipzig, 1896), p. 17); see also discussion above, p. 156.

ii. 181 *uirtutum pennis*: cf. Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 30. 97 ('regna beata queas *uirtutum* scandere *pennis*'). *super astra uolantis*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* vii. 12. 48 ('ac terris recubat quod *super astra* uolet'), xi. 9. 16 ('ad caelos uictrix et *super astra* uoles'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* civ. 6. 2 ('famigeræ laudes et *super astra* volant').

ii. 182 *praesul in urbe*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 541 ('Silvester Roma degebat *praesul in urbe*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* cvii. 2. 8 ('Hildbaldus ovens Agripina *praesul in urbe*').

ii. 186 A four-word hexameter; for other examples in Hilduin's poem, see above, note to i. 228.

ii. 189 *Graecos parcens*: one would expect *parcens* here to be construed with the dative (*Graecis*); but because of the following construction (*accusat ... propinquos*, where *propinquos* qualifies the preceding *Graecos*) with the direct object, Hilduin has produced a sort of *apo koinou* construction in which *parcens* is construed with the accusative.

ii. 195 *aurai*: the (rare) trisyllabic scansion is presumably taken from Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 747 ('aetherium sensum atque *aurai* simplicis ignem'); cf. below, iv. 550.

ii. 201 The sun's confusion (*stupor*) in the time of the Judaeen king Hezekiah is described by the pseudo-Dionysius, *Ep.* vii (*ad Polycarpum*); according to

the biblical account (II Reg. xx. 8–12), the sun is said to have interrupted its forward advance for ten hours, and then turned back along its path for another ten hours. It is difficult to see how this meaning is meant to be conveyed by the transmitted text (*scribens in sole stupore*). Emendation of *in* to *de* seems required; but the problem here is *solis*, which will not scan, and enforcing an awkward translation: ‘writing of the sun, (its) confusion ...’.

ii. 211 *crucis ... in ara*: cf. Paulinus of Aquileia, *Carm.* xii. 7. 1 (‘vidit *in ara* sacram *crucis* hostiam’) and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxix. 12. 1 (‘haec est *ara crucis* sanctae sacrata triumphis’).

ii. 218 *galeato*. The adjective *galeatus* (from *galea*, ‘helmet’) occurs frequently, with literal meaning, in military contexts, to mean ‘a helmeted warrior’ (e.g. in Vegetius). The metaphorical meaning, applied to literary composition, is much more unusual, and may ultimately derive from Jerome’s prologue to the Book of Kings: ‘hic prologus scripturarum quasi *galeatum* principium omnibus libris ... conuenire potest’. A similar metaphorical usage is found in Martianus Capella’s description of Rhetorica (*De nuptiis* v. 426) as having a ‘*galeatus uertex*’, which John Scottus Eriugena explained in his *Annotationes in Martianum* as meaning, ‘quia omnis rhetor semper paratus et firmus debet esse contra accusantes uel defendentes reos’ (*Iohannis Scotti Annotationes in Marcianum*, ed. C.E. Lutz (Cambridge, MA, 1939), p. 108). Much later medieval texts, such as the *libelli de lite*, use the word metaphorically to apply to Latin diction; e.g. ‘intuenda est hec *galeata* patris Augustini sententia’ (MGH, *Libelli de lite* iii. 14). In the present passage, *galeatus* presumably means simply ‘rhetorical’ *vel sim*.

ii. 221 *fidei pietate*: Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* v. 126 (‘ecclesiae claros *fidei pietate* magistros’), xxviii. 153 (‘qui tamen hunc vera *fidei pietate* requirunt’); the phrase is also used below, iii. 105.

ii. 223 *pectore blando*: Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 269 (‘Tunc Christus cunctis arri-dens *pectore blando*’).

ii. 227 *ligustris*: an unknown flowering shrub, perhaps privet, whose place in the poetic tradition is owed to Vergil, *Ecl.* ii. 18 (‘alba *ligustra* cadunt’); cf. Claudian, *Carm. maiora* xxxv [*De raptu Proserpinae* ii]. 130 (‘haec graditur stellata rosis, haec alba *ligustris*’).

ii. 231 *uigili ... mente*: see above, note to ii. 109.

ii. 233 *ex asse*: see above, note to i. 480.

ii. 235 The word *uis* (here declined in the acc. sg.) is fem.; so the transmitted *uerendum* has been emended to *uerendam*, assuming that the poet was aware of the word's grammatical gender.

ii. 235–237 The same metrical structure (DSDS) is repeated in three successive lines.

ii. 239 *sancto flatu*: Juvencus, *Euang.* i. 359 ('et *sancto flatu* corpus perfudit Iesus'); cf. *HexLexikon* v. 32.

ii. 240 *carpere fructus*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2774 ('nititur electos scripturae *carpere fructus*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxviii. 15. 13 ('contemplativos placuit hic *carpere fructus*'); and cf. *HexLexikon* i. 292.

ii. 241 *caeli claustra*: cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *De laude sanctae crucis*, fig. ix. 23 ('claustraque coeli').

ii. 242 *depromere* is frequently employed in this position by hexameter poets from Horace (*Epist.* i. 1. 12) onwards: Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1085, *Exodus* 84, 477, 646, 1096, *Numeri* 496; Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1415; Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* lvi. 4; Hrabanus Maurus, *De laude sanctae crucis*, fig. xi. 32; Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxxvi. 79; and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1685.

ii. 244 *dignus honore*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 800 ('coepit adesse puer uitae iam *dignus honore*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxii. 1 ('O rex augusto clarissime *dignus honore*'); cf. *HexLexikon* ii. 80–81.

ii. 247 *blandus in ore*: Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 395 ('*blandus in ore* sapor').

ii. 249 *pectore promit*: Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 114 ('cui Dominus dicta haec diuino *pectore promit*') and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1905 ('turma propinquorum questus e *pectore promit*'); cf. *HexLexikon* iv. 185.

ii. 252 *plurima*: it would seem from context that Hilduin intended the adjective *plurima* to function here as an adverb ('greatly', 'overly'). The model for the employment of certain adjectives as adverbs was Vergil, who used such forms as *aeternum* (*Aen.* vi. 401) adverbially: see LHS ii. 36–40; Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', pp. 107–108; and Leumann, 'La lingua poetica

latina', p. 158. Hilduin uses *plurima* because *plūrīmūm* would not scan, perhaps on the model of Vergil, *Georg.* iii. 500 (*crebra ferit*) or *Aen.* xii. 398 (*acerba fremens*); cf. below, iii. 187 and iv. 629, where *multum* is used adverbially, and iv. 511, where *clarum* is used adverbially. *lege Tonantis*: Aldhelm, *Enigm.* lxxxi. 6 ('O felix olim servata lege Tonantis').

ii. 257 A four-word hexameter; for other examples in Hilduin's poem, see above, note to i. 228.

ii. 260 *alta caligine*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 187 ('conditur in tenebras *altum caligine caelum*'); see also above, i. 60.

ii. 261 *per deuia ... uagantes*: Ovid, *Met.* iii. 146 ('cum iuuenis placido *per devia lustra vagantes*').

ii. 262 *recto ... calle*: cf. Prudentius, *Liber cathemerinon* vii. 50 ('dedit sequendam *calle recto* lineam') and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 11. 17 ('*calle* sequens *recto* sacra per uestigia Christum').

ii. 268 *larga pietate*: Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* xxiii. 17 ('hae te deliciae *larga pietate* fluentem') and Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* iii. 122 ('hanc ille in miseros *larga pietate* redundans').

ii. 270 *oscula figit*: Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* i. 350 ('cernuat ora senex barbatus et *oscula figit*'), and Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xviii. 249 ('sternitur ante fores et postibus *oscula figit*').

ii. 272 *pinguia*: the scansion (*pīnguīǎ*) is frequently used by Vergil in the fifth foot of a hexameter (*Georg.* i. 14, iv. 268 and 372, *Aen.* x. 141), and by Christian-Latin poets in imitation of Vergil (e.g. Arator, *Ad Flor.* 7 and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 1. 25). The scansion implies that the final syllable of *sacra* must here be lengthened *ob caesuram*.

ii. 276 *angelicos coetus*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 725 ('*angelicos* caelo *coetus* inferre videret') and xci. 2. 5 ('*angelicos coetus* noctis qui tempora servant'); cf. also above, i. 583. *pia gaudia*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxiii. 6 ('ista luce tamen nobis *pia gaudia* laetum'), xxvii. 143 ('comparibus uotis hodie *pia gaudia* fundant').

ii. 283 *caelesti luce*: cf. above, note to ii. 94. *luce nitentem*: cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *De laude sanctae crucis*, fig. ix. 37 ('post quoque regna Dei et supera iam *luce*

nitentes') and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1023 ('singula quae novit discernere *luce nitente*').

ii. 289 *mortis ... lege*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* vi. 75 ('*exosae qui mortis lege remissa*'), Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 333 ('*sollicitant animas mortis iam lege quietas*'). *lege soluti*: cf. Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* xvii. 36 ('*de mortis nullus lege solutus adest*'). The rare adjective *praedirus* was used by Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1882 ('*ut praedira necis pariter tormenta tulerunt*'), Alcuin, *Carm.* lxii. 134 ('*principium sceleris praedira superbia constat*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* iv. 363 ('*trita domat ventris praedirum et pota dolorem*').

ii. 304 The context makes it clear that *reuelatus* here must be the acc. pl. of a fourth-declension noun *reuelatus* (-ūs) unattested in Classical Latin (so *OLD*; *TLL* has not reached this point of the alphabet); however, the word is attested in a chapter-heading of one Merovingian saint's Life: the *Vita Nivardi episcopi Remensis* [*BHL* 6243], c. 7 (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. v. 160–171, at 164).

ii. 306–308 The same metrical structure (DSSS) is repeated in three successive lines.

ii. 308 The noun *liba* (f.), 'offering', is non-classical, but is attested from Carolingian Latin onwards, as, for example, in John Scottus Eriugena, *Carm.* vii. 1. 1 ('*hanc libam sacro Graecorum nectare fartam*').

ii. 311 *corde dolorem*: Vergil, *Aen.* i. 209 ('*spem uultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem*'), and frequently thereafter as a hexameter cadence, notably in Juvenecus, *Euangelia* i. 410 and iv. 369; see *HexLexikon* i. 447–448.

ii. 312–314 The same metrical structure (SDSS) is repeated in three successive lines.

ii. 314 *dignus honore*: see above, note to ii. 244.

ii. 316 *perfidus ille*: a phrase used by Vergil, *Ecl.* viii. 92 and *Aen.* iv. 421, and thence in later verse, notably Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 454, Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 7–8, Alcuin, *Carm.* lviii. 27, xc. 14. 2, etc.

ii. 317 *subreptor*: an extremely rare word that is first attested in Hilduin's ninth-century contemporaries: Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali* ii. 19: 'honora-

tores Dei videri velint, dehonoratores tamen, immo divini dati *subreptores*' (PL cvi. 204) and Sedulius Scottus, *In euangelium Matthaei* i. 1. 4: 'nec quicquam a Domino *subreptor* impetrat, quia non sunt religionis eius uerba, sed fraudis' (*Sedulius Scottus: Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus*, ed. B. Löfstedt, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1989–1991), I, p. 114).

ii. 319 *pia uota rogauit*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 4. 4 ('quod *pia uota rogant*'), xi. 7. 4 ('per *pia uota rogat*').

ii. 334 *excuitur somni ... quiete*: cf. Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 387 ('*excuitur somno iuuenis, uidet ipse puellam*') and Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* iv. 122 ('*excuitur trepidus mox e somno Avitianus*'); and cf. Dracontius, *Orestes* 552 ('*dixerat haec, gemitus somni rupere quietem*').

ii. 335 *uota precando*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* x. 70. 40 ('cui uos in templis *uota precando* datis').

ii. 337–338 The transmitted text here is problematical: line 337 is a foot short, and the sense of *tantus* in 338 is wholly inappropriate in the context; cf. the corresponding passage in the prose *passio*: 'tristabatur enim et grauabatur ultra modum' (above, p. 264). In light of the prose text, I have supplied *ultra* at the beginning of line 337, and emended *tantus* to *tristis*.

ii. 340 *flaminis aura*: Theodulf, *Carm.* ii. 52 ('fervorem falsi *flaminis aura* fugat').

ii. 341 *directo tramite*: an Aldhelmian expression: *Carmen de virginitate* 645 ('quattuor infidens *directo tramite* sulcos'), 872 ('quoque modo properet *directo tramite* sanctus'), and *Enigm.* lix. 3 ('pergo per albentes *directo tramite* campos'); cf. *HexLexikon* ii. 88, and above, i. 469.

ii. 342 *dogmate peruerso*: cf. above, note to ii. 90.

ii. 343 *precibus pulsare Tonantem*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 31 ('sed potius nitar *precibus pulsare Tonantem*') and Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 96 ('celsithronum didicit *precibus pulsare Tonantem*').

ii. 345 *praesentem ... uitam*: Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 170 ('egregie faceret *praesentem* temnere *uitam*').

ii. 353 *clara ... lampade*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 8. 9 ('denique si sensus clara pro lampade fulget').

ii. 355 *ante tribunal*: a common hexametrical cadence (usually referring to the Last Judgement): Juvencus, *Euang.* iv. 590; Prudentius, *Liber peristephanon* xi. 77; Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 139; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* i. 177 and iv. 609; Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 62; Alcuin, *Carm.* li. 6. 5, etc.; see *HexLexikon* i. 104–105.

ii. 363–365 The same metrical structure (DSDS) is repeated in three successive lines.

ii. 370 *dentibus angues*: Dracontius, *Romulea* x. 466 ('sibila uipereis uibrant sub dentibus angues').

ii. 372 *aethereo ab igne perire*: cf. Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* ii. 28 ('carneus aethereo ignis ab igne perit').

ii. 373 *caecas ... cauernas*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* v. 87 ('dignatur caecas inclusum habitare cauernas').

ii. 377 *ingenti strepitu*: cf. *Aetna* 500 ('uoluitur ingenti strepitu praecepsque sonanti').

ii. 384 *feritas ... dira*: cf. Iuvenal, *Sat.* xv. 32 ('dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit aeuo').

ii. 385 *tormenta luebant*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1873 ('O quam dura necis graviter tormenta luebant').

ii. 399 *angelicusque chorus*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* iii. 411 ('angelicusque chorus properabat ad ora frequenter').

ii. 402 *dextram porrexit*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 431 ('spreuit et audacem porrexit in aurea dextram').

ii. 403 *crebro uerbere*. For *uerbere crebro* as a hexameter cadence, see Statius, *Theb.* v. 232 and ix. 353, and Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 430.

ii. 413 *aeternae causa salutis*. For *causa salutis* as a hexameter cadence, see Lucretius, *De rerum natura* iii. 324 and 348, and later in Paulus Diaconus, *Carm.* xxi. 1 and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 355 and 778. *aeternae salutis*: Alcuin, *Carm.* xxxvii. 15 ('aut tractare sacra *aeternae* precepta salutis').

ii. 419 *caeco ... antro*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* iv. 458 ('*caecisque* abscondit in *antris*') and Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 876 ('*caecoque* reuoluitur *antro*').

ii. 428 The metre of this line as transmitted is suspect, not only for the grotesque hiatus between *sapientiae* and *infit*, but especially for the treatment of the final *-ae* of *sapientiae* as short. I emend *infit* to *dicit* to remove the hiatus, and emend the genitive *sapientiae* to *sapientia* (nom.), thus taking *sapientia* as the subject of *dicit*, as in the original Greek of the pseudo-Dionysius (CD ii. 185).

ii. 430 *sermone diserto*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 455 ('Cecropidae, quos fama canit *sermone diserto*').

ii. 430–432 The same metrical structure (SDDS) is repeated in three successive lines.

ii. 453 *sententia fallere*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* x. 608 ('nec te *sententia fallit*') and Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudberti* 901 ('nec me *sententia fallit*'); and cf. below, iii. 129.

ii. 459 *erroris iniqui*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 408 ('qui postquam populos ruptis *erroris iniqui*').

ii. 465 *patriae caelestis amorem*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1014 ('qui liquerat patriam *patriae caelestis amore*').

ii. 466 The line as transmitted contains too many feet, and it is not immediately clear what word(s) should be removed, since the presence of *uitae* is fixed by its complement *perennis*, and that of *decus* by *inmortale*. One solution would be to move *dat* to the beginning of the line (replacing *et*) and to remove the word *piis* altogether, as follows: 'dat *uitae decus inmortale scire perennis*'; but this solution has the defect of lengthening the short final *-e* of *inmortale* (lengthening of short final syllables at the caesura (*productio ob caesuram*); but this metrical fault/licence is attested elsewhere in Hilduin's poem: see above, p. 162). *decus inmortale*: Statius, *Thebaid* viii. 759 ('uenerat et misero *decus inmortale* ferebat') and Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* ii. 757 ('virtutis pretium *decus inmortale* secuto'); cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* praef. ii. 18 (*inmortale*

decus in the first two and a half feet of the hexameter, a placement repeated in Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 841, Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxv. 1. 15, etc.). In view of this placement, one wonders if the line should be emended so as to read: ‘inmortale decus uitae dat scire perennis’, ‘he grants (the possibility) to know the immortal glory of eternal life’.

ii. 468 *iter salutis*: Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 114 (‘oremus dignetur *iter* donare *salutis*’).

ii. 469 *mystica dona*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 46 (‘qua puerum stella duce *mystica dona* ferentes’); Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 166 (‘ergo ubi flumineum post *mystica dona* lauacrum’); and Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 89 (‘consule signa maris, quae *mystica dona* susurrant’).

ii. 470 *superant ... sensus*: Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 92 (‘quae *superant sensus* cunctorum et dicta uirorum’). *pondere sensus*: Alcimius Avitus, *Poema* i. 149 (‘iecit et immisso tardauit *pondere sensus*’).

ii. 473 *Pelasgis*: used frequently in the final foot of a hexameter by Statius (*Thebaid* iv. 785, vii. 247, viii. 327, ix. 396, x. 330, x. 432, x. 451), and thence by later Classical Latin poets (but not, apparently, by Christian-Latin poets).

Book iii

iii. 1–5 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin’s prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iii. 1 *Eloquium uocale*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* vii. 19 (‘*Eloquium uocale* modis laurumque momordit’).

iii. 3 *roseos ... triumphos*: cf. Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 146 (‘atque inter *roseis* splendentia castra *triumphis*’).

iii. 4 *ab integro ... ordo*: Vergil, *Ecl.* iv. 5 (‘magnus *ab integro* saeculorum nascitur *ordo*’).

iii. 5 *martyris ... clarescit passio mundo*: cf. Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 4. 415 (‘*martyris* invicti Iuliani gloria magna / *clarescat mundo* cunctisque fidelibus illud’).

iii. 6 *occiduis ... oris*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 367 ('nam puer *occiduis* Gallorum aduectus ab *oris*'), and Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* iv. 193 ('nunc currum *occiduis* retro convertit ab *oris*'); and cf. below, iii. 148 (*occiduas ... oras*).

iii. 7 *testificans Christum*: Act. xviii. 5 ('instabat verbo Paulus *testificans* Iudaeis esse *Christum* Iesum'). *Romano ... in orbe*: Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum* [Ps. lix]: 'Quando Christianum esse *in orbe Romano* nunc gloria est' (CCSL xcvi. 534).

iii. 11 *pietate beatus*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* vii. 26 ('magna salus hominum, celsa *pietate beatus*').

iii. 14 *mentis ... amore*: cf. Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* i. 1. 26 ('summo sed *mentis amore*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lix. 5 ('corpore divisos sed *mentis amore* ligatos').

iii. 15 *fidei radice ... plantata*: Ambrose, *Exameron* iii. 12. 50: 'plebs ecclesiae, quae uelut quadam *fidei radice plantatur*' (CSEL xxxii/1. 92).

iii. 16 *ore manique*: Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 451 ('conditor et legum, celeberrimus *ore manique*'), Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1234 ('*ore manique* simul donorum largus utrisque'), and Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* xciii. 3 ('*ore manique* simul populo huic qui praefuit apte'); and see iv. 113 ('*ore manique* simul').

iii. 18 *spargat ubique*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 23a. 2 ('purus et igniferum *spargit ubique* iubar'), and Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudberti* 588 ('dona sacer caelestia *spargit ubique* salutis').

iii. 24 St Paul in the Troad: see Act. xvi. 8–11, II Cor. ii. 12 (and note that St Paul's mission in the Troad is not mentioned in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*). *magnus ... doctor*: Alcuin, *Carm.* lxii. 83 ('*doctor* erit *magnus*, factis qui quod docet, implet').

iii. 29 *caeco carcere*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 734 ('dispiciunt clausae tenebris et *carcere caeco*'), and Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 116 ('errantesque animae flammis in *carcere caeco*').

iii. 30 *accelerat gressum*: cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 349 ('*accelera gressum*, post te velocius ibo').

iii. 32 *spargens ... semina uerbi*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 365 ('da semina uerbi'); Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 7. 2 ('spargere sed temptans divini semina uerbi'), lxxxix. 5. 3 ('magnificus doctor uerbi qui semina sparsit').

iii. 33 *Romani nominis*: cf. Ovid, *Tristia* ii. 221 ('non ea te moles Romani nominis urget'), and Claudian, *Carm. maiora* vii [*In Hon. IV. cons.*]. 59 ('nulla relicta foret Romani nominis umbra').

iii. 35 *Domini pia iussa*: the phrase *pia iussa* is a cliché in Christian-Latin verse: Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 424 ('tunc alios pariter monitor *pia iussa* frequentet'), and Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 233 ('*pia iussa* sequendo'); cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 660 ('audeo quocirca numquam *pia iussa* magistri') and 864 ('omnibus in gestis sequitur *pia iussa* patroni'). The entire phrase, *Domini pia iussa*, is used by Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* ii. 108 ('omnia mox linquunt, *Domini pia iussa* secuntur'). *iussa ministrat*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* viii. 1. 33 ('aulae celsa regens quondam modo *iussa ministrat*').

iii. 37 *doctus in orbe*: Alcuin, *Carm.* xliii. 4 ('dignus in urbe sacra, *doctus in orbe* procul').

iii. 39–41 The same metrical structure (SDSS) is repeated in three successive lines.

iii. 40 *per saecula polles*: cf. Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* ii. 33 ('nunc valeas, vigeas meritis *per saecula pollens*').

iii. 41 *casto succensus amore*: for the phrase *casto ... amore*, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 224 ('*casto* uinxit *amore* deum'), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxv. 1 ('concordes animae *casto* sociantur *amore*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xx. 30 ('videt *casto* in *amore* animos'). The phrase *succensus amore* was used by Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 496 ('ipse etiam exinde laudis *succensus amore*'), whence it is found in Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1727 ('spurco *succensus amore*') and 1846 ('pravo *succensus amore*').

iii. 42 *sumere palmam*: cf. Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* vii. 4 ('aeternamque simul faciat te *sumere palmam*').

iii. 47 *rabies uesana*: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* v. 190 ('spumea tunc primum *rabies uesana* per ora'), and Juvenecus, *Euang.* i. 404 ('*rabies uesana* uenenit'), as well as Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* v. 125 ('quos Romae infausti *rabies insana* Neronis'); note that Hilduin, like Florus, applies the phrase to Nero.

iii. 49 *totoque ... saeuiret in orbe*: Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* i. 253 ('sed cum funestus toto saeuiret in orbe').

iii. 51–52 The simile of the cooking-pot was elaborated from the single verb *ebullisset* in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii* (c. 17).

iii. 59 *ense ... cruento*: Dracontius, *Romulea* v. 190 ('et prostratus inops armabitur ense cruento').

iii. 61 *martyrii rosea ... corona*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 26. 95 ('flore puellarum rosea stipante corona'), and Theodulf, *Carm.* lxxv. 97 ('Christus martyrii splendens fulgore corona').

iii. 62 *caeli maxima regna*: for the phrase *maxima regna*, cf. Propertius, *Eleg.* iv. 1. 10 ('unus erat fratrum maxima regna focus') and Ermoldus Nigellus, *In laudem Pippini regis* ii. 157 ('hic virtute Dei subiecit maxima regna'); for *caeli ... regna*, cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 315 ('inueniam, caeli fulgens cum regna capessam'); Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 468 ('et super astra polus uel caeli regna tenebant'); Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1787 ('mores ob castos et caeli regna lucranda'), 2450 ('virginibus Christi quae caeli regna negabunt'), Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudberti* 308 ('caeli per regna uocandis'), etc.

iii. 63 *gaudia uitae*: the phrase is used as a hexameter cadence by Cato, *Disticha* ii. 3. 2, iv. 17. 2; Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* ii. 908; Prosper, *Epigr.* xxxvii. 1; Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1032, ix. 127; Theodulf, *Carm.* i. 133; etc.; and see *HexLexikon* ii. 405–407.

iii. 66 *demersit Auerno*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 126 ('facilis descensus Auerno'); Ovid, *Amores* iii. 9. 27 ('nigro summersit Auerno'), and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 16. 19 ('quae submergit Auerno').

iii. 67 *Vltrices flammas*: Ambrose, *Hymn.* xiv. 28 ('flammas et vltrices parat'). *limite nullo* (as a hexameter cadence): Claudian, *Carm. maiora* iii [In Rufinum i]. 380 ('tum limite nullo'); cf. *HexLexikon* iii. 204.

iii. 73 *digno susceptus honore*: Candidus of Fulda, *Vita Aegili* xiv. 12 ('condigno etiam susceptus honore') and Waltharius 1447 ('magno susceptus honore'); cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* iv. 319 ('sed Deus ut digno iustis celebretur honore') and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1070 ('digno conduntur honore'); etc.

iii. 75 *deuinctus amore*: Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 394 ('tum pater aeterno fatur *deuinctus amore*'); cf. above, note to ii. 56.

iii. 83 *pacis amore*: as a hexameter cadence, the phrase is used only by Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* iv. 5; but cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* vi. 2. 40 ('hos modo securos *pacis amore* foues'), Alcuin, *Carm.* lxix. 204 ('O lector si tu *pacis amore* legis'), and *HexLexikon* iv. 105.

iii. 84 *Deus omnipotens*: the phrase is used in these same metrical feet by Statius, *Achilleis* i. 546, and is then used as a metrical cliché by Christian-Latin poets: Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 726 and *Contra Symmachum* ii. 36; Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxii. 29; Cyprianus Gallus, *Numeri* 535; Prosper, *Epigr.* xxxix. 5, xlv. 1; Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 531, ii. 198 and 693, iii. 125, *Satisfactio* 55; Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 185; Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 5. 12, v. 13. 5, x. 11. 22; Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1606, 1678, 2107; Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 578; and see *HexLexikon* ii. 55–57, as well as below, iv. 245 (and note). *lampade solis*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 602 ('sed tamen occidua cernetis *lampade solis*').

iii. 85 *mundi pro crimine*: Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* xix. 2 ('sumpserrat apta sibi *mundi pro crimine* membra').

iii. 90 *Gallicus axis*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* viii. 116 ('horrida vitanda est Hispania, *Gallicus axis*').

iii. 92 *ariete*: the placement and scansion of *ariete* here (as a trisyllable, with long first syllable and consonantal i), is modelled on Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 492 ('custodes sufferre ualent; labat *ariete* crebro'); cf. vii. 175 and xii. 706 ('*ariete* caeso' and '*ariete* muros', respectively).

iii. 93 *sub Marte cateruas*: Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 484 ('inter et ensiferas saeuo *sub Marte cateruas*'); and cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 410 ('duro *sub Marte* cadentum').

iii. 96 *congrua uota*: cf. Claudian, *Carm. maiora* x [Hon. nupt.] praef. 12 ('cum teneris nossent *congrua uota* modis') and Theodulf, *Carm.* iv. 9 ('*congrua* pro manuum his sint gestis *vota* suarum').

iii. 97–101 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iii. 103 *flauescat ... messis*: cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* iv. 28 ('*molli paulatim flauescet campus arista*') and Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 31 ('*sic uiridis flauescit ager sine semine iacto*'). *aestiuo ... sidere*: a phrase which occurs uniquely in Ovid, *Halieutica* 117 ('*ac numquam aestiuo conspectus sidere glaucus*').

iii. 105 *fidei pietate redundans*: a combination of two phrases taken from earlier and contemporary poets; for *fidei pietate*, cf. Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* v. 126 ('*ecclesiae claros fidei pietate magistros*'), xxviii. 153 ('*qui tamen hunc vera fidei pietate requirunt*'), and above, ii. 221; for *pietate redundans*, cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 260 ('*sed qui cuncta fouet plena pietate redundans*') and Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* iii. 122 ('*hanc ille in miseros larga pietate redundans*') and xii. 1. 15 ('*in Christi virtute potens, pietate redundans*').

iii. 106 *Christi uirtute*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 292 ('*quas in carne manens Christi uirtute gerebat*'); Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 1047 ('*soluor morte mea, Christi uirtute resurgo*'); and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xxv. 1. 7 ('*hanc sacer adventus Christi uirtute potenti*'); and cf. *HexLexikon* i. 337.

iii. 107 *in Christi nomine*: Einhard, *Passio SS. Marcellini et Petri* xli. 1 ('*etenim cernebant cuncti quod in Christi nomine*'); and cf. below, iii. 185.

iii. 108 *recto ... tramite*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 846 ('*ut populum Domini vadentem tramite recto*') and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1028 ('*ipse per angustam quas recto tramite callem*').

iii. 109 *campi doctor*: the phrase is also used at ii. 96 and iv. 171. For the form *campi doctor* (two words) in lieu of the transmitted *campidoctor*, see above, note to ii. 96.

iii. 110 *Christi pietate magistro*: cf. Statius, *Achilleis* i. 105 ('*pectore consilia et sollers pietate magistra*'); Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 546 ('*quos doceat factura Dei pietate magistra*'); Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 1. 21 ('*partitus cum uentre uices pietate magistra*'); Alcuin, *Carm.* xxi. 7 ('*omnibus es mitis sancta pietate magistra*'); and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xvii. 3 ('*qui geris ecce uicem Christi pietate magistra*').

iii. 112 *diuina potestas*: a common hexameter cadence in Christian and early medieval Latin poetry: cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* iii. 681; Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 822; [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 497 and 1527; and *HexLexikon* ii. 106.

iii. 113 *soluendi ... ius atque ligandi*: the ultimate source of this expression is Matt. xvi. 19 ('quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis; et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum in caelis'); see above, p. 272 n. 221.

iii. 117 *armis contendere*: a prosaic expression (cf. Sallust, *De bello Iugurthino* xiii. 3 and Caesar, *Comm. belli Gallici* ii. 13. 2); for an adaptation in verse, cf. perhaps Statius, *Achilleis* i. 472 ('coniliisque armisque uigil contendat Vlixes').

iii. 118 *uerbi pia dona*: cf. Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 38 ('uerbi tua dona canentis') as well as Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 309 ('ut iam de tumulis agerent pia dona beati'); Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 948 ('Domino pia dona referto'), *Numeri* 127 ('pia dona ferentes'), Bede, *Vita metrica de S. Cudbercti* 797 ('Domini pia dona canebant'), Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 441 ('pia dona salutis'), etc.

iii. 119 *uulgatus ubique*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 287 ('signorum celebri fama est uulgatus ubique').

iii. 121 *Euge serue bone*: quoted from Matt. xxv. 21, as in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 19 (above, p. 274 with n. 222).

iii. 124 *Intra ... Domini ... ad gaudia magni*: quoted once again from Matt. xxv. 21 via the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*; but cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 2. 27 ('ecce tui Domini modo gaudia laetior intra') and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxix. 2. 10 ('intra nunc Domini gaudia sancta tui').

iii. 126 *bella paratus*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Judices* 430 ('sed prius alloquio restinguere bella paratus').

iii. 128 *perfida tela*: cf. Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 226 ('simplex nobilitas, perfida tela caue').

iii. 129 *nec te sententia fallit*: Vergil, *Aen.* x. 608 ('ut rebare, Venus (nec te sententia fallit)'), and Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 901 ('nec me sententia fallit'); cf. also above, ii. 453.

iii. 130 *duro ... labori*: cf. Claudian, *Carm. maiora* iii [*In Rufinum* i]. 326 ('mens duro numquam cessura labori').

iii. 132 *uerbi ... ministros*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1041 ('presbyteros in eis statuens uerbique ministros').

- iii. 133** *sacrae ... legis*: Alcuin, *Carm.* xciv. 1 ('hic sedeant *sacrae* scribentes *famina legis*').
- iii. 134** *paucis affatur*: Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 71 ('ardet in arma magis *paucisque affatur* Amatam').
- iii. 139** *miles ... esto*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* viii. 79 ('esto bonus *miles*, tutor bonus, arbiter idem').
- iii. 143** *pacis compage ligatis*: Prosper, *Epigr.* xxxvi. 1 ('cum lapides uiui *pacis compage ligantur*').
- iii. 146** *egregius ... dux*: cf. Statius, *Theb.* viii. 672 ('*egregius dux* ille mihi') and Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* ii. 63 ('qua rex *egregius* Karolus *dux*que inclitus').
- iii. 148** *in occiduas ... oras*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 254 ('nunc oritur nunc *occiduas* dimissus *in oras*'); and cf. above, iii. 6 (*occiduis ... oris*).
- iii. 154** *lumen ... infundere*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. app.* iii. 93 ('parcere subiectis, tenebris *infundere lumen*'). *populis ... caecis*: cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 6 ('certantes *populi caeca* iam nocte ferebant') and Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 34. 25 ('et quos *caeca* prius *populos* caligo tenebat').
- iii. 160** *constanti pectore*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* vi. 93 ('pertulit Ionium *constanti pectore* quamuis'); Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 145 ('quique die quadam *constanti pectore* regem') and 242 ('alloquitur propriam *constanti pectore* turmam').
- iii. 161** *sceptra uigere*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2717 ('namque per invidiam letalia *sceptra uigebant*').
- iii. 163** *fideique calore*: cf. Theodulf, *Carm.* xix. 30 ('quae *fidei* nuda *calore* inerant').
- iii. 164–167** an epic simile, introduced by *ceu*, followed by the Vergilian transition-formula *Haud secus* (iii. 168).
- iii. 165** *hostis et aduersi*: cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 620 ('*hostis* in *aduersa* consistet fronte duelli') and Theodulf, *Carm.* xxxvii. 11. 3 ('*hostis aduersi* tolerando bella').

iii. 166 *uenientia tela*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* iii. 289 ('lubrica pinnigero *uenientia tela* uolatu').

iii. 167 *clara ... trophaea*: Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 34. 50 ('*trophea* concessit *clara* suo famulo') and Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* xxiv. 18 ('semper in aeternum *clara trophea* feret').

iii. 168 *Haud secus*: a Vergilian transition-formula (*Aen.* ii. 283, iii. 236, iv. 447, viii. 414, xi. 456 and 814, xii. 9 and 124), etc.; it is also used by Hilduin at i. 192.

iii. 169 *duce ... Christo*: a formula frequent in Christian-Latin poetry: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xii. 29 and xxi. 89; Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 242; Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 730; Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxxxiv. 11; etc.

iii. 173 *uirtutum signis*: *Miracula S. Nyniae* 451 ('*uirtutum signis*, tumulo de claruit orbi').

iii. 178 *appeteret*: the transmitted infinitive *appetere* (which would have to be understood as an historic infinitive) will not scan in this position, since its final syllable is naturally short; I have therefore emended to *appeteret*.

iii. 182 *disquerere*: a rare word (normally spelled *disquirere*) used in the Vulgate (11 Macc. ii. 31) and patristic authors such as Arnobius and Augustine. It is only rarely found in verse, but is used on several occasions by Cyprianus Gallus (*Gen.* 940, 1148, 1260), and esp. *Ex.* 131 ('per motus nouitate rei *disquerere* gaudet'), where it is used in the same metrical feet as here in Hilduin. Hilduin probably took the form from Cyprianus Gallus.

iii. 184 *atritus membra*: note Hilduin's use of the so-called *accusativus graecus* here (lit. 'worn down with respect to his limbs'). On the *accusativus graecus* as a stylistic embellishment used by Latin poets from Vergil onwards (e.g. *Aen.* i. 561, describing Dido: *vultum demissa*, 'lowered with respect to her face', i.e. with lowered eyes), see the discussion of Jansen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', pp. 107–109, and Maurach, *Lateinische Dichtersprache*, pp. 53–55. The same device is employed by Hilduin below, iv. 192 (*artati membra catenis*). *crebris flagellis*: Corippus, *Iohannis* vi. 18 ('*Ilia* cornipedum, *crebris montana flagellis*').

iii. 185 *in Christi nomine*: cf. above, iii. 107, and note.

- iii. 186 *mortis discrimine*: Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* i. 317 ('audax commissum *mortis discrimine* pendet').
- iii. 187 *multum*: for Hilduin's use of an adjective such as *multum* as an adverb, cf. above, note to ii. 252 (*plurima*), and iv. 511 (*clarum*).
- iii. 188 *sedes ... gratissima*: cf. Ermoldus, *In honorem Hludowici* ii. 591 ('cornigeris quondam *sedes gratissima* cervis').
- iii. 191 *laeta iuventus*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 394–395 ('omnisque *iuventus* / *laeta* facit'), and Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 80. 4 ('exultat victrix: palmam date, *laeta iuventus*').
- iii. 197 *celsa ... moenia*: Ovid, *Fasti* iii. 92 ('factaque Telegoni *moenia celsa* manu'), and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* x. 9. 21 ('perducor Treuerum qua *moenia celsa* patescunt').
- iii. 203 *lorica fidei*: cf. Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 18. 13–14 ('protegis scuto *fidei* tuosque / macte *lorica* galeaque Christi').
- iii. 210 *Vir praestantissime*: the expression *uir praestantissimus* is used frequently in speeches by Cicero (*In Pisonem* lxiv, *Orationes Philippicae* xi. 19, *Pro Sestio* lxxxix, etc.), but is otherwise rare (it occurs nowhere else in Latin verse).
- iii. 211 *agmina plebis*: a phrase used as a hexameter cadence by Cyprianus Gallus, *Numeri* 128 and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1612.
- iii. 212 *baptismi dona*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 413 ('dum populi passim *baptismi dona* capessunt').
- iii. 213 *inque dies*: a formula used in the first foot of a hexameter by Vergil (*Georg.* iii. 553), and thence by Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 246 and 692.
- iii. 217 *diuini nominis*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 372 ('toto corde fidem *diuini nominis* hausit') and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 332 ('per quam religio *diuini nominis* orbi').
- iii. 220 *diuini ... doni*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xviii. 398 ('ille inopina uidens *diuini insignia doni*').

iii. 222 *sequestro*: Hilduin awkwardly construes the verb *sequestro*, 'to commit, entrust' with direct object (*te*), rather than with dative as indirect object; cf. Prudentius, *Liber cathemerinon* x. 133 ('tibi [*scil. terrae*] *membra sequestro*'), where the indirect object is correctly construed in the dative.

iii. 224 *placido ... ore*: a Vergilian speech-formula (*Aen.* vii. 194, xi. 251) which recurs as a virtual cliché in later poets, including Juvencus, *Euang.* ii. 365, Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xv. 121, Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 116, etc.; cf. *HexLexikon* iv. 265.

iii. 226 *sator caeli*: cf. Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* iii, met. ix. 2 ('*terrarum caelique sator*').

iii. 227 *ab arce salutis*: Alcuin, *Carm.* lix. 24 ('*depellat ab arce salutis*').

iii. 228 *uirginis intactae ... in aluo*: Prosper, *Epigr.* lxvi. 9 ('*quis genitus puer est intactae Virginis aluo*'); Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 300 ('*natusque Dei de uirginis aluo*') and Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1916 ('*uirginis intactae voluit monstrare triumphos*').

iii. 232 *fundare domum*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 689 ('*inque petra fundare domum et de te bibire undam*'). *usibus aptam*: Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 452 ('*namque suis casulam structurus ibi usibus aptam*').

iii. 234 *sacri baptismatis unda*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 744 ('*semper inest: iuuat ecclesiam baptismatis unda*') and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm. app.* v. 6. 6 ('*fratres quos sacri baptismatis unda lotavit*').

iii. 236 *Quid referam*: a speech-formula used in this position in the hexameter by Ovid (*Met.* vii. 734) and Iuvenal (*Sat.* i. 45), and thence in early medieval poets such as Aldhelm (*Carmen de uirginitate* 2560), Bede (*Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 449), Theodulf (*Carm.* xxviii. 39 and xxxvi. 27) and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1017.

iii. 240 *eripiantur ... de morte*: cf. Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 431 ('*eripitur de morte truci sine crimine uisus*'). *saeua de morte*: Statius, *Theb.* xii. 456 ('*ambitus saeua de morte animosaque leti*'); cf. Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 826 ('*saeua seu morte grauatum*'). *de morte redempti*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* ii. 779 ('*euocat atque gregem propria de morte redempti*').

iii. 241 *hostis et antiqui*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxix. 28. 2 (*'hostis antiqui superantis Adam'*) and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxxxiii. 3. 3 (*'hostis antiqui trucis atque cosmi'*). *compede uincti*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* x. 311 (*'neque mundi compede uinctos'*); Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 493 (*'immensaue compede uincti'*); and Prosper, *Epigr.* lxvi. 15 (*'et mortis compede uinctis'*). See also below, iii. 304.

iii. 242 *unda lauacri*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ix. 5. 9 (*'te ueneranda tamen mox abluit unda lauacri'*).

iii. 243 *fuso sanguine Christi*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 48 (*'sufficerent magni fuso pro sanguine Christi'*); and cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 192 (*'quid Christi sanguine fuso'*). The hexameter cadence *sanguine fuso* is frequent in Classical Latin verse (e.g. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* ii. 158, ii. 439, iv. 278, vi. 250, vi. 310; Statius, *Theb.* ii. 87), and thereafter in Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 819 and *Leuiticus* 108; Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 152; Arator (as above); and Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1840 and 2761; and cf. *HexLexikon* v. 33–34, and below, iv. 705. For the hexameter cadence *sanguine Christi*, see Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xix. 419; Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 119; and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* viii. 3. 181.

iii. 245 *condere gazas*: Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 697 (*'aeternas animo iam condere gazas'*).

iii. 246 *deuota ... mente*: a cliché in Christian-Latin poetry, beginning with Damasus (*Epigr.* lxxxiv. 2), and then in Aldhelm (*Carmen de uirginitate* 122, 234, 1314, 1665, 2049, 2565), Bede (*Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 451), Alcuin (*Carm.* i. 1516), etc.; see *HexLexikon* ii. 50–51.

iii. 247 *His ita decursis*: a transition-formula used by [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 722 (*'His ita decursis devoto pectore Gunzo'*).

iii. 249 *nouus aduena*: Statius, *Theb.* xii. 430 (*'tremuere rogi et nouus aduena busto'*); and cf. below, iii. 344.

iii. 251 *dextra Dei*: [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1458 (*'dextra Dei potius te colligat atque beatis'*). *magno sub numine*: *Anthologia Latina* no. 665, line 5 (*'condita Mauortis magno sub numine Roma'*).

iii. 254 *ordine sacros*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* iii. 155 (*'hunc protinus ordine sacro'*); Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* vi. 1a. 27 (*'datus est quibus*

ordine sacro); Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1520 ('ergo ministrator clarissimus *ordine sacro*'); and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 981 ('*talia tractantes ignorant ordine sacro*').

iii. 256 *cultu ... profano*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* i. 237 ('*dum putat inde uehi cultu simulacra profano*').

iii. 257 *populique fauore*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 114 ('*populi procerumque fauore receptus*').

iii. 261 *moderator et auctor*: Paulinus of Aquileia, *Carm.* i. 3 ('*teque, sacer flamen, rerum moderator et auctor*').

iii. 262 *prudenti fame*: *Miracula S. Nyniae* 58 ('*et patrias fines prudenti fame pernix*').

iii. 266 *iudex ... districtus*: a prosaic expression, apparently coined by Gregory the Great, who uses it frequently (30×) in his *Moralia in Iob*; thereafter it recurs in authors such as Isidore and Bede. For adaptations in verse, cf. Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 9 ('*perpetuam reis districti iudicis iram*'), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 184 ('*iudicis adventu districti terribilisque*').

iii. 267 *fauce draconis*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1308 ('*interea veteris ructantur fauce draconis*'), and Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* i. 320 ('*qui genus humanum rapuit de fauce draconis*').

iii. 271 *caelesti ... regno*: Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxv. 1. 20 ('*caelesti in regno cernere semper eum*'). The phrase *regnum ... caeleste* (or, in the plural, *caelestia regna*) is, however, very frequent in Christian-Latin poets, from Juvencus and Paulinus of Nola onwards; see *HexLexikon* i. 236–238.

iii. 273 *gentes ... rebelles*: Cyprrianus Gallus, *Numeri* 706 ('*diriget hic gentes diuersa in parte rebelles*').

iii. 274 *uerbi semine*: the hexameter cadence *semine uerbi* is very frequent in Christian-Latin poets: Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* xv. 20, xxv. 171), Arator (*Historia apostolica* ii. 368 and 838), Aldhelm (*Carmen de virginitate* 528), etc.; see *HexLexikon* v. 91–92.

iii. 276 *turaferentes*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* xi. 577 ('*superis pia tura ferebat*') and Statius, *Theb.* xi. 236 ('*libataque tura ferebat*').

iii. 278–280 The syntax of these clauses is tangled and barely comprehensible. I take it to mean that the pagan priests (*pontifices*) tried to provoke curses (*uota*) against the people of Dionysius, but were hesitant in doing so lest the ever-growing number of Christians would be driven to wage war against *them* (*sibimet*), the pagan priests; but the words *idque parum plures ... nisi forte citarent* are opaque at best.

iii. 282 *terrere minis*: Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 40 ('neu belli *terrere minis*').

iii. 283 *lumine cernunt*: cf. Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 854 ('perspicuo Dominum cum *lumine cernit*'), and Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 2. 239 ('Hethere depulsis madefacto *lumine cernunt*'); cf. above, i. 456 (*lumine cernit*).

iii. 284 *gratia caelestis*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 243 ('fecit adoptiuos *caelestis gratia* natos'); Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1981 ('in qua fundavit *caelestis gratia* mentem'); and Alcuin, *Carm.* cvii. 2. 10 ('ut conservet eum *caelestis gratia* semper'); cf. also *HexLexikon* ii. 457.

iii. 285 *nimio terrore*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1609 ('et blandis iuvenem *nimio terrore* cadentem'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xxxviii. 29 ('caetera sed *nimio terrore* pericla furenti').

iii. 292 *deflexa ceruice*: cf. Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 282 ('tunc caput orantis *flexa ceruice* resectum'); Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1023 ('atque simul *flexa* Dominum *ceruice* poposcit'); and Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 720 ('nam quidam *flexa* placidi *ceruice* videntur'); cf. below, iv. 37 (*flexa ... ceruice*).

iii. 294 *tumidos ... fastus*: Ovid, *Ars amatoria* i. 715 ('si tamen a precibus *tumidos* accedere *fastus*'), and Theodulf, *Carm.* xxviii. 509 ('aspice ne vitiet *tumidus* praecordia *fastus*').

iii. 295 *dulce iugum Christi*: for the phrase *dulce iugum*, cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xii. 32 ('illic *dulce iugum*, leue onus blandumque feremus'), Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 11. 21 ('cuius *dulce iugum* nullus genuisse fatetur'), and Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 79. 23 ('cuius *dulce iugum*, cuius miseratio suavis'); for *iugum Christi*, cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xv. 21 ('te releuante *iugum Christi*'). *contrito corde*: Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* i. 18. 22 ('*corde contrito*, hilaroque vultu').

iii. 297 *simulacra ... falsa*: Augustine, *Contra Faustum* xiii. 7: 'quam *falsa* possederunt patres nostri *simulacra*, et non est in eis utilitas' (CSEL xxv. 386); for

occurrences in verse, cf. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 404 (*'falsaque saevarum simulacra ululare ferarum'*), and Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 3. 139 (*'idola falsa voces simulacra deosque profanos'*).

iii. 300 *idola ... uana*: Dracontius, *Satisfactio* 96 (*'cum Dominum norunt, idola uana colunt'*).

iii. 304 *antiquus ... hostis*: see above, note to iii. 241.

iii. 307 *toruas ... acies*: cf. Statius, *Theb.* x. 692 (*'cur tibi torua acies?'*). *inuersans*: the verb *in-uersor*, 'to examine', is extremely rare (see *TLL* vii/2. 164); *TLL* and Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, cite only Fulgentius Mythographus, *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae*: 'aut endelecias Aristoteles *inuersat*' (ed. R. Helm, p. 85). According to the databases, the verb is found nowhere else in verse. *uultumque minacem*: Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* i. 380 (*'lumina torua nimis uultumque in morte minacem'*).

iii. 308 *artes mille ... nocendi*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 338 (*'mille nocendi artes, fecundum concute pectus'*).

iii. 309 *mole grauis*: an example of hypallage: 'he seethes, being heavy with burden' = 'he seethes with his heavy burden'.

iii. 310 *fidei murum*: Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* i. 255 (*'cumque ipsum murum fidei ualidamque columnam'*).

iii. 312 *pugna congressus iniqua*: Vergil, *Aen.* x. 889 (*'et urgetur pugna congressus iniqua'*).

iii. 317 *fidei ... luce*: Juvencus, *Euang.* i. 418 (*'exoritur fidei resplendens luce uoluntas'*); Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxi. 75 (*'et genus humanum passim sine luce fidei'*); and Prosper, *Epigr.* lxxxii. 4 (*'quisquis sinceræ luce caret fidei'*). *luce recepta*: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* ix. 940 (*'bis positis Phoebe flammis, bis luce recepta'*), and Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 644 (*'nube tenebrarum discussa, luce recepta'*).

iii. 318 *dona salutis*: a common hexameter cadence in Christian-Latin verse, from the time of Juvencus (*Euang.* ii. 66 and 334) onwards, especially in the poetry of Paulinus of Périgueux (*Vita S. Martini* ii. 328, 468 and 532, iv. 117 and 147, v. 837 and 868), Arator (*Historia apostolica* i. 169 and 286, ii. 410),

Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* ii. 7. 37, vii. 10. 15), Bede (*Vita metrica S. Cudberti* 369, 572, 867), Alcuin (*Carm.* i. 376, 441, 608), etc.; cf. *HexLexikon* ii. 141–143.

iii. 319 *non immemor artis*: Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 440 ('ille suae contra *non immemor artis*').

iii. 326 *meritumque*: Hilduin apparently intended *meritum* here to be understood as the genitive plural *meritorum*, in apposition to *uirtutum* and dependent of *fama*. The use of contracted genitive plural forms of this sort is well attested in hexameter verse (see LHS i. 428), particularly in Vergil, who frequently uses forms such as *deum* (for *deorum*: *Aen.* i. 9, 229, ii. 54, 156, 248, 257, 623, 788, etc.) and *uirum* (for *uirorum*: *Aen.* i. 87, 101, 119, ii. 18, 313, 782, iv. 195, v. 148, 369, etc.), as well as less common forms such as *famulum* (for *famulorum*: *Aen.* xi. 34), *magnanimum* (for *magnanimorum*: *Aen.* iii. 704, vi. 307), and *socium* (for *sociorum*: *Aen.* v. 174, ix. 558, x. 410). Hilduin apparently modelled his use of gen. pl. *meritum* on Vergilian usage, even though, according to *TLL*, there is no other recorded instance of gen. pl. *meritum*. For other examples of contracted genitive plural forms in Hilduin, cf. i. 258 and 509 (*Graium*), i. 415 and iv. 148 (*deum*), and ii. 25 (*socium*). *beatis*: emended from the transmitted *beati*, since it is used in apposition to *Dei sanctis* (iii. 324).

iii. 328–331 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iii. 328 The line as transmitted in the MS. requires that the first syllable of *diis* be scanned as long (it is naturally short). The metrical difficulty can be resolved by transposing *sibi* and *diis*, and emending *atque* to *iamque* so as to eliminate the resulting elision (cf. below, iv. 380 and note). For the form *diis* (in lieu of *deis*), see below, note to iii. 337.

iii. 329 *induperatoris* (for *imperatoris*). Because *impērātōris* would not scan in a hexameter, poets from Ennius and Lucretius onwards adopted the device of inserting the meaningless short syllable *-du-* into the word, in order to transform the intolerable *impēr-* into the tolerable *indūpēr-*. Hilduin could have learned the application of this poetic helpmeet from his reading of Iuvenal (*Sat.* iv. 29, x. 138), Prudentius (*Contra Symmachum* i. 147), Venantius Fortunatus (*Vita S. Martini* ii. 115, iv. 350), Alcuin (*Carm.* cxx. 38) or Walahfrid Strabo (*Carm.* lxxvii. 9. 4); and see below, iv. 10. *referatur ad aures*: Ovid, *Tristia* iv. 10. 113 ('quod quamuis nemo est, cuius *referatur ad aures*').

iii. 334 *post sceptrā*: Theodulf, *Carm.* xxi. 44 (*post sceptrā et verbi famina sancta Dei*).

iii. 335 *Christi famulos*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 836 (*famulos Christi loquor istos*).

iii. 336 *nomenque Dei*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Iudices* 252 (*instituant nomenque Dei numenque reliquunt*).

iii. 336 *sub astris*: a hexameter cadence used by Vergil (*Georg.* iv. 509), Ovid (*Met.* xv. 787) and Statius (*Theb.* xi. 72), whence it recurs in Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* x. 6. 29, x. 7. 33), Alcuin (*Carm.* i. 589), Sedulius Scottus (*Carm.* iii. 3. 1), etc.

iii. 337 the dative/ablative form *diis* (in lieu of *deis*) is one that was preferred by the early Latin poets, from Ennius and Plautus onwards (see Kühner–Holzweissig I, pp. 456–457 Anm. 11, and *TLL* s.v. ‘deus’), and was used by later poets as a sort of archaism. It was much used by Hilduin’s colleague Walahfrid Strabo (*Carm.* xxi. 14. 2, xxiii. 1. 11, *Passio S. Mammetis* xi. 26, xvi. 17, xvi. 23, etc.). The form is employed elsewhere by Hilduin at iii. 328 and iv. 380.

iii. 338 *strata solo*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* viii. 3. 227 (*strata solo recubo*).

iii. 339 *humanas mentes*: Ovid, *Met.* i. 55 (*iussit et humanas motura tonitrua mentes*) and Theodulf, *Carm.* i. 75 (*haud secus ira movet humanas perfida mentes*).

iii. 341 *uirtute Dei*: a common phrase in Christian-Latin poetry; see Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* 475 (*si uictor uirtute Dei*), 731 (*emissus uirtute Dei sub imagine dupla*), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xvi. 138 (*si caream uirtute Dei*), xxi. 23 (*praeualuit uirtute Dei*), xxxi. 124 (*et uirtute Dei ambulat*), Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 227 (*concepta uirtute Dei*), 330 (*formatas uirtute Dei*), 618 (*formantur uirtute Dei*), 684 (*credamus uirtute Dei qui cuncta creauit*), Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 2452 (*ni uirtute Dei*), etc.; see *HexLexikon* v. 649–650.

iii. 342 *artes per magicas*: Ovid, *Amores* iii. 7. 35 (*quid uetat et neruos magicas torpere per artes*); Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* ii. 894 (*magicas impellit in artes*); and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 810 (*an prius aut magicas didicisset forsitan artes*).

- iii. 344** *nouus aduena*: see above, iii. 249 and note.
- iii. 345** *crudelis belua*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2435 ('irritat ut sanctos *crudelis belva* lacertos'). Note that whereas Aldhelm scans the word as a bisyllable (*bēlvǣ*), Hilduin treats it correctly as a trisyllable (*bēlǣǣ*).
- iii. 346** *caecum ... furorem*: Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 444 ('*caecum* deponere *furorem*').
- iii. 347–353** The epic simile of the serpent has no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*; it is introduced by *uti* (iii. 347) and continues until the Vergilian transition-formula *Haud aliter* (iii. 354).
- iii. 347** *anguis uti saeuus*: Theodulf, *Carm.* xii. 19 ('huic in credulitas contraria *saeuus ut anguis*'). *stimulis ... coactus*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* iv. 759 ('iamque gradum neque uerberibus *stimulisque coacti*').
- iii. 351** *squamea colla tumens*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 134 ('*squamea colla tumens inimicos ore chelydros*'). *linguis micat ... trisulcis*: Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 475 = *Georg.* iii. 439 ('arduus ad solem et *linguis micat ore trisulcis*'); cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 133 ('per flexos sinuata globos *linguisque trisulcis*').
- iii. 354** *Haud aliter*: a transition-formula used frequently in these same metrical feet by Vergil (*Aen.* i. 399, iv. 256, ix. 65, ix. 522, ix. 554, ix. 797, x. 360, x. 714, xi. 757), whence it is found in subsequent Latin poets. *furiis agitato*: Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 331 ('coniugis et scelerum *furiis agitato* Orestes'); cf. *Aen.* x. 872 = xii. 668 ('et *furiis agitato* amor et conscia uirtus').
- iii. 355** *pectoris in latebris*: Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* viii. 7: 'in *latebris* ascendisse nostri *pectoris*' (CSEL xvii. 155).
- iii. 357** *foedere ... pacto*: cf. Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 158 ('namque aliae uictu inuigilant et *foedere pacto*'). *saeuo daemone*: Juvencus, *Euang.* iii. 180 ('ut mentem uexatam *daemone saeuo* / redderet'); Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* iv. 196 ('aspicit instantem huic *saeui daemonis* umbram'); [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 447 ('quatinus eripiat possessam a *daemone saeuo*').
- iii. 358** *praeconia Christi*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* iii. 489 ('per mare per terras *Christi praeconia* fundens'), and Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* v. 176 ('*Christi praeconia* fine sub ipso').

iii. 359 *nomen et aeternum*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 235 ('dicitur *aeternum*que tenet per saecula *nomen*') and vi. 381 ('*aeternum*que locus Palinuri *nomen* habebit'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxv. 3. 5 ('*nomen* ut *aeternum* toto laudetur in orbe').

iii. 361 *Imperialis sententia*: cf. Fulgentius Mythographus, *De aetatibus mundi et hominis*, c. xiv: 'et una eademque *sententia imperialis* censura infringitur' (ed. R. Helm, p. 178).

iii. 365 *Martis et Herculeas ... aras*: cf. Iuvenal, *Sat.* x. 82 ('Bruttidius meus ad *Martis* fuit obuius *aram*'), and Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 541 ('et primum *Herculeis* sopitas ignibus *aras*').

iii. 368 *gladius*: it seems clear from context that *gladius* was intended by Hilduin as the subject of *transiret* (with *cruentum* as the object); I have therefore emended the transmitted *gladium* to *gladius*. It is remotely possible, however, that Hilduin intended *gladium* as nominative, a form which is mainly attested in archaic Latin authors such as Lucilius and Varro (see *TLL* vi/2. 2011), in which case *cruentum* would be simply an adjective qualifying *gladium* ('the bloody sword is to transfix him after many tortures').

iii. 370 *latum ... per orbem*: Ovid, *Met.* v. 481 ('fertilitas terrae *latum* uulgata *per orbem*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* lv. 5. 5 ('namque tuis famulis *latum* tu, Christe, *per orbem*').

iii. 371 *Caesaris edictum*: the phrase occurs in prose writers such as Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 62) and Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, trans. Rufinus, ix. 1. 1 (ed. Mommsen, p. 803), but nowhere else in verse – a clear example of Hilduin's insensitive use of prosaic vocabulary in his poetry.

iii. 374 *tormentis ... saeuis*: Hilary, *Macc.* 15 ('temptauit primum *tormentis* uincere *saeuis*').

iii. 377 *tali sub lege*: [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 614 ('atque inuasorem *tali sub lege* coerchet').

iii. 378 *per orbem*: for the cadence, see above, note to iii. 370.

iii. 381 *rigido ... ferro*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1832 ('candida sed *rigido* violauit viscera *ferro*'). *sanctos extinguere*: cf. Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 4. 254–255 ('mox *sanctos* reliquos magnis clamoribus urguet / *extingui* praeses').

iii. 386 *certamen inire*: Silius, *Pun.* x. 69 ('uirtutis patrum! quando *certamen inire*').

iii. 390 *casta qui mente*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 754 ('nobilior longe *casta quae mente* manebat').

iii. 393 *iniectis ... uinclis*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xx. 172 ('iure retraxisti *iniectis* pro crimine *uinclis*').

iii. 396 *ianua clausa*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 533 ('*ianua clausa* Deum, mirum est si corpore portam').

iii. 397 *lux mundi, spes, uia, uita*: cf. Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 124 ('*lux* et primordia *mundi*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1581 ('*uita, fides, sensus, spes, lux, uia, gloria, uirtus*').

Book iv

iv. 4 *Romana ... ab urbe*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 8. 11 ('qui cum *Romana* properasset *ab urbe Tolosam*').

iv. 5 *dirus ... satelles*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* iv. 116 ('caecus adulator *dirusque* a ponte *satelles*').

iv. 7 *sanguine fuso* as a hexameter cadence: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* ii. 158, ii. 439, iv. 278, vi. 250, vi. 310; Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 215; Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 819, *Leuiticus* 108; Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 152; Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 192; Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* vi. 2. 37; and Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1840, 2761; and cf. *HexLexikon* v. 38–39.

iv. 8 *commaculare magis*: cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* viii. 49 ('*commaculare manus*').

iv. 10 *induperator* as hexameter cadence: Iuvenal, *Sat.* x. 138; Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* i. 147; Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* iv. 350; and Alcuin, *Carm.* cxx. 38. For the form *induperator*, used by classical Latin poets as a metrical helpmeet in lieu of *imperator* (which would not scan in a hexameter), see above, note to iii. 329.

iv. 15 *truces ... ministros*: cf. Theodulf, *Carm.* xxviii. 735 ('*ensor habere solet torvosque trucesque ministros*').

iv. 17 *laude triumphi* as a hexameter cadence: Dracontius, *Romulea* v. 232; Claudius Marius Victorius, *Alethia* iii. 457; Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 3. 234; Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* v. 162; and cf. *HexLexikon* iii. 175.

iv. 19 *undique turba*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Iudices* 385 ('post reges iubet esse palam, quos undique turba').

iv. 20 *parta*: the syncopated form of *parata*, used frequently by poets; cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 706 ('dum mens *parta* fuit mortis discrimina ferro'), Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 91 ('daemonibus dudum fuerant quae *parta* malignis'), and also above, i. 476. *in uulnere uires*: Statius, *Theb.* ii. 640 ('at cui uita recens et adhuc *in uulnere uires*').

iv. 22 *iussis ... iniquis*: cf. [Prosper], *Carmen de providentia Dei* 636 ('immitem *iussis* legem praescipsit *iniquis*').

iv. 23 *occiduas ... ad oras*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 254 ('nunc oritur, nunc *occiduas* dimissus in *oras*'); Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 164 ('uenit *ad occiduas* carnaliter editus *oras*'); and cf. above, iii. 148.

iv. 25 *doctrinae lampade*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1016 ('tunc exempla dabat *doctrinae lampade* fulgens'); and Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* v. 5 ('emicat ac totus *doctrinae lampade* fulget').

iv. 26 *uigili ... mente*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* v. 158 ('crimina iudicio *uigili* si *mente* notares'); and see below, iv. 554.

iv. 30 *obuius iret* as a hexameter cadence: *Ilias Latina* 933 ('quia *obuius iret*') and Silius, *Punica* vii. 152 ('uelut *obuius iret*'); cf. Vergil, *Aen.* x. 770 ('*obuius ire* parat'), and *HexLexikon* iv. 9–10.

iv. 31 *poenas ... acerbas*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1745 ('quis vero *poenas* verbis enarret *acerbas*').

iv. 34 *scriptaque legis*: cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* iii. 650 ('Christus ad haec: "*Legis* sanctae uos *scripta* tenere").

iv. 35 *scelus et crudele*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 124–125 ('et mihi iam multi *crudele* canebunt / artificis *scelus*').

iv. 37 *flexa ... ceruice*: Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 282 ('tunc caput orantis *flexa ceruice* resectum'); cf. Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1023 ('atque simul *flexa* Dominum *ceruice* poposcit').

iv. 38–42 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*; they are an attempt to explain that Roman citizens – which Dionysius, as a native of Athens, most certainly would have been – and members of the upper classes (*honestiores*) would, if convicted of a capital crime, be entitled to the privilege of execution by decapitation, whereas non-Roman citizens such as slaves (*humiliores*) would suffer more degrading forms of execution, such as being burned alive or being exposed to wild beasts. See Peter Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1970), esp. pp. 153–172.

iv. 38 *nobilis ortu*: Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* i. 263 ('dicitur, ignoto cunctis plus *nobilis ortu*').

iv. 39 *gentis patriciae*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* x. 332 (*gentis patriciae* rapitur miser extinguendus') and Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* i. 560 (*gentis patriciae* uentura attollere saeclo'). *claris natalibus*: an Aldhelmian phrase: *Carmen de virginitate* 1266 ('nititur indolem *claris natalibus* ortam'), 1784 ('quam de stirpe bona et *claris natalibus* ortam'), 1883 ('Eugeniam porro *claris natalibus* ortam'), and 2359 ('has igitur sponsi *claris natalibus* orti'); and cf. above, i. 195 (with note) and i. 256.

iv. 40 *senatus iura uerendi*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* iv. 801 ('quid prodita *iura senatus*'), and Statius, *Achilleis* ii. 164 ('qua Peliacis dare *iura uerenda*').

iv. 42 *tali discrimine*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 210 ('quae multa uides *discrimine tali*').

iv. 46 *Haud mora*: a Vergilian transition-formula (*Georg.* iv. 548, *Aen.* iii. 548, v. 140, v. 749, vi. 177, vii. 156, etc.), much imitated by later poets. *fama uolat*: Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 121 ('*fama uolat* pulsum regnis cessisse paternis'), vii. 392 ('*fama uolat*, furiisque accensas pectore matres'), viii. 554 ('*fama uolat* paruam subito uulgata per urbem').

iv. 47 *celebri rumore*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 899 ('claruit idcirco *celebri rumore* per orbem'), 1517 ('claruit idcirco *celebri rumore* coruscans'), 2112 ('exemplo simul et *celebri rumore* coruscans'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 480 ('audiui quondam *celebri rumore* referri').

iv. 50 *saeuo ... magistro*: Horace, *Epist.* i. 18. 13 ('ut puerum saeuo credas dictata magistro').

iv. 52 *tumidis animis*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 5. 22 ('sic tumidis animis turget inane cutis').

iv. 56 *Christi sub nomine*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* x. 186 ('incipiat, *Christi sub nomine* probra placebunt'); cf. Juvencus, *Euang.* iv. 357 ('caelestis suboles celso sub nomine *Christi*') and Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 22. 14 ('*nomine sub Christi* benedictam miserat undam').

iv. 57 *gens effera*: Juvencus, *Euang.* iii. 365 ('O gens nullius fidei, *gens effera* semper').

iv. 63 *terque quaterque beati*: Vergil, *Aen.* i. 94 ('talìa uoce refert: "o *terque quaterque beati*"').

iv. 64 *diuellier*. For Hilduin's use of the (archaic) passive infinitive in *-ier*, see above, n. to i. 12.

iv. 65 *discrimine leti*: Vergil, *Aen.* x. 511 ('aduolat Aeneae tenui *discrimine leti*'); the Vergilian cadence is imitated by later poets known to Hilduin, such as Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 354; and cf. *discrimina leti*, below, iv. 163.

iv. 68 *caeli ... in arce*: Juvencus, *Euang.* iii. 591 ('ut Christo medio *caeli* sublimis in arce'); Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1587 ('nunc precibus Dominum *caeli* qui regnat in arce') and 2287 ('ut sponsi thalamis, *caeli* qui regnat in arce').

iv. 75 *latebras quaerit*: Vergil, *Aen.* x. 661 ('tum leuis haud ultra *latebras* iam quaerit imago') and Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* viii. 780 ('funeris attonitus *latebras* in litore quaerit'); cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 780 ('idcirco fugiens quaerit sub rupe *latebras*'). One wonders if the cacophony of *nullas ast latebras* is intentional.

iv. 76 *cunctorum rector et auctor*: cf. Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 1–3 ('Omnipotens aeternae Deus fons *auctor* origo / inuentor genitor nutritor *rector* amator / *cunctorum* quae mundus habet').

iv. 78 *humanos moderans actus*: cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1279 ('*humanos actus* qui temperat, ordinat, aptat').

iv. 81 *fonte cruoris*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* i. 173 ('uena tumet riuus animato *fonte cruoris*').

iv. 81–83 The same metrical structure (DDSS) is used in three consecutive lines.

iv. 83 *candore niuali*: Vergil, *Aen.* iii. 538 ('tondentis campum late *candore niuali*'); the Vergilian cadence was imitated by Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 196 and Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* ii. 258.

iv. 84 *ante Dei ... astare tribunal*: Alcuin, *Carm.* cix. 15. 15 ('*ante Dei Christi magnum modo state tribunal*').

iv. 86 *mentis pietate*: Alcuin, *Carm.* lxiii. 36 ('doctrinis *mentis* cum *pietate* sacris').

iv. 88 *offerre Tonanti*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Numeri* 437 ('atque Abirus, licitum cunctis *offerre Tonanti*') and *Iudices* 522 ('mox iussus potius consueta *offerre Tonanti*'). *aeterno ... Tonanti*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 553–554 ('et laus digna *Tonanti* / redditur *aeterno*').

iv. 92 *nuda ceruice*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* i. 330 ('cui *nuda ceruice* pater sese obtulit ultro').

iv. 93 A four-word hexameter; for other examples in Hilduin's poem, see above, note to i. 228.

iv. 95 *lentis ... habenis*: Ovid, *Tristia* iv. 6. 3 ('tempore paret equus *lentis* animosus *habe*nis').

iv. 101 *ora ... uolitans per cuncta*: cf. Theodulf, *Carm.* lxxi. 18 ('magna *per ora* virum sat tua fama *volat*'), and Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 24. 33 ('*cuncta per ora* *volat* laus et gloria cuius').

iv. 103 *principis ... inuicti*: Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* ii. 656 ('*principis inuicti* sub quo senium omne renascens'); Alcimus Avitus, *Poema app.* xv. 4 ('*principis invicti* quae magnum auferre furorem'). *tempnere iussa*: Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* ii. 404 ('forsan et hunc uisu suasisset *temnere iussa*').

iv. 104 *ad haec placido ... ore profatur*: Juvenecus, *Euang.* ii. 365 ('Christus *ad haec* contra *placido* sic *ore profatur*').

iv. 106 *fidei ... nimio feruore*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1044 ('presbyteri *nimio* accensi *feruore fidei*') and iii. 20. 16 ('quem sitis inflammat *nimio feruore* repente').

iv. 111 *quo non praestantior alter*: Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 164 ('Misenum Aeoliden, *quo non praestantior alter*'); the phrase is recycled by Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 776 and 2066; see also above, i. 404.

iv. 111–112 *principis ... inuicti*: see above, note to iv. 103.

iv. 113 *ore manūque simul*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1234 ('*ore manūque simul* donorum largus utrisque'); and see above, iii. 16 and note. *mundo corde*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxix. 22 ('sed pietate humiles et *mundo corde* capaces').

iv. 115 *diuino flamine pleni*: cf. *Miracula S. Nyniae* 11–12 ('psalmista carmine plenus / *flamine diuino*').

iv. 125 *una potestas*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxii. 166 ('unus in utroque est unus uigor *una potestas*'); Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 451 ('personis tribus est, in quo simul *una potestas*').

iv. 130 *sub tempore certo*: cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 347 ('ueniet *certo sub tempore* iussus') and Cyprianus Gallus, *Numeri* 684 ('*tempore sub certo* felicia dicta superni').

iv. 136 *mortis lege solutos*: cf. Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* xvii. 36 ('de *mortis* nullus *lege solutus* adest'), Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* vi. 75 ('exosae qui *mortis lege* remissa'), and Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 333 ('sollicitant animas *mortis iam lege* quietas').

iv. 138 *concordi uoce*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2398 ('quod dum spondessent *concordi uoce* catervae').

iv. 148 *deum ... iura*: *deum* here is the syncopated form of *deorum* (for the practice of using syncopated genitive plurals, modelled on Vergil's usage, see above, note to iii. 326; for the syncopated genitive plural *deum*, see above, i. 415). For the wording, cf. Statius, *Theb.* iii. 689 ('sed *iura deum* genialia testor').

iv. 149 *inserta cupido*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 760 ('sed furor ardentem caedisque *insana cupido*').

iv. 154 *comitante caterua* as hexameter cadence: Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 40, ii. 370 and v. 76, whence Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* iv. 32, Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 554, Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1957, [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 826, and *HexLexikon* i. 381; see also above, ii. 25.

iv. 155–157 The same metrical structure (DSSS) is used in three consecutive lines.

iv. 157 *querula ... uoce*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxi. 655 ('ipsum etiam, fateor, *querula iam uoce solebam*'), and Prosper, *Epigr.* xxxv. 4 ('nec *querula* in ququam *uoce* mouere Deum').

iv. 162 *pectore forti*: Ovid, *Met.* ii. 754 ('ut pariter pectus positamque in *pectore forti*'), and Walahfrid Strabo, *Passio S. Mammetis* xiii. 14 ('nunc opus, o Mammes, animis, nunc *pectore forti*').

iv. 163 *discrimina leti*: Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* ii. 104 ('semen mortis erit, pariat *discrimina leti*') and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2316 ('quot tu concinnas crudi *discrimina leti*'); cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ix. 143 ('fossarumque morae, *leti discrimina parua*'); and cf. above, iv. 63 (*discrimine leti*) and note.

iv. 171 *campi doctor*: for the form *campi doctor* (two words) in lieu of the transmitted *campidoctor*, see above, note to ii. 96; cf. also above, iii. 109.

iv. 172 *toto corpore nudus*: cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* lxxxii. 20 ('fracti vitri de cubando *toto nudus corpore*').

iv. 173–175 The same metrical structure (DSDS) is used in three consecutive lines.

iv. 175 *uerbera dira*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2306 ('*uerbera dira* pati cum sanctos cerneret artus').

iv. 182 *Christi ... stigmata*: cf. Walahfrid Strabo, *Vita beati Blaithmaic* 98 ('hanc petiit voto patiendi *stigmata Christi*').

iv. 183 *corpore ferre meo*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxiii. 70–71 ('cum poenas *ferre* uidentur / *corpore*').

iv. 186 *capti formidine*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 384 ('ignarosque loci passim et *formidine captos*'), Cyprianus Gallus, *Numeri* 391 ('pallor inest sensusque labant *formidine capti*') and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 618 ('pallidus evigilat somni *formidine capti*').

iv. 192 *immensis ... catenis*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* ii. 671 ('roboraque *immensis* late religare *catenis*'). *artati membra*: on Hilduin's use of the (poetic) *accusativus Graecus*, see above, note to iii. 184.

iv. 192–195 The same metrical structure (DSSS) is used in four consecutive lines.

iv. 200 *accepta ... hostia*: cf. Phil. iv. 18 ('misistis ... *hostiam acceptam* placentem Deo'), and Rom. xii. 1 ('obsecro itaque vos fratres ... ut exhibeatis corpora vestra *hostiam viventem sanctam* Deo placentem').

iv. 206 *flammis urenda gehennae*: cf. Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 94–95 ('ignibus aeternae nigris loca plena *gehennae* / frigora mixta simul ferventibus algida *flammis*').

iv. 211 *Eumenidum ... angues*: Horace, *Carm.* ii. 13. 36 ('*Eumenidum* recreantur *angues*').

iv. 213 *caelestis regia*: cf. Statius, *Theb.* x. 913 ('ipsa dato nondum *caelestis* regia signo').

iv. 214 *angelicis ... coetibus*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1070 ('*angelicis* iuncti penetrabant *coetibus* altam'); cf. Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 532 ('uidisti *angelicis* comitatum *coetibus* alte'); for the phrase *coetibus angelicis* in the first half of a hexameter, cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* ii. 122, ii. 459, and *Carm.* viii. 3. 5, as well as Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 58; and cf. *HexLexikon* i. 91–92 (*angelic(us) coet(us)*) and 368–369 (*coetibus angelicis*).

iv. 215 *iustitiae solem*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1031 ('*iustitiae* vero *solem* septemplex aethrae').

iv. 217 *uoce resultat*: Symposius, *Aenigmata* li. 1 ('est domus in terris clara quae *uoce resultat*') and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1469 ('eximias laudes communi *voce resultat*').

iv. 218–219 Ps. cxviii. 140 ('ignitum eloquium tuum vehementer et servus tuus dilexit illud').

iv. 222 *memori sub mente*: Horace, *Sat.* ii. 6. 31 ('*memori si mente recurras*'), Ovid, *Met.* vii. 521 ('*memori quos mente requiris*'), Cyprianus Gallus, *Genesis* 1316 ('*quos ubi perspexit memori cum mente propheta*'). *mente reuoluo*: cf. Cyprianus Gallus, *Iudices* 287 ('*ante oculos uolitasse suos pia mente reuoluit*').

iv. 223 *uis flammae*: Juvencus, *Euang.* iii. 267 ('*astris inseruit rapidae uis feruida flammae*'). *nulla nocebit*: Alcuin, *Carm.* xcii. 3. 7 ('*sed quem Christus amat, illi mors nulla nocebit*').

iv. 225 *foeda cupido*: Statius, *Theb.* iii. 370 ('*pro uitae foeda cupido*').

iv. 229 *robusto pectore*: Juvencus, *Euang.* iii. 672 ('*et quaecumque fides robusto pectore poscet*').

iv. 230 *omnigenum*: the use of the contracted gen. pl. in *-um* of polysyllabic adjectives was a feature of Latin poetic diction (as, for example, Vergil's *caelicolum* (*Aen.* iii. 21)); cf. discussion by Janssen, 'Le caratteristiche della lingua poetica romana', pp. 95–96, and above, note to iii. 326. *laude frequentat*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1124 ('*quem merito mundus famosa laude frequentat*'), 1739 ('*accola quem Siculus famosa laude frequentat*').

iv. 233 *pectore ... ualido*: Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 26 ('*pectore sed fidens ualido membrisque relectis*').

ii. 234 *placidam ... quietem*: Vergil, *Aen.* i. 691 ('*at Venus Ascanio placidam per membra quietem*') and iv. 5 ('*nec placidam membris dat cura quietem*').

iv. 240 *celeri ... cursu*: Ovid, *Met.* x. 669 ('*illa moram celeri cessataque tempora cursu*'); Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* iii. 502 ('*per Romana tulit celeri munimina cursu*'); and Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* iii. 198 ('*intrans et celeri perlustrant omnia cursu*'). *tendere cursu*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* v. 291 ('*rapido contendere cursu*').

iv. 242 *humanae ... salutis*: Alcuin, *Carm.* cvi. 1. 3 ('*qui fuit humanae venerandus praeco salutis*').

iv. 244 *uoce profatur*: the phrase is used several times as a hexameter cadence by Juvencus (*Euang.* ii. 179, iv. 484, iv. 752); and cf. above, note to iv. 104 (*ore profatur*).

iv. 245 *O Deus omnipotens*: Alcuin, *Carm.* cxxiv. 1 ('*O Deus omnipotens nostrae spes sola salutis*').

iv. 248–249 Dan. vi and xiv.

iv. 250 *ex imo pectore*: cf. Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* v. 39 ('*attracta ex imo suspiria pectore ducens*').

iv. 254 *procubuere solo*: Claudian, *Carm. maiora* vii [*In Hon. iv. Cons.*]. 448 ('*procubuere solo: iuratur Honorius absens*').

iv. 255–274 These lines – the apostrophe to the behaviour of wild beasts, followed by the epic simile of the brave warrior's advance into battle – have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iv. 255 *Res titulo digna*: Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 230 ('*quinque per autumnos titulo res digna sepulcri*').

iv. 257 *mens hominum*: the phrase is used in this same metrical position in hexameters by Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* ii. 15, Statius, *Theb.* v. 719, and Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* ii. 876.

iv. 262 *certamine uictor*: Vergil, *Aen.* v. 493 ('*quem modo nauali Mnestheus certamine uictor*').

iv. 263 *reparet uires*: Ovid, *Epist.* iv. 90 ('*haec reparat uires fessaque membra nouat*'; for Ovid's phrase *fessa membra*, see the following note).

iv. 264 *fessis ... membris*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* iv. 640 ('*utque iterum fessis iniecit bracchia membris*'), and Ovid, *Epist.* iv. 90 (as cited in the previous note). *membris dat ... quietem*: Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 5 and x. 217 ('*membris dat cura quietem*').

iv. 266 *fidei clipeo*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* x. 12 ('*et clipeo fidei tela exsuperate nefanda*'). *minitantia pila*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* i. 7 ('*signa, pares aquilas et pila minantia pilis*').

iv. 268–271 The epic simile of the warrior advancing into battle has no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iv. 269 *tendit in aequor*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* x. 235 ('qua geminum felix Hispania tendit in aequor').

iv. 270 *belli ... signum*: Vergil, *Aen.* viii. 1 ('ut belli signum Laurenti Turnus ab arce').

iv. 273 *athleta Dei*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1880 ('crudus athleta Dei Cyprianus').

iv. 276 *ad ima ruit*: Caelius Sedulius, *Hymn.* i. 3 ('Primus ad ima ruit magna de luce superbus'); Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 9. 74 ('quidquid ad ima ruit').

iv. 277 *crucis signo*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 337 ('en signo sacrata crucis uexilla coruscant'), and Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* i. 18. 41 ('et crucis signo radiante cornu').

iv. 279 *spes mea certa Deus*: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. app.* i. 103 ('spes igitur mea sola Deus'). *semita ... salutis*: cf. Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 174–175 ('uia prisca salutis / semita mortis est').

iv. 283–286 The reference to the Cherubim with the flaming *rumphea* is taken over from the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*; see above, p. 516 n. 271.

iv. 287 *auri ... more probatur*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 4. 14 ('pulchrius est auro corde probatus homo'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxii. 177 ('aurum flamma probat, homines temptatio iustos').

iv. 288 *deuoto pectore*: the phrase is used repeatedly in the very same metrical position by Alcuin (*Carm.* i. 1256, xxxiii. 1.3, xliv. 23, l. 35, lxvi. 1. 17, lxviii. 22, lxx. 2. 8, and cix. 1. 7); cf. *HexLexikon* ii. 51–52.

iv. 289–315 These lines, describing the prefect's reflections on the effectiveness of the tortures, have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iv. 293 *flammis crepitantibus*: the phrase was coined by Vergil, *Georg.* i. 85 ('atque leuem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis'); it is used in the same metrical position as here by Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 333 ('quin etiam ueri flammis crepitantibus ignes') and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxix. 1. 1 ('haec domus alta Dei flammis crepitantibus olim').

iv. 295 *cocto ... auro*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* i. 127 ('pulchrior electro, ter *cocto* ardentior *auro*'), and Theodulf, *Carm.* xxv. 13 ('O facies, facies ter *cocto* clarior *auro*').

iv. 296–297 This comment is not found in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. The statement that there was 'power in both' (*uis in utraque*) refers to Dionysius and the fire; the victory was the Thunderer's, because He preserved Dionysius from the fire.

iv. 298 *hostis ... truculentus*: cf. Prudentius, *Liber peristephanon* v. 250 ('*truculentus hostis* martyrem') and Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* iii. 280–281 ('ut rabiens inuaserat *hostis* / et *truculentus* agens'). *rabiem ... anhelans*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* vi. 92 ('antraque letiferi *rabiem* Typhonis *anelant*').

iv. 313 *uacuas ... in auras*: Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 592 ('*uacuas* it fumus ad *auras*'); Ovid, *Met.* vi. 398 ('quas ubi fecit aquam *uacuas* emisit in *auras*'); Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 1040 ('*uacuas* qui surgit in *auras*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 416 ('redditus, et *vacuas* fugit vagus *hostis* in *auras*').

iv. 316 *crucis patulae*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 273 ('in *patulae*que *crucis* distendens membra figuram').

iv. 317 *defessa senis ... membra*: Vergil, *Georg.* iv. 438 ('uix *defessa* senem passus componere *membra*').

iv. 324 *uita ... superstes*: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* viii. 28 ('destruit ingentis animos et *uita* *superstes*'); Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xviii. 76 ('et merita occultant animarum *uita* *superstes*'), xviii. 363 ('praeuenere alii, mea tantum *uita* *superstes*'). But why does Hilduin construe *uita* in the ablative, whereas Lucan and Paulinus take *uita superstes* as a nominative phrase? See also below, iv. 665.

iv. 326 *excelsa crucis ... ara*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* lxxxix. 12. 1 ('haec est *ara* *crucis* sanctae sacra triumphis') and Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 208 ('quique sub *excelsa* Domini quiescitis *ara*').

iv. 327–335 These reflections by the prefect – and the striking detail that he took some solace in food – have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iv. 328 *uiribus aduersis*: cf. *Ilias latina* 796 ('atque inde *aduersis* propellunt *uiribus* hostem').

iv. 335 *uiribus impar*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* ii. 607 ('sic *uiribus impar* / tradidit Hesperiam').

iv. 339 *insignia clara*: cf. Prudentius, *Liber cathemerinon* ii. 1. 31 ('*claraque sumpturum pictas insignia uestes*'), and Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xx. 441 ('*brutas per clara insignia mentes*').

iv. 347 *carcere clausis*: cf. Bede, *Vita metrica S. Cudbercti* 645 ('*carnis ego tenear solus sub carcere clausus*').

iv. 351 *frangier*: on Hilduin's use of the (archaic) passive infinitive in *-ier*, see above, note to i. 12.

iv. 358 *spes hominum*: Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 746 ('*spes hominum intendens et uota precantia complens*'), ii. 31 ('*spes hominum rerum princeps mundi que superstes*'). *lux et uita perhennis*: Bede, *Versus de die iudicii* 136 ('*gaudia, laetitiae, virtus, lux, uita perennis*').

iv. 359 *angelica ... caterua*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 709 ('*angelicis vectus caeli ad convexa catervis*'). *solito de more*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 357 ('*mollius et solito matrum de more locutast*') and Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvi. 121 ('*quam non militiae solito de more subegit*').

iv. 365 *maxima merces*: a hexameter cadence used several times by Lucan (*Bellum ciuile* ii. 227, ii. 655, v. 286, x. 408); and cf. *HexLexikon* iii. 303.

iv. 367 *uerba salutis*: a common hexameter cadence used by Paulinus of Périgueux (*Vita S. Martini* i. 230), Arator (*Historia apostolica* ii. 953), Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* viii. 1. 69, x. 8. 27), and Alcuin (*Carm.* i. 1034, xxxv. 5, lxii. 17 and 126, c. 1. 7); and cf. *HexLexikon* v. 559–560.

iv. 369 *mundo ... corde*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxix. 22 ('*sed pietate humiles et mundo corde capaces*'); see also above, i. 590 (*corde ... mundo*) and iv. 113 (*mundo corde*). *pietas ... benigna*: Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 4. 304 ('*gratia namque Dei nostri pietasque benigna*'); and cf. the hexameter cadences *corde benigna* (Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* xi. 12. 7) and *corde benignum* (Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 2038), and *HexLexikon* i. 446–447.

ii. 370 *castus amorque*: cf. Ambrose, *Hymn.* v. 15 ('*te diligat castus amor*'); Prudentius, *Apotheosis* 396 ('*castus amor, pulchra species, sincera uolup-*

tas’); and Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* ii. 78. 30 (‘emicat interius *castus amorque Dei*’).

iv. 377 *uocibus usus*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Passio S. Mammetis* xxi. 23 (‘primumque his *vocibus usus*’).

iv. 378 *prudens ... sententia*: Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* ii. 148 (‘traxerat ad talem *prudens sententia* uitam’).

iv. 380 The transmitted text here (*diis ultro magnis*) requires that the first syllable of *diis* be scanned as long (it is in fact short). The simple transposition of *diis* and *ultro* removes this difficulty, but entails that the second syllable of *ultro* be scanned as short. The syllable is in fact *anceps*; but note that elsewhere in the poem Hilduin treats it as long (i. 390, ii. 294, ii. 412, iii. 392, iv. 72), so the transposition is not a wholly satisfactory solution to the problem of the scansion of *diis*.

iv. 381 *placidam ... quietem*: cf. above, note to iv. 234.

iv. 382 *succumbere morti*: Juvenecus, *Euang.* iv. 368 (‘Lazarus haud poterat durae *succumbere morti*’).

iv. 391–394 The same metrical structure (DSDS) is used in four consecutive lines.

iv. 396 *sol testis*: Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 176 (‘esto nunc *Sol testis* et haec mihi Terra uocanti’).

iv. 398 *tacito sub corde*: Statius, *Theb.* ix. 824 (‘pressum *tacito sub corde* dolorem’), and Cyprianus Gallus, *Numeri* 488 (‘si Dominum *tacito sub corde* precatus’).

iv. 402 *morte solutos*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxi. 471 (‘ut placida tristem post uitam *morte solutos*’); cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1241 (‘corporeis vinclis felici *morte solutus*’).

iv. 404 *uoce fatentur*: Alcimius Avitus, *Poema* vi. 616 (‘coniunctum facinus disiuncta *uoce fatentur*’), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 16 (‘atque creatorem diversa *voce fatentur*’); and cf. *HexLexikon* v. 714.

iv. 406 *diuino numine*: for the phrase placed in these same metrical feet, see Lucretius (*De natura rerum* i. 154), Juvencus (*Euang.* i. 264), Aldhelm (*Carmen de virginitate* 2324), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 298; etc.: see *HexLexikon* ii. 105.

iv. 410 *uictoria maior*: Claudian, *Carm. maiora* xxviii [*In Hon. VI. cons.*]. 248 ('*nulla est uictoria maior*').

iv. 413 *placido ... ore*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 194 ('*placido prior edidit ore*'), xi. 251 ('*placido sic reddidit ore*'), and many later poets in imitation of Vergil; cf. *HexLexikon* iv. 265.

iv. 415 *uulnera uulneribus*: Prosper, *Epigr.* iv. 12 ('*ut curat medicus uulnera uulneribus*').

iv. 418 *solis in aspectu*: Ædiluulf, *De abbatibus* 234 ('*solis in aspectu exuuias, cum luce repente*').

iv. 423 Note that Hilduin here treats *genua* as a bisyllable (*gen-va*), on the model of Vergil, *Aen.* v. 432 ('*gen-va labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus*') and xii. 905 ('*gen-va labant, gelidus concreuit frigore sanguis*').

iv. 426 *uictrices ... manus*: Ovid, *Met.* iv. 740 ('*ipse manus hausta uictrices abluit unda*').

iv. 430 *perpes ... sapientia*: cf. Ædiluulf, *De abbatibus* 816 ('*cui decus, imperium, virtus, sapientia perpes*').

iv. 431 *Deus alme*: Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 751 ('*iudicio, Deus alme, tuo detur inde triumphus*').

iv. 432 *mitis clementia*: Cyprianus Gallus, *Iesu naue* 194 ('*te penes et quidquid mitis clementia praestat*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* lxii. 196 ('*praeparat aeternam mitis clementia uitam*').

iv. 436 *immensas ... grates*: cf. Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm.* xcix. 1 ('*Immensas Domino laudes gratesque rependi*'), and Aldhelm, prose *De virginitate*, c. i: '*immensas Christo ... impendere grates curavi*' (MGH, AA xv. 229).

iv. 437 *donis ... reclusis*: Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 63 ('*instauratque diem donis pecudumque reclusis*').

iv. 440 *carceris antro*: Theodulf, *Carm.* lxxii. 13 ('ueniens de *carceris antro*'), and Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* iii. 4. 351 ('vasto sed *carceris antro*').

iv. 446 The hexameter as transmitted is a syllable short, and I have therefore supplied the monosyllable *sed*. It might be objected that Hilduin sometimes treats initial *h*- as a consonant which therefore 'makes position' and in this case would cause *sed* to be scanned as a long (rather than a short) syllable: cf. his treatment of initial *h*- causing hiatus in ii. 71, ii. 150, iv. 129. But such treatment is exceptional, and initial *h*- in Hilduin's verse is rarely treated as a consonant (cf. i. 11, i. 12, etc.), and note his treatment of *sed* with following *h*- at iv. 673 ('Plūrā sēd hīstoricus quorum miracula sermo').

iv. 447 *sanguinis unda*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* ii. 16. 154 ('*sanguinis unda* rigat luminis atra lauat'); and cf. Prosper, *Epigr.* lxxxix. 4 ('fons quibus ipsa sui *sanguinis unda* fuit'), Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* i. 167 ('fluxit martyrium signans et *sanguinis unda*'), and Alcuin, *Carm.* cxvi. 2 ('abluit omne huius *sanguinis unda* nefas').

iv. 447–449 The same metrical structure (DDDS) is used in three consecutive lines.

iv. 453 *flamine sancto*: Juvenecus, *Euang.* i. 85 ('*diuinae uocis completa est flamine sancto*'), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 246 ('qui uentura Dei prompserunt *flamine sancto*').

iv. 454 *per saecula cuncta*: the phrase is used as a hexameter cadence by Juvenecus (*Euang.* i. 61), Paulus Diaconus (*Carm.* xlix. 13), Theodulf (*Carm.* xl. 21), and Walahfrid Strabo (*Carm.* xxxviii. 100); and cf. *HexLexikon* v. 6–7.

iv. 455 *resonasset*: the sg. form implies that it is Dionysius himself who shouts 'Amen' (thus translated; the plural form, *resonassent*, would not scan in this position), whereas in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii* it is Rusticus, Eleutherius and the attendant crowds who shout 'Amen'. But perhaps one should understand (say) *populus*, rather than Dionysius, as the subject of *resonasset*.

iv. 456 *poplitibus flexis*: for the phrase used in this same position in the hexameter, see Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* iv. 7 10; Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 252; and *Miracula S. Nyniae* 299.

iv. 469 *par gloria*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvi. 373 ('atque ita uirtutes uarias *par gloria* pensat').

iv. 475 *complerier*: on Hilduin's use of the (archaic) passive infinitive in *-ier*, see above, note to i. 12.

iv. 477–478 Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 3 ('Posuerunt morticina servorum tuorum escas volatilibus caeli ... in circuitu Hierusalem et non erat qui sepeliret'), and I Macc. vii. 17 ('carnes sanctorum tuorum et sanguinem ipsorum effuderunt in circuitu Hierusalem, et non erat qui sepeliret').

iv. 483–485 These three lines have no correlate in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iv. 483 *uexilla triumphans*: cf. Statius, *Theb.* viii. 238 ('eoasque domos nigri *uexilla triumphis*'), and Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* i. 2 ('signat *uexilla triumphis*'), ii. 3 ('sacris *uexilla triumphis*'), and *Enigm.* c. 11 ('cupiens *uexilla triumphis*').

iv. 488 *sanguine perfusum*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 88 ('ducunt et Rutulo *perfosus sanguine currus*'); Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* viii. 375 ('nec tota in pugna *perfosus sanguine membra*'); and Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* ii. 305 ('conspexere pii *perfosum sanguine fratris*').

iv. 500 *comes ... magna caterua*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 40 ('primus ibi ante omnis *magna comitante caterua*'), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1697 ('populorum *magna caterua*').

iv. 501 *nobile ... caput*: Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* vii. 713 ('*nobile* nec uictum fatis *caput*'); Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 253 ('*nobile* perpetua *caput* amplectente corona'); and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* v. 16. 4 ('assurgente gradu *nobile iure caput*').

iv. 504 *numine diuino*: Damasus, *Epigr.* lxxxiv. 3 ('*numine diuino* multum Christoque iuuante') and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1660 ('*numine diuino* quod gestum constat aperte'); and cf. above, notes to i. 429 (*numine diuino*) and iv. 406 (*diuino numine*).

iv. 505 *caelo ... ab alto*: Vergil, *Aen.* v. 542 ('*caelo* deiecit *ab alto*'), viii. 423 ('*caelo* descendit *ab alto*'); Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 62 ('*caelo* demissus *ab alto*'); and Alcuin, *Carm.* cix. 7. 2 ('*caelo* vocatus *ab alto*').

iv. 507–509 The same metrical structure (DDSS) is used in four consecutive lines.

iv. 509 *aere sub uacuo*: cf. Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* v. 94 ('*aere* libratum *uacuo*'), and Statius, *Theb.* x. 861 ('*uacuoque sub aere* pendens').

iv. 511 *clarum*: it is possible that *clarum* is being used adverbially here; see above, note to ii. 252.

iv. 512 *peruenit ad aures*: a very common hexameter cadence, employed by poets from Ovid (*Met.* v. 256, vii. 694, ix. 8; *Fasti* iii. 661) onwards: Prudentius (*Apotheosis* 421), Cyprianus Gallus (*Genesis* 1000), Paulinus of Périgueux (*Vita S. Martini* ii. 204), Alcimus Avitus (*Poema* v. 585), etc.

iv. 516 *uoce susurrant*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 580 ('*dum magus in taurum pellax sine uoce susurrat*').

iv. 517 *fidei feruore*: Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1488 ('*addidit ecclesiis, fidei feruore repletus*').

iv. 518 *dona capessunt*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 413 ('*dum populi passim baptismi dona capessunt*').

iv. 519 *frigida ... mens*: cf. Iuvenal, *Sat.* i. 166 ('*rubet auditor cui frigida mens est*'), and Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* vi. 127 ('*frigida quae nuper fuerat mens*').

iv. 521 *terraeque ... satorem*: cf. Statius, *Theb.* iii. 488 ('*summe sator terraeque deumque*').

iv. 522 *per quem cuncta uigent*: [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 1709 ('*per quem cuncta uigent, quae mundi climata iungunt*').

iv. 523 *luce coruscum*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 179 ('*propria quem luce coruscum*'), and Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* viii. 3. 141 ('*culmen apostolicum radianti luce coruscum*'); and cf. *HexLexikon* iii. 226–228, and above, i. 570 ('*caelesti luce corusco*').

iv. 527 *flamma ... amoris*: Prosper, *Epigr.* lxi. 9 ('*hinc fidei uirtus, hinc flamma oriatur amoris*'). *diuini amoris*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 807 ('*ille gerens diuini pignus amoris*'). *succensus amoris*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 496 ('*ipse etiam exi-*

miae laudis *succensus amore*'), whence the cadence is used by Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* ii. 8. 7), Aldhelm (*Carmen de virginitate* 1727 and 1846), and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 889.

iv. 531 *uulgare per orbem*: cf. Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 891–892 ('nam cupiit patulis totum famare *per orbem* / faucibus et cunctas hominum *vulgare per aures*').

iv. 534–545 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iv. 535 *expertus bello*: Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 235 ('siue fide seu quis *bello est expertus et armis*').

iv. 536 *spoliauerat hostem*: Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 80 ('addit equos et tela quibus *spoliauerat hostem*').

iv. 542 *aeterno regi*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 1973 ('*aeterno regi* regum, qui regnat in aethra'). *uictricia signa reportat*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* i. 2 ('carne triumphali *uictricia signa reportans*'). The phrase *uictricia signa* was coined by Lucan (*Bellum ciuile* i. 347).

iv. 544 *quinque cum sensibus*: cf. Prudentius, *Hamartigenia* 299 ('*sensibus in quinque* statuens quae condidit auctor').

iv. 548 *sanctum corpus*: cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* iv. 754 ('*sanctum* nos quaerere *corpus*') and Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxv. 147 ('crescat ut in *sanctum* texta compagine *corpus*').

iv. 550 *aurai*: the scansion of *aurai* as a trisyllable was known to Hilduin from Vergil, *Aen.* vi. 747 ('aetherium sensum atque *aurai* simplicis ignem'); cf. also above, ii. 195.

iv. 551 *naturae lege*: for the positioning of the phrase in these same metrical feet, cf. Manilius (*Astronomica* i. 671, ii. 562, v. 380), Paulinus of Nola (*Carm.* vi. 200), Alcimius Avitus (*Poema* iii. 263), etc.

iv. 553 *aeterna ... cum pace*: Vergil, *Aen.* xii. 504 ('Iuppiter, *aeterna* gentis in *pace* futuras'), and Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xiv. 116 ('hunc, precor, *aeterna* nobis *cum pace* serenum').

iv. 554 *uigili ... mente*: see above, iv. 26 (and note).

iv. 558 *lota cruore*: Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* v. 148 ('pagina depromit, Christi quos *lota cruore*'); and cf. Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* xxi. 28. 2 ('sanctarum legio *cruore lota*').

iv. 560 *cunctorum ueniam ... malorum*: Walahfrid Strabo, *Passio S. Mammetis* xvi. 13 ('sola tibi *ueniam cunctorum* praesto *malorum*'). *ueniam meruit* (in the same metrical feet): Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 640 ('prodidit et *ueniam meruit* post uiscera ceti').

iv. 563 *sanguine cretus*: a hexametrical cadence first used by Vergil (*Aen.* ii. 74 and iii. 608), and subsequently by Ovid (*Met.* xiii. 31), Aldhelm (*Enigm.* xiv. 2), Paulus Diaconus (*Carm.* xxv. 25, xxxix. 27), etc.; cf. *HexLexikon* v. 35.

iv. 565 *letali sorte*: Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 26. 61 ('alter in alterius *letali sorte* pependit').

iv. 567 *Domino donante*: a phrase used in these same metrical feet by Cyprianus Gallus (*Genesis* 347, *Numeri* 749), Aldhelm (*Carmen de uirginitate* 1793), and Alcuin (*Carm.* ix. 173, xii. 9, lxxxviii. 8. 7).

iv. 568 *uirtutum munere*: Prosper, *Epigr.* xv. 6 ('et de *uirtutum munere* sacra litat'), and Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1091 ('nec tamen eximio *uirtutum munere* dites').

iv. 569 *mundi pompis*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 116 ('qui falsas *mundi* contemnunt pectore *pompas*').

iv. 573–587 These lines have no correlate in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

iv. 573 *tramite flexo*: Aldhelm, *Enigm.* xcii. 6 ('nec ratibus pontum sulcabam *tramite flexo*').

iv. 578 *classica saeua*: Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* ii, met. v. 16 ('tunc *classica saeua* tacebant').

iv. 588 *alitibus escae*: cf. Alcimus Avitus, *Poema* v. 552 ('*alitibus* nos *esca* dati nec sede sepulchri').

iv. 598–600 The same metrical structure (SDSS) is used in three consecutive lines.

iv. 599 *saeuissimus anguis*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 1 ('expulerat primogenitum saeuissimus anguis').

iv. 604 *liquidus ... undas*: for the positioning of this common phrase in these same metrical feet, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* v. 859 ('cumque gubernaculo liquidus proiecit in undas'); Ovid, *Met.* iv. 380 ('ergo ubi se liquidus quo uir descenderat undas'), xiii. 535 ('liquidus hauriret ut undas'); Juvenecus, *Euang.* iii. 360 ('torquet et in liquidus deiectum proicit undas'); Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 77 ('monstraret liquidus renouari posse per undas'); Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* x. 6. 63 ('Martini imperio liquidus reuocatur ad undas'); and Alcuin, *Carm.* ix. 57 ('ut sitiens liquidus frustra sibi somniat undas').

iv. 605 *astriferum ... caelum*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 259 ('astriferum clausit quadrato carmine caelum').

iv. 607 *uidet ... cuncta futura*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 99 ('cernens cuncta Deus, praesentia, prisca, futura'), and Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* iii. 50 ('contingit miseris, perdunt bona cuncta futura').

iv. 608 *temporis ... cursum*: cf. Juvenecus, *Euang.* ii. 286 ('et nunc instantis cursus iam temporis urget'). *nutu disponit*: cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 674 ('fecerit aeterno disponens saecula nutu').

iv. 610 *mortiferos ... motus*: cf. Cyprianus Gallus, *Exodus* 1299 ('idem mortiferos solitus damnare reatus').

iv. 617 *generosa ... mulier*: cf. [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 495–496 ('prima tulit mulier ... cum qua cecidit generosa propago').

iv. 618 *erroris nebula*: Iuvenal, *Sat.* x. 4 ('erroris nebula, quid enim ratione timemus').

iv. 620 *pietatis amore*: the phrase is used as a hexameter cadence by Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei* i. 102 and i. 692, and Alcuin, *Carm.* xci. 1. 4; and cf. *HexLexikon* iv. 254–255.

iv. 621 *sollerti mente*: cf. Hibernicus Exul, *Carm.* xx. 5. 9 ('quam si quis studeas solerti adtendere mente').

iv. 629 On the use of *multum* as adverb, see above, note to ii. 252.

iv. 631 *quaerere uitam*: Aldhelm, *Carm. eccl.* iii. 8 ('exin sacratam perrexit *quaerere uitam*'); see also above, i. 236. *aeternam uitam*: a common phrase in hexameter verse; cf. *HexLexikon* i. 38–39.

iv. 646 *famulis ... comitantibus*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 2253 ('ducitur ad propriam *famulis comitantibus aulam*').

iv. 651 *roseamque coronam*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iv. 26. 95 ('flore puellarum *rosea* stipante *corona*').

iv. 656 *miro ... honore*: Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 458 ('*miro* quod *honore* colebat'), and Cyprianus Gallus, *Numeri* 403 ('atque synagogam *miro* perfudit *honore*').

iv. 658–659 Oddly, Hilduin here omits from the verse account the details concerning which of the saints' *uestimenta* were placed in the shrines (specified in the prose text as the tunic, hair-shirt and shoes of Dionysius, the chasuble of Rusticus, and the dalmatic of Eleutherius).

iv. 660 *meritis sed fulta*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* i. 6. 7 ('Martini *meritis* et nomine *fulta* coruscant').

iv. 662 *baptismatis unda*: Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 744 ('iuuat ecclesiam *baptismatis unda*').

iv. 665 *uita superstes*: the phrase is used as a hexameter cadence by Lucan, *Bellum ciuile* viii. 28 ('destruit ingentis animos et *uita superstes*'), and by Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xviii. 76 ('animarum *uita superstes*') and xviii. 363 ('mea tantum *uita superstes*'); and cf. above, note to iv. 324.

iv. 667 *iugo Christi*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxiv. 689 ('et ecce coniux in *iugo Christi* tua').

iv. 669 *signis florere*: cf. Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* v. 361 ('florebat multis elucens gratia *signis*').

iv. 680 *conferre salutem*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 231 ('quin etiam celerem cupiens *conferre salutem*'); Paulinus of Périgueux, *Vita S. Martini* ii. 273

(‘clamatur non quire homini *conferre salutem*’); Walahfrid Strabo, *Carm.* lxvi. 3. 6 (‘quod tibi perpetuam noris *conferre salutem*’); and [Walahfrid], *Vita S. Galli* 188 (‘ut solet infirmis medicus *conferre salutem*’).

iv. 682 *claustra genarum*: Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* iv. 256 (‘membra operis, natale lutum per *claustra genarum*’).

iv. 685 *ures ... patulae*: Horace, *Epist.* i. 18. 70 (‘nec retinent *patulae* commissa fideliter *ures*’), and Eugenius of Toledo, *Carm.* xiv. 45 (‘surdescunt *patulae* trusus anfractibus *ures*’).

iv. 693 *per totum ... uulgabilis orbem*: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* i. 457 (‘bellaque iam fama totum *uulgata per orbem*’). The word *uulgabilis* does not occur elsewhere in verse; its usage here was probably inspired by Vergil’s line.

iv. 695 *percurrere uersu*: Claudius Marius Victorius, *Alethia* ii. 164 (‘artifices summos operum *percurrere uersu*’); cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* iii. 13. 2 (‘quae nunc non libuit *uersu percurrere cuncta*’).

iv. 700 *laude uirorum*: Aldhelm, *Carmen de uirginitate* 1653 (‘iam nunc almo- rum descripta *laude uirorum*’).

iv. 703 *letum ... amaro*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 3 (‘illecebris *letum misero portarat amarum*’).

iv. 705 *fuso ... sanguine*: see above, note to iii. 243.

iv. 706–707 For the change of name from ‘Hill of Mercury’ to ‘Hill of Martyrs’ (i.e. Montmartre), cf. above, p. 524 n. 303.

iv. 708–709 *Denique ... lances*. The sun enters the zodiacal sign of Libra on 17 Sept., where it resides until 17 Nov. (when it enters Sagittarius). The twenty-third day of the sun’s residence in Libra corresponds to 9 Oct., which is the day on which the feast of SS. Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius is universally celebrated in the West.

iv. 712 *mortis carcere*: cf. Venantius Fortunatus, *Carm.* iii. 9. 81 (‘eripis innum- erum populum de *carcere mortis*’), and Audradus Modicus, *Carm.* i. 232 (‘et revocare sibi *mortis de carcere lapsos*’).

iv. 717 *lenti ... astri*: the *lentum astrum* is Saturn, which takes 30 years to complete its orbit of the sun (see Pliny, *Naturalis historia* ii. 6. 32–34 and Bede, *De natura rerum*, c. xiii). Saturn does not seem to be described elsewhere as *lentus*; but Pliny states that ‘Saturni autem sidus gelidae ac rigentis esse naturae’ (ibid. ii. 6. 34), which is possibly what inspired Hilduin’s adjective *lentum*. St Dionysius had completed ‘three orbits’ (*ter tractus*) of Saturn; hence he was 90 years old at the time of his martyrdom.

iv. 719 *aetheream ... ad aulam*: cf. Arator, *Historia apostolica* i. 119 (‘spiritus aetherea descendens sanctus ab aula’); Aldhelm, *Carmen de virginitate* 708 (‘donec aetheream miles migraret in aulam’); and Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 1567 (‘transit ad aetheream laetus feliciter aulam’).

iv. 728 *gloria perpes*: Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxxiii. 131 (‘in caelis etiam gloria perpes erit’), and Alcimus Avitus, *Poema app.* xxi. 9 (‘hos pietas hos prisca fides hos gloria perpes’).

iv. 729 *flamine sancto*: cf. above, iv. 453 and note.

iv. 730 *nescit habere*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* ii. 251 (‘tempora succedunt quia nescit tempus habere’).

iv. 732 *decurrens uersu*: cf. [Vergil], *Culex* 35 (‘mollia sed tenui decurrens carmina uersu’).

Appendices



The ‘Ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2171]

The principal source of Hilduin’s prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, and the one which provided the narrative framework of his text, is an anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii et sociorum eius*, often referred to by the first word of its preface as the *Gloriosae* (*BHL* 2171).¹ In his Letter to Emperor Louis the Pious, Hilduin had discussed the various sources on which he proposed to draw in compiling his own *Passio S. Dionysii*, and he listed first among these a *libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem*, a ‘most ancient booklet of his *passio*’. For sake of convenience I refer to this work simply as the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius. Hilduin’s description of this ‘ancient *passio*’ is as follows:

As to how St Clement sent him here (that is to say, to the people of Gaul); and how, afflicted by various cruel tortures, he journeyed to Christ by gaining the palm of martyrdom; and how, honoured at his funeral by the obeisance of the heavenly militia in the form of angelic guidance, he carried his own head to the place where he now rests in peace; and in what manner he was buried by a certain Catulla, a local noblewoman: the most ancient account of this same suffering makes clear.²

As we have seen,³ Hilduin’s description of the ‘ancient *passio*’ raises various problems: for whereas the text does indeed contain accounts of the first two events mentioned here by Hilduin (St Clement sending Dionysius to Gaul, and the martyrdom of the saint), and whereas some – but not the majority – of the manuscripts of the work name the noblewoman who buried the saints’ remains as Catulla,⁴ it contains no mention whatsoever of the so-called cephalophory,

¹ Also listed *CPL* 1051.

² *Ep.* II, c. 5: ‘Quoniam autem beatus Clemens huc eum, uidelicet in Gallorum gentem, direxerit, et qualiter per martyrii palmam, diuersissimis et crudelissimis afflictus suppliciis, ad Christum peruenerit; et quomodo caput proprium, angelico ductu caelestis militiae in celebratione exequiarum honoratus obsequio, ad locum, ubi nunc requiescit, detulerit; et quo ordine a Catulla quadam matrefamilias sit sepultus: libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem explanat’ (above, p. 206).

³ See above, pp. 87–92.

⁴ The matter is complex, because of the two manuscripts which do give the noblewoman’s name as Catulla, one is the earliest surviving manuscript of the ‘ancient *passio*’, namely P (the

that is, the act of St Dionysius carrying his own amputated head to his place of burial.⁵ In fact Hilduin took the description of the cephalophory, and many other details, from another account of the saint, the so-called ‘anonymous *passio*’ of St Dionysius (*BHL* 2178), which is described and edited below as Appendix II (pp. 660–703). In other words, Hilduin’s assertion to the Emperor, that he would take his account of the saint’s mission and martyrdom from a single ancient *libellus*, is highly misleading, since not one but two earlier *passiones* of the saint are in question. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt whatsoever that it was the ‘ancient *passio*’ (*BHL* 2171) which served as Hilduin’s principal source, for his work contains extensive quotations – either verbatim or with obvious and characteristic stylistic tinkering – of the earlier work.⁶ For ease of reference, I provide here an edition of the ‘ancient *passio*’.⁷

a Date and Origin of the ‘Ancient *passio*’

Previous attempts to determine the date and origin of the ‘ancient *passio*’ (*BHL* 2171) have been bedevilled by two problems which need to be addressed at the outset: that the work is apparently referred to by the anonymous author of the *Vita S. Genovefae* [*BHL* 3334–3335], a text which many scholars would date to the early sixth century; and a lingering suspicion that the work was composed by Venantius Fortunatus, hence at some time in the later sixth century. Let us consider these problems in turn.

The early-sixth-century dating of the *Vita S. Genovefae* depends principally, but not solely, on a statement made by the anonymous author in the epilogue (c. 53) of that work, namely that he was writing eighteen years after the death of St Geneviève herself: ‘post ter senos namque ab obitu eius annus, quod ad describendam eius vitam appuli animum ...’.⁸ Most scholars accept a calculation first made by Charles Kohler in 1881, to the effect that St Geneviève probably

name has also been added in H). The evidence of the manuscripts suggests that the name is an addition made by the scribe of P, but was not found in the author’s original: see below, p. 654 n. 123. In any event it is clear that the name is not Hilduin’s invention.

5 On the various problems raised by Hilduin’s treatment of the cephalophory, see above, p. 84.

6 See above, notes to Hilduin’s prose *passio*, esp. cc. 1, 20–24, 31, 33–35, *et passim*.

7 The following discussion and text are reprinted from M. Lapidge, ‘The “ancient *passio*” of St Dionysius (*BHL* 2171)’, *AB* 132 (2014), 241–285, with the kind permission of the Bollandists.

8 MGH, SS rer. Meroving. iii. 236.

died in 502;⁹ by implication, then, the author of the *Vita S. Genovefae* composed his work c. 520. Now in an earlier chapter of the work (c. 17), the author had had occasion to mention St Geneviève's veneration of the site of the burial of St Dionysius (at a *vicum Catulacensem*), and he went on to explain who St Dionysius was:

Utique sanctus Dionysius primus episcopus civitatis Parisiorum fuit, a persecutoribus in quarta ab eadem urbe martirium consummavit; ut comperi iuxta tradicionem seniorum vel relationem Passionis sue, a sancto Clemente, filio in baptismo sancti Petri apostoli, Romae episcopus ordinatus et in hac provincia ab eo directus est.¹⁰

The reference to the *relatio Passionis sue* would seem to be to the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius, which does indeed explain that St Dionysius was sent on his mission 'by St Clement, the successor of the apostle Peter' (no mention is made, however, of his ordination as bishop). If the *relatio* in question is indeed the 'ancient *passio*' (BHL 2171), the inescapable implication is that it was already in existence by c. 520.

But matters are not so simple, especially in the field of Genovefan studies. In the first place, the *Vita S. Genovefae* is not a unitary text; rather, there are at least five distinct and early recensions of the work, of which the earliest and longest – Recension A – is that edited by Bruno Krusch for the MGH series *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*.¹¹ All remaining recensions derive, directly or indirectly, from Recension A; of these, the most important is that edited by Charles Kohler in 1881, and now referred to as Recension B.¹² (The remaining recensions need not concern us here.)¹³ Now for various reasons – philological, historical, stylistic – Krusch concluded that Recension A, the fount of all

9 C. Kohler, *Étude critique sur le texte de la vie latine de sainte Geneviève de Paris* (Paris, 1881), pp. lii–liii; cf. discussion by Martin Heinzelmänn in Heinzelmänn and J.-C. Poulin, *Les vies anciennes de sainte Geneviève de Paris: Études critiques* (Paris, 1986), pp. 51–52.

10 MGH, SS rer. Meroving. iii. 221: 'At any rate St Dionysius was the first bishop of the city of Paris: he was martyred by executioners at the fourth milestone from this city; as I learned from the tradition of elders or from the narrative of his *passio*, he was ordained a bishop at Rome by St Clement, the son in baptism of St Peter the Apostle, and sent by him to this province.'

11 Recension A is listed BHL 3335; ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Meroving. iii. 215–238.

12 Recension B is listed BHL 3334; ed. Kohler, *Étude critique sur le texte de la vie latine de sainte Geneviève*, pp. 5–47.

13 A helpful synopsis of the various recensions is given by Joseph-Claude Poulin in Heinzelmänn and Poulin, *Les vies anciennes de sainte Geneviève de Paris*, pp. 113–182, esp. pp. 121–

Genovefa *vitae* – was to be dated not to the sixth, but to the later eighth century (and probably to c. 767, the date of the synod of Gentilly).¹⁴ What then of the author's statement, that he was writing eighteen years after St Geneviève's death? Krusch had a simple answer: the author was lying.¹⁵ Needless to say, Krusch's robust views provoked an explosion of outrage in the scholarly Francophone world – not surprisingly, since his eighth-century dating of the *Vita S. Genovefae* would remove at a stroke one of the principal witnesses to the sixth-century church in Francia.¹⁶

One of the historical arguments which led Krusch to his eighth-century dating of the *Vita S. Genovefae* was precisely the statement in c. 17 (quoted above) concerning the ordination of St Dionysius by Pope Clement. This ordination is not mentioned in the 'ancient *passio*' (*Gloriosae*) of St Dionysius. As Krusch pointed out, it is mentioned for the first time in a charter of Theuderic IV, dated 1 Mar. 723 or 724, now in the Archives nationales in Paris (no. K. 4, no. 4²).¹⁷ However, it was quickly pointed out by Louis Duchesne *inter alios* that the chapter referring to the ordination of St Dionysius is not found in other recensions of the *Vita S. Genovefae*, notably not in Recension B; and this observation gave rise to the hypothesis, much favoured by Francophone scholars, that c. 17 concern-

145 (Recension A) and 147–154 (Recension B). There is also a brief but helpful overview of the recensions by M. Heinzlmann, 'Zum Stand der Genovefa-Forschung', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 41 (1985), 532–548, esp. 532–534; see also Heinzlmann, 'Manuscripts hagiographiques et travail de hagiographes: l'exemple de la tradition manuscrite des vies anciennes de Sainte Geneviève de Paris', in *Manuscripts hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes*, ed. M. Heinzlmann (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 9–16.

14 See B. Krusch, 'Die Fälschung der Vita Genovefae', *Neues Archiv* 18 (1893), 9–50 (esp. p. 39 for his arguments concerning the synod of Gentilly), and idem, 'Das Alter der Vita Genovefae', *Neues Archiv* 19 (1894), 444–459. Krusch set out his views at length in his final contribution to the debate: 'Die neueste Wendung im Genovefa-Streit', *Neues Archiv* 40 (1916), 131–181 and 265–327.

15 In his MGH edition, Krusch referred to the author as a *homo mendax* (SS rer. Meroving. iii. 204); cf. 'Das Alter der Vita Genovefae', p. 458: 'Wenn also der Verf. sagt, er habe 18 Jahre nach dem Tode der h. Genovefa, nämlich etwa 520, geschrieben, so hat er gelogen, und seine Schrift gehört in die Kategorie der Schwindel-Litteratur'.

16 The details of the ensuing controversy need not concern us here. An excellent bibliography of the controversy, which raged from 1881 to 1926, is found in Heinzlmann and Poulin, *Les vies anciennes de sainte Geneviève de Paris*, pp. 183–187 (who amusingly refer to the controversy as *bella Genovefensia*).

17 Krusch, 'Die Fälschung der Vita Genovefae', p. 28; 'Das Alter der Vita Genovefae', p. 457; 'Die neueste Wendung', pp. 267–271. For the charter of Theuderic IV, see below, pp. 622–623 and n. 48.

ing St Dionysius was an (eighth-century) interpolation.¹⁸ Such a hypothesis would leave undisturbed the assumption of an early sixth-century origin for the remainder of the work.

In more recent times, powerful arguments have been mounted in favour of a sixth-century origin for the work as a whole.¹⁹ These arguments raise afresh the question of whether Recension A has been interpolated, and in particular whether c. 17 (which contains the mention of St Dionysius and his *passio*) formed part of the original work. Joseph-Claude Poulin has attempted to establish that the language of the alleged interpolation in c. 17 is indistinguishable from that found elsewhere in the *Vita S. Genovefae*.²⁰ If this argument were sound, it would have the implication of dating the *Gloriosae* to the sixth century or earlier. But in my view the evidence adduced by Poulin is too feeble to sustain such an argument. Thus Poulin notes that the interpolated paragraph shares certain vocabulary with the remainder of the text, and cites as evidence the following five words which occur in both: *conlocare*, *lectio*, *porro*, *provincia*, and *quatenus*. But these five words are so common that they could be found in most any Latin text; none is distinctive in any way. Poulin goes on to note two allegedly distinctive phrases found in the interpolated paragraph and the *Vita S. Genovefae*: *ante dies aliquod* (a spelling for *aliquot*) and *iuxta traditionem seniorum*. Of these, the first is a cliché analogous to such common phrases as *per dies aliquot*, *post dies aliquot*, etc.; it is found, for example, in Maximus of Turin, Desiderius of Cahors, and Hrabanus Maurus.²¹ The second phrase – *iuxta*

18 L. Duchesne, 'La vie de sainte Geneviève', *BECh* 54 (1893), 209–224, esp. 211–212, and idem, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1894–1915), II, p. 469.

19 M. Heinzelmann, in Heinzelmann and Poulin, *Les vies anciennes de sainte Geneviève de Paris*, pp. 11–111. Heinzelmann's arguments for dating the *Vita S. Genovefae* to the first half of the sixth century are essentially these: that the place-names mentioned in the text are Gallo-Roman in form (pp. 19–23), as are the personal names, excepting only that of Genovefa herself, which is Germanic (pp. 23–38); that the author shows familiarity with Tours and its neighbourhood, especially the basilica of Saint-Martin (pp. 51–57), a feature which is confirmed by the author's pervasive dependence on the *Vita S. Martini* and *Dialogi* of Sulpicius Severus (and demonstrated by Poulin, *ibid.* pp. 127–132); and that the author was evidently a cleric in the service of Queen Chlothild, who was herself resident in Tours after the death of her husband Clovis I in 511 (Chlothild is referred to as living in c. 56; since she died in 548, that date supplies the *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *vita*) (pp. 53, 74).

20 Poulin, *ibid.* p. 125.

21 Maximus of Turin, *Hom.* xxxi (PL lvii. 293); Desiderius of Cahors, *Ep.* xv (PL lxxxvii. 256); and Hrabanus Maurus, *Hom.* xlii (PL cx. 78). Many more examples may be found in the electronic databases.

traditionem seniorum – does not occur in precisely that form in the *Vita S. Genovefae*, which instead has *iuxta traditionem Domini* (c. 22); but the parallel is irrelevant, since the phrase *iuxta traditionem seniorum* is biblical (Marc. vii. 5). In a word, the linguistic evidence cited by Poulin must be regarded as insufficient to support his claim that the style of the alleged interpolation in c. 17 (and of two others not relevant here) is indistinguishable from that of the rest of the text.²²

In order to support his argument with a different and complementary line of reasoning, Poulin points to several alleged similarities in wording between the *Vita S. Genovefae* and the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius (*BHL* 2171),²³ as follows: the use of the word *gurgēs*, ‘le gouffre où l’ on veut précipiter le saint’;²⁴ the word *compages*, used in the case of the ‘ancient *passio*’ to describe the skull of St Saturninus, in the case of St Geneviève to describe her skeletal frame;²⁵ the words *relatio* and *lectio* used in close proximity;²⁶ and a phrase involving an ordinal number to specify a distance between objects.²⁷ In my view, these parallels prove nothing: *gurgēs* is the normal Latin word for a ‘(whirl)pool’, *compages* that for ‘framework’; *lectio* and *relatio* will inevitably occur in proximity when a medieval author is employing the topos of written source versus oral report; and how would one specify a distance *without* using an ordinal number?

In short, Poulin’s arguments that c. 17 formed part of the original *Vita S. Genovefae* do not carry conviction. On the contrary, the fact that this chapter is not

22 Poulin, *Les vies anciennes de sainte Geneviève de Paris*, p. 126: ‘A notre avis, ces trois paragraphes font donc bel et bien partie de la rédaction originelle’. Poulin’s arguments are accepted – uncritically, in my view – by Heinzelmann, ‘Zum Stand der Genovefa-Forschung’, p. 535: ‘... konnte Poulin zeigen daß alle drei interpolationsverdächtigen – weil in VG B nicht vorhanden – Kapitel in VG A eindeutige Stilmerkmale des Autors von VG A aufweisen, wodurch er die “Interpolationsthese” wohl ein für allemal entkräften haben dürfte.’

23 Poulin, *ibid.* pp. 133–135.

24 *Vita S. Genovefae*, c. 13; the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 4 (below, p. 652).

25 *Vita S. Genovefae*, c. 17 (i.e. the interpolated paragraph itself); the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 1 (below, p. 642).

26 *Vita S. Genovefae*, c. 17 (the interpolated paragraph once again); the ‘ancient *passio*’, praef. For some examples of *relatio* contrasted with *lectio*, see Claudianus Mamertus, *De statu animae*, i. 23; Ennodius, *Ep.* vii. 31; Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalterii*, ps. xxxiii (CCSL xcvi. 293); Adomnán, *De locis sanctis* ii. 30; and Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, c. 108 (quoted below, p. 639, n. 101).

27 *Vita S. Genovefae*, c. 17 (‘in quarta ab eadem urbem’: the interpolated paragraph once again), and the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 4 (‘in sexto ab urbe memorata lapide’: below p. 654).

found in Recension B tends to suggest that it is an interpolation in Recension A, made after Recension B had been produced from it. Perhaps future research will be able to resolve this problem decisively. In the meantime, I accept the arguments of an earlier generation of French scholars (Duchesne, Levillain et al.), that c. 17 of the *Vita S. Genovefae* is an eighth-century interpolation in the text, and hence that the reference in c. 17 of the *Vita S. Genovefae* to the *relatio Passionis sue* cannot be used as proof that the 'ancient *passio*' was in existence in the early sixth century, when the (remainder of the) *Vita S. Genovefae* was arguably composed.

We may now turn to the arguments, several centuries old, that the 'ancient *passio*' was composed by Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600), who was born near Treviso in Italy, but who spent his career from 566 onwards in Gaul, for the most part apparently at Tours.²⁸ The notion that Venantius was the author of the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius (BHL 2171) originated in scholarly circles in Paris in the mid-seventeenth century. The *editio princeps* of the 'ancient *passio*' was published in 1636 by François Bosquet (see below, pp. 633–635).²⁹ The work was apparently transmitted anonymously in the manuscripts which Bosquet used, and he made no conjecture concerning its authorship.³⁰ The first scholar to suggest that Venantius was its author was Pierre de Marca (1594–1662), sometime archbishop of Toulouse (1654–1662) and, briefly, in the last year of his life, archbishop of Paris (1662). De Marca made the suggestion in a letter concerning Christian origins in France which he composed for Henri de Valois [Valesius] (1603–1676), and de Valois in turn printed the letter as a sort of

28 For a recent account of the life of Venantius, see J.W. George, *Venantius Fortunatus. A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 18–34. Needless to add, perhaps, that if the 'ancient *passio*' were composed before c. 520, it cannot have been composed by Venantius, who did not arrive in Gaul before 567, and may not have been born by then.

29 *Ecclesiae Gallicanae historiarum tomus primus*, 2 vols. in 1 (Paris, 1636). Vol. I is a chronological account of the development of the Christian Church in Gallia, from the earliest times onwards; on St Dionysius, see pp. 48–52 [c. xxvi]. Vol. II is a collection of texts illustrating the development, with the text of the 'ancient *passio*' or *Gloriosae* (BHL 2171) at pp. 68–73 (and see also below, pp. 633–635 and nn. 87–89).

30 Bosquet's opinion was that the work was composed in or before the reign of Dagobert I (623–639), presumably because it makes no unambiguous mention of the basilica built by Dagobert at Saint-Denis, although he does not state this argument explicitly (*Ecclesiae Gallicanae historiarum tomus primus*, I, p. 90: 'Vnam certiozem Dionysij passionem dedimus, ante traditionem recentem, & Dagoberti aetatem conscriptam, post illam incipiente traditione circa octauum saeculum parum immutatam, at tandem ab Hilduino perturbatam, & variis narrationibus auctam'). For further comment on the argument, see below, p. 634.

preface to his great edition of Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in 1659.³¹ In this letter de Marca referred unambiguously to what I call the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius,³² and then went on to state that he had discovered the name of its author – that is, Venantius Fortunatus – in a manuscript of Tours containing several other Lives of saints by Venantius:

Nomen auctoris illius Vitae deprendi in codice Ms. Turonensis ecclesiae, qui complectitur Vitas Sanctorum aliquot a Fortunato descriptas, & inter ceteras, Dionysii Parisiensis illam, quae iam, ut dixi, edita est in publicum.³³

The entire tradition of attributing the ‘ancient *passio*’ to Venantius Fortunatus depends on this statement by Pierre de Marca. What is not so widely known is that in the same year in which de Marca’s letter was published, Jean de Launoy (1603–1678), a Doctor of Divinity at the Sorbonne, published in his

31 *Eusebii Pamphili Ecclesiasticae Historiae Libri Decem, eiusdem De Vita imp. Constantini Libri IV*, ed. Henricus Valesius (Paris, 1659); de Marca’s letter (*Petrus Marca Archiepiscopus Tolosanus clarissimo et eruditissimo viro Henrico Valesio S.P.D. De tempore quo primum in Gallis suscepta est Christi fides*) is paginated separately (pp. 1–14) just before the beginning of the *Historia ecclesiastica* itself; the letter is repr. in P. de Marca, *Dissertationes tres*, ed. Stephanus Baluzius [Étienne Baluze] (Paris, 1669), pp. 419–450.

32 Prefatory Letter, p. 10 (repr. *Dissertationes tres*, p. 442): ‘Sane a Clemente in Gallias Dionysium missum fuisse, Beda & Usuardus docent in suis Martyrologiis; quam traditionem eos hausisse, certum est, ex Actis antiquis Vitae S. Dionysii, quae dudum ex MSS. codicibus edidit V.C. & eruditissimus Franciscus Bosquetus’. In fact Bede in the entry for St Dionysius against 9 Oct. in his *Martyrologium* makes no mention of Pope Clement sending Dionysius to Gaul (Bede’s notice is simply taken from that in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, on which see below, p. 622, implying that de Marca was using a much-interpolated version of Bede’s work); nor does Usuard refer *nominatim* to Pope Clement in his entry for 9 Oct.: ‘Apud Parisium, natalis sanctorum martyrum Dionisii episcopi, Rustici presbiteri et Eleutherii diaconi, qui beatus episcopus, a pontifice Romano in Gallias praedicandi gratia directus, praefatam urbem devenit, ubi per aliquot annos commissum sibi opus ardentem prosequens, tandem a praefecto Fescennino una cum sociis gladio animadversus, martyrium complevit’ (ed. J. Dubois, *Le Martyrologe d’Usuard*, Subsidia Hagiographica 40 (Brussels, 1965), p. 317). The mention of the prefect Fescenninus shows clearly that Usuard’s source was Hilduin, not the ‘ancient *passio*’, which makes no mention of the prefect.

33 Ibid. p. 10 (repr. *Dissertationes tres*, p. 442): ‘I discovered the name of the author of that *vita* in a manuscript from the church of Tours, which contains a number of saints’ Lives written by Fortunatus, and among them, that of Dionysius of Paris which, as I said, has recently been published [*scil.* by Bosquet].’

so-called *Dispunctio* a comprehensive demolition of de Marca's attribution.³⁴ De Launoy's demolition is so important for the dating and authorship of the 'ancient *passio*' that the details of his argument deserve to be repeated. The crucial point is that he obtained a full description of the Tours manuscript in question from a colleague, Jean Boèce (*Iohannes Boëtus*), sometime canon of Saint-Victor in Paris and formerly of Tours. According to this information, the first item in the Tours manuscript was the *Vita S. Hilarii* by Venantius Fortunatus (presumably BHL 3885); the work was prefaced by the statement, 'Incipit prologus beati Hilarii Episcopi et confessoris Domino suo, et meritis beatissimo patri Pascentio Papae Fortunatus'. De Launoy then provided a complete list of the contents of this manuscript, as communicated to him by Boèce, as follows:

Vita beati Hilarii Episcopi
 Passio SS. Martyrum Sebastiani et aliorum
 Passio S. Agnetis virginis et Martyris
 Passio S. Vincentii Martyris
 Vita beati Iuliani Episcopi
 Vita beati Gregorii Papae
 Passio SS. Martyrum Geruasij et Prothasij
 Vita S. Samsonis Episcopi
 Vita beati Vrsi Abbatis
 Vita beati Lupi Episcopi et confessoris
 Inuentio S. Stephani primi martyris
 Passio S. Sixti Episcopi et Martyris
 Passio S. Laurentij archidiaconi et martyris
 Vita S. Maximi confessoris
 Vita S. Iuliani martyris
 Passio SS. martyrum Dionysii Episcopi, Rustici presbyteri et Eleutherij
 Archidiaconi
 Vita beati Bricij episcopi
 Passio S. Ceciliae virginis et martyris
 Passio S. Andreae Apostoli
 Vita beati Nicolai episcopi
 Vita S. Martini episcopi Turonensis
 Passio S. Luciae Virginis et Martyris

34 J. de Launoy, *Dispunctio epistolae de tempore, quo primum in Gallis suscepta est Christi fides* (Paris, 1659), pp. 81–95 [ch. x]. On Jean de Launoy, see the brief notice in *DHGE* XXX [2009], col. 983 [with bibliography].

Vita S. Siluestri Episcopi urbis Romae
 Passio S. Iacobi apostoli
 Passio S. Clementis Episcopi et Martyris
 Sermo in decollatione Ioannis Baptistae
 In natali S. Cypriani, sermo beati Maximi Episcopi
 Expositio Euangelij: Egressus Iesus secessit in partes Tyri et Sidonis
 Expositio Euangelij: Ibat Iesus eiiciens demonia
 Sermones dedicationis Ecclesiae.³⁵

As far as I can discover, no manuscript with precisely these contents appears to survive, certainly not at Tours.³⁶ De Launoy goes on to say – apparently basing himself on an inscription in the manuscript itself – that it was written in the time of Archbishop Radulf of Tours, *qui ad annum M.LXXX claruit*, where the reference is to Radulfus Langeais (archbishop from 1073 to 1086). The book, in other words, was an eleventh-century collection of saints' Lives and sermons. The error made by Pierre de Marca was in assuming that since the first item in the manuscript was by Venantius, the remaining items, including the *Passio S. Dionysii*, were likewise by him, as de Launoy immediately saw. Commenting on de Marca's expression *a Fortunato descriptas* (quoted above), he pointed out acidly that 'if by *descriptas* the distinguished scholar means the same as "composed", he is utterly lacking in sense, because Fortunatus did not compose all the *passiones, vitae* and *sermones* mentioned in the list; and if by *descriptas* he means "transcribed", then he is equally lacking in sense, because Venantius could not transcribe them unless he had lived to later than 1070'.³⁷ In short, de Launoy concludes, as far as the *Passio S. Dionysii* published by Bosquet is concerned, it is no more by Fortunatus than the writings of Plautus are by Cicero.³⁸

And yet, in spite of de Launoy's comprehensive demolition of de Marca's opinion, the attribution of the 'ancient *passio*' lingers in scholarly discussion.

35 De Launoy, *Dispunctio*, pp. 88–89.

36 See J. van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers*, Subsidia Hagiographica 64 (Brussels, 1982), and the Bollandists' database, *BHLms*, under the various items listed above.

37 *Dispunctio*, pp. 89–90: 'Si per descriptas, idem ac, compositas, intelligat, perperam omnino intelligit, quia Fortunatus passiones, vitas, sermones hos omnes, qui nominantur in indiculo, non composuit: si vero per descriptas, idem ac, transcriptas, intelligat, perperam quoque intelligit, quia passiones, vitas sermones omnes transscribere non potuit, nisi post annum Christi millesimum septuagesimum vixerit.'

38 Ibid. p. 86: 'Quod autem pertinet ad S. Dionysii acta, quae Bosquetus iuris publici fecit, ea tam non sunt Fortunati, quam non sunt Tullii, quae Plautus scripsit.'

More than a century after the publication of de Launoy's *Dispunctio*, the Italian Benedictine scholar Michelangelo Luchi included the the 'ancient *passio*' in his edition of the complete works of Venantius Fortunatus.³⁹ Luchi was aware of Pierre de Marca's attribution of the work to Venantius, though he did not cite the wording of de Marca's letter; he spoke slightly of de Launoy's opinion on the text,⁴⁰ but made no reference whatsoever to de Launoy's *Dispunctio*, with its decisive – and in my view unassailable – treatment of the lost Tours manuscript on which de Marca based his opinion. Luchi was therefore able to dismiss de Launoy's views with contempt – never having confronted them adequately – and to reassert Venantius' authorship of the 'ancient *passio*'.⁴¹

Krusch believed the 'ancient *passio*' to be a work of the mid-eighth century.⁴² Nevertheless, when at an earlier stage of his career he produced his edition of the *opera pedestria* of Venantius, including the corpus of his prose hagiography, for the MGH series *Auctores antiquissimi* (1885), he included the 'ancient *passio*' (BHL 2171).⁴³ Krusch was well aware of de Launoy's demonstration of de Marca's error,⁴⁴ and it is unfortunate that he did not take a more robustly independent view of the canon of Venantius' hagiographical writings.⁴⁵ The result is that

39 [Venanti Fortunati] *Opera omnia quae extant*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1786–1787); the edition of the 'ancient *passio*' is at II, pp. 175–180. Luchi's edition of Venantius was reprinted entire in PL lxxxviii. 9–596, with the 'ancient *passio*' at cols. 577–583. Luchi's 'edition' of the 'ancient *passio*' is simply a reprint of Bosquet's edition with a few additional notes, none of them significant.

40 As contained in de Launoy's *Iudicium de Hadr. Valesii disceptatione quae de basilicis inscribitur* (Paris, 1658), a reply to the *Disceptatio de basilicis quas primi Francorum reges condiderunt* (Paris, 1657), a work by Adrien de Valois (younger brother of Henri) which had used the evidence of the 'ancient *passio*' (c. 2) to establish when the earliest Christian basilicas were built in France.

41 *Opera omnia quae extant*, II, p. 174: 'Nam & illa levia momenta sunt, quae a Launojo asseruntur, quamobrem Acta illa inficiemur plane esse Fortunati ...' (repr. PL lxxxviii. 577–578).

42 'Die neueste Wendung', p. 269.

43 MGH, AA IV/ii [1885], pp. 101–105.

44 Ibid. p. xxxi: 'Quem [scil. de Marca] hac in re falli quaestione accuratius examinata Delaunoy probavit, cuius argumentis Bollandiani quoque accesserunt. Luchi autem rem in dubio reliquit'. The reference to *Bollandiani* is to the extensive discussion of Corneille de Bye in *Acta ss.*, Oct. iv. 865–935. It is slightly misleading of Krusch to state that Luchi left the matter in doubt: Luchi was utterly explicit in rejecting the views of de Launoy, though he knew them imperfectly (see above, n. 41).

45 In fact Krusch's presentation of Venantius' Lives of saints includes the very same works and follows almost precisely the same order as that in Luchi's edition: *Vita S. Hilarii* [BHL 3885], *Vita S. Germani* [BHL 3468], *Vita S. Albini* [BHL 234], *Vita S. Paterni* [BHL

the attribution to Venantius lingers in scholarly literature, for example in *BHL*, where admittedly it is *perperam adscripta Fortunato* (but Fortunatus is still named, and not all users of *BHL* will know what *perperam* means) and in the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (no. 1051), where it is included in an Appendix to Venantius (and not specified there as spurious or even dubious). Many modern scholars refer to it as ‘the pseudo-Fortunatus *passio*’. Any association with Fortunatus should be rejected once for all: to paraphrase de Launoy, it is no more ‘pseudo-Fortunatus’ than it is ‘pseudo-Cicero’.

If there are no grounds for dating the ‘ancient *passio*’ to before c. 520, and none for attributing it to Venantius Fortunatus, when and where did the work originate? Various evidence, some of it self-contradictory and none of it utterly decisive, points to an answer. The first piece of evidence concerns the names of Dionysius’ companions. When Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum* (i. 30) refers to the mission of Dionysius, he makes no mention of the saint’s companions. The first securely datable text to refer to them is a charter of Clovis II dated 22 June 654: ‘pro cuius [*scil.* Christi] amore et desiderio inter ceteros gloriosos triumphos marterum beatus Dionisius, Leutherius et Rustecus, meruerunt palmam uictoriae et coronam percipere gloriosam’.⁴⁶ The sequence of the names – Dionysius, (E)leutherius, Rusticus – is thought to be original, since it is this sequence which is found in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* against 9 Oct.: ‘Parisius, natale sanctorum Dionisi episcopi, Eleutheri presbiteri et Rustici diaconi’.⁴⁷ However, in a charter of Theuderic IV,

6477], *Vita S. Radegundis* [*BHL* 7048], *Vita S. Amantii* [*BHL* 351], *Vita S. Remegii* [*BHL* 7150], *Vita S. Medardi* [*BHL* 5864], *Vita S. Marcelli* [*BHL* 5248], *Vita S. Leobini* [*BHL* 4847], *Vita S. Maurilii* [*BHL* 5730–5731], *Passio SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii* [*BHL* 2171], and a commentary on the Athanasian Creed first attributed to Venantius by Muratori. Of these, Krusch apparently thought that the Lives of Hilarius, Germanus, Albinus, Paternus, Radegund, and Marcellus were genuine works of Venantius; the remainder, including the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius, he described as ‘opuscula Venantio Fortunato male attributa’ (ibid. p. 55). It is unfortunate that Krusch did not set out at length his criteria for Venantius’ authorship. A thorough evaluation and stylistic analysis of the corpus of Venantius’ prose hagiography is a great desideratum.

46 Ed. G.H. Pertz in *MGH, Diplomata* i. 19 [no. 19]. The charter is preserved as a papyrus original in the Archives nationales in Paris as K. 2, no. 3; it is ed. in facsimile in *ChLA XIII* [= *France I*, ed. H. Atsma and J. Vezin (Zurich, 1981)], no. 558.

47 *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, ed. J.B. De Rossi and L. Duchesne, *Acta ss.*, Novembris, 11/i, p. 130. The entry for 9 Oct. is found in the Bern and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts, but not in the earliest surviving manuscript, that from Echternach (Paris, *BNF*, lat. 10837 [s. viiiⁱⁿ]). However, the Echternach manuscript mistakenly records the commemoration against 8 Oct., and again on 10 Oct. (probably, as Robert Godding suggests to me, as the result of

issued on 1 Mar. 723 or 724, the proem of which is modelled on the previously-mentioned charter of Clovis II (of 654), the sequence of names of Dionysius' two followers has been reversed; furthermore, the charter mentions that the three saints were sent to Gaul by Pope Clement: 'pro cuius amore et disiderium inter ceterus gloriosus triunfus martyrum beatus Dyonisius cum sociis suis, Rustico et Eleotherio, qui primi post apostolorum sub urdinacione beati Climenti, Petri apostholi successoris, in hanc Galliarum provincia advenirunt ibique ... meruerunt palmam marthyriae et coronas perciperi gloriosas'.⁴⁸ Since this charter is thought to contain the earliest reference to Pope Clement and to the sequence of names Dionysius – Rusticus – Eleutherius, its date has been taken as the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the 'ancient *passio*' (BHL 2171), which likewise refers to the mission of Pope Clement (c. 2) and gives the sequence of names as Dionysius – Rusticus – Eleutherius.⁴⁹ The *terminus ante quem* is supplied by the date of the earliest surviving manuscript of the work, St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F. v. I. 12, fols. 63–68 (see below, p. 630), which was written at Corbie during the abbacy of Maurdramnus, in a script known as 'Maurdramnus-type minuscule', the earliest attested form of Caroline minuscule.⁵⁰ The St Petersburg manuscript is therefore to be dated to the period of Maurdramnus's abbacy, between c. 772 and 781. In other words, the 'ancient *passio*' (BHL 2171) was composed at some time in the mid-eighth century, between roughly 725 and 775.⁵¹

an error in the manuscript transmission), indicating that the commemoration on 9 Oct. was already in the exemplar of the Echternach manuscript: see discussion by H. Quentin and H. Delehaye in *Acta ss.*, Novembris, II/ii, pp. 547–548.

48 Ed. Pertz, MGH, *Diplomata* i. 82 [no. 93]; also ed. Havet, *Questions mérovingiennes*, pp. 58–62 (the quotation is on pp. 59–60). The charter is not preserved in its original (papyrus) form, but as an imitative paper copy dating from the second half of the fourteenth century now in the Archives nationales in Paris, K. 4, no. 4². However, as Havet has shown (*ibid.* p. 58 n. 1), there is no need to doubt the authenticity of the document, since the fourteenth-century scribe (who names himself as Tripet) is known to have copied other Merovingian charters the originals of which do survive, and these copies reveal him to be 'un copiste, sinon impeccable, du moins digne de beaucoup de confiance'.

49 Havet, *Questions mérovingiennes*, pp. 34–35. In the 'ancient *passio*', Rusticus is described as *presbyter*, as in the charter, but Eleutherius has become an 'archdeacon' (*archidiacon*): a palpable hint that the *passio* is later than the charter, not vice versa. Hilduin will subsequently make Rusticus an *archipresbyter* (c. 25), so that his title matches that of Eleutherius.

50 *CLA* XI, no. 1609; for 'Maurdramnus-type minuscule', see below, p. 630 and n. 76.

51 Krusch, too, dated the 'ancient *passio*' to the mid-eighth century: '... die Schrift vielmehr im 8. Jh. entstanden sei und unter gewissen Voraussetzungen auch um 767 geschrieben sein

We need to consider, finally, where the ‘ancient *passio*’ (*BHL* 2171) was composed. Since the work concerns a saint whose cult was centred in Paris, many scholars have simply assumed that it was composed there, not least because of the author’s reference to his work on St Dionysius as *peculiaris patroni gesta* (c. 1).⁵² It is true that St Dionysius is customarily referred to in Merovingian charters in favour of Saint-Denis as *peculiaris patronus noster*.⁵³ It will be noted, however, that the author of the ‘ancient *passio*’ does not add the possessive personal pronoun *noster* to the words *peculiaris patronus*, and that, without the pronoun, the phrase *gesta peculiaris patroni* probably means no more than ‘the accomplishments of a particular patron-saint’, as I have translated it (below, p. 645). Furthermore, a striking feature of the work is the almost complete absence of detail, topographical or otherwise, pertaining to Paris.⁵⁴ And

könne’ (*Die neueste Wendung*, p. 269; cf. *MGH, SS rer. Meroving.* iii. 205 and ‘*Das Alter der Vita Genovefae*’, p. 457). Krusch’s dating to ‘around 767’ pertains in fact to the *Vita S. Genovefae* (*BHL* 3335) which, in his view, was produced at time of the synod of Gentilly, which met under Pippin in 767 and concerned itself with the definition of the Trinity and of icon-worship (*Die Fälschung der Vita Genovefae*, p. 39); and since – again in his view – the *Vita S. Genovefae* made reference in c. 17 to the ‘ancient *passio*’ (see above, p. 614), the synod of Gentilly provided a *terminus ad quem* for the production of that work as well. But Krusch’s arguments on this complex matter are not worked out in detail and carry little conviction.

52 Cf. R. Macaigne, ‘La vie de sainte Geneviève et la passion de saint Denys’, *Revue des questions historiques*, n.s. 48 (1912), 91–105, at p. 101: ‘L’auteur de cette pièce n’est ni un méridional ni un anglo-saxon ... mais tout simplement un moine de l’abbaye [*scil.* de Saint-Denis], l’expression *peculiaris patroni* ... ne laisse aucun doute.’

53 See Pertz, *MGH, Diplomata* i. 13–14 [no. 11, of c. 627]: ‘Dodo, abba de basilica sancti domni Dioninsio martheris peculiare patroni nostri’; 16 [no. 14, of 631 or 632]: ‘domni Diunensi martheris peculiaris patroni nostri’; 31 [no. 32, of 656×670]: ‘abba de basilica peculiaris patroni nostri domni Dioninsis’; 32 [no. 34, of 658]: ‘peculiaris patroni nostri domni Dioninse’; 46 [no. 51, of c. 681]: ‘ad monasterio peculiaris patroni nostri, domni Dioninsiae’; 54 [no. 61, of 692]: ‘ad basilica peculiaris patroni nostri domni Dionisii’; 83 [no. 93, of 724]: ‘Berthoaldus abba de ipsa basilica peculiaris patronis nostri, domni Dionisii’; etc. For discussion of the concept, see J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 126–130, and A. Thacker, ‘“Peculiaris Patronus Noster”: The Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages’, in *The Medieval State. Essays presented to James Campbell*, ed. D.M. Palliser and J.R. Maddicott (London, 2000), pp. 1–24, esp. pp. 5–8 on St Dionysius.

54 Cf. Havet, ‘Questions mérovingiennes, v. Les origines de Saint-Denis’, p. 38: ‘Ce qu’il y a peut-être de plus remarquable dans cet ouvrage [*scil.* the ‘ancient *passio*’], c’est le petit nombre de faits qu’il renferme; on pourrait presque dire: l’absence complète de faits’. Not ‘a complete absence of facts’, however: the author did know that the original settlement of Paris was on the Île de la Cité and that this settlement was fortified by walls (c. 2), and also that the burial of St Dionysius was marked by a tomb which was subsequently enclosed

perhaps the most striking omission in a work arguably composed in eighth-century Paris is the lack of any unambiguous reference to the great basilica of St Dionysius which was begun by Dagobert I, king of Austrasia (son of Chlotar II) at some point during the years 623–625 and completed c. 630;⁵⁵ the 'ancient *passio*' states merely that 'the Christians subsequently constructed a basilica over the martyrs' bodies' (c. 5). But the omission of detailed reference would seem less striking if the work was composed somewhere other than Paris, and the existence of the basilica was known only by hearsay; and this inference is confirmed by the mention in the *Praefatio* of the saint's activity in *locus ille gaudens*, where *ille* seems to indicate a place remote from where the author was composing his work. The prominent mention in c. 1 of two early bishops from sees in the south of France – St Saturninus of Toulouse and St Paul of Narbonne – has suggested to various scholars, and notably to Julien Havet, that the 'ancient *passio*' or *Gloriosae* was in fact composed by an author resident somewhere in Aquitaine.⁵⁶ Various evidence does indeed point to a southern origin for the work. As we shall see, many of the earliest manuscripts of the 'ancient *passio*' were written in southern Europe (Aquitaine as well as southern Germany and Switzerland), and none certainly in Paris. The author of the earliest recension (Recension A) of the *vita* of St Austremonius, bishop of Auvergne (BHL 844), almost certainly a resident of the Auvergne, drew heavily on the *Gloriosae* for detail of his bishop's career. Since Recension A of the *Vita S. Austremonii* is probably to be dated to the second half of the eighth century at latest, the implication is that there was a copy of the 'ancient *passio*' available in the Auvergne soon after it was composed.⁵⁷ It is also striking that at one point of his narrative the author of *Gloriosae* uses an exceptionally rare word – *ceruicositas* – to describe the obstinacy of the Germans (c. 2). According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s.v.), this word is attested in a single

within a basilica (cc. 4–5), located six miles from the Île de la Cité (which approximately describes the location of Saint-Denis).

- 55 See Havet, *ibid.* pp. 7–21 and 32; for the excavated remains of Dagobert's basilica, see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 49–57 and Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 29–50. But see also Wyss, *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis*, pp. 28–32, who stresses that the attribution to Dagobert of the renovated late antique basilica recovered by excavation is a matter of conjecture.
- 56 Havet, *ibid.* pp. 40–41. Havet's opinion was endorsed by Louis Duchesne, 'La passion de saint Denis', in *Mélanges Julien Havet. Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à la mémoire de Julien Havet (1853–1893)* (Paris, 1895), pp. 31–38, at p. 31.
- 57 See [Bollandists], 'La plus ancienne vie de S. Austremoine', *AB* 13 (1894), 33–46; for the borrowings from the 'ancient *passio*', see pp. 40–41 and below, pp. 646–649 (notes to c. 2).

ancient source, namely the Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, who was bishop of Clermont-Ferrand in the Auvergne from 469 or 470 until his death c. 480.⁵⁸ Nothing is known about the early transmission of the Letters of Sidonius, but it is not unreasonable to think that a copy was still available in the Auvergne in the eighth century. Finally, it may be noted that there were churches dedicated to St Dionysius in many places in France other than Paris, notably in Bordeaux, where in the later sixth century Bishop Leontius renovated the church of St Dionysius on an estate, probably that at Saint-Denis-de-Piles (35 km. from Bordeaux), as recorded in a poem by Venantius Fortunatus.⁵⁹ In sum, such evidence as we have suggests that the 'ancient *passio*' (*Gloriosae*) was composed somewhere in Aquitaine at some time in the mid-eighth century. But it had travelled to Paris by no later than the early ninth century, where it was laid heavily under contribution by Hilduin in the composition of his prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.⁶⁰

58 *TLL* III, col. 945, citing Sidonius, *Ep.* vii. 9. 11 ('inter haec monasterialibus disciplinis aegre subditur vel popularium *cervicositas* vel licentia clericorum'). See also below, c. 2 ('Germaniae ceruicositas'), as well as discussion below, p. 649 n. 118.

59 *Carm.* i. 11; see discussion by George, *Venantius Fortunatus*, pp. 108–109; but note that Anne Lombard-Jourdan ('Du nouveau sur les origines chrétiennes de Paris', *Paris et Île-de-France: Mémoires* 32 (1981), 125–160) has argued that Venantius' poem in fact refers to a small church dedicated to St Dionysius at the easternmost point of the Île de la Cité, within the third-century Roman walls, and which bore the name of Saint-Denis-du-Pas until it was demolished in 1813 (*ibid.* p. 136). Unfortunately there is no early (pre-eighth-century) record of the existence of this church.

60 Havet ('Questions mérovingiennes', p. 41) suggested that, since Louis the Pious was (sub) king of Aquitaine (from 781, when he was three years old), before the death of his father Charlemagne brought him to the throne of the entire Carolingian empire in 814, it was possibly through his agency that a copy of the 'ancient *passio*' made its way from Aquitaine to Paris and into the hands of Hilduin, whose prose *Passio S. Dionysii* was produced on commission for Louis. Havet further suggested that it might have been at Louis' instigation 'qu'un membre du clergé toulousain aurait écrit, aux environs de l'an 800, la *Passio SS. martyrum Dionysii* etc.' (*ibid.*). But this bold hypothesis is ruled out by the date of the 'ancient *passio*' itself which, as we have seen, was already in existence during the abbacy of Maurdrannus (c. 771–782), when the earliest surviving manuscript of the work was written; and Louis himself was not born until 778.

b Manuscripts of the 'Ancient *passio*'

The 'ancient *passio*' is preserved in a substantial number of manuscripts, perhaps as many as thirty or more.⁶¹ However, many of these are late medieval (thirteenth-century or later) legendaries, and I have thought it important to base a new edition on collation of fifteen of the earliest of the surviving manuscripts (none later than the twelfth century), as follows:⁶²

A = Paris, BNF, lat. 3793 (s. xi), fols. 178^v–180^v. A large collection of thirty-three saints' Lives arranged in calendrical order, of unknown provenance, consisting of 249 folios in large quarto format (360 × 220 mm.) ruled in two columns.⁶³

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- 61 As far as I am aware, no complete census of manuscripts has ever been compiled for this text. The database *BHLms* currently lists some twenty-six manuscripts; but this database only includes manuscripts which have been described in the Bollandists' own catalogues of hagiographical manuscripts, and does not include (for example) the large collections in London, Munich, Vienna, etc. The present edition incorporates collation of at least five manuscripts (GMPSV) not listed in *BHLms*. Other manuscripts appear to have been lost in recent times, notably the manuscript which formed the basis of Bosquet's edition (see below, p. 633). By the same token, in his catalogue of Orléans manuscripts (1885), Charles Cuissard, basing himself on a seventeenth-century note in Orléans, BM, 341 (289), observed that the manuscript once contained a copy of a 'passio et martyrium Dionysii, a sancto Clemente Parisios missi, cuius haec vita dicitur scripta anno 700 ab anonymo ... quam D. Bosquetus edidit'; but this part of the manuscript has subsequently been lost (C. Cuissard, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'Orléans, fonds de Fleury* (Orléans, 1885), p. 186).
- 62 No previous edition of the text has been based on more than three manuscripts (see below, pp. 633–637). A number of manuscripts dating from the twelfth century or earlier, but not collated here, are listed in *BHLms*: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, 9120 (3221) (s. xii), fols. 157^v–166^v; *ibid.* II. 975 (3287) (s. x), fols. 176^v–177^v; Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 5 (s. xii), fols. 72^r–78^r; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 84 inf. (s. xii), fols. 220^v–222^r; Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 453 (s. xii), fols. 58^r–61^r; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, I (s. xi/xii), fols. 300–301; *ibid.* XXV (s. xi/xii), fols. 313–314; and Rouen, BM, U.42 (s. x/xi), fols. 172^v–174^r. Two further manuscripts dating from the twelfth century or earlier are recorded in the Bollandists' (unpublished) *fichier* but likewise have not been collated for this edition: Cambrai, BM, 863–864 (s. xi), fols. 168–174; and Perugia, Archivio Capitolare San Lorenzo, 40 (s. xiiⁱⁿ), pp. 447a–456b. A further fragmentary manuscript is found in Auxerre, BM, 28 (s. xi), fols. 20^v–22^r. I am grateful to Robert Godding for providing this information from the Bollandists' *fichier*.
- 63 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, I, pp. 305–326. As the Bollandists remark (p. 308), and as the following app. crit. reveals, the copy of the 'ancient *passio*' in this manuscript is much redacted and highly abbreviated.

C = Paris, BNF, lat. 11748 (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, s. x), fols. 58^v–60^r. The second volume of a two-volume legendary, now consisting of 155 folios in large quarto format (360 × 270 mm.) ruled in two columns.⁶⁴ It contains fifty saints' Lives arranged in calendrical order, beginning with St James (25 July) and continuing to the end of December. The manuscript once belonged to (and was presumably written at) Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, but was later owned by Saint-Germain in Paris.

D = Paris, BNF, lat. 5296 D (s. xi), fols. 4^v–7^v. A composite manuscript, now consisting of 99 folios, in quarto format (325 × 200 mm.) and containing eighteen saints' Lives, mostly *passiones apostolorum*.⁶⁵ The core of the book (fols. 35–99) is a ninth-century passionary;⁶⁶ to this original core, additions were made in the eleventh century (fols. 1–30) and the twelfth (fols. 31–34); fols. 1–15 and 22–30, which contain the 'ancient *passio*' at fols. 4^v–7^v, are written in two columns; the remainder of the manuscript is written in long lines. The added folios contain no indication of origin or provenance; but it would be reasonable to assume that they were added in the same central French monastery where, in the opinion of Bernhard Bischoff, fols. 35–99 were written.

F = Paris, BNF, lat. 17002 (Moissac, s. x), fols. 105^r–106^v. The core of the manuscript (fols. 2–243) is a huge legendary in folio format (460 × 295 mm.) written in two columns and dating from the tenth century, containing 121 saints' Lives arranged for the most part in calendrical order (fols. 1–217 contain Lives for January to December, fols. 217^v–243^r additional Lives for various dates of the liturgical year).⁶⁷ (Fols. 245–272 are a twelfth-century addition, and contain further additional saints' Lives for various dates of the year.) The manuscript was written at Moissac, and is known as the 'Great Moissac Legendary' ('le grand légendier moissagais').⁶⁸

64 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, III, pp. 4–9.

65 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, II, pp. 6–11.

66 See G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, 24–25 (Turnhout, 1977), pp. 16 and 19. In the opinion of Bernhard Bischoff, fols. 35–99 were probably written somewhere in Central France in the third quarter of the ninth century: see Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 4358.

67 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, III, pp. 364–386.

68 See Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, pp. 16, 34–35, 38–39, 52, 54, 69, and 102.

G = St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 230 (St Gallen, s. viii/ix), pp. 564–568. A large collection of patristic writings (notably including excerpts from the writings of Isidore, Eucherius, Defensor of Ligugé and Gennadius), in reduced quarto format (270×160 mm.) consisting of 571 pages and written in long lines in Alemannic minuscule apparently at St Gallen sometime in the second half of the eighth century;⁶⁹ the pages containing the 'ancient *passio*' (pp. 564–568) are a somewhat later addition to the manuscript, and date from c. 800 (s. viii/ix). They are the only hagiographic content of the manuscript. The text of the 'ancient *passio*' is incomplete, ending in the middle of c. 5.

H = Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de médecine, 55 (Lotharingia, s. ixⁱⁿ; provenance Autun), fols. 45^r–46^v. A large collection of some sixty-five saints' Lives, arranged with *passiones* of apostles at the beginning, followed by those of martyrs and Lives of confessors;⁷⁰ the manuscript consists of 222 folios in large quarto format (370×250 mm.) written in long lines somewhere in Lotharingia or northern Burgundy; its later provenance is Saint-Étienne in Autun.⁷¹

M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4585 (Regensburg [circle of Bishop Baturich (817–847)], s. ix¹), fols. 55^r–58^v. A small collection of sixteen saints' Lives in random order, consisting of 169 folios in octavo format (240×155 mm.) written in long lines at Regensburg during the episcopacy of Bishop Baturich;⁷² the manuscript was later owned at Benediktbeuern.⁷³

N = Paris, BNF, lat. 5308 (s. xiiiⁱⁿ), fols. 163^r–164^r. A huge twelfth-century collection of 126 saints' Lives in folio format (450×345 mm.) consisting of 413 folios written in two columns. The volume contains saints' Lives for the period from

69 See G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St Gallen* (Halle, 1875), pp. 83–84. For the script, see *CLA* VII, no. 933, where it is described as 'Alemannic minuscule', as well as B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1960–1980), I, p. 85, and idem, *Anecdota novissima. Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 86–87.

70 *Catalogue général, Départements I* [quarto ser.], pp. 307–308.

71 Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, no. 2822: 'Lothringen oder Nordburgund, wahrscheinlich unter Mitwirkung eines Metzger Schreibers, IX. Jh., Anfang'.

72 Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, I, p. 206 and II, p. 238; and idem, *Katalog*, II, no. 2975: 'Regensburg, Baturich-Kreis, IX.Jh., 1./2. Viertel'.

73 See W. Meyer, *Fragmenta Burana* (Berlin, 1901), p. 162 [plate of fols. 3^v–4^r].

late August until mid-January, and is therefore probably the second volume of a massive two-volume legendary; its origin is unknown.⁷⁴

P = St Petersburg, Russian National Library, F. v. I. 12, fols. 63–68 (Corbie, s. viii²). The ‘ancient *passio*’ is contained in an originally separate booklet (a single quire of six), containing only the ‘ancient *passio*’, in what is now a composite manuscript consisting of several originally separate parts datable to the ninth century and all written at Corbie.⁷⁵ The booklet containing the ‘ancient *passio*’ as its sole content was also written at Corbie, in small octavo format (200 × 130 mm.) in long lines, but at an earlier period, during the abbacy of Maurdramnus (c.772–781), for it is in an early type of Caroline minuscule known as ‘Maurdramnus-type minuscule’.⁷⁶ It is thus the earliest surviving manuscript of the ‘ancient *passio*’. The original text in P has been much corrected by later scribes.

Q = Paris, BNF, lat. 5301 (Saint-Martial in Limoges, s. x), fols. 213^r–216^r. A one-volume legendary covering the entire liturgical year, from St Sebastian (20 Jan.) to St Lucia (13 Dec.) consisting of 332 folios in large quarto format (380 × 300 mm.), written in two columns, and containing sixty-one saints’ Lives (with an additional six Lives at the end: fols. 296–332).⁷⁷

R = Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 453 (s. xii^m), fols. 58^r–61^r. A miscellaneous collection of twenty-five *passiones* and Lives in random order, consisting of 122 folios in octavo format (225 × 195 mm.) written in long lines.⁷⁸

S = St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 563 (NE France [vicinity of Saint-Amand], s. ix^{med}), pp. 20–26. A collection of nineteen saints’ Lives, mostly of northern

74 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, II, pp. 64–74.

75 See Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, nos. 2309 (fols. 1–38), 2310 (fols. 39–46), 2310a (fols. 47–62) and 2311 (fols. 69–98).

76 *CLA* XI, no. 1609, and A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du ve au XIIIe siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1910), I, pp. 35–37, at 37, and II, pl. xxxv [fol. 64^r]; cf. also O. Dobiaš-Roždestvenskaja and W.W. Bakhtine, *Les anciens manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Saltykov-Ščedrin de Leningrad, VIIIe–début IXe siècle* (Paris, 1991), p. 83. For ‘Maurdramnus-type minuscule’, see briefly B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. D.Ó. Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 108–111.

77 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, II, pp. 23–36.

78 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, III, pp. 454–456.

Frankish saints such as Amandus, Quintinus and Richarius, consisting of 294 pp. in octavo format (270 × 190 mm.) written in long lines.⁷⁹

U = Paris, BNF, lat. 16836 (Compiègne, s. xii), fols. 182^v–185^v. A manuscript consisting of 216 folios in large quarto format (380 × 260 mm.) written in two columns, which contains twelve saints' Lives jumbled up with other materials, including treatises by Cyprian and various homilies.⁸⁰

V = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 371 (Salzburg, s. ixⁱⁿ), fols. 189^v–192^r. A large collection of saints' Lives consisting of 228 folios in quarto format (335 × 215 mm.) written in long lines, produced at Salzburg in the time of Archbishop Arn (798–821).⁸¹

W = Paris, BNF, lat. 5298 (Moissac, s. xii), fols. 83^v–85^v. A manuscript consisting of 128 folios in huge folio format (435 × 290 mm.) written in two columns, which contains eleven saints' Lives copied *in extenso*, jumbled up with a large number of homilies and drastically abbreviated *compendia* of other saints' Lives.⁸²

c Relationship of the Manuscripts

The inflated, and often opaque, Latin style of the 'ancient *passio*' posed severe problems for later copyists; and these problems were compounded by the likelihood – if my early arguments in favour of a mid-eighth-century Aquitanian origin are valid – that the archetype was written in a local variety of Merovingian minuscule. These difficulties seem to have prompted scribes to reduce the author's unpalatable Latin prose to something more easily comprehensible. The evidence of collation suggests that all scribes were susceptible to this temptation to some degree – with the implication that variant readings often represent conscious scribal attempts at redaction rather than the sort

79 See B.M. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen: beschreibendes Verzeichnis I, Teil IV: Codices 547–669* (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 51–54. For the dating of the manuscript, see Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 5784.

80 See L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 16719–18613* (Paris, 1871), p. 12; and [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, III, pp. 363–364.

81 See Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, II, p. 121, and idem, *Katalog*, III, no. 7113.

82 See [Bollandists], *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, II, pp. 16–18.

of unconscious errors which can point to manuscript affiliations. The most extreme attempts at redaction were those by the scribes of MSS. A, C and Q (the eccentric readings of MS. G evidently result from the scribe's inattention and ignorance of Latin). Nevertheless, certain patterns of affiliation emerge.⁸³ A distinctive lacuna at 654.2 in c. 4 (*et mente monstrabat et opere*) is shared by five manuscripts, DMPSV; of these, M and P often share readings against all other manuscripts, as do D and V.⁸⁴ For example, in c. 3 at 650.13, MP have the reading *occiduam* in the clause 'cum *occiduam* orbis partem pro Christianorum inquisitione percurrerent', whereas AFGNQSVW read *occidui* (construing the adjective with *orbis*) and DHU *occidue* (erroneously construing *orbis* as fem.); and in c. 4 at 654.4, MP preserve the dative determinative pronoun *eis*, which is omitted by all remaining manuscripts (perhaps rightly). On the whole, MP in agreement provide a sound text, but they cannot be followed blindly, as Krusch did. For example, in c. 3 at 650.10, MP (joined by FGR) transmit the solecism *periebat* (printed thus by Krusch), whereas the remaining manuscripts preserve the correct imperfect indicative *peribat*.⁸⁵ Accordingly, when P – the earliest surviving manuscript of the 'ancient *passio*' – preserves the name of the noblewoman who rescued the bodies of the martyrs (c. 4 at 654.1: *Catulla nomine*), the omission of the name from M and from the majority of other manuscripts suggests that it was added by the scribe of P but was not in the author's original text.

Of the remaining manuscripts, F joined sometimes by U and occasionally by R,⁸⁶ offer a sound text in places where MP preserve a doubtful reading, as, for example, in c. 4 at 654.9, where F alone preserves *terram* as the complement to

83 Note, however, that the omission or inclusion of the *Praefatio* seems to reflect the whims of individual scribes, and cannot be used as a criterion for classifying the manuscripts.

84 These affiliations are reflected in the sequence *esse doctorem* (DMPV) in c. 1 at 644.1, where all remaining manuscripts (CFGHNQRSUW) have the transposition *doctorem esse* (A omits this chapter). However, any clear lines of affiliation here are blurred by the fact that DPV preserve the *Praefatio*, which is omitted by M, in company with eight other manuscripts.

85 Kühner–Holzweissig, p. 725. It could of course be argued that *periebat* is what the author wrote, presumably out of ignorance. But if grammatical correctness is to be rejected as a criterion for evaluating variants in the 'ancient *passio*', it is difficult to see how a legible text could be established. It is for these reasons that in c. 2 at 648.1 I have printed the accusative *conclusionem* (following the preposition *intra*) preserved by MSS. DFNVW against *conclusionem* (MSS. ACGHMPQRSU), since *intra* takes the accusative. Here again, of course, the accusative could represent a scribal correction to the author's solecism *conclusionem*.

86 It is odd that F shows no affiliation with W, another manuscript written at Moissac.

aratam earlier in the clause, or at 658.3 in c. 5, where F reads *ducuntur* against *loquuntur* (DHNPRW, *loquendi* M, *loqui et* S) and *sequuntur* (U), none of which make good sense in context.

d Previous Editions of the 'Ancient *passio*'

The *editio princeps* of the 'ancient *passio*' or *Gloriosae* was published in 1636 by François Bosquet (1605–1676), later bishop of Montpellier (1655–1676), as part of his *Ecclesiae Gallicanae historiae*.⁸⁷ Bosquet claimed that his edition was based on five manuscripts 'of outstanding authority',⁸⁸ but it has proved impossible to identify any of these five among surviving manuscripts. From the *apparatus criticus* which accompanies the text printed below, in which I have recorded variant readings from Bosquet's text, it will be seen that these readings are eccentric, and are rarely if ever shared by any of the fifteen early manuscripts I have collated. Furthermore, it is striking that on several occasions he marks a reading which he prints as dubious, where it seems unlikely that the dubious reading could have been found in all the five manuscripts he claims to have consulted. For example, in the *Praefatio*, in the sentence 'nouitas adhuc credentium populorum gentilium credulitate *conterrita*, formidauit scribere ...', where in lieu of *conterrita* – which is attested in all early witnesses collated by me (excepting only DV which read *perterrita*) – Bosquet printed the nonce-form *contrista* (for *contristata*?): which suggests that he had difficulty reading *conterrita* in the one exemplar he was following, and did not attempt to verify it in any of the remaining four manuscripts he claimed to have consulted. By the same token, in c. 5, in the common phrase 'sed nec illud *silendum* est', where in lieu of *silendum* – which is attested in all fifteen early witnesses collated here – Bosquet printed *sciendum*: which suggests once again that he was unable to read *silendum* in the favoured exemplar, but did not attempt to verify the reading elsewhere. In both cases, it would seem, Bosquet guessed at a form suggested by a carelessly written (or perhaps damaged) word in his exemplar – *conterrita*, perhaps abbreviated in an unusual way, prompting

87 Bosquet, *Ecclesiae Gallicanae historiae*, II, pp. 68–73. Bosquet's text was reprinted in 1787 by Michelangelo Luchi among the *Opera omnia* of Venantius Fortunatus (see above, n. 39), where it is found at II, pp. 175–180; and Luchi's text was reprinted in turn in PL lxxxviii. 577–583. On François Bosquet, see the brief biographical notice in the *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, VI [1954], cols. 1136–1138.

88 Ibid. II, p. 68: 'Vitam, aut potius passionis Dionysii acta, Hilduino antiquiora, accipe ex fide quinque manuscriptorum optimae notae.'

his ungrammatical reading *contrista*, or *silendum* prompting *sciendum* – without seeking verification in another manuscript witness.

On other occasions, where Bosquet appears to preserve a reading unattested in any of the fifteen early manuscripts, there is reason to suspect that he followed the practice of other seventeenth-century editors and printed what he thought the text *ought to* read rather than what in fact it *did* read. Consider, for example, the first sentence of the *Praefatio*, where the author's prose is at its most convoluted. The transmitted text reads: '... non immerito praesumpti operis regitur magnitudo, eo quod tantum sermo tenuis explicare non ualet quantum de se dici ueritas passionis imponit.' Being puzzled – justifiably – by *regitur* and by the awkward construction *se dici ueritas imponit*, Bosquet recast the phrase as follows: 'non immerito praesumpti operis *timetur* magnitudo, eo quod tantum sermo tenuis explicare non ualet, quantum de se *exigit* ueritas passionis'. Many of the variants uniquely attested in Bosquet's edition, as reported in the *apparatus criticus* below, are susceptible of a similar explanation, namely that Bosquet, faced with an awkward passage in his exemplar, recast it so as to conform to his own sense of Latin style.

An understanding of the ways in which Bosquet treated the transmitted text is essential for evaluating the role of the 'ancient *passio*' in the development of the cult of St Dionysius. The crucial passage here is the first sentence of c. 2, where the fifteen early manuscripts preserve the following text: 'Sanctus igitur Dionysius, qui, tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda suscepit.' This statement has the implication of dating the mission of St Dionysius to the end of the first century (Clement's papacy is customarily dated to c. 96 A.D.). The text as printed by Bosquet, however, makes no mention of Pope Clement: 'Sanctus igitur Dionysius, qui, *ut ferunt, a successoribus apostolorum* uerbi diuini semina gentibus *eroganda* suscepit'.⁸⁹ There are two possible explanations of the discrepancy. On the one hand, the exemplar followed (and sometimes misread!) by Bosquet did indeed read *ut ferunt a successoribus apostolorum* in lieu of *tradente beato Clemente ... successore*. But I stress that this reading has left no trace in the early manuscripts; and without knowing when or where his hypothetical exemplar was written, it is impossible to adjudicate its evidence. On the other hand, Bosquet – who was, after all, writing the early history of the church in Gaul – will have been well aware of the passage in Gregory of Tours, *Historia Fran-*

89 In a marginal note against this sentence, Bosquet wrote: '*Alias*. Qui tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore' – thus showing that he was well aware that what he had printed was at variance with the text transmitted elsewhere.

corum (i. 30), where it is stated that Dionysius was martyred under Decius (in 250 A.D.): a flagrant contradiction to the statement about St Clement contained in the transmitted text of the 'ancient *passio*'. On this hypothesis, it was Bosquet himself, and not the exemplar he was using, who replaced *tradente beato Clemente ... successore* with the non-specific words *a successoribus apostolorum*, thereby eliminating the chronological contradiction posed by Gregory of Tours, and allowing the received history of early Gaul to stand. On balance, I incline to the second alternative – that it was Bosquet himself who removed the statement about St Clement from his printed text; but so that readers may form their own opinion on the matter, I have thought it essential to record all Bosquet's departures from the transmitted text, even at the expense of burdening the *apparatus criticus* unduly.

The next edition of the 'ancient *passio*' was published by the great historian of Paris, Michel Félibien (1665–1719), who in 1706 offered a new text of the work among the *pièces justificatives* which he appended to his history of Saint-Denis.⁹⁰ Félibien's text is based on a single manuscript which, as he tells us, was 'a very ancient manuscript belonging to a M. Joly ... which was at least eight hundred years old and was far more accurate than those used by the bishop of Montpellier' [*scil.* François Bosquet].⁹¹ Claude Joly (1607–1700) was the grandson of the scholar and book-collector Antoine Loisel (1536–1617), who on his death bequeathed his substantial library to the young Claude. In 1680 Claude gave the books to Notre-Dame de Paris, of which he was *chantre*; and in 1756 the canons of Notre-Dame gave the collection to the king, whence in due course it came into (what is now) the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁹² Léopold Delisle lists some fifty-seven manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque nationale which bear Claude Joly's signature, and among these is one which contains a text of the 'ancient *passio*', namely the 'Great Moissac Legendary',

90 Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis de France*, part II, pp. clxii–clxv. Félibien's edition of the 'ancient *passio*' was reprinted by Corneille de Bye in *Acta ss.*, Octobris, iv. 925–930. On Dom Michel Félibien d'Avaux, see P. Lenain, *Histoire littéraire des Bénédictins de Saint-Maur*, III (1683–1723), Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 93 (Louvain-la-Neuve – Leuven, 2010), pp. 9–15.

91 *Ibid.* p. clxii: 'nous les [*scil.* Actes du martyr de S. Denys] redonnons icy revûs sur un MS. fort ancien de seu Mr Joly, Chantre de N.D. de Paris, qui l'a laissé avec ses autres livres à la bibliothèque de l'église métropolitaine. Ce ms. marque au moins huit cens ans d'antiquité, et est beaucoup plus correct que ceux qu'avoit vus l'Evêque de Montpellier'.

92 See L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 3 vols., (Paris, 1868–1881), I, pp. 431–432; cf. D. Nebbiae-Dalla Guarda, *La Bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France, du IX^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1985), p. 141.

now BNF, lat. 17002.⁹³ Could the 'Great Moissac Legendary' have been the book used by Félibien which had once belonged to Claude Joly? The question can be settled by collation, by comparing readings of F (the 'ancient *passio*' as contained in BNF, lat. 17002) in the following *apparatus criticus* with the text printed by Félibien. Consider the following variants, all taken from c. 2 of the 'ancient *passio*': for *sanctus igitur*, only F and Félibien have the transposition *igitur sanctus* (646.1); for *trucibus (populis)*, F and Félibien share with a single other manuscript (R) the reading *atrocibus* (646.6); for *ipsumque (insulae ... spatium)*, only F and Félibien read *rursumque* (646.10); for *praestabat* in the phrase *habitationem ... unda praestabat ... cateruis*, only F and Félibien have the reading *apprestabat* (646.11); and for *reddebatur (exiguum)*, F and Félibien share with a single other manuscript (N) the reading *reddebat* (646.12). Most significantly, the words *in unum plebs acta commigrans paene territorium suum intra murorum conclusionem* are entirely omitted by F (646.12) and also by Félibien. No other manuscript has this omission. Many other examples could be adduced; but these from c. 2 are sufficient to demonstrate that the text printed by Félibien was based on that in the 'Great Moissac Legendary' formerly in the possession of Claude Joly.

The most recent edition of the 'ancient *passio*', and the only one based on the collation of more than one manuscript, is that of Bruno Krusch, prepared in 1885 for the *Auctores antiquissimi* series of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.⁹⁴ Krusch's edition is based on three manuscripts, none of which he had collated himself: M, P and Q.⁹⁵ Of these, he argued that P and M were closely related in that they shared a number of errors (he pointed in particular to the omission in PM of the words *mente monstrabat et opere* in c. 4, at 654.2), but concluded that P was superior to M insofar as it preserved the name

93 Delisle, *ibid.* 1, p. 431, n. 2. In the same place (n. 3), Delisle lists those of Joly's books which had belonged to his grandfather, Antoine Loisel, but these do not include BNF, lat. 17002. It is unfortunately not known where Joly acquired the book.

94 *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri Italici Opera pedestria*, MGH, AA IV/ii. 101–105.

95 See above, pp. 629–630 (I retain Krusch's sigla). Of these, M was collated for Krusch by Reinhard Jacobi, P by Wilhelm Arndt, and Q by Friedrich Leo: see *ibid.* p. xxxi. At two points of his *apparatus criticus*, Krusch reports readings of N: although Leo had 'looked at the manuscript' ('Leo codicem inspexit'), and apparently reported that it lacked the *Praefatio*, he seems not to have provided Krusch with a collation. In the thirty years following the publication of his MGH edition, Krusch became aware of three more early witnesses to the 'ancient *passio*' (my MSS. GHV), and he provided trial collations of these as an appendix to his article 'Die neueste Wendung im Genovefa-Streit', *Neues Archiv* 40 (1916), 131–181 and 265–327, at pp. 322–327.

of the *matrona* in c. 4 (*Catulla*), at 654.1.⁹⁶ Krusch's text, then, is essentially based on P, whose orthography Krusch reproduced ('rationem scribendi eam admisi, quam P praebuit'). The principal merit of Krusch's edition is that it is based closely on the earliest surviving manuscript of the 'ancient *passio*', namely P. However, in many places, Krusch distrusted the evidence of the three manuscripts, including P, which had been collated for him by others: thus in the *Praefatio* he was, like Bosquet before him, suspicious of the transmitted *regitur* (at 638.4), and emended it to *retegitur*;⁹⁷ similarly, in c. 1, where the transmitted text reads *non ex asse* (at 644.9) but where P had the meaningless expression *non errat si*, and M the equally meaningless *nec errata sed*, he emended to *non ex atse*, and justified this improbable emendation by pointing to the supposed nominal forms *atsem* or *adsem*, allegedly attested as early as A.D. 455 in a text which he called the 'Carthaginian Computus' and which he had edited in 1880 (in fact the text is probably an eighth-century confection).⁹⁸ He was apparently unfamiliar with the common expression *ex asse*, meaning 'entirely' or 'completely', transmitted thus in manuscripts other than PM: a clear illustration of why it is necessary to consult a wider manuscript base than the three witnesses used by Krusch.

96 Ibid. p. xxxi.

97 Ibid. p. 101, line 21.

98 Ibid. p. 103, line 7. For the 'Carthaginian Computus', see B. Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1880–1938), I, pp. 279–297, with the readings *atsem* at ii. 9 (p. 290), and *adsem* at ii. 11 (p. 293). But it is clear from the context in each case that *atsem* and *adsem* are simply misspellings of *assem*, and that no neologism *adse(m)* is in question; cf. *TLL*, II, col. 745.

Praefatio. Gloriosae martyrum passiones et pretiosa Domino spectante ipsorum certamina, quamquam digna sint pro miraculorum dignitate conscribi, nequeunt tamen sine formidinis trepidatione complecti, quia, cum magnarum rerum consideratur assumptio, non immerito praesumpti operis regitur⁹⁹
 5 magnitudo,¹⁰⁰ eo quod tantum sermo tenuis explicare non ualet quantum de se dici ueritas passionis imponit. Tamen etsi propositio tantae rei arduum habere uideatur initium, in hoc mens trepidatione fatigata respirat: quod semper opificem suum magisterium diuinae instructionis informat et inchoantis initium ingenii praestatione commendat. Hac ergo consideratione audaciam nimiae
 10 temeritatis assumens, quae longo temporis fuerant obumbrata silentio, ipsius diuinitatis auxilio suscepta sunt reseranda. Et ut habet testimonium ueritatis, 'plus fidelium sunt relatione comperta, quam probentur ad nos lectione transmissa.'¹⁰¹ Vnde non sine certa aestimatione conicitur, quod nouitas adhuc credentium populorum, gentilium crudelitate¹⁰² conterrita, formidauit scribere,
 15 quod tamen gaudebat Dei famulos meruisse, cum sine dubio iudicentur scripta quae fidelium sermo testatur impleta. Credendum enim de his est et, abstersa dubietatis nube, totis uiribus confitendum eos qui pro confessione Domini ac

1 *Praefatio*] *praefationem totam* (Gloriosae martyrum ... tribuunt explicemus) *om.* *ACGHMNRSU* (*exhibent DFPQVW Bosquet*) 1–2 Gloriosae ... certamina] *om.* *Q* 1 spectante] *exspectante corr. in praestante P*, *expectante corr. in spectante W*, *om. Bosquet* 1–2 ipsorum] *om.* *P* 2 quamquam] *quam P* (*corr. in quamquam manu recentiori*) *Q* 4 praesumpti] *presumptio P*, *presumptione W* || *regitur*] *timetur Bosquet* 5 tantum] *om.* *Q* || *tenuis*] *tenuis F* 6 dici] *exigit Bosquet* || *imponit*] *om. Bosquet* || *etsi propositio*] *expositio F*, *praepositio V*, *etsi posito Bosquet* || *etsi licet Q*, *om. P* || *arduum*] *post arduum add. F licet (s.l.)* 6–7 habere uideatur] *uideatur habere DQW* 7 fatigata] *om. F Bosquet* || *semper*] *se per D* 7–8 opificem] *opifex Bosquet* 8 magisterium] *ministerium Bosquet* || *diuinae instructionis*] *diuina instructione Bosquet* 8–9 informat ... ingenii] *om.* *Q* 8 informat] *informans corr. ex informat F* || *inchoantis*] *inquoantis F (p.c.)*, *inchoantes PQ* || *initium*] *post initium add. PQW* et 9 praestatione] *presticione F*, *restatione P*, *restauracione Q*, *perfectionem Bosquet* || *commendat*] *accommodet Bosquet* 10 longo] *longe DV*, *longi QW* || *temporis*] *tempore Bosquet* 11 suscepta] *incoepta Bosquet* || *reseranda*] *reserando W* || *Et*] *quia Bosquet* || *ueritatis*] *ueritas DVW* 13 certa] *om. W*, *certi Bosquet* || *conicitur*] *cognoscitur corr. ex conicitur F*, *conicetur P* 14 conterrita] *perterrita DV*, *contrista Bosquet (dubitanter)* || *formidauit*] *formidabit P* 15 famulos] *famulus DPW*, *famulos corr. ex famulas F* 16 quae] *quia V* || *Credendum*] *credentium F* || *et*] *ut Q* 17 nube] *iustae Bosquet* || *pro confessione*] *per confessionem Bosquet*

99 The manuscripts are unanimous in reading *regitur*, but the use of the passive form here is awkward, to say the least (it was for this reason that Bosquet emended to *timetur* and Krusch to *retegitur*). If the transmitted form is what the author did write, the awkward usage needs to be explained in terms of his inclination to use passive forms throughout,

Preface. Although the glorious sufferings of the martyrs and their precious struggles, with the Lord watching (them), may be worthy to be recorded because of the importance of their miracles, they cannot however be undertaken without anxious trepidation, since, when the presentation of great events is considered, the vastness of the contemplated undertaking not undeservedly holds sway, for the reason that feeble speech cannot expound as much as the truth of the martyrdom requires to be said. Yet even though the undertaking of so great an enterprise seems to have a difficult beginning, the mind, exhausted with worry, is revived in this respect: that the teaching of divine instruction always informs its author and blesses the enterprise with the surety of developing talent. Accordingly, taking on a bold task of excessive rashness with this consideration (in mind), things undertaken with the assistance of His divinity are to be revealed which had been obscured by the long silence of time. And as a witness to the truth has it, such things 'are discovered more through the reports of reliable persons than they are established by being transmitted to us through reading.' Whence it is inferred, not without secure conjecture, that the novel experience of believing peoples, still terrified by the cruelty of pagans, was frightened to write down what it nonetheless rejoiced that the servants of God had earned, since without doubt the writings, which the speech of the faithful affirms, may be judged to be fulfilled. For it is essential to believe about them and, once the cloud of doubt is wiped away, to confess with all one's efforts that those (martyrs), who were worthy to undergo martyrdom for

and to prefer deponent forms of *mereo/mereor* (e.g. *Praef.* and cc. 1, 4, 5; but cf. *meruerat* [c. 2] and *meruerunt* [c. 3]). Often, as here, his use of a passive form results in an opaque construction; cf. *probantur monstrare* in c. 5.

- 100 The author's trepidation before the vastness of a literary undertaking is a well-known patristic topos; cf. Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* ii, *praef.*: 'et si esset promptior intellectus, *magnitudo* tamen *operis* impediret' (CCSL xlii. 57), and Leo the Great, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, Tract. xxix: 'multumque supereminet humani eloquii diuini *operis magnitudo*' (CCSL cxxxviii. 146), etc.
- 101 The quotation cannot be identified in electronic databases (CETEDOC, PLD). However, the essential idea – the relationship between *relatio fidelium* and *lectio* – is expressed by Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, c. 108: 'et quia de huius beati [*scil.* St Paulinus of Nola] *vita nihil legeramus, idcirco ea quae per relationem fidelium cognovimus, dum de elymosinis proloqui volumus, memoramus, de transitu autem eius est apud nos magna lectio*' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. 1/ii. 818). Possibly the author misremembered Gregory's words.
- 102 For the phrasing, cf. Dionysius Exiguus, *Praefatio ad Gaudentium abbatem* [CPL 653d]: 'nam *gentilium fera crudelitas, impiissimi atque apostatae Iuliani moribus congruens ...*' (CCSL lxxxv. 71).

Dei nostri digni fuerunt subire martyrium, etiam ampliora tolerare ualuisse, quam uidetur succedentibus aetatibus relatio per populos transmissa recolere. Id ergo supplicatio communis obtineat,¹⁰³ ut ueniam consequatur deuotus, si quid de uirtutibus praetermisit ignarus.¹⁰⁴ Nam etsi omnia non a se exsoluuntur, credere uniuersitas mereatur, ut Dei famulus iam maiora sentiat quam sermo passionis explanat. Qualiter enim cultorem Domini locus ille gaudens et eius patrociniū habere promeruit – si quo modo aliorum sanctorum iunctum illi agnouerimus fuisse consortium (sicut fidelium relatione didicimus) – ipsorum iuuamine martyrum, quantum de se scire tribuunt, explicemus.

- 5
10
15
1. Post Domini nostri Iesu Christi salutiferam passionem, post resurrectionis unice singularisque mysterium, post ascensionem eius, qua manifestauit hominibus numquam se defuisse quo rediit, apostolorum praedicatio uniuersis gentibus profutura successit. Qui cum imminere suas cernerent passionem, quas Domino Iesu Christo docente didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt, adeo ut fide crescente non pauci mererentur fieri confessores, quos postmodum ecclesia catholica gaudet promeruisse martyres. Hos ergo, quorum uirtutem persecutorum non praeualuit superare conflictus, quos ad auri simi-

1 ualuisse] uoluisse *Bosquet* 2 uidetur] *om. W* || transmissa] *post transmissa add. W* possit (*manu recentiori*) 4 quid] *om. Bosquet* || de uirtutibus] *om. DV* || non] *om. D* 4–5 a se exsoluuntur] *ex asse soluuntur DV, ex [...] soluuntur F, exsoluuntur Q, a se soluuntur W, esse soluuntur Bosquet* 5 credere] *post credere add. F* tamen (*s.l.*) || ut] *post ut add. DW* de || Dei] *de Dei Q* || famulus] *famulis DFPQVW* || iam] *etiam FW Bosquet, om. Q* 6 sermo] *post sermo add. W* lectionis et || explanat] *explanet Bosquet* || cultorem] *cultore DV, cultor MPQ* || ille] *eius DFPQW* 7 et eius] *om. DQW* || patrociniū] *patrociniū DFPVW* || si quo] *quod uel Q* || si] *om. F* || quo] *quoque DPQ, quomodo F, quoquo V, quo uel W, quando Bosquet* 7–8 iunctum] *tunc W, inuentum Bosquet* 8 agnouerimus] *cognouerimus D* || sicut] *sic PQ Bosquet* || fidelium relatione] *relatione fidelium Q* || didicimus] *dicimus Bosquet* 9 tribuunt] *tribuant W* 10 Post] *capitulum primum om. A; ante post add. Bosquet* igitur 10–11 resurrectionis] *resurrectionem HR* 11 unice] *unicum H* || mysterium] *ministerium G* || eius] *om. R* || qua] *quam PV, quem R* 12 numquam] *nusquam Q* || se defuisse] *defuisse se N* || praedicatio] *post praedicatio add. W* in 14 quas] *quae DGMPQU, quae a S, quod Bosquet* || Domino] *post Domino add. FGHN Bosquet* nostro || spiritus] *spiritu F* 15 docuerunt] *decreuerunt C* || adeo] *ab eo R* || non pauci] *multi Q* || mererentur] *memerentur corr. ex memorentur C* || fieri] *esse G* || quos] *quos corr. ex quod C* 16 postmodum] *modo F Bosquet* || Hos] *horum C, hoc MPS* 17 uirtutem] *uirtute QU* || persecutorum ... conflictus] *persecutorum superare conflictus non ualuit D* || persecutorum] *om. G* || superare] *seperare G* || quos ad auri] *quodam R* || quos] *quod GP* || ad] *om. CG*

103 For the phrase *supplicatio communis*, cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, Ps. lx. 2: 'Deprecatio est assidua quidem *communisque supplicatio*, quam et hominibus a quibus

confessing the Lord our God, were even able to tolerate greater torments than the account handed down by peoples over succeeding ages seems to recollect. May communal prayer therefore bring it about, that the devout (author) find forgiveness if in ignorance he has overlooked any aspect of their miracles. For even if all obligations are not discharged by him, may the universal audience be entitled to believe that the servant of God is now experiencing greater (rewards than) the record of his suffering describes. For as to how that joyful location was found worthy to have the Lord's worshipper and his patronage – if by some means we should learn that the companionship of other saints was associated with him (as we gathered from the reports of the faithful) – we shall explain, with the assistance of the martyrs themselves, as much as they grant us to know about them.

1. After the salvation-bringing suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ, after the mystery of His unique and unparalleled resurrection, after His ascension, through which He revealed to men that He had never been absent from the place to which He returned, the preaching-mission of the apostles followed, to be of benefit to all peoples. When they [the apostles] saw their own martyrdoms approaching, which they had learned of through the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, filled with the gift of the Holy Spirit they evangelized to such an extent that, as the faith spread, not a few people were found worthy to confess the faith, whom the catholic Church subsequently rejoices to have acquired as martyrs. Their selection as apostles declared these saints – whose divine power the

aliquid petimus frequenter offerimus' (CCSL xcvi. 538), and the passage from the *Vita S. Licinii* quoted in the following footnote.

104 The wording of this and the previous sentence is closely paralleled in the Prologus to the *Vita S. Licinii Andegavensis* [BHL 4917]: 'Vnde constat *ampliora* et mirabiliora eum gessisse, *quam succedentibus videatur temporibus relatio pro populo transmissa recolere*. *Id* namque humiliter et supplex flagito ut *supplicatio communis*, quatenus *veniam consequar devotus, si quid de eius virtutibus praetermisit?* (*Acta ss.*, Februarii, II, p. 678). There is undoubtedly a link between this Prologus and that of the 'ancient *passio*'; but it is difficult to determine on philological grounds alone which is the debtor. St Licinius (in French: Saint Lezin) lived in the late sixth and early seventh centuries: he had been a member of the household of Chlotar II (from 584 onwards) before becoming bishop of Angers (592–608); the author of the Life claims to be writing with the assistance of Daniel, a former student of Licinius. These facts, if reliable, would imply that the *Vita S. Licinii* was composed at some point in the mid-seventh century (the earliest surviving manuscript among those listed in *BHLms*, however, dates from no earlier than the second half of the tenth century), with the implication that it is as much as a century earlier than the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius, and hence that the author of the latter was drawing on the former.

litudinem reddidit flammaram examinatio pretiosos, ad suscipienda mandata Domini idoneos apostolorum esse iudicauit electio; quibus euangelica semina gentibus serenda committeret. Electisque uiris Dei dispositione prouidenter honorem decreuerunt episcopatus adiungere, quo facilius eorum praedicationibus acquisiti ad ministerium sacri prouherentur altaris. Ex qua confessorum turba sanctum et uenerandi meriti Saturninum primum se urbs Tolosana promeruisse gaudet episcopum. Quem impietas peccantium populorum posterioribus tauri multis funium nexibus illigatum dedit capitulinis gradibus illidendum, ubi sancti capitis soluta compage cerebrum frequentis illisionis dispersit iniuria.¹⁰⁵ Sed talem descensum meliore uehiculo ad Dominum est secutus ascensus. Felix tanti meriti tantaeque persona uirtutis, cui concessum

1 reddidit] reddit *FQ*, reddet *G* || suscipienda] suscipiendum *G* 2 idoneos] idoneus *GH* || apostolorum] apostolos *D* || esse] *om. D* || quibus] *om. C*; post quibus *add. Bosquet* et || euangelica] post euangelica *add. F* semper (*s.l.*) || semina] praecepta semper *Bosquet* 3 gentibus] *om. U*; agentibus *Bosquet* || serenda] inserenda *HN*, seruanda *F Bosquet* || committeret] committerent *Bosquet* || Electisque uiris] electosque uiros *N* || Electisque] electis *C* || dispositione prouidenter] dispositione prudentiam *C*, disponente prouidencia *DU*, dispositione prouidenti *G*, dispositione prouidentia *HR*, dispositionis prouidentia *MNS*, dispositione et prouidentia *PQVW* 4 honorem decreuerunt episcopatus] honorem ... episcopatus *sic DFQUW*, honore ... episcopatus *GHNRSV*, honori ... episcopatum *MP* || honorem] non ore *C* || eorum] quorum *C* 4–5 praedicationibus] praedicatione *Q* 5 acquisiti ad] adquisitam *C* || ministerium] misterium *Q* || prouherentur] prohiberentur *C*, prohibentur *G* || qua] quo *H* 6 sanctum et uenerandi] sanctum uenerandi *C*, sancti et uenerabilis *H*, sanctum et uenerandum *U* || sanctum] sancti *NQ* || meriti] meritis *RUW* || primum se] primum *C*, *om. F Bosquet* || urbs] urbis *GR* 6–7 Tolosana] Tolosanae *G* 7 promeruisse ... impietas] *om. C* || peccantium populorum] peccantis populi *F*, spectantis populi *Bosquet* 8 funium] punit *F*, funibus *H*, *om. Bosquet* || nexibus] obnexibus *F* || illigatum] ligatum *Bosquet* || dedit] *om. R* || capitulinis] capitolinibus *H*, capitolii *F Bosquet*, capituliis *W* 9 illidendum] illudendum *FR* || cerebrum] cerebrorum *F* || frequentis illisionis] frequentis illisionibus *Q*, frequentes inlisiones *S*, frequenti illusione *U* 10 iniuria] iniuriis *H*, iniurias *SV* || Sed] si *G*, *Q add. post* || talem descensum] tali discessu *C*, talem discessum *FGW*, tale descensu *R*, tali descensu *Bosquet* || meliore uehiculo] *om. F Bosquet* || ad Dominum] a Domino *C* 10–11 est secutus] est consecutus corona gloriosi *C*, secutus est *FN*, consecutus *Q*, assecutus est *Bosquet* 11 Felix] O felix *N*; post felix *add. Bosquet* uir || tanti meriti] tante menti *F* || tantaeque persona uirtutis] tanteque persone uirtutis *CFU*, tanteque persone uir *D*, tanti quo persona uirtutis *G*, tantaeque personae uirtutis *M*, tantaeque uirtutis persona *PQ*, tantaeque persona uirtus *V*, et personae et uirtutis *Bosquet*

105 The story of the martyrdom of St Saturninus is told briefly and allusively by Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* i. 30: 'Cumque conpraehensus ad Capitulum duceretur,

aggression of persecutors could not overcome, whom trial by flames rendered invaluable in the same way that gold (is purified) – suitable to receive the commandments of the Lord; to them it would entrust the evangelical seeds to be sown among the people. And they providently decided to bestow the distinction of the episcopacy on certain men, chosen by the disposition of God, so that they might more easily be promoted to ministry of the holy altar once they had been converted by their preaching. From this throng of confessors the city of Toulouse rejoices to have deserved St Saturninus, a man of holy merit, as its first bishop. The wickedness of sinful peoples gave him over, tied by many knots of rope to the hind-quarters of a bull, to be smashed on the steps of the temple, whence the injury of repeated banging scattered the brains once the skull of the holy head had been shattered. But an ascent to the Lord in a better conveyance followed a descent of this sort. Blessed is a person of such distinction and such miraculous power, to whom it was granted that he

relictus ab his, solus adtrahitur ... Hic vero tauri furentes vestigiis allegatus ac de Capitolio praecipitatus, vitam finivit' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. 1/ii. 23), but again, with more detail, in *In gloria martyrum*, c. 47: 'qui impulsu paganorum bovis petulci religatus vestigiis, per grados Capitulii praecipitatus, praesentem finivit vitam, *capitis conpage dispersa*' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. 1/ii. 520). However, the fact that the author of the 'ancient *passio*' includes various details not found in Gregory, suggests instead that he was following the *Passio S. Saturnini* [BHL 7495–7496], which explains that Saturninus had built his church near to the temple (*Capitolium*), and that his presence in the vicinity so angered the local populace that, on an occasion when they were about to sacrifice a bull in the temple, they tied the saint to its hind-quarters and drove it down the steps of the temple, thus killing the saint: 'Ad hanc vocem sancti episcopi, omnis ille sacrilegae multitudinis tumultus incanduit, tauroque illo, qui fuerat victimae preparatus, fune lateribus circumacto, et post terga dimisso, ad ministerium suae crudelitatis utuntur. Postrema enim parte funis eius, quae ad posteriora tauri ipsius defluebat, sancti viri pedes alligabant, actumque stimulis acribus taurum de superiori Capitolii parte in plana precipitantur. Nec mora: inter primos descensus ipsius gradus capite colliso, cerebroque excusso et corpore omni membrorum parte lacerato, dignam Deo animam Christus excepit' (Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, VI [1575], pp. 613–614). For (dubious) arguments that the *Passio S. Saturnini* was composed in the fifth century (and could therefore have served as the source of Gregory's two accounts), see E. Griffé, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1964–1966), I, pp. 110–115, 134–136, 148–152, and 395–402.

est primum esse doctorem, post martyrem: qui quod docuit uerbis euidentibus impleuit exemplis! Simili etiam gratia beatissimus Paulus, antistes atque confessor,¹⁰⁶ Narbonensem prouinciam salutari adquisiuit eloquio; quem ita labor domesticus tribulationis exercuit, ut eum uerum Domini esse famulum approbaret. Sed gratias tibi, Domine Iesu Christe, qui infestantis inimici tela¹⁰⁷ probationem fidelium tuorum permisisti esse, non uulnera;¹⁰⁸ et talem tuis praestas pro labore mercedem, ut nullum tuorum fuisse gaudeat hostis imbellem. Dum ergo ad peculiaris patroni¹⁰⁹ gesta suscepti officii tendit obsequium, non ex asse¹¹⁰ quae de seruo Dei sunt comperta prosequimur; sed immemores sui nos non fuisse sufficiat: in talibus enim causis magis conuenit fideles credere quam possit relatio humana monstrare.

1 primum] primo *R*, *om.* *W* || esse doctorem] doctorem esse *CFGHNQRSUW* || post] sic *CDFGSU*, esse sic *M*, et sic *Q*, sancti *P*, sicut *W*, *om.* *R* || qui quod] quicquid *PUW* 1–2 euidentibus] audientibus *C* 2 Simili ... beatissimus] similem etiam gratiam benignissimus *C*, similem etiam gratiam beatissimus *DS* 3 Narbonensem] Narbonensis *CH* || prouinciam salutari] prouinciae salutare *C* || eloquio] alloquio *Q*, eloquium *SV* || quem ita] redimita *C* || ita] talis *PQ* 4 domesticus] domesticae *F Bosquet*; post domesticus *add. U* et || tribulationis] et tribulatio *CGHNR*, post tribulationis *add. U* uis || eum] *om. CF Bosquet* || uerum Domini] *om. G* || uerum] uir *D*, uirum *SU*; *om. G* || esse] *om. P*; post esse *add. U* et || famulum] post famulum *add. G* Domini 5 approbaret] approbaret *corr. ex* approbare *F*, et probaret *R*, approbares *Bosquet* || tibi] post tibi *add. RN* ago || Christe] *om. CDGQSUW* || infestantis] in festa *C*, infestantes *G* 6 probationem] probatione *C* || fidelium tuorum] tuorum fidelium *N* || permisisti] perempti *C*, promisisti *FPUVW* || tuis] his *Bosquet* 7 praestas] proestas *C*, prestes *P* || pro labore] post laborem *Q* || labore mercedem] mercede laborem *Bosquet* || fuisse] tuis se *G* || gaudeat] gaudet *H* 7–8 imbellem] inbella *C*, inbellum *G*, inbello *W* 8 peculiaris] peculiaria *Bosquet* || tendit] tendat *PQ* 9 non ... prosequimur] *om. V* || ex asse] errasse *DSU*, exisse *G*, errata sed *M*, omnia *N*, errat si *P*, ex ea *Q* || de] *om. QS* || seruo] seruis *C* || Dei] *om. Q* || prosequimur] consequimur *G*, persequimur *U* 9–10 immemores] in minores *G*, memores *U* 10 nos] *om. R* || non] *om. F* || magis] magis *corr. ex* maius *FW*, maius *CDMPQ* || conuenit] conuenerat *U* 11 quam] quamquam *G* || relatio] ratio *C*, reuelatio *M* || humana] *om. C*

106 The author of the 'ancient *passio*' gives no detail of the life of St Paul of Narbonne, so it is unclear whether he was simply following the mention of Paul in Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* i. 30 ('Narbonae Paulus episcopus'), or whether he had access to a *vita* of the saint, presumably that printed in *Acta ss.*, Martii, III, pp. 373–374 [*BHL* 6589]; cf. below, n. 108. (The *vita* of Paul of Narbonne printed in the Bollandists' *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, I, pp. 212–218 [*BHL* 6590], from Paris, BNF, lat. 2838 (Moissac, s. xii), is too late in date to have served as a source of the 'ancient *passio*', since it obviously draws on Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* in referring to Dionysius as *Areopagita*.)

should first be their teacher, and subsequently be a martyr: what he taught in words he fulfilled in unambiguous examples! With similar distinction the blessed Paul, bishop and confessor, acquired the diocese of Narbonne with his health-bringing eloquence – he whose daily trial of suffering so taxed him, that it would prove him to be a true servant of the Lord. But it is thanks to You, Lord Jesus Christ, Who allowed the weapons of the hostile enemy to be the testing-ground of Your faithful, not their wounds; and You offer to them such rewards for their struggle, that the Enemy cannot rejoice that any of Your soldiers was unfit for battle. When, therefore, my obedience to an obligation undertaken turns to the accomplishments of a particular patron-saint, I do not treat in their entirety the things which have been discovered concerning the Lord's servant; instead, let it suffice that I have not been forgetful of him: in such cases it is appropriate for the faithful to believe more than the human record can reveal.

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- 107 Cf. the prologue to the (mid-eighth-century?) *Passio S. Gengulfi*: '*infestantis inimici tela scuto fidei non fessi reppulerunt*' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. vii. 171); cf. also Cyprian, *De laude martyrii*, c. 24: '*... mors subigitur, uita profertur et infestantis inimici repugnantia arma soluuntur*' (CSEL iii/3. 46), and Cassian, *Conlationes* x. 11: '*incessabili meditatione munitus infestantis inimici declinet insidias*' (CSEL xiii. 303); and cf. also the passage from the *Vita S. Pauli Narbonensis* cited in the following note.
- 108 The wording here is closely similar to that in the anonymous *Vita S. Pauli Narbonensis* [BHL 6589], reprinted (from Bosquet, *Ecclesiae Gallicanae Historiae*, II, pp. 106–109) in *Acta ss.*, Martii, III, p. 374: '*O mirificum sanctitatis documentum! qui iacula infestantis inimici praestitisti esse probationes et non vulnera fidelium tuorum*'.
- 109 As we have seen (above, p. 624), the phrase *peculiaris patronus* is used frequently in Merovingian charters in favour of Saint-Denis; it is also found frequently in Merovingian formularies, such as the *Marculfi Formulae*, c. 42: '*cum eologias peculiaris patroni vestri, sancti illius, et salutationis officia venerationis precipua quesomus*' (MGH, Formulae ii. 101; cf. also pp. 102 etc.). What is unusual about the present occurrence of the phrase is the omission of a possessive personal pronoun (*noster* or *uester*); but cf. the letter of the Emperor Louis the Pious, writing after his restoration in 834 to Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, concerning St Dionysius, who for the Emperor's grandfather Charles Martel, was simply the *peculiaris patronus*: '*fiduciam cordis sui erga peculiarem patronum patenter ostendit*' (MGH, Epistolae v. 326, and above, p. 196).
- 110 The phrase *ex asse* ('entirely', 'completely') is common in legal texts in discussions pertaining to inheritance, but it is also found more widely, as, for example, in a number of late antique texts from southern France such as Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* iii. 3: '*qui laborum tuorum non ex asse historiam texere ... praesumpsit*' (where the context is very similar to the present discussion); cf. also Avitus of Vienne, *Ep.* iii. 95: '*vobis porro si cordi est, facta de nobis ex asse iactura*' (MGH, AA VI/ii. 102), and a decree of the Council of Tours in 567: '*post quinquagesima tota ebdomada ex asse ieiunent*' (CCSL cxlviiiA. 182).

2. Sanctus igitur Dionysius, qui, tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli suc-
 5 cessore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda susceperat, quo amplius gen-
 tilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei flammatus
 accessit ac Parisius Domino ducente peruenit. Non ueritus incredulae gentis
 expetere feritatem,¹¹¹ quia uirtutem suam praeteritarum poenarum recordatio
 10 roborabat;¹¹² et qui meruerat esse confessor non cunctatus est trucibus popu-
 lis accedere praedicator. Tunc memorata ciuitas et conuentu Germanorum¹¹³
 et nobilitate pollebat, quia esset salubris aere, iucunda flumine, fecunda ter-
 ris, arboribus nemorosa, uinetis uberrima, constipata populis, referta commer-
 10 ciiis; ipsumque insulae¹¹⁴ (potius quam urbis) spatium – quod habitationem
 circumfusa fluminis unda praestabat crescentibus consistentium cateruis –
 reddebatur exiguum et iucunditatis sollicitatione in unum plebs acta commi-

1 Sanctus igitur] *hic incipit A*; igitur sanctus *F* || igitur] *om. A* 1–2 tradente ... successore] ut ferunt a successoribus apostolorum *Bosquet* 1 tradente] tradentes *G* || beato] sancto *F* 2 diuini] diuina *G* || parturienda] parturiendo *AG*, eroganda *Bosquet* || quo] suo *G*; post quo *add. N* loco 2–3 gentilitatis] genera *G* 3 illuc] illic *CGMPR* || flammatus] inflammatus *C Bosquet*, armatus *Q* 4 ac Parisius] ad Parisium *A*, ad Parisius *G* || gentis] gentes *GM* 5 expetere] experire *A*, expetire *G*, expletare *R* || feritatem] ferocitatem *A* || praeteritarum] *om. Q*; post praeteritarum *add. H* suarum || recordatio] recordatione *A* 6 meruerat] meruit *P* || trucibus] tricibus *A*, atrocibus *FR*, auctoribus *Bosquet* 7 et conuentu] ad conuentum *G* 8 et] *om. Bosquet* || quia] quae *AF*, quod *Bosquet* || esset] erat *N* || aere] ac reni *A*, *om. C*, aera *H* 8–9 fecunda terris] fecundas terras *G* 9 arboribus ... uberrima] arboribus nemorosa uber- rima *C*, uineis uberrima et arboribus nemorosa *F Bosquet*, arboribus nemorosa et uineis uberrima *GMQRU* || constipata populis] constitit ut a populis *C* || populis] populi *G* || referta] reperta *G* 10 ipsumque] rursumque *F*, ipsum se *Q*, *om. W* || urbis spatium] orbis spatium *A* || spatium] spatio *C* || quod] ad *Q* || habitationem] habitatione *ACGPQRSU*, habitatio *HN*, habitationis *M*, habitationi *F Bosquet* 11 circumfusa] circumflua *N* || fluminis] fluminibus *G* || praestabat] apprestabat *F*, praestauit *P* || crescentibus consistentium] consistentium crescentibus *Q* || cres- centibus] *om. A*, crescebat *C* || cateruis] cateruas *A* 12 reddebatur] reddebat *FN*, reddatur *H*, reddebantur *P* || et] *om. R* || iucunditatis] iocunditate *A*, iucunditates *C* || sollicitatione] sollicitate *R*, sollitatione *S* 12–648.1 in ... conclusionem] *om. F* 12 unum] uno *G*

111 This and the previous sentence were recycled by the (eighth-century?) author of the *Vita S. Austremonii* [*BHL* 844]: ‘Sanctus uero ac venerabilis Dei cultor Austremonius, ... quo amplius cognouit gentilitatis feruere errorem, illic intrepidus ac fidei calore accensus, Domino ducente Arvernus civitatis moenia peruenit. Spiritu enim sancto repletus non uerebatur incredulae gentis expetere feritatem’ (*Acta ss.*, Novembris, I, p. 49); see discussion by [Bollandists], ‘La plus ancienne vie de S. Austreimoine’, *AB* 13 (1894), 33–46, at pp. 40–41.

2. Therefore St Dionysius who, at the invitation of Clement, the successor of the apostle Peter, had taken on the task of bringing forth the seeds of the divine Word among the pagans: where he recognized that the error of paganism was raging most, there he went fearlessly, and, inflamed by the heat of his faith, arrived at Paris with the Lord as his guide. He was not afraid to seek out the savagery of an unbelieving people, because the recollection of by-gone torments strengthened his courage; and he who had been found worthy to be a confessor did not hesitate to approach these fierce peoples as a preacher. At that time the aforementioned city [Paris] was thriving as a result of the settlement and outstanding qualities of the Germans, because it was healthy for its climate, delightful with its river, fertile with its surrounding lands, wooded with trees, abounding in vineyards, crowded with inhabitants, filled with businesses; and the area of the island (rather than of the city) – which, with the waters of the river flowing around it, offered a dwelling-place for ever-increasing throngs of residents – was reduced to poverty, and the populace, driven together in their quest for pleasant surroundings, had on

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- 112 There has been no previous mention of *praeteritae poenae* in the 'ancient *passio*'; the reference is presumably to the sufferings of SS. Peter and Paul.
- 113 There is no question that there was any settlement of Germans (Franks), either in Paris or elsewhere in Gaul, at the end of the first century A.D. (in the time, that is, of Pope Clement, *seddit* c. A.D. 96). According to Orosius (*Hist.* vii. 41. 2), the first Frankish invasions began in 256, and continued for twelve years, with further incursions following the death of the emperor Aurelian in 275. Frankish presence in Paris and its environs is attested by various archaeological evidence, notably that of coin-hoards and signs of burning: see F.-G. Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine* (Paris, 1912), pp. 111–117. Extensive Frankish settlement took place at a subsequent period, in the later fourth and fifth centuries, with the result that by 486 or so, Paris became in effect a Frankish city: Pachtère, *ibid.* pp. 159–170, esp. 169, and P.-M. Duval, *Paris. De Lutèce oppidum à Paris capitale de la France (vers 225?/500)*, (Paris, 1993), pp. 353–363.
- 114 The original site of Paris was on the largest of two islands in the river Seine, now called the Île de la Cité. Under the Romans it was the *civitas*-capital of the Parisii, and was called *Lutetia Parisiorum*; its importance derived from its defensible location on a navigable river at the crossing of two north-south Roman roads. The population was originally confined to the Île, and was probably a relatively small population (calculated, on the basis of the aqueduct which supplied it, to be between 4,500 and 5,000 inhabitants). Although the population soon spread out to the North and South banks, in the face of the third-century Germanic invasions, Paris retreated back to within the fortified walls of the Île de la Cité (to within, that is, an area occupying approximately eight hectares). See Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, pp. 98–110, and *DAFL* XIII/ii [1938], cols. 1789–1816 (s.v. 'Paris. Histoire').

grans paene territorium suum intra murorum¹¹⁵ conclusionem¹¹⁶ contraxerat. Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum; ad quem cum primum fide armatus et constantia confessionis accessisset intrepidus, ecclesiam illic quae necdum in locis erat et populis illis nota construxit;¹¹⁷ ac officia seruientium clericorum ex more constituit probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliauit. Cinctus ergo fide et iam constructione basilicae roboratus, Deum gentibus non desinebat insinuare quem nouerat, eiusque omnibus et iudicium et misericordiam anteponeus, paulatim sociabat Deo quos diabolo subtrahebat. Tantas etiam per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret; miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere; subdebat se certatim Germaniae ceruicositas¹¹⁸ et iugum Christi suaue imponi sibi, acta cordis compunctione, poscebat. Ab ipsis quoque destruebantur idola, quorum sumptu

1 paene territorium suum] peniter returium suum *G*, penetrare torium suum *M* || intra muro- rum] *om. Q* || conclusionem] conclusione *ACGHMPQRSU* || contraxerat] contraxerunt *A*, construxerat *P* 2 Dei] Domini *A* || elegit] exegit *Bosquet* || ad quem] atque *DMPQS* || primum] prima *G* 3 constantia confessionis] consistentia confessor *G* || confessionis] confessor *CN*, confessio *V* || accessisset] accessit *ACDFHNSVW*, accedit *PQ*, *om. U* || illic] *om. D*, illis *GHRS Bosquet* || quae] *om. A*, quia *U* 4 necdum] dum et *MP* || in] et *G*, *om. ACD* || erat et populis] *om. C* || erat] illis *D* || illis] *om. AG*, illic *W* || nota] nota erat *D*, noua *FR*, nouam *HNQS*, notam *MP* || officia seruientium] seruitia *A*, officiale seruitium *Bosquet* 5 probatasque] probatus- que *G* || honore] horis *A*, honoris *DQV* || secundi] saeculi *Bosquet* 6 ampliauit] amplians *Bosquet* || Cinctus] cunctus *G* 6–7 et ... iudicium] *om. Q* 6 constructione] constructio- nem *R* || Deum] Dominum *CD*, Deo *GH* 7 eiusque] eisque *CN* || et] *om. A* 7–8 iudicium et misericordiam] misericordiam et iudicium *G* 8 anteponeus] ad te penens *G*, antepotens *N* || paulatim] poculatim *G* || quos] quem *PQ Bosquet* 8–9 subtrahebat] abstrahebat *A*; *hic add. Q* eiusque omnibus et iudicium etiam constructione basilicae roboratus Deum gentibus non desinebat insinuare quem nouerat 9 etiam] *om. DU* 10 gentilium] gentium *U* || non minus] nominus *R* || quam] quem *R* 11 modo] *post modo add. C* beato et || inermi] inermis *G* || uiro] uero *C*, uirum *R* || resistere] *post resistere add. Bosquet* sed 11–650.2 subdebat ... naufragia] *om. G* 11 se] *post se add. Bosquet* illi || certatim] certata *S*, certamini *Bosquet* 12 imponi sibi] impiis ubi *C* || imponi] imponere *U* || acta] alta *N* 13 poscebat] pollebat *S* || destruebantur] distruebatur *P* 13–650.1 sumptu fuerant] sumptus fuerat *R*

115 Like other Gallo-Roman cities, Paris, in particular the Île de la Cité, was fortified with walls from some point in the later third century. The evidence is supplied both by historical sources and by archaeology. Ammianus Marcellinus (*Hist.* xv. 11. 3) speaks of the ‘castellum circumclusum ambitu insulari, Lutetiam nomine’, and Sulpicius Severus notes that when St Martin entered Paris, he had to pass through a gate, ‘dum portam civitatis introiret’ (*Vita S. Martini*, xviii. 3). These walls, which once encircled the entire Île, have been

arriving there reduced nearly all its territory to that within the circuit of the walls. The servant of God chose to seek out this place, and when he first arrived there, armed with his faith and fearless in the constancy of his commitment, he built a church there, something which was not yet known to those peoples; and he established liturgical ceremonies of clerics in the appropriate way, and advanced approved persons with the distinction of the second order [i.e. the diaconate]. Girded with his faith, and strengthened now by the construction of his basilica, he did not cease from introducing to the people the God Whom he knew, and, placing both His justice and mercy before them all, he slowly began to associate with God those whom he was taking away from the Devil. The Lord deigned to perform such great wonders through him that he gained the hearts of the recalcitrant pagans no less with miracles than with his preaching; in a marvellous way the armed populace could not resist an unarmed man: the obstinacy of Germany eagerly subjected itself to him, and sought to have the gentle yoke of Christ placed on it through its act of contrition. Idols were also destroyed by those same people [the Germans] through whose finances and

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- identified by excavation in the north, east and south of the Île (the western part of the walls lies beneath the present Palais de Justice), and were constructed of dressed but re-used stones and were some 2.5 metres thick. For the historical sources, see C. Jullian, 'Paris – date de l'enceinte gallo-romaine', *Revue des études anciennes* 4 (1902), 41–45, and, for the archaeology, Pachtère, *Paris à l'époque gallo-romaine*, pp. 140–158 with pl. x, and Duval, *Paris. De Lutèce oppidum à Paris capitale de la France*, pp. 296–299, with map on p. 299. The implication is that the walls were still visible at the time the 'ancient *passio*' was composed.
- 116 Although the majority of manuscripts here reads *conclusionē* (ACGHMPQRSU), *intra* is correctly construed with acc. (hence the reading *conclusionem* of MSS. DFNWV is preferable here).
- 117 Another passage laid heavily under contribution by the author of the *Vita S. Austremonii*, in speaking of the city of *Arvernīs*: 'siquidem *terris fecunda, nemorosa arboribus, vineis uberrima, populis constipata et referta commerciis habebatur ... Ad hunc denique locum sanctus vir Dei Austremonius properans, ecclesiam ibi quae nec locis nec populis erat nota, Domino protegente, cum magno studio fabricavit*' (*Acta ss.*, Novembris, I, p. 49); see 'La plus ancienne vie de S. Austremoine', pp. 41–42.
- 118 According to *TLL* (III, col. 945), the word is attested uniquely in Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* vii. 9. 11 ('inter haec monasterialibus disciplinis aegre subditur vel popularium *cervicositas* vel licentia clericorum'). Krusch ('Die neueste Wendung', p. 270 n. 1) pointed to another occurrence of the word in a redaction of the (seventh-century?) *Vita S. Eligii* [BHL 2474–2476], ii. 56: 'pertinax *cervicositas* populorum' (PL lxxxvii. 580). The databases provide no earlier attestations, but later authors, notably Hilduin and probably the redactor of the *Vita S. Eligii*, took over the word from the 'ancient *passio*'.

fuerant et studio fabricata; et inuento salutis portu idolorum gaudebant perire naufragia. Lugebat portio uicta diaboli, cum de ea uictrix ecclesiae legio triumphabat.

3. Tunc hostis antiquus, uidens sibi perire quod Domino constabat assidua
 5 populorum conuersione proficere, totam artificii sui machinam ad impug-
 nanda quae fuerant constructa conuertit; et suae partis auctores, deorum suo-
 rum flentes exitium, ad impietatem subitae persecutionis armauit, ut eos qui
 unum et uerum Deum colendum insinuauerant et timendum expendere diuer-
 sitate supplicii maturarent, ne superesse posset qui ualeret acquirere quod
 10 peribat. Persecutionis ergo publicata sententia, impiorum gaudens turba pro-
 greditur et contra dominicum populum pugnatura conspirat, non cunctati
 appetere gladio¹¹⁹ quos Dominus suos monstrauerat esse signaculo.¹²⁰ Itaque
 cum occiduam orbis partem pro Christianorum inquisitione percurrerent,
 sanctum Dionysium contra incredulos dimicantem Parisius¹²¹ reppererunt,
 15 cum quo Rusticum presbyterum et Eleutherium archidiaconem persecutionis
 furor inuenit. Hii sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam se sustinuerunt abesse
 praesentia. Quos in unum interrogatio percussoris inuenit, sed repperire non

1 inuento salutis portu] inuentum salutis portum *AHU*, inuento salutis portum *RV* 2
 naufragia] naufragium *C* || uicta] hinc *Q* || ea] *om. H* 2-3 triumphabat] triumphauit
C 4 constabat] confortabat *C*, post constabat *add. A* et 5 conuersione] sollicitudine
A, conuersione *FR*, confessione *HN*, *om. C* || proficere] conficere *P* || sui] artis suae *DS*, suis
H 5-6 impugnanda] impugnandam *AC*, impugnandum *Bosquet* 6 quae] qui *G* || fuerant]
 fuerat *G* || conuertit] cor uertit *C* || suae] sua *G* || partis] partes *G* || auctores] auctoris *A*
 6-7 suorum] *om. G* 7 impietatem] post impietatem *add. G* deorum] subitae] subito
GMPQSU 8 insinuauerant] innot[...].erant *C*, insuauerat *G*, insinuarent *R* || et timendum
 expendere] *om. A* || expendere] expetere *G*, perdere *Bosquet* 9 maturarent] macerarent
A, trucidarent *C* || posset] possent *A*, possit *GNQRSU* || ualeret] ualarent *A* 10 peribat]
 periebat *FGMPR* || Persecutionis] persecutiones *M* || publicata sententia] sententia publicata
D, publicam sententiam *W* 10-11 progreditur] prosequitur *G* 11 contra] cum *A* ||
 pugnatura] pugna *Q* || non] post non *add. A* sunt || cunctati] cunctatur *G*; post cunctati *N add.*
 sunt 12 gladio] gaudio *G* || suos] suos *corr. ex suo F*, suos *G*, suo *R* || esse] post esse *add.*
F suo, N add. sancto || signaculo] dignaculis *G*, signandos *Bosquet* 13 occiduam] occidue
DHU, occidui *AFGNQSVW Bosquet* || partem] parte *A* || inquisitione] inquisitionem *P* 14
 reppererunt] peruenerunt *C* 15 cum quo] et cum eo *D*, quo cum *PQ*, quo *R*, cumque *Bosquet* ||
 presbyterum] *om. DQRSU* || archidiaconem] *om. D* 16 sancti] beati *AN Bosquet* || beati]
 sancti *AN Bosquet* 16-17 numquam ... praesentia] sustinuerunt ab eius esse praesentia *H*
 16 se] *om. ADGUW* || sustinuerunt] sustulerunt *F* 17 percussoris] persecutoris *FN Bosquet*

119 For the phrase *appetere gladio*, cf. Gregory of Tours, *Passio S. Iuliani*, c. 5: 'nudatoque unus gladio alterum appetit trucidandum' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. I/ii. 117).

enterprise they had been built; and, having found the haven of salvation, they rejoiced at the shipwreck of the idols. The defeated party of the Devil was in mourning, because the victorious legion of the Church was triumphing over it.

3. Then the ancient Enemy, seeing that what was clearly benefiting the Lord through the relentless conversion of peoples was being lost to him, turned the entire contrivance of his ingenuity towards attacking the things which had been built up; and he armed the agents of his party, (who were) weeping for the destruction of their gods, for the wickedness of a sudden persecution, so that they would hasten to repay with a variety of tortures those who had introduced this one and true God Who was to be worshipped and feared, so that none would survive who would be able to acquire what was lost. When the proclamation of persecution had been published, a crowd of the ungodly advances and plots to fight against the Lord's people, not hesitating to attack with the sword those whom the Lord had revealed as His by means of a sign. Accordingly, when they reached the western part of the empire in their search for Christians, they found St Dionysius struggling against unbelievers at Paris; the fury of persecution discovered Rusticus the priest and Eleutherius the archdeacon in his company. These saintly men never allowed themselves to be separated from the presence of St Dionysius. The executioner's inquisition found them together, but was unable to discover one whom it could segregate

120 It is not wholly clear what the *signaculum* is. Robert Godding suggests to me that the implied reference is to Apoc. vii. 3–4 (although the word *signaculum* is not used there: but cf. *signemus servos Dei nostri in frontibus eorum*), referring to baptism. Later writers such as Bede use *signaculum* to refer to the 'sign of the gospel' – that is to say, not to a visible, physical sign, but to the spiritual state of being Christian; cf. Bede's commentary *In Cantica canticorum* iii. 4. 12: 'Signatus est fons iste quia sermo fidei qui euangelico est *signaculo* tutatus nulla errantium ualeat umquam incursione turbari' (CCSL cxixB. 263–264).

121 The undeclined nominative form, used as a sort of locative (where one would expect *Parisiūm*), is attested already in Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* ix. 13: 'veniens *Parisius*, nullus de parte ... mulieris adfuit'. See discussion by M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), pp. 565–568; Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, pp. 136–137; and Stotz, *Handbuch*, IV, pp. 114–115 [VIII. 50. 10].

potuit quem a societate martyrii separaret. Interrogati, unum et uerum in trinitate Deum confitentur, et terrore subiuncto multisque afflicti iniuriis uel suppliciiis macerati, Christianos se esse testantur; uisoque percutientis ictu Domini ac Dei nostri se famulos magna confessionis uoce pronuntiant. In hac ergo fidei
 5 pertinacia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt. Tali ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri.¹²² Beata nimium et Domino nostro grata societas: inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse nec tertius, sed trinitatem confitentes non potuerunt non uenerabilem locum trino
 10 decorare martyrio!

4. Metuentes igitur percussores, ne conuersi populi fidelissima probataque deuotio sanctorum corpora profutura sibi ad patrocinium tumularet, eligunt tetris Sequanae profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere; quae imposita nauibus ad prouisum iubentur gurgitem destinari. Tunc

1 potuit] poterat *Q* || quem] quam *HQ*, cum *S* || martyrii] martyris *A* || separaret] separarent *H* || Interrogati, unum] interrogationum *G* || et uerum] *om. A* || in] *om. P* 2 Deum] Dominum *DFGMNQUV* || et] *om. ADFGNQRSU* || subiuncto] subiunctum *G*, subiuncti *W*, subacti *MPQ*, subiecto *Bosquet* || afflicti] affecti *AFHN*, adflictis *RS* || iniuriis] *om. G* 2–3 suppliciiis] subplicia *G*; post suppliciiis *add. Bosquet* uerberibus 3 uisoque] usique *N* 3–4 Domini ... nostri] Deum ac Dominum nostrum *G*, Domini nostri *Q* 4 famulos] famulus *G* || magna] magnae *A* 5 pertinacia] constantia *A Bosquet* || permanentes] persistentes *W Bosquet* 6 Tali] talem *G*, talique *Bosquet* || ad Dominum] a Domino *A*, Domino *P* || ad] apud *U* || migrare] migrari *ACP*, migrare *corr. ex* migrari *F*, migrasse *W* || ut] qui *AS*, quos *C*, quo *D*, quem *GHP*, qua *N*, quia *W*, *om. F* 7 putaretur] putabatur *GNRS*, putabantur *AP*, patabatur *C* || Dominum] Domino *RSUW*, *om. ADGH* 7–9 Beata ... confitentes] *om. G* 8 Domino] Deo *AQUW Bosquet* || alter potuit] potuit alter *AN* || nec] uel *D* 9 non potuerunt non] potuerunt *H*, non potuerunt *corr. in* meruerunt *S*, meruerunt *C Bosquet*, obtinuerunt *R*, *om. WN* || non] nisi *A*, *om. G*, *litura in V*, diuidi sed *Q* || uenerabilem locum] uenerabili loco *A* 10 decorare] decorarunt *Q* || martyrio] martyrium *A* 11 Metuentes igitur] admetuentes *Q* || percussores] percussoris *G*, persecutores *D* || ne] nec *GQ* || populi] populo *G* 11–12 probataque deuotio sanctorum] *om. QW* 12 sibi] ibi *A*, post sibi *add. F Bosquet* et reliquias || tumularet] tumularent *AFNQW*, tumolari *C* || eligunt] elegerunt *AN Bosquet*; post elegerunt *add. A* in 13 Sequanae] sanguine *G*, *om. A* || gurgitibus] gurgitis *G* || perdenda] per unda *G* 13–14 committere ... gurgitem] *om. Q* 14 nauibus] classibus *A*, nauis *N* || prouisum] praeuisum *Bosquet* || iubentur] iubent *GU*

122 This grisly detail receives confirmation of a sort from medical writings of antiquity, as was pointed out by M. Coens, 'Nouvelles recherches sur un thème hagiographique: la céphalo-

from the company of martyrdom. Under interrogation, they confess the one and true God in trinity; and, with terror added and afflicted by many injuries – or rather butchered by tortures – they affirm that they are Christians; and, on seeing the stroke of the executioner's (sword), they announce in a voice of loud confession that they are servants of our Lord and God. Persevering, therefore, in this obstinacy of faith, yielding their bodies to the earth, they bore their blessed souls to heaven. They were found worthy to journey to the Lord with a profession of this sort, that, even when decapitated, it was thought that their trembling tongues were still confessing the Lord. Their blessed companionship was exceedingly welcome to our Lord: among them the first could not be the second or third but, in confessing the trinity, they could not but embellish the holy place with their threefold martyrdom!

4. The executioners, fearing that the faithful and tested devotion of a converted populace would bury the bodies of the saints so as to provide themselves with protection in the future, choose instead to consign the bodies of the martyrs to be destroyed in the deep and dark waters of the Seine; they are placed in boats and ordered to be committed to the waters as envisaged. Then a

phorie', in his *Recueil d'études Bollandiennes*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 37 (Brussels, 1963), pp. 9–31, at 26, who drew attention to two texts: the *Compositiones* or 'Prescriptions' of the imperial physician Scribonius Largus (first century A.D.), who noted that when water is given to certain sick persons, it causes immense pain in their interior organs and causes them to howl and their tongues to palpitate, 'in a way similar to that of decapitated heads: nothing can be understood of what they say' ('cogitque exululare *et palpitare lingua* similiter decollatorum capitibus: nihil enim potest intellegi ex voce eorum': *Compositiones*, c. 194, ed. G. Helmreich (Leipzig, 1887), p. 78), and the Elder Pliny, who refers to a similar phenomenon (*NH* xi. 173: 'in fauces *palpitante* ibi *lingua* ululatus eliditur'). However, the source of the present description is not an ancient medical treatise, but probably a passage in Ambrose, *De uirginibus* iii. 6. 30, where he is speaking of the decapitated head of John the Baptist: '*lingua* tamen, quae solet etiam post mortem officium seruare uiuentis, *palpitante* licet motu damnabat incestum' (PL xvi. 241).

matrona quaedam,¹²³ quae licet paganorum adhuc implicata teneretur errore, conuersionem tamen se desiderare et mente monstrabat et opere, facere aliquid cogitans Domino placiturum, usa subtilitate consilii ad conuiuium uenire postulat percussores; et dum eis copiam oblatae humanitatis extendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit; ac fidelibus suis secreta ordinatione committit, ut subtracta furto corpora diligens elaboraret occultare prouisio. Qui dominae ordinatione comperta, festinanter quod eis praeceptum fuerat exsequuntur, furtumque laudabile¹²⁴ in sexto ab urbe memorata lapide, id est in aratam¹²⁵ quam seminibus praeparauerat terram industria colentis, abscondunt. Facta deinceps, ut moris est, satione nec suum seges negauit obsequium, quae tali fecundata pinguedine, sic in ea beneficium ubertas effudit,

1 quaedam] *post* quaedam *add.* P Catulla nomine; HN *add.* nomine Cadulla || quae] que dum G, *om.* F Bosquet || licet] *om.* Q || paganorum] *post* paganorum *add.* C nomine Elisia || adhuc] *om.* MPQ Bosquet || teneretur] tenetur G || errore] erroribus A 2 conuersionem] conuersione F || desiderare] desiderabat habere C || et ... opere] *om.* DMPSV 2-3 aliquid] aliqua Bosquet 3 placiturum] placitura F || usa] mira R || subtilitate] sublimitate Q || conuiuium] conuiuio G || uenire] *om.* D 4 postulat] postulauit A, postulabat Q || percussores] percussoris G, persecutores CH || dum] *om.* G || eis] *om.* ADFGHNQRSUW || oblatae] oblata G, oblata H, optatae Bosquet || extendit] ostenderunt C 4-5 a memoria] ad memoriam A, memoriam C, ad memoria G 5 eorum] sanctorum martyrum sanctum Dionisium cum sociis suis C || quae] Lisia C, qui G || susceperant] susceperat A, suscipere C, fuerant G 6 ut] et G || subtracta] ablata C || diligens] diligenter CHN || elaboraret] laboraret AN, laborarent H || occultare] occultata C, *om.* A 6-7 prouisio] *om.* C 7 Qui] quid G || dominae] domini AR, domina S, dominice G, homines Q, uero Bosquet || ordinatione] ordinata S, iussione C || festinanter] festinantur G 8 furtumque laudabile] furtu laudabili AQ, furtumque laudabilem S || memorata] memorato MPS Bosquet || lapide] lapidem H, miliario CM 9 aratam] area S, arata ADGHMNQ; *post* aratam *add.* U terram || quam] quae AQ, quem H, qua S || praeparauerat] praeparauerant P Bosquet || terram] terra GV; *om.* ACDHMPQNRSUW || colentis] condentes C, colentes DGHV, tollentis Bosquet 10 deinceps] *om.* DMPQRSUW || moris] mos FGHNS || suum] nexuum F, usum HN, suam P || seges] regis G || negauit] necauit C 11 quae] qui G || tali] talis C; *post* tali *add.* U est || fecundata] fecunda AQ, fecunditas C; *post* fecundata *add.* GW erat || sic] nec U, sicque W || ea] eum campum C || beneficium] *post* beneficium *add.* AHN suae copiae || ubertas] ubertatis CD, se ubertatis MPQU, se ubertas S, sue ubertatis W, *om.* N

123 In MS. P a later scribe has added the noblewoman's name: *Catulla* (her name is also given in two further manuscripts, H and N, as *Cadulla*): see *app. crit. ad loc.*, and note that MS. C

certain noble lady, who although she was still entwined in the error of pagan ways, nevertheless revealed that she desired to be converted both in mind and deed, thinking to do something pleasing to the Lord, employing a subtle plan invites the executioners to dinner; and while she offered them an abundance of generous hospitality, she drove from their minds the business they had in hand; and she enjoins upon her trusted servants a secret order, namely that, extracting the bodies by stealth, their loving forethought should take care to hide them. Implementing their mistress's command, they quickly accomplish what they had been ordered to do, and they conceal the praiseworthy theft at the sixth milestone from the aforementioned city, that is to say, in a ploughed field which the industry of the farmer had prepared for sowing. When the sowing had subsequently been done in the usual manner, the crop did not withhold its obedience: having been fertilized by such abundance, its bounty poured out such wealth that the farmer would reap hundredfold fruits and the

names her as *Elisia* or simply *Lisia*. It seems clear that the name *Catulla* was derived from the Gallo-Roman name for the site at which St Dionysius was buried, namely **Catulliacus*. The earliest securely datable witness to (a form of) this name is the *Testamentum* of Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Denis, dated to 777, where *Cadolaco* is used as a synonym for Saint-Denis: 'loca sanctorum martirum Dionisio, Rustico et Eleutherio, ubi ipsi domni corpore requiescunt, in loco qui dicitur Cadolaco, ubi plurima servorum Dei turma laudes Christi die noctuque adesse videntur' (J. Tardif, *Archives de l'empire* (Paris, 1866), p. 61); but it is also referred to as the *Catulacensem vicum* by the author of the *Vita S. Genovefae*, c. 17; cf. discussion by Krusch, 'Die Fälschung der Vita Genovefae', pp. 27–28. The form *Catulliacus* is attested in the *Gesta Dagoberti*, c. 2: 'tandem ergo victus ad vicum qui Catulliacus dicitur se contulit' (MGH, SS rer. Meroving. ii. 401).

- 124 The same phrase is found in the anonymous *Liber de ortu et obitu patriarcharum* (a pseudo-Isidoran work probably composed at Salzburg at approximately the same time as the 'ancient *passio*'), c. 59. 2: 'Hunc enim Marcum tradunt "primum ad Aegyptum perrexisse" atque inibi euangelium quod ipse conscripserat praedicasse, quod et *furtum laudabile* dicitur, quia quae Petrus uerbo praedicaauerat ipse in occulto "rogatus a fratribus" scribebat' (CCSL cviiiE. 78).
- 125 An example of this author's undisciplined use of hyperbaton: understand *id est in aratam terram, quam seminibus praepraauerat industria colentis*.

ut centuplicatos fructus et cultor adquireret et patria mereretur salutem. Qua pubescente diu latuit quod erat Parisiorum populis profuturum.

5. Antedicta tamen materfamilias, horum non immemor secretorum, cum primum persecutionis uidit tepuisse feruorem, locum tantorum martyrum ossa
 5 seruantem qua oportuit sollicitudine requisivit atque inuentum eminentis mausolei constructione signauit. Vnde postmodum Christiani basilicam supra martyrum corpora magno sumptu cultuque eximio construxerunt,¹²⁶ ubi cotidie – operante Domino nostro Iesu Christo – merita eorum uirtutum probantur monstrare frequentia, et experiuntur infirmi quantum Dei famulos conueniat
 10 honorari, ubi recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum, et obstrictae aurium

1 centuplicatos fructus] centuplicato fructu *A*, centuplicatus *M*, centuplicatum *W* || et!] *om. NQRS* || patria mereretur salutem] merita possiderent *C* || patria] patriae *S* || salutem] augmentum *A*, *om. F* 1–2 Qua pubescente] quae pauiscent *C*, quam pubescente *F*, quia pubescente *G*, sed multis annis *H*, qua pubescentes *U*, pubescente uero segete *Bosquet* 2 diu] *om. AH*, et tutius *C*, totius *FGPNQRSU*, totis *DW* || latuit] latius *D* 3 Antedicta] *post* antedicta *add. C* *Elisia* || materfamilias ... secretorum] matrisfamiliae sanctorum non inmemor archanorum *A*, matris familiarum *C*, matrisfamiliae sanctorum horum non inmemoratorum *H* || horum] sanctorum *N* || non] *om. Bosquet* || secretorum] secretiorem *Q* 3–4 cum ... feruorem] *om. Q* 4 uidit tepuisse feruorem] uidit tempus esse ruiturum *D*, tepuisse uidit furorem *F*, uidit defuisse feruorem *G*, tempus se seruorum *P*; uidit tempus deferuere *U*, furor tepuisset uidit in somniis feruere *Bosquet* || tantorum] sanctorum *HNQRSUW*, tantarum *C* 5 seruantem] seruentem *R*; *post* seruantem *add. Bosquet* et || qua] quia *R* 5–6 atque ... signauit] atque reperte excellentie delubri constructione expressit *A* 5 eminentis] eminentissimum *C*, inminentis *FH*, eminentissima *G* 6 signauit] significauit *N* || Vnde] ubi *Bosquet* || basilicam] domum sacram *A*, basilica *G* || supra] super *DGNQSUV* 7 sumptu] desuper *P* || cultuque eximio] cultuque egregio *A*, eximioque *G*, nimio *N* (*p.c.*) || ubi] ibique *Bosquet* 7–8 cotidie] assiduae *A* 8 operante] imperante *Q*, *om. D* || nostro] *om. FGMRSUVW* || merita] meritis *Q* || probantur] probatur *AD* 9–10 monstrare ... caecitas] caeci *A* 9 monstrare] monstrata *H*, *om. A* || frequentia] frequentiam *GPUBosquet* || famulos] famulus *R* || conueniat] conuenit *S*, *hic explicit G* 10–658.1 gressum, ... illud] *om. Q* || et ... auditum] surdi audiunt *C* 10 obstrictae] obstructe *FNW*

126 The author may possibly be referring here to the enlarged basilica reportedly built c. 630 by King Dagobert I (d. 638 or 639), which would have been in use in the mid-eighth century

homeland would obtain its salvation. As the crop was maturing, that which was to be of future benefit to the people of Paris lay long hidden.

5. However, when the aforementioned noblewoman, not forgetting these secrets, first saw that the heat of persecution had cooled, she sought out with due care and attention the place which was preserving the martyrs' bones, and marked it out, once located, with the construction of a prominent tomb. Whence the Christians subsequently constructed a basilica over the martyrs' bodies at great expense and with exceptional care, where every day – through the agency of our Lord Jesus Christ – the martyrs' merits are proved to be revealed by the frequency of miracles, and sick persons experience how thoroughly appropriate it is to venerate God's servants, where blindness is rewarded with sight, lameness with locomotion, and blocked passages in the ears deserve

when the 'ancient *passio*' was composed, and of which fragments have been identified by modern excavators; see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 49–57, and Crosby, *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, pp. 29–50. But the wording is vague, and the reference is not certain; see above, p. 13, and note that doubts about the identification of Dagobert's basilica in the archaeological record (by Formigé and Crosby) are expressed in Wyss, *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis*, pp. 28–32.

ianuae recipere merentur auditum. Sed nec illud silendum est, quod immundi spiritus infestatione uexati, dum ad memoratum locum examinandi uirtute diuina ducuntur, sanctorum ipsorum coguntur imperio, quo quisque sit martyrum positus loco assignatis nominibus indicare. De quorum passione .vii. idus
 5 Octobris Dominus gaudere nos uoluit, qui centesimum esse fructum martyrum repromisit – cui est honor et gloria, uirtus et potestas, imperium et fortitudo in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

1 merentur] meruere *A*, meruerunt *H*, mererentur *S* || Sed nec illud] et non *Q* || silendum] sciendum *Bosquet* (*dubitanter*) 2 infestatione] infestatione *R* || examinandi] *post* examinandi *add. S* ueniunt 3 ducuntur] loquuntur *DHNPRW*, loquendi *M*, loqui et *S*, sequuntur *U* || quisque] usque *N* || sit] scit *M*, *om. Q* 4 loco] locum *H*, loca *U*, loci *V* || assignatis] adsignans *H* || nominibus] manibus *Q* 4–5 vii. idus Octobris] *om. DMPQRSUW*
 5 Dominus gaudere] gaudere Dominus *D* || esse fructum] fructum esse *U* 6–7 cui ... Amen] *om. W* 6 uirtus ... fortitudo] *om. NQR* || uirtus et potestas] *om. AFH* || potestas] *om. Bosquet* || et fortitudo] *om. Bosquet*

to receive hearing. Nor should it be passed over in silence that when those who are possessed by an impure spirit are led to the aforesaid place to be examined by divine agency, they are compelled by the command of the saints themselves to indicate by their given names which of the martyrs is buried in which place. The Lord wished us to rejoice at their martyrdom on 9 October, Who promised that the hundredfold fruit would be that of the martyrs – to Whom is honour and glory, strength and power, authority and courage forever and ever. Amen.

The ‘Anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ [BHL 2178]

In addition to the ‘ancient *passio*’ printed in Appendix I, Hilduin drew on another early *passio* of St Dionysius, that known as the ‘anonymous *passio*’ (BHL 2178; inc. ‘Post beatam et gloriosam’), as we have seen (ch. 3, above, pp. 83–86).¹ Although the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ of St Dionysius derived the basic structure of his narrative from the earlier ‘ancient *passio*’, he introduced a number of striking innovations: in his *passio*, St Dionysius, bishop of Paris, is identified for the first time with Dionysius the Areopagite, who according to biblical Acts (xvii. 34) was converted at Athens by St Paul (the author of the *passio*, however, neglected to name the Areopagus); furthermore, the ‘anonymous *passio*’ is the earliest work in the Dionysian hagiographical dossier to contain an account of the miraculous cephalophory, in which St Dionysius, after decapitation, carried his head for two miles to his final resting-place. These two incidents are among the best-known features of the hagiography of St Dionysius, and are the important and original contribution of the author of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’.

The innovations introduced by the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ raise some interesting problems, which are never fully worked out, either in this *passio*, or in the work of later hagiographers. The topographical references allow the reader to deduce that the site of the tomb is in fact that of the present Saint-Denis: the burial was at the sixth milestone from Paris (understand: from the Île de la Cité), which approximately describes the location of Saint-Denis. But if that was where Catulla – who is named here in the ‘anonymous *passio*’ for the first time – buried the bodies of Rusticus and Eleutherius, how and when was it that they were combined with the body of St Dionysius (and his head)? Or had he managed to walk to the very spot at which Catulla’s servants subsequently chose to bury the other two bodies? It is odd that no hagiographer ever addressed this question; it suggests that the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’, in fabricating his tale of the cephalophory, did not fully work out the implications of Dionysius’ miraculous journey. (No such problem was presented by the narrative of the ‘ancient *passio*’ [cc. 4–5], according

1 The following discussion and text are reprinted from M. Lapidge, ‘The “anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*” (BHL 2178)’, *AB* 134 (2016), 20–65, with the kind permission of the Bollandists.

to which all three bodies were spirited away and buried by the unnamed noblewoman, the site of their burial later becoming the site of their imposing tomb.)

a Date and Origin of the 'Anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*'

The *terminus post quem* for the composition of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' is established by the extensive use made by its author of the earlier 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius [BHL 2171] which, as we have seen, can be dated approximately to c. 750. The *terminus ante quem* is established by the fact that Michael the Synkellos drew indirectly on the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' in compiling his *Encomium beati Dionysii Areopagitae* [BHG 556].² Michael (c. 761–846), the *synkellos* (principal adviser; lit. 'one who shares a cell') of the patriarch of Jerusalem (from c. 811 onwards), was a monk of the lavra of St Sabas near Jerusalem. While he was en route to Rome on behalf of Patriarch Thomas, he stopped in Constantinople, probably in 815, and was arrested almost immediately for his determined opposition to the iconoclasm then prevailing (he was a committed iconodule), and was held in prison for some five years. Under Emperor Michael II (820–829), he was remanded in custody to the monastery of the Parousia (near Prusa in Bithynia), where he remained in exile until the fifth year of the reign of Theophilus (1 October 833 to 30 September 834), when he was brought back to Constantinople, and where he composed and delivered his *Encomium* to St Dionysius. He was not released from captivity until after the death of Theophilus in 842, and in 843 was appointed *synkellos* to Patriarch Methodios (of Constantinople); he died four years later in the monastery of Chora in Constantinople.³

Michael's *Encomium* for St Dionysius basically consists of two complementary parts: the first part (PG iv, cols. 620–656) contains a synopsis of the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius; the second part (cols. 656–668) contains an account of the life and martyrdom of St Dionysius, based on the anonymous *Martyrium*

² PG iv. 617–668.

³ On Michael the Synkellos, see R.J. Loenertz, 'Le panégyrique de S. Denys l'Aréopagite par S. Michel le Syncelle', *AB* 68 (1950), 94–107, at 96–98; and H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 503–505. Although he never returned to Jerusalem, Michael must have retained some affection for the place, for he described it as 'the common mother of all Christians': τὴν πάντων Χριστιανῶν κοινομήτορα (PG iv. 653).

S. Dionysii Areopagitae [BHG 554].⁴ The *Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae* is, in its turn, a literal translation of the ‘anonymous [Latin] *Passio S. Dionysii*’ [BHL 2178]. The relationship is clear from the very first sentence of text: the Latin *Post beatam et gloriosam resurrectionem Domini nostri* etc. is rendered literally as Μετὰ τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτην ἀνάστασιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν (col. 66g). The close relationship between the two texts may be seen from the following synopsis: St Paul came to Rome during the reign of Nero, where Peter was preaching; Peter and Paul were both executed (c. 2), but before his execution, Peter was able to hand the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Clement (c. 2). Previously, St Paul had been in Athens, where he had converted Dionysius (c. 3). From Rome, Pope Clement sent out apostles (c. 4). The apostles arrived in Arles, whence Marcellus was sent on to Spain, Lucian to Beauvais, and Dionysius, with Rusticus and Eleutherius, to Paris (c. 5). Paris is described at length (c. 6). Dionysius converted multitudes (c. 7), whence Domitian launched a second persecution (i.e. the second after that of Nero) against the Christians (c. 8). The agents of Domitian arrived in Paris and arrested Dionysius, from whom Rusticus and Eleutherius refused to be separated (c. 9). Dionysius was interrogated by the unnamed agent: are you not that despicable old man, etc.: οὐκ εἶσὺ ὁ ἀνώνυμος γέρων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῶν τὸ σέβας κενώσας, etc. (c. 11). The three martyrs replied in unison with their confession of the Christian faith. They were duly decapitated, the tongues in their decapitated heads still confessing Christ (c. 12). Dionysius then picked up his head and walked two miles from the top of the hill (c. 13). Plans were made to dispose of the bodies of Rusticus and Eleutherius, but they were foiled by the devices of a *materfamilias* named Catula (Κατοῦλα) (c. 14). Later, a mausoleum was built on the site where the three bodies were hidden, where miracles occur (c. 17). The author concludes by remarking on the paucity of written sources for the saint (c. 18). Note that the chapter-arrangement of the Greek *Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae* agrees precisely with that of the ‘anonymous [Latin] *Passio S. Dionysii*’ (see below).

4 PG iv. 669–684; see discussion of this text by Loenertz, ‘Le panégyrique de S. Denys l’Aréopagite’, pp. 105–107. The Greek text of BHG 554 was subsequently retranslated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in 875 or 876 (who attributed it to Methodius of Constantinople, who had died in 847; but the attribution is doubtful), and sent with a dedication to Charles the Bald (see above, p. 106). Anastasius’ Latin version is listed as BHL 2184, and ed. Pierre-François Chifflet, *Dissertationes tres* (Paris, 1676), pp. 7–35; Anastasius’ letter to Charles the Bald (but not the text itself) is repr. PL cxxix. 737–739. This derivative Latin version by Anastasius [BHL 2184] entered the body of Latin hagiography concerning St Dionysius, and occasionally formed part of the manuscript-collections which I refer to as ‘Dionysielli’ (see above, p. 131, and below, p. 704).

Because this Greek *passio* [BHG 554] was used as a source by Michael the Synkellos, who composed his *Encomium* on St Dionysius in 833 or 834, it must have been in existence before that date: with the implication that the 'anonymous [Latin] *passio*' of St Dionysius had been composed and transmitted to Constantinople, no doubt through the frequent diplomatic contacts between the Byzantine emperor and the Frankish kingdom, by no later than 834. This date provides a secure *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' which, on the evidence presented here, was composed between c. 750 and 834. And this dating squares exactly with the date of the earliest manuscript of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', namely Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 233, fols. 39–56 (on which see below, MS. K), which has been dated by Bernhard Bischoff to the first third of the ninth century.⁵

Is it possible to narrow these dating *termini* still further? Father Loenertz certainly thought so. He noted that, when in the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' Dionysius is depicted sending St Saturninus on his mission to Toulouse, Toulouse is described as lying in the 'regions of Aquitaine' (c. 5: *Aquitaniae namque partibus sancto Saturnino directo*). From this Loenertz concluded: 'Il écrivait donc à une époque où le comté de Toulouse faisait partie du royaume d'Aquitaine, c'est-à-dire après ce rattachement, qui date de 817'.⁶ And Loenertz cites as his authority for this assertion a statement by Léon Levillain.⁷ Levillain did not cite any primary source for his statement, but it seems clear that he was referring to the famous capitulary of Louis the Pious known as the *Ordinatio imperii*, which was issued in July 817. In this document, Louis defined the division of his empire between his three sons which was to take effect in the event of his death; according to this, Louis' son Pippin was to receive *Aquitaniam et Wasconiam et markam Tolosanam totam et insuper comitatos quatuor, id est in Septimania, Carcassensem et in Burgundia Augustudunensem et Avalensem et Nivernensem*.⁸ It is clear from this statement that the 'march of Toulouse' was conceived in 817 as belonging to Aquitaine.

5 Bischoff, *Katalog* 1, no. 1722.

6 Loenertz, 'La légende parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite', p. 223 and n. 2.

7 L. Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne (1)', p. 56: 'Le comté de Toulouse avait été rattaché au royaume d'Aquitaine en 817 au même titre que les comtés bourguignons de Nevers, d'Autun et d'Avallon.'

8 *Ordinatio imperii*, c. 1 (MGH, *Capitularia*, I, p. 271); cf. discussion by P. Wolff, 'L'Aquitaine et ses marges', in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, I. *Persönlichkeit und Geschichte*, ed. H. Beumann (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 269–306, at 288–289.

The matter is somewhat more complex, however, for Toulouse had already been incorporated as an integral part of Aquitaine during the reign of Charlemagne (768–814), if not earlier.⁹ The event which precipitated its incorporation was the destruction of a rearguard of the Frankish army by the Gascons in the Pyrenees in 778 (the event which was immortalized in the *Chanson de Roland*). In reaction to this military setback, Charlemagne decided to create the kingdom of Aquitaine, to serve as a buffer state between Gascony (Catalonia) and the Frankish kingdom itself. The kingdom of Aquitaine was to be made up of nine Frankish *comtés* (dukedom);¹⁰ and principal among these was Toulouse.¹¹ In other words, Toulouse was considered an integral part of Aquitaine from 778 onwards, and perhaps especially from 790 onwards, under the powerful leadership of William of Orange. The outer dating *termini* for the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ [*BHL* 2178] are therefore not 817 × 834, as Loenertz would have it, but more broadly 778 × 834, or perhaps more narrowly, 790 × 834.

Although there is no explicit statement in the text itself, the presumption must be that the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ was composed in Paris, presumably at Saint-Denis itself: the author includes a lengthy account of the site of Paris (c. 6), amplifying the description which he found in the ‘ancient *passio*’ (c. 2) by noting, for example, that the river Seine ‘both provides an abundance of fish for its citizens’ and offers ‘no small protection within its walls’. But, assuming an origin at Saint-Denis, and given the outer dating *termini* – which overlap with the period of Hilduin’s abbacy (814–840) – the question

9 See the valuable discussion by A. Patschovsky, ‘Der Hl. Dionysius, die Universität Paris und der Französische Staat’, *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 1 (1978), 9–31, at 29–31 (an excursus on the dating of *BHL* 2178, which Patschovsky assigns tentatively to the abbacy of Fulrad of Saint-Denis (750–784)).

10 The *comtés* in question, and their counts (as of 778) are specified by the so-called Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 3: ‘porro Pictavis Abbonem, Petragoricis autem Widbodum, sed et Arvernus Iterium, necnon Vallagiae Bullum, sed et Tolosae Chorsonem, Burdegalis Sigwinum, Albigensibus very Haimonem, porro Lemovicis Hrotgarium’ (ed. E. Tremp, *MGH*, ss. rer. Germ. 64 [1995], p. 290). Charlemagne in due course replaced the insignificant Chorson, who had been captured and held to ransom by the Gascons in 789, with the more powerful count known to history as William of Orange (790–806). See discussion by Wolff, ‘L’Aquitaine et ses marges’, pp. 277 and 287, and idem, *Histoire de Toulouse* (Toulouse, 1974), p. 58.

11 Wolff, *Histoire de Toulouse*, p. 58: ‘Sans être officiellement capitale, Toulouse jouit dans ce royaume [*scil.* Aquitaine] d’une primauté de fait ... Toulouse est aussi le siège d’un comté; cf. *LMA* VIII [1998], col. 909: ‘Karl der Grosse inkorporierte Toulouse dem Regnum Aquitanien, als dessen Vorort die Stadt wieder fungierte’.

must inevitably arise of Hilduin's involvement in its composition. Could the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', for example, have been an earlier draft of what would subsequently become Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*?

A reference in the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' to Pope Clement's consecration of Dionysius as bishop puts the matter beyond doubt. Hilduin's stated view was that Dionysius had been consecrated as bishop of Athens by St Paul (*Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 8: *ab eodem beato Paulo apostolo Atheniensium est ordinatus episcopus*). On this view, Dionysius could not have been consecrated bishop by Clement at Rome, since he was already a bishop. Hilduin therefore attacks those who, in a *passio* of the saint, write that Dionysius had been consecrated bishop by Clement:

Quod autem dicunt in passione istius beati Dionysii scriptum haberi, quia eum sanctus Clemens episcopum ordinaverit et Gallias miserit, procul dubio sciant, quia aut praedictam passionem ex ueris et emendatioribus exemplaribus non susceperunt aut scriptorum uitio deprauatam legerunt, quoniam non ibi scribitur eum episcopum a beato Clemente consecratum, sed apostolum totius Galliae fuisse ordinatum.¹²

Now the one *passio* which states explicitly that Dionysius was consecrated a bishop by Clement is precisely the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' [BHL 2178]:

Tum beatus Clemens sanctum Dionysium episcopum ordinavit et potestatem quam a beato Petro acceperat ei tradidit (c. 4).

Given the discrepancy of opinion, and Hilduin's outspoken rejection of the notion that Dionysius was consecrated bishop by Pope Clement, it seems

12 *Ep.* II [BHL 2173], c. 11: 'And what they say is written in the *passio* of this blessed Dionysius – that the holy Clement ordained him a bishop and sent him to Gaul – they undoubtedly know this either because they did not get the said *passio* in accurate and corrected exemplars, or else they read it in a form corrupted by the carelessness of scribes, because it is not stated there that he was consecrated a bishop by the blessed Clement, but was ordained as apostle of all Gaul' (MGH, *Epist.* v [1898–1899], p. 332, and above, p. 214). It is clear that Hilduin's final statement refers to the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: 'sanctus igitur Dionysius, qui, tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda susceperat ...' (ed. Lapidge, 'The "ancient *passio*" of St Dionysius', p. 269, and above, p. 646): that is to say, in Hilduin's opinion, the author of the 'ancient *passio*' was right, whereas the author of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' was in error.

utterly unlikely that Hilduin could have been involved in the composition of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, let alone that he was its author.

Stylistic considerations point in the same direction. The Latin style of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ is frequently clumsy and repetitious, whereas that of Hilduin, though verbose, is comprehensible and clear. The stylistic differences between the two authors can be illustrated in three examples. In c. 3, the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ describes the mission of St Dionysius as being that of following the example of St Paul’s mission among the gentiles and preaching the name of Christ to unknown peoples (awkwardly repeating the word *gentibus*): ‘cum secundum dominica instituta “uas electionis” esset in *gentibus* et Christi nomen ignotis *gentibus* praedicaret’. Hilduin repeated the sentiment but avoided the repetition of *gentibus*: ‘Deum et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum ... insinuare *gentibus* non cessabat’ (c. 22). Similarly, in c. 4, the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ describes how St Clement ordained Dionysius a bishop and how St Clement passed on to Dionysius the apostolic power which he had received from Peter (clumsily repeating *beatus / sanctus Clemens*): ‘Tum *beatus Clemens* sanctum Dionysium episcopum ordinavit et *potestatem* quam *sanctus Clemens* a beato *Petro* acceperat ei *tradidit*’. As we have seen, Hilduin rejected the notion that Clement had ordained Dionysius a bishop; he therefore rephrased the sentence, eliminating the anonymous author’s clumsy repetition of the name Clement: ‘atque sicut Dominus Iesus Christus magistro meo *Petro* *tradidit* ... tibi semper praesto sit diuina *potestas*’ (c. 19). Finally, in describing in c. 5 the arrival of the missionaries led by Dionysius in Arles, the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ manages to compose a sentence that is excruciatingly awkward and repetitious: ‘*Qui simul* peruenissent, pergentes peruenierunt ad *portum Arelatensium ciuitatis*’. Hilduin retained the structure of the sentence, but eliminated the intolerable repetition: ‘*Qui simul* properantes et circumcirca Dominum praedicantes, appulerunt *portum Arelatensium ciuitatis*’ (c. 20). These three examples make clear the differences between the awkward Latin of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ and the more refined style of Hilduin, and indicate once again that Hilduin cannot have been the author of the ‘anonymous *passio*’.

A final consideration concerns the personality of the authors as it emerges from their texts. The author of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ portrays himself modestly as a dull and unworthy compiler who writes not on the basis of his own talent and intelligence, but simply as a faithful reporter of what he has learned from historical tradition:

Nos ipsos, quamuis immeritos, eorum [*scil.* SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii] credimus sacris precibus adiuuandos, qui ut hebetes et indigni

eorum uobis seriem passionis praesumptissimus intimare, non ex nostri ingenii capacitate aut proprii sensus industria, sed quod ueterum fidelium nobis relatione patuit ...¹³

This modesty is in striking contrast to Hilduin's pride in his (very considerable) learning,¹⁴ and his arrogance with respect to his predecessors, even, for example, including Gregory of Tours:

Ecce omnis minus scientium sibi ipsi discordans auctoritas. Cui uelut ex superfluo propter satisfactionem insipientium respondemus, cum ueram ex hoc sancto pontifice et martyre narrationem ueracium historiarum prae manibus habeamus: primo quidem petentes, ut in hoc iure contentiosi, ab albugine contracta arrogantiae, ex usurpata sapientia, quia uideri se scioli uolunt, oculos tergant, quo perspicacia perspicaciter et uera fideliter relegant.¹⁵

Hilduin's attitude to his predecessors, who are chastized repeatedly as incompetent fools, is entirely distinct from the modest approach taken by the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' to his predecessors. In short, Hilduin cannot in any sense be the author of the 'anonymous *passio*'. If the 'anonymous *passio*' was composed at Saint-Denis during the period of Hilduin's abbacy, the implication must be that there was more than one scholar in the abbey who was involved in the hagiography of its patron saint. But much would be

13 The 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', c. 17: 'We too believe that we are to be helped, though unworthy, by their holy prayers – we who, being dull and unworthy, presumed to make known to you the narrative of their martyrdom, not through the capacity of our talent or the activity of our own intelligence, but because it was clear to us from the accounts of men of old ...' (ed. Lapidge, 'The anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', pp. 50 [text] and 63–64 [translation], and below, pp. 702–703).

14 Thus he writes in *Ep.* III [BHL 2174], c. 1, that 'I confess myself unskilled in writing (not however in knowledge!)' (MGH, *Epist.* v [1898–1899], p. 336, and above, p. 222: 'licet me imperitum sermone (non tamen scientia!) fateor ...').

15 *Ep.* II [BHL 2173], c. 9: 'Here you have the entire authority of ignoramuses, disagreeing one with the other. To which I reply, for the satisfaction of these fools – though it is superfluous to do so – that I have in my hands the true account of reliable histories of this holy bishop and martyr: I ask first of all of those who remain obstinate on this issue, that they wipe their eyes clear of the albugo of arrogance acquired from their borrowed learning – since they wish to seem learned – in order that they may read again clear things with clear sight and true things with truth' (MGH, *Epist.* v [1898–1899], p. 331, and above, p. 210).

explained on the assumption that the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ was in fact composed *before* Hilduin’s abbacy, which began in 814.

It is possible that the transmissional history of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ can throw some light on this problem. The earliest manuscripts of the work were written in Alamannia (see below, MSS. G, K and R, and possibly Q), in the region of Lake Constance (the German Bodensee), at Reichenau and St Gallen. It is interesting to note, therefore, that Hilduin’s predecessor as abbot of Saint-Denis was Waldo (806–814), who was a valued adviser of Charlemagne and who, before coming to Saint-Denis, had been abbot both of St Gallen (782–784) and subsequently of Reichenau, where he held the abbacy for twenty years, from 786 to 806.¹⁶ From the time of Waldo’s abbacy at Saint-Denis, there were close intellectual contacts between the Parisian monastery and Reichenau, reflected above all in the exchange of manuscripts between the two houses.¹⁷ Given the broad dating *termini* within which the composition of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ must fall, namely 778×834, the transmissional history of the text could be explained on the hypothesis that it was composed at Saint-Denis during the abbacy of Waldo (806–814), whence it was transmitted very quickly to Reichenau and other Alamannian houses, among them St Gallen. But this can only be a hypothesis.

b Manuscripts of the ‘Anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’

The ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ has been preserved in a substantial number of manuscripts: the Bollandists’ database (*BHLms*), for example, lists some thirty.¹⁸ But many of these are late, and a sincere text can be reconstructed on the basis of nine early (that is, of the twelfth century or earlier) witnesses, as follows:

16 See (briefly) *LMA VIII* [1998], col. 1958, and esp. Munding, *Abt-Bischof Waldo: Begründer des goldenen Zeitalters der Reichenau*.

17 See Vezin, ‘Les relations entre Saint-Denis et d’autres scriptoria pendant le haut moyen âge’, pp. 23–27.

18 Of these thirty, some eight manuscripts were written earlier than the twelfth century: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 64 [3129] (s. xi) [= my MS. B]; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, xv. AA. 12 (s. x/xi); Paris, BNF, lat. 11753 (s. xi) [= my MS. P]; Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano, Archivio del Vicariato A. 81 (s. xi); Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Farfense 29 (s. ix/x), Sessoriano 5 (s. xi); Biblioteca Casanatense, 719 (s. xi); Biblioteca Vallicelliana, IX (s. xi); and Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1283 (s. x). In addition, the Bollandists’ MS. fichier lists some fifty-seven manuscripts of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ [*BHL* 2178], of which nine not included in *BHLms* are earlier than the twelfth century: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek,

A = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 20. 1 (area of Florence, s. xii^{2/4}), fols. 255^v–258^r. A large collection of 124 saints' Lives in giant folio format (520 × 370 mm.), consisting of 317 folios written lavishly in two columns.¹⁹ The collection is arranged in approximate calendar order, beginning with Advent and ending with the *passio* of St James Intercisus ('the mutilated') [27 Nov.]. The manuscript was written in or near Florence, and it is clear that it represents what is largely an Italian collection of saints, possibly assembled in Florence itself: note the inclusion of Lives of St Dalmatius of Piedmont, St Zeno of Verona, St Syrus of Pavia, St Severus of Ravenna, St Proculus of Bologna, St Romulus of Fiesole, SS. Donatus and Hilarianus of Arezzo, St Minias of Florence, St Frigidianus of Lucca, etc.

B = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 3129 [64] (?Florence, ?Bologna, s. xi), fols. 211^r–214^v. A large collection of 118 saints' Lives in large folio format (440 × 320 mm.), consisting of 310 folios written in two columns.²⁰ The collection is arranged in approximate calendar order, beginning with Advent (St Nicholas [6 Dec.], St Andrew [30 Nov.], St Peter of Ravenna [4 Dec.]), and ending roughly with St Chrysogonus [24 Nov.]; the few Lives which follow that of St Chrysogonus are arranged in no particular order, and probably represent later additions. At some point in its history the manuscript belonged to the college of Irish monks in Würzburg;²¹ but it was clearly not written there, since it contains virtually no Irish or German saints, and since the college at Würzburg was not founded until 1134, perhaps as much as a century after the manuscript was written. The contents of the collection suggest rather that it was written in Italy: note the presence of *passiones* or *vitae* of St Peter of Ravenna, St Barbatianus, also of Ravenna, St Rofillus of Forlì, St Terentianus of Todi, St Minias

256 (s. x); Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 20. 1 (s. xi) [= my MS. A]; Plut. 20. 2 (s. xi); Plut. 30 sin. 5 (s. xi) [= my MS. F]; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 37 (s. x) [= my MS. R], Aug. perg. 233 (s. ix) [= my MS. K]; Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, 264 (s. xi); St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 577 (s. x) [= my MS. G]; and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB XIV 16 (s. xi). I am very grateful to Robert Godding for providing me with digitized images of the entry for this text in the Bollandists' fichier.

- 19 See Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, pp. 536–557 [no. 99], with the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' listed on p. 552.
- 20 See J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 13 vols. (Brussels, 1901–1948), v, pp. 50–55, with the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' listed on p. 53.
- 21 Cf. the *ex-libris* on fol. 310^v: *Iste liber est Hybernicorum Herbypolensis diocesis extra muros eiusdem.*

of Florence, and St Zeno of Verona. These considerations led Guy Philippart to assign the manuscript to Florence or Bologna;²² and the relationship of its text of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ with other Italian witnesses, particularly those from Florence (MSS. A and F) supports this attribution.

F = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. [S. Croce] 30 sin. 5 (N. Italy, s. xi²; prov. Florence), fols. 160^v–162^v. A passional arranged in calendar order (27 December to 13 December) in folio format (420 × 280 mm.), written in two columns, consisting of 200 folios containing some eighty-four hagiographical texts, many of them *passiones* of saints who were culted in northern Italy, such as St Concordius of Spoleto, SS. Vitalis and Valeria of Ravenna and Milan respectively, SS. Nazarius and Celsus of Milan, St Minias of Florence, St Syrus of Pavia, St Coronatus of Verona, and others.²³

G = St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 577 (St Gallen, s. ix/x), pp. 625–636. A substantial collection of forty-five saints’ Lives in large quarto format (345 × 260 mm.), consisting of 754 pp. written in two columns;²⁴ the Lives are arranged randomly, and do not follow calendar order. The manuscript was written at St Gallen, and the collection of saints’ Lives was probably assembled there as well, since it includes the Lives of a striking number of saints from Alamannia (modern Alsace and Schwaben), including Odilia, abbess of Hohenburg (Bavaria); Meinrad, founder of Einsiedeln; Verena, a recluse from the mountains near Zurich; Trudpert, a hermit in the Breisgau; and Pirmin, the founder of Reichenau.

K = Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 233, fols. 39–56 (Reichenau, s. ix^{1/3}), fols. 41^r–49^r. A part of a manuscript consisting of two mutilated quires, containing only the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ [BHL 2178], followed by the *Laudatio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2187].²⁵ The manuscript is in octavo format

22 See Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autre manuscrits hagiographiques*, pp. 13, 34–35, 38–39, and 52.

23 Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, pp. 696–710 [no. 170], at p. 707; see also Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autre manuscrits hagiographiques*, pp. 34–35, 38–39.

24 See Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 187–188, and esp. Von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen 1. Teil IV: Codices 547–669*, pp. 90–96. The manuscript is mentioned briefly by Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autre manuscrits hagiographiques*, p. 113.

25 See Bischoff, *Katalog 1*, no. 1722; see also Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften 1*, pp. 531–533.

(225 × 150 mm.), written with twenty-two long lines per page. The quiring established by Alfred Holder is as follows: 1¹² (fols. 39–48) [lacks 3, 10], 11¹⁰ (fols. 49–56) [lacks 4, 8].²⁶ The manuscript was listed as no. XVI in Reginbert's inventory of Reichenau manuscripts (835 × 842).²⁷

M = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 55 inf. (?Lucca, s. xii¹), fols. 168^v–170^r. A lavishly illuminated collection of saints' Lives, in giant folio format (570 × 370 mm.), consisting of 262 folios, written in two columns, and containing eighty-nine hagiographical texts, which are richly rubricated with miniatures.²⁸ The manuscript is evidently the third volume of what was once a huge three-volume legendary. The first of the three volumes survives as Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 53 inf., and contains texts relating to saints celebrated between Advent and 15 February. The second volume, which must have contained saints for the period 16 February to 28 June, has been lost. The present manuscript – Milan B 55 inf. – is the third volume of this original legendary, and contains saints for the period 29 June (St Peter the Apostle) to 27 November (St James *Intercisus* ['the mutilated']). Various saints in the legendary point to an origin somewhere in Northern Italy: in vol. I (Milan B 53 inf.) are found Lives of St Syrus of Pavia and St Zeno of Verona. Vol. III (Milan B 55 inf.) contains texts relating to two saints who were specifically culted at Lucca: St Regulus, a sixth-century African bishop (d. c. 552) whose remains were translated to Lucca in the eighth century, and St Frigidianus, a sixth-century bishop of Lucca. The presence of texts relating to these two saints suggests that the original legendary may have been commissioned, compiled and written for an early twelfth-century bishop of Lucca.

P = Paris, BNF, lat. 11753 (?Central Italy, s. xii), fols. 246^r–248^v. A large collection of saints' Lives, in large folio format (465 × 340 mm.), consisting of 341

26 Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften* I, p. 532. Holder's final two quires begin (in his collation) at fol. 39; a leaf has fallen out after fol. 40, so that the text of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*', which begins on fol. 41, appears to begin a fresh quire. Bischoff's quiring begins at fol. 41 (his terse description – '16 Bl.' – perhaps implies that two regular quires of eight begin on fol. 41; but cf. Holder's more complex account of the quiring).

27 See Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, I. *Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, pp. 257–262 [no. 53; Reginbert's *Verzeichniss*], at p. 260; and cf. Vezin, 'Les manuscrits copiés à Saint-Denis en France pendant l' époque carolingienne', p. 278.

28 The contents of the manuscript are listed by F. van Ortroij, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis', *AB* 11 (1892), 205–368, at 252–269; the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' is listed on p. 260 [no. 61].

folios written in two columns. The collection contains ninety-four hagiographical texts.²⁹ The texts begin with *passiones* of SS. John and Paul (26 June) and SS. Peter and Paul (29 June), and end with St Chrysogonus (24 November), indicating that this volume formed the *pars aestivalis* of a two-volume legendary, of which the first volume (containing texts for feasts from Advent to 25 June) has been lost. Although most of the contents are *passiones* of early Roman martyrs, the collection includes some saints from elsewhere in Italy (e.g. St Germanus of Capua, and SS. Nazarius and Celsus of Milan), and this much has suggested to students of legendaries that the manuscript was written somewhere in central Italy.³⁰ The suggestion of a central Italian origin would appear to be supported by the nature of the text of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ which it contains, which is closely related to other manuscripts from (northern) Italy: see below, p. 675. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the collection contains *passiones* of several saints from France in addition to St Dionysius: St Julian of Le Mans, St Leonard of Noblac (in the diocese of Limoges), and St Saturninus of Toulouse. The implication is that these texts were transmitted from France to Italy at some time before the twelfth century; the manuscript subsequently travelled back to France, where it was owned at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, whence it passed to the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Q [the former Bollandists’ Library], Q MS. 6 (?Alamannia, ?Bavaria, s. ix/x), pp. 117–122. In 1780 this manuscript formed part of the Bollandists’ library, then housed in Antwerp, but was lost when the Bollandists were suppressed in 1789. Because the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum* drew so frequently on this lost manuscript, which was evidently a passionary written somewhere in Alamannia or Bavaria c. 900, it proved possible for François Dolbeau, in a brilliant piece of detective work, to reconstruct its original contents almost completely.³¹ The letter ‘Q’ in the shelfmark indicates that the manuscript was

29 *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. III, pp. 49–59; cf. also L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 8823–18613*, II. *Inventaire des manuscrits de Saint-Germain-des-Prés* (Paris, 1863–1874), p. 14. Delisle dated the manuscript ‘s. xi’; the Bollandists preferred the later date of ‘s. xii’, and the later dating is accepted by Philippart and Dolbeau (see following note).

30 See Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, pp. 13 and 38, and Dolbeau, ‘Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris’, p. 221.

31 Dolbeau, ‘Le passionnaire de Fulda. Une source méconnue des “Acta Sanctorum” conservée jadis à Anvers dans la bibliothèque des anciens Bollandistes’; on the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ [*BHL* 2178], see p. 525. Dolbeau made his reconstruction by collating

in large folio format ('très grand format'); the sequence of the reconstructed contents indicates that Q MS. 6 was a passionnal for the second half of the year (*pars aestivalis*), beginning with St Felicitas and her seven sons (10 July) and ending with St John the Evangelist (27 December). Most of the contents are *passiones* of early Roman martyrs, but there are a few later saints from north of the Alps: Ferreolus, martyr of Vienne; Lambert, bishop and martyr of Maestricht (d. 705); Marcellus, martyr of Chalon-sur-Saône; Saturninus, bishop and martyr of Toulouse; Victor, martyr of Marseilles; and Emmeram, a seventh-century bishop of Bavaria who was culted principally at Regensburg. The presence of this latter *vita* (BHL 2539) may suggest that the manuscript was written in Bavaria.³²

The manuscript was later owned by the Jesuit college at Fulda (established in 1572, a foundation separate from the Benedictine monastery founded in the eighth century by St Boniface). Because of the large number of saints' Lives (nearly eighty) which the manuscript contained, its value for the task of editing these Lives was recognized almost as soon as the Bollandist enterprise got under way. Among the manuscripts in the present Bollandists' library there is one – Bibliotheca Bollandiana MS. 162 – which contains a transcription, apparently in the hand of Heribert Rosweyde, of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' (fols. 114^r–116^v) made from the Fulda manuscript.³³ Rosweyde was the forerunner and progenitor of the Bollandists;³⁴ the presence of his handwriting in MS. 162 implies that he and his Jesuit colleagues at Antwerp had borrowed the manuscript from their Jesuit confrères at Fulda no later than 1629, the year of Rosweyde's death. Realizing the great importance of the Fulda manuscript – and the tiresome task of transcribing its contents – the Antwerp Jesuits managed to acquire it for their own library by the time of Jean Bolland's death in

references to this manuscript in various editions in *Acta ss.* (thirty-eight of these) with a handwritten index of its contents now in the Bollandists' library in Brussels (MS. 24, compiled c. 1750).

32 For the probable date of Q MS. 6, see discussion by Dolbeau, 'Le passionnaire de Fulda', p. 526; for its probable origin in Bavaria or Alamannia ('Bavière ou Suisse Alémanique'), see *ibid.* pp. 527–529.

33 I am very grateful to Robert Godding for providing me with digitized images of the relevant folios of MS. 162.

34 See *Bollandistes: Saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche*, ed. Godding et al., pp. 23–33, with an excellent reproduction of Rosweyde's handwriting on p. 22; and *De Rosweyde aux "Acta Sanctorum". La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles. Actes du Colloque international (Bruxelles, 5 Octobre 2007)*, ed. Godding et al., esp. pp. 35–87.

1665.³⁵ It presumably still formed part of that library in 1780, when Corneille de Bye came to edit the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ in 1780 (see below), but was lost when the Bollandists and their library were disbanded in 1789.

R = Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 37 (Reichenau, s. x^{3/3}), fols. 161^r–164^v. A lectionary, made up largely of excerpts from patristic homilies, but including a small number of saints’ Lives in the Sanctorale (including *passiones* of SS. Agatha, Agnes, Caecilia, Lucia, Sebastian, etc.), consisting of 194 folios in large quarto format (370 × 280 mm.).³⁶ R’s text of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ of St Dionysius consists solely of the first ten chapters, and the first sentence of c. 11. The text of the ‘anonymous *passio*’ in R, which was written at Reichenau, is closely related to that found in the other manuscripts from Alamannia (G and K, and possibly Q), and represents the earliest attested phase of transmission of this work.³⁷

c Relationship of the Manuscripts

It is possible to identify three distinct chronological phases in the transmissional history of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’: first, an Alamannic phase (Phase I), then a North Italian phase (Phase II), and finally a Roman or Central Italian phase (Phase III).

Although the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ was to all appearances composed at Saint-Denis in Paris, the earliest witnesses to its text are from Alamannia: G, K, Q and R. Of these four, GK stand apart from QR. GK share several readings which separate them from all other witnesses to the text: c. 6, 686.15–16 (*Sigone* GK, *Sequanae* cett.), c. 10, 692.2 (*conuersatione* GK, *conuersione* cett.), and c. 10, 692.8 (GK alone add *Christi* before *ecclesia*). Similarly, QR share various readings which separate them from all other witnesses to the text: c. 3,

35 See Dolbeau, ‘Le passionnaire de Fulda’, p. 520.

36 See Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften* I, pp. 140–155, with the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ listed on pp. 152–153.

37 A transcription of R’s text of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’, made for the Bollandists in 1768 by P. Chardon, is preserved in the present Bollandists’ library as MS. 155, fols. 57^v, 66^r–^v. That R was the source of Chardon’s transcription is clear from collation, especially of the truncated end of c. 10 and the termination of the text, with the interpolated words *uiriliter pugnando*, at the beginning of c. 11 (Boll. 155, fol. 66^v; cf. R, fol. 164^v). Unfortunately, Corneille de Bye made no use of Chardon’s transcription in his edition of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ (*Acta ss.*, Octobris, IV [1780], pp. 792–794).

682.14 (*populis* QR, *gentibus* cett.), c. 4, 684.8 (QR omit *sanctus Clemens*), c. 5, 684.16 (QR omit *peruenerunt*), and c. 9, 690.8 (*apparitores* QR, *apparitio* cett.). But Q has a number of unique readings which set it apart from all other witnesses, including evident errors (c. 3, 682.15–16: *conuertit* Q against *conuersum* cett.), omissions (c. 1, 680.1, 680.7, c. 2, 680.17–18, c. 8, 690.5–6, etc.), and a tendency to write *Dominus* where the sense clearly requires *Deus* (c. 4, 684.5, c. 14, 698.4). It is possible that these variants are due to the original scribe of Q; but since the manuscript has been lost, and is only known through the transcription of Heribert Rosweyde and the edition of Corneille de Bye, the suspicion must arise that the alterations were first made by Corneille de Bye in his edition of the text, not by the original scribe of Q.³⁸ This suspicion can never be proved, but it tends to limit the faith which can be placed on the witness of Q.

At some point during the tenth or early eleventh century, the text of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' crossed the Alps to Northern Italy, where it gave rise to manuscripts of what I have called Phase II: principally MSS. ABFM, with which MS. P is clearly associated. That the archetype of Phase II came to Northern Italy from Alamannia, and not directly from Paris, is proved by readings shared by ABFM and either G or K or R (or all three): c. 2, 682.4 (*quaeque solueritis* AFGKM), c. 3, 682.12 (*cum* omitted by ABFGKMP), c. 5, 686.9 (*adierunt* GK(a.c.)MP), c. 6, 686.10 (*prefunctum* ABKMMP), c. 6, 686.12 (*remanens* FGKMR), c. 7, 688.8 (*dignis* ABFGK), c. 8, 690.4 (*electa apparitione* FGKPR), c. 10, 692.11 (*domata* AKMP), c. 11, 692.18 (*esse* added by BFGKM), c. 12, 694.7 (*respondit* AFKM), c. 12, 694.14 (*pietas* ABFKP), c. 14, 698.6 (*Achitofellis* ABFK(a.c.)MP), and c. 18, 702.10 (*ardentes* ABFGMP). Of the Northern Italian manuscripts of Phase II, the closest relationship is between MSS. ABFM, as is shown by the following individual readings: c. 1, 680.3 (*resuscitauit* ABFM against *suscitauit* cett.), c. 2, 680.17 (*crudelissimi* omitted by ABFM), c. 3, 682.20 (*desiderio* ABFM), c. 4, 684.9 (*praedica* ABFM), c. 4, 684.13–14 (*Marcellinum* ABFM), c. 4, 684.14–15 (*religio Christiana* ABFM, against *Christiana religio* cett.),

38 Although the principal source for his edition of the 'anonymous *passio*' was the Fulda manuscript (Q MS. 6), it is not clear how carefully he reproduced its text. For example, in c. 2, at 680.17–18, his edition omits the words *beatum Petrum et Paulum felici cruore damnatos* (*Acta ss.*, Octobris IV [1780], p. 792), and he notes in his accompanying commentary: 'Mutilus est hic sensus, vocabulis aliquot amanuensium oscitantia omissis'. He goes on to note that the missing words were to be found in P MS. 155 and O MS. 19 (*ibid.* p. 795). But whether the words in question were indeed omitted from the Fulda manuscript (Q) by 'yawning' or 'negligent' scribes is unclear, because the words *beatum Paulum ... cruore* were accurately transcribed from Q by Heribert Rosweyde (Boll. MS. 162, fol. 114^r). It may simply be a case of oversight on the part of de Bye.

c. 6, 686.15–16 (*regione* ABFM, a nonsensical variant of *Sequanae*), c. 8, 688.14–15 (*longe lateque se* ABFM against *longe se lateque* cett.), c. 10, 692.6 (*ui* omitted by ABFM), c. 11, 692.18 (*decreta* ABFM, against *statuta* cett.), c. 14, 698.10 (*astricta* ABFM, against *addicta* cett.), and c. 15, 700.1 (*praeparauerant* ABFM against *parauerat*).

From Northern Italy the text of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ migrated south to Rome (Phase III), acquiring on the way a number of distinctive errors and omissions. These errors and omissions so distort the meaning of the text that I have not thought it useful to collate witnesses of Phase III. A number of these Roman/Southern Italian manuscripts were collated by Father Loenertz, who classified the corrupt text which they contain as ‘famille B’ (which in his view was to be distinguished from ‘famille A’, represented by my MSS. K and Q).³⁹ The four manuscripts collated by Loenertz are: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberini lat. 586 (s. xi/xii); lat. 1190 (s. xii); lat. 6076 (paper; s. xvii); and lat. 6453 (s. xii¹).

One of the most striking features of the manuscript transmission of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ is the overwhelming preponderance of manuscripts of Italian provenance: of the thirty manuscripts of the text listed in the Bollandists’ *BHLms*, no fewer than twenty-three are preserved in Italian libraries. And of the manuscripts now preserved in northern European libraries, some at least were written in Italy (e.g. my MSS. B and P) before migrating north of the Alps. In effect, the transmission of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ is an Italian phenomenon.

d Previous Editions of the ‘Anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’

There have been two previous editions of the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’: by Corneille de Bye in vol. IV of the October volumes of *Acta ss.*; and by François Arbellot.

In the late eighteenth century, from 1761 until the time of the suppression of the Bollandists in 1789, Corneille de Bye (1727–1801) was the senior Bollandist (he described himself as *l’Ancien des Bollandistes*), and was the author of the massive entry for St Dionysius in the fourth October volume of *Acta ss.*⁴⁰

39 Loenertz, ‘La légende Parisienne de S. Denys l’Aréopagite’, pp. 226–228.

40 *Acta ss.*, Octobris IV [1780], pp. 696–855. On Corneille de Bye, see Godding et al., *Bollandistes. Saints et légendes: quatre siècles de recherche*, p. 160; on his work as editor, see the remarks of P. Peeters, *L’oeuvre des Bollandistes*, 2nd ed., Subsidia Hagiographica 24a (Brussels, 1961), pp. 40–41, esp. p. 41: ‘Caractère mal commode peut-être, mais talent solide,

Among the dossier of texts relating to St Dionysius which were either edited or reprinted by de Bye is an edition, the first, of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' [BHL 2178].⁴¹ De Bye stated that he had edited the work *e codice nostro Fuldensi QMS. 5 cum quinque aliis MSS. collato*;⁴² but, of the 'five other manuscripts', collations are recorded from only two, both of them belonging to the Bollandists' library: O MS 19 and P MS 155.⁴³

A century after the publication of Corneille de Bye's edition of the 'anonymous *passio*', François Arbellot included a new edition of the text as an appendix to his *Études sur les origines chrétiennes de la Gaule*.⁴⁴ Arbellot's edition was based on the previous edition by Corneille de Bye in *Acta ss.*, readings from which he recorded as 'Boll.' in his *apparatus criticus*, but he also collated four manuscripts⁴⁵ which had not been used by de Bye, namely: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 223 (s. x or xi), whose readings he recorded as 'Flor.'; Paris, BNF, lat. 11753, whose readings he recorded as 'A' (the same manuscript is collated here as MS. P);⁴⁶ Paris, BNF, lat. 12601, a twelfth-century lectionary, whose readings he recorded as 'B';⁴⁷ and finally Paris, BNF, lat. 3278, another lectionary of even later date whose readings he recorded as 'C'.⁴⁸ Arbellot's text is based princi-

intelligence aiguë, jugement ferme et indépendant ... Il possédait la netteté de vue nécessaire pour maintenir les *Acta* à un niveau digne de leur passé.

41 *Acta ss.*, Octobris IV [1780], pp. 792–794.

42 De Bye's reference to 'QMS5' is an unfortunate error for Q MS. 6, as was pointed out by François Dolbeau, 'Le passionnaire de Fulda', p. 525, n. 62.

43 Of these two manuscripts, the first (O MS 19) has been lost since 1789: see F. Dolbeau, 'Les sources manuscrites des *Acta Sanctorum* et leur collecte (xvii^e–xviii^e siècles)', in *De Rosweyde aux "Acta Sanctorum"*, ed. Godding et al., pp. 105–147, at 128; cf. also pp. 133–134 for a reconstruction of the erstwhile contents of O MS 19. The other manuscript collated by de Bye, P MS 155, is still extant as Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 7482 (65) [Van den Gheyn 3180], a thirteenth-century legendary in large folio format (460 × 320 mm.); see Dolbeau, *ibid.* p. 130. It is unfortunate that de Bye did not consult P. Chardon's transcription (dated 1748) of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' preserved in the present Bollandists' MS. 155 (fols. 57^v and 66^{r-v}), which, as I have stated above (n. 37), is an accurate transcription of the text in the Reichenau manuscript (my MS. R).

44 F. Arbellot, *Étude sur les origines chrétiennes de la Gaule*, I. S. *Denys de Paris* (Paris, 1880), pp. 74–91.

45 *Ibid.* pp. 73–74.

46 See above, pp. 671–672.

47 On this manuscript and its contents, see Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins*, II, p. 59.

48 BNF, lat. 3278 is the second part (*pars aestivalis*) of a massive lectionary written c. 1300 (s. xiii/xiv); the first part (*pars hibernalis*) is preserved as BNF, lat. 755. The two-volume work was possibly written for use in the papal chapel. The text of 'the anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' is in BNF, lat. 3278, fols. 232^v–234^r. As Arbellot noted, the text of the 'anonymous

pally on Corneille de Bye's earlier edition (his 'Boll.') and Paris, BNF, lat. 11753 (his 'A'); readings from the other three witnesses are recorded only sporadically. He made no attempt to establish the relationships between the few witnesses he had collated.

passio' in BNF lat. 3278 is greatly abbreviated – the text in question is that listed as *BHL* 2181, an abbreviation of *BHL* 2178 made to serve as liturgical lessons – and is of little use for the purposes of textual criticism; the few significant readings reported by Arbellot suggest that the text of BNF lat. 3278 belongs to what I have called Phase III of the transmission.

1. Post beatam et gloriosam resurrectionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qua uerum Dei templum Iudaica impietate resolutum diuina potentia sese in triduo suscitauit⁴⁹ et caro humilitatis nostrae in Christo supra omnem caeli militiam, supra omnes ordines angelorum ad Dei patris est prouecta consessum⁵⁰ et decima post die apostolorum pectoribus spiritus est sanctus illapsus,⁵¹ ut ligandi soluendique acciperent potestatem, atque sic per ipsos in cunctos ecclesiae principes decreti huius constitutio commeauit; namque anno ab urbe condita octingentesimo octauo Nero Caesar quintus ab Augusto adeptus est principatum.⁵² Beatus itaque Petrus apostolus, cum reliqui apostoli, distributis sibi terrarum partibus, imbuendum omni creaturae euangelium suscepissent, ipse ad arcem Romani diuinitus imperii destinatur,⁵³ ut, qui primus erat in ordine potestatis, primus esset in certamine passionis; et quae ciuitas maioribus obligabatur erroribus, maioribus necesse erat remediis adiuuari, et ubi erat culpa grauior, ibi esset et gratia maior.⁵⁴
2. Namque, ut dictum est, cum impiissimus Nero terrae marique imperii sui iura laxasset et furor crudelitatis eius dira rabie in Christi famulos ebullisset, quarto decimo crudelissimi imperii sui anno beatum Petrum et Paulum felici cruore damnatos per trophaeum martyrii dignos transmisit ad superos. Namque, priusquam beatus Petrus per triumphum martyrii euolasset ad caelos,

1 beatam et gloriosam] gloriosam et beatam *M* || Iesu Christi] *om. Q* || qua] quia *R* 3 suscitauit] resuscitauit *ABFM* 4–5 consessum] consensum *AK* 5 decima post die] decimam post diem *ABP* || est sanctus] sanctus est *ABFM* 6 acciperent] acceperunt *G* || atque] adque *K* || in cunctos] iniunctos *AF* 7 namque] *om. Q* 9 apostolus] post apostolus *add. AB* dum || reliqui apostoli] reliquis apostolis *ABF* 10 omni creaturae] *om. P* || suscepissent] suscepisset *A* 11 diuinitus imperii] imperii diuinitus *P* || imperii destinatur] destinatur imperii *M* 12 quae ciuitas] ciuitas quae *A* 12–13 maioribus obligabatur erroribus] *om. A* 13 erat] habebat *G* || adiuuari] adtolleretur *Q* || et] ut *AB* 14 et] *om. BKP* 15 terrae marique] mari terraeque *M*, terra marique *P* 17 crudelissimi] *om. ABFM* 17–18 beatum ... damnatos] *om. Q*

49 Leo the Great, *Serm. lxxiii. 1: 'Post beatam et gloriosam resurrectionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qua uerum Dei templum Iudaica impietate resolutum diuina in triduo potentia suscitauit'* (PL liv. 394 = CCSL cxxxviiiA. 450). This and the following debts to the *Sermones* of Leo the Great were first signalled by Moretus Plantin, 'Les passions de Saint Denys', p. 220.

50 Leo the Great, *Serm. lxxiv. 1: 'quo natura nostrae humilitatis in Christo supra omnem caeli militiam, supra omnes ordines angelorum et ultra omnium altitudinem potestatum ad Dei patris est prouecta consessum'* (PL liv. 397 = CCSL cxxxviiiA. 455–456).

1. After the blessed and glorious resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which the divine power restored over three days the true Temple, undone by Jewish wickedness, and the flesh of our humility in Christ raised itself beyond the entire militia of heaven, beyond all orders of angels, to a seat with God the Father, and after the tenth day the Holy Spirit flowed into the hearts of the apostles, so that they would receive the power of binding and releasing, and so through them the disposition of this decree passed to all leaders of the Church; for in the 808th year from the Founding of the City [i.e. 55 (*recte* 54) A.D.] Nero Caesar assumed the imperial principate, the fifth in succession to Augustus. When the remaining apostles had undertaken the task of teaching the gospel to every human being, their territories having been assigned to them, St Peter the apostle is himself divinely sent to the summit of the Roman empire, so that he who was first in the order of power would be first in the contest of suffering, and the city which was bound by greater errors would necessarily be helped by greater remedies, and where the guilt was more burdensome, there the relief would be greater.

2. For, as was said, when the wicked Nero wielded the laws of his authority over land and sea, and the frenzy of his cruelty boiled over with savage fury on the servants of Christ, in the fourteenth year of his cruel reign [i.e. 68 A.D.] he sent to heaven the blessed Peter and Paul, condemned with their fortunate gore as being worthy (to attain) the victory of martyrdom. Now St Peter, before he flew up to the heavens through the triumph of martyrdom, handed over this power

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- 51 Leo the Great, *Serm.* lxxv. 1: '*decimus iste est ... qui ab eiusdem resurrectione quinquagesimus nobis in eo a quo coepit illuxit quinquagesimo a resurrectione ipsius die in apostolos plebemque credentium Spiritus sanctus illapsus est*' (PL liv. 400–401 = CCSL cxxviiiA. 465–466). The anonymous author of this *passio* [BHL 2178] has confusingly combined two distinct clauses from Leo's *sermo*, with the effect of making it seem that the pentecostal gift of tongues was bestowed on the tenth day after the Resurrection (Easter).
- 52 Orosius, *Historiae aduersum paganos* vii. 7. 1: '*Anno ab Vrbe condita .dcccviii. Nero Caesar ab Augusto quintus principatum adeptus est*' (CSEL v. 452).
- 53 Leo the Great, *Serm.* lxxxii. 3: '*Nam cum duodecim apostoli, accepta per Spiritum Sanctum omnium locutione linguarum, inbuendum Evangelio mundum, distributis sibi terrarum partibus, suscepissent, beatus Petrus princeps apostolici ordinis, ad arcem Romani destinatur imperii*' (PL liv. 424 = CCSL cxxxviiiA. 511–512).
- 54 Cf. the wording of the anonymous fifth-century hymn (inc. 'Squalent arva soli pulvere multo': *ICL* 15644), stanza 9: 'quo culpa gravior ibi esset gratia maior' (*AH* xxvii. 279), and the anonymous *Passio S. Luciani* [BHL 5010], c. 10: 'ubi erat culpa gravior, ibi esset gratia maior' (ed. Plantin, *Les passions de S. Lucien*, p. 79). On the probable date of this *Passio S. Luciani*, see below, n. 63.

beato Clementi hanc potestatem tradidit dicens: ‘Sicut a Domino meo Iesu Christo ligandi soluendique mihi est indulta potestas, ita tibi hanc potestatem tuisque successoribus aeterno confero dono, ut quaeque ligaueritis in terris, ligata sint et in caelis; et quaecumque solueritis in terris, soluta ualeant esse et
 5 in astris.’ Hac potestate ditatum successorem ecclesiae perfectum antistitem et dignum reliquit heredem. His ita de ordine temporum et apostolicis potestatibus breuiter recensitis, ad beatissimi uiri Dionysii certamina narraturus accedam.

3. Vt superius iam de ordine temporum pauca digessimus, post Iesu Christi
 10 Domini nostri gloriosam ascensionem, cum beatus Paulus apostolus per gratiam sancti spiritus ab errore infidelitatis ad uiam salutis regressus fidem, quam ante expugnauerat, perfecta postmodum religione sequeretur, ac cum secundum dominica instituta ‘uas electionis’⁵⁵ esset in gentibus et Christi nomen ignotis gentibus⁵⁶ praedicaret, aduenit Athenas ibique sanctum uirum Dio-
 15 nysium gentilibus inueniens erroribus implicatum, ad uiam salutis conuersum et sacri baptismatis unda renatum diuinis eum ilico sanctionibus informauit; cumque iam tribulorum atque spinarum⁵⁷ squalorem ex eius pectore sancti spiritus gratia funditus pepulisset, et pulchrum germen nouae segetis pulcher attolleret ager, diuini uerbi semina rudibus coepit mentibus erogare;
 20 cumque iam caelestibus cotidie Christi miles desiderii aestuaret, superna se ubique gratia praeunte dum rura pontica sulcaturus ingreditur, Romam caelitus Domini dilectus aggreditur; qui, ut superius dictum est, beatum Clementem apostolica inueniens praeditum potestate, ab eo est continuo digno cum honore susceptus.

2 ita ... potestatem] tota tibi *M* 3 aeterno] aeternum *GKR* || dono] donum *GKR* || quaeque] quae *MP* || ligaueritis] ligaueris *ABFMP* 4 ligata sint] liges *ABFP*, ligentur *M* || quaecumque solueritis] quaeque solueritis *AFGKM*, quaeque solueris *B*, quae solueris *P* || in terris] *om. A* || ualeant esse] esse ualeant *BKPR* 5 astris] terris *A*, atris *M* || ditatum] ditatus *ABFMP* 7 uiri Dionysii] Dionysii uiri *B* 9–10 Iesu ... nostri] Domini nostri Iesu Christi *M* 10 apostolus] *om. ABFMP* 12 cum] *om. ABFGK(a.c.)MP* 13 dominica instituta] dominicis institutis *K(a.c.)*, dominicam institutionem *ABFMP* 14 gentibus] populis *QR* || Athenas] Athenis *K(a.c.)* 14–15 uirum Dionysium] Dionysium uirum *R* 15–16 conuersum] conuertit *Q* 16 ilico] *om. G* || sanctionibus] sanctionis *K* 17–20 iam ... iam] *om. A* 18 sancti ... funditus] *om. BFMP* || pepulisset] euulsisset *G(recte?)*, repulisset *K* 20 caelestibus] celesti *ABF* || Christi] *om. BFM* || desiderii] desiderio *ABFM* 21 ubique] *om. P* || praeunte] pereunte *A* || sulcaturus ingreditur, Romam] *om. R* || sulcaturus] sculatur *A*, sulcatur *K* 22 ut ... est] *om. M* 23 digno] *om. ABFP*

55 Act. ix. 15.

to St Clement, saying: 'Just as the power of binding and releasing was granted to me by my Lord Jesus Christ, so I bestow this power by way of eternal gift on you and your successors, so that whatsoever you might bind on earth would be bound in heaven, and whatsoever you release on earth would be able to be released in the heavens.' He left his successor, an excellent bishop of the Church and a worthy heir, endowed with this power. Having briefly surveyed the sequence of events and apostolic authorities, I shall now proceed to narrate the trials of the blessed man Dionysius.

3. As I briefly explained above concerning the sequence of events, after the glorious ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord, when St Paul the apostle, through the gift of the Holy Spirit, retreated from the error of faithlessness to the way of salvation, he subsequently followed the faith, which previously he had attacked, with perfect devotion, and when he was, in accordance with the Lord's teachings, the 'vessel of election' among the gentiles and was preaching the name of Christ to (these) ignorant gentiles, he went to Athens, and finding there the holy man Dionysius entangled in pagan error, he immediately instructed him in holy law, once he had been converted to the way of salvation and reborn in the waters of baptism; and when he had utterly expelled the filth of thistles and thorns from his heart through the favour of the Holy Spirit, and the beautiful field had produced the beautiful buds of a new crop, he began to disseminate the seeds of the divine Word in untutored minds: and when the soldier of Christ had boiled over daily with heavenly desires, with heavenly grace preceding him as he sets out to furrow the watery fields, the Lord's beloved goes to Rome through divine agency; finding, as was said above, the blessed Clement endowed with apostolic authority, he was immediately received by him with fitting honour.

56 The repetition of *gentibus* is awkward, but is attested in all witnesses except Q, where the reading *populis* is arguably a stylistic amelioration by either the scribe of the (lost) manuscript, or by Corneille de Bye himself.

57 A biblical conjunction; cf. Gen. iii. 18 ('spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi'), Hebr. vi. 8 ('proferens autem spinas ac tribulos'), etc.

4. Per idem tempus, cum beatus uir Dionysius beatissimi Clementis cotidie uestigiis adhaereret et apostolicis sanctionibus se omnimodis traderet imbuen-
 dum, maximum apud beatum Clementem pro sanctitatis suae reuerentia
 locum continuo coepit uenerationis habere et magnam apud eum familiari-
 5 tatis gratiam obtinere. Sed cum iam Deus omnipotens beatissimi uiri Dionysii
 uitam disponeret in exemplo omnibus declarare, contigit Philippum Hispaniae
 episcopum emigrare de mundo.⁵⁸ Tum beatus Clemens sanctum Dionysium
 episcopum ordinauit et potestatem quam sanctus Clemens a beato Petro acce-
 perat ei tradidit,⁵⁹ dicens: ‘Vade in partibus occidentis praedicare euangelium
 10 regni caelestis et ligandi soluendique tibi sit concessa potestas, ut, Christi euan-
 gelium per te longe lateque diffusum, illud a Domino cum fideli seruo merearis
 audire: “Euge serue bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te
 constituam. Intra in gaudium Domini tui”⁶⁰ Sociosque ei Saturninum,⁶¹ Mar-
 cellum,⁶² et Lucianum⁶³ adhibuit, ut in ore duorum uel trium testium⁶⁴ Chri-
 15 stiana religio ignotis partibus traderetur.

5. Qui cum simul peruenissent, pergentes peruenerunt ad portum Arelaten-
 sium ciuitatis.⁶⁵ Tunc sanctus Dionysius Marcellum in Hispaniam destinauit,
 ut uerbum uitae Christi ecclesiae ministraret. Sanctus igitur Dionysius, sancti

1 beatissimi] beatissimis *P* || cotidie] *om. ABFMP* 3 maximum] maximam *K*, maxime *P*
 4 continuo] continue *AF* 5 Deus] Dominus *Q* 6 exemplo] exemplum *GMR* 7–8
 emigrare ... episcopum] *om. P* 7 emigrare ... sanctum] obdormisse. Tunc *A*, obdormisse.
 Vnde *B*, ordinari *F*, ex hoc decedere saeculo. In cuius loco *M* 7–8 Dionysium ... et] *om. ABF* 8
 sanctus Clemens] *om. QR* 9 in] et *A*, *om. GKMR* || praedicare] praedica *ABFM*; post praedica
 add. *B* eis 10 ut] post ut add. *R* dum 10–11 euangelium] euangelio *ABG* 11 lateque] post
 lateque add. *R* fuerit || diffusum] diffuso *BGM* || cum fideli seruo] ut fidelis seruus *ABF* 12
 quia] *om. Q* 13–14 Marcellum] Marcellinum *ABFM* 14 et] *om. Q* 14–15 Christiana
 religio] religio Christiana *ABFM* 16 peruenissent, pergentes] pergerent *B* || peruenissent]
om. AF, perrexissent *G* || peruenerunt] *om. QR* 17 Tunc] *om. Q* 17–18 Dionysius ...
 igitur] *om. A* 17 Marcellum] Marcellinum *BFM* || Hispaniam] Hispanos *BFM*, Hispanias *GR*,
 Hispaniis *K* 18 ut] et *B* || ecclesiae] ecclesiis *P*

58 No Philip, bishop of Spain, is attested in historical sources such as the *Historia ecclesiastica* or *Chronicon* of Eusebius.

59 A further example of this author’s clumsy style: note the unnecessary repetition of *beatus Clemens* and *sanctus Clemens*: a repetition which the scribes of MSS. *Q* and *R* attempted to ameliorate by removing the second *sanctus Clemens*.

60 Matt. xxv. 21.

61 St Saturninus is recorded as the first bishop of Toulouse (mid-third century) in Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* i. 30; his martyrdom is described in the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2171], c. 1 (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, pp. 268–269, and Appendix 1, above, p. 642).

4. During this same time, when the blessed man Dionysius was cleaving daily to the footsteps of the most blessed Clement and was entirely committing himself to be instructed in apostolic law, he immediately began to occupy with him a place of respect because of the commitment of his holiness, and to acquire with him the great honour of intimate friendship. But when Omnipotent God had decided to reveal to everyone the life of the blessed man Dionysius by way of example, it happened that Philip, the bishop of Spain, passed from the world. Then St Clement ordained St Dionysius a bishop, and conferred on him the authority which he, St Clement, had received from St Peter, saying: 'Go to the regions of the West to preach the gospel of the Heavenly Kingdom, and let the power of binding and releasing be granted to you, so that, once Christ's gospel has been spread far and wide by you, you may deserve with the faithful servant to hear from the Lord: "Well done, good and faithful servant; because thou has been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord"'. And he appointed as his companions Saturninus, Marcellus and Lucianus, so that the Christian religion would be transmitted to unknown regions through the word of two or three witnesses.

5. And when they had assembled together, they set off and arrived at the port of Arles. Then St Dionysius sent Marcellus to Spain, so that he could administer to the church there the gospel of the life of Christ. Therefore St Dionysius,

62 This Marcellus is otherwise unattested (he is not to be confused with St Marcellus the Centurion, a Spaniard who was martyred at the very end of the third century A.D.).

63 The mission of St Lucianus to Beauvais, and his subsequent martyrdom, are described in three *passiones* (all discussed and printed by Moretus Plantin, *Les passions de saint Lucien*): an anonymous eighth-century *passio* [BHL 5008], preserved *inter alia* in a late eighth-century manuscript written somewhere in the lowlands or NE France, later provenance Corbie, now Paris, BNF, lat. 12598, fols. 1–46, 54–109 (CLA V, no. 644b); another anonymous *passio* [BHL 5010] possibly dating from the first half of the ninth century; and a *passio* ascribed to Odo, sometime abbot of Corbie and bishop of Beauvais (d. 881) [BHL 5009]. Of these three *passiones*, that which bears most directly on the present 'anonymous *passio*' of St Dionysius [BHL 2178] is the second, namely BHL 5010 (ed. Moretus Plantin, *Les passions de saint Lucien*, pp. 74–82, with discussion at pp. 20–28). Close comparison of the two works shows clearly that the *Passio S. Luciani* is indebted to the 'anonymous *passio*' of St Dionysius in various ways: note in particular the interrogation of the martyr by the prefect ('Are you that despicable old man ...', etc.), the confession of faith by the martyr, and the cephalophory following decapitation.

64 11 Cor. xiii. 1 ('in ore duorum vel trium testium stabit omne verbum').

65 The repetitious phrasing – *peruenissent pergentes peruenerunt* – is a further example of this author's poor sense of Latin style; once again, the scribe of MS. Q, or perhaps Corneille de Bye, attempted to remove the clumsy repetition by eliminating the second *peruenerunt*.

spiritus calore succensus et apostolica praeditus potestate, quique a beato Clemente diuini uerbi semina gentibus susceperat eroganda, non ferocitatem incredulae reputans gentis, nec trucibus populis cunctatur insistere praedicator;⁶⁶ sed beatissimi principis apostolorum informatum exemplo, qui Romanis fuerat poenis atrocibus datus, ubi apud Gallias amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem,⁶⁷ illuc diuina protectione munitus fortis se et uerus proeliorum immersit, ut, qui meruerat esse confessor,⁶⁸ perfectus fieri non cunctaretur et martyr. Aquitaniae namque partibus sancto Saturnino directo, ipse cum sancto Luciano, sancto Rustico et sancto Eleuthero Parisius⁶⁹ adierat.

- 10 6. Sanctum namque Lucianum presbyterii honore perfunctum ad Beluacensem dirigit urbem, ut ipse pari modo incredulis populis euangelium ueritatis inferret; ipse uero sanctus Dionysius Parisius remanebat. Quae ciuitas, quamuis parua, gentilium tamen erat erroribus et squalore foedata. Nam licet magnis esset paganorum faecibus inuoluta, fecunda tamen terris, arboribus nemorosa,
15 uineis uberrima ac referta pollebat commerciis trapezetarum;⁷⁰ quae, Sequanae uallata perplexu, et copiam piscium aluei sui ciuibus unda ministrat et non paruum muris noscitur praestare munimen ipsumque insulae potius quam urbis spatium laticis sui unda concludit.⁷¹ Hunc ergo locum, cum Dei famulus expetisset fidei armatus constantia,⁷² Dei se omnipotentis ubique auxilio comitante, ecclesiam ibidem iuxta uirium suarum uirtutem, ut nouus adhuc aduena
20

1 quique] quaeque *F* 2 non] nec *P* 4 qui] *post* qui *add. A* a 6 illuc] illic *ABGP*
8 Aquitaniae] Equitaniae *BG* || sancto Saturnino] sanctus Saturninus *P* 8–9 Saturnino
... Luciano] *om. F* 9 sancto Luciano] *om. B* || sancto] sanctoque *G* || Parisius] Parisium
AGMP || adierat] adiiit *AB*, adierunt *GK(a.c.)MP* 10 perfunctum] prefunctum *ABKMPP*
12 Parisius] Parisii *G* || remanebat] remanet *ABP*, remanens *FGKMR* 13 erat] *om. R* ||
squalore] squaloribus *P* 14 faecibus] foetibus *AF* 15 referta] refecta *AF* || commerciis]
commertus *AF* || trapezetarum] trapezium *AGMR*, trapeditum *F*, trapizetum *K*, trapeziumque
BP, trapazetarum *Q* 15–16 Sequanae] Sigone *GK*, regione *ABFM* 16 uallata] *post* uallata
add. M atque || perplexu] complexu *ABF*, complexa *M* || copiam] copiosam *B*, copiosa *F*, copia
K || aluei sui ciuibus] alueis usibus *ABF* 19 expetisset] expeditisset *P* || fidei] *ante* fidei *add.*
FGK et, *post* fidei *add. M* et || constantia] *post* constantia *add. R* et || Dei se] sed Dei *A*, se
Dei *BFM* 20 ibidem] ibi *AFM*, *om. B* || uirium suarum uirtutem] uires suas *B* || uirtutem]
potentiam *A*, possibilitatem *R*, *om. FGKM(a.c.)*

66 Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’ [*BHL* 2171], c. 2: ‘non cunctatus est trucibus populis accedere praedicator’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, above, p. 646).

67 Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, above, p. 646).

68 Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘et qui meruerat esse confessor’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, above, p. 646).

enflamed with the heat of the Holy Spirit and endowed with apostolic authority – he who had received from the blessed Clement the seeds of the divine Word to be distributed among pagan peoples – , not calculating the ferocity of an unbelieving populace, did not hesitate to pursue these savage peoples as a preacher; but, instructed by the example of the blessed prince of the apostles [St Peter], who had been sentenced to savage Roman punishments, he [Dionysius], fortified by divine protection, immersed himself as a mighty and true combatant there where he knew that the error of paganism was seething most violently among the Gauls, so that he who had deserved to be a confessor would not hesitate to become a full martyr as well. When St Saturninus had been sent to the regions of Aquitaine, he himself went to Paris with SS. Lucianus, Rusticus and Eleutherius.

6. He then sent Lucianus, promoted to the distinction of the priesthood, to the city of Beauvais, so that in a similar way he could take the gospel of truth to unbelieving peoples; St Dionysius himself remained in Paris. This city, although small, was nevertheless polluted by the errors and filth of the pagans. For although it was enveloped by pagan scum, it was nonetheless fertile with its lands, wooded with trees and abounding in vines, and it flourished, bursting with the commerce of its traders; the city, protected by the surrounding waters of the Seine, both provides an abundance of fish for its citizens from the waters of its river-bed, and is known to offer no small protection with its walls, and it encloses the very space of an island rather than a city with the flood of its water. When, therefore, the servant of God, armed with the constancy of faith, had sought out this place, accompanied everywhere by the assistance of omnipotent God, he built there a church in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, in accordance with the strength of his efforts, such as a recent newcomer could

69 On the form *Parisius* as an indeclinable locative in Medieval Latin, attested already in Gregory of Tours (*Historia Francorum* ix. 13: 'veniens *Parisius*, nullus de parte ... mulieris adfuit'), see discussion by M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890), pp. 565–568; Löfstedt, *Late Latin*, pp. 136–137; and Stotz, *Handbuch*, iv, pp. 114–115 [viii. 50. 10].

70 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*fecunda terris, arboribus nemorosa, uinetis uberrima, constipata populis, referta commerciis*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and Appendix 1, above, p. 646).

71 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*ipsumque insulae (potius quam urbis) spatium – quod habitationem circumfusa fluminis unda ...*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and Appendix 1, above, p. 646).

72 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum ... fide armatus et constantia confessionis accessisset intrepidus*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and Appendix 1, above, p. 648).

poterat, Domini nostri Iesu Christi in honore construxit,⁷³ ut rudis populus qui ueritate erat euangelii imbuendus, sancti eos illic lauacri unda respergeret.⁷⁴

7. Cumque beatissimus uir die noctuque doctrinis insisteret pietatis et Christi populum de antiqui hostis faucibus liberaret, ut quos subtrahebat mundo,
5 dignos transmitteret caelo, fama se sanctitatis eius longe lateque diffudit, atque iam non modica populorum turba dignum se gloriabatur praesulem habere; sicque factum est, ut sacerdotum gradus diuinis ministeriis dispensaret aptandos probatasque personas et dignas meritis suis ordinibus ampliaret.⁷⁵ Sed
10 Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui beatissimi uiri Dionysii iam non patiebatur famam celari, ut posita super candelabrum lucerna⁷⁶ incredulis mentibus lucis suae radios ministraret, tantas per illum dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus praedicationibus quam ipsis uirtutibus cotidie roboraret.⁷⁷

8. Per idem uero tempus quo talia gerebantur, sancti uiri praeconium longe
15 se lateque diffudit in tantum, ut Domitiani, qui secundam in Christianos post Neronem persecutionem exercuit, uulgi relatione perueniret ad aulam; qui in tanta rabie indignationis exarsit ut, ubicumque Christianum quempiam reperisset, aut diis sacrificaret incestis aut diuersis poenis addictus puniendus gladio traderetur. His itaque legibus subditas sibi nationes arcens, magna Christi

1 honore] honorem *Q* 2 eos] *om. R* || respergeret] respergeretur *BR* 4 populum] populos *ABFMP* 6 iam] tam *B* || habere] habitura *ABK*, habituram *FP*, habiturum *M* 7 est] *om. A* || ut] *post* ut *add. GK* et || ministeriis] mysteriis *R* 8 probatasque] probatas quoque *ABFMP* || dignas] dignis *ABFGK* || ampliaret] ampliavit *ABFMP* 9 iam] tam *AF* 11 radios] radiis *K* || ministraret] demonstraret *P* 12 ipsis] ipsius *M* 14 praeconium] praeconio *FMP* 14–15 longe se lateque] longe lateque se *ABFM* 15 se] *om. P* 15–16 post Neronem persecutionem] persecutionem post Neronem *ABMP* 16 perueniret] praeueniret *KR* 18 sacrificaret] compelleret sacrificare *B* || addictus] addicto *A*, addictum *B*, adductus *F* || puniendus] ad puniendum *ABF* 19 legibus] *post* legibus *add. AB* per || arcens] sancitis *A*, sarcitas *B*, artans *G*, arcitas *K(a.c.)P*, arctas *M*

73 Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*ecclesiam* illic quae necdum in locis erat et populis illis nota *construxit*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and Appendix I, above, p. 648). That this church, evidently built on the Île de la Cité, was dedicated *Iesu Christi in honorem* raises an interesting problem. Documentary evidence indicates that the *cathedra* established on the Île de la Cité was originally dedicated to St Stephen, with adjacent churches dedicated to St Germanus and to the Virgin Mary. From the ninth century onwards, however, the cathedral church was dedicated solely to the Virgin Mary (hence known subsequently as Notre-Dame): see V. Mortet, *Étude historique et archéologique sur la cathédrale et le palais épiscopale de Paris du VII^e au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1888), esp. pp. 1–

have done, so that the untutored populace, which had to be instructed in the truth of the gospel, the water of holy baptism would besprinkle them there.

7. When the holy man had pressed on by day and night with instruction in religion and had freed the people of Christ from the jaws of the ancient Enemy, such that those whom he was extracting from the world he would send on deservedly to heaven, the report of his sanctity spread far and wide, and no small crowd of people rejoiced to have him as their bishop; and thus it happened that he allocated priestly appointments to be applied to divine services and advanced approved and worthy persons to their (rightful) stations. But our Lord Jesus Christ, Who did not allow the fame of the blessed man Dionysius to be concealed, so that a lantern placed on a candelabrum would distribute the rays of its light to unbelieving minds, deigned to perform such great miracles through him, that he daily strengthened the minds of recalcitrant pagans with his preaching no less than with the miracles themselves.

8. At the very same time that these events were transpiring, the reputation of the holy man spread far and wide to such an extent that through popular report it reached the court of Domitian, who mounted the second persecution of Christians after that of Nero; he burst out in such a rage of indignation that, wherever any Christian was found, he was either to sacrifice to the sinful gods or, having been subjected to various tortures, was handed over to be executed by

9, and L. Levillain, 'Le vocable de la cathédrale de Paris à l'époque franque', in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot* (Paris, 1925), pp. 443–476, at 445–457, as well as *DAcL* xiii/2, cols. 1854–1862. In a word, there is no documentary evidence whatsoever for an early church dedicated solely to Jesus Christ. Why, then, should the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' [BHL 2178], followed by Hilduin, have specified this otherwise unattested dedication? The answer is probably that the anonymous author (and Hilduin after him) wished to avoid giving the clerics of the cathedral of Notre-Dame any pretext at all for claiming the glories of St Dionysius as their own; so a church dedicated to the Saviour was invented, over which no ninth-century churchman could claim jurisdiction.

74 Another piece of clumsy drafting by the author of the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*': or is it an intentional example of anacoluthon? The awkwardness could be amended simply by removing the unnecessary *eos*.

75 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliavit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and Appendix I, above, p. 648).

76 Cf. Matt. v. 15.

77 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*Tantas etiam per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, above, p. 648).

famulis persecutio influebat: nulla iam pro Christo certantibus praesentis uitae indulgebatur tranquillitas, nulla sanctorum martyrum erat excusata libertas, sed omnes, impium seruantes edictum quod statutum a Caesare fuerat, transgredi nullatenus audebant. Nam electam apparitionem cum ingenti strepitu
 5 partibus dirigit occidentis, ut sanctum uirum Dionysium perquirentes ubicumque reperire potuissent, aut decreta principis obseruaret aut poenis laceratus immensis capite plecteretur.

9. Itaque cum decreta principis apparitio suscepisset, Galliarum penetrant fines, qua illico beati eis uiri celebre nomen innotuit, sicque, ut eis fuerat
 10 imperatum, ueloci cursu, tumentibus animis, uultibus trucidissimis⁷⁸ Parisius adierunt. Sanctum uero Dionysium contra perfidos inueniunt dimicantem et praedicatione continua uulgi multitudinem ad fidem inueniunt iam uocantem; cum quo etiam beatum uirum Rusticum presbyterum et Eleutherium diaconem,⁷⁹ quos ipse beatus uir in suis ordinibus consecrarat, praedicationis eius
 15 socios et discipulos persecutorum dirus furor inuenit.⁸⁰ Hi sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam patiebantur abesse praesentia;⁸¹ quos diuina pietas aeterni regni iam praesciebat esse consortes. Gaudebat sane pius pater in duorum profectibus filiorum, cum et digni filii patris sarcinam spiritualibus humeris leuigarent ut, onere carnis abiecto, ad purum ualerent aetheris uolare fulgo-
 20 rem.

10. Persecutionis ergo publicata sententia, impiorum gaudens turba progreditur et contra Dei famulos pugnatura conspirat,⁸² miroque modo inermibus

1 pro] *om. R* 2 martyrum erat] erat martyrum *AM* 4 nullatenus audebant] nullus audebat *GKR* || electam apparitionem] electa apparitio *AB*, electa apparitione *FGKPR* 5 dirigit] dirigitur *B* || uirum] *post* uirum *add. M* et Deo dignum 5–6 ubicumque reperire potuissent] *om. Q* 6 obseruaret] cogere obseruare *AB* || laceratus] laceratum *AB* 7 plecteretur] plecterent *B* 8 apparitio] apparitores *QR* || suscepisset] suscepissent *KQ*, cepissent *R* 9 qua] cui *AB*, qui *F*, quibus *GM*, qui cum *KR*, quo *P* || eis] *om. ABG* 9–10 fuerat imperatum] imperatum fuerat *R* 10 Parisius] Parisium *GQ* 12 iam uocantem] inuitantem *M* 13 beatum uirum] beatos uiros *M* 13–14 diaconem] archidiaconum *Q* 15 Hi] *post* Hi *add. G* enim || a beati] *om. A* || a] *om. P* 16 praesentia] praesentiam *A* 18 profectibus] proeuctibus *MP* || filiorum] paruulorum *P* 19 onere] honore *A*, onera *FK* || abiecto] abiecta *AFK* || ad purum ualerent] ualerent ad purum *BFP* 21 publicata] publica data *AB*, publica *FP* || gaudens turba] turba gaudens *R* 21–22 progreditur] prosequitur *M* 22 Dei] Domini *GKMR*

78 The superlative form *trucidissimus* is a solecism (influenced presumably by the verb *trucidare*); the superlative of the adj. *trux* is correctly *trucissimus*.

the sword. And so, restraining the nations subject to him by these laws, a great persecution swamped the servants of Christ: no peace in this present life was granted to those struggling on behalf of Christ, no freedom was allowed to the holy martyrs, but all those keeping the wicked edict which had been promulgated by Caesar dared in no way to exceed it. For he sends the chosen company with a mighty shout to regions of the West, so that, seeking out the holy man Dionysius wherever they could find him, he would either observe the decrees of the emperor or, having been afflicted by mighty tortures, would be beheaded.

9. Accordingly, when the imperial company had undertaken the commands of the emperor, they enter the territories of the Gauls, where the renowned name of the blessed man was made known to them, and thus, as they had been commanded, they went to Paris by a swift route, with raging spirits and cruel countenance. But they find St Dionysius struggling against non-believers, and find him calling the multitude of the people to the faith with his ceaseless preaching; the savage fury of the persecutors finds with him the companions and disciples of his mission, Rusticus the priest and Eleutherius the deacon, whom the blessed man had himself consecrated in their holy orders. These saintly men never allowed themselves to be separated from the presence of St Dionysius; divine justice already recognized them as companions of the eternal realm. For the holy father certainly rejoiced in the progress of his two sons, since these worthy sons of the father could lighten the burden on his spiritual shoulders so that, having cast off the weight of the flesh, they could (all) fly away to the pure brilliance of the ethereal realm.

10. Therefore, when the proclamation of persecution had been published, a rejoicing crowd of the wicked advances, and plots to fight against the servants of God, and in a marvellous way the armed throng was unable to resist the

79 The form *Eleutherium diaconem* in K is possibly original (in so far as it is parallel to *Rusticum presbyterum*); but note that Eleutherius was already described as *archidiaconem* in the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3, as quoted in the following note.

80 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: '*sanctum Dionysius contra incredulos dimicantem Parisius repererunt, cum quo Rusticum presbyterum et Eleutherium archidiaconem persecutionis furor inuenit*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, above, p. 650).

81 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: '*Hii sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam se sustinuerunt abesse praesentia*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, above, p. 650).

82 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: '*Persecutionis ergo publicata sententia, impiorum gaudens turba progreditur et contra dominicum populum pugnatura conspirat*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, above, p. 650).

uiris non ualebat plebs armata resistere.⁸³ Tunc hostis antiquus, uidens sibi
 perire quos Domino constabat seruari et assidua populorum conuersione pro-
 ficere, totam artis suae calliditatem ad impugnanda quae fuerant constructa
 conuertit, ut eos, qui unum et uerum Deum sancti baptismatis iam unda
 5 respersos se credere fatebantur, diuersa supplicia multarent.⁸⁴ Sed sancti uiri,
 Christi confessores et martyres, impiorum latratibus ui sanctae praedicationis
 et magnis uirtutibus obuiantes, nullo metu territi reproborum, Christi eccle-
 siam noua cotidie fecunditate ditabant; cumque ecclesia, praedicatorum suo-
 rum meritis et ore fundata, quamuis inter turbines procellasque lictorum perti-
 10 mendas, cresceret et augetetur, ipsa etiam Germaniae ferox immanitas, subacta
 cordis conpunctione, colla sua iam Christi iugo domita gaudebat.

11. Ab ipsis denique destruebantur idola, quorum sumptu fuerant et studio
 fabricata, et, portu salutis inuento, idolorum gaudebant perire naufragia.⁸⁵
 Lugebat tunc portio uicta diaboli, cum de ea uictrix ecclesiae legio triumpharet.⁸⁶
 15 Cumque talia gererentur, furore atrocissimo ministri crudelitatis accensi;
 unus ex his sanctum uirum Dionysium cum magna cordis seueritate alloquitur,
 dicens: ‘Tunc es ille infandissimus senex, qui deorum nostrorum culturam
 euacuas, et inuictissimi principis statuta contempnis? Dic ergo, cuius te asseris
 cultorem, aut quam confessionem tuae dicioni adscribis?’ Tunc hi tres bea-
 20 tissimi uiri – Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius – trium puerorum in camino

1 hostis antiquus] antiquus hostis Q 2 quos] quae ABFP, quod KMQR || constabat] constabant AB || seruari] uiuere QR || assidua] assiduam M || conuersione] praedicatione AB, conuersione GK, conuersionem M 3 totam ... calliditatem] tota ... calliditate BFP || fuerant] fuerat FK 4 ut] et GKM 5 respersos ... fatebantur] respersi crederent Q || diuersa supplicia multarent] diuersa supplicia macerarent AB, diuersa supplicia maturarent FMP, diuersitate supplicii maturarent GKR 6 Christi] om. ABFP || latratibus] latrantibus K || ui] om. ABFM, uim K || sanctae praedicationis] sancta praedicatione AB; post praedicationis add. M instantia 7 et] post et Q add. cum 8–11 cumque ... gaudebat] om. R 8 cumque] post cumque add. GK Christi 9 inter] in Q 9–10 pertimendas cresceret] om. F, percreseret P || pertimendas] perendie ABKM, perinde G, om. P 10 augetetur] augetet F || ferox] sic ABM, ferax FGKPO || immanitas] humanitas B (!) 11 sua] se ABKMP || iugo] post iugo add. M supposuisse || domita] domata AKMP 12–13 Ab ... naufragia] om. R 12 destruebantur] destruebant F || sumptu] sumpta F 13 portu] portum K || gaudebant] gaudebat K 14 legio] post legio add. R uiriliter pugnando 14–15 triumpharet] hic finit R 15 gererentur] agerentur ABF, legerentur P || ministri] minister F || accensi] accensus F; post accensi add. AB sunt 16 unus] unum F 17 infandissimus] nefandissimus P || culturam] culturas ABFP 18 statuta] decreta ABFM || asseris] post asseris add. BFGKM esse 19 dicioni] dictionis KP

83 Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2: ‘*miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and Appendix I, above, p. 648).

unarmed man. Then the ancient Enemy, seeing that those who were evidently preserved for the Lord were being lost to him and were being increased by the relentless conversion of peoples, turned all the cunning of his craft towards attacking what had been accomplished, so that they could apply diverse tortures to those who now were believing in the one true God, having been anointed with the water of baptism. But the holy men, confessors and martyrs of Christ, avoiding the howls of the wicked with the force of their preaching and with mighty miracles, not being terrified by fear of the reprobates, were daily enriching the Church of Christ with their fecundity; and when the Church, having been founded by the merits and message of its preachers, even amidst the fearful tempests and storms of the executioners, even the ferocious barbarism of the German nation rejoiced that its neck was now submitted to the yoke of Christ, having experienced heartfelt contrition.

11. Idols were finally being destroyed by them [the Germanic inhabitants of Paris], through whose expense and enterprise they had been manufactured, and, having found the haven of salvation, they rejoiced in the shipwreck of the idols. The defeated party of the Devil was in mourning, because the victorious legion of the Church had triumphed over it. And while these events were taking place, the agents (were) enflamed by an atrocious fury of cruelty; one of them addressed the holy man Dionysius with great severity of spirit, saying: 'Are you that most unspeakable old man, who are rejecting the worship of our gods and are scorning the decrees of the unconquerable emperor? Say, therefore, of whose (divinity) you profess yourself to be a worshipper, or what confession (of faith) you assign to your authority?' Then these three blessed men – Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius –, filled with the gift of the spirit of the Three Youths

84 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: '*Tunc hostis antiquus, uidens sibi perire quod Domino constabat assidua populorum conuersione proficere, totam artificii sui machinam ad impugnanda quae fuerant constructa conuertit; et suae partis auctores, deorum suorum flentes exitium, ad impietatem subitae persecutionis armauit, ut eos qui unum et uerum Deum colendum insinuauerant et timendum expendere diuersitate supplicii maturarent, ne superesse posset qui ualeret acquirere quod peribat*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, above, p. 650).

85 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*Ab ipsis quoque destruebantur idola, quorum sumptu fuerant et studio fabricata; et inuento salutis portu idolorum gaudebant perire naufragia*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, above, pp. 648–650).

86 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: '*Lugebat portio uicta diaboli, cum de ea uictrix ecclesiae legio triumphabat*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and Appendix I, above, p. 650).

ignis deambulantium spiritus referti carismate,⁸⁷ quasi ex uno ore tale interroganti dederunt responsum: 'Conditio nostra Christianae legi noscitur famulari; quem uero confiteamur liquido tuis auribus intimamus:

12. 'Confitemur patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, patrem ingenitum, filium
5 a solo patre genitum, spiritum sanctum ab utroque procedentem.'⁸⁸ Ad haec impius persecutor beatos interrogat sanctos: 'Ergo principum a uobis iussa contempnuntur, et non uestra confessio inuictissimorum deorum iura respondet?' Sancti, ut superius, unanimiter respondentes dixerunt: 'Vt praefati sumus, Christum Dei filium natum ex Maria uirgine, quem cunctis populis certa pronuntiamus audacia, et credimus et confitemur et ore non desistimus conlaudare.'
10 In hac sanctos uiros fidei constantia permanentes,⁸⁹ saeui lictores longo non spatio differentes, felicia colla pro fide Christi submissa persecutoris mucro truncauit. Reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulere. Namque ad ostendendam diuina pietate martyribus suis collatam uictoriam, cum a corporibus abscisa capita uiderentur, eorum ut poterant linguae Dominum fatebantur.⁹⁰ O uere beata nimium et Deo nostro grata societas!⁹¹ O sancta et uere
15 laudanda fraternitas, inter quos nec primus aut secundus potuit esse nec ter-

1 spiritus referti] spiritus refecti *ABFP*, spiritu refecti *M* || tale] talem *K* 2 Christianae] Christianam *K* 3 confiteamur] confitemur *ABFMP* || liquido ... intimamus] *om. B* || intimamus] intimabimus *GQ* 5 utroque] *post* utroque *add. ABFP* credimus 6 sanctos] *om. Q* 6–7 contempnuntur] tempnuntur *K* 7 non] *om. Q* || inuictissimorum] inuictorum *ABFP* || iura] uiri *B* || respondet] respondet *sic BGP*, respondit *AFKM*, respuit *Q* 9 quem] *om. B* 11 sanctos uiros] sanctorum uirorum *ABF* || permanentes] permanentium *A* 11–12 longo ... differentes] *om. ABFP* 12 pro fide] per fidem *MP* || persecutoris mucro] *om. A* 13 truncauit] truncarunt *ABM* || Reddentes] *ante* Reddentes *add. AG*. Qui || terrae] *om. P* 14 ostendendam] ostendendum *ABG* || pietate] pietas *ABFKP* || collatam uictoriam] collata uictoria *F* 16 nimium] nimirum *AF* 16–696.2 O ... consecrari] *om. G* 17 aut] *om. AB*

87 The Three Youths in the Furnace: Dan. iii.12–97.

88 The wording of this confession of faith (ultimately derived from the 'Athanasian Creed' or *Quicumque uult*) most closely resembles that given by Fructuosus of Braga (d. 665) in a credal statement appended to his *Regula monachorum* [*Complutensis*] [*CPL* 1869]: 'Credimus Patrem ingenitum, Filium genitum, Spiritum sanctum ab utroque procedentem' (PL lxxxvii. 1127). But similar wording was current during the ninth century; cf. for example Haimo of Auxerre's *Comm. in Epist. ad Hebraeos*, c. 6: 'ut credat Patrem unigenitum, Filiumque genitum, Spiritum sanctum nec genitum nec ingenitum, sed ab utroque procedentem' (PL cxvii. 859).

walking in the fiery furnace, gave this reply to the prosecutor's question, as if speaking from one mouth: 'Our well-known situation is that we are subject to Christian law; Whom we truly confess we shall announce clearly to your ears:

12. We confess the Father and Son and Holy Ghost, the unborn Father, the Son born from the one Father, the Holy Ghost issuing from them both.' To this the wicked prosecutor questions the blessed saints: 'Therefore the commands of our emperors are scorned by you, and your confession does not answer the laws of the unconquerable gods?' As before, the saints unanimously said in reply: 'As we said, we both believe and confess, and do not cease praising aloud, Christ the Son of God born of the Virgin Mary, whom we announce to all peoples with obvious daring.' With the holy men persevering in this constancy of faith, with the savage executioners hesitating for no lengthy space of time, the sword of the executioner cut through the blessed necks submitted for the faith of Christ. Yielding their bodies to the earth, they brought their blessed souls to heaven. And in order to demonstrate the victory bestowed on the martyrs by divine mercy, when the heads were seen to be cut from the bodies, their tongues were confessing the Lord as best they could. O what a truly blessed fellowship most welcome to our God! O the holy and truly praiseworthy brotherhood, among whom the first could not be the second nor the third but, confessing (together)

89 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: '*In hac ergo fidei pertinacia permanentes*' (Appendix 1, above, p. 652). The author of the 'anonymous *passio*' [BHL 2178] here altered *pertinacia* in his source to *constantia* (his wording was subsequently followed by Hilduin). It might be argued that he found *constantia* in the manuscript of the 'ancient *passio*' which he was using, since one MS. of that work, MS. A, has this reading, as also does Bosquet. But MS. A is somewhat later (s. xi) than the date of the 'anonymous *passio*', and it is more likely that the reading *constantia* in MS. A and Bosquet derives from contamination with either the 'anonymous *passio*' or with Hilduin's text.

90 The notion of the tongues confessing Christ after the heads had been cut off was prompted by the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3, though the wording is different: '*Tali ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, with n. 24, and Appendix 1, above, p. 652).

91 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: '*Beata nimium et Domino nostro grata societas*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and Appendix 1, above, p. 652).

tius, sed sanctae trinitatis gloriam confitentes uno amplius ab urbe miliario paruo in monticulo trino meruerunt martyrio consecrari!⁹²

13. Iacebant denique in uertice montis abscisa corpora pretiosa, implebaturque in martyribus Christi quod olim propheta praedixerat adfuturum, ut 'in conspectu Domini pretiosae permanerent mortes iustorum.'⁹³ Namque ad declaranda martyris et sacerdotis primi merita gloriosa, ut per quem salutifer primo coeperat fructus oriri, eo amplius gloria ipsius pateret et triumphus, beatissimi se Dionysii et pontificis uenerandi sanctum exanime cadauer erexit beataque manu caput a corpore lictoris ense truncatum, pendulum coepit brachiis uectitare atque ab illo montis cacumine duobus fere milibus firmis gressibus apportauit nouo et prius inaudito miraculo – exanime corpus uiuentis currere more et homo iam mortuus firmis incedere plantis.⁹⁴

1 sanctae] sancti *K* 2 paruo] paruam *AFK(a.c.)M* || monticulo] monticulum *AFK(a.c.)M*
 3 abscisa] abscisa capitibus *Q* || implebaturque] implebantur *AF*, implebatur *BGKMP* 4
 quod] quae *AF* || propheta] prophetae *BFMP* || praedixerat] dixerat *A*, dixerunt *BF*, praedixerunt *MP* || ut] *om. A* 5 mortes] mortis *K* 5–6 declaranda] declarandam *FK* 6 primi] *om. AB* || merita] merito *AF* || gloriosa] gloriosam *F* 7 gloria] gloriae *ABFGK* || pateret] pariter *Q* || et] *om. ABFGM* || triumphus] triumphum *FK* 9 corpore] *post* corpore *add. Q*
 abscisum || truncatum pendulum] truncatum pendulus *A*, truncatum pendulis *B*, truncatum pendulo *FGM*, truncato pendulo *K* || coepit] *post* coepit *add. ABF* in 10 ab illo] ad illum *F* || cacumine] cacumen *F* 10–11 apportauit] asportauit *BF* 11 et prius] prius et *BFM* || uiuentis] *om. F*, iuuentis *P* || currere more] more currere *A*, more curreret *B*, curreret *FM* 12 incedere] incederet *ABM*

92 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: 'inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse nec tertius, sed trinitatem confitentes non potuerunt non uenerabilem locum trino decorare martyrio' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and Appendix I, above, p. 652). The author of the 'anonymous *passio*' has amplified this sentence by stating that the executions of the martyrs took place in *monticulo*, and that this *monticulus* was located *uno amplius ab urbe miliario*, that is, more than a mile from Paris. But this statement does not square with topographical data given elsewhere in the 'anonymous *passio*'. Later in c. 13 we are told that Dionysius carried his head from the summit of this hill for nearly two miles to his final resting-place (*ab illo montis cacumine duobus fere milibus*), at Saint-Denis presumably; and in c. 15 Catulla is said to have buried SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius *in sexto procul ab urbe memorata lapide*, 'at the sixth milestone from Paris'. Accordingly, if Dionysius carried his head for two miles to a place at the sixth milestone from Paris, the *monticulus* where the executions took place must have been located *four* miles from Paris – which is in blatant contradiction to the present statement that the *monticulus* was located *uno amplius ab urbe miliario*. Possibly *uno amplius* should be emended to *quarto amplius*?

93 Cf. Ps. cxv. 15 ('pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius').

the glory of the Holy Trinity, they were found worthy to be consecrated in triple martyrdom on the small hill just more than a mile from the city!

13. The precious decapitated bodies lay at length on the summit of the hill, and in the martyrs of Christ was fulfilled that which the prophet had foretold was to happen in the future, that 'the precious deaths of the just will remain in the sight of the Lord.' For in revealing the glorious achievements of the martyrs and the first bishop [of Paris], so that the glory and triumph of him through whom the health-bringing fruit had first begun to spring up would be even more evident, the holy lifeless corpse of the blessed bishop Dionysius raised itself up, and with its blessed hand began to cradle in its arms the head hanging from the body, cut off by the sword of the executioner, and carried it nearly two miles from the summit of the hill by way of a new and previously unheard-of miracle – a lifeless body hastening along in the manner of a living person, and a dead man proceeding with firm footsteps!

94 The present chapter in the 'anonymous *passio*' is the earliest source to associate the cephalophory (that is, the carrying of an amputated head) with St Dionysius; the episode was subsequently taken over from the 'anonymous *passio*' by Hilduin. Cephalophory is a phenomenon attested in the folklore of many cultures (see P. Saintyves, 'Les saints céphalophores. Étude de folklore hagiographique', *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 99 (1929), 158–231), but it would seem that the present example derives from seventh-century Merovingian hagiography, as the Bollandist Maurice Coens demonstrated clearly: 'Nouvelles recherches sur un thème hagiographique: la céphalophorie', in his *Recueil d'études bollandiennes*, Subsidia Hagiographica 37 (Brussels, 1963), pp. 9–31; cf. also A. Simonetti, 'Santi cefalofori altomedievali', *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 28 (1987), 67–121, at 105–114. In particular, the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' may have known the *Passio S. Iusti* [BHL 4590], a work probably of seventh-century date (it is partly preserved in a manuscript dated s. viii¹: see M. Coens, 'Un fragment retrouvé d'une ancienne Passion de saint Just, martyr de Beauvais', *AB* 100 (1956), 86–114), in which the boy martyr, after being decapitated, picks up his head and places it in his lap: 'cum autem tollissent capud suum, erexit se corpus suso et accipit caput suum in manibus suis et posuit illud in sinu suo' (*Acta ss.*, Octobris, VIII, pp. 338–339). In another Merovingian text of similar date, the *Passio SS. Fusciani, Victorici et Gentiani* [BHL 3226], the three martyrs, after decapitation, carried their heads a distance of a mile or more (*uno fero milliaro aut circiter amplius*) to the home of Gentianus: 'divino intuente Spiritu, gestantes manibus propria capita, ad hospitium Gentiani martyris gressu remigero pervenerunt' (*Acta Sanctorum Belgii*, ed. J. Ghesquiere, 6 vols. (Brussels, 1783–1794), I, pp. 166–169, at 169; see discussion by Coens, 'Nouvelles recherches', p. 20). Either of these texts might have prompted the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' to add the episode of the cephalophory to his account of St Dionysius – which, in the event, has become the most famous episode of the legend of the Parisian saint.

14. Beatorum igitur Rustici et Eleutherii, metuentes impii ne conuersi populi fidelissima probataque deuotione corpora profutura sibi ad patrocini-um tumulata consecrarent, inito consilio, imposita nauibus in profundissimum decreuerunt gurgite dimergi;⁹⁵ sed Deus omnipotens, bonus, iustus et misericors, qui
 5 misericordiam suam humano generi numquam negauit, qui Pharaonis consilium Rubri Maris unda submersit⁹⁶ et Holofernis ictu femineo colla truncauit,⁹⁷ ipse inpudentum consilium misericordiae suae arte destruxit, ut praeclara duo luminaria non gurgitis unda submergeret, sed Christi haberet fortes ecclesia bellatores. Nam matrona quaedam, Catulla nomine,⁹⁸ quae, licet
 10 paganorum adhuc erroribus teneretur addicta, conuerti tamen ad fidem Christi per exempla martyrum se desiderare et mente monstrabat et opere; Dei ergo misericordia inspirata, mactae uirtutis consilium appetiuit atque ad conuiuium uenire postulat percussores; cumque eis copiam allatae humanitatis expendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit.
- 15 Denique fidelibus suis archana sui pectoris reserauit, ut subtracta furto preciosa corpora martyrum beatorum in sexto procul ab urbe memorata lapide⁹⁹

1 Beatorum] Beatissimorum *P* 2 deuotione] deuotio *BFKP* || profutura] futura *ABFMP*
 2–3 tumulata] tumulo *BGM*, tumula *AFK* 3 consecrarent] consecraret *P* || imposita] posita
ABM, posito *F* || profundissimum] profundissimo *Q* 4 gurgite] gurgite *AFQ* || dimergi]
 mergi *ABGMP* || Deus] Dominus *Q* || bonus] *post* bonus *add. Q* et 6 Holofernis] Achitofellis
ABFK(a.c.)MP || femineo] funino *ABM*, fonio *F* 7 inpudentum] impudentem *F*, impudens
BGM 8–9 fortes ecclesia] ecclesia fortissimos *ABFMP* 10 addicta] astricta *ABFM* 11
 mente] mentem *F* 11–12 Dei ergo] diuina *AB* 12 inspirata] inspiratam *F* || mactae]
 aptae *ABMP*, actae *F* 12–13 appetiuit ... uenire] *om. F* 13 uenire postulat] postulat uenire
B || percussores] percursores *B* || copiam] copia *K* || allatae] oblatae *ABFKP* 14 expendit]
 expedita *F*, expendisset *M* 15 furto] furtim *ABF* 16 martyrum beatorum] beatorum
 martyrum *M* || sexto] secto *Q* || ab urbe] *om. A*

95 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 4: '*Metuentes* igitur percussores, ne conuersi populi fidelissima probataque deuotio sanctorum corpora profutura sibi ad patrocini-um tumularet, eligunt tetris Sequanae profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere; quae imposita nauibus ad prouisum iubentur gurgitem destinari' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and Appendix I, above, p. 652).

96 The Crossing of the Red Sea: Ex. xiv. 15–31.

97 The reference is to the story of Judith's decapitation of Holofernes (Idt. xiii. 6–8). There is no obvious reason why the scribes of MSS. *ABFMP* should have substituted the name Achitophel for that of Holofernes. In 11 Reg. xv. 12–17, 23, Achitophel devised a plan which he offered to Absalom; when his plan was rejected, he returned home and hanged himself. Unlike the story of Holofernes, who was beheaded by Judith, Achitophel was not beheaded by the blow of a woman's sword, and the reference would be irrelevant here.

14. The wicked (executioners), fearing that the converted populace would through their faithful and proven devotion consecrate the bodies of SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius so that, once buried, they would be of future benefit through their intercession, took counsel and decided to submerge the bodies, transported in boats, in the deepest whirlpool (of the river); but Omnipotent God, (Who is) good and just and merciful, Who never withholds His mercy from the human race, Who drowned the elders of the Pharaoh in the waters of the Red Sea and cut the neck of Holofernes with a female's blow, He Himself destroyed the plan of the shameless men by His own merciful plan, such that the water of the whirlpool would not submerge the two luminaries, but the Church of Christ would have (them as) mighty warriors. For a certain noblewoman named Catulla who, although she was still bound to the errors of the pagans, revealed in her attitude and actions that she wished nevertheless to be converted to belief in Christ through the examples of the martyrs; inspired, therefore, by the mercy of God, she implemented a plan of outstanding daring and invited the executioners to a feast; and when she lavished on them the abundance of proffered hospitality, she drove from their minds the things they had undertaken to do.

15. She disclosed the secrets of her heart to her faithful (followers), so that they would secretly hide the precious bodies of the blessed martyrs, removed by stealth, at the sixth milestone from the aforesaid city in a field, which

98 The noblewoman is not named in the 'ancient *passio*' (although a later correction in one manuscript, P, names her as *Catulla*, and two others, HN, as *Cadulla*: but these manuscripts have probably been contaminated either with the present passage in the 'anonymous *passio*', or with the text of Hilduin, who took over the name from the 'anonymous *passio*'). In any case, it seems clear that the name *Catulla* was derived from the Gallo-Roman name for the site at which St Dionysius was buried, namely *Catulliacus*. The earliest securely datable witness to this name is the *Testamentum* of Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Denis, dated to 777, where *Cadolaco* is used as a synonym for Saint-Denis: 'loca sanctorum martirum Dionisio, Rustico et Eleutherio, ubi ipsi domni corpore requiescunt, in loco qui dicitur Cadolaco, ubi plurima servorum Dei turma laudes Christi die noctuque adesse videntur' (Tardif, *Monuments historiques*, p. 61); but it is also referred to as the *Catulacensem vicum* by the author of the *Vita S. Genovefae*, c. 17; cf. discussion by Krusch, 'Die Fälschung der Vita Genovefae', pp. 27–28. The form *Catulliacus* is also attested in the *Gesta Dagoberti*, c. 2: 'tandem ergo victus ad vicum qui Catulliacus dicitur se contulit' (MGH, SS. rer. Merov. ii. 401). On the location of Catulliacus/Catolacus, see Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis*, pp. 1–2.

99 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 4: '*in sexto ab urbe memorata lapide*' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 273, and Appendix I, above, p. 654).

in agello, quem <cultor> segeti parauerat affuturum, latenter absconderent. Qui iussa complentes festinanter, quod eis praeceptum fuerat exsequuntur.¹⁰⁰ O furtum laudabile, quod cuiquam non intulit damnum, sed magis omnibus beatum contulit lucrum! Cumque, ut moris est, sationis suae segetem sacratus
 5 produceret ager, ita beatorum martyrum est ubertate ditatus, ut et centuplicatum fructum cultor acquireret et patriae mereretur salutem¹⁰¹ et magnum thesaurum posteris consecraret.

16. Praedicta itaque materfamilias, horum non immemor martyrum sacratorum, cum primum persecutionis uideret tepuisse feruorem, locum sanctorum
 10 martyrum ossa seruantem omni sollicitudine requisiiuit atque inuentum ingentis mausolei constructione signauit.¹⁰² Quam uenerabilem feminam non immerito credimus sine dubio sanctis martyribus adhaesisse, quia nisi eam redemptor omnium ad agnitionem sui nominis uenire uoluisset, nequaquam eius pectori consilium tantae pietatis infunderet. Namque absque ulla ambiguitate
 15 confidimus ut, quae beatorum martyrum ossa seruauit, eorum intercessionibus ad fidei pertingeret ueritatem. Christianorum igitur turba quamplurima, quae beatorum martyrum fuerat admonitione conuersa, omni nisu atque conatu, quaque ui poterat, omni cum deuotione summoque cum studio super sanctorum martyrum beata cadauera ecclesiam construxerunt, et in
 20 sanctae gloriam trinitatis trino numero dignis cum aromatibus humauerunt;¹⁰³ ad quorum digna corpora, Dei omnipotentis opitulante clementia, cotidie uirtutum insignia declarantur.

17. Quis etenim sermo uel quae lingua tantorum martyrum sufficiat enarrare uirtutes, quando nec ipsae queunt humanis mentibus retineri? Infirmis

1 <cultor>] *suppl. ed.* || parauerat] praeparauerant *ABFM*, parauerant *P* 4 moris] mos *ABP*,
 mox *F* 5–6 centuplicatum] centuplicatu *K* 6 cultor] cultores *Q* || acquireret] adquiret
B, acquirent *Q* || mereretur] mererentur *ABFQ* 7 consecraret] consecrarent *ABFQ* 8
 materfamilias] matrisfamilias *K* 8–9 sacratorum] sacramentorum *A* 9 uideret] uiderent
AF 11 mausolei] olei *F* 14 eius pectori] pectori eius *Q* || infunderet] infundisset *B* 16
 pertingeret] pertingere meruerit *AB*, pertingere *FP* 17 quae] qui *FK* 18 quaque ui] quo
AB, quaque *F* || poterat] poterant *ABFG*, ut poterant *P* || cum] *om. ABFM* 19 construxerunt]
 construens *Q* || et] *om. KQ* 20 gloriam] gloria *K* 21 digna] *om. A* 23 etenim] enim *BP*
 24 uirtutes] uirtutis *K*

100 Cf. the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 4: ‘*Qui dominae ordinatione comperta, festinanter quod eis praeceptum fuerat exsequuntur*’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 273, and Appendix I, above, p. 654).

⟨the farmer⟩ had prepared for a future crop. Quickly obeying her orders, they accomplished what had been asked of them. O most praiseworthy theft, which brought loss to no one, but rather conferred a blessed benefit on everyone! And when, as usual, the sacred field yielded the crop of its planting, it was so enriched by the fertility of the blessed martyrs that the farmer gained a hundredfold harvest and ensured the prosperity of the homeland and consecrated this great treasure to posterity.

16. The aforementioned noblewoman, not forgetful of these holy martyrs, when she saw that the first heat of persecution had abated, sought with every concern the place preserving the bones of the holy martyrs, and, once located, marked it with the construction of an imposing tomb. We believe without doubt that the venerable woman clung to the holy martyrs because, unless the Redeemer of all wished her to come to the knowledge of His name, He would in no way have implanted a plan of such devotion in her heart. For we trust without any hesitation that she who preserved the bones of the martyrs would attain to the truth of the faith through their intercession. Therefore a great crowd of Christians, which had been converted through the insistence of the holy martyrs, constructed a church over the blessed remains of the holy martyrs with every effort and undertaking, and with whatever energy it could (muster), and with every devotion and with the greatest enterprise, buried them in triple number to the glory of the Holy Trinity, with the appropriate spices; at their worthy remains, through the helpful mercy of Omnipotent God, demonstrations of miracles are revealed daily.

17. And what speech or tongue would be sufficient to narrate the miracles of such great martyrs, when these cannot be retained in human minds them-

101 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 4: 'sic in ea beneficium ubertas effudit, ut centuplicatos fructus et cultor acquireret et patria mereretur salutem' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 273, and Appendix I, above, pp. 654–656).

102 Cf. the 'ancient *passio*', c. 5: 'Antedicta tamen materfamilias, horum non immemor secretorum, cum primum persecutionis uidit tepuisse feruorem, locum tantorum martyrum ossa seruantem qua oportuit sollicitudine requisiiuit atque inuentum eminentis mausolei constructione signauit' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 273, and Appendix I, above, p. 656). The reading *secretorum* of the 'ancient *passio*' suggests that *sacra* in the present text represents a copyist's error at some stage of the transmission. Note that at this point the author of the 'anonymous *passio*' ceases to draw on the 'ancient *passio*'.

103 Mc xvi. 1 and Lc xxiv. 1.

salus, debilibus gressus, caecis uisus, surdis auditus et mutis redditur sermo; immundi spiritus ab obsessis corporibus expelluntur, et pia uota felici exauditione pinguescunt. Nos ipsos, quamuis immeritos, eorum credimus sacris precibus adiuuandos, qui ut hebetes et indigni eorum uobis seriem passionis
 5 praesumptissimus intimare, non ex nostri ingenii capacitate aut proprii sensus industria, sed quod ueterum fidelium nobis relatione patuit et, quod ex parte in quibusdam paginulis ueteranis pauca, ut potuimus, longo spatio interlita didicimus.

18. Nam sicut maiorum cognouimus colloquio peritorum timentium Deum
 10 et studio sanctae caritatis ardentium, multa de beatorum uirorum praeclaro certamine ad laudem Christi et gloriam martyrum ob memoriam posterorum sacris studuerunt indere cartis, sed subripiante negligentia et antiqui procurante hostis inuidia, flammaram incendio feruntur esse consumpta. Nam humanarum mentium sollers capacitas ex paucis, quae dicta sunt, ualet pen-
 15 sare, quae reticentur maiora. Hoc tamen absque ulla dubitatione confidimus, multa eos pro Christo subisse certamina, quando usque ad praesens tanta per eos diuina uirtus cotidie dignatur declarare miracula. Passi sunt autem martyres Christi Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius .VIII. Idus Octobris sub Domitiano imperatore apud Gallias Parisius ciuitatem, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo,
 20 sto, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. AMEN.

1 salus] salutem *ABFK* || gressus] gressum *ABF* || caecis uisus] caecis uisum *ABFK*, *om.* *G* || auditus] auditum *ABFK* || redditur sermo] reddunt sermonem *AB* 2 pia] quia *F* 3 Nos] *post* Nos *add.* *G* etiam || immeritos] indignos *M* 4 ut] licet *G* 6 quod] quae *GM* || relatione] relationes *F* || patuit] patuerunt *FGP* 7 pauca, ut potuimus] *om.* *A* 9 cognouimus] cognouit *BF*, cognouerunt *M* || colloquio] colloquium *B*, colloquia *FM* || timentium] timentes *ABFMP* 10 ardentium] ardentis *ABFGMP* || uirorum] *om.* *M* || praeclaro] praeclaras *F* 11 certamine] certaminibus *F* 12–13 procurante] procurantis *AFMP* 13 flammaram] flammae *BFMP* || Nam] Sed *G* 14 humanarum] uestra sum *AF*, uestrarum *BGKMP* 14–15 pensare] considerare *P* 16 Christo] Christi *K* || tanta per] tamen *A* 17 autem] *post* autem *add.* *A* beatissimi 18 VII] octauo *AF* (!) 19 Gallias] Galliarum *Q* || Parisius] Parisio *G*, Parisium *Q* || ciuitatem] ciuitate *FGP*

selves? Health is bestowed on the infirm, locomotion on the crippled, sight on the blind, hearing on the deaf and speech on the mute; impure spirits are expelled from possessed bodies, and devout prayers (addressed to the martyrs) become productive through their blessed intercession. We too believe that we are to be helped, though unworthy, by their holy prayers – we who, being dull and unworthy, presumed to make known to you the narrative of their martyrdom, not through the capacity of our talent or the activity of our own intelligence, but because it was clear to us from the accounts of men of old, and that we partially learned a few things in certain ancient writings, as best we could, that had been blurred by the long passage of time.

18. For, as we recognized from the conversation of learned men fearing God and burning with the pursuit of holy love, they [the men of old] sought to commit to holy writings, for the recollection of posterity, many things concerning the outstanding struggle of the holy men, to the praise of Christ and the glory of the martyrs (themselves), but through destructive negligence and the attentive envy of the ancient Enemy, they [the writings] are said to have been consumed in a blaze of fire. The clever capacity of human minds is able to compensate, from the few things which were said, for the greater things which remain in silence. This, however, we believe without any doubt whatsoever, that they underwent many struggles on behalf of Christ, when even up to the present time the divine power deigns daily to reveal miracles through them. The martyrs of Christ – Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius – suffered death on 9 October under the emperor Domitian in the city of Paris in Gaul, under the reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who lives and reigns with the Father and Holy Spirit forever and ever. AMEN.

Manuscripts of Hilduin's Prose *Passio S. Dionysii* [*BHL* 2175]

The following list of manuscripts of Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* [*BHL* 2175] is based on several sources. The earliest attempt to provide such a list was made in a doctoral dissertation by Camilla Weltsch, completed at Munich in 1922 under the direction of Max Buchner, who was then preparing an edition of Hilduin's work;¹ her list included some 130 manuscripts, not always accurately cited or dated. In more recent times, the Bollandists' electronic database, *BHLms* (accessible on-line at <http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be>), lists, according to *BHL* number, the contents of manuscripts which have been catalogued in the Bollandists' many printed catalogues (either in *Analecta Bollandiana* or in volumes of *Subsidia Hagiographica*). I have also consulted the Bollandists' handwritten fichier in Brussels (which lists, under *BHL* 2175, numerous manuscripts not listed in *BHLms*), as well as the Brepols database *In principio*.² Numerous late medieval breviaries containing lessons excerpted from Hilduin's *passio* are listed by Jean-François Goudesenne.³ Lastly, an excellent account of the manuscripts of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is provided by Cécile Lanéry in her article on Hilduin in the most recent volume of the *Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi* (*CSLMA*),⁴ to which I am greatly indebted.

I have attempted to classify the manuscripts of Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii* according to whether a manuscript is broadly hagiographical, that is, whether it consists of texts pertaining solely to St Dionysius – what I call a 'Dionysiellus' – or whether it contains Saints' Lives (in no particular order), or whether it is a Legendary containing Saints' Lives arranged according to the liturgical calendar. (My classification is based on printed manuscript catalogues and personal inspection; in cases where no printed catalogue exists, I have not ventured a classification.) If it is one of the Legendaries discussed

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- 1 C. Weltsch, *Der Einfluss der 'Vita S. Dionysii Areopagitae' des Abtes Hilduin von St. Denis auf die hagiographische Literatur*, unpublished Ph.D. diss. (Munich, 1922), pp. 19–23.
 - 2 *In principio* lists a mere four manuscripts, including only one not listed in any of the other sources (a manuscript now in Kynžvart: below, no. 50).
 - 3 G.-F. Goudesenne, 'La propagande aréopagitique dans la musique de l'office de S. Denis (1xe–x1e s.)', *Hagiographica* 11 (2004), 81–112, at 94–95.
 - 4 Lanéry, 'Hilduinus sancti Dionysii abb.', pp. 498–502.

by Guy Philippart,⁵ I use the siglum 'Philippart' followed by either the number which he assigns to it (e.g. no. 66, or A.10, or S.10) or page references to his discussion. Alternatively, if a manuscript was intended principally for use in the liturgy (I am thinking here particularly of Lectionaries and Breviaries), I have listed it separately from the hagiographical manuscripts.⁶ A manuscript in which the text of the *Passio S. Dionysii* is fragmentary through physical damage, is noted by [frg.]; excerpts from the *Passio S. Dionysii* which result from the intervention of an editor (scribe or compiler) are noted as [exc.]. For the 155 hagiographical manuscripts listed below, I supply references to printed discussions, but have not attempted to do so for liturgical manuscripts (lectionaries and breviaries).

An earlier version of the present list was printed in Lapidge, 'Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii Parisiensis Abb.', pp. 340–348; a number of corrections and updatings have been incorporated in the present list, and the citations supplied with bibliographical references (in the case of hagiographical manuscripts, but not in the case of lectionaries and breviaries). The manuscripts marked with an asterisk have been collated for the present edition.

Hagiographical Manuscripts

1. Alençon, BM, 21 (s. xiv), fols. 70^v–93^r [Saints' Lives; *Passio S. Dionysii* followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (BHL 2176)]⁷
2. Angers, BM, 121 [113] (Angers, Saint-Nicholas, s. xi^{med}), fols. 141^r–145^r [exc.; cc. 18–32] [Legendary]⁸
3. Angers, BM, 123 [115] (Angers, Saint-Aubin, A.D.1273), fols. 193^v–197^v [exc.; cc. 18–32] [Legendary]⁹
4. Angers, BM, 801 [707] (Angers, Saint-Serge, s. xi), fols. 86^v–103^r [Saints' Lives (Philippart, nos. A.27, S.18)]¹⁰

5 Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*.

6 See above, p. 132.

7 H. Omont, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* [Octavo Series] II (Paris, 1888), pp. 497–498.

8 J. Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers*, Subsidia Hagiographica 64 (Brussels, 1982), pp. 199–213; see also J. Vezin, *Les scriptoria d'Angers au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1974), pp. 76–77 and 232–233.

9 Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers*, pp. 213–228.

10 Ibid. pp. 241–244; see also Vezin, *Les scriptoria d'Angers au XI^e siècle*, p. 98.

5. Angers, BM, 805 [721] (s. xii), fols. 98^v–108^r [exc.; from c. 18 on] [Saints' Lives]¹¹
6. Aosta, Biblioteca della Collegiata S. Orso, 27 (Aosta, s. xiiiⁱⁿ), fols. 44–55 [Legendary]
7. Arras, BM, 344 [961] (Arras, Cathedral, s. xiv), fol. 153^{r-v} [exc.; cc. 19–26] [Legendary]¹²
8. Arras, BM, 573 [462] (Arras, Saint-Vaast, s. xiii), fols. 60^v–69^r [Legendary]¹³
9. Autun, BM, S 121 [*olim* 99 D] (s. xv²), fols. 166^r–169^r [exc.]¹⁴
10. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. Hist. 139 [Q. VI. 59] (Bamberg, s. xii^{2/4}), fols. 128^r–133^r [exc.; cc. 20–36] [Legendary]¹⁵
11. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillippus 1839 [Rose 123] (Metz, Saint-Vincent, s. xiii²), fols. 470^r–480^v [Legendary; *Passio S. Dionysii* followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (BHL 2176)]¹⁶
12. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Fol. 267 (Springiersbach, s. xii²), fols. 98^r–112^r [Legendary (Philippart, no. 66)]¹⁷
- * 13. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Oct. 159 [*olim* Phillippus 16339] (Reichenau, s. ix^{3/4}), fols. 25^r–53^v [frg.; cc. 1–22] [Dionysiellus]¹⁸

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- 11 Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers*, pp. 252–254.
 - 12 J. Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Arras et de Boulogne-sur-Mer*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 50 (Brussels, 1971), pp. 26–32.
 - 13 *Ibid.* pp. 42–47.
 - 14 C. Maître, *Catalogue des manuscrits d'Autun: Bibliothèque municipale et Société éduenne* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 248–257, at 255 [no. 87]. The text consists of lessons for the Office, much abbreviated from Hilduin's *passio*. Autun S 121 is in fact a Lectionary, and should have been listed among Lectionaries, below.
 - 15 See F. Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, I. 2 (Bamberg, 1895), pp. 221–229, at 225–226; K. Dengler-Schreiber, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Michelsberg in Bamberg* (Graz, 1979), pp. 231 (n. 364) and 234 (n. 470); and G. Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 12. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Wiesbaden, 1995), pp. 24–25.
 - 16 See V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I. *Die Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 259–272 [no. 123].
 - 17 See V. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XIII. *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften* II. 2 (Berlin, 1903), pp. 829–838 [no. 790], at 833.
 - 18 See Bischoff, *Katalog* I, no. 485, and ch. 5, above, p. 133.

14. Boulogne-sur-Mer, BM, 25 (s. xi–xii), binding fragments [frg.; cc. 4–8]¹⁹
15. Bourges, BM, 28 [26] (s. xv¹), fols. 175^r–178^v [exc.][Legendary]²⁰
16. Bourges, BM, 31 [29] (s. xii), fols. 107^v–110^r [exc.] [Legendary]²¹
17. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3130 [104] (s. xii¹), fols. 323^v–326^v [Saints' Lives]²²
18. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3132 [206] (?Cologne, St Barbara, s. xii/xiii), vol. III, fols. 33^v–40^v [Legendary]²³
19. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3176 [7460] (s. xiii), vol. I, fols. 25^r–34^v [Saints' Lives; *Passio S. Dionysii* preceded by *BHL 2171* (prol.) and followed by *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (*BHL 2176*)]²⁴
20. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3181 [7483–7486] (s. xiii), fols. 63^r–76^v [Legendary (Philippart, no. 79)]²⁵
21. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3233 [11550–11555] (s. xiii), fols. 157^v–166^v [Legendary; *Passio S. Dionysii* preceded by *BHL 2171* (prol.)]²⁶
22. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3275 [21885] (A.D. 1277), fols. 113^v–137^r [Legendary; *Passio S. Dionysii* preceded by *BHL 2171* (prol.)]²⁷
23. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 3299 [II. 1055] (s. xii), vol. I, fols. 115^r–126^r [Saints' Lives]²⁸
24. Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 5 (Grimbergen, s. xii), fols. 72^r–78^v [Legendary (Philippart, no. 75); *Passio S. Dionysii* preceded by *BHL 2171* (prol.)]²⁹
25. Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 72 (Gladbach, s. xii), fols. 230^v–240^v [frg.; cc. 1–30] [Legendary (Philippart, p. 58)]³⁰

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- 19 See J. Van der Straeten, 'Manuscrits hagiographiques de Boulogne-sur-Mer', *AB* 87 (1969), 373–386, at 385, and idem, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Arras et de Boulogne-sur-Mer*, p. 140.
 - 20 J. Van der Straeten, 'Manuscrits hagiographiques de Bourges', *AB* 85 (1967), 75–112, at 85–88.
 - 21 *Ibid.* pp. 89–92.
 - 22 J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, v. *Histoire-hagiographie* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 55–56.
 - 23 *Ibid.* v, pp. 60–73.
 - 24 *Ibid.* v, pp. 135–141.
 - 25 *Ibid.* v, pp. 150–153.
 - 26 *Ibid.* v, pp. 226–229.
 - 27 *Ibid.* v, pp. 264–266.
 - 28 *Ibid.* v, pp. 283–285.
 - 29 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Bollandianae', *AB* 24 (1905), 425–472, at 426–432.
 - 30 *Ibid.* pp. 442–444.

26. Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 506 (Marchiennes, s. xi), fols. 1^r–23^r [frg.; cc. 4–36] [Legendary (Philippart, p. 58)]³¹
- * 27. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 (Worcester, s. xi^{3/4}), fols. 88^v–100^v [Legendary]³²
28. Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Lit. E. 42 (Canterbury, Christ Church, s. xii¹), fol. 61^{r-v} [frg.; cc. 1–5] [Legendary]³³
29. Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, 468 (Châlons, s. xii¹), fols. 98^r–107^r [Saints' Lives]³⁴
30. Charleville-Mézières, BM, 254 (Belval, A.D. 1151), vol. III, fols. 112^v–123^r [Legendary (Philippart, nos. 82, A.42, S.24)]³⁵
31. Chartres, BM, 507 [193] (Chartres, s. x), fols. 300^v–311^v [Legendary]³⁶
32. Chartres, BM, 516 [479] (s. xv), fols. 33^v–43^r [frg.; cc. 18–33] [Legendary; badly damaged in 1944]³⁷
33. Chicago, Newberry Library, F. 3 (N. Italy, s. xi^{med}), fols. 90^v–103^v [Legendary]³⁸

31 Ibid. pp. 461–463.

32 See M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912), 1, pp. 21–30. The Cambridge manuscript contains Lives of saints from St Remigius (1 Oct.) to St Lucia (13 Dec.) (with several additions, out of liturgical sequence, at the beginning and end of the volume); it therefore constituted the third and final volume of the original three-volume legendary known as the 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary'. A description and complete list of contents of the entire 'Cotton-Corpus Legendary' is given by P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women. Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contents*, ed. P.E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1996), pp. 131–146; see also H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments written or owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), no. 36, as well as ch. 5, above, p. 134.

33 N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, II. *Abbotsford–Keele* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 289–296, at 295. The Canterbury manuscript is a few fragmentary remains of what was once a seven-volume legendary identical in content to that in London, BL, Arundel 91 (below, no. 58); the leaves containing Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* are from what was once vol. VI.

34 M. Duhamel, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* [Octavo Series], XXXIV. *Carpentras* (Paris, 1901), I, pp. 256–259.

35 J. Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques de Charleville, Verdun et Saint-Mihiel*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 56 (Brussels, 1974), pp. 58–70.

36 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae civitatis Carnotensis', *AB* 8 (1889), 86–208, at 173–181.

37 Ibid. pp. 199–205.

38 See P. Saenger, *Catalogue of the pre-1500 Western Manuscript Books at the Newberry Library* (Chicago, 1989), pp. 10–14.

34. Clermont-Ferrand, BM, 148 (s. xiii), fols. 165^r–183^r [Legendary, preceded by Lives of Frankish Saints]³⁹
35. Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, Wallraf 164a (paper; Cologne, s. xv), fols. 100^v–106^v [Legendary (Philippart, no. 69)]⁴⁰
36. Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 763 (paper; Bad Wimpfen, s. xv¹), fols. 138^r–153^r [Legendary]⁴¹
37. Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, F (001) 024 (s. xi/xii), fols. 1^r–26^v [Saints' Lives]
38. Dijon, BM, 641 (Cîteaux, s. xi/xii), fols. 80^r–85^v [= vol. iv of a five-volume Legendary (Philippart, no. 60)]⁴²
39. Douai, BM, 864 (Anchin, s. xiii), fols. 53^v–71^v [Saints' Lives]⁴³
40. Erpernburg, Schlossbibliothek, 7 (s. xv^{3/4}), fols. 25^r–34^r
- * 41. Escorial, Real Biblioteca, b. i. 4 (Cardena, s. xi), fols. 3^r–21^v [Legendary]⁴⁴
42. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 4 (Central Italy, s. xvⁱⁿ), fols. 259^r–266^v [Legendary]⁴⁵
43. Freiburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Fragm. 56 (s. xii) [frg. (one leaf); cc. 28–31]⁴⁶
44. 'S-Gravenhage (Den Haag), Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 70. E. 21 [*olim* L. 29] (Muden, s. xv), fols. 228^r–237^v [Legendary]⁴⁷

39 *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* [Octavo Series], XIV (Paris, 1890), pp. 46–51.

40 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Archivi Historici civitatis Coloniensis', *AB* 61 (1943), 140–201, at 151–155.

41 K.H. Staub and H. Kraus, *Die Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt*, IV. *Bibel-Handschriften, ältere theologische Texte* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 189–191, and K.H. Staub, *Geschichte der Dominikanerbibliothek in Wimpfen am Neckar (ca. 1460–1803). Untersuchungen an Hand der in der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt erhaltenen Bestände* (Graz, 1980), pp. 103–104.

42 *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements* [Octavo Series], V. *Dijon* (Paris, 1889), pp. 166–181, at 177.

43 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Duacensis', *AB* 20 (1901), 361–470, at 415–416.

44 G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los codices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1910–1923), I, pp. 108–128.

45 Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, pp. 815–839 [no. 218], at 838–839.

46 W. Hagenmaier, *Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg im Breisgau*, I. 3. *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek (ab Hs. 231)* (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 218.

47 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Hagensis', *AB* 6 (1887), 161–208, at 172–192 [Codex L. 29].

45. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 1727 (Berge bei Magdeburg, s. x/xi), pp. 336–391 [Saints' Lives]⁴⁸
46. Hannover, Kestner-Museum, 3976 (s. xii) [frg. (one leaf)]
47. Koblenz, Bibliothek des Staatlichen Görresgymnasiums, 5 (s. xiv), fols. 195–205
48. Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Bestände 701, nr. 113 (s. xiii), fols. 94^r–101^v
49. Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Bestände 701, nr. 113a (s. xiv), fols. 179^r–189^r
- 49a. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, 1292 (s. xiii/xiv), p. 1 [exc. from cc. 8–9]⁴⁹
50. Kynžvart, Zámecká knihovna, 20. D. 22/1 (s. xii), fols. 60–74
51. Laon, BM, 261 (Laon, St Mary, s. xii), fols. 155^r–183^v [Legendary]⁵⁰
52. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. F. 11 (s. xii¹), fols. 20^r–28^r [Legendary]⁵¹
53. Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 210 [58] (A.D. 1366), vol. II, fols. 2^r–12^r [Legendary (Philippart, no. 74); *Passio S. Dionysii* preceded by *BHL* 2171 (prol.)]
54. Lille, BM, 92 [607] (Loos, s. xiv), vol. II, fols. 1^v–13^v [Saints' Lives]⁵²
55. Lille, BM, 449 [587] (Loos, s. xii), fols. 162^r–176^v [Saints' Lives]⁵³
56. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Codices Alcobacenses 421 [CCLXXXVII] (s. xii^{ex}), fols. 42^r–60^v [Legendary]⁵⁴
- * 57. London, BL, Add. 22793 [olim Phillipps 22391] (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 5^v–29^v [Saints' Lives]⁵⁵

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- 48 N. Kruger, *Die theologischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, II. *Quarthandschriften (Cod. theol. 1252–1750)* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 173–174.
- 49 See *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum medii Aevi latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae asservantur*, ed. M. Kowalczyk, A. Kozłowska et al. (Kraków, 1980; in progress), VIII, pp. 118–128, with discussion of the Hilduin excerpts at pp. 118–119; and F. Dolbeau, 'Catalogues de manuscrits latins: Inventaire hagiographique (trente-deuxième série)', *AB* 133 (2015), 175–208, at 180.
- 50 *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départments* [Quarto Series] I (Paris, 1849), pp. 152–154.
- 51 K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, I. *Codices in Folio* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 17–21, at 18.
- 52 *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départments* [Octavo Series] XXVI (Paris, 1897), pp. 64–65.
- 53 *Ibid.* pp. 291–295.
- 54 See F. Dolbeau, 'Le légendier d'Alcobaça. Histoire et analyse', *AB* 102 (1984), 263–296, esp. 291–293, and J. Black and T.L. Amos, *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon*, III. *Manuscripts 302–456* (Collegeville, MN, 1990), pp. 192–193.
- 55 The manuscript was apparently written by students of Otloh of Sankt Emmeram, and

58. London, BL, Arundel 91 (Canterbury, St Augustine's, s. xii¹), fols. 86^r–99^r [Legendary]
59. London, BL, Harley 2802 (Arnstein, A.D.1173), fols. 35^v–42^r [Legendary]⁵⁶
60. London, BL, Royal 11. B. 111 (Bury St Edmunds, s. xivⁱⁿ), fols. 276^v, 345^r [exc.; cc. 29, 15 respectively]⁵⁷
61. Mantova, Biblioteca comunale, A.V. 3 [133] (s. xii), fols. 280^v–282^r [exc.]
62. Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, 16 [677] (s. xv² [A.D. 1471]), fols. 214^r–226^v [Legendary]⁵⁸
63. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 33 inf. (s. xiii), fols. 95^v–102^r [exc.; cc. 18–36][Legendary]⁵⁹
64. [entry withdrawn]
- *65. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, P. 113 sup. (?N. France, s. xi^{med}), fols. 136^v–153^r [frg.; omits cc. 3–4, 9–14][Legendary, with Saints' Lives interpolated out of calendar order]⁶⁰
66. Mons, Bibliothèque centrale de l'Université, 26 [210] (St Thomas an

subsequently given by Otloh to Fulda. It was later owned at the church of St Peter in Erfurt; see B. Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 11, pp. 77–115, at p. 92, and ch. 5, above, p. 136.

56. See C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani. A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1972), p. 53, and A.G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700–1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols. (London, 1979), 1, pp. 128–129, and 11, pl. 95. Harley 2802 is the final volume of a three-volume legendary from the Premonstratensian house at Arnstein (Germany); the two previous volumes are Harley 2800–2801.
57. G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *British Museum: Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and Kings Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921), 1, pp. 344–346.
58. Melk 16 is one of seven surviving volumes of a copy of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* preserved in the library of Melk (the others being Melk 388 + 97 + 492 + 101 + 100 + 546); see C. Glassner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstiftes Melk, 1. Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400* (Vienna, 2000), pp. 180–182, and D. O Riain, 'The *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*: A New Investigation of One of Medieval Europe's Richest Hagiographical Collections', *AB* 133 (2015), 87–165, at 110.
59. See [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis', *AB* 11 (1892), 205–368, at 218–224.
60. See [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis', *AB* 11 (1892), 205–368, at 360–362, and ch. 5, above, p. 137.

- der Kyll, s. xiii), vol. I, fols. 96^v–104^r [Legendary (Philippart, nos. A.58, S.32)]⁶¹
67. Montmorot, Archives départementales du Jura, 11 (s. xiii), fols. 133^r–135^r [exc.; cc. 18–36]
68. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, 1 (the ‘Great Clairvaux Legendary’) (Clairvaux, s. xii²), vol. II, fols. 129^v–138^r [Legendary]⁶²
69. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, 30 (Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, s. xii), fols. 134^r–141^v [Legendary; *Passio S. Dionysii* followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (BHL 2176)]⁶³
70. Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, 360 (Pontigny, s. x), fols. 170^r–185^v [Saints’ Lives]⁶⁴
71. Munich, BSB, Clm 1071 (Oberaltaich, s. xii), fols. 139^v–153^v [Saints’ Lives]⁶⁵
72. Munich, BSB, Clm 2552 (Aldersbach, s. xii¹), fols. 128^r–140^r [Legendary (Philippart, nos. A.46, S.27)]⁶⁶
- * 73. Munich, BSB, Clm 4608 (Benediktbeuern, s. xi^{med}), fols. 50^v–87^r [Legendary (Philippart, no. 46)]⁶⁷
74. Munich, BSB, Clm 7508 (Indersdorf, s. xv), fols. 225^r–239^v [Dionysius]⁶⁸
75. Munich, BSB, Clm 14870, fols. 71–139 (St Emmeram, s. xv), fols. 72^r–86^r [Saints’ Lives]⁶⁹
- * 76. Munich, BSB, Clm 14871, fols. 1–45 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 1^v–43^r [Dionysius]⁷⁰

61 [Bollandists], ‘Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae civitatis Montensis’, *AB* 9 (1890), 263–277, at 263–266, and P. Faider, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Mons* (Ghent and Paris, 1931), pp. 39–45, at 44.

62 [Bollandists], ‘Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Scholae Medicinae in Universitate Montepessulanensi’, *AB* 34–35 (1915–1916), 228–305, at 229–238.

63 *Ibid.* pp. 243–247.

64 *Ibid.* pp. 266–267.

65 *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* III. I: I, pars I (nos. 1–239) [1892], p. 228.

66 *Ibid.* I, pars II (nos. 2501–5250) [1894], p. 7.

67 *Ibid.* p. 215; but see now G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus Benediktbeuern* (Clm 4501–4663) (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 185–189, and ch. 5, above, p. 139.

68 *Ibid.* I, pars III (nos. 5251–8100) [1873], p. 166.

69 *Ibid.* II, pars II (nos. 11001–15028) [1876], p. 244.

70 *Ibid.* p. 244. The manuscript was written entirely by Otloh of Sankt Emmeram (c. 1010 –

77. Munich, BSB, Clm 17072 (s. xii), fols. 99^v–105^r [Dionysiellus]⁷¹
78. Munich, BSB, Clm 21551 (Weihenstephan, s. xii), fols. 1^r–28^v [Saints' Lives]⁷²
79. Munich, BSB, Clm 22020 (Wessobrun, s. xii), fols. 118^v–121^v [exc.; cc. 17–26] [Legendary (Philippart, no. A54h)]⁷³
80. Namur, BM, 2 (Saint-Hubert, s. xiv), fols. 217^v–220^r [exc.; cc. 18–20, 27–29][Legendary]⁷⁴
81. Namur, BM, 15 (Saint-Hubert, s. xiii¹), fols. 52^v–63^v [Saints' Lives]⁷⁵
82. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, VIII. B. 51 (?Cîteaux, s. xii), fols. 23^r–24^v [exc.; cc. 18–36][Saints' Lives]⁷⁶
83. Novara, Biblioteca Capitulare, CIV [olim 65] (s. xiii), fols. 1^r–6^r [Saints' Lives]⁷⁷
84. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 732 (France, s. xii^{ex}), fols. 252^v–261^r [Saints' Lives]⁷⁸
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 1: see Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 222
85. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 163 (s. xv), fols. 227^r–252^v [Legendary]⁷⁹
86. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2009 (Saint-Martin-des-Champs, s. xi²), fols. 76^v–99^r [Saints' Lives]⁸⁰
87. Paris, BNF, lat. 2445A (Saint-Denis, s. xii), fols. 10^v–28^r [Dionysiellus]⁸¹

c. 1070); see Bischoff, 'Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St. Emmeram', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, II, p. 91, and ch. 5, above, p. 139.

71. *Ibid.* II, pars III (nos. 15121–21313) [1878], p. 80.
72. *Ibid.* II, pars IV (nos. 21406–27268) [1881], p. 5.
73. *Ibid.* p. 19.
74. [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae civitatis Namurcensis', *AB* 1 (1882), 485–530, at 485–492.
75. *Ibid.* pp. 494–503.
76. [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecarum Neapolitanarum', *AB* 30 (1911), 137–251, at 193.
77. [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Capituli Novariensis', *AB* 43 (1925), 330–376, at 356–358.
78. See F. Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 7 vols. in 8 (Oxford, 1895–1953), II/i, p. 508.
79. H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum manusccriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, partis secundae fasciculus primus: Catalogus Codicum MSS. Laudianorum, Codices Latini* (Oxford, 1858), cols. 149–151.
80. A. Molinier, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1885–1890), II, pp. 317–319.
81. See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. I, pp. 118–120.

88. Paris, BNF, lat. 2447 (Saint-Denis, s. xiv), fols. 22^v–76^v [Dionysiellus]⁸²
89. Paris, BNF, lat. 2827 (Saint-Pierre-des-Préaux, s. xii/xiii), fols. 115^r–143^v [Saints' Lives]⁸³
- * 90. Paris, BNF, lat. 2873A (?Lorraine, s. xi¹), fols. 13^r–41^r [Saints' Lives]⁸⁴
91. Paris, BNF, lat. 2873B (paper; Clermont, s. xv), fols. 21–66 [Dionysiellus]⁸⁵
92. Paris, BNF, lat. 5293 (Savoie, s. xii), fols. 103^v–108^v [exc.; cc. 18–36] [Legendary]⁸⁶
93. Paris, BNF, lat. 5337 (Beaupré, s. xii/xiii), fols. 75^v–87^v [Legendary]⁸⁷
94. Paris, BNF, lat. 5343 (Vendôme, s. xi/xii), fols. 149^r–156^v [frg.; ends in c. 20] [Saints' Lives]⁸⁸
95. Paris, BNF, lat. 5353 (Bonport, s. xiii), fols. 126^v–134^v [Legendary]⁸⁹
96. Paris, BNF, lat. 5360 (Jouarre, s. xiv), fols. 166^v–183^r [Legendary]⁹⁰

82 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. I, pp. 120–125.

83 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. I, pp. 211–212, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 191: 'L'ex-libris de cette abbaye est à peine lisible aux rayons ultra-violetes'; see also G. Ouy, 'Histoire "visible" et histoire "cachée" d'un manuscrit', *Le moyen âge* 64 (1958), 115–138.

84 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. I, pp. 222–223. On the origin of the manuscript, see Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 192, citing T. Delforge, 'Une "Vita sancti Germani" pour Lothaire 11', *Scriptorium* 22 (1968), 39–42, at 41: 'Le professeur Bischoff, dont chacun reconnaît l'autorité, date ce manuscrit de la première moitié du xie s., avec quelque probabilité d'origine lorraine'; see also ch. 5, above, p. 133.

85 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. I, p. 224.

86 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. I, pp. 560–565, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 198: 'Sud-est de la France; même collection que lat. 5312. L'ensemble ainsi reconstitué est apparenté au légendier de la chartreuse du Val-Saint-Hugon (dioc. de Grenoble)'. The contents of BNF lat. 5293 are closely similar to those of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 33 inf., as was pointed out by F. van Ortoy, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis', p. 218.

87 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, pp. 259–261, as well as Dolbeau, 'Notes sur la genèse', pp. 172–173, and idem, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 203.

88 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, pp. 269–270, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', pp. 203–204.

89 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, pp. 304–311, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 205. Bonport is a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Évreux.

90 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, pp. 336–340, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 205.

97. Paris, BNF, lat. 5570 (s. xii), fols. 3^r–27^r [composite codex in which the *Passio S. Dionysii* is the only hagiographical component]⁹¹
98. Paris, BNF, lat. 8995 (Cologne, St Barbara, s. xiii/xiv), fols. 88^v–98^r [frg.; lacks cc. 23–25] [Legendary]⁹²
- * 99. Paris, BNF, lat. 10846 (Saint-Denis, s. x), fols. 21^v–75^v [Dionysiellus]⁹³
- * 100. Paris, BNF, lat. 10847 (Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, s. xi), fols. 8^r–23^r [Dionysiellus]⁹⁴
101. Paris, BNF, lat. 10866 (Echternach, s. x), fols. 105^r–150^v [Saints' Lives]⁹⁵
- * 102. Paris, BNF, lat. 11751 (Saint-Germain, s. xi^{med}), fols. 1^r–29^v [Dionysiellus; Saints' Lives]⁹⁶
103. Paris, BNF, lat. 11753 (Italy, s. xii), fols. 246^v–248^v [Legendary; Philippart, pp. 13 and 38]⁹⁷
104. Paris, BNF, lat. 11759 (Saint-Ayoul de Provins, s. xiv), fols. 148^r–154^r [Legendary (Philippart, p. 116)]⁹⁸
105. Paris, BNF, lat. 12600 (Saint-Aubin d'Angers, s. xi), fols. 213^v–236^v [Saints' Lives]⁹⁹

91 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, p. 478.

92 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, pp. 561–563, as well as R.B. Marks, *The Medieval Manuscript Library of the Charterhouse of St Barbara in Cologne*, 2 vols., *Analecta Cartusiana* 22 (Salzburg, 1974), II, pp. 390–391 and 402; and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 216.

93 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, pp. 602–603, and esp. Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 218: 'Le manuscrit de Pithou porte l'*ex-libris* de la bibliothèque de Rosny. Il est entièrement consacré à Denys l'Aréopagite, et le nom *Dionysius* y est assez régulièrement rubriqué: ce sont là des indices qui devrait orienter les futures recherches vers l'abbaye de Saint-Denis'; see also Nebbiai–Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, p. 303 [no. 57], and ch. 5, above, p. 135.

94 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, p. 603, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 218.

95 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. II, p. 613.

96 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. III, pp. 47–48, as well as C. Niver, 'Notes upon an Eleventh-Century Psalter', *Speculum* 3 (1928), 398–401, at 399 (with pl. II illustrating fol. 59^r, and pl. IIIB, illustrating fol. 82^r), and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 221.

97 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. III, pp. 49–59, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 221.

98 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. III, pp. 99–108, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 223.

99 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris*. III, pp. 126–127, as well as J. Vezin, *Les scriptoria d'Angers au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1974), pp. 55, 68, 82–84 and 253–255, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 223.

- * 106. Paris, BNF, lat. 13345 (Saint-Denis, s. ix^{med}), fols. 88^v–114^v [Dionysiellus]¹⁰⁰
107. Paris, BNF, lat. 14293 (Saint-Victor of Marseilles, s. xiii), fols. 182^r–198^v [Saints' Lives]¹⁰¹
108. Paris, BNF, lat. 15436 (s. xi), fols. 29^v–42^r [Legendary]¹⁰²
109. Paris, BNF, lat. 16733 (Chaâlis, s. xii^{ex}), fols. 87^r–94^v [Legendary]¹⁰³
110. Paris, BNF, lat. 17006 (Val-Notre-Dame, s. xii/xiii), fols. 118^v–126^v [Legendary]¹⁰⁴
111. Paris, BNF, lat. 17627 (Saint-Quentin de Beauvais, s. xi), fols. 236^r–260^r [Saints' Lives]¹⁰⁵
112. Paris, BNF, lat. 17631 (paper; Blancs Manteaux, s. xv), fols. 33^v–60^v [Dionysiellus]¹⁰⁶
113. Paris, BNF, lat. 18298 (s. x), fols. 99^r–122^v [Saints' Lives]¹⁰⁷
114. Paris, BNF, lat. 18300 (Saint-Arnoul de Crépy, s. xi), fols. 1^r–32^v [Saints' Lives]¹⁰⁸
115. Paris, BNF, lat. 18305 (Saint-Arnoul de Crépy, s. xi), fol. 62^{r-v} [frg.; cc. 22–23][Saints' Lives]¹⁰⁹
116. Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1509 (paper; Saint-Denis, s. xiv), pp. 45–152 [Dionysiellus]¹¹⁰

100 *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.*, III, pp. 191–193; cf. Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 4887, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 227, as well as ch. 5, above, p. 137.

101 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 223–224.

102 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 303–317.

103 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 342–349, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 230: 'Légendier en six volumes dont le quatrième porte encore l'*ex-libris* de Chaâlis'.

104 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 394–396, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 230.

105 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 408–414, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 230.

106 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 417–418.

107 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 433–434, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 231, who points out that, although the manuscript belonged to Antoine Loisel (cf. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, p. 431, n. 3, and above, p. 635), the fact that the saints' Lives are divided into twelve lessons rules out the possibility that the manuscript belonged to the chapter of Notre-Dame.

108 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 434–435, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 231.

109 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, p. 438, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques', p. 231.

110 See *Cat. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 461–462, and Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des

117. Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 2164 (Brioude, s. x), fols. 1^r–10^v [frg.; begins c. 9] [Saints' Lives]¹¹¹
118. Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 2179 (Silos, s. xi), fols. 322^r–323^v [frg.; c. 1 only] [Legendary (Philippart, no. 103)]¹¹²
119. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 555–556 (s. xii), II [no. 556], fols. 142^v–150^v [frg.; begins c. 18] [Legendary]¹¹³
120. Rheims, BM, 1403 (Rheims, Sainte-Marie, s. xi), fols. 243^r–267^v [Legendary]¹¹⁴
Rome, Archivio di S. Pietro: see Vatican City
121. Rome, San Giovanni in Laterano, Archivio del Vicariato, A. 80 (s. xi), fols. 169^r–182^r [Legendary]¹¹⁵
122. Rouen, BM, 1380 [U. 55] (Jumièges, s. x/xi), fols. 114^r–128^r [Saints' Lives]¹¹⁶
123. Rouen, BM, 1388 [U. 32] (Fécamp, s. xii) fols. 135^v–138^r [exc.] [Legendary (Philippart, no. 88)]¹¹⁷
124. Rouen, BM, 1399 [U. 2] (Jumièges, s. xii), fols. 100^v–110^v [Legendary (Philippart, pp. 34–35, 38–39, 40–42)]¹¹⁸
125. Rouen, BM, 1404 [U. 20] (Fécamp, s. xii), fols. 87^v–89^v [exc.] [Legendary]¹¹⁹
126. Rouen, BM, 1414 [A. 53] (s. xii), fols. 111^r–113^r [exc.] [Legendary]¹²⁰
127. Rouen, BM, 1415 [U. 17] (Fécamp, s. xv), fols. 173^v–177^v [exc.] [Legendary]¹²¹

manuscripts hagiographiques', pp. 232–233, who notes that this MS. was 'copié sur le *lat.* 2447' [above, no. 88].

- 111 See *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 472–473.
- 112 *Catal. cod. hag. lat. Paris.* III, pp. 476–506, and J.C. Martín, 'Códices hagiográficos latinos de origen hispánico de los siglos IX–XIV', *AB* 127 (2009), 313–363, at 329.
- 113 C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1893–1898), I, pp. 286–288.
- 114 H. Loriquet, *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* [Octavo Series], XXXIX. *Reims* (Paris, 1904), II, pp. 583–591.
- 115 See A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 9 (Brussels, 1909), pp. 62–69.
- 116 [Bollandists], *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Rotomagensis*, *AB* 23 (1904), 128–275, at 195–196.
- 117 *Ibid.* pp. 173–177.
- 118 *Ibid.* pp. 152–156.
- 119 *Ibid.* pp. 165–167.
- 120 *Ibid.* pp. 135–136.
- 121 *Ibid.* pp. 160–162.

- * 128. Saint-Omer, BM, 342 bis (Saint-Bertin, s. x²), fols. 63^r–95^v [Dionysielus]¹²²
129. Saint-Omer, BM, 715 (Saint-Omer, s. xii), vol. II, fols. 105^v–119^r [Legendary (Philippart, no. S.26)]¹²³
130. Saint-Omer, BM, 716 (Clairmarais, s. xiii¹), vol. VII, fols. 62^r–72^r [Legendary]¹²⁴
131. Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 222 (Salisbury, s. xi^{ex}), fols. 277^v–283^v [Legendary]
132. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 387 (St Gallen, s. xi^{2/4}), pp. 456–460 [exc.] [Saints' Lives]¹²⁵
- * 133. St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 577 (s. ix/x), pp. 711–754 [frg.; cc. 1–35] [Saints' Lives (Philippart, p. 113)]¹²⁶
134. St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q. v. I. 42 (Saint-Germain, s. xii), fols. 78^v–105^v [Saints' Lives (SS. Martin and Dionysius only)]¹²⁷
135. Tours, BM, 1013 (Marmoutier, s. x), fols. 8^v–19^v [frg.; cc. 18–32] [Legendary]¹²⁸

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- 122 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Audomaropolitanae', *AB* 47 (1929), 241–306, at 247–248, together with A. Wilmart, 'Les livres de l'abbé Odbert', *Bulletin historique de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 14 (1929), 169–186, at 173–174, and A. Boutemy, 'Un trésor injustement oublié: les manuscrits enluminés du Nord de la France (période pré-gothique)', *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), 110–122, at 115, and ch. 5, above, p. 137.
- 123 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Publicae Audomaropolitanae', *AB* 47 (1929), 241–306, at 254–265.
- 124 *Ibid.* pp. 265–283; see also F. Dolbeau, 'Le légendier de l'abbaye cistercien de Clairmarais', *AB* 91 (1973), 273–286.
- 125 St Gallen 387 is one of two volumes of an early breviary comprising the *pars aestivalis* (and should have been listed as such among 'breviaries' below; I have left it here in order not to disturb the numbering); on the manuscript, see Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, pp. 131–132, and P.-M. Gy, 'Les premiers bréviaires de Saint-Gall (deuxième quart du XIe s.)', in *Liturgie: Gestalt und Vollzug*, ed. W. Dürig (Munich, 1963), pp. 104–113.
- 126 See Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St Gallen*, pp. 187–188, and esp. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen* I. Teil IV: *Codices* 547–669, pp. 90–96, as well as ch. 5, above, p. 136.
- 127 See A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du ve au XIIIe siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1910), I, pp. 275–277 [no. CXIII].
- 128 J. Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 64 (Brussels, 1982), pp. 120–128.

136. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 388 [966] (s. xii), fols. 168^r–180^v [Legendary (Philippart, no. 64)]¹²⁹
137. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1151 [965] (s. xiii), vol. IV, fols. 41^v–49^r [Legendary]¹³⁰
138. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1155 [1021] (s. xiii), fols. 130^r–147^r [Legendary]¹³¹
139. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 1164 [CCCLXV] (paper; s. xv/xvi), fols. 189^v–195^r [Saints' Lives]¹³²
140. Troyes, BM, 7 (Montieramey, s. xii), fols. 168^v–176^v [Legendary]
141. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, F. II. 10 (Bobbio, s. xi), fols. 198^v–201^r [Legendary]¹³³
142. Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, F. III. 16 (Bobbio, s. x), fols. 95^r–114^v [Legendary (Philippart, p. 33); *Passio S. Dionysii* followed by *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (BHL 2176)]¹³⁴
143. Valenciennes, BM, 508 [467] (Marchiennes, s. xiii), fols. 47^r–64^r [Saints' Lives]¹³⁵
144. Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro, A. 2 (s. x/xi), fols. 258^r–259^v [frg.; cc. 17–20, 30–32] [Legendary]¹³⁶
145. Vatican City, BAV, Borghes. lat. 297 (s. xiv), fols. 175^v–181^r [Legendary]¹³⁷
146. Vatican City, BAV, lat. 4854 (s. xii), fols. 89^v–100^v [Saints' Lives]¹³⁸
147. Vatican City, BAV, lat. 6074 (s. xi/xii), fols. 142^v–154^r [Legendary][exc.; cc. 17–36]¹³⁹
148. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 523 (Orleans, s. x/xi) fols. 201^r–209^v [exc.; cc. 18–36] [Legendary (Philippart, no. 93)]¹⁴⁰

129 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae civitatis Treverensis (II)', *AB* 52 (1934), 157–285, at 165–170.

130 *Ibid.* pp. 193–207.

131 *Ibid.* pp. 214–217.

132 *Ibid.* pp. 223–227.

133 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Taurinensis', *AB* 28 (1909), 417–478, at 426–428.

134 *Ibid.* pp. 431–434.

135 *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* [Octavo Series], xxv. *Poitiers – Valenciennes* (Paris, 1894), p. 407.

136 A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 9 (Brussels, 1909), pp. 1–6.

137 A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanarum*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 11 (Brussels, 1910), pp. 443–452.

138 *Ibid.* p. 121.

139 *Ibid.* pp. 164–170.

140 *Ibid.* pp. 350–352.

149. Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 542 (s. xii), fols. 53^r–57^v [Legendary]¹⁴¹
150. Vatican City, BAV, Urbin. lat. 61 [73] (s. xv), fols. 48^v–58^v [Saints' Lives]¹⁴²
151. Verdun, BM, 1 (Saint-Vanne, s. xiiⁱⁿ), fols. 82^r–83^v [frg.; cc. 1–21, 30–31] [Legendary (Philippart, no. A.56)]¹⁴³
152. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. Nov. 12754 (s. xv), fols. 30^r–39^r [exc.] [Legendary; Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is followed by the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* (BHL 2176)]¹⁴⁴
153. Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 124 (Würzburg, s. xii²), fols. 174^v–190^v [Saints' Lives]¹⁴⁵
154. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 5 (Rheinau, s. xii/xiii), fols. 124^r–129^r [Legendary (Philippart, no. 56)]¹⁴⁶
155. Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, 14 (s. xiii^{1/4}), fols. 31^r–36^v [Legendary]¹⁴⁷
156. Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, 87 (s. xii^{3/3}), fols. 145^r–160^v [Legendary]¹⁴⁸

141 Ibid. pp. 368–370.

142 Ibid. pp. 294–295.

143 J. Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques de Charleville, Verdun et Saint-Mihiel*, Subsidia Hagiographica 56 (Brussels, 1974), pp. 99–114. Fols. 1–158 of Verdun 1 are in fact a lectionary (s. xiiⁱⁿ), and should correctly be listed among the Lectionaries, below.

144 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum qui Vindobonae asservantur in bibliotheca privata Serenissimi Caesaris Austriaci', *AB* 14 (1895), 231–283, at 249–255 (where the manuscript which is now Ser. nov. 12754 is listed as 'Codex signatus 9375a'); Hilduin's *passio* is listed at p. 250.

145 [Bollandists], 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Wirzburgensis', *AB* 32 (1913), 408–438, at 416–417, and H. Thurn, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg*, II. 2. *Die Handschriften aus St Stephan zu Würzburg* (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 12–13.

146 L.C. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, I. *Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zurich, 1951), p. 160.

147 Zwettl 14 is one of four surviving volumes in Zwettl of a copy of the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (the other volumes being Zwettl 13 + 24 + 15): see C. Ziegler and J. Rössli, *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl: Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters*, 4 vols. (Vienna, 1985–1997), I, pp. 31–43 and 55–59; see also J. Van der Straeten, 'Le "Grand Légendier Autrichien" dans les manuscrits de Zwettl', *AB* 113 (1995), 321–348, at 339, and D. O Riain, 'The *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*', p. 110.

148 Ziegler and Rossi, *Zisterzienserstift Zwettl: Katalog der Handschriften des Mittelalters*, I, pp. 37–40, at 39.

Lectionaries

157. Auxerre, BM, 28 (s. xi), fols. 20^v–22^v [frg.]
 158. Bourges, BM, 34 [31] (s. xvⁱⁿ), fols. 104^v–108^r [exc.], 108^r–115^v [frg.; cc. 17–36]
 159. Douai, BM, 151 (Marchiennes, s. xiii^{4/4}), vol. II, fols. 122^v–124^r
 160. Munich, BSB, Clm 14870 (s. xv), fols. 114^r–115^r
 161. Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 396 (Paris, Grandes-Carmes, s. xiii^{ex}), fols. 230^v–236^r
 162. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 124 (s. xii), fols. 127^v–128^r [frg.; cc. 7–9, 17]
 163. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 125 (Senlis, s. xiii), fols. 152^r–153^v [feast], 153^v–154^v [octave]
 164. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 131 (?Coutances, ?Rouen, s. xiiiⁱⁿ), fols. 234^r–237^r
 165. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 552 (Senlis, s. xii^{ex}), fols. 84^r–94^r
 166. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 1270 (?Chelles, s. xii), fols. 272^r–273^r
 167. Valenciennes, BM, 513 [471A] (Saint-Amand, s. xii), fols. 149^r–159^r
 168. Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro, A. 3 (s. xiii), fols. 15^r–18^r
 169. Vatican City, BAV, Archivio di S. Pietro, A. 7 (s. xiii), fols. 292^r–294^r

Breviaries

170. Alençon, BM, 131 (Fontevrault, s. xiv) [c. 18]
 171. Amiens, BM, 112 (Corbie, s. xii²) [cc. 18–20]
 172. Douai, BM, 152 (Anchin, s. xv in.) [cc. 18–20]
 173. Laon, BM, 262 (Laon, s. xii) [cc. 18–20, 22–23, 25–28]
 174. London, BL, Add. 30348 (Silos, s. xi) [prol., cc. 30–36]
 175. Lyon, BM, 555 (Vézelay, s. xiv) [cc. 18–19]
 176. Munich, BSB, Clm 14872 (Regensburg, St Emmeram, s. xv) [cc. 5–7, 9]
 177. Orleans, BM, 125 [103] (Fleury, s. xiv) [cc. 24–26]
 178. Paris, BNF, lat. 1019 (Arles, s. xiii)
 179. Paris, BNF, lat. 1031 (Senlis, s. xiii/xiv) [cc. 7–8, 31, 18–22]
 180. Paris, BNF, lat. 13233 (Paris, s. xiii²) [cc. 1, 5–7, 18–19, 20–22]
 181. Paris, BNF, lat. 15182 (Paris, s. xiii/xiv) [cc. 1, 5–7, 18–19]
 182. Paris, BNF, lat. 16309 (Saintes, s. xiii) [cc. 25–27]
 183. Rheims, BM, 313 (Rheims, Saint-Thierry, s. xii) [cc. 18–19]
 184. Rheims, BM, 314 (Rheims, Saint-Thierry, s. xiii) [cc. 18–19]

- 185. Rheims, BM, 316 (Rheims, Saint-Remi, s. xiii²) [cc. 18–19]
- 186. Rouen, BM, 209 [Y. 175] (Jumièges, s. xii/xiii) [cc. 18, 20–22]
- 187. Rouen, BM, 243 [A. 164] (Marmoutier, s. xi) [cc. 18–22, 24]
- 188. Troyes, BM, 720 (Troyes, Saint-Loup, s. xiii) [cc. 18–21]
- 189. Vendôme, BM, 17 E (Vendôme, s. xiii) [cc. 18–19]
- 190. Verdun, BM, 108 + 109 + 111 (Verdun, Saint-Vanne, s. xii) [cc. 1, 18–19]
- 191. Verdun, BM, 112 (Verdun, Saint-Maur, s. xiii) [cc. 1, 18–19]

Lost Manuscripts

- 192. Chartres, BM, 110 [58] (Chartres, s. xiii), fols. 218^r–220^v [frg.; cc. 13–18] [destroyed in 1944]
- 193. Chartres, BM, 500 [190] (s. xii), fols. 207^r–210^v [frg.; cc. 18–33] [destroyed in 1944]
- 194. Tours, BM, 1016, fols. 34–87 [destroyed in 1940]

The *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum*

In his letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II), Hilduin mentions among the sources for his intended account of St Dionysius a work by one Aristarchus, chronographer of the Greeks, which took the form of a letter to the *primicerius* Onesiphorus. It is convenient to refer to the work as the *Epistola Aristarchi ad Onesiphorum*:

Genere siquidem eum nobilissimum et philosophiae magisterio insignem apud Athenas claruisse et aliarum historiarum et apostolorum Actuum testimonio saecula prisca seu instantia cognouerunt: maxime autem ex historia Aristarchi Graecorum chronographi, qui in epistola ad Onesiphorum primicerium de situ Athenae ciuitatis et gestis ibidem apostolorum temporibus scribens, ortum prosapiae et doctrinam eius atque conuersionis ordinem siue aetatis tempus, necnon et ordinationem ipsius et praedicationem, subrogationem etiam episcopi in loco suo, et aduentum illius Romam ordinabiliter narrat.¹

Hilduin goes on to say that, although he is sending a copy of this letter to Louis, 'a curious person could obtain it from Greek sources, whence I myself took it' ('Curiosus autem ex Graecorum fontibus, unde et nos illam sumpsimus, poterit mutuare'). In other words, Hilduin gives his reader to understand that the *Epistola Aristarchi* was originally written in Greek. No such work in Greek has ever been identified; and, in any case, what Hilduin sent to the emperor was evidently a Latin translation. As far as I have been able to ascertain, no manuscript of the Latin translation appears to survive, or has yet been identified. However, what appears to be a substantial excerpt from the *Epistola*

¹ *Ep.* II. 3: 'The fact is that previous and present ages recognized, from the witness of the Acts of the Apostles and other historical sources, that he [Dionysius] was of noble kin and that he was famous at Athens for his teaching of philosophy: but most of all from the history of Aristarchus, the Greek chronographer, who, writing in his letter to Onesiphorus the *primicerius* concerning the site of the city of Athens and the things that happened there in apostolic times, recounts sequentially the origin of his kin and his teaching and the sequence of his conversion and his maturity, as well as his ordination and teaching, his succeeding the bishop in his see, and his arrival in Rome' (above, p. 204).

*Aristarchi*² is embedded in a sermon on St Dionysius, which is entitled the *Laudatio S. Dionysii* by the Bollandists and listed as *BHL* 2187.³ The Bollandists' database *BHLms* lists fourteen manuscripts of the *Laudatio*, and there are no doubt more (for example, the manuscript listed below with the siglum K is not in the Bollandists' list). There is, however, some uncertainty about whether the text referred to by Hilduin is identical in every respect with that transmitted as part of the *Laudatio*. For example, Hilduin, in the letter to Louis quoted above, states that the *Epistola* described the appointment of a successor to his episcopal see (implying his resignation of the episcopacy of Athens) and his arrival in Rome; but no such discussion is contained in the text of the *Epistola Aristarchi* as it has been excerpted and preserved in the *Laudatio*. Nevertheless, much of Hilduin's discussion in his *Passio S. Dionysii*, especially that concerning the topography of Athens (cc. 2–4) and St Paul's encounter with Dionysius on the Areopagus in Athens (cc. 5–8), is manifestly derived from the *Epistola Aristarchi*, as may be seen even from the excerpts preserved in the *Laudatio*. I have accordingly thought it necessary to provide a new text of this (highly suspicious) work.

The description of Athens which is contained in cc. 3–4 of the *Epistola Aristarchi* is potentially of great significance, because so little is known of what is called 'Dark Age' Athens, that is, the period from the sixth to eighth centuries A.D., following the conquests by the Goths in the late fourth century (A.D. 396), and the settlements of Slavic peoples which began during the late sixth century, after their sack of Athens in 582.⁴ Earlier studies of this period were inevitably based entirely on the sparse written sources for the period,⁵ but the picture has been greatly clarified by archaeological excavations during the twentieth century.⁶ Nevertheless, reports from these excavations throw only the most broadcast light on the topography of Athens as it is

2 The excerpt is listed as *BHL* 2182, and ed. by Corneille de Bye in *Acta ss*, Octobris IV [1780], pp. 701–705 (see below, n. 14).

3 The *Laudatio* is reprinted among the *sermones* of Leo the Great in PL lvi. 1144–1151 [*Sermo VII: De sancto Dionysio martyre*]; according to Migne, his text was taken from A.B. Caillau and B. Saint-Yves, *Operum supplementum 1–4, continens sermones ineditos extractos ex archivis Montis Cassini et ex bibliotheca Laurentiana-Medicea Florentiae* (Paris, 1836).

4 On 'Dark Age' or early Byzantine Athens, see in general the entries (with bibliography) in *ODB* I, pp. 221–223 and *DACL* I/ii [1924], cols. 3039–3104.

5 See, for example, the studies by Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, I, pp. 703–724, and Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, I, pp. 86–103.

6 See K.M. Setton, 'The Archaeology of Medieval Athens', in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans*, ed. J.H. Mundy et al. (New York, 1955), pp. 227–258 [repr. in his *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), no. 1]; P. Charanis, 'The Significance

described in the *Epistola*, and do not provide much help in answering the most serious questions posed by the text. In particular, it would be interesting to know whether the description in the *Epistola* derives from oral reports of contemporary (early medieval) travellers to Athens. In general, where the account in the *Epistola Aristarchi* can be checked against what is known of Athenian topography from other sources, it is found to be wildly misleading, and often utterly fallacious (see the accompanying notes).⁷

The purpose of the *Epistola Aristarchi* was evidently that of providing a framework for describing the pagan cults which flourished in (first-century) Athens, so that Paul's conversion of Dionysius would stand out starkly against this pagan background; the Athenian topography itself is of secondary importance. Since this literary purpose is wholly consonant with the cult of St Dionysius as it was emerging at Saint-Denis in the early ninth century, and since no trace of the supposed Greek original of the *Epistola Aristarchi* has ever been found, the suspicion must be that the *Epistola Aristarchi* was confected at ninth-century Saint-Denis, perhaps from the (vague) reports of travellers who had been to Athens,⁸ in order to provide validation for the tendentious argument that Dionysius bishop of Paris was identical with Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in biblical Acts.

of Coins as Evidence for the History of Athens and Corinth in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *Historia: Zeitschrift für ältere Geschichte* 4 (1955), 163–172; H.A. Thompson, 'Athenian Twilight: A.D. 267–600', *Journal of Roman Studies* 49 (1959), 61–72; D.M. Metcalf, 'The Slavonic Threat to Greece circa 580: Some Evidence from Athens', *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 134–157; and N. Cheetham, *Medieval Greece* (London, 1981), pp. 8–13.

- 7 For general orientation in the topography of ancient Athens, see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), pp. 158–179, with discussion of late antique Athens on p. 161, and map on p. 171 (fig. 221), and the important earlier study by Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, who mentions the *Epistola Aristarchi* on p. 15 but does not discuss its possible contribution to our knowledge of Athenian topography.
- 8 One such person was Amalar, bishop of Trier (809–814) and later archbishop of Metz (834–838), who had conducted an embassy to Constantinople on Charlemagne's behalf in 813–814 (recorded in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.aa. 813 and 814), and who described his journey to and from Constantinople in a poem known as the *Versus marini*. Because he was travelling with Peter, abbot of Nonantola, the journey proceeded down the Adriatic coast (passing by Dyrrachium, now Durazzo in Albania) and around the southern coast of Greece, before going to Aegina (described as the *castrum Eginense*), and then Athens itself: 'et ante / tempora laxemus gelida utrique Attica rura' (lines 35–36). The *Versus marini* are listed *ICL* no. 13527, and ed. *MGH, PLAC* i. 426–428, and Düchting, 'Amalar, Versus Marini', p. 57. Amalar was known to Hilduin, and at least one letter from Amalar to Hilduin survives: *MGH, Epist.* v, pp. 247–257; see Cabaniss, *Amalarius of Metz*, pp. 110–111, and, on the *Versus marini*, pp. 33–42.

The text which follows is based on collation of six witnesses:

- A Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 20. 1 (area of Florence, s. xii^{2/4}),⁹ fols. 258^r–260^v
- B Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 30 sin. 5 (s. xi²; prov. Florence),¹⁰ fols. 163^{r-v}
- G St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 577 (St Gallen, s. ix/x),¹¹ pp. 620–624
- K Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 233, fols. 41–56 (?Reichenau, ?Konstanz, s. ix^{1/3}),¹² fols. 49^r–56^r
- M Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 55 inf. (N. Italy [?Lucca], s. xii¹),¹³ fols. 170^v–173^r
- Q [the former Bollandists' Library], Q MS. 6 (S. Germany, s. ix/x),¹⁴ pp. 117–121

Although there is reason to suspect that the *Epistola Aristarchi* was confected at Saint-Denis, no manuscript from this great abbey happens to survive. The earliest surviving witness is K, which was probably written Reichenau during first third of the ninth century. GK, together with the lost but reconstructible Q, reveal that an exemplar of the text had already migrated from France to Switzerland and Bavaria by (early in) the ninth century; in a subsequent phase of transmission, a Swiss or Bavarian exemplar crossed the Alps into Italy, where it served in turn as the progenitor of MSS. A, B and M. Of the six MSS. which have been collated, the most sincere text is that offered by Q (often supported

9 Guglielmetti, *I testi agiografici latini nei codici della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, pp. 536–557, at 552 [no. 141].

10 Guglielmetti, *ibid.* pp. 696–710, at 707 [no. 170].

11 Bischoff, *Katalog*, 111, no. 5810, and Von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St Gallen*, 1. Teil IV: *Codices 547–669*, pp. 90–96; and cf. Stoclet, 'La "Clausula de unzione Pippini regis"', pp. 15–18.

12 Bischoff, *Katalog*, 1, no. 1722; see also Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, pp. 531–533.

13 Van Ortroij, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum ... Mediolanensis', pp. 252–269.

14 This manuscript was available in the Bollandists' library in 1780, but was lost when the Bollandists were suppressed in 1789. Fortunately, Corneille de Bye, in composing his huge entry on St Dionysius for the October volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, took care to reproduce the text of the *Epistola Aristarchi: Acta ss.*, Octobris IV (1780), pp. 704–705. Because the Bollandists in their *Acta Sanctorum* drew so frequently on this lost manuscript, which was evidently a passionarily written somewhere in southern Germany, it proved possible for François Dolbeau, in a brilliant piece of detective work, to reconstruct its original contents almost completely: Dolbeau, 'Le passionnaire de Fulda'; on the *Epistola Aristarchi* [BHL 2182], see p. 525.

by GK against the three Italian witnesses). The present text is therefore based on Corneille de Bye's transcription of Q; on the few occasions where there are omissions or errors in Q, the remaining witnesses can be used to supply these defects. The chapter-numbering is my own.

1. In Dei nomine Eugippius Aristarchus¹⁵ Onesiphoro¹⁶ primicerio¹⁷ salutem. Apices uestrae caritatis, Anatolio deferente, suscepimus, in quibus insertum legitur, uti quantum nostrae memoriae uel priscorum uetusta traditione recordatus fuerim, de uariis dogmatibus uel sectarum uarietate Atheniensium, seu
 5 de situ uel compositione urbis Athenarum, uobis rescribere studio litterali curarem; et inter cetera in scriptis uestris, repperimus quatinus uobis breui stilo perstrinxissem, quae in ipsa ciuitate Atheniensium temporibus apostolorum gesta sunt, quomodo Paulo apostolo ibidem superuenienti per inanes philosophias et fallaces rerum machinationes restiterunt.

1 Aristarchus] Aristorcus *AB* 2 Apices] apice *B* 3 legitur] est *A*, *om. B*, inuenimus *M* || uti ... memoriae] ut uestrae memoriae nota *A*, uestrae memoriae *B*, uti quantum nostra memoria *G*, ut qui uel nostra memoria *M* 3–4 recordatus fuerim] recordata fuerim *A*, recordari ualuerim *G*, recordauerim *BK*, recordauerimus *M* 4 sectarum] secretarum *A* 5 situ] ritu *AB* || Athenarum] Athenae *ABGKM* || litterali] litterario *A*, litterari *B*, litterarum *M* 6 curarem] curaremus *ABM* || quatinus] qualiter *ABM* 8 sunt] *post* sunt *add. ABKM* uel || superuenienti] superuenientem *B*, superueniente *GKM* 9 machinationes] imaginationes quidam *A*, imaginationibus *BGK*, imaginationes *M*

15 The name Aristarchus is common enough in Greek sources, particularly from Attica (see the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, II. *Attica*, ed. P.M. Fraser and E. Mathews (Oxford, 1994), p. 51, which lists fifty persons so named, of which all but two are of the pre-Christian era, the two exceptions being of the second and third centuries A.D. (nos. 41 and 22, respectively)), and J.S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, 21 vols. (Toronto, 1994–2012), III, pp. 53–59 [nos. 164155–164505], who lists fifty-seven persons so named, all of centuries B.C. The writings of seven Greek authors named Aristarchus are attested (see L. Berkowitz and K.A. Squitier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1990), pp. 56–57). However, no author named Eugippius Aristarchus is known outside of the present *epistola*, and it is questionable whether the name *Eugippius* is Greek. Possibly *Eugippius* is to be understood as a latinisation of Εὐπίππος, a name which is recorded, but rarely, and always in pre-Christian Greek sources: see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, I, p. 176 (seven attestations from the Aegean Islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica); IIIA, p. 166 (three attestations from the Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia); IIIB, p. 156 (four attestations from Central Greece); and IV, p. 132 (two attestations from Macedonia and Thrace); and Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, VII, p. 281 [nos. 434118–434122 (three persons)]. However, since the identifiable sources drawn on in the present letter appear to be Latin, Eugippius Aristarchus is probably to be understood as a Latin or Roman author, in which case the name Eugippius may have been prompted by that of the early sixth-century Neapolitan abbot Eugippius, author of the Life of St Severinus [*BHL*

1. In the name of God, Eugippius Aristarchus sends best wishes to Onesiphorus the *primicerius*. I received your friendly letter, brought by Anatolius, in which the message is read that, however much I might recall from my own memory or from the ancient traditions of antiquity concerning the various teachings and the diversity of Athenian sects, or about the site and topography of the city of Athens, I should trouble myself to write down for you with literary application; and I find in your letter, *inter alia*, that I should describe succinctly to you what took place in that same city of Athens in apostolic times, how they opposed the apostle Paul, when he arrived there, with empty philosophy and deceitful constructions.

7655], a monastic Rule, and a *collectaneum* of excerpts from the writings of Augustine: *CPL* 676–678, 1858a. And finally, although the *nomen* Eugippius does not occur in the New Testament, the *cognomen* Aristarchus may have been suggested by that of a companion of St Paul, Aristarchus, ‘a Macedonian from Thessalonica’ (Act. xix. 29, xx. 4 and xxvii. 2; cf. Col. iv. 10 and Phil. xxiv).

- 16 Ten persons named Onesiphorus (cf. the Greek adj. *ὀνησιφόρος*, ‘beneficial’) are recorded in Attica, all from the second and third centuries A.D.: see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, II, p. 353; but none of these apparently held the office of *primicerius*. See also Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, XIII, pp. 502–503 [nos. 747620–747670], where ten occurrences of the name Onesiphoros are recorded as graffiti on jugs or as names on gravestones; none of these is a person of high social status (and all are from the period B.C.). But the name Onesiphorus may simply have been suggested by that of the disciple of St Paul mentioned at 1 Tim. i. 16–18 and iv. 19. In the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, this same Onesiphorus, together with his wife Lectra and his sons Simmias and Zeno, is said to have been converted by St Paul (trans. M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 272).
- 17 The *primicerius* was originally a non-commissioned officer in the late Roman army. The existence of the post is first recorded in late Roman historians such as Ammianus Marcellinus (4th c.) and Vegetius; see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 599, 632, 674–675; but the title was taken over in various Imperial agencies, Roman and Byzantine, such as the Imperial secretariat and the praetorian prefecture (see *TLL* X/ii, cols. 1244–1245), and then by the papal *curia* (see R. Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool, 1992), p. 241). The use of the term cannot *ipso facto* imply a context in the late Roman empire, because it was subsequently used in early medieval Latin sources to refer to a ‘chief’ or ‘leading man’ of some sort; see, for example, Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* ii. 9 (MGH, SS rer. Meroving., I, p. 57). It is not, in any event, a Greek term.

2. Immo etiam expetistis a nobis, ut de Symmacho et Apollinare Cronopagita necnon et de Dionysio Areopagita,¹⁸ qui auditores Pauli apostoli temporibus apud Athenas claruerunt, quid de illis scirem uel quali prosapia Atheniensium quaque de stirpe orti sunt, uobis luculenter exprimerem. Quod ita secundum
 5 imbecillitatem ingenii nostri per transacta retro tempora traditione uetustatis, sicut audire potuimus, uobis per Anatolium filium et gerulum¹⁹ uestrum direximus.

3. Athenae ciuitas est in confinio Thraciae et Lacedaemoniorum posita,²⁰ situ terrarum montuosa; Ionici maris faucibus interclusa, Aegeum pelagus sinistra
 10 parte contingit.²¹ Vrbs inclita et antiqua, terrarum fertilitate opulenta, fandi et eloquentiae nutrix, philosophorum et sapientium genetrix, artium uariarum et diuitiarum opulenta prae ceteris urbibus pollebat. Istaec posita est in

1 expetistis] appetistis *Q* 3 quid] ut quod *A* || quali prosapia] qualis prosapiae *A*, quali prosapiae *BK* 4 luculenter] luculentius *AB* || exprimerem] exprimerim *K* 5 nostri] uestri *B* 6 uobis] *om. A* || Anatolium] *post* Anatolium *add. A* nostrum || gerulum] *sic A*; agigerolum *K*, agigerulum *BGMQ* || uestrum] uestrarum litterarum *AB* 8 Athenae] Athenas *BKM* || est] *om. ABGKM* 9 Aegeum pelagus] Aegeo pelago *ABK* 10 contingit] contracta *A*, contangit *B* || opulenta] opulentia *Q* || fandi] fuit *A*, fan *B*, fame *M* 11 et] *om. M* 12 opulenta] opulenta *Q* || Istaec] Haec *ABGKM*

18 Dionysius the Areopagite is known from biblical Acts (xvii. 34), but Symmachus and Apollinaris Cronopagita are not attested in any other source. The epithet of Apollinaris implies that he was from the first *regio* of Athens, the Cronospagus, as it is described below (c. 4). According to this author, each of the five regions of Athens was described as a *pagus* (Cronospagus, Panospagus, Possedonpagus, Areopagus, Ermipagus); but note that, with the exception of Areopagus, none of these names is attested outside the pages of the *Epistola Aristarchi* and Hilduin of Saint-Denis.

19 The word *agigerulus*, as transmitted in MSS. *KMQ*, is unattested elsewhere (cf. *TLL*, *MLW*, Blaise, *Dictionnaire*, Souter), and is not found in the electronic databases. For this reason I have printed *gerulum* (as in MSS. *AB*). Given, however, that MSS. *AB* are north Italian manuscripts apparently dependent on MS. *M*, their reading *gerulum* may be the scribal correction of a form which the scribes did not understand in their exemplar(s);

2. Moreover, you sought to learn from me whatever I might know about Symmachus and Apollinaris the Cronopagite and Dionysius the Areopagite, who were distinguished auditors of Paul the apostle at that time in Athens, or that I should clearly expound from what Athenian ancestry or stock they descended. In accordance with the feebleness of my intelligence, what I was able to learn from the tradition of antiquity extending back through times past, I have sent to you by means of Anatolius, your son and messenger.

3. Athens is a city in the vicinity of Thrace and the Lacedaemonians, located in mountainous terrain. Framed by inlets of the Ionian Sea, it touches the Aegean Sea on its left-hand side. It is a distinguished and ancient city, bountiful through the fertility of its lands; the nurse of speech and eloquence, mother of philosophers and sages, it stands in the vanguard of other cities through its various achievements and its wealth. It is located in the province of Attica,

in which case *agigerulum* may in fact be the original reading, whether or not it is attested elsewhere. The meaning 'messenger' is nonetheless clear.

- 20 The location of Athens is given as lying between *Thracia* and the 'land of the Lacedaemonians'. The 'land of the Lacedaemonians' is correctly the area of the SE Peloponnesus controlled in ancient times by Sparta. The precise boundaries of *Thracia* or 'Thrace' varied at different times in antiquity, but enclosed the northeastern part of Greece and the southernmost part of modern Bulgaria, on the north shore of the Aegean, roughly between the rivers Strymon (which debouches to the east of Thessalonica) and Hebrus, farther east still; in any event, Thrace was located far to the north of Athens (cf. Pliny, *Naturalis historia* iv. 11 (§§ 40–50)). The statement is only broadly correct, therefore; it would have been more accurate to say that Attica (and Athens) lies between Arcadia in the Peloponnesus and Boeotia in Thessaly. The quality of the author's topographical sources thus comes immediately under suspicion (see following notes on the topography of Athens).
- 21 The Ionian Sea is another name for the Adriatic, located to the west of Greece; the *fauces* ('inlet', 'arm': *fauces* is in effect a plural noun (*TLL* VI/i, cols. 392–400, at 398–399)) of the Ionian Sea must therefore be the Gulf of Corinth. Athens is 'separated' (*interclusa*) from the Gulf of Corinth by a narrow and mountainous land bridge. On its 'left hand', i.e. southern, side, it does indeed touch the Aegean Sea (properly the Saronic Gulf).

Attica prouincia,²² ubi Cecrops²³ et Menander²⁴ reges gentium claruerunt, ubi Apollo et Hypocrates et Aristoteles nati sunt,²⁵ qui toto orbe in ipsis temporibus sapientiae floribus fulserunt. In hac magnopere urbe tempore Cecropis et Menandri regum simulacrorum cultus et idolorum superstitiosa religio primitus reperta emicuit.²⁶

4. Quinque etenim regionibus²⁷ dispertita describitur.²⁸ Prima regio est, quae Aegeum mare respicit, mons supereminens urbi, ubi Saturni et Priapi aurea simulacra uariis colebantur illusionibus; quam regionem Cronospagum Graeci

3 hac] hoc AB || urbe] om. ABM; post urbe add. K a 3–4 Cecropis ... regum] Cecrops et Menander reges (regis GM) ABGKM 4 cultus] cultores ABM || et] extiterunt A, om. BKM || idolorum] post idolorum add. A quippe 4–5 primitus] post primitus add. A apud eos 5 emicuit] micuit AB 6 est] om. K 7 Priapi] priapi B, propria M 8 colebantur] celantur ABM || Cronospagum] chronopagium AB

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- 22 The fullest account of Attica in a classical source is that of Pausanias (2nd century A.D.), Book 1 of whose *Periegesis* is devoted solely to Attica; a less extensive account is found in Strabo, *Geographia*, ix. 1. These two authors wrote in Greek, and it is unlikely that their writings were known anywhere in the Latin West. Among Latin authors, Pliny devotes a brief chapter to Attica (*Naturalis historia* iv. 7 (§§ 23–24)), but his information does not tally with anything in the *Epistola Aristarchi*.
- 23 That Cecrops was an early king of Athens – indeed the founder of the city – is known from various ancient and early medieval sources: cf. Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, c. 15 ('Cecrops rex qui urbem condidit Athenas'), and Isidore, *Chronica maiora*, c. 16: 'eodemque tempore Cecrops Athenas condidit' (PL lxxxiii. 1026A), repeated in Bede, *De temporibus*, c. 19 (CCSL cxxiiiC. 603).
- 24 Unlike Cecrops, who is well attested, no ancient source mentions an early Athenian king called Menander. The *Fabulae* of Hyginus give the early (and legendary) kings of Athens as follows: 'REGES ATHENIENSIVM: Cecrops Terrae filius; Cephalus Deionis filius; Aegeus Pandionis filius; Pandion Erecthionii filius; Theseus Aegei filius,' etc. (c. 48. 1); but the list in Hyginus contains no mention of a King Menander. Buchner ('Die Areopagitika des Abtes Hilduin' [*Historisches Jahrbuch* 58 (1938)], p. 75, n. 210), suggested that the author of the *Epistola Aristarchi* simply took the name from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius in the Latin translation of Jerome; but this explanation is unlikely, since the Menander mentioned by Eusebius is the well-known dramatist, not a supposititious king of Athens.
- 25 Of these three famous 'Athenian' sages, Apollo is otherwise unknown (see below, n. 34). Hippocrates was born on the island of Cos, and Aristotle in Stagira (in Chalkidike). The source of this (erroneous) information is unknown.

where Cecrops and Menander were renowned as the people's kings, where Apollo and Hippocrates and Aristotle were born, who in those times shone out over the entire world with the flowers of their wisdom. It was particularly in this city, at the time of Kings Cecrops and Menander, that the religion of images and the superstitious cult of idols was first established.

4. Athens is described as being divided up into five regions. The first region, which looks out on the Aegean Sea, is a mountain overlooking the city, where golden images of Saturn and Priapus were worshipped through various deceptions; the Greeks call this region Cronospagus (the Greeks call Saturn Cronos).

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- 26 Athens is described as a city of idols in a number of ancient sources: Pausanias, *Perieg.* i. 17, Strabo, *Geogr.* ix. 1. 16, and, in Latin, Livy, *Ab urbe condita* xlv. 27 ('Athenas inde, plenas quidem et ipsas vetustae famaе ... simulacra deorum hominumque, omni genere et materiae et artium insignia'). There is good evidence that paganism was still flourishing in Athens in the sixth century A.D.: see A. Frantz, 'From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), 185–205 (with two maps). Gregorovius (*Geschichte der Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 63–76) discusses the conversion of pagan temples to Christian churches in late antique Athens.
- 27 No source, ancient or medieval, appears to mention *quinque regiones* of Athens. Judeich (*Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 175–177) notes that, from the 5th century B.C. onwards, ancient sources refer to various 'quarters' of Athens, including the Kerameikos or 'Potters' Market' in the vicinity of the Dipylon Gate, Eretria at the middle point of the city, Kolonos Agoraios on the northwest side of the city, Limnai, at the western foot of the Acropolis, where Dionysus was particularly culted, and Agra, outside the city walls to the southeast of the city. It will be seen that none of these 'quarters' corresponds to any of the *regiones* described in the *Epistola Aristarchi*.
- 28 The unidentifiable source(s) followed here by 'Aristarchus' divided Athens into five regions, each one sacred to a principal deity: the first region is called Crono(s)pagus, because sacred to Cronos (Greek Κρόνος, not Χρόνος); the second is Panospagus, because sacred to Pan; the third is called Possedonpagus, because sacred to Poseidon; the fourth, called Areopagus, because sacred to Ares; and the fifth called Hermipagus, because sacred to Hermes. The problem is to match up these 'regions' with the visible topography of Athens. Note that the Greek word πάγος properly means 'rocky hill' (as in Ἄρειος πάγος, 'Hill of Ares': see *LSJ* s.v.), but the author of the *Epistola Aristarchi* has in mind its Latin cognate *pagus*, 'district'. On the model of the well-attested form *Areopagus* he has apparently coined the other four names, none of which is attested in either Greek or Latin sources.

nuncupant (Cronos etenim Graeci Saturnum uocant).²⁹ Secunda regio Athenarum est, quae respicit contra Thraciam, ubi terebintus mirae magnitudinis inerat, et ubi Fauni, agrestis hominis, simulacrum a pastoribus diebus constitutis colebatur.³⁰ (Quae regio Panospagus a Graecis appellatur.) Tertia regio
 5 urbis Athenarum est, quae respicit portum Neptuni, ubi simulacrum Dianae et Neptuni Aegei colebant;³¹ quem locum Possedonpagum appellant (Graeci enim Neptunum Possedon dicunt). Quarta regio Atheniensis urbis est, ubi idolum Martis et Herculis simulacrum colebatur, quod est in colle Tritoniae, mons
 10 in medio urbis positus, ubi concursus totius urbis, luna renascente, ueniebat ad colendum scilicet Martem et Herculem, quos deos fortissimos adorabant; quem locum Graeci Areopagum uocant (Aris enim graece, Mars latine dici-

1 nuncupant] nuncupantur *B*, *om.* *Q* || Cronos etenim Graeci] *om.* *Q* 1–2 Athenarum] Athenae *ABGKM* 2 Thraciam] Chium *A* 3 agrestis hominis] agrestes homines *AB* || simulacrum] *om.* *A*, simulacrorum *B* 4 colebatur] colebantur *AB* || (Quae ... appellatur.)] *suppl. ed.* 5 Athenarum] Athenae *ABGKM* 6 colebant] colebatur *Q* || Possedonpagum] Possedon pagani *ABM* 7–8 idolum] idolorum *A* 8 colebatur] ponebantur *ABM* || quod] qua *B* 9 urbis] populi *AM*, *om.* *B* 10 deos] *post deos add.* *Q* illi 11 locum] *om.* *M* || Mars] Martis *KM* || latine] latini *K*

29 The first region is a ‘mountain rising above the city’ and looking out on the Aegean: a description which might best apply to Lykabettos (Λυκαβειττός), a huge conical rock which, at 910 ft. height, towers over the city. Lykabettos is to Athens what Mt Vesuvius is to Naples; it is probably the most conspicuous feature of the Athenian landscape (see Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 44–46). But there is no evidence that either Cronos or Pan was culted on Lykabettos, and the hill is rarely mentioned in classical sources. If Lykabettos is to be ruled out, the description could equally well apply to the Acropolis, the second highest hill of Athens (512 ft.), which, with its famous marble temples (Parthenon, Erechtheion, etc.) is likewise a very prominent feature of the Athenian landscape. However, the Acropolis was principally sacred to Athena, not Cronos. On the Acropolis, see the ancient description by Pausanias, *Perieg.* i. 21–28 (with discussion of the Parthenon at i. 24. 5–7), with excellent commentary by J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias’s Description of Greece*, 6 vols. (London, 1898), II, pp. 248–273 (Parthenon at pp. 304–320); for an authoritative modern account, lavishly illustrated, see Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, pp. 52–71, as well as the earlier discussion by Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 43 and 208–212.

The second region of Athens is the one which looks towards Thrace, where the turpentine-tree grows to a great height, and where the likeness of a Faun, (that is) a wild man, was worshipped by shepherds on certain specified days. (This region is called Panospagus by the Greeks.) The third region of the city of Athens is the one which overlooks the port of Neptune, where they worshipped images of Diana and Aegean Neptune; they call the place Possedonpagus (for the Greeks call Neptune Possedon [Poseidon]). The fourth region of the city of Athens is that where the idol of Mars and the image of Hercules was worshipped, which is on the hill of Tritonia, a mountain located in the midst of the city, where the populace of the entire city used to come at each new moon in order to worship Mars and Hercules, whom they honoured as being the most powerful of gods. The Greeks call this place Areopagus (for Ares in Greek is

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- 30 This must refer to the northeastern sector of Athens, looking northwards to Thrace (see above, n. 20), perhaps in the region of the Acharnian Gate (on which see Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, p. 159), or the Northeast Gate (which led up to Lykabettos). Pan was originally an Arcadian god of shepherds; he was later conflated with Faunus, a Roman god originally of the forests, but later associated with transhumant flocks. Faunus is described as *agrestis* in Ovid, *Fasti* ii. 193 ('Idibus agrestis fumant altaria Fauni'). There is no independent evidence to suggest that Pan was particularly culted in the northern districts of Athens.
- 31 The third region looks towards the 'port of Neptune', and is called *Possedonpagus*. The name 'port of Neptune' does not apparently occur in any other source; but it is difficult not to think that the reference must be to the Piraeus, which was the principal port of ancient Athens, and from which the main road to the city (following the line of the Long Walls) led up from the harbour, through the Dipylon Gate (see below, n. 33) and into the agora. For Piraeus in ancient times, see Pausanias, *Perieg.* i. 1. 2–3, with commentary by Frazer, *Pausanias's Description*, II, pp. 1–32, and map of Athens and the Piraeus in Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, p. 164 (fig. 213), together with discussion by Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 425–433. (There was a smaller port at Old Phaleron, some five miles south of Piraeus: see Pausanias, *Perieg.* i. 1. 2, with commentary by Frazer, *ibid.* pp. 33–36, and Pliny, *Naturalis historia* iv. 7 (§ 24), but this smaller port was overtaken by the Piraeus by the fourth century B.C., and is unlikely to be in question here.) If, then, Piraeus is the 'port of Neptune', the third region must correspond to SW Athens, extending southwards (perhaps) to Cape Sounion, where there was a large and conspicuous temple to Poseidon.

tur).³² Quinta regio urbis Atheniensis est, quae respicit ad portam Scaeam, ubi idolum et simulacrum Mercurii positum est; qui locus Ermipagus nominatur (Ermis enim graece, latine Mercurius dicitur).³³

5. Haec urbs maris terraeque, siluarum et montium, fluminum et uirectarum
 5 opulentia prae ceteris urbibus Graeciae nobilissima floruit; et quae tunc urbi-
 bus ceteris praeferebatur, modo gentium impetu oppressa et intercepta depri-
 mitur. Apollo dictus est Apollinis cuiusdam nobilissimi Atheniensium princi-
 pisp prosapia deriuatus.³⁴ Cuius pater Nicolaus, uir magni ingenii, litterarum
 studio pollens, cuius et inclitus Argolicae artis magister.³⁵ Cuius filius Apollo,
 10 dum inter philosophorum scholas clarus haberetur et autenticas bibliothecas

2 idolum] idolorum A 3 latine] om. AGQ 4 terraeque] terrae GK 5 opulentia]
 opulenta ABGKM || Graeciae] Graece AB || tunc] post tunc add. B apud, add. G caput, add.
 M apud Graecos 6 praeferebatur] praeferebat BG || oppressa] depressa G || intercepta]
 intercupta BK 9 Argolicae] argelice BKM || artis] arte B 10 haberetur] habebatur K

32 The Areopagus is the third highest hill of Athens (377 ft.); it is situated to the northwest of the Acropolis; see the map in Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, p. 167 (fig. 217), and discussion in Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 299–301. Of the five regions of Athens named in the *Epistola Aristarchi*, the Areopagus is the only one attested in ancient sources; see Pausanias, *Perieg.* i. 28. 5–7, with commentary by Frazer, *Pausanias's Description*, II, pp. 362–366. The name derives from Ἄρειος + πάγος, 'Hill of Ares'. Thus far what the author states is broadly correct. But he then goes on to state that images of Mars and Hercules were worshipped *in colle Tritoniae*. Numerous sources record that the goddess Minerva – the Latin equivalent of Athena – came originally from Lake Triton, and hence took the epithet *Tritonia*: note, for example, Pausanias, *Perieg.* i. 14. 6, and, in Latin, Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* xviii. 8: 'Minerua ... ad lacum, qui Tritonis dicitur, uirginali apparuisse fertur aetate, unde et Tritonia nuncupata est' (CCSL xlvi. 599); cf. Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 171, and Ovid, *Met.* ii. 783. Accordingly, the citadel of Minerva or Pallas Athena is the Acropolis of Athens, where the great Parthenon was dedicated to her cult. That is to say, our author's statement – that the shrine of Mars and Hercules, namely the Areopagus, was located *in colle Tritoniae*, namely on the Acropolis – is fundamentally confused.

33 The Greek adjective σκαίος means 'left', and hence 'west'; accordingly the Porta Scaea must be the 'western gate' of Athens. (The name is possibly indebted to Vergil's description of Troy, where the 'western gate' is called the 'Scaean Gate': *Aen.* iii. 351; cf. ii. 612 (*Scaeas ... portas*)). Since there were several gates through the western walls of Athens, identification is not straightforward: the 'western gate' could be (in clockwise order) the Melitides Gate, the Demiari Gate, the Peiraic Gate, the Sacred Gate of the Dipylon Gate. Of these, the Dipylon (from δίπυλον, 'double gate') was the largest, and was the main gate of Athens; see Frazer, *Pausanias's Description*, II, pp. 42–45 with pl. III, and Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 135–136. The Dromos (or, as it later became, the Panathenaic Way) led from the agora through the Dipylon Gate into the Ceramicus (the principal cemetery of Athens) on to the Academy of Plato, and then westwards to Eleusis, Megara, Corinth, etc.; on the

Mars in Latin). The fifth region of the city of Athens is that which looks towards the Scaean Gate, where an idol and likeness of Mercury was located; this place is called Hermipagus (Hermes in Greek is called Mercury in Latin).

5. This city flourished as the most renowned among cities of Greece through the abundance of sea and land, forests and mountains, rivers and greenswards; and as one which was preferred to other cities, it is sometimes overthrown by the attacks of foreign peoples, and held under captivity. Apollo is so called because he is descended from the stock of Apollo, a certain exalted prince of the Athenians. His father was Nicholaus, a man of great intelligence esteemed for his pursuit of letters, a citizen and renowned teacher of the art of Argos. His son Apollo – when he was being regarded as outstanding among the schools of philosophers and was reflecting on their genuine writings, when he was

Dromos, see Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 184 and 364, and Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, pp. 422–428 and 579–580, with map on p. 423 (fig. 540), as well as Setton, ‘The Archaeology of Medieval Athens’, pp. 231–233; on the Ceramicus, see Judeich, *Die Topographie von Athen*, pp. 400–404, and Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 299–322. The double gates of the Dipylon enclosed an altar dedicated to Zeus Herkeios and to Hermes, whence (perhaps) the name of the district *Ermipagus* – a name which is not attested elsewhere.

- 34 Neither Apollo nor his father Nicholas is attested elsewhere. No person named Apollo is recorded in Attica in the first century A.D.: see the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, II, pp. 44–48. (It is possible that the ‘famous Apollo’ from whose stock this Apollo was descended was simply the Greek god Apollo; but note that the list of the god’s offspring given by Hyginus, *Fabulae*, c. 161, does not include anyone of that name.) The name may have been suggested by the mention of one Apollo of Alexandria in biblical Act. xviii. 24, who arrived in Ephesus when St Paul was there (‘Iudaeus autem quidam Apollo nomine Alexandrinus natione vir eloquens devenit Ephesum’). The name Nicholas (Νικόλαος) is more common in Attica; see the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, II, pp. 336–337 (twenty-five persons so named), and Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, XII, pp. 225–227 [nos. 715665–715845]. When adapting this sentence of the *Epistola* Hilduin gave to Apollo the epithet *Cronopagita* (created on the analogy of Dionysius *Areopagita*); he apparently took over, perhaps in error, the epithet *Cronopagita* from that of the unknown Apollinaris Cronopagita mentioned in c. 2 of the *Epistola* (above); or perhaps he simply confused Apollinaris with Apollo.
- 35 The adj. *Argolicus* properly means ‘of the Argolid’ (that is, the northern part of the Peloponnesus). Judging from *TLL* and the databases, the phrase *Argolica ars* is not recorded elsewhere. Beginning with Ovid (*Met.* xii. 627), and then commonly in Medieval Latin, the adj. was used more generally to mean ‘Greek’, as in Aldhelm, *De pedum regulis*, c. 143: ‘ceteri Graeci disertitudinis facundia freti et Argolicae urbanitatis privilegio praediti’ (MGH, AA xv. 202), and that is probably its meaning here.

reouleret, dum deditus erat philosophiae et uanis superstitionibus ritus paganorum,³⁶ audiuit Paulum apostolum noua et inaudita antea dogmata praedicantem. Qui, dum ei resistere non ualeret, inuenit ueram esse doctrinam quam Paulus apud Athenienses docuit. Relinquens uanas superstitiones gentium,
 5 prouolutus pedibus apostoli, deprecatus est, ut ei ueram doctrinam et uiam salutis ostenderet, seque Christi, non Saturni, proferebat esse discipulum.³⁷

6. His ita gestis, cum quodam die Paulus Areopagum uenisset,³⁸ beatum Dionysium interrogare coepit quid coleret aut quibus numinibus in tam spatioso et uenerabili loco inseruaret. Cui ait Dionysius: 'Deos, quos coluerunt patres
 10 nostri, quorum uirtute et sollertia mater terra continetur, hos colimus et adoramus; aras, quas uides, Martis et Herculis, Mercurii et Priapi nomine et honore sacrae sunt.' Dum uero Paulus singula altaria et simulacra falsorum deorum perlustrasset, inter ceteras aras repperit³⁹ altare unum, in quo erat titulus desuper scriptus 'DEO IGNOTO'.⁴⁰ Et conuersus Paulus ad eos interrogauit illos:⁴¹
 15 'Quis est ille deus ignotus?' Cui respondit inter ceteros Dionysius: 'Quia adhuc

1 erat] esset *ABM* 1–2 ritus paganorum] *om. ABM* 1 ritus] ritu *GKQ* 3 ualeret] ualebat *BGKM* 4 Athenienses] Athenas *GM* || docuit] edocuit *ABGKM* (*p.c.*), *fort. recte* || Relinquens] *post* Relinquens *add. AB* ergo 6 seque] seseque *Q*; *post* seque *add. A* iam || proferebat] dicebat *A*, praeferebat *BM*, profitebatur *G* 7 quodam] quadam *AB* || Paulus] *post* Paulus *add. M* apud || uenisset] uidisset *ABM* 8 numinibus] nominibus *B* 9 et uenerabili] *om. M* || inseruaret] inseruiebat *BG*, inseruierat *M* || Deos] dies *B*, deus *K* 10 hos] *om. A* 11 quas uides] quae *ABM*, quos *K*; *B om. uides* || nomine et] *om. M* 13 perlustrasset] perlustraret *ABM* || ceteras] alias *AG*, alteras *BKM* || titulus] *om. AM*, titulum *K* 14 IGNOTO] IGNITO *A* (!) || Paulus ad eos] ad eum Paulus, et ad reliquos qui eum comitabuntur *A*, ad eos Paulus *GKM* 15 est] erat *K* || ille deus] deus ille *M* || ignotus] incognitus *GK* || Dionysius] *post* Dionysius *add. A* dicens || Quia] *om. A*

36 Note that the author first construes *dum* with impf. subj. (*haberetur, reouleret*), and then with indicative (*erat*); in recirculating the sentence, Hilduin altered the indicative to subjunctive (*deditus esset*). Classical usage favoured the indicative (*TLL* v, cols. 2199–2235, esp. 2203.10–2219.11); in patristic Latin the subjunctive was used with increasing regularity. The precise meaning of the phrase *autenticas bibliothecas reouleret* is unclear: *reuolo* used transitively should mean 'to unroll' (of a papyrus roll), or 'read over', and is translated here as 'working through'. The *autenticae bibliothecae* would seem to be the libraries belonging to the pagan schools (such as the Academy, the Lyceum, the Stoa Poikile, etc.).

37 Apollo Cronopagita now drops out of the story (his conversion by St Paul having supplied an antecedent and context for the conversion of Dionysius Areopagita). In c. 2 the author

dedicated to philosophy and to the empty superstitions of pagan worship – heard Paul the apostle preaching new doctrines previously unheard of. Apollo, since he was unable to withstand it, found to be true the doctrine which Paul was preaching among the Athenians. Abandoning the empty superstitions of the pagans, he threw himself at the feet of the apostle, begging him to reveal to him the true doctrine and the way of salvation; and he declared himself to be a disciple of Christ, not of Saturn.

6. Thereafter, when one day Paul had come to the Areopagus, he began to ask the blessed Dionysius what he worshipped and to what divinities he was devoted in so vast and venerable a place. Dionysius said to him: ‘The gods whom our fathers worshipped, through whose power and subtlety mother Earth is preserved – these are the gods whom we worship and adore; the altars, which you see here, have been consecrated in the veneration and names of Mars and Hercules, Mercury and Priapus.’ But while Paul was wandering among the individual altars and the representations of false gods, among the other altars he found one over which the inscription was written: ‘TO THE UNKNOWN GOD’. And turning to them, Paul asked them: ‘Who is this unknown god?’ Among others Dionysius replied to him: ‘Because this god has not thus far been

of the *Epistola Aristarchi* had named Symmachus and Apollinaris Cronopagita as auditors of St Paul, but had no subsequent occasion to mention them.

- 38 From this point onwards, the narrative is based on biblical Act. xvii.15–23. The Greek text of verse 22 – σταθείς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου (‘but Paul, standing in the middle of the Areopagus’) – is potentially ambiguous: it could mean either that Paul was standing in the midst of the council or *boule* of Athens, which took the name Areopagus from the site of its original meeting-place, but in Paul’s time probably met in the Stoa Basileios in the agora, not on the hill itself; or that he was indeed standing on the ‘Hill of Ares’ itself. Latin Church Fathers seem unhesitatingly to have followed the latter interpretation; and that is how it was understood by the author of the *Epistola Aristarchi*, and, after him, Hilduin.
- 39 The text in B ends with the word *repperit*, which occurs at the bottom of the second (right-hand) column of fol. 163^v (the text which continues on fol. 164^r is from the *Passio S. Miniatis* [BHL 5965b]). It is probable that a folio has been lost after fol. 163, because Quire XXI (fols. 159–165) consists of only seven folios. Unfortunately, the present binding is too tight to allow verification of the arrangement of leaves in this quire.
- 40 In fact Pausanias mentions various altars to unknown gods on the Areopagus: *Perieg.* i. 1. 4.
- 41 There is confusion in the narrative: who are the people (*eos / illos*) whom Paul questions? No plural audience has been mentioned, and in what precedes and follows Paul is speaking solely to Dionysius.

non est ipse deus demonstratus inter deos, sed est incognitus nobis et uenturo saeculo futurus, et ipse est Deus, qui regnaturus est in caelo et in terra, et regnum ipsius non accipiet finem.⁴²

7. Interrogans Paulus ait: 'Quid uobis uidetur? Homo erit, an spiritus deorum?'
 5 Respondentes dixerunt quia et uerus Deus et uerus homo,⁴³ et ipse renouaturus est mundum, sed adhuc incognitus est hominibus, quia apud deos in caelo conuersatio eius est. Paulus dixit: 'Illum Deum praedico uobis, quem incognitum usque nunc habuistis. Natus est de uirgine, sedet ad dexteram patris, uerus Deus, uerus homo, per quem omnia facta sunt.⁴⁴ 'Notus in Iudaea Deus
 10 et magnum in Israel'⁴⁵ et sanctum nomen eius; quem incognitum usque nunc habuistis, modo cognoscite, quia ipse est Deus solus et praeter illum non est alius deus,⁴⁶ qui nos de morte reduxit ad uitam, qui caelum et terram, homines et angelos in unitate regni sui coniunxit, qui uiuificat et mortificat,⁴⁷ qui claudit et nemo aperit, qui aperit et nemo claudit.'⁴⁸
- 15 8. Haec et alia plurima Paulo praedicante, cum per singula templa praedicaret Christum Dei filium esse, Dionysius ueram doctrinam et dogma salutis audiens et nihil esse idola, quibus seruiebat, et daemonia magis quam deos esse recognoscens, spiritum sanctum et uerba uitae in Pauli doctrina euidenter sentiens, diuina gratia instigatus ad Paulum se conuertens expetiuit ab eo, ut pro illo diuinam misericordiam deprecaretur et eius discipulus esse mereretur.
 20

4 Interrogans] *post* Interrogans *add.* A iterum || ait] dixit G || an] aut AGKM 6 incognitus] ignotus AM || deos] Deum Q 7–8 incognitum] ignotum A 8 est] enim A || sedet] sedit K 9 Deus] *post* Deus *add.* AGKM et || Notus] *post* Notus *add.* M est 9–10 Deus et magnum] et Deus est G; A om. magnum 10 magnum in Israel] in Israel K, in Israel magnum M 11 Deus solus] solus Deus AGKM 12 nos] uos GK, om. M 13 uiuificat et mortificat] mortificat et uiuificat M 14 claudit] cludit K 16 Dionysius] *post* Dionysius *add.* M inuenit || doctrinam] *post* doctrinam *add.* M esse || audiens] accipiens A, om. GKM 17 quibus] cui K || et] a A, sed G, om. KM 18 spiritum] *post* spiritum *add.* A quoque, *add.* G autem || uerba] uerbum M 19 se] om. AK || conuertens] conuersus A 19–20 diuinam] diuino M 20 et] ut AM

42 Cf. Luc. i. 33 ('et regni eius non erit finis').

43 The phrase *uerus Deus et uerus homo* derives either from a patristic source such as Augustine, *Serm.* ccxxxvii. 2 (PL xxxviii. 1123) or Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate* i. 11 (PL x. 32), or from an early Carolingian source such as Paulinus of Aquileia, *Contra Felicem* ii. 2: 'quia de spiritu sancto natus et uirgine Maria et *uerus Deus et uerus homo*' (CCCM xc. 49), or Alcuin, *Contra Felicem* i. 13 and iii. 13 (PL ci. 138 and 169), *Aduersus Elipandum* i. 9 (PL ci. 248), and as part of a credal statement in the *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*, c. xi (PL ci. 1137).

revealed amongst the gods, but is unknown to us, and will be present at a future time; and he is God, Who is to reign in heaven and on earth, and His reign shall have no end.'

7. Paul asked: 'How does it seem to you? Shall he be a man, or a spirit of the gods?' They said in reply that he was a true god and true man, and he was to renew the world, but was hitherto unknown to men, because his dwelling was with the gods in heaven. Paul said: 'I preach that God to you, whom you regard thus far as unknown. He was born of a virgin, He sits on the right hand of the Father, a true God, a true Man, through Whom all things were created. "He is known in Judaea and is mighty in Israel", and holy is His name. He Whom you have hitherto regarded as unknown, you should now know, because He alone is God and there is no other God beside Him, Who brought us from death to life, Who joined together heaven and earth, men and angels, in the unity of His realm, Who grants life and death, Who closes and no-one opens, Who opens and no-one closes.'

8. As Paul was preaching this and many similar things, when he had preached that Christ was the Son of God in the individual temples, Dionysius, hearing the true teaching and the doctrine of salvation, and that the idols whom he served were nothing, and recognizing that they were demons rather than gods, realizing the Holy Spirit and words of life to be manifestly present in the teaching of Paul, prompted by divine grace and turning to Paul he sought from him that he should pray to the divine Mercy on his behalf, and that he should be worthy to become his disciple.

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- 44 Paul's description of the 'unknown god' adumbrates the wording of the Apostles' Creed, in the version known as the 'Textus receptus' (T), which evolved in S.W. France in the seventh century or earlier, and was current in France and Germany from the eighth century onwards: 'qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, *natus ex Maria uirgine*, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, *sedet ad dexteram Dei patris* omnipotentis, inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos' (cited by J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London, 1972), p. 369). In adapting the wording of the *Epistola Aristarchi*, Hilduin evidently recognized the debt and in his *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 6, brought Paul's words to Dionysius more closely into line with the wording of the Apostles' Creed in the form with which he was familiar.
- 45 Cf. Ps. lxxv. 2 ('notus in Iudaea Deus, in Israhel magnum nomen eius').
- 46 Cf. 1Sm. ii. 2 ('non est sanctus ut est Dominus neque enim est alius extra te').
- 47 Cf. 1Sm. ii. 6 ('Dominus mortificat et vivificat') and 1Petr. iii. 18 ('mortificatus quidem carne, vivificatus autem spiritu').
- 48 Cf. Apc. iii. 7 ('qui aperit et nemo cludit, et cludit et nemo aperit').

9. Cumque die altero iter ageret Paulus, caecus quidam, oculorum luce priuatus, Pauli se postulat uirtute sanari. Mox ergo sanctus apostolus, Domini et magistri sui Iesu Christi imitator effectus, crucem eius diu clausis oculis imposuit, dicens: 'Christus, uidelicet Dominus et magister noster, qui oculis lutum imposuit caeci nati et lumen ilico accipere meruit,⁴⁹ ipse tuis oculis potentia sua lumen restituat.' Mirum in modum et lucem accipere meruit sine lumine natus; et his eum uerbis statim adorsus est, dicens: 'Vade ad Dionysium et dic ei, "quia Paulus seruus Iesu Christi ad te me misit, ut memor sponsionis tuae ad eum uenire non pigriteris, et baptismum salutis accipiens ab omnibus absolui possis nexibus delictorum".' Mox is, qui lumen receperat, obedientiae pede uerba iubentis impleuit et ad Dionysium properans Pauli ei uerba per ordinem nuntiavit.

10. Sed electus iam Domini Dionysius, ut⁵⁰ caecum respexit firmis luminibus palpitantem, his eum uerbis allocutus est, dicens: 'Tunc es ille, quem caecum natum cuncti cognouerunt affines?' Cui ille respondit: 'Ego nempe sum, qui caecus natus, usque nunc lux mihi uitae est negata praesentis; sed ipse Paulus, qui te ad se uenire mandauit, inuocata Iesu Christi et magistri sui uirtute, sanitatis mihi lumen indulsit.' Qui protinus surgens ad beati properat mandantis monita Pauli. Quid diutius morer? Confestim credidit et sacri baptismatis unda respersus, abnegatis erroribus paganorum, eius se tradidit magisteriis imbuendum, ac deinde, Paulo iubente, Christi euangelium praedicauit. Qui de Thesalonica conuertens plures ad uiam salutis, maximam partem illius prouinciae conuertit ad fidem.

3 Iesu Christi] *sic KM*, Christi *A*, Iesu *Q* 5 meruit] donauit *G* || potentia sua] potentiae suae *GK* 6 Mirum] *ante* Mirum *add. A* Tum || sine lumine] oculis caecus *A*, absque oculis *G*, sine oculorum lumine *K*, ab oculis *M* 7 et his eum] quae his *A* || dicens] *post* dicens *add. A* Paulus 9 et] quatinus *A*, ut *M* 10 obedientiae] obediae *M* 13 respexit] *om. A* 14 palpitantem] incedentem *A* || his] is *M* || eum] *om. G* 15 cognouerunt] cognouerant *KQ* 16 caecus natus] caeco nato *G* || natus] *post* natus *add. A* sum cuique, *add. M* sum || mihi] *om. G* 17 te] tibi *AM* || et] *om. A* 18 Qui] Tunc *A* 18–19 mandantis] mandati *A*, mandatis *M* 19 morer] moror *A* 22 conuertens] reuertens *M* || plures] *om. G* 22–23 illius prouinciae] prouinciae et ciuitatis illius *M*

49 Io. ix. 1–6 ('et praeteriens uidit hominem caecum a nativitate ... et fecit lutum ex sputo et linuit lutum super oculos eius').

50 The text in *K* ends at this point through the loss of a folio (see Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, pp. 531–533).

9. When on another day Paul was setting out, a certain blind man, deprived of his sight, begs to be cured by Paul's miraculous power. At once the holy apostle, having become an imitator of Jesus his Lord and master, placed the (sign of the) Cross on his eyes closed for so long, saying: 'May Christ, namely Our Lord and Master, Who placed mud on the eyes of a man born blind who was immediately found worthy to receive his sight – may He Himself with His might restore the light to your eyes.' In wondrous manner the man born without eyesight was found worthy to receive his sight; and Paul immediately addressed him in these words: 'Go to Dionysius and say to him "that Paul the servant of Jesus Christ sent me to you, that, mindful of your promise, you should not hesitate in coming to him and, receiving baptism from him, you can be freed from all the bonds of sin"'. Straightway this man, who had received his eyesight, fulfilled the orders of the commander with the footsteps of obedience and, hastening to Dionysius, reported to him the words of Paul in due sequence.

10. But Dionysius, now the Lord's elect, when he saw the blind man trembling with steadfast eyes, addressed him with these words: 'Are you that man whom all your neighbours knew as having been born blind?' He replied to him: 'Indeed I am: I was born blind, and hitherto the light of this present life has been denied to me; but Paul himself, who commanded you to come to him, having invoked the miraculous power of Jesus Christ his master, granted to me the light of well-being.' Getting up at once, Dionysius hastens to obey the commands of St Paul. Why should I delay any longer? He believed without hesitation and, anointed with the waters of baptism, rejecting the errors of the pagans, he handed himself over to be instructed by Paul's teaching and thereafter, at Paul's command, he preached Christ's gospel. Converting numerous people from Thessalonica to the way of salvation, he converted part of that province to the [Christian] faith.

The *Epistola ad Apollophanium*

In c. 14 of his prose *Passio S. Dionysii* (above, pp. 256–260, and recopied into the verse *passio*), Hilduin quotes *in extenso* the Latin text of a letter which purports to be from Dionysius (that is, from the pseudo-Dionysius) to his former teacher and colleague Apollophanes, a well-known astrologer. Dionysius reminds Apollophanes of the time when they were studying together at Heliopolis in Egypt, and on a certain Friday of the week, at the sixth hour of the day (i.e. noon), they witnessed an unusual and unforeseen total eclipse of the sun. This unusual event struck Apollophanes at the time as being due to divine intervention in the cosmos, since no such eclipse was predicted in the copy of Ptolemy's 'Handy Tables' which they carried with them. Dionysius was subsequently able to establish that the eclipse which they witnessed took place on the very hour and day of Christ's crucifixion. According to the *Epistola*, Apollophanes' experience of this event caused him to convert to Christianity, a conversion which brought great joy to Dionysius.

It is evident that the 'Letter to Apollophanes' (whose name Hilduin latinizes as *Apollophanus*) is based on a passage in *Ep. VII* (to Polycarp) in the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, in which Dionysius, in an example of rhetorical apostrophe, addresses the following question to Apollophanes, who is seemingly reluctant to accept the truth of Christianity:

What have you to say about the solar eclipse which occurred when the Saviour was put on the cross? At that time the two of us were in Heliopolis and we both witnessed the extraordinary phenomenon of the moon hiding the sun at a time that was out of season for their coming together, and from the ninth hour until evening it was supernaturally positioned in the middle of the sun ... I was with you then. I was with you as we looked at everything, scrutinized everything, were amazed by everything. Let us not forget that Apollophanes was moved somehow to prophecy, saying, as he interpreted these happenings: 'My dear Dionysius, these portend changes in the doings of God'.¹

1 *CD* II, pp. 169–170; trans. Liubheid, pp. 268–269. But although *Ep. VII* is obviously the inspiration for the 'Letter to Apollophanes', the tone of the two works is entirely different: in pseudo-Dionysius *Ep. VII* 'Dionysius' assumes a hectoring tone with respect to Apollophanes, challenging him to refute Dionysius's allegation that the eclipse which they witnessed in

This paragraph of pseudo-Dionysius supplies the nucleus of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’. However, the author of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ has amplified the passage of the pseudo-Dionysius *Ep.* VII by specifying that Heliopolis was in Egypt (there was another Heliopolis in Syria), and by stating that he [Dionysius] was twenty-five years old at the time. These details are taken not from the text of pseudo-Dionysius itself, but from *scholia* on the *Corpus Dionysiacum* by John of Scythopolis, who explains at one point that the author ‘is probably speaking of Heliopolis in Egypt, for he was studying at the time’,² and that ‘the divine Dionysius, when he saw the eclipse during the crucifixion of the Lord, was twenty-five years of age, as we can gather from the fact that he was still studying at the time.’³ Since it is possible to date the *scholia* of John of Scythopolis to between the years 537 and 543,⁴ the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ cannot have been composed before those dates – that is, a decade or more after the period when the *Corpus Dionysiacum* itself was composed, probably in the 520s.⁵ The ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ could have been composed at any time during the three hundred years between c. 540 and c. 840, the latest reasonable date for the composition of Hilduin’s prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.⁶ For his attempt to pass off the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ as part of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, its author might accurately be described as the ‘pseudo-pseudo-Dionysius.’⁷ In any event, the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ is often – not invariably – included among the corpus of pseudo-Dionysian *Epistolae* as *Epistola XI* [CPG 6630].

Egypt was the work of God (even though Apollophanes had previously admitted as much); in the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’, Dionysius’s tone is one of admiration and heartfelt relief that Apollophanes has finally accepted the truth of the Christian message (something which the Apollophanes of *Ep.* VII was apparently unwilling to do).

2 PG iv. 541; trans. Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis*, p. 255.

3 PG iv. 573; trans. Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis*, p. 263.

4 Rorem and Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis*, pp. 38–39.

5 See Introduction, above, p. 65.

6 Paul Canart (‘En marge de la question aréopagitique’, pp. 25–26) has argued persuasively that the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ was the inspiration for certain details in the so-called ‘autobiography’ of Dionysius [CPG 6633], a work which apparently originated in Syria, composed in Syriac, at some point in the seventh century, whence it gave rise to versions in Coptic, Arabic, Georgian and Armenian (but not Greek or Latin); see also Peeters, ‘La vision de Denys l’Aréopagite à Héliopolis’, pp. 303–309. By implication, then, the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ must have been composed no later than the seventh century.

7 As suggested by Canart, *ibid.* p. 18: ‘Il n’y a pas de doute, en effet, que la XI^e Lettre soit un apocryphe “au carré”, l’oeuvre d’un “pseudo-pseudo-Denys”’.

The manuscript of the Greek *Corpus Dionysiacum* from which Hilduin prepared his translations, now preserved as Paris, BNF grec 437, is incomplete at the end: it breaks off in the midst of the Letter to Titus (*Ep.* IX) on fol. 216^v. Scholars have assumed that a quire has been lost from the end of the manuscript, and that the lost quire contained the remainder of *Ep.* IX followed by *Ep.* X to John the Apostle.⁸ The quire in question presumably still belonged to the manuscript when it was in Hilduin's possession, because he included a translation of *Ep.* X in his Latin version of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* (ed. Théry, II, pp. 345–347), and repeated it in c. 16 of his prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.

It requires no great stretch of imagination to think that, following the end of *Ep.* X, the lost quire of BNF grec 437 also contained a text of what is referred to as *Ep.* XI, the 'Letter to Apollophanes'. This much was suspected by Henri Omont, writing in 1904;⁹ but Omont's suspicion was subsequently rejected by Gabriel Théry.¹⁰ However, Théry's principal reason for rejecting Omont's suspicion was not that the lost quire *could* have accommodated the text of the 'Letter to Apollophanes' (see below), but that, in Théry's opinion, the 'Letter to Apollophanes' was a (Latin) forgery by Hilduin, of which no Greek text ever existed. For reasons given below, I consider Théry's position untenable, and am persuaded by various evidence that Hilduin was simply translating a Greek text which he had before him. Could this Greek text of the 'Letter to Apollophanes' have been accommodated in the lost final quire of BNF grec 437? Various considerations arise. BNF grec 437 is written in large octavo format (240 × 155 mm.), in calligraphic Greek uncial, ruled for twenty-seven lines per page.¹¹ Twenty-seven lines of Greek uncial text correspond to twelve lines of printed text in the edition of the pseudo-Dionysian *Epistolae* by Heil and Ritter (CD II). The following calculations can therefore be made: the remainder of the text of *Ep.* IX occupies about sixty lines of printed text in CD II, which would correspond to five pages of Greek uncial text; *Ep.* X (to John the Apostle) occupies some

8 Omont, 'Manuscrit des oeuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite', p. 236, and Théry, 'Recherches pour une édition grecque historique du pseudo-Denys', p. 366.

9 'Manuscrit des oeuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite', p. 236: 'enfin un dernier cahier donnant la fin du texte de la lettre IX et les lettres X et XI' (where by 'lettre XI' is meant the 'Letter to Apollophanes'; 'Lettre X' is *Ep.* X to John the Apostle).

10 Théry, 'Recherches pour une édition grecque historique du pseudo-Denys', p. 366: 'Il [the lost final quire] contenait aussi la x^e épître adressée à Jean. Avait-il aussi le text de la XI^e épître, à Apollophane? M. Omont le croit. Il me paraît néanmoins certain que le ms. 437 n'a jamais contenu le texte de cette lettre.'

11 See the plate accompanying Omont's article (showing fol. 195^r), and pl. I in Théry's article (showing fols. 46^v–47^r).

thirty lines of printed text in CD II, and could have been accommodated on three pages of Greek uncial text. These eight hypothetical pages of the lost quire would have made up the first half of the quire (four folios), leaving four folios or eight pages in which the 'Letter to Apollophanes' could have been comfortably accommodated.¹²

Unfortunately, no manuscript preserving the Greek text of the 'Letter to Apollophanes' has ever been identified: it exists solely in Latin translations, the earliest of which is that by Hilduin. The crucial question for students both of the pseudo-Dionysius and of Hilduin, is whether Hilduin was translating a pre-existing Greek text (arguably once contained in the final quire of BNF grec 437) which has subsequently been lost, or whether he simply fabricated the text himself.¹³ The assumption that Hilduin fabricated the 'Letter to Apollophanes' would carry with it the implication that he had access to the *scholia* of John of Scythopolis (which are the source for the statements concerning Heliopolis in Egypt and Dionysius' age), a text not known to have been available anywhere in the Latin West. Various evidence bears on the question, notably the differences between the several surviving Latin translations of the putative Greek original. To the best of my knowledge, there are three such translations:

- (i) that by Hilduin, in c. 14 of his *Passio S. Dionysii*.
- (ii) a translation apparently made by the great French humanist Jacques Lefèvre, as part of the edition of the Latin translation of the Dionysian *corpus* by Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), published many years after Traversari's death, in Paris in 1498.¹⁴ The 'Letter to Apollophanes' is found at fo. 101^{r-v} of this edition. Earlier editions of Traversari's work do not

12 Hilduin's *Latin* version of the 'Letter to Apollophanes' (recall that no Greek version of the text has ever been identified) is approximately twice as long as Hilduin's Latin version of *Ep. x*. If the original Greek text of the 'Letter to Apollophanes' bore a similar relation to the Greek text of *Ep. x*, it could have been accommodated on six pages (three folios) of the lost quire.

13 The view that Hilduin himself fabricated the 'Letter to Apollophanes' was first expressed by Théry, 'Contribution à l'histoire de l'Aréopagisme', p. 123; it has recently been endorsed by Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism*, p. 78: 'In his canonical letter to Polycarp, Pseudo-Dionysius says he wrote to Apollophanus and that the reader can fill in the details himself. Hilduin apparently took the invitation literally and composed the letter to Apollophanus.'

14 *Dionysij Coelestis hierarchia, Ecclesiastica hierarchia, Diuina nomina, Mystica theologia, vndecim epistolae* (Paris, 1498). I have consulted the copy in the University Library, Cambridge, having the shelf-mark Inc. 3. D. 1. 21.

include *Ep.* XI; and since it was Jacques Lefèvre who supplied the ample commentary to the edition of 1498, the likelihood is that it was Lefèvre himself who supplied the translation of *Ep.* XI, as Canart reasonably conjectured.¹⁵

- (iii) another Latin translation was included as part of a compendious edition of patristic texts from the eastern church by Pierre Halloix (1571–1656), published in Douai in 1633.¹⁶

In order to facilitate comparison, I have printed the three translations side by side in the following table; for ease of reference, individual sentences in each of the texts have been numbered.

Hilduin, c. 14	Jacques Lefèvre (1498)	Pierre Halloix (1633)
[1] Nunc nunc ad te mihi sermo dirigitur, praecordialis amor, multos tibi sollicitudinum mearum angores de te replicans,	[1] Iam iam meus ad te conuertitur sermo, praecordialis amor, et multas curarum mearum pro te susceptas anxietates tibi in memoriam reuoco,	[1] Iam iam ad te, cordis mei amor, sermonem dirigo, et multas meas curas sollicitudinesque tua causa olim susceptas, tibi in memoriam redigo.
[2] teque miti mente super uecordi notae tibi friuolitatibus diutina pertinacia arguens, et de te fanatica illusionum phantasmata insultans,	[2] ut te beniuola mente quod tam diu vesana pertinacia errori tuo et tibi quidem noto inhaeseris arguerim, et te pro dementibus phanatico more ludificantium phantasiis insimulauerim.	[2] Nempe tenes, quam miti et beneuolenti animo tuam illam in errore, tametsi leuibus ex causis, pertinaciam redarguerim, utque istas vanas, quibus illudebaris, opiniones insimulauerim.
[3] supernalem modificationem benignitatis Dei magnificentissime et diligentissime adorando. Tibi	[3] Verum nunc summam omnium prouentissimam moderationem diuine benignitatis magnifice totoque	[3] Nunc autem summam divinae erga te benignitatis moderationem, quanto possum maximo affectu

15 Canart, 'En marge de la question aréopagitique', p. 20.

16 P. Halloix, *Illustrium Ecclesiae Orientalis scriptorum ... Vitae et Documenta*, 2 vols. (Douai, 1633); the translation of *Ep.* XI is printed in vol. 1, pp. 15–17. Halloix's translation was subsequently reprinted, with the usual amount of error, by Migne, PG iii. 119–122.

Hilduin, c. 14	Jacques Lefèvre (1498)	Pierre Halloix (1633)
bene resipiscenti, pars animae meae, coniubilo;	affectu adoro, tibi que, pars anime mee, salubriter respiranti congratulor atque coniubilo,	venerans tibi salubriter resipiscenti, pars animae meae, congratulor.
[4] tuisque te despectionibus compellabo, ut illa tibi iterata commendem, quorum pridem contempseras notionem.	[4] et te iis que aliquando contempseras rursum aggrediar, ut ea nunc iterum tibi commendem, quorum noticiam dudum es aspernatus.	[4] Quin et iis, quae olim aspernabare, nunc iuvat te affari; et quorum prius respuebas noticiam, ea modo rursus inculcare.
[5] Frequentissime quidem et diligenter satis dilucidaui tibi, Moysae prodente, a Domino hominem limo factum et transgressionem eius cataclysmo piatas,	[5] Sepe et quidem accurate tibi patefecit primitus hominem a deo de limo factum ut et ipse quoque Moses fideliter prodidit, et hominis transgressionem cataclysmo diluuiioque piatas,	[5] Saepe enim tibi et quidem accurate exposui, (quod et Moyses litteris prodidit) hominem a Deo primitus e limo factum, et mundi peccata diluuiio expiata;
[6] sequenter quoque eum in amicitia sumptum, multa que in Ægypto et egressionis suae itinere pro eo et in eo fecisse magnalia, atque theologos multimodos effecisse,	[6] et deinceps diuina amicitia dignatum multa que deum in Ægypto multa in eo ipso suae egressionis itinere ipsius gratia et in eo manifestasse magnalia, et multos compluresque theologos diuinitus afflasse:	[6] et consecutus temporibus ipsum Moysen, amicitia cum Deo copulatum, multa in Ægypto et in Ægypti egressionem, ipsius Dei causa et virtute patrasse prodigia; neque ipsum modo, sed alios quoque deinceps divinos vates similia non raro edidisse,
[7] quorum praenoscentia Deus humanatus fieri ex uirgine est dignatus.	[7] quorum sacris oraculis praenunciatus deus homo fieri ex uirgine dignatus est.	[7] qui et Deum e uirgine naturam humanam suscepturum multo ante praenoverant.
[8] Vnde mihi responsalia multotiens remisisti non	[8] Ad quae non raro responsa ad me dedisti te non modo	[8] Quibus mihi non semel, sed saepius respondisti, non

(cont.)

Hilduin, c. 14**Jacques Lefèvre (1498)****Pierre Halloix (1633)**

solum te haec esse uera
funditus ignorare, uerum et
quis idem Moyses fuerit,
pernescire;

haec vera esse prorsus nescire,
verum et quis ipse quoque
Moses fuerit te omnino fugere;

modo te nescire an haec uera
essent, sed etiam quis ille
Moyse, et †albus aterne†
[sic Halloix] fuerit, penitus
ignorare.

[9] euangeliumque Iesu
Christi Dei totius maiestatis,
quod meum uocabas,
rennuere;

[9] euangelium uero IHESV
CHRISTI qui totius maiestatis
deus est (quod et ipsum
meum appellabas) refutare.

[9] Evangelium autem Iesu
Christi, qui est Deus totius
maiestatis (quod meum
vocabas) respuere,

[10] Paulum uero hominem
mundi circuitorem et
seminiuerbium, (ducentem)
de materialibus ad
immaterialia, non uelle
suscipere

[10] Porro Paulum mundi
circuitorem multiloquum
verborumque seminatorem de
sensibilibus ad intelligibilia
nolle recipere.

[10] Paulum uero mundi
circumambulonem et
verbisatorem a terrenis ad
caelestia devocantem nolle
accipere.

[11] – immo me refellendo,
quoniam paterna religionis
iura degener omittens,
in sacrilega nefaria me
transfuderim;

[11] Immo uero tu in me
conuicia intorquebas: quod
paternae religionis iura ut
degener prodens in sacrilegia
quaedam nefanda me
coniecissem.

[11] Denique tu me quoque,
quasi patriae religionis iura
degener abdicassem, inque
nefaria sacrilegia praeceps
issem.

[12] hortabaris aut ea quibus
innitebar dediscere aut his
delectis paterer mea mihi
sufficere, et non numina
diuina seu leges patrias
derogare.

[12] Hortabarisque pariter
aut me illa quibus innitebar
dediscere, aut illis contentum
diuina numina patriasque
leges desistere incessere et
euacuare moliri.

[12] reprehendens hortabare,
ut ea, quibus innitebar
dediscerem: aut saltem, aliena
missa faciens, satis haberem
mea retinere, neu diuinis
numinibus et patriis institutis
derogarem.

[13] Vt autem lux superna
paternae gloriae splendorem
in tuae mentis tenebras

[13] Caeterum ut superna
lux paternae gloriae suum
splendorem in tuae mentis

[13] Posteaquam uero superna
lux paternae gloriae super
mentis tuae tenebras

Hilduin, c. 14	Jacques Lefèvre (1498)	Pierre Halloix (1633)
radiare suo proposito destinauit, penetralibus cordis mei infudit, ut tibi memoriale piissimum recordarer,	tenebras infulgere sua voluntate disposuit, protinus cordis mei penetralibus infudit, ut piissimam recordationem et gestae rei monumentum tuis oculis subjicerem,	splendoris sui radios sua voluntate demisit, simul intimo cordi meo infudit, ut plenum pietatis negotium tibi memorarem;
[14] qualiter in Heliopoli, paene coeue mihi, ego quinque et uiginti annorum fere tempus euoluens, pariter morabamur;	[14] ut uidelicet in Heliopoli tu quidem pene michi coaeuus et ego quinque et uiginti fere annorum tempus euoluens una morantes constiteramus:	[14] nempe quo modo nobis Heliopoli degentibus (eram tum annos circiter uiginti quinque natus, et tu mihi ferme coaeuus)
[15] cum feria quadam sexta, ferme hora etiam quasi sexta, luna se ei iniciente, sol est horribiliter obscuratus, quia non Deus sed creatura Dei, lucis suae occubitu lucere nequiuuit;	[15] cum feria quadam sexta et hora etiam pene sexta sol horribilibus subito est obsitus tenebris, luna ipsum intercurrente, quia non deus sed creatura dei in ipsius uerae lucis occubitu lucere non potuit.	[15] die quadam sexta, et hora item fere sexta, sol horribiliter, subeunte luna, obscuratus fuerit (non quod Deus, sed quod Dei opus in uerae ipsius lucis occubitu lucere non quiverit),
[16] quaestusque sum apud te, quid hinc tibi, prudentissime, uideretur.	[16] Querebar enim tum apud te qui michi sane sapientissimus uidebaris: ut quid ipse inde sentire agnoscerem.	[16] tumque ex te percunctatus sim, quid tibi, uir prudentissime, super hoc uideretur,
[17] Ex quo prudentia tua respondit quod adeo tenaciter cordi mentis meae inhaesit, ut nulla obliteratione abradi, nulla mortis imagine ualeat aboleri.	[17] Tu uero mirabili prudentia subintulisti quod usque adeo penetralibus mentis meae alte inhaesit, ut nulla obliuione deleri nullaque unquam mortis ualeat imagine deleri.	[17] tu autem eiusmodi responsum dederis, quod menti penitus infixum, nulla prorsus oblivione, nulla vel mortis imagine dilabi possit.

(cont.)

Hilduin, c. 14**Jacques Lefèvre (1498)****Pierre Halloix (1633)**

[18] Obfuso namque orbe uniformiter tenebrarum caligine tabescente ut purgatum rediit solis diametrum, regulam Philippi Arridaei assumpsimus;

[18] Offusi enim tenebris ipsi eramus: orbem solis undiquaque et ex aequo occupante caligine et posteaque repurgatio restitutioque facta est: luna ad solis diametrum conuersa aufugit. Et tunc quoque regulam Philippi Aridei assumpsimus;

[18] Cum enim totus orbis tetra tenebrarum caligine uniformiter obductus fuisset, ac iam repurgari solis globus et renitescere occoepisset, tum assumpta Philippi Aridaei regula,

[19] cumque reperimus – quod et erat notissimum – eo tenus fatigatione ecliptica solem pati molestias non debere,

[19] cumque repperissemus (quod et erat notissimum) eo tempore solem eclipsis molestias laboresque minime perpeti debuisse;

[19] et contemplatis caeli orbibus, deprehendimus, quod erat quoque alias notissimum, non potuisse id temporis defectionem solis evenire.

[20] et lunam ab oriente solarem fulgorem uelis Æthiopicis obducentem solere in occidua ora captare perfugia,

[20] ac nichilominus lunam ab oriente solarem splendorem pullis nigrantibusque velis obduxisse, cum soleat ex occidua parte solem ingredi.

[20] Deinde observavimus, lunam ab oriente solem subivisse, eiusque radii obstruxisse, donec totum occuleret, quae tamen alias ab occidente solita esset occurrere;

[21] tunc autem lucigenos thesauros, caligines quas genuerant, usque in iliacos terminos, ut putauimus, proferentes recondere occidentes, praesertim cum lunae deesset et nec conuentus tempus propinquaret,

[21] Tunc autem opifices lucis thesauros caliginibus (quas ipsa genuerat) ad occiduos usque solis fines peruagata (ut ipsi putauimus) occultauit, cum tamen et lunae id tempus deesset neque coitus tempus vicinum esse cognosceretur.

[21] quin illam quoque notauimus, cum ad extrema solis pervenisset, eiusque universum orbem obtexisset, tum retro orientem versus recurrisset, quamvis id esset tempus, quod nec lunae praesentiam, nec solis concursum postularet.

Hilduin, c. 14	Jacques Lefèvre (1498)	Pierre Halloix (1633)
[22] aio ad te, peritiae uastae sacrarium, adhuc nescius tantae rei mysterium:	[22] Aio ad te (neque enim adhuc mysterij tantae rei conscius eram), O ingentis prudentiae promptuarium,	[22] Ego igitur, o multiplicis eruditionis sacrarium, tanti mysterii nescius cum essem, sic te alloquebar:
[23] 'Quid', inquam, 'speculum doctrinae, Apollophani, his secretis adscribis?' Ad quae mihi tu inquiens omine diuo et non humani sensus sermone:	[23] 'Quid', inquam, 'O doctrinae speculum Apollophanes, his secretis ascribis?' Ad quem nescio quo pacto diuino quodam afflatu et non humani sensus sermone subintulisti,	[23] 'Quid sibi vult hoc rei, o doctrinae speculum, Apollophanes? Insolita ista portenta ecquorumnam tibi mysteriorum videntur indicia?' Tu autem, ore divino magis quam humanae vocis sermone,
[24] 'Ista, O bone Dionysi, diuinarum retributiones sunt rerum.'	[24] 'Hae, O bone Dionysi, diuinarum vicissitudines sunt rerum.'	[24] 'Hae sunt, o bone Dionysi,' inquebas, 'diuinarum rerum mutationes.'
[25] Denique notatum feriae diem et annum annuntiationi, quam Paulus noster auribus suspensis intonuit, signis acclamantibus concordare expertus;	[25] Denique vero annotatum diligenter feriae diem et annum: annuntiationi quam sacer Paulus nostris attentis auribus infudit consentientibus signis conspirare et concordare expertus:	[25] Denique, cum diem annumque adnotassem, et tempus illud cum eo, quod Paulus mihi quondam ab ore suo pendenti annuntiaverat, signis conclamantibus concordare sensissem,
[26] dedi ueritati manus et falsitatis sum nexibus absolutus.	[26] manus ueritati submisi et falsitatis nexibus sum absolutus.	[26] tum et ueritati manus dedi, et me falsitatis nexibus expediti.
[27] Quam ineffabiliter effero, tibi que infero, quae est et uia ac uita, et uerum lumen est, 'quod illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum.'	[27] Quam quidem ueritatem mirifice effero et quam tibi communico quae est uia et uita et lux uera, 'quae illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum.'	[27] Quam proinde ueritatem, et mirifice praedico, et tibi ingero, quae est uita et uia et lux uera, 'quae illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum.'

(cont.)

Hilduin, c. 14**Jacques Lefèvre (1498)****Pierre Halloix (1633)**

[28] Cui tu tandem, ut uere prudens, cessisti; cessisti nempe uitae cum abdicasti mortem; cuique bene facies inhaerendo, cum hinc nobis arctius iunctus eris.

[28] Cui tu tandem, ut vere prudens, accessisti. Accessisti enim ad vitam et abdicasti mortem, cui profecto inhaerendo res mirifice tecum bene acta est: hac insuper ratione nobis arctioribus constrictus vinculis,

[28] Cui et tu tandem, ut vere sapiens, cessisti. Nam cessisti vitae, cum mortem abdicasti. Et optime sane deinceps feceris, si eidem veritati prorsus adhaeseris; ita quidem nobis arctius coniungere.

[29] Is enim est illud "est": cuius me fulgore obtenebrans, eras solitus hinc inde fucis multicoloriis et multiplicibus etiam intra penetralia infuliginare et acuminatis spiculis terebrare,

[29] qui me oris tui nitido lepore offundere solebas et plerumque fucatis quibusdam multicoloribusque et varijs rationibus intima nostri sensus offuscare et quasi acuminatis terebrare spiculis.

[29] Illud enim, illud os nobiscum posthac erit, cujus splendore verborum mentis meae perstringens aciem, solitus eras, accersitis hinc inde coloribus, et fucato eloquentiae nitore intimos pectoris nostri recessus pertentare, immo et nonnullis interdum maledicentiae aculeis nos acrius fodicare.

[30] quoniam, ut fatebare, illius notitia sapida nosci ut inhiabas, mentali palato se resultabat, et dedignans in uentre tuae notitiae sedem sumere abnuebat.

[30] Et adjiciebas te illius sapidam agnitionem comprahendere satagere: verum ocysus a mentali palato resilire planeque dedignari in tuo ventre sedem sibi deligere.

[30] Quare quemadmodum antehac, ut tute fatebare, doctrinae Christianae, sacrarumque litterarum quamvis sapida cognitio tibi non sapiebat, sed cum ad eam vel degustandam tantum accederes, a mentis tuae palato resiliens, ac velut dedignans in pectore tuo sedem ponere resistebat:

[31] Sic sic modo cognoscentiam et prouida

[31] Age igitur modo cognoscentia et prouida corda

[31] ita modo postquam cor intelligens ac prouidum es

Hilduin, c. 14	Jacques Lefèvre (1498)	Pierre Halloix (1633)
corda gerens, suscipe, ne pro his qui non sunt “est” uerum remutes;	gerens sursum erigere, ne pro ijs qui non sunt ipsum ens verum vnquam permutes;	nactus, tete ad superna erige, neque pro iis quae non sunt, ea quae vere sunt dimitte; adeoque contra eos, qui te ad falsa provocaverint,
[32] et pertinacior ad falsa temptantibus esto quam ad uerum “est” suggerentibus nostris uotis extiteras.	[32] et pertinacior esto quibuscunque ad falsa praecipitantibus quam ad ipsum qui vere est nostris suadentibus votis teipsum praestiteras.	[32] tanto in posterum esto pertinacior, quanto tu nobis, cum ad veritatem votis omnibus invitaremus, exstitisti peruicacior.
[33] Ita nam in Iesu esse et uita mea laetus iam moriar, cum ipse in eo uiues.	[33] Ita enim in IHESV (qui esse et uita mea est) letus iam moriar, cum ipse in eo te uiuere sentiam.	[33] Sic enim ego in Domino Iesu (qui est esse meum et vivere) laetus dehinc moriar, quandoquidem et tu in eo uivas.

The current scholarly consensus is that, even if Hilduin’s version of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ was itself based on a Greek original subsequently lost, as Canart appears to have established, it was his Latin version which served as the basis for the two subsequent versions: in other words, that Jacques Lefèvre and Pierre Halloix had simply revised Hilduin’s original Latin translation, in order to improve its style, rather than translating the Greek text independently. (This assumption would have the implication that the Greek original was lost soon after Hilduin’s lifetime, rather than that it was still extant in the seventeenth century, when it was utilized by Halloix.) The scholarly consensus was stated in an influential article by Paul Lehmann, who wrote in 1923 that, in his opinion, all [subsequent] versions derive ‘directly or indirectly from Hilduin’, and that ‘the textual differences between them are so insignificant that derivation from Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii* is provisionally the most credible explanation.’¹⁷ By

17 Lehmann, ‘Zur Kenntnis der Schriften des Dionysius Areopagita’, p. 91 [repr. Lehmann, *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, IV, p. 136]: ‘Meines Erachtens sind sie alle unmittelbar oder

the same token, Paul Canart argued that the version of Jacques Lefèvre was 'evidently based on that of Hilduin', and that the translation by Pierre Halloix is simply a stylistic improvement on that of Lefèvre.¹⁸ In my opinion, if a reader will take the trouble to compare each of the three versions sentence by sentence – it is to facilitate such comparison that I have set out the three versions in parallel – it will quickly become apparent that the two later versions could not have been derived from Hilduin, and that they are independent witnesses to a lost Greek original. It would be tiresome to work through the three versions sentence by sentence, but a few observations may be helpful.

In Hilduin's version of sentence [1], the principal clause is *ad te mihi sermo dirigitur*, where, from the point of view of (normal) Latin syntax, the word *mihi* is incomprehensible; but, bearing in mind the nature of Hilduin's translations from the pseudo-Dionysius, *mihi* can economically be explained as a characteristically over-literal rendition of the Greek dative of possession (ἐμοί). Jacques Lefèvre, whose Greek was much better than Hilduin's, recognized the Greek construction and translated it correctly with a possessive pronoun – *meus ad te conuertitur sermo* – while employing the passive construction but using a different verb, *conuertitur*. Halloix omitted the dative of possession altogether, and put the construction into the active mood: *sermonem dirigo*. The consecutive clause was construed by Hilduin with a present participle (*replicans*), having as its object the *multos ... angores*. Lefèvre chose instead to put the verb in the (finite) present tense – *reuoco* – having as its object the *susceptas anxietates*. Halloix also used the present tense (*redigo*) with the object *sollicitudines ... susceptas*. Halloix alone mentions that the *sollicitudines* were aroused 'long ago' (*olim*). Given that each translator has used a different grammatical construction, with different vocabulary, and that at least some of the differences can be explained by Hilduin's unfamiliarity with Greek idiom, it would be most economical to assume that, in this instance at least, the three translations were made independently from a Greek original.

The same conclusion seems inevitably to follow from consideration of sentence [21], in which the author of the 'Letter to Apollophanes' describes the

mittelbar abhängig von Hilduin. Es fehlt bei den verschiedenen Zeugen nicht an einigen Textabweichungen, aber diese sind fast überall so geringfügig, daß die Ableitung aus Hilduins Dionysiusvita einstweilen das Glaubhafteste bleibt.'

18 Canart, 'En marge de la question aréopagitique', p. 20: 'Le texte que donne celui-ci [*scil.* Lefèvre] est évidemment basé sur celui d'Hilduin', and (again), 'Au XVII^e siècle, enfin, apparaît, dans la biographie de Denys par le P. Halloix, une nouvelle traduction, qui améliore, du point de vue du style, celle de Traversari [*i.e.* Lefèvre]' (*ibid.* p. 21).

apparent progression of the solar eclipse towards the west. Hilduin describes this movement as progressing *usque in iliacos terminos*, where the adjective *iliacus* is a transparent calque on Greek ἡλιακός, ‘solar’. The Greek author of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ had taken this expression from his principal source, the pseudo-Dionysius *Ep.* VII, where the movement of the eclipse was described as proceeding μέχρι τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ πέρατος;¹⁹ and, in his translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, Hilduin had himself rendered this phrase as *usque ad iliacum terminum*, employing this Greek calque for the first time.²⁰ It would seem, however, that the author of the Greek ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ construed the Dionysian expression in the plural – (say) μέχρι τῶν ἡλιακῶν πέρατων, or perhaps simply εἰς τὰ ἡλιακὰ πέρατα –, because the expression is rendered in the plural by all three Latin translators: *usque in iliacos terminos* (Hilduin), *ad occiduos usque solis fines* (Lefèvre), and *ad extrema solis* (Halloix). Once again, it is difficult to see how the two later translations could have been derived from Hilduin.

In the absence of the Greek original, the relationship between the three translations must inevitably be a matter of conjecture. There is one point, however, where we probably have the exact wording of the putative Greek original, namely in sentence [24], reporting the comment of Apollophanes to Dionysius concerning the eclipse. Here it would seem that the anonymous author of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ simply copied an entire sentence from the pseudo-Dionysius *Ep.* VII, as follows:

ταῦτα, ὦ καλὲ Διονύσιε, θείων ἀμοιβαί πραγμάτων.²¹

In the three Latin translations, the sentence is rendered as follows:

Hilduin: *Ista, O bone Dionysi, diuinarum retributiones sunt rerum*
 Lefèvre: *Hae, O bone Dionysii, diuinarum vicissitudines sunt rerum*
 Halloix: *Hae sunt, O bone Dionysii, divinarum rerum mutationes*

It is evident that the translators reacted differently to the (presumed) Greek original: ταῦτα rendered either as *ista* or *hae*, for example. What is striking is

19 *CD* II, p. 169; trans. Luibheid, p. 268: ‘to the other side of the sun’.

20 Théry, II, p. 314. Note that the spelling *iliacum* / *iliacos* implies that the initial η- was pronounced /i/, as in Byzantine Greek, and in the pronunciation which was being taught by Hilduin’s *interpretes* at Saint-Denis in the early ninth century; see above, p. 71.

21 *CD* II, p. 170; trans. Luibheid, p. 269: ‘My dear Dionysius, these portend changes in the doings of God.’

their difference of opinion about how to render ἀμοιβαί. According to Greek lexica such as *LSJ* (s.v. ἀμοιβή), the primary meaning of the word is ‘requital’, ‘repayment’, ‘recompense’, and this is the way that Hilduin understood it (*retributiones*); but the word could also mean ‘changes’ or ‘alterations’, and so it was rendered by Lefèvre (*vicissitudines*) and Halloix (*mutationes*): a clear example of the translators reacting independently to the one Greek term.

Another example of independent reactions to what was apparently the same word in the Greek original is found in sentence [3].

Hilduin: Tibi bene resipiscenti ... *coniubilo*

Lefèvre: tistique ... salubriter respiranti *congratulor* atque *coniubilo*

Halloix: tibi salubriter resipiscenti ... *congratulor*

The translators’ Latin compounds in *con-* suggest that the Greek word they were translating was a Greek compound in συν-, perhaps συγχαίρω, ‘to rejoice with (someone)’ or ‘to congratulate (someone)’; here Hilduin opted for the meaning ‘to rejoice (with you)’ (*coniubilo*), Halloix for ‘to congratulate (you)’ (*congratulor*), and Lefèvre retained both.

But it is also worth remarking that in the previously quoted sentence [24] all three translators rendered the phrase ὦ καλὲ Διονύσιε in exactly the same way: *O bone Dionysi*. In this case the identity of wording obviously does not argue for the dependence of one translation upon another, but simply to the identical response by three independent translators to the same Greek phrase. Another example of an identical response by the three translators is found earlier in sentence [3], where Dionysius addresses Apollophanes affectionately as *pars animae meae*. All three translators provide the very same translation of this phrase. Here, one might think, the later two translators were simply repeating Hilduin. But this is, in my opinion, a case where the three translators opted independently for the very same formulation. They appear to have been translating a phrase such as μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς μου;²² but, in doing so, they (independently) employed a common Latin formulation, known to them (for example) from Jerome’s preface to his Latin translation of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius: ‘tu, Galliene, *pars animae meae*, obsecro ...’.²³ In short, it is not safe to argue for literary dependence on the basis of common Latin expressions such as *pars animae meae*.

22 This phrase does not appear to be attested in the Greek lexica, either in *LSJ* or in the *TLG Database*.

23 CSEL xlvii. 2.

Several conclusions follow. Hilduin did not fabricate the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’. He translated into a Latin a Greek original which, since it drew on the *scholia* of John of Scythopolis, must have been composed after c. 540, and no later than the seventh century. This Greek text of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ arguably once formed part of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* as preserved in Paris, BNF grec 437 – the manuscript which served as the basis for Hilduin’s translations of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*. Like Hilduin’s other translations, that of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ displays much of the incompetence and idiosyncrasy which characterizes his work as translator. The Greek text of the Letter was subsequently translated into Latin by Jacques Lefèvre at the end of the fifteenth century, and then by Pierre Halloix in the early seventeenth. It is possible that both the later translators based their work on the (hypothetical) copy of the text once preserved in BNF, grec 437, before the final quire of the manuscript containing the end of pseudo-Dionysius *Ep.* IX, the entirety of *Ep.* X – and arguably the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ – were lost or removed from the manuscript. Both these later translators worked independently of Hilduin’s clumsy version. Since the seventeenth century, the Greek manuscript of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ has been lost.

As a minor codicil to this discussion of Hilduin’s translation of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’, it is worth noting that a lengthy excerpt from the work was included by a contemporary of Hilduin, Radbert of Corbie (790–860), also called Paschasius Radbertus, in Book XII of his *Expositio in Matthaeum*, commenting on the total solar eclipse which attended Christ’s crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 45). Any hope that Radbert’s excerpt might provide an independent witness to the text of the ‘Letter to Apollophanes’ is quickly frustrated, for it is obvious that Radbert simply copied his excerpt from c. 14 of Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii*. Nevertheless, the excerpt provides valuable evidence of the early circulation of Hilduin’s work, and throws some light on how it was understood by his contemporaries. We know that Radbert was involved in the foundation of the monastery of Korvey (Saxony) in July 823, and although he later became abbot of Corbie (842–847), he appears to have remained in close contact with the Saxon foundation. When Hilduin was forced into exile for supporting the cause of Lothar against Louis the Pious in October 830, he spent the winter at Paderborn and then some months of the spring (831) in Korvey, until he was granted an amnesty by the king, probably in May of that year (see Introduction, above, pp. 36–38). Gabriel Théry conjectured that Radbert and Hilduin might have met up at Korvey,²⁴ and such contact would provide a reason for

24 Théry, II, p. 495: ‘Radbert fut associé étroitement à la fondation de Corvey et nous savons

Radbert's knowledge of Hilduin's work. It would appear, however, that he did not make immediate use of it. His *Expositio in Matthaeum*, which consists of twelve long books, was completed over the course of Radbert's lifetime: books I–IV were completed before his abbacy of Corbie (which began in 842) and then put aside for many years; books V–VIII were completed after he had resigned the abbacy in 847 in order to devote himself to study; and books IX–XII constitute a final instalment of the work, completed during the final years of his life (he died in 860). The quotation from Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* is found near the end of the work, in c. 27 of Book XII; and Book XII was composed some thirty years after the putative meeting of Hilduin and Radbert in Korvey in 831.

Sed et Dionysius Areopagita, Apollophanio concreto et conphilosopho sibi scribens, inter cetera de hoc miraculo ita dicit: ut autem lux superna paternae gloriae splendorem supra tuae mentis tenebras radiare suo proposito destinavit, mox penetrabilibus cordis mei infudit, ut tibi, frater, memoriale piissimum recordarer, qualiter in Eleopoleos ciuitate pene coaevi, ego siquidem viginti et quinque annorum fere tempus euoluens, pariter morabamur, cum feria quadam sexta ferme hora quasi sexta, luna ei se obiiciente, sol est horribiliter obscuratus: quia non Deus, sed creatura Dei, lucis suae occubitu lucere nequiuit. Questusque sum apud te, quid hinc tibi, prudentissime, uideretur? Ex quo prudentia tua respondit, quod adeo tenaciter cordi mentis meae inhaesit, ut nulla obliteratione abradi, nulla mortis imagine ualeat aboleri. Obfuso namque orbe uniformiter, tenebrarum caligine tabescente, ut purgatum rediit solis diametrum, philiplari Dei [*leg. regulam Philippi Aridei*] assumpsimus; cumque reperimus, quod et erat notissimum, eatenus fatigatione eclyptica solem pati molestias non debere, lunam ab Oriente, solarem fulgorem uelis Æthiopicis obducentem, solere in occidua ora captare perfugia, tunc autem lucigenos thesauros caligines quas genuerant usque in Niliacos terminos, ut putauimus, proferentes recondere occidentes, praesertim cum luna deeset, et nec conuentus tempus propinquaret, aio ad te, peritiae uastae sacrarium, adhuc nescius tantae rei mysterium, Quid, inquam, speculum doctrinae, Apollophanie, his secretis ascribis? Ad quae mihi tu inquires, omnino diuino et non humani sensus sermone: Istae, bone Dionysi, diuinarum retributiones sunt rerum. ... Notatum, inquit, feriae diem et

qu' il s'y rendit à plusieurs reprises; des raisons sérieuses me font penser, qu'il s'y trouvait au moment où Hilduin y fut exilé.'

annum annuntiationi, quam Paulus noster auribus suspensis intonuit, signis acclamantibus, concordare expertus, dedi ueritati manus, et falsitatis sum nexibus absolutus.²⁵

25 CCCM lviB. 1381–1383 = PL cxx. 955–956. Note that Radbert signally failed to understand Hilduin's phrase *usque in iliacos terminos*, and reproduced it as *usque in Niliacos terminos*; by the same token, the *regulam Philippi Arridaei* was unfamiliar to him, and it was rendered as the nonsensical *philipplari Dei* (the latter error was emended by the CCCM editor, Bela Paulus, but not the former error *Niliacos* for *iliacos*).

The *Conscriptio Visbii*

Shortly after his restoration to the Frankish throne in 834, the emperor Louis the Pious wrote to Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, asking him to assemble and commit to writing whatever was known concerning St Dionysius, whether drawn from books written by Dionysius in Greek and translated (at Louis's command) into Latin by Hilduin, or contained in the 'little book of his martyrdom', or in 'a volume of ancient charters found in the book-chest of your church at Paris'.¹ In his lengthy reply to the emperor,² Hilduin set out in detail the sources on which his written response, the eventual prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, was to be based.³ Principal among these sources, particularly with respect to the activities of St Dionysius in Paris, where he had been sent to evangelize by Pope Clement, is a work referred to by Hilduin as the *Conscriptio Visbii*. According to Hilduin, this work had lain hidden in archives in Paris and had only (recently?) come to light through divine intervention; it was, in other words, one of the documents contained in the 'volume of ancient charters' referred to by Louis:

Praecipue tamen *Conscriptio Visbii*, quae in tomo satis superque abdito Parisius diuino est nutu inuenta, inter alia memoranda, sicut in ea legitis, uerba Domini nostri Iesu Christi ad eum prolata, quando sacra mysteria perageret illi cunctis uidentibus apparentis, continere dinoscitur.⁴

The *Conscriptio Visbii* is not cited by any early medieval author other than Hilduin, but it was clearly a crucial source for Hilduin's account of the saint.⁵ It

1 The letter of Louis the Pious [BHL 2172] is ed. as *Epistola* I (above, pp. 194–199) and by Ernst Dümmler in MGH, Epist. v, pp. 326–327; the reference to the charters – 'illa quae in tomo cartis uetustissimis armario Parisiacaec ecclesiae, sacrae uidelicet sedis suae, prolata' – is at p. 196 (Dümmler, p. 327).

2 Hilduin's *rescriptum* or 'reply' [BHL 2173] is ed. as *Epistola* II (above, pp. 200–221), and by Dümmler, MGH, Epist. v, pp. 328–335.

3 *Passio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2175], ed. above, pp. 232–303.

4 *Ep.* II. 5: 'Most of all, however, the *Conscriptio Visbii*, which lay buried in a volume in Paris and was only discovered by divine intervention, is known to contain, among other memorable details – as you may read in it – the words of our Lord Jesus Christ spoken to him [Dionysius], when He appeared to him in full view of everyone while he was celebrating mass'.

5 The *Conscriptio Visbii* [BHL 2183] is ed. M. Lapidge, 'Hilduin of Saint-Denis and the *Conscriptio*

apparently provided the inspiration for the following episodes in Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*: that when Dionysius arrived in Paris, he acquired from a distinguished local citizen named Lisbius an estate on which he was able to construct a baptistery (c. 21); this Christian activity caused the emperor Domitian to dispatch to Paris his prefect Fescenninus Sisinnius (c. 25); the prefect arrested Dionysius (with his companions Rusticus and Eleutherius) and brought them to trial (c. 26); during the trial Larcia, the wife of Lisbius, denounced her husband as a Christian, whereupon Lisbius was arrested and summarily executed (c. 27); Dionysius and his companions were cruelly tortured and then cast into prison, where, as Dionysius was celebrating mass, Jesus Christ Himself appeared with a host of angels, and completed the celebration, a terrible but wonderful spectacle which was witnessed by Larcia (c. 29); Dionysius was then beheaded, but his decapitated corpse carried his head from the place of execution to the eventual site of his tomb [i.e. Saint-Denis] two miles away (c. 32); Larcia witnessed this miracle as well, and immediately declared herself a Christian, whereupon she was arrested and executed, but her son Visbius (begotten with the aforementioned Lisbius) was taken to Rome and, following the death of Domitian, forced to serve in the army under three successive emperors, but when he eventually returned to Paris, he was baptized by Bishop Massus (the third successor of Dionysius) and relinquished all things of the world, including, presumably, any residual rights to the estate previously granted to Dionysius by his father Lisbius (c. 33).

The *Conscriptio Visbii*, Hilduin's source for these events, is a will or testament of some sort, supposedly made by Visbius on the occasion of his baptism, in which he renounces the world and the Devil in addition to all rights he might have through inheritance to properties formerly owned by his father Lisbius.⁶ Several features of the document suggest (or are meant to suggest)

Visbii, in *Amicorum Societas: Mélanges offerts à François Dolbeau pour son 65e anniversaire*, ed. J. Elfassi, C. Lanéry and A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk (Florence, 2013), pp. 409–416; the present edition includes collation of MS. W, which was unknown to me at the time the article was written. The *Conscriptio Visbii* has hitherto been known solely from the edition of Jean Morin, in his *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus* of 1665 (see below), which was reprinted by the Bollandists in *Acta ss.*, Octobris IV [1780], p. 706.

6 Neither the author of the *Conscriptio* nor Hilduin himself seems to have known that, according to Roman law, all property belonging to a condemned and executed criminal was forfeit to the emperor; that is to say, after Lisbius had been executed, his heirs, including Visbius, will have had no claim whatsoever on his property. For Roman law concerning the estates of condemned felons and traitors (*bona damnatorum*), see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602. A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey* (Oxford, 1964), p. 415, who

an imperial Roman context in the early second century A.D.: military service under three successive emperors following the murder of Domitian in 96 A.D. (that is, presumably, Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian, taking us into Hadrian's reign, 117–138 A.D.). The dates of Massus, the third bishop of Paris who supposedly baptized Visbius, are unknown.⁷

As far as I have been able to discover, there are four independent witnesses to the text of the *Conscriptio Visbii*:

A = Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 805 (721), consisting of 176 folios written in long lines in an octavo-sized volume (260 × 175 mm.), containing a collection of twenty-three saints Lives, written probably at Angers in the first half of the twelfth century. The *Conscriptio Visbii*, on fols. 107^v–108^r, follows immediately at the end of a truncated copy of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*.⁸

M = a copy of the text printed by Jean Morin [Iohannes Morinus] in his *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus* (Paris, 1665), pp. 39–40 [part II, cap. iv, para. iv]. Morin states that he found the *Conscriptio Visbii* in an ancient sacramentary dating from the time of Hilduin, or earlier ('in antiquo quodam sacramentario deprehendimus, cuius scriptio, aut aetati Hilduini aequalis est, aut maior'), to which a number of various items had been added, including the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] and the *Conscriptio Visbii*. Morin adds that the sacramentary now belongs to 'N. Vion Erovallis' who is 'in sacro regionum computorum Auditorio Rationalem' (p. 39), that is to say, Antoine Vyon, sieur d'Hérouval (d. 1689), who was the *auditeur des comptes* at the Chambre des comptes;⁹ as such, Vyon will have been responsible for the conservation of royal documents (the royal archive dated from at least the thirteenth century). He is known to have communicated the existence of numerous documents to scholars such as d'Achéry and Mabillon, and he was presumably acting in a similar capacity when he communicated the existence

points out that, as a rule, the *bona damnatorum* were assigned to the emperor; 'when, as often, the traitors were wealthy senators, the areas added to the imperial domains were vast.'

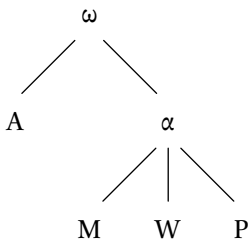
- 7 The earliest surviving list of the bishops of Paris is preserved in a sacramentary, now Paris, BNF lat. 2291 (s. ix/x), fol. 6^v, printed and discussed by L. Duchesne, *Les Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* (Paris, 1894–1915), II, pp. 460–470 [bishops of Paris], with reference to Massus at pp. 460, 463, and 465.
- 8 See J. Van der Straeten, *Les manuscrits hagiographiques d'Orléans, Tours et Angers*, Subsidia Hagiographica 64 (Brussels, 1982), p. 253.
- 9 On Vyon, see L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1868–1881), I, p. 324 and II, p. 234.

of the *Conscriptio Visbii* to Jean Morin. Vyon gave a number of manuscripts to the abbey of Saint-Germain, and these subsequently came to what is now the Bibliothèque nationale de France;¹⁰ unfortunately, the ancient sacramentary containing the *Conscriptio Visbii* does not appear to have been among them.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3851A, a manuscript consisting of 133 folios in large quarto format (280 × 195 mm.), containing twenty-five *passiones* and *vitae* of saints, written at Saint-Martial (Limoges) at some time during the tenth century. The *Conscriptio Visbii* is found on fol. 54^{r-v}, immediately following a copy of the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176].

W = St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q. v. I. 37 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés, s. x),¹¹ fols. 3^v–4^v. A manuscript consisting of a single quire of eight folios in an octavo-sized volume, measuring 180 × 125 mm. and written in long lines, containing the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176], the *Conscriptio Visbii*, and the rubric and beginning of canon XXXVII from the *Concilium Africanum* of 418 A.D. (PL lxvii. 194), which breaks off incomplete.

As can be seen from the *apparatus criticus* (below), the text of the *Conscriptio* is most sincerely represented by the Angers manuscript (A), which contains only one significant error of omission (c. 2, n. 766.24). The other three witnesses, M, P and W, frequently agree in error and clearly derive from one corrupt hyparchetype (α); individual errors in each, however, show that neither can be derived from the other.



10 See Delisle, *ibid.*, II, p. 45, who lists a number of hagiographical manuscripts among those belonging to Vyon which are now in the BNF, including lat. 11757, 11758, 11759 and 12600.

11 See A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du ve au XIIIe siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1910), I, pp. 217–218.

1. Quapropter ego Visbius, Lisbii filius, Christum Iesum credens, quem nobis praedicauit Dionysius Ionicus qui appellatur Macarius, Deum esse de spiritu sancto ex digna Maria, quae nunquam fuit aliter nisi uirgo, conceptum; et hominem sine ulla macula natum, et passum et mortuum pro hominum saluamento; qui resurrexit, et in caelo ad dexteram sui patris sedens, qui est Deus similiter uiuus, in omni loco usque dum ueniet ad iudicium, quando incipiet illud regnum, quod non habebit finem. Dono illi et tibi, bono ministro eius Masso presbytero, schopos omne postliminium meum cum illo quod est in urbanio huius.
- 5
- 10 2. Illi respuo, quod Dionysius Macarius a patre meo comparauit ad domum baptizalem faciendam, quia dicebat Deum Iesum in locato natum, et de eius pretio captiuorum sepulturam comparatam; et de matre mea Larcia remansit mihi, quae prodidit patrem meum (a Macario Dionysio Christianum (factum)) Fescennino Sisinnio; sed post nimias torturas, catastas et catenas, et
- 15 militum terniones, et bestias mansuefactas et clibana extincta, uideret in carcere Glaucini Dionysium Macarium dominicas celebrantem, lumen quod tale non uidit homo super omnes qui per illum crediderunt, cum in frangendo pane Iesum Dominum cum multitudine albatorum illi dedisse, et audisse dicentem: ‘Accipe hoc, care, munus, quod mox complebo tibi una cum patre meo, quoniam mecum est maxima merces tua, et omnibus qui audierint te, salus in regno meo. Nunc facies fortiter, et memoria tua erit in laude; dilectio autem et benignitas quam habes semper pro quibuscunque petierit, impetrabit.’ Et sic cum caesa ceruice uidisset caput suum illum cum luce grandi portare, clamauit se esse Christianam; et occisa est. Ego nam Romam ductus, Domitiano
- 20
- 25 euispillato, per tres caesares militaui.
3. Num quia mihi promittis, si ista desero et Iesu Deo milito cum Dionysio Macario et iustificatis Rustico et Eleutherio, et patre et matre, et omnibus qui diligentes Iesum Deum mortui sunt, illud regnum habeo, ubi mori non debeo

1 credens] *om. MPW* 2 Ionicus] Iconicus *W* 4 et] *ac MPW* 5 sedens] *om. MPW*
6 uiuus] *post uiuus add. MPW* sedens || loco] *post loco add. MPW* est 7 habebit] *habet*
MPW || finem] filium *P* || bono ministro] bonus minister *MPW* 11 locato] locatum *P* 12
comparatam] *om. P* 12–13 de ... mihi] remansit mihi de matre mea Larcia *MPW* 13–14
<factum>] *suppl. ed.* 15 mansuefactas] mansuetas *M*, mansueficas *PW* || extincta] *post*
extincta *add. M* cum 16 Dionysium Macarium] Macarium Dionysium *MPW* 18 Dominum]
deum *P* || cum] *om. W* || multitudine] multitudinem *W* 19 munus] meus *APW* 20
omnibus] his *P* || salus] solus *W* 23 caesa] cessa *P* || uidisset] uidisse *P* || luce grandi]
grandi luce *M* 24 nam] namque *MPW* || ductus] *om. A* 25 euispillato] eius pilato
MPW || militaui] militauit *P* 26 Num] nunc *P* 28 Deum] *om. MP* || habeo] ab eo *MW*

1. Wherefore I, Visbius, son of Lisbius, believing Jesus Christ, Whom Dionysius Ionicus who is called Macarius ['the Blessed'] proclaimed to us, to be God, conceived by the Holy Ghost from the worthy Mary, who was never anything but a virgin; and was born a man without any sin, and suffered and died for the salvation of men; Who arose again and, sitting in heaven at the right hand of His Father, Who likewise is the living God present everywhere until the time when He shall come in judgement, when that kingdom shall begin which shall have no end. I, as overseer (of this document), grant to Him and to you, the good servant Massus the priest, all my rights of entitlement together with that which lies in the banlieu of this city.

2. I renounce my rights to that which Dionysius Macarius purchased from my father in order to build a baptistery – because he said that the God Jesus was born in hired accommodation – and to acquire with the same purchase price a burial-place for captives; and it accrued to me from my mother Larcia, who betrayed my father (who was made a Christian by Dionysius 'the Blessed') to Fescenninus Sisinnius; but after the excessive tortures, public humiliations and enchainments [of St Dionysius], and the threefold relays of soldiers (beating him), and the wild beasts made amenable and ovens extinguished, when she saw Dionysius 'the Blessed' celebrating mass in the Prison of Glaucinus, (and saw) a light such as no mortal man ever saw shining over those who believed through him, when Dionysius was breaking bread she saw the Lord Jesus with a host of angels dressed in white, and she heard Him saying: 'Take this gift, my dear man, which I together with my Father shall soon make full for you, because your greatest reward is with me, and for all of those who will have listened to you – salvation in my kingdom. Now you shall act bravely, and you will be remembered in praise; for your love and the kindness which you possess shall always be effective on behalf of whomsoever it shall petition.' And thus, when [Larcia] saw him [Dionysius] carry his head in great light after he had been decapitated, she shouted out that she was a Christian; and she was executed. Having been taken to Rome, I served in the army under three emperors, once (the body of) Domitian had been carted off by lowly corpse-bearers.

3. If I abandon these things and take up arms for Jesus the God with Dionysius 'the Blessed', and with Rusticus and Eleutherius having been vindicated, and my father and mother as well, and all those who died loving Jesus, because you promise to me, do I have that kingdom from Him, where I do not have to

sed gloriam semper habere, et reges quibus militauit in poenis uidere cum illis
 qui non credunt? Et sic totum credo, et trado omnia mea ad uictum illis, qui
 sic esse credunt, et me alienum facio de hoc mundo, et trado me Iesu Deo, et
 nomen meum ad fontem baptizalem dono. Ego Visbius Christum Iesum cum
 5 patre et spiritu sancto unum Deum credo, et mundum et diaboli uoluntates
 abicio.

4 Christum Iesum] Jesum Christum *M* 5 et] *om. W* || uoluntates] uoluntatem *M*

die but to have honour forever, and to see those kings under whom I served in eternal punishments together with those who do not believe? And thus I fully believe, and hand over all my possessions for the feeding of those who believe in a similar way, and make myself alien in this world, and commit myself to Jesus the God, and consign my name to the baptismal font. I, Visbius, believe in Christ Jesus, One God with His Father and the Holy Ghost, and I reject the world and the desires of the Devil.

It is obvious that the *Conscriptio* cannot be a document of the early second century A.D., and must have been fabricated at some later time. Analysis of the unusual words in the text can help to throw light on when it was fabricated. I treat four such words in alphabetical order.

(1) *baptizalis* (adj.) [cc. 2, 3]. No such form is listed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, indicating that the word did not exist in antiquity. According to the electronic databases, a related nominative form *baptizalus* ('one who has been baptized') is attested in Rupert of Deutz and Pope Innocent III, but there is no recorded occurrence of the adjective *baptizalis* in these sources: unsurprisingly, perhaps, because the correct procedure for forming a denominative adjective in *-alis* would be to combine the ending with a noun. Hence *baptismalis* is a well attested derivative of *baptismum*. But *baptizalis* is otherwise unattested, because **baptizus* is not a recorded noun.¹² If it was the author of the *Conscriptio Visbii* who coined the form *baptizalis*, he had a poor understanding of the principles of Latin word-formation.

(2) *euispillatum* (p.p.) [c. 2]. From the context in which the word is used here – the funeral of the emperor Domitian – it is clear that it is a coinage based on *vispillo*, *-onis*, a 'corpse-bearer who carried out the bodies of the poor at night' (thus Lewis & Short). With respect to Domitian, the word occurs in a passage of Suetonius, *Vita Domitiani*, c. 17. 3 ('cadaver eius populari sandapila per *vispillones* exportatum Phillis nutrix ... funeravit'); and Orosius adapted the sentence of Suetonius in his *Historiae adversum paganos*: 'continuo tamen Domitianus crudeliter in Palatio a suis interfectus est: cuius cadaver populari sandapila per *vispillones* exportatum atque ignominiosissime sepultum est' (vii. 10. 7). From these passages, it is clear that the form *euispillatum*, p.p. of a verb *euispillare*, was coined from *e(x) + uispill(o) + -are*, meaning 'to take out by the agency of *vispillones*'. The only recorded occurrence of the form *euispillatum* is in a glossary referred to by Georg Goetz in the index to his *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*. In fact the reference is to a small number of glossary entries added c. 1100 to a copy of the *Philoxenus Glossary* in Paris, BNF, lat. 7651; the relevant entry is found on fol. 218^v:

uispillones. cadauerum curatores. Vnde et *euispillatum* Domitianum imperatorem legimus, id est a popularibus curatum atque in uili sepul-

12 On the formation of adjectives in *-alis*, see Leumann, in *LHS* I, pp. 350–351, and Stotz, *Handbuch*, II, pp. 335–338.

chro, non in imperiali, sepultum. Dicti uispilliones quasi uixpelliones, eo quod tantae sunt inopiae uel qui curant uel quorum corpora curantur, ut uix pelles ad tegendum ualeant inuenire.¹³

It is not known where or when these glossary entries originated, but it may be worth noting that one other entry – the rare adjective *bithalassum* ('between two seas') – is used by Hilduin in his *Passio S. Dionysii* (c. 2). Since Hilduin also uses the word *euispillatum* in the same work (c. 33), presumably taken from the *Conscriptio Visbii*, there is arguably a link between Hilduin and the glosses added to the copy of the *Philoxenus Glossary* in BNF lat. 7651; but whether Hilduin drew on the glosses in an antecedent form, or the compiler of the glosses drew on Hilduin, remains to be determined.

(3) *saluamentum* (n.) [c. 1]. According to the electronic databases, the earliest attestation of this word is in Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita S. Albini*, c. 9.¹⁴ What is striking, however, is that the word is very commonly found in Frankish capitularies of the ninth century, as in the following promulgation from a capitulary issued by the emperors Lothar, Louis (the German) and Charles (the Bald) at Meerssen in the summer of 851: 'secundum Dei voluntatem et commune *saluamentum*',¹⁵ and in another issued at Savonnière on 3 Nov. 862: 'necessaria erant et in sancta Dei ecclesia et in nostro ac populi *saluamento*',¹⁶ The use of the word in the *Conscriptio Visbii* is consonant with an early ninth-century origin for the text: an origin contemporary, that is, with the lifetime of Hilduin.

(4) *schopos* (n.) [c. 1]: a loanword, apparently, from Greek σκοπός (in spite of the Latin spelling with *sch-*, there is no such Greek word as *σκοπός) meaning 'one who watches', 'looks after things', 'overseer', and, in a military context, 'scout'. Here it is used in the nom. sg. and refers to the role of Visbius in overseeing the grant of his inheritance to Bishop Massus and the Church.

The philological evidence raises several important questions, notably the question of whether it was Hilduin himself who fabricated the *Conscriptio Visbii*. Further light on this question emerges from the ways in which Hilduin him-

13 G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1888–1923), II, pp. xii–xiii.

14 MGH, AA iv/2. 30: 'ut beata unius actio generale fieret saluamentum'.

15 MGH, Capitularia II [1897], p. 73.

16 Ibid. p. 160 [no. 243]; for other occurrences of *saluamentum* in ninth-century capitularies, cf. ibid. pp. 293–295 [no. 268: A.D. 857], 298–299 [no. 270: A.D. 860], and pp. 301, 313 (*bis*), 329 (*bis*), 357 (*ter*), etc.

self understood the *Conscriptio*, as he laid it under contribution in his *Passio S. Dionysii*. There are many extremely obscure expressions in the brief compass of the *Conscriptio Visbii*, yet Hilduin seems to have had an uncanny sense in grasping the meaning of these expressions. For example, the cryptic statement in c. 2 of the *Conscriptio*, to the effect that Dionysius had purchased an estate from Lisbius in order to construct a baptistery – ‘because he said that the God Jesus was born in hired accommodation’ (*quia dicebat Deum Iesum in locato natum*). In the *Conscriptio*, the logic of this statement is utterly obscure. Yet when Hilduin in his prose *Passio S. Dionysii* recounted the conversation between Lisbius and Dionysius, basing himself on the *Conscriptio*, he was able to tease out the logic of Dionysius’s obscure reply, and to construct an interchange between the martyr and Lisbius to the effect that, first, Dionysius offered to buy the land from Lisbius, a distinguished citizen (*uirum honoratissimum*) of Paris; to which Lisbius stated that he could have the land for free. Dionysius replied that the business was not to be transacted in this way, because Jesus Christ, ‘even though He had created the world, was born in a hired inn’ (the reference being to Luc. ii. 7): ‘cum ipse fecerit mundum, in locato est diuersorio natus’ (*Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 21). In other words, if at His birth even Jesus could pay for His own accommodation, Dionysius could do likewise. How Hilduin was able to construct so coherent a narrative from so cryptic a remark in the *Conscriptio* is not obvious, unless he derived his inward understanding of the text from the fact that he had composed it himself. By the same token, the author of the *Conscriptio* listed all the tortures suffered by Dionysius at the hands of the prefect Fescenninus Sisinnius: ‘post nimias torturas, catastas et catenas, et militum terniones’ (c. 2), etc. What are these *militum terniones*? According to the electronic databases (recall that most Medieval Latin dictionaries, and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* itself, have not reached as far as the letter *t* in the alphabet), there is no occurrence of the phrase *militum terniones* earlier than Hilduin. Yet Hilduin was evidently able to divine the meaning of this obscure phrase as it occurs in the *Conscriptio*, because he went on to describe the tortures undergone by Dionysius in his *Passio S. Dionysii* as follows: ‘Dionysius expoliatur, et toto corpore nudus, a ternis militum ternionibus uicissim flagellatur’ (c. 27). That is to say, Dionysius was alternately flogged by three relays of three soldiers each (the *terniones* of the *Conscriptio*), implying, presumably, that when one relay of three (*ternio*) became exhausted with the flogging, another was rested up and ready to take its place. But how was Hilduin able to tease out this meaning from the obscure and previously unattested phrase *militum terniones*? Once again, the simplest explanation would be that it was Hilduin himself who composed – one should rather say ‘fabricated’ – the *Conscriptio Visbii*, and this hypothesis would square with the

ninth-century date implied by the vocabulary of the *Conscriptio*, particularly the use of terms such as *euispillatum* and *saluamentum*. (Indeed, were it not for the fact that in his *rescriptum* to the emperor Louis Hilduin had explicitly stated that the *Conscriptio Visbii* was one of the sources for his *Passio S. Dionysii*, it would be easier to believe that the *Conscriptio* was confected from the *Passio*, rather than *vice versa*.) In the brief span of its three paragraphs, therefore, the *Conscriptio Visbii* poses interesting, but as yet insoluble, historical questions relating to Hilduin and to the development of the cult of St Dionysius in ninth-century Paris.

Two Latin Hymns for St Dionysius

In his letter to the Emperor Louis the Pious concerning his projected *Pas-sio S. Dionysii* (*Ep.* II: above, pp. 200–221), Hilduin set out at length the evidence for the identity of Dionysius, bishop of Paris, with Dionysius the Areopagite, bishop of Athens. Among the evidence which he adduced are two Latin hymns, one of which he attributed to Eugenius, the seventh-century bishop of Toledo (d. 657), the other to Venantius Fortunatus (d. c. 600), the sixth-century bishop of Poitiers who was one of the last great Roman poets. Concerning the first of these hymns, that attributed to Eugenius, Hilduin wrote (*Ep.* II, c. 7):

Nec mirari quis poterit, cur ymnum sancti Eugenii Toletani de beato Dionysio habeamus, et uicinorum sapientium scriptis, exceptis paucis, uideamur carere: cum et haec quae habemus, ut exorata priorum nostrorum uenia dicamus, abdita et neglegenter relicta repererimus, et alia necdum propalata, quia non adhuc sunt ad liquidum enucleata, nos possidere laetemur.¹

Later in the same letter, while discussing Gregory of Tours, Hilduin mentions that Gregory's contemporary, Venantius Fortunatus, composed a hymn to St Dionysius, in which he mentioned that Dionysius was sent to evangelize in Gaul by Pope Clement; unsurprisingly, Venantius says nothing concerning Dionysius's Athenian origins, given that he was ignorant of Greek (*Ep.* II, c. 12):

Patenter et quidem noscere possumus, non adeo quaedam sollerter eum inuestigasse, cum ei [*scil.* Gregorio Turonensi] contemporalis existens uir prudens et scolasticissimus Fortunatus, qui plura et frequenter ad eundem scripserat, ymnum rithmicae compositionis pulcherrimum de isto gloriosissimo martyre composuerit, in quo commemorat eum a beato

1 Above, p. 208: 'Nor could anyone wonder why we have a hymn concerning St Dionysius by Eugenius of Toledo, and yet we seem to lack writings of contemporary scholars, with few exceptions; since we found the ones we do have – if I may say this with the express permission of our predecessors – lying hidden and negligently abandoned, and rejoice in possessing others not yet published, since they have not yet been interpreted with certainty.'

Clemente huc destinatum, sicut in Latinorum paginis didicit: de natione autem eius et ordinatione episcopatus mentionem non facit, quia linguae Graecae penitus expers fuit.²

The two hymns in question throw interesting light on Hilduin's role in the establishment of the cult of St Dionysius, and deserve to be reprinted.

Both hymns are composed in the quantitative iambic dimeter popularized by Ambrose of Milan (d. 397) and therefore commonly described as 'Ambrosian'. Some eighteen hymns are known to have been composed by Ambrose (and various other 'Ambrosian' hymns are associated with his name).³ The genuine hymns of Ambrose consist of (usually) eight four-line stanzas; each line consists of four feet of (quantitative) iambic dimeter, in which the first and third feet may be either iambs (˘ –) or spondees (– –); the second and fourth feet, however, must both be iambs (˘ –). As usual in quantitative Latin verse, elision is common, but hiatus between vowels is not permitted, and a naturally short final vowel may be lengthened *in arsi*, that is, when placed in a position requiring a long syllable (in the second or fourth foot).⁴ By way of example I quote two four-line stanzas from Ambrose's hymn for the lighting of candles (what would subsequently become known as Vespers), with long and short syllables marked, including those which are lengthened by position (that is, by being in a syllable which is 'closed' by being followed by two consonants):⁵

1. Dēūs, crēātōr ōmniūm
pōlīquē rēctōr uēstīēns

2 Above, p. 216: 'And indeed I can recognize that he [Gregory of Tours] did not particularly skilfully investigate certain things, since a sensible and very scholarly contemporary of his, Fortunatus – who had often corresponded with him – composed an elegant hymn in rhythmic verse concerning this glorious martyr, in which he records that Dionysius was sent here by St Clement, as he had learned from the pages of Latin books: but he makes no mention of his nationality and ordination to the episcopacy, because he was wholly ignorant of Greek.'

3 *Ambrogio: Inni*, ed. M. Simonetti (Florence, 1988), who prints the eighteen genuine hymns of Ambrose (pp. 22–94), as well as a further eighteen 'Ambrosian' hymns (pp. 96–166), which may or may not be genuine. There is also a compendious edition, with verbose commentary, of the eighteen genuine hymns of Ambrose by J. Fontaine and J.-L. Charlet, *Ambroise de Milan: Hymnes* (Paris, 1992).

4 See P. Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre* (Darmstadt, 1972), pp. 8–16.

5 *ICL* 3544. We know that this hymn is genuine because Augustine quotes the same two stanzas as quoted here in his *Confessiones* (ix. 12) and describes them as 'ueridicos uersus Ambrosii' (CCSL xxvii. 151).

dīēm dēcōrō lūmīnē
nōctēm sōpōrīs grātīā,

2. ārtūs sōlūtōs ūt quīēs
rēddāt lābōrīs ūsū
mēntēsquē fēssās āllēuēt
lūctūsquē sōluāt ānxīōs ...⁶

Note that, in these two stanzas, there is no exception to the requirement that the second and fourth feet of each iambic dimeter line be an iamb (˘ –), and no example of hiatus. We shall see how these conventions are observed in the iambic dimeter hymns attributed by Hilduin to Eugenius and Venantius Fortunatus.

**a The Hymn ‘Caeli ciues adplaudite’ Attributed to Eugenius of Toledo
(d. 657)**

The hymn attributed to Eugenius is that beginning ‘Caeli ciues applaudite’.⁷ This attribution is confirmed by *tituli* in the earliest surviving witnesses to the text (MSS. C, D and F: see *app. crit.* below). The wording of the hymn – esp. lines 4, 8, and 31–32 – indicates clearly that it was intended for recitation on the feast-day of St Dionysius (9 Oct.). The hymn is preserved in a large number of manuscripts, many of them manuscript hymnals:⁸

6 *Ambrogio: Inni*, ed. Simonetti, p. 34: ‘O God, Creator of all things and Ruler of Heaven, Who clothe the day with beautiful light and the night with the bounty of sleep, so that peace may return exhausted limbs to the demands of work, and may relieve tired minds and dissolve anxious cares ...’

7 *ICL* 1789; see also U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1892–1921), no. 3473.

8 See J. Mearns, *Early Latin Hymnaries: An Index of Hymns in Hymnaries before 1100* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 19 and 94. In the two manuscripts listed by Mearns (Cambridge, Jesus College, 21 [Q. B. 4] (s. xiii), fol. 91^r, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud lat. 5 (Guisborough, s. xiii), fol. 198^v), the first line of the hymn (‘Caeli ciues adplaudite’) has been recycled in order to append an entirely new hymn now dedicated to St Augustine of Hippo: ‘Celi ciues applaudite / et uos fratres concinite / patris nostri solempnia / solis reduxit orbita’; the revised hymn ends ‘ut Augustini meritis / celi fruamur gaudiis’. Chevalier listed a number of hymns in which a similar adaptation has occurred, resulting in hymns dedicated to various saints such as Idda, Scholastica, Marcellus, Joachim and Margarita (*Repertorium Hymnologicum*, nos. 24727–24731); Chevalier’s list does not, however, include the present adaptation to St Augustine.

- A Paris, BNF, lat. 103 (Saint-Denis, s. x/xi),⁹ fols. 160^v–161^r
 B Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 455 (s. x¹),¹⁰ fol. 7^r
 C Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, 44 (34) (Saint-Père [Chartres], s. xi¹),¹¹ fol. 2^r
 D Paris, BNF, lat. 2832 (Lyon or Saint-Oyan, s. ix^{med}),¹² fol. 111^{r-v}
 E Paris, BNF, lat. 11550 (Saint-Germain, s. xi), fol. 277^{r-v}
 F Paris, BNF, lat. 11751 (Saint-Germain, s. xi^{med}), fol. 30^{r-v}
 G Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 1186, fols. 196–221 (Saint-Denis, s. xi),¹³ fol. 216^{r-v}
 L Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17030 (Schäftlarn, A.D. 1320),¹⁴ fols. 365^v–366^r
 M Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14843 (Toul, s. ix^{med}),¹⁵ fol. 102^{r-v}

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- 9 See V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1940–1941), II, pp. 30–32 [no. 274], and Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 376–377. The hymn is contained within the hymnal preserved on fols. 142–166 of this MS.
- 10 The hymn is ptd from this MS by H. Hagen, *Carmina Medii Aevi maximam partem inedita ex bibliothecis Helveticis collecta* (Bern, 1877), pp. 56–57.
- 11 See Y. Delaporte, 'Les manuscrits de chant liturgique de la Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres', in *Les principaux manuscrits de chant*, ed. J. Gajard, Paléographie musicale 17 (Solesmes, 1958), p. 21, with pl. of fol. 2^r in Cahier 1 (the main body of the manuscript is dated s. x; this and the following hymn are additions of s. xi¹). On the MS., see also Y. Delaporte, *Les manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres* (Chartres, 1929), p. 12.
- 12 The manuscript is a florilegium associated with Florus of Lyon, and containing *inter alia* poems by Florus of Lyon and Wandelbert of Prüm; see L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols. and 1 vol. of plates (Paris, 1868–1881), III, p. 260 and pl. xxviii (2–3); S. Tafel, 'Die vorderer, bisher verloren geglaubte Hälfte des Vossianischen Ausonius-Kodex', *Rheinisches Museum* 69 (1914), 630–641, at 631, and idem, 'The Lyons Scriptorium', in *Palaeographia Latina*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 6 vols. (St Andrews, 1922–1929), IV [1925], pp. 40–70, at 49–51; and Bischoff, *Katalog* III, no. 4240.
- 13 See C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1893–1896), I, pp. 548–553, and Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 403–405. Sainte-Geneviève 1186 is a composite manuscript, both parts of which are from Saint-Denis: Part I (fols. 15–181) is a psalter (s. x), Part II (fols. 196–221) is a hymnal.
- 14 Clm 17030 is a huge breviary (440 fols.) from the Premonstratensian house of Schäftlarn; St Dionysius was its patron saint. See B. Hernad, *Die gotischen Handschriften deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 1: *Vom späten 13. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 5 (Wiesbaden, 2000), p. 63 [no. 99], with pls. 195–197.
- 15 See Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, no. 3272.

- N Namur, Bibliothèque communale, 15 (Saint-Hubert, s. xiiiⁱⁿ)¹⁶
 S Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II, IV. G. 68 (St Gallen, s. ix ex.),¹⁷ fol. 207^v [st. 1 only]

In addition to editions based on individual manuscripts noted above (MSS. B and N), the hymn has been edited on several occasions: by Jacques Doublet in 1625;¹⁸ by Pierre Halloix in 1633;¹⁹ by Hermann Adalbert Daniel in 1855 (who simply reprinted the edition of Halloix);²⁰ by Guido Maria Drèves in 1895;²¹ and by Friedrich Vollmer in 1905.²²

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- 16 In this MS. the hymn is preserved as c. 12 of the *Passio S. Eugenii* [BHL 2686]. On the MS., see [Bollandists], 'Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Publicae Civitatis Namurcensis', AB 1 (1882), 485–530, at 494–503; the hymn is ptd from this MS. in 'Appendix ad Catalogum Codd. Hagiog. Civit. Namurcensis editum', AB 2 (1883), 130–160, at 135. For discussion of this text (and the hymn to St Eugenius), see J. Dubois, 'Saint Eugène de Deuil: sa personnalité et son culte', RB 70 (1960), 83–100 (with discussion of the hymn at pp. 89–91), and esp. B. de Gaiffier, 'La légende de S. Eugène de Tolède martyr à Deuil près de Paris', AB 83 (1965), 329–349 (with discussion of the hymn at pp. 333–340). From these discussions it is clear that the *Passio S. Eugenii* dates from a period later than the composition of both the 'anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*' [BHL 2178] and of Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*.
- 17 See D. Schaller, 'Frühmittelalterliche lateinische Dichtung in einer ehemals St. Galler Handschrift', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 93 (1964–1965), 272–291, at 275; E. Jammers, 'Rhythmen und Hymnen in einer St. Galler Handschrift des 9. Jahrhunderts', in *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Ruhnke (Kassel, 1967), pp. 134–142 [with pl. illustrating fol. 207^v]; and Bischoff, *Katalog*, I, no. 3574.
- 18 J. Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de S. Denys en France*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1625), I, p. 437. Doublet claimed to have taken his text of this hymn (and also of the following hymn by Venantius, 'Fortem fidelem militem') from a lavish manuscript at Saint-Denis itself, written in gold on purple parchment: 'T'ay fait mention cy-dessus d'un tres-beau manuscrit qui est en l'Abbaye de S. Denys, dans lequel est escrit l'Hymne composé par S. Eugene ...' (ibid. p. 76). No such manuscript survives; the fact that it included both hymns to St Dionysius (by Eugenius and by Venantius) indicates fairly clearly that it dated from no earlier than Hilduin's abbacy, insofar as the inclusion of the two hymns was determined by Hilduin's letter to Louis the Pious (*Ep.* II, above, pp. 200–221).
- 19 P. Halloix, *Illustrium ecclesiae orientalis scriptorum vitae et documenta*, 2 vols. (Douai, 1633), I, p. 277; concerning the manuscript, Halloix wrote: 'Istum hymnum depromptum e sacro Dionysiani coenobii armario hic proferimus': that is to say, he found the (lost) manuscript from which he quoted the hymn in the library of Saint-Denis itself.
- 20 H.A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, 5 vols. (Leipzig, 1855–1856), I, p. 352 [*inter Addenda*].
- 21 *Analecta Hymnica* xix. 119–120 [no. 192], on the basis of five witnesses: my MSS. B, D, L and M, and a breviary printed at Lyon in 1521.
- 22 MGH, AA xiv. 282 [no. LII], on the basis of five witnesses: my MSS. A, B, D, M, and N.

- 1 Caeli ciues adplaudite
mundi iocundo lumini,
quo inlustratur caelitus
huius diei gratia. 4
- 2 Praecelsa fides martyrīs
sacrique uita antistitis
Dionysii nobilis
hodie palmam suscipit. 8
- 3 Areopago Athenae
regis sumpsit diadema
caelestis gemmam fulgidam,
Dionysium sophistam. 12
- 4 Paulo docente speculum
habet fides fidelium,
et spiculum gentilitas
quem ante murum nouerat. 16
- 5 Miro clarescens dogmate
inluminauit Graeciam;
et inclitus hinc pontifex
urbem Romanam adiit. 20
- 6 Clemente Romae praesule
iubente uenit Galliam,
cui iubar solis splendidi
inluxit signis, fame. 24

[witnesses: A B C D E F L M N and Doublet and Halloix] *titulus*: IN NATALE SANCTI DIONYSII
A; VERSVS DE SANCTO DIONISIO B; HYMNVS SANCTI EVGENII EPISCOPI DE BEATO DY-
NISIO C; YMNVS EVGENII EPISCOPI DE SANCTO DIONISIO D; HYMNVS IN NATALE SANCTI
DIONYSII E; YMNVS SANCTI EVGENII TOLETANI EPISCOPI DE SANCTO DYONISIO COMPO-
SITVS RITMICE F; *titulum om. BLMNS Doublet, Halloix* 2 lumini] lumine DELS 3 inlustratur]
inlustratus Doublet 4 huius diei] diei huius B 8 hodie] caelitus N 9 Areopago] ariopago
ABCEFLM; Athenae] ecclesia Halloix 10 regis] regi M 11 gemmam fulgidam] gemma fulgida
L, grammam fulgidam D 12 Dionysium sophistam] Dionysius sophista L; sophistam] soffistam
M 16 quem] que M; nouerat] uouerat M 17 Miro] miror M 18 Graeciam] gratia M 19
hinc] hunc M, hic AEN 20 urbem Romanam] orbem romam M 21 Romae] omne M 23
splendidi] splendidum L, splendide M

- 1 Citizens of heaven, praise the joyous light of the world, by which the distinction of this day is illumined from on high [4].
- 2 The heavenly belief of the martyr and the life of the sacred bishop, noble Dionysius, today receives the palm [of martyrdom] [8].
- 3 The crown of the Heavenly King took from the Areopagus of Athens a shining jewel, Dionysius the scholar [12].
- 4 (In him) the faith of the faithful acquires a mirror through the teaching of Paul, and paganism (acquires) an arrow, which it formerly had known as a fortress [16].
- 5 Shining with wondrous learning he illuminated Greece; and the distinguished bishop went from there to the city of Rome [20].
- 6 At the command of Pope Clement he came to Gaul, on which the brilliance of this shining sun shone with miracles (and) preaching [24].

- 7 Tandem repulso daemone,
constructo sacro opere,
poenis affectus maximis
† caesa ceruice caelum petit.† 28
- 8 Aue, pater, scandens polum,
aue, pie uisens solum,
annua festi munera
tua sacrans praesentia. 32
- 9 Offer, sacerdos optime,
gemitus nostros et preces;
firma fidem, martyr Dei,
moresque nostros corrige. 36
- 10 Ope gubernata fragiles
in mundi huius pelago
atque exutos corpore
pie benignus suscipe, 40
- 11 quo sine fine gloriam
Deo patri cum filio
una cum sancto spiritu
tecum canamus perpetim. 44

26 constructo] constructus *M* 27 affectus] affectis *M* 28 petit] petiit *AEFMN*, adit *Halloix*;
caelum petit] capitis *L* 30 uisens solum] Christe praesul *N* 31 festi] festa *M* 32 sacrans]
sacra *M*, sacrabis *N* 33 Offer] Audi *L* 35 fidem] fide *M* 37 Ope] Christe *LM* 40 benignus]
benigne *L* 41 gloriam] gloria *BLM* 42 cum] et *L* 43 una cum sancto spiritu] sancto simul
paraclito *E* 44 tecum canamus perpetim] in sempiterna saecula *L*

- 7 Having at length expelled the Devil by having constructed a sacred church, afflicted by the greatest of tortures he seeks heaven, his neck having been severed [28].
- 8 Hail, father, ascending the skies, hail, (you who are) kindly surveying the earth, consecrating the annual bounties of this feast-day with your presence [32].
- 9 Assist, O best of bishops, our laments and prayers; strengthen our faith, O martyr of God, and correct our behaviour [36].
- 10 Guide, through your assistance, us weaklings on the ocean of this world, and, when we have shed our bodies, receive us kindly [40],
- 11 where, (joined) with you without end, we may perpetually sing praises to God the Father with the Son together with the Holy Spirit [44].

Commentary

titulus note that the *titulus* in F repeats the wording of Hilduin's *epistola* to Louis the Pious ('ymnum rithmicae compositionis pulcherrimum de isto gloriosissimo martyre composuerit': above, p. 216).

1–2 For the construction of *applaudo* with the dative, see *TLL* II, col. 295.

9 *Areopago Athenae*: the identification of the bishop of Paris with Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned in Act. xvii. 34, later bishop of Athens (see lines 17–18), is not attested before the early ninth century, in the 'anonymous *passio*' of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2178] (above, Appendix II, p. 682), and in Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, cc. 6–8 (above, pp. 240–245).

21 The virtually identical line is found in the (chronologically earlier) hymn attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, line 5: 'Clemente Roma praesule' (below, p. 788).

28 The line as transmitted will not scan (it has nine syllables, and in those MSS. which read *petiit*, ten). In the version ptd by Pierre Halloix (*Illustrium ecclesiae orientalis ... vitae et documenta*, I, p. 277) the problem was solved by reading *adit* in lieu of *petit*, with the *a-* of *adit* being absorbed through elision (ecthlipsis). Drèves argued that this solution is improbable (*AH* xix. 119) because there is no other example of elision in the poem ('allein der Hymnus kennt sonst keine Elision'); but Drèves' statement is belied by line 6: 'sacrique uit(a) antistitis'. The version of the line preserved in MS. L (*caesa ceruice capitis*) at least has the merit of tolerable scansion, particularly if the first two words were transposed to read *ceruice caesa capitis*. Cf. also the hymn attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, line 24: 'ceruice caesa prodidit' (below, p. 788).

Judged by the standard of the genuine Ambrosian hymns, the poet's handling of the iambic dimeter line in this hymn is execrable. The one occurrence of elision (line 6: *uit(a) antistitis*) is offset by four glaring examples of hiatus: *Areopago* | *Athenae* (9), *quem* | *ante* (16), *sacro* | *opere* (26) and *atque* | *exutos* (39). The poet took no care to place the requisite iamb in the second foot of each dimeter, allowing spondees on thirteen occasions: *inlūstrātur* (3), *uīt(a) āntistitis* (6), *hodiē pālmam* (8), *sūmpsīt* (10), *caelestīs gēmmam* (11), *clārēscens* (17), *Rōmānam* (20), *iubār sōlis* (23), *illuxīt sīgnis* (24), *āffēctus* (27), *gemītūs nōstros* (34), *ēxūtos* (39), and *cūm sāncto* (43). He made a greater effort to place iambs in the final (fourth) foot of the dimeter line, but even here mistakenly placed

a spondee in line 12 (*sophīstām*). It is the sort of performance which one normally encounters in Medieval Latin poets attempting to compose quantitative verse, without properly understanding the conventions.

Partly because of the metrical infelicities,²³ and partly because of the poet's identification of Dionysius of Paris with Dionysius the Areopagite (line 9), scholars have long doubted the attribution of the hymn to Eugenius of Toledo, and have suggested instead that the hymn was redacted (or entirely composed) at Saint-Denis in the ninth century, perhaps by Hilduin himself.²⁴ If the hymn were redacted in the early ninth century, it is permissible to think that the first two stanzas – which contain no metrical faults and contain one example of elision – remain from an original (seventh-century) hymn by Eugenius, but that the remaining stanzas, containing reference to Athens and Pope Clement, are the work of a ninth-century redactor.

b The Hymn 'Fortem fidelem militem' Attributed to Venantius Fortunatus

The second of the hymns referred to by Hilduin in his letter to the Emperor is that attributed to Venantius Fortunatus (inc. 'Fortem fidelem militem').²⁵ This hymn is not preserved in manuscripts of the eleven-book collection of Venantius' verse (notably that in Paris, BNF, lat. 13048); in fact Hilduin is the earliest source to attribute the hymn to Venantius. All the manuscripts which preserve the hymn are liturgical (hence none of them contains an ascription of authorship), including several hymnals,²⁶ and all date from later than Hilduin's correspondence with Louis the Pious. The few manuscripts in question are as follows:

23 Cf. the comment by Vollmer: 'hymnum LII iam saeculo IXo Eugeni esse credebant, id quod comprobatur et titulus in P [*scil.* BNF lat. 2832] et testimonium Hildwini; tamen ars metrica quam acerrime huic arbitrio refragatur' (MGH, AA xiv, p. xlvi).

24 In *ICL* 1789 the hymn bears the hesitant attribution: 'Hilduinus de S. Dionysio?'; cf. the comment by Drèves: 'Wahrscheinlich stammt das Lied aus der Schmiede von St Denis und vielleicht hätte Hilduin den Verfasser nennen können, wenn dies ihm gepaßt hätte' (*AH* xix. 119), and the arguments by Gabriel Théry, 'Contribution à l'histoire de l'aréopagisme au IXe siècle', *Le moyen âge* 34 (1923), 111–153, at 119–123.

25 Listed *ICL* 5307, and Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, no. 6468.

26 See Mearns, *Early Latin Hymnaries*, p. 35.

- A Paris, BNF, lat. 103 (Saint-Denis, s. x/xi),²⁷ fol. 161^r
 C Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, 44 (34) (Saint-Père [Chartres], s. xi¹),²⁸ fol. 2^{r-v}
 F Paris, BNF, lat. 11751 (Saint-Germain, s. xi^{med}), fols. 29^v–30^r
 O Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. liturg. 192 (Saint-Denis, s. xiv^{med}) [S.C. 19309],²⁹ fol. 463^r
 R Paris, BNF, lat. 1327 (?Rheims, s. xi),³⁰ fol. 77^v

The earliest printed edition of the hymn is that of Jacques Doublet, in his early seventeenth-century history of the abbey of Saint-Denis;³¹ as in the case of the previous hymn ('Caeli ciues applaudite'), Doublet claimed to have found it at Saint-Denis in a lavish manuscript written in gold letters on purple parchment, but this manuscript has not survived. The hymn was subsequently printed by Cardinal Lorenzo Cozza in 1702; but Cozza unfortunately omitted to indicate where he had found the text.³² Later in the same century, the hymn was printed by Michelangelo Luchi in his two-volume edition of the works of Venantius Fortunatus;³³ although Luchi does not indicate a manuscript source, collation suggests strongly that he simply reprinted the hymn from Cozza's earlier work. In the mid-nineteenth century, Hermann Adalbert Daniel included the hymn in his *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, having taken his text from Luchi (based in turn on that of Cozza).³⁴ Luchi's text was again reprinted by Friedrich Leo in 1881, in the MGH edition of Venantius Fortunatus (Leo apparently made no attempt to

27 See Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins*, II, pp. 30–32 [no. 274], as cited above, n. 9. The hymn is contained within the hymnal preserved on fols. 142–166 of this MS.

28 See above, n. 11.

29 See O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, I. German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools* (Oxford, 1966), p. 47 [no. 602], and cf. A. Wilmart, 'Les anniversaires célébrés à Saint-Denis au milieu du XI^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon* 14 (1924), 22–31.

30 See Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins*, II, p. 73 [no. 317]. The hymnal in this MS., on fols. 66–83, is written in Tironian notes: see E. Chatelain, *Introduction à la lecture des notes tironiennes* (Paris, 1900), p. 224 and pl. XI.

31 Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de S. Denys en France*, I, p. 438; on the lost MS source, see above, n. 18.

32 L. Cozza, *Vindiciae Areopagiticae* (Rome, 1702), pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

33 M. Luchi, *Venantius Fortunatus: Opera omnia quae exstant*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1786), I, pp. 49–50, where the hymn is printed as part of Book II of Venantius' poems (no. X). Luchi's text of Venantius Fortunatus was reprinted entire in PL LXXXVIII. 59–592 (with 'Fortem fidelem militem' at cols. 98–99).

34 Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, IV, pp. 107–108.

identify a manuscript source for the hymn); but unlike Luchi, who had printed the hymn among the genuine works of Venantius, Leo – without providing any argument whatsoever – relegated the hymn to an Appendix of Venantius ‘Spuria’.³⁵ Finally, in 1908 the hymn was edited by Drèves in *Analecta Hymnica*, from four witnesses (my MSS. A, C, and O, and a breviary printed in Paris, in 1550).³⁶

35 MGH, AA iv/1. 383–384.

36 *Analecta Hymnica* li. 176–177 [no. 152].

- 1 Fortem fidelem militem,
caeli secutum principem,
Dionysium martyrem
plebs corde, uoce personet! 4
- 2 Clemente Roma praesule
ab urbe missus adfuit,
uerbi superni seminis
ut fructus esset Galliae. 8
- 3 Opus sacratum construit,
fidem docet baptismatis,
sed audientum caecitas
munus repellit luminis. 12
- 4 Instante sancto antistite
errore plebem soluere
dum spem salutis ingerit,
tormenta mortis incidit. 16
- 5 Tenetur a gentilibus
Christi placens altaribus,
amore tantae gloriae
poenas libenter excipit. 20
- 6 Vnum quod illi defuit,
pro rege colla tradidit:
dilectionem pectoris
ceruice caesa prodidit. 24
- 7 Magnus sacerdos qui dabat
templi sacrata munera,
fuso beato sanguine
est factus ipse uictima. 28

[witnesses: A C F O R and Doublet and Cozza] 3 martyrem] nobilem A (p.c.) 5 Roma] Romae
AO 11 audientum] sic ACFO Doublet, audientium R Cozza 12 luminis] sic ACFO Doublet,
seminis R Cozza 13 sancto] sic ACFO Doublet, sacro R Cozza 17–32 Tenetur ... possides] om.
O

- 1 Let the people praise, in their hearts and voice, the mighty faithful soldier, Dionysius the martyr, (who) followed the Prince of Heaven [4]!
- 2 He was sent from the city of Rome by Bishop Clement, so that he would be the product of the seed of the heavenly Word in Gaul [8].
- 3 He builds (there) his holy work, he teaches the faith of baptism; but the blindness of his audience rejects the bounty of the light [12].
- 4 As the holy bishop is pressing to release the people from error, he falls into the tortures of death while he brings the hope of salvation [16].
- 5 While sponsoring the altars of Christ he is arrested by the pagans; he willingly accepts these sufferings for the love of such great glory [20].
- 6 He surrendered his neck for the King – the one thing which was lacking in him: he revealed the love of his heart by means of his severed neck [24].
- 7 The great bishop who bestowed the sacred bounties of the Temple was himself made a victim by the spilling his holy blood [28].

- 8 Felix pio de uulnere
quae poena palmam praebuit:
qui morte mortem conteris,
nunc regna caeli possides.

32

30 quae] quo *AF Doublet* 31 conteris] conterit *A*, concepit *F* 32 possides] possidet *A*

- 8 Blessed the punishment from his holy wound which granted him the reward: you who destroy death with (your) death now possess the realms of heaven [32].

Commentary

7–8 Cf. the wording of the ‘ancient *passio*’ [BHL 2171], c. 2: ‘Sanctus igitur Dionysius ... uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda susceperat’ (Appendix I, above, p. 646).

11 The grammatically incorrect form *audientium* (the reading of R and Cozza) would not scan: it has one syllable too many.

12 The reading *seminis* (for *luminis*) in R and Cozza was evidently prompted by *seminis* in line 7 (perhaps by eye-skip to the previous stanza).

post 32 In MSS. A, F and R the eight stanzas (lines 1–32) are followed by a four-line doxology (in MS. O the doxology follows line 16, given that lines 17–32 are omitted from this witness): ‘Gloria sit Deo patri / gloria unigenito / una cum sancto spiritu / in sempiterna saecula’. The hiatus in the second line indicates that the doxology was not composed by the poet of the previous eight (metrically faultless) stanzas; and in fact the same doxology is attached to numerous early medieval Latin hymns, including ‘Hymnum dicat turba fratrum’, attributed to Hilary of Poitiers (see Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, p. 15) and Bede’s hymn on the six Days of Creation, inc. ‘Primo Deus caeli globum’, in Köln, Dombibliothek, 106 (northern Rhineland [?Werden], s. ix^{1/3}), fol. 45^r.

The first point to be noted about this hymn is the poet’s impeccable handling of the quantitative metre³⁷ – in stark contrast to the incompetent performance by the poet of ‘Caeli ciues applaudite’. Like the genuine Ambrosian hymns, it consists of eight four-line stanzas. There is one example of elision (13: *sanct(o) antistite*), and no example of hiatus. Both the second and the fourth feet of each dimeter line are occupied by iambs, with no exception (the final naturally short syllables in *munera* (26) and *uictima* (28) are examples of lengthening *in arsi*, a practice followed by Ambrose in all his genuine hymns). The poet, in other words, was skilled in the composition of this quantitative verse-form. It was the metrical excellence of the hymn which persuaded Michelangelo Luchi that it was by Venantius Fortunatus,³⁸ and was

37 Hilduin’s comment (as quoted above, n. 2), that it was a *ymnus rithmicae compositionis*, indicates his ignorance of the verse form (the hymn is unambiguously metrical/quantitative, not rhythmical) – a fact which might have some bearing on the question of his role in the redaction of ‘Caeli ciues applaudite’, discussed above (p. 785).

38 Luchi, *Venantius Fortunatus: Opera omnia*, I, p. 49: ‘non dubitavi illum [scil. hymnum] edere sub Fortunati nomine, praesertim cum et stylus, optimus testis, id suadeat’.

not a forgery by Hilduin, as Jean de Launoy had earlier suggested.³⁹ Certainly Venantius Fortunatus had elsewhere displayed his skill in composing hymns in quantitative iambic dimeter: there are two such hymns among the genuine corpus of his verse: i. 16 (inc. 'Agnoscat omne saeculum'), and ii. 6 (inc. 'Vexilla regis prodeunt'). The second of these, like the genuine hymns of Ambrose, and like 'Fortem fidelem militem', consists of eight four-line stanzas. (The first, 'Agnoscat omne saeculum', is abecedarian, hence consists of twenty-three stanzas.) In both these hymns Venantius frequently employs rhyme to link two successive lines, and it has been noted that rhyme is a characteristic feature of all his Latin verse.⁴⁰ Rhyme is employed in the present hymn only sporadically: *militem* / *principem* (1–2), *ingerit* / *incidit* (15–16), *gentilibus* / *altaribus* (17–18), *defuit* / *tradidit* (21–22) – a frequency comparable to that of 'Vexilla regis prodeunt', but much less frequent than that of 'Agnoscat omne saeculum', nearly every couplet of which is rhymed. In sum, the metrical skill displayed in 'Fortem fidelem militem' is not incompatible with Venantius' authorship.

How does such an attribution square with our understanding of the development of Dionysian hagiography? In the first place, the hymn contains no allusion to the identity of the bishop of Paris with the bishop of Athens (an identity which was not apparently asserted earlier than the ninth century), let alone with the author of the *Corpus Dionysiaca*. But it does contain the statement that St Dionysius was sent from Rome to Gaul by Clement, bishop of Rome (stanza 2). In hagiographical sources, this mission is first mentioned in the 'ancient *passio*' of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2171], a work which, on my understanding of the evidence (see above, Appendix I, pp. 622–623) is to be dated to the mid-eighth century. It is difficult to think that 'Fortem fidelem militem', if it is not the work of Venantius, was composed later than the mid-eighth century: its metrical excellence would argue against so late a dating.⁴¹ In other words, acceptance of Venantius' authorship of 'Fortem fidelem militem' car-

39 Jean de Launoy, *Opera omnia*, 5 vols. in 10 (Geneva, 1731), I, p. 530, who described Hilduin's attribution of the hymn to Venantius as a 'fraud' (*fraus*).

40 Max Manitius estimated that one third of all his verse displayed rhyme: *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 470. For leonine rhyme in his *Vita S. Martini*, which occurs in 19% of the hexameters, see above, p. 176.

41 In any case, there are no grounds whatsoever for the conjecture by D.A. Bullough and A.L.H. Corrêa: 'Could this hymn have been composed at the abbey [Saint-Denis] in the early 9th cent. and attributed to Fortunatus to give credit to the developing legend?' ('Text, Chant and the Chapel of Louis the Pious', in *Charlemagne's Heir*, ed. Godman and Collins, pp. 489–508, at 504 n. 55).

ries with it the implication that knowledge of Pope Clement's involvement in the mission of St Dionysius to Gaul was already current in the later sixth century.

Mass-Sets for SS. Dionysius and Companions

In his letter to Louis the Pious concerning the hagiography of St Dionysius, Hilduin, after discussing Christ's miraculous appearance in the prison while Dionysius was celebrating mass, goes on to say that 'the most ancient sacramentaries' seem to agree with this miraculous appearance, in that they contain two masses which briefly record the sufferings of Dionysius and his companions, and were composed so as to call forth the divine mercy which Christ revealed so notably on that occasion. Hilduin specifies that the 'ancient sacramentaries' contained masses *more Gallico* – by which he would seem to be referring to what liturgists describe as the 'Gallican rite':

Cui adstipulari uidentur antiquissimi, et nimia paene uetustate consumpti, missales libri continentes missae ordinem more Gallico, qui ab initio receptae fidei usu in hac occidentali plaga est habitus, usque quo tenorem, quo nunc utitur, Romanum susceperit. In quibus uoluminibus habentur duae missae, quae sic inter celebrandum ad prouocandam diuinae miserationis clementiam et corda populi ad deuotionis studium excitanda, tormenta martyris sociorumque eius succincte commemorant, sicut et reliquae missae ibidem scriptae aliorum apostolorum uel martyrum, quorum passiones habentur notissimae, decantant.¹

Hilduin's statement is problematic, for various reasons, not the least of which is the paucity of surviving sacramentaries of the 'Gallican rite', by which is meant the liturgy performed in churches in northern Italy and Gaul during the sixth to eighth centuries A.D.² Most of the surviving Gallican sacramentaries are in a

1 *Ep.* II, c. 5: 'The most ancient sacramentaries – those nearly worn out with age – seem to agree with this, in that they contain the Gallican order of mass, which was followed in these western regions from the time that Christianity was first practised up until the time the Roman rite, which is now in use, was adopted. In these mass-books, two masses, intended to call forth the mercy of divine clemency during the service and to raise the people's hearts to the exercise of faith, record briefly the sufferings of the martyr and his companions, in the way that other masses in the sacramentaries sing of other apostles and martyrs, whose martyrdoms are widely known' (above, pp. 206–208).

2 See K. Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Fribourg, 1968), pp. 156–170.

very fragmentary state, with their text in many cases only preserved as the lower script of palimpsested manuscripts; and the very few complete or relatively complete Gallican sacramentaries which survive – such as the so-called *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 493)³ or the ‘Bobbio Missal’ (Paris, BNF, lat. 13246)⁴ – are either fragmentary, as in the former case, or are contaminated with elements from non-Gallican use, as with the ‘Bobbio Missal’. In any event, none of these surviving Gallican sacramentaries contains a mass-set for SS. Dionysius and companions.

It cannot be assumed, however, that Hilduin, in speaking of sacramentaries composed *more Gallico*, meant by this term precisely what modern students of the liturgy refer to as the ‘Gallican rite’: he may simply have been referring to mass-books of a type earlier in form and content than the Gregorian sacramentaries with which he was familiar. He may, in other words, have been referring to what modern liturgists refer to as ‘eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries’, a term used to refer to sacramentaries which were compiled and issued in the mid-eighth century, apparently by the royal authority of Pippin, king of the Franks (741–768). A number of these ‘eighth-century Gelasians’ survive, but none of them contains a mass-set for SS. Dionysius and companions.⁵ By the same token, the mid-eighth-century mass-book known as the *Missale Francorum*, a manuscript written somewhere in the triangle Paris/Corbie/Soissons and subsequently owned at Saint-Denis, has no mass-sets for SS. Dionysius and companions.⁶

The earliest sacramentaries which contain mass-sets for SS. Dionysius and companions are so-called ‘Gregorian’ sacramentaries. There is a substantial number of surviving Gregorian sacramentaries, written either at or for Saint-

3 Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, nos. 212–214; ed. L.C. Mohlberg, *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes iii* (Rome, 1958).

4 Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 220; ed. E.A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal: A Gallican Mass-book*, Henry Bradshaw Society lviii (London, 1920).

5 St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 348 [Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 830]; ed. K. Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung*, 2nd ed. (Münster, 1939); Paris, BNF, lat. 816 (the ‘Sacramentary of Angoulême’ [Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 860]); ed. P. Saint-Roch, *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, CCSL clixC (Turnhout, 1987); and Paris, BNF, lat. 12048 (?Meaux, s. viii ex.) [Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 855]; ed. A. Dumas and J. Deshusses, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, CCSL clix–clixA (Turnhout, 1981).

6 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 257; see *CLA I*, no. 103; Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 410; L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur d’anciens sacramentaires* (Paris, 1886), pp. 71–73 [no. IV]; Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, p. 410. The complete MS is ed. L.C. Mohlberg, *Missale Francorum*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes ii* (Rome, 1957).

Denis, or derived from Saint-Denis exemplars, which preserve mass-sets for SS. Dionysius and companions, none dating from earlier than the second half of the ninth century. I list these manuscripts in approximate chronological order:

- Paris, BNF, lat. 2290 (copied at Saint-Amand for Saint-Denis, s. ix^{3/4})⁷
 Paris, BNF, lat. 2291 (Saint-Amand, s. ix^{3/4}; provenance Saint-Denis or Saint-Germain)⁸
 Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 118 (Saint-Denis, s. x; prov. Laon)⁹
 Paris, BNF, lat. 12052 (the 'Sacramentary of Ratoldus') (Corbie, s. x med., derived from a Saint-Denis exemplar)¹⁰
 Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 127 [104] (the 'Winchcombe Sacramentary') (Winchcombe, s. x ex.)¹¹
 Paris, BNF, lat. 9436 (the 'Missal of Saint-Denis') (Saint-Denis, s. xi med.)¹²

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- 7 See Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 760, as well as *DACL* iv/1, cols. 634–636; Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, pp. 102–105 [no. xviii]; V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1924), I, pp. 19–21 [no. 19]; Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 383–387 [with bibliography]; and Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 4156, who describes the manuscript as 'Sacramentarium Gregorianum Sancti Dionysii'. The MS includes mass-sets for the vigil and feast of SS. Dionysius and companions (fol. 85^{r-v}). On this and the following sacramentary from Saint-Amand, see J. Deshusses, 'Chronologie des grands sacramentaires de Saint-Amand', *RB* 87 (1977), 230–237.
- 8 See Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 925, as well as Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, pp. 148–149 [no. xxxiv]; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, pp. 56–58 [no. 19]; Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 434–435; and Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 4157. The MS includes mass-sets for the vigil and feast of SS. Dionysius and companions (fol. 106^{r-v}).
- 9 See Gamber, *Codices Liturgici*, no. 927; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, pp. 64–68 [no. 24]; Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, no. 2077; and Robertson, *The Service-Books*, pp. 359–366.
- 10 See Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, pp. 188–191 [no. lvi] and Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, pp. 79–81 [no. 31]; the MS is ed. N. Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052), Henry Bradshaw Society cxvi (London, 2003). The MS includes mass-sets for the vigil, feast and octave of SS. Dionysius and companions (fols. 221^r–222^r, 223^r).
- 11 See Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, pp. 211–218 [no. lxxix]; the MS is ed. A. Davril, *The Winchcombe Sacramentary* (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 127 [105]), Henry Bradshaw Society cix (London, 1995). The MS includes mass-sets for the vigil, feast and octave of SS. Dionysius and companions (pp. 233–236).
- 12 See Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, pp. 289–292 [no. cxvii] and Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, pp. 142–144 [no. 60]. The MS includes mass-sets for the vigil and feast of SS. Dionysius and companions (fols. 105^v–108^r).

These Gregorian sacramentaries variously preserve mass-sets for three feasts of SS. Denis and companions: the vigil of the feast (8 Oct.); the feast itself (9 Oct.), and the octave of the feast (16 Oct.). The list could be substantially extended if it were to include service-books from the twelfth century and later; but it is questionable whether these later MSS. would throw any light on the origins of the mass-sets for SS. Dionysius and companions. As it is, it would appear that the mass-sets for the vigil and the feast itself were composed at some point in the earlier ninth century, possibly during the lifetime of Hilduin. It is worth asking whether Hilduin himself had any involvement in their composition; but it is noteworthy that none of the prayers makes any allusion to the Athenian origins of St Dionysius, to his apostolic mission to Gaul at the command of Pope Clement, or to the most memorable miracles which occurred to him, such as the appearance of Christ Himself while Dionysius was in prison, or the episode of his cephalophory. Given Hilduin's relentless campaign for the publicity of Saint-Denis and its martyrs, omission of any reference to these events sits uncomfortably with the supposition that he had any involvement in their composition. In any case, the mass-sets (see below) do not 'record briefly the sufferings of the martyr and his companions', as was apparently the case with the mass-sets composed *more Gallico* to which he alluded in his letter to Louis the Pious, quoted at the beginning of this Appendix.

The mass-sets in question are as follows:

a .VIII. OCT. VIGILIA SANCTORVM MARTYRV M DIONISII, RVSTICI
ET ELEV THERII

Concede nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, uenturam beatorum martyrum tuorum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, sollemnitatem congruo praeuenire honore, et uenientem digna celebrare deuotione. Per Dominum.

SVPER OBLATA. Accepta tibi sit, Domine, nostrae deuotionis oblatio, et ad martyrum tuorum, Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, puriores faciat nos uenire festiuitatem. Per Dominum.

PRAEFATIO. VD aeterne Deus. Venientem natalem beatorum martyrum tuorum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, debita seruitute praeueniri, suppliciter obsecrantes, ut ipsos nos apud tuam clementiam sentiamus habere patronos, quos tua gratia largiente meruimus, aeternae salutis suscipere ministros. Per Christum.

AD COMPLENDVM. Praesta nobis, aeterne largitor, eorum ubique pia protegi oratione, quorum natalicia per haec sancta quae sumpsimus, uotiuo praeuenimus obsequio. Per Dominum.

SVPER POPVLVM. Benedictionis tuae, Domine, gratiam intercedentibus sanctis martyribus tuis Dionysio, Rustico et Eleutherio suscipiamus, ut quorum praeueniendo gloriam celebramus, eorum supplicando auxilium sentiamus. Per.

b .VII. IDVS OCT. NATALE SANCTORVM DIONYSII, RVSTICI ET ELEVThERII

Deus qui hodierna die beatum Dionysium uirtute constantiae in passione roborasti, quique illi ad praedicandam gentibus gloriam tuam, Rusticum et Eleutherium sociare dignatus es, tribue nobis quaesumus ex eorum imitatione, pro amore tuo prospera mundi despiceret, et nulla eius aduersa formidare. Per Dominum.

SVPER OBLATA. Hostia, Domine, quaesumus, quam in sanctorum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii nataliciis recensentes offerimus, et uincula nostrae prauitatis obsoluat et tuae nobis misericordiae dona conciliet. Per.

PRAEFATIO. VD aeterne Deus. Qui sanctorum martyrum tuorum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, pia certamina ad copiosam perducis uictoriam, atque perpetuum eis largiris triumphum, ut ecclesiae tuae semper sint in exemplum. Praesta nobis, quaesumus, ut per eorum intercessionem quorum festa celebramus, pietatis tuae munera capiamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

AD COMPLENDVM. Quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut qui caelestia alimenta percepimus, intercedentibus sanctis suis Dionysio, Rustico et Eleutherio, per haec contra omnia aduersa muniamur. Per Dominum.

c .XVII. KL. NOVB. OCTABAS SANCTORVM MARTYRVM DIONYSII, RVSTICI ET ELEVThERII

Protegat nos, Domine, saepius beatorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii repetita sollemnitas, ut quorum patrocina sine intermissione recolimus, perpetua defensione sentiamus. Per.

SVPER OBLATA. Hostias tibi, Domine, pro sanctorum martyrum tuorum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii commemoratione deferimus suppliciter obsecrantes, ut et indulgentiam nobis pariter conferant et salutem. Per Dominum nostrum.

AD COMPLENDVM. Sumpsimus, Domine, pignus redemptionis aeternae; sit nobis, quaesumus, interuenientibus martyribus tuis Dionysio, Rustico et Eleutherio, uitae praesentis auxilium pariter et futurae. Per.

The Night Office for SS. Dionysius and Companions

In his letter to Hilduin, in which he commissioned a new version of the *passio* of St Dionysius (*Ep.* I), Louis the Pious asked the abbot to include, in addition to the *passio* itself,

the vision revealed to Pope Stephen in the church of this same St Dionysius, as it was dictated by him, and the narratives which were appended to it, together with the hymns which you have (to hand) concerning this most glorious martyr and bishop, and also the Night Office in his name ...¹

In his reply to Louis (*Ep.* II), Hilduin explained at length the materials on which he intended to base his *passio*, including the hymns mentioned by Louis, but he made no mention whatsoever of a Night Office for St Dionysius. In these circumstances, it is impossible to know whether such a Night Office was ever sent to the emperor.

The emperor's words imply, however, that a Night Office for St Dionysius was already in existence at the time of his letter to Hilduin (c. 834). The identity of the Night Office in question is far from clear.² Manuscript evidence indicates that several distinct forms of an Office for St Dionysius were in existence by the late ninth century;³ of these, two forms of an Office are preserved in

1 *Ep.* I. 4: '... ut reuelationem ostensam beato papae Stephano in ecclesia eiusdem sanctissimi Dionysii, sicut ab eo dictata est, et gesta quae eidem subnexa sunt, una cum hymnis, quos de hoc gloriosissimo martyre atque pontifice habes, et officium nocturnale subiungas ...' (above, p. 198). The *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176] is edited below, Appendix XI (pp. 848–865).

2 The most thorough study of this problem is the excellent article by E.A.R. Brown, 'Gloriosae, Hilduin, and the early Liturgical Celebration of St. Denis'; see also the discussion by Jean-François Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc des saints martyrs Denis, Rustique et Eleuthère*, pp. xi–xx.

3 There is, for example, an extensive Office in Munich, BSB, Clm 14871 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 43^v–45^v; but internal evidence indicates that this Office was compiled, probably at Regensburg, possibly by Otloh of St Emmeram (see above, pp. 107–110), in the aftermath of the alleged discovery of the saint's relics there in 1049. It cannot, therefore, be the Office alluded to by Louis the Pious. On this Regensburg Office, which is preserved in two other late medieval manuscripts now in Munich (Clm 14069 and 14872), see R. Henkeln, *Historiae Sancti*

manuscripts dating from the later ninth century (see below), and both could arguably have been in existence earlier in the ninth century, before the death of Louis the Pious in 840. In what follows I shall refer to these as the ‘pre-Hilduin’ Office and the ‘post-Hilduin’ Office. The principal distinction is that the pre-Hilduin Office draws its antiphons and responsories from what I call the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2171];⁴ by contrast, the post-Hilduin Office, although it is evidently modelled on the pre-Hilduin Office, has – in its antiphons and responsories – substituted wording drawn from Hilduin’s own *Passio S. Dionysii* [*BHL* 2175] for wording of the ‘ancient *passio*’ on which the compiler of the pre-Hilduin Office had drawn. Three examples will illustrate the distinction (the numbering in square brackets refers to the individual chants in the texts edited below):

pre-Hilduin antiphon [1]: ‘Sanctus Dionysius, qui tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus *parturienda* susceperat’.

post-Hilduin antiphon [4]: ‘Sanctus Dionysius, qui tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus *eroganda* susceperat’

The text of Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii* was, at many points, based directly on the ‘ancient *passio*’, and the wording of the earlier work is often repeated with only minor alteration. But in this case, Hilduin (*Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20) replaced the awkward word *parturienda* of his source (‘ancient *passio*’, c. 2) with *eroganda*. The variant reading *parturienda* ~ *eroganda* provides a convenient shibboleth to distinguish the pre-Hilduin from the post-Hilduin Office.

pre-Hilduin antiphon [3]: ‘Quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei *flammatu*s accessit ac Parisius, Domino ducente, peruenit’

post-Hilduin antiphon [7]: ‘Quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei *armatu*s accessit ac Parisius, Domino ducente, peruenit’

Dionysii Areopagitae. St Emmeram, Regensburg, ca. 1050–16 Jh. (Ottawa, 1998), who discusses the Office in Clm 14871 at pp. xlvi–xlix and lxxi–lxxii, and provides an edition, based on all three manuscripts, at pp. 3–39, with edition of the melodies in Clm 14871 at pp. 51–52.

4 Ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’; also ed. above, Appendix I (pp. 611–659).

Here Hilduin's text (*Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20) is drawn verbatim from the 'ancient *passio*' (c. 2), save that Hilduin replaced *flammatus* of his source with *armatus*. Once again the variant reading *flammatus* ~ *armatus* can serve as a shibboleth to distinguish the pre-Hilduin from the post-Hilduin Office.

pre-Hilduin responsory [38]: 'Beatus Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius, in hac ergo fidei *pertinacia* permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, animas caelo cum gaudio intulerunt'

post-Hilduin responsory [71]: 'Beatus Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius, in hac ergo fidei *constantia* permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas animas caelo cum gaudio intulerunt'

Here again the post-Hilduin responsory has been modelled on the pre-Hilduin text, but the wording of the post-Hilduin text has been altered to accommodate the revised wording of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 31 (*constantia*), whereas the wording of the pre-Hilduin responsory preserves the wording of the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3 (*pertinacia*).⁵ Once again, the variant reading *pertinacia* ~ *constantia* serves as a shibboleth to distinguish the pre-Hilduin from the post-Hilduin Office.

These three examples will give some indication of the ways in which the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office incorporated the wording of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* while at the same time modelling his antiphons and responsories on those of the pre-Hilduin Office. However, the most striking difference between the two versions is that the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office added many antiphons and responsories from chapters of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* which have no correlate in the 'ancient *passio*', and hence do not figure anywhere in the pre-Hilduin Office: see below (in the post-Hilduin Office), nos. [25], [28], [31], [34], [40], [51], [52], [53] and [54]. These texts are drawn from chapters of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* which concern Christ's miraculous appearance to Dionysius in his prison-cell, while the latter was celebrating Mass. This miraculous event is not mentioned in the 'ancient *passio*' (and was fairly clearly a fabrication by Hilduin himself).

5 As Elizabeth Brown ('*Gloriosae*', p. 70 n. 41) points out, however, the sentence in question preserving the altered wording *constantia* was in fact taken over by Hilduin from (what I call) the 'anonymous *passio*' of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2178], and hence that the alteration is due to the anonymous compiler of *BHL* 2178, not Hilduin himself. The essential point, however, is that the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office was drawing directly on Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, not on the 'anonymous *passio*' [*BHL* 2178].

The dating of the two versions of the Office cannot be determined precisely. The pre-Hilduin version must have been produced some time after the ‘ancient *passio*’ had been composed in the mid-eighth century (c. 750), and before the composition of Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii*, arguably during the period 835×840. (The absolute *terminus ante quem* of the pre-Hilduin Office is 877, the date of the death of Charles the Bald, for use in whose chapel the earliest surviving manuscript was arguably written: see below.) The post-Hilduin version dates from after the completion of Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii* (835×840) and before the date of the earliest surviving witness, the Vienna fragment (V), which has been dated by Bernhard Bischoff to the third quarter of the ninth century (see below). Both versions were presumably produced at Saint-Denis itself, whence they spread to other centres, first (apparently) to Northern France, and subsequently farther afield, to southern Germany and Switzerland.

In what follows I have simply attempted to provide reliable texts of the two separate versions, based (in the case of the pre-Hilduin Office) on the two early manuscripts in which it is preserved, and (in the case of the post-Hilduin Office) on four early manuscripts and the one early fragment. My principal intention has been to illustrate the ways in which Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii* was laid under contribution by ninth-century liturgists. I have not attempted to reproduce either the neumatic or diastematic notation which accompanies the Offices in many of the manuscripts, even supposing that I was competent to do so.⁶

a The Pre-Hilduin Office

The wording of the earliest surviving Office for St Dionysius and his companions was drawn almost entirely from the ‘ancient *passio*’ [*BHL* 2171], and reveals no debt whatsoever to the *Passio S. Dionysii* of Hilduin [*BHL* 2175].⁷ Although the earliest surviving manuscript witness to the Office dates from no earlier than the third quarter of the ninth century (see below), it seems reasonable to suppose that it was already in use at Saint-Denis during the abbacy of Hilduin (814–840), and possibly earlier. The date of its composition cannot, however,

6 The musical notation, both neumatic and diastematic, may conveniently be consulted in the edition of Jean-François Goudesenne, *L’Office romano-franc des saints martyrs Denis, Rustique et Eleuthère*, pp. 1–32.

7 On (what I call) the ‘pre-Hilduin Office’, see the important discussion by Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*’, pp. 45–51, as well as Goudesenne, *L’Office romano-franc*, pp. xiv–xv, who refers to the pre-Hilduin Office as ‘l’office primitive’, and dates it to the eighth century (s. viii).

be determined, save to say that it must date from later than the composition of the 'ancient *passio*' some time in the mid-eighth century (c. 750). The pre-Hilduin Office is secular (rather than monastic), as indicated by the fact that it contains chants to accompany nine rather than twelve lessons.⁸ The secular nature of the pre-Hilduin Office may suggest that its use at Saint-Denis dates from before 832, when the abbey was reformed as a Benedictine monastery.⁹

There are two early manuscript witnesses¹⁰ to the pre-Hilduin Office, one complete (the 'Antiphoner of Compiègne') and one partial (the 'Antiphoner of Hartker'):

C = Paris, BNF, lat. 17436 (s. ix^{3/4}) [the 'Antiphoner of Compiègne'], fols. 79^v–80^v

The manuscript is a so-called 'double antiphoner': an antiphoner (or gradual) for Mass (fols. 1^v–30^v), followed by an antiphoner for the Office (fols. 31^v–107^v).¹¹ The origin of the manuscript has been much debated: the proper Offices pertain for the most part to saints from northern France, especially including SS. Germanus and Medard (and including, too, St Dionysius). The Office for St Medard in particular is rubricated in gold lettering, which might suggest an

8 Goudesenne (*L'Office romano-franc*, p. xvi) lists the chants of what he calls the *cursus canonial* as follows (in the numbering which I assign to the chants of this Office in the following edition): *Sanctus* [1], *Quo amplius* [3], *Non ueritus* [5], *Tunc memorata* [15], *Hunc ergo* [17], *Ecclesia illisque* [28], *Cinctus ergo* [32], *Tantas per illum* [35], and *Miroque modo* [36].

9 See above, pp. 716 n. 107. However, as Elizabeth Brown rightly observes ('*Gloriosae*', pp. 44–45), the monastic form of the Office, with twelve rather than nine lessons (and accompanying chants), need not have been adopted immediately following the reform of the abbey in 832, and the secular Office may well have remained in use until much later in the ninth century.

10 Goudesenne (*L'Office romano-franc*, p. xxxv) notes that the pre-Hilduin Office is also preserved in two later breviaries from Arras: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 465 (Saint-Vaast, s. xiii¹) [Goudesenne's MS. AS 1] and 412 (Saint-Vaast, s. xiv¹) [his MS. AS 2]. Because of the lateness of these manuscripts, and the possibility of contamination from the post-Hilduin Office, I have not thought it essential to collate them.

11 The essential studies of the 'Antiphoner of Compiègne' are the following: Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, no. 1330; L. Brou, 'L'antiphonaire de Compiègne', *Études grégoriennes* 4 (1961), 30–33; R.-J. Hesbert, *CAO I*, pp. xvii–xix; R. Jonsson, *Historia. Étude sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, 1. *L'Antiphonaire de Compiègne* (Stockholm, 1968), esp. pp. 30–73; and R. Jacobsson, 'The Antiphoner of Compiègne: Paris, BNF lat. 17436', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. M.E. Fassler and R.A. Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), pp. 147–178, as well as the studies by Jacques Froger and Michel Huglo mentioned in the following notes.

origin at Saint-Médard in Soissons;¹² but most scholars, including Bernhard Bischoff, argue that, wherever in particular it was written, given the *de luxe* appearance of the manuscript, it was intended for use in the chapel of Charles the Bald (an attribution which has the implication of dating its execution to before 877, the year in which Charles died).¹³ In any event, by the seventeenth century, the manuscript was in the possession of the church of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne (hence its name).

H = St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 391 (St Gallen, s. x/xi) [vol. 11 of the 'Antiphoner of Hartker'], pp. 124–126

The 'Antiphoner of Hartker' consists of two manuscripts written c. 1000 at St Gallen by the monk Hartker (d. 1011), now preserved as St Gallen MSS. 390 (*pars hiemalis*) and 391 (*pars aestivalis*); the much-abbreviated Office for St Dionysius is contained in the second volume (St Gallen 391).¹⁴ In order to facilitate use of the *apparatus criticus* given below, the contents of the Office for St Dionysius may be listed as follows (using the numbering I have assigned to the individual chants), beginning with antiphons specified for Nocturns: *Adest namque* [22] preceding *Sanctus Dionysius* [1], *Quo amplius* [3], *Non ueritus* [5], *Tunc memorata* [15] preserved here as a mere rubric (but see below), *Ecclesia illisque* [28], *Cinctus ergo* [32], *Tantas per illum* [19] and *Miroque modo* [30]. Then follow three responsories drawn from the Common of Martyrs (*Sancti tui Domine*, *Verbera carnificum*, *Certamen magnum*),¹⁵ followed by two more antiphons for Nocturns: *Tunc memorata* [15] and *Hunc ergo* [17]. The Office concludes with six antiphons for Lauds: *Hi sancti uiri* [40], *In hac ergo fidei* [38], *Tali namque* [39], *Beata nimium* [43], *Eligunt tetris* [44], and *In hoc ergo loco* [45].

12 See discussion by Jacques Froger, 'Le lieu de destination et de provenance du "Compendiensis"', in *Ut mens concordet voci. Festschrift Eugene Cardine zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. J.B. Göschl (St Ottilien, 1980), pp. 338–353, and Michel Huglo, 'Observations codicologiques sur l'antiphonaire de Compiègne (Paris, B.N. Lat. 17436)', in *De musica et cantu. Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucce zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (Hildesheim, 1993), pp. 117–130, at 125–127.

13 Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 5018.

14 There is a facsimile edition: *Antiphonaire de l'Office monastique transcrit par Hartker. MSS. Saint-Gall 390–391 (980–1011)* [2nd ed. by J. Froger], Paléographie musicale, 2nd ser. i (Bern, 1970); see also Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, no. 1308, and A. von Euw, *Die St Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, I (St Gallen, 2008), pp. 499–502 [no. 143].

15 Identified by Brown, *Gloriosae*, p. 65, n. 24.

The extent of Hartker's abbreviation may be seen by comparing the above list of chants with those given in the 'Antiphoner of Compiègne', which serves as the base manuscript for the pre-Hilduin Office.

ANTIPHONAE ET RESPONSORIA DE SANCTO DIONYSIO CVM SOCIIS SVIS

IN VIGILIA AD VESPERAS

[1] **Ā** Sanctus Dionysius, qui tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda susceperat.

5 [2] **PL** Beatus uir qui non [Ps. i. 1].

[3] **Ā** Quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei flammatus accessit ac Parisius, Domino ducente, peruenit.

[4] **PL** Quare fremuerunt [Ps. ii. 1].

10 [5] **Ā** Non ueritus incredulae gentis experiri feritatem, quia uirtutem suam praeteritarum poenarum recordatio roborabat.

[6] **PL** Domine, quid [Ps. iii. 1].

[7] **Ũ** Laetamini in Domino [Ps. xxxi. 11].

15 [8] **R** Post passionem Domini in uniuersis gentibus praedicatio profutura successit, ita ut fide crescente multi mererentur fieri confessores, quos catholica postmodum gaudet ecclesia meruisse martyres.

[9] **Ũ** Qui cum imminere suas cernerent passiones, quas Domino Iesu Christo donante didicerant, repleti Spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt. *Postmodum.*

[10] **Ũ** Beatus Dionysius diuini uerbi semina gentibus tradente Clemente profutura successit.

20 [11] **R** Gratias tibi, Domine, qui infestantis inimici iacula probationem fidelium tuorum praestitisti esse, et non uulnera, et talem tuis martyribus tribuis pro labore mercedem, ut nullum tuorum fuisse gaudeat hostis imbellem.

[12] **Ũ** Iustorum autem animae [Sap. iii. 1].

4 parturienda] parturiendo C 6 et] a H 7 ac] ad C 9 feritatem] feditatem C
16 imminere] imminerent C || cernerent] cernere C 17 didicerant] didicerent C 20
infestantis] infestates C

[13] **R** Beatissimus Dionysius Christi martyr tradente beato Clemente parturienda gentibus semina diuina suscepit, et quo amplius gentilitatis errorem feruere cognouit, illuc intrepidus et uirtute fidei armatus aduenit.

5 [14] **Ũ** Et Parisius Domino ducente peruenit, non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem. *Illuc intrepidus.*

ANTIPHONAE IN SECUNDO NOCTVRNO

[15] **Ā** Tunc memorata ciuitas et conuentu Germanorum et nobilitate pollebat, quia aura salubris, aere iucunda, fluminibus fecunda, terris arboribus nemorosa uberrima.

10 [16] **PŁ** Cum inuocarem [Ps. iv. 2].

[17] **Ā** Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendo.

[18] **PŁ** Verba mea [Ps. v. 2].

[19] **Ā** Tantas per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret.

15 [20] **PŁ** Domine, Dominus noster [Ps. viii. 2].

[21] **Ũ** Exultate iusti in Domino [Ps. xxxii. 1].

RESPONSORIA

[22] **R** Adest namque beati Dionysii sacratissima dies, in qua triumphans agonem expleuit, et coronam uictoriae accipere meruit de manu Domini.

20 [23] **Ũ** Iustum deduxit Dominus per uias rectas, et ostendit illi regnum Dei [cf. Sap. x. 10]. *Et coronam.*

[24] **R** In hoc ergo loco experiuntur infirmi quantum Dei famulos conueniat honorari, ubi recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum, et obstructae aures recipere merentur auditum.

3 illuc] illic C 7 et] om. H 8 aura] era C, esset H 8–9 nemorosa] post nemorosa add. H et uineis 11 expetendo] expectendo C

[25] **Ū** Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendo. *Vbi recipit.*

[26] **R** Per beatum Dionysium fiunt hic diuina mysteria, per orationes eius caeci illuminantur et natale eius daemones effugantur et infirmi sanantur.

5 [27] **Ū** Iustorum autem animae in manu Dei sunt, et non tanget illos tormentum malitiae [Sap. iii. 1].

ANTIPHONAE IN TERTIO NOCTVRNAE

[28] **Ā** Ecclesia illisque necdum in locis erat. Populus ille nouam construxit, in qua officia seruientium clericorum ex more constituit, probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliauit.

10 [29] **PŁ** In Domino confido [Ps. x. 2].

[30] **Ā** Miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere.

[31] **PŁ** Domine quis habitabit [Ps. xiv. 1]

[32] **Ā** Cinctus ergo fide et misericordiam anteponebat, paulatim sociabat Deo quos diabolo subtrahebat.

15 [33] **PŁ** Domine in uirtute [Ps. xx. 2]

[34] **Ū** Posuisti Domine [cf. Ps. xc. 9]

RESPONSORIA

[35] **R** Tantas per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret.

20 [36] **Ū** Miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere. *Quam praedicationibus.*

[37] **R** Isti sunt uiri sancti. *Require in apostolorum.*

7 erat] *post erat add. H et* 7–8 in qua] a quo C, ac H 9 honore] honoris CH 19 obtineret] obtinerent C 20 armata] arma C

[38] R Beatus Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius, in hac ergo fidei pertinacia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, animas caelo cum gaudio intulerunt.

[39] V̄ Tali namque ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri.

5 ANTIPHONAE IN MATVTINIS LAVDIBVS

[40] Ā Hi sancti uiri a beati Dionysii nunquam sustinuerunt abesse praesentia, quos in unum interrogatio percussoris inuenit.

[41] Ā Tali namque ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri.

10 [42] Ā In hac ergo fidei constantia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt.

[43] Ā Beata nimium et Deo nostro grata societas, inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse nec tertius; sed trinitatem confitentes, trino meruerunt decorare martyrio.

15 [44] Ā Eligunt tetris Sequanae profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere.

[45] Ā In hoc ergo loco experiuntur infirmi quantum Dei famulos conueniat honorari, ubi recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum, et obstructae aures recipere merentur auditum.

20 [46] V̄ Iustorum animae [Sap. iii. 1].

IN EVANGELIO

[47] Ā Adest namque beati Dionysii sacratissima dies, in qua triumphans agonem expleuit, et coronam uictoriae accipere meruit de manu Domini.

25 [48] Ā O beate Dionysi, magna est fides tua: intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Deum tuum.

13 trino] trium C 15 Sequanae] Sigonae H

[49] \bar{A} Metuentes igitur percussores, ne conuersi populi Christiani sanctorum corpora sibi ad patrociniū tumularent.

[50] \bar{A} Tunc matrona quaedam, quae licet paganorum implicata teneretur errore, conuersione se desiderare facere aliquid cogitans Domino placitura.

5 [51] \bar{A} Vsa subtilitate consilii ad conuiuium postulabat percussores, et dum copiam oblatae humanitatis extendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperunt agenda discurrit.

[52] \bar{A} Sanctum Dionysium cum sociis suis contra incredulos dimicantem Parisius repperunt.

10 [53] \bar{A} Deus omnipotens, qui electis tuis in agone certantibus gloriae coronam largiris, et sortitis praemium regni caelestis tradidisti, inter quos athleta tuus Dionysius atque beatissimus Eleutherius seu Rusticus in tua confessione palma martyrii consecrasti, praesta, redemptor mundi, ut si meritis non ualemus, per eorum suffragia ueniam consequamur.

1 Christiani] *post Christiani denuo add. C* populi 4 errore] errorem C 6 oblatae] oblata CH 11 sortitis] sortiti C 13 ut] ac C

Commentary on the Text of the Pre-Hilduin Office

[Note that, in the Commentary which follows, and in that for the post-Hilduin Office, references to *CAO* are supplied for *versus* only in cases where the text of these these *versus* has been taken from the Bible; *CAO* does not list *versus* drawn from hagiographical sources.]

Antiphon [1]: *CAO* 4775; the words ‘Sanctus Dionysius ... suscepit’ are taken from c. 2 of the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius [*BHL* 2171], ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 269, and Appendix I above: ‘Sanctus igitur Dionysius, qui, tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina gentibus parturienda suscepit’ (p. 646); the word *parturienda* is characteristic of the ‘ancient *passio*’ (the word was subsequently replaced by Hilduin with *eroganda*). It is clear, therefore, that the compiler of the antiphons and responsories in the ‘Antiphoner of Compiègne’ had before him a copy of the ‘ancient *passio*’ of St Dionysius.

Antiphon [3]: *CAO* 4553; from the continuation of the previous sentence in c. 2 of the ‘ancient *passio*’: ‘quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei flammatus accessit ac Parsius, Domino ducente, peruenit’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270; and above, p. 646).

Antiphon [5]: *CAO* 3939; from the continuation of the previous sentence in c. 2 of the ‘ancient *passio*’: ‘Non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem, quia uirtutem suam praeteritarum poenarum recordatio roborabat’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 270, and above, p. 646). The reading *experiri* in the antiphon is not found in any of the witnesses collated for the ‘ancient *passio*’, but cf. the variant *experire* in MS. A.

Versus [7]: *CAO* 8120.

Responsory [8]: *CAO* 7402; from c. 1 of the ‘ancient *passio*’: ‘... apostolorum praedicatio uniuersis gentibus profutura successit ... adeo ut fide crescente non pauci mererentur fieri confessores, quos postmodum ecclesia catholica gaudet promeruisse martyres’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 268, and above, p. 640). The compiler of the responsory has taken some liberty with the text (it is clear that most of the departures from the transmitted text of the ‘ancient *passio*’ are of his own devising).

Versus [9]: from c. 1 of the ‘ancient *passio*’: ‘Qui cum imminere suas cernerent passiones, quas Domino Iesu Christo docente didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti

gratia docuerunt' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 268, and above, p. 640). The relevant sentence of the *passio* occurs between the two clauses quoted in the previous note to [8]; the reading *donante* is not found in any of the witnesses of the 'ancient *passio*' (which all read *docente* at this point).

Versus [10]: this *versus* has been confected from sentences of the 'ancient *passio*' as quoted above, nos. [1] and [8].

Responsory [11]: CAO 6791; from a later passage of c. 1 of the 'ancient *passio*': 'Sed gratias tibi, Domine Iesu Christe, qui infestantis inimici tela probationem fidelium tuorum permisisti esse, non uulnera; et talem tuis praestas pro labore mercedem, ut nullum tuorum fuisse gaudeat hostis imbellem' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 269, and above, p. 644). The readings *iacula* (in lieu of *tela* in the text of the 'ancient *passio*'), *praestitisti* (in lieu of *permisisti*) and *tribuis* (in lieu of *praestas*) are not found in any of the witnesses collated for the 'ancient *passio*'.

Versus [12]: CAO 8114.

Responsory [13]: CAO 6190; confected from sentences of the 'ancient *passio*' quoted above, antiphons nos. [1] and [3]. Note that the reading *armatus* has been incorporated from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20, probably through contamination. Cf. below, note to antiphon no. [42].

Versus [14]: confected from sentences of the 'ancient *passio*' quoted above, antiphons nos. [3] and [5].

Antiphon [15]: CAO 5247; from c. 2 of the 'ancient *passio*': 'Tunc memorata ciuitas et conuentu Germanorum et nobilitate pollebat, quia esset salubris aere, iucunda flumine, fecunda terris, arboribus nemorosa, uinetis uberrima' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and above, p. 646). Note that, by interposing the word *aura* before *salubris*, the author of the antiphon has displaced all the following adjectives from their respective nouns. See also discussion by Brown, '*Gloriosae*', p. 48.

Antiphon [17]: CAO 3147; from c. 2 of the 'ancient *passio*': 'Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, above, p. 648), where the author of the antiphon has substituted the gerundive *expetendo* for the transmitted gerund *expetendum*.

Antiphon [19]: CAO 5107; from c. 2 of the 'ancient *passio*': 'Tantas etiam per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and above, p. 648).

Versus [21]: CAO 8069.

Responsory [22]: CAO 6033; a clause which is not found in the 'ancient *passio*'; for discussion of this responsory, see Brown, '*Gloriosae*', p. 46.

Versus [23]: CAO 8115.

Responsory [24]: CAO 6904; from c. 5 of the 'ancient *passio*': 'et experiuntur infirmi quantum Dei famulos conueniat honorari, ubi recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum, et obstrictae aurium ianuae recipere merentur auditum' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', pp. 273–274, and above, pp. 656–658).

Versus [25]: repeated from the antiphon of the Second Nocturn (above, no. [17]) and the previous responsory, no. [24].

Responsory [26]: CAO 7373; a clause which is not found in the 'ancient *passio*'; for discussion of this responsory, see Brown, '*Gloriosae*', p. 46. The same responsory is used in Offices for St Valentine, St Clement and the Invention of St Dionysius.

Versus [27]: CAO 8114. The text of the Vulgate here reads *tormentum mortis*, not *tormentum malitiae*.

Antiphon [28]: CAO 2560; from c. 2 of the 'ancient *passio*': 'ecclesiam illic quae necdum in locis erat et populis illis nota construxit; ac officia seruientium clericorum ex more constituit probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliauit' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and above, p. 648).

Antiphon [30]: CAO 3767; from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: 'miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and above, p. 648).

Antiphon [32]: CAO 1805; from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2: 'cinctus ergo fide ... et misericordiam anteponebat, paulatim sociabat Deo quos diabolo subtrahebat' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 270, and above, p. 648).

Versus [34]: CAO 8170.

Responsory [35]: CAO 7753; this responsory has the same text as the antiphon from the Office for the Second Nocturn (above, no. [19]).

Versus [36]: one of the antiphons from the Office of the Third Nocturn (above, no. [30]).

[37] CAO 7026. According to Hesbert, the same responsories were used in offices for All Souls, for the Common of Apostles, the Common of Several Martyrs, and the Common of Several Confessors (hence the rubric: *Require in apostolorum*, i.e. in the Office for the Common of Apostles). The full text reads: 'Isti sunt viri sancti quos elegit Dominus in caritate non ficta, et dedit illis gloriam sempiternam; quorum doctrina fulget Ecclesia ut sol et luna'.

Responsory [38]: CAO 6202; adapted from a sentence in the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: 'In hac ergo fidei pertinacia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and above, p. 652).

Versus [39]: the sentence from c. 3 of the 'ancient *passio*', following that quoted in the previous note: 'Tali ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Dominum confiteri' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 272, and above, p. 652).

Antiphon [40]: CAO 3042; from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3: 'Hii sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam se sustinuerunt abesse praesentia. Quos in unum interrogatio percussoris inuenit' (ed. Lapidge, 'The ancient *passio*', p. 271, and above, p. 650).

Antiphon [41]: CAO 5097; this antiphon has the same text as the verse from the responsories for Third Nocturn, as given above, no. [39].

Antiphon [42]: CAO 3238; this antiphon has the same text as one of the responsories given for Third Nocturn, as above, no. [38]. Note that this time, however, the word *constantia* has replaced *pertinacia* in the transmitted text of the 'ancient *passio*', perhaps through contamination with Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*. Cf. above, note to responsory [13]. These examples of contamination with the text of Hilduin raise the possibility that the pre-Hilduin Office underwent some alteration after the text of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* became available.

Antiphon [43]: *CAO* 1571; from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 3: ‘Beata nimium et Domino nostro grata societas: inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse nec tertius, sed trinitatem confitentes non potuerunt non uenerabilem locum trino decorare martyrio’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 272, and above, p. 652).

Antiphon [44]: *CAO* 2636; from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 4: ‘eligunt tetris Sequanae profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 272, and above, p. 652). See also discussion by Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*’, p. 49.

Antiphon [45]: *CAO* 3241; this antiphon has the same text as one of the responsories for Second Nocturn as given above, no. [24].

Versus [46]: *CAO* 8114.

Antiphon [47]: *CAO* 1264; this antiphon was not taken from the ‘ancient *passio*’, and was presumably composed *ad hoc* by the author of the Office for St Dionysius.

Antiphon [48]: *CAO* 3999; nor is this antiphon from the ‘ancient *passio*’; for discussion, see Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*’, p. 47.

Antiphon [49]: *CAO* 3751; adapted from the beginning of c. 4 of the ‘ancient *passio*’: ‘Metuentes igitur percussores, ne conuersi populi fidelissima probataque deuotio sanctorum corpora profutura sibi ad patrociniū tumularet’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 272, and above, p. 652). See also discussion by Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*’, p. 49.

Antiphon [50]: *CAO* 5245; from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 4: ‘Tunc matrona quaedam, quae licet paganorum adhuc implicata teneretur errore, conuersionem tamen se desiderare et mente monstrabat et opere, facere aliquid cogitans Domino placiturum’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 272, and above, pp. 652–654). Note that the erroneous reading *placitura* in the antiphon (for *placiturum*) is attested only in MS. F of the ‘ancient *passio*’, and that the words *et mente monstrabat et opere* are omitted from five witnesses of that text (DMPSV); since these words were similarly omitted by the compiler of the present antiphon, it is possible that the compiler was using one of these manuscripts, given that three of them (PSV) are earlier in date than the ‘Antiphoner of Compiègne’, and that the date of composition of this pre-Hilduin Office is unknown. See also discussion by Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*’, p. 49.

Antiphon [51]: *CAO* 5282; from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 4: ‘usa subtilitate consilii ad conuiuium uenire postulat percussores, et dum eis copiam oblatae humanitatis extendit, a memoria eorum quae susceperant agenda discussit’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, pp. 272–273, and above, p. 654). It seems clear that the compiler of the Office misread the two s’s of his exemplar as r’s, thereby producing the meaningless reading *discurrit* instead of *discussit*.

Antiphon [52]: *CAO* 4765; from the ‘ancient *passio*’, c. 3: ‘sanctum Dionysium contra incredulos demicantem Parisius reppererunt’ (ed. Lapidge, ‘The ancient *passio*’, p. 271, and above, p. 650); the compiler of the antiphon has added the words *cum sociis suis*.

Antiphon [53]: *CAO* 2179. The wording of this final antiphon is not derived from the ‘ancient *passio*’; for discussion, see Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*’, pp. 47–48.

b The Post-Hilduin Office

Whereas the pre-Hilduin Office is preserved in a tiny number of manuscripts, the post-Hilduin Office¹⁶ enjoyed huge circulation from the later ninth century onwards.¹⁷ The distinction between the two recensions is clear: although the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office carefully preserved the framework of the pre-Hilduin Office, he replaced the wording of the earlier text – which, as we have seen, was drawn almost entirely from the ‘ancient *passio*’ [*BHL* 2171] – with wording drawn from Hilduin’s *Passio S. Dionysii* [*BHL* 2175]; moreover, he incorporated into his revised and expanded Office a number of chants pertaining to episodes in the martyrdom of St Dionysius which were described in detail by Hilduin but which did not figure at all in the earlier ‘ancient *passio*’.¹⁸ Unlike its predecessor, the ‘post-Hilduin’ Office pertains to the monastic *cursus* of twelve lessons spread over three Nocturns by providing twelve antiphons, each accom-

16 On (what I call) the ‘post-Hilduin Office’, see in general the discussion by Elizabeth Brown, ‘*Gloriosae*’, pp. 51–55, and by Goudesenne, *L’Office romano-franc*, pp. xvi–xix.

17 Goudesenne (*L’Office romano-franc*, pp. xxi–xxiv) lists more than a hundred manuscripts dating from the ninth century to the sixteenth, consisting almost exclusively of service-books (antiphonaries and breviaries).

18 For these reasons, the ‘post-Hilduin’ Office is referred to by Elizabeth Brown as the ‘revised Office’ (‘*Gloriosae*’, pp. 51, 54 *et passim*), and by Jean-François Goudesenne as ‘le remaniement’ and as ‘la refonte liturgique’ of the earlier Office (*L’Office romano-franc*, pp. xvi, xvii *et passim*).

panied by a psalm-verse as well as a *versus* (drawn, like the antiphons, from Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*).

The following edition of the 'post-Hilduin' Office for the saint's feast day (9 Oct.) is based on the following witnesses (four complete, two fragmentary):

D = Paris, BNF, lat. 10846 (Saint-Denis, s. x), fols. 76^r–80^v

This manuscript is a hagiographical compilation concerning St Dionysius – what I have earlier referred to as a 'Dionysiellus' – evidently produced at Saint-Denis itself.¹⁹ The Office is therefore presented as a hagiographical text, and is not provided with musical annotation of any kind.

L = Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 136, fragmentary endleaf (vicinity of Rheims, s. ix^{4/4})

A single leaf bound in (upside-down) to the front of a manuscript containing works of Augustine; in the opinion of Bernhard Bischoff, the leaf was written in the vicinity of Rheims in the last quarter of the ninth century.²⁰ The leaf has been cut in half at some point; from what remains it is clear that the leaf originally contained incipits to verses, antiphons and responsories of the 'post-Hilduin' Office. The fragmentary nature of the leaf, and the fact that no more than the incipits are given, makes it virtually useless for reconstructing the Latin text of the Office; its great merit is that, like the Vienna manuscript listed below, it indicates that the 'post-Hilduin' Office was in circulation before the end of the ninth century.

M = Paris, BNF, lat. 12584, fols. 127–385 (Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, s. xi), fols. 331^r–333^v

A composite manuscript, in which fols. 1–126 are a copy of Usuard, *Martyrologium*, of fourteenth-century date, and fols. 127–385 a so-called 'double

19 On the attribution to Saint-Denis, see above, pp. 134–135, as well as Dolbeau, 'Anciens possesseurs des manuscrits hagiographiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de France', p. 218, and Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, p. 303 [no. 57]; see also Brown, 'Gloriosae', pp. 65–66 n. 25, and Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc*, p. xxxix.

20 Bischoff, *Katalog*, II, no. 2087. I owe my knowledge of this fragment to the kindness of Susan Rankin, who generously provided me with a transcription of the incipits of the various antiphons, verses and responsories which it contains.

antiphoner' (i.e. a gradual for Mass chants, an antiphoner for the Office). The Office for St Dionysius on fols. 331^r–333^v is acephalous; the chants are accompanied by neumatic notation. In M, as also in R (see below), the *versus* accompanying the antiphons have been omitted.

P = Paris, BNF, lat. 17296 (Saint-Denis, s. xii^{med} [1130–1140]), fols. 227^r–232^v

An antiphoner notated with neumes inserted on four dry-point lines, written at Saint-Denis itself during the abbacy of Suger (1122–1151), and considered to be 'one of the most valuable French sources of melodies for the chants of the Office'.²¹ The antiphoner contains three separate Offices for St Dionysius: an Office for the Vigil (8 Oct.), with chants for Vespers and Lauds on fols. 226^r–227^r, followed by the Office for the feast day itself (*in natali*) on 9 Oct., on fols. 227^r–232^v – it is this Office which is printed here – followed by an Office for the Octave (*in octabas*) on 16 Oct., on fols. 232^v–233^v. This last Office ends incomplete because of the loss of a leaf or more after fol. 233. The Offices for the Vigil and the Octave are drawn largely from Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*.

R = Mont-Renaud, double antiphoner in private ownership (Corbie, s. x^{ex}; prov. Noyon), fols. 104^v–106^r

The origin of the manuscript has been much debated since the publication of a facsimile edition in 1955,²² but there is now general agreement that it was written at Corbie and subsequently owned at Noyon (near Mont Renaud, where it came to light in modern times).²³ In this manuscript the Office for St Dionysius contains, in addition to antiphons for the Vigil and for the three Nocturns of the feast, fourteen unallocated responsories, all with neumatic notation; as in MS. M (BNF lat. 12584) the *versus* accompanying the antiphons have been omitted.

V = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 612, fo. 74 (S. Germany, s. ix^{3/4})

21 Robertson, *The Service-Books*, p. 394; the manuscript is described fully *ibid.* pp. 393–399, as well as by Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc*, pp. xli–xlii. The earlier dating (1130–1140 rather than 1140–1150) is that suggested by Brown, 'Gloriosae', pp. 62–63, n. 15.

22 [J. Froger, ed.], *Le manuscrit de Mont-Renaud, xe siècle. Graduel et antiphonaire de Noyon*, Paléographie musicale 16 (Solesmes, 1955).

23 See Robertson, *Service-Books*, pp. 425–434, as well as Brown, 'Gloriosae', p. 66, and Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc*, p. xl.

This fragment preserves only part of the post-Hilduin Office (nos. [37]–[45] in the following edition); its exceptional importance lies in the fact that it is the earliest surviving witness to the post-Hilduin Office; the (fragmentary) Office is accompanied by neumatic notation. The dating is that assigned to it by Bernhard Bischoff.²⁴

There is finally the question of who compiled the post-Hilduin Office. The natural supposition is that the compiler was Hilduin himself;²⁵ but there is no certain evidence to support the supposition. The most that can be said is that Hilduin's own *Passio S. Dionysii* was laid heavily under contribution by the compiler of the 'post-Hilduin' Office, and that the compilation must have taken place before the third quarter of the ninth century (the date of the fragmentary V), by which time the Office had travelled from Paris to somewhere in southern Germany.

24 Bischoff, *Katalog*, III, no. 7143; see also Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, II. *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden, 1980), p. 8. I owe my knowledge of this fragment (and the identification of the 'post-Hilduin' Office) to Susan Rankin, who very kindly provided me with excellent photographs of the fragmentary text.

25 This is the assumption made by Jean-François Goudesenne, *L'Office romano-franc*, p. xvii, who speaks of 'les adjonctions à l'office primitif par Hilduin', 'aucune innovation esthétique de la part d'Hilduin', 'Hilduin ne s'est pas contenté d'adjonctions mais aussi d'un remaniement général', etc. Elizabeth Brown rightly takes a more measured view ('*Gloriosae*', pp. 56–57), and concludes, 'In the end ... it is impossible to prove that Hilduin created an Office or Offices for Denis and his companions ... either before or after he left the abbey' (p. 58).

IN VIGILIA PRETIOSISSIMORVM MARTYRV M DIONYSII, RVSTICI ET ELEV-
THERII QVAE CELEBRATVR .VII. ID. OCTOBRIS

ANTIPHONAE AD VESPERAS

[1] *Ÿ* Laetamini in Domino [Ps. xxxi. 11].

- 5 [2] *Ā* Insignes praeconiis almae tuae nobilitatis consonant uoces conlaudantes
uerbo supplici prosequamur: Aue, inclite martyr, angelorum consors, apostolo-
rum socius, prophetarum conciuus et martyrum coheres, sancte Dionysii cum
sociis tuis, intercede pro nostra omniumque salute.

ANTIPHONAE SVPER ‘VENITE’

- 10 [3] *Ā* Regem regum Dominum uenite adoremus, quia ipse est corona sancto-
rum martyrum.

ANTIPHONAE SVPER NOCTVRNAS

[4] *Ā* Sanctus Dionysius, qui tradente beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore,
uerbi diuini semina gentibus eroganda suscepit.

- 15 [5] *PL* Beatus uir [Ps. i. 1].

[6] *Ÿ* Quae Atheniensium magister, Paulo docente, didicerat, Galliis ministra-
uit.

[7] *Ā* Quo amplius gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et
calore fidei armatus accessit, ac Parisius Domino ducente peruenit.

- 20 [8] *PL* Quare [Ps. ii. 1].

[9] *Ÿ* Doctrina praeclarus, miraculis coruscans et uirtutum signis.

1–2 IN ... OCTOBRIS] *sic D*; IN VIGILIA SANCTI DIONYSII AD VESPERAS *M*; IN NATALI SANCTI
DIONYSII *P* 5 praeconiis] praeconii *D* || nobilitatis] nobilitati *M* 8 omniumque] omnium
D 19 ac] et *MP*

[10] **Ā** Non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem, quia uirtutem suam praeteritarum poenarum recordatio roborabat.

[11] **PŁ** Domine quis [Ps. xiv. 1].

[12] **Ů** Tormentis expertus multis, morte tandem adsecutus se uitam sciens.

5 [13] **Ā** Ecclesia illis quae necdum in locis erat et populis, ille nouam construxit ac officia seruentium clericorum ex more constituit, probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliauit.

[14] **PŁ** Cum inuocarem [Ps. iv. 2].

[15] **Ů** Restituens populos creatori quos a deuo cultu reuocauerat creaturae.

10 [16] **Ā** Cinctus ergo fide et misericordiam anteponebat, paulatim sociabat Deo quos diabolus subtrahebat.

[17] **PŁ** Domine Dominus noster [Ps. viii. 2].

[18] **Ů** Praedicans in trinitate perfecta unum et uerum Deum omnipotentem.

[19] **Ā** Miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere.

15 [20] **PŁ** Domine quis [Ps. xiv. 1].

[21] **Ů** In quo lux caelestis gratiae ineffabiliter radiabat.

[22] **Ā** Tantas per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret.

[23] **PŁ** Conserua me [Ps. xv. 1].

20 [24] **Ů** Ostendens Iesum Christum uerum esse filium Dei uiui.

[25] **Ā** Dum sacrum mysterium beatus Dionysius celebraret, in carcere apparuit ei cum multitudine angelorum Dominus Iesus Christus.

1 suam] tuam *P* 4 adsecutus] adsecutum *P* 5 populis] populus *M* 10 et] *rasura in P, om. R* 18 non minus] nominis *P*

[26] **PŁ** Domine in uirtute [Ps. xx. 2].

[27] **Ů** Vt illum secum faceret regnare in caelis quem toto corde desiderauit in terris.

[28] **Ā** Dansque illi sancta, dixit: 'Accipe hoc, care meus, quod mox complebo tibi una cum patre meo'.
5

[29] **PŁ** Beati quorum [Ps. xxxi. 1].

[30] **Ů** Veni, electe meus, posside tibi praeparatum regnum ab origine mundi.

[31] **Ā** Mecum enim est maxima merces tua, et his qui audierint te, salus in regno meo.

10 [32] **PŁ** Benedicam Dominum [Ps. xv. 7].

[33] **Ů** Quoniam qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei meipsum.

[34] **Ā** Nunc facies fortiter, et memoria tua erit in laude; ac semper pro quibuscumque petieris, impetrabis.

15 [35] **PŁ** Exaudi Deus [Ps. liv. 2].

[36] **Ů** Et per te in nomine meo poscenti, pium benignus praestabo auditum.

[37] **Ā** Ad hanc uocem Christi martyres Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius in agonia roborati, post nimia tormenta gloriosum martyrium compleuerunt.

[38] **PŁ** Deus uenerunt gentes [Ps. lxxxvi. 1].

20 [39] **Ů** Pari confessione fidei ac uirtutis constantia coronati.

4 illi] illis *D* 8 enim] *om. R* 13 facies] facius *R* 16 poscenti] possidecendi *D*

AD CANTICA

[40] **Ā** Nec illud silendum est quod inmundi spiritus infestatione uexati, dum ad memoratum locum examinandi uirtute diuina ducuntur, sanctorum ipsorum curantur imperio.

5 [41] **Ŵ** Fatentes merita martyrum et singulos ex nomine designantes.

VERSUS SVPER NOCTVR(N)AM

[42] **Ŵ** Laetamini in Domino [Ps. xxxi. 11].

[43] **Ŵ** Exultent iusti [cf. Ps. lxvii. 4].

[44] **Ŵ** Beati qui habitant [Ps. lxxxiii. 5].

10 RESPONSORIA DE QVO SVpra

[45] **R** Post passionem Domini in uniuersis gentibus praedicatio profutura successit, ita ut fide crescente multi mererentur fieri confessores, quos catholica postmodum gaudet ecclesia promeruisse martyres.

15 [46] **Ŵ** Qui cum imminere suas cernerent passiones, quae Domino Iesu Christo docente didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt. *Quos catholica.*

[47] **R** Gratias tibi, Domine, qui infestantis inimici iacula probationem fidelium tuorum praestitisti esse et non uulnera. Sed talem tuis martyribus tribuis pro labore mercedem, ut nullum tuorum fuisse gaudeat hostis imbellem.

20 [48] **Ŵ** Quin immo perpetuum eis largiris triumphum ut ecclesiae tuae semper sint in exemplum.

[49] **R** Beatissimus Dionysius Christi martyr, tradente beato Clemente, eroganda gentibus semina diuina suscepit, et quo amplius gentilitatis errorem feruere cognouit, illuc intrepidus et uirtute fidei armatus accessit.

25 [50] **Ŵ** Et Parisius Domino ducente peruenit, non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem. *Et quo ampli(us).*

15 docente] *om. D* 18 imbellem] in bethlem *P*

[51] R Dum sacrum mysterium sanctus Dionysius celebraret, in carcere apparuit ei Dominus Iesus Christus cum multitudine angelorum; dansque illi sancta dixit, 'Accipe hoc, care meus, quod mox complebo tibi una cum patre meo in regno meo'. *Dansque*.

5 [52] V̄ Mecum enim est maxima merces tua et his qui audierint te salus in regno meo. *Dansque*.

[53] R Mecum enim est maxima merces tua et his qui audierint te salus in regno meo. Nunc facies fortiter et erit nomen tuum in laude.

10 [54] V̄ Dilectio et benignitas quam habes semper pro quibuscumque petieris impetrabis. *Nunc facies*.

[55] R Tantas per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes ut rebellium corda non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtinerent.

[56] V̄ In quo lux caelestis gratiae ineffabiliter radiabat. *Vt rebellium*.

15 [57] R Adest namque beati Dionysii sacratissima dies, in qua triumphans agonem expleuit, et coronam uictoriae accipere meruit de manu Domini.

[58] V̄ Quem Dominum post apostolos sic honorauit, ut omnem Galliam eius apostolatu insigniret, quique eum suo sanguine consecrauit. *Et coro(nam)*.

20 [59] R Vir inclytus Dionysius, confessor Domini pretiosus, succensus igne diuini amoris constanter sustinuit supplicia passionis, et per immanitatem tormentorum peruenit ad societatem angelorum.

[60] V̄ Cuius intercessio nobis optineat ueniam, qui per tormenta passionis aeternam meruit palmam et sempiternam coronam. *Et per immani(tatem)*.

25 [61] R In hoc ergo loco experiuntur infirmi quantum Dei famulos conueniat honorari, ubi recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum, et obstrictae aures recipere merentur auditum.

2 illi] illis *D* 3–4 in regno meo] *om. MPR* 7 enim] *om. D* || et] *ut R* 9–10 petieris impetrabis] petierit impetrabat *DMP (ante correctionem)* 12 obtinerent] obtineret *P* 16 sic] *ita M* || honorauit] coronauit *D* 17 apostolatu] apostolatium *D* 18 confessor] martyr *MP*

[62] *Ÿ* Hunc ergo locum Dei famulus elegit expetendum. *Vbi.*

[63] *R* Per beatum Dionysium fiunt hic diuina mysteria: per orationes eius caeci illuminantur et natale eius daemonia effugantur et infirmi sanantur.

[64] *Ÿ* Peccatorum indulgentia condonantur et reorum uincula relaxantur. *Et infirmi.*
5

[65] *R* Hi sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam sustinuerunt abesse praesentia, quos in unum interrogatio percussoris inuenit; interrogati unum et uerum in trinitate Dominum confitentur.

[66] *Ÿ* Terrore subiuncto multisque afflicti iniuriis et suppliciis macerati. *Interrogati.*
10

[67] *R* O ueneranda martyrum (gloriosa certamina, qui in suis corporibus pro Christo immania pertulerunt tormenta, et ideo per eadem meruerunt inmarcescibilem aeternae gloriae coronam).

[68] *Ÿ* Beatus Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius gloriosum sanguinem pro Christo fuderunt. *Et ideo.*
15

[69] *R* Pretiosus Domini Dionysius in agone nouissimo orabat dicens, 'Nunc iam, Domine, per coronam martyrii cum fratribus meis, seruis tuis, suscipe me.'

[70] *Ÿ* Athleta Domini Dionysius psallebat dicens. *Nunc iam.*

[71] *R* Beatus Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius in hac ergo fidei constantia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas animas caelo cum gaudio intulerunt.
20

[72] *Ÿ* Beatorum animae sanctorum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii relictis glebis secutae sunt redemptorem. *Red(dentes).*

ANT(IPHONAE) IN MATVTINIS LAVDIBVS

[73] *Ā* Hi sancti uiri a beati Dionysii numquam sustinuerunt abesse praesentia, quos in unum interrogatio percussoris inuenit.
25

4 condonantur] condonatur *R* 24 MATVTINIS] *om. R*

[74] *Ÿ* Aeternitatis substantia unum et personis trinum Dominum confitentes.

[75] *Ā* In hac ergo fidei constantia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt.

[76] *Ÿ* Christo iuncti feliciter, quem tota deuotione dilexerant.

5 [77] *Ā* Tali namque ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Domino confiteri.

[78] *Ÿ* Et unde mentibus inerat amor, sermonibus aestuabat ardor.

[79] *Ā* Beata nimium et Deo nostra grata societas, inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse nec tertius, sed trinitatem confitentes trino meruerunt decorari
10 martyrio.

[80] *Ÿ* Vt fide pares gloria coronaret aequalis.

[81] *Ā* Et facta est comes multitudo caelestis exercitus exanimi corpori beati Dionysii caput proprium deportans, laudans Deum et dicens, 'Gloria tibi Domine'.

15 [82] *Ÿ* Quoniam beatus quem elegisti et assumpsisti inhabitabit in atriis tuis.

[83] *R* Exultent iusti in conspectu Dei [cf. Ps. lxxvii. 4].

[84] *Ÿ* Delectus in laetitia [cf. Ps. lxxvii. 4].

[85] *Ÿ* Iustorum animae [Sap. iii. 1].

IN EVANGELIO

20 [86] *Ā* Adest namque beati Dionysii sacratissima dies in qua triumphans agone[m] expleuit et coronam uictoriae accipere meruit de manu Domini.

[⁸⁷] *Ū* Ac testis Domini Iesu pretiosus senatum possedit sidereum.

[⁸⁸] *Ā* O beate Dionysii, magna est fides tua: intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Deum nostrum, ut qui qualitate tibi sumus dissimiles, sua gratia largiente faciat esse consortes.

5 ANT(IPHONAE) VBI VOLVERIS

[⁸⁹] *Ā* Ab ipsis quoque destruebantur idola quorum sumptu fuerant et studio fabricata. Dionysium reppererunt, cum quo Rusticum et Eleutherium archidiaconum persecutionis furor inuenit.

[⁹⁰] *Ā* Interrogati, unum et uerum in trinitate Dominum confitentur. Terrore subiuincto multisque afflicti iniuriis et suppliciis macerati, Christianos se esse fantur.

10

[⁹¹] *Ā* Eligunt tetris Sequane profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere.

ANT(IPHONAE) AD PROCESSIONEM

[⁹²] *Ā* Deus omnipotens, qui electis tuis in agonem certantibus gloriae coronam largiris et sortitis praemia regni caelestis tradidisti, inter quos atletam tuum Dionysium atque Eleutherium seu Rusticum in tua confessione palmam martyrii consecrasti, praesta, redemptor mundi, ut quod meritis non ualemus, per eorum suffragia ueniam consequamur.

15

Commentary on the Text of the Post-Hilduin Office

Before the beginning of no. [1], M has, under the rubric IN VIGILIA SANCTI DIONISII AD VESPERAS, the antiphon and *versus* given below as nos. [69] and [70], both of which have been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 31 (above, p. 292). The *versus* 'Laetamini in Domino' is omitted from MSS. MR.

Versus [1]: CAO 8120.

Antiphon [2]: CAO 3355.

Antiphon [3]: CAO 1146 (listed under Invitatories). MSS. M and P have the rubric INVITATORIVM in lieu of D's ANTIPHONAE SVPER 'VENITE'; in lieu of *Regem regum ... martyrum*, M has *Venite exultemus Domine* [Ps. xciv. 1]. The same antiphon was used for offices of SS. Innocentes, St Eusebius, SS. Firmus and Rusticus, and All Saints.

Antiphon [4]: CAO 4775. This wording of this antiphon, which corresponds to that of antiphon no. [1] in the pre-Hilduin Office, is taken from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20: 'idem Macarius Dionysius ... tradente sibi beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina Gallicis gentibus eroganda suscepit' (above, p. 274). Note that Hilduin, adapting here the wording of the 'ancient *passio*' (c. 2), replaced the word *parturienda* of his source with *eroganda*.

Versus [6]: The wording of this *versus* is from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20: 'quae Atheniensium magister Paulo docente didicerat, Galliis ministravit' (above, p. 274). There is no correlate to this *versus* in the pre-Hilduin Office; the *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R of the post-Hilduin Office.

Antiphon [7]: CAO 4553. The wording of this antiphon corresponds nearly verbatim to Antiphon no. [3] in the pre-Hilduin Office, with the difference that the compiler of the later text has substituted the wording of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20 ('quo amplius ... gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei *armatus* accessit, ac Lutetium Parisiorum, Domino ducente, peruenit'), where Hilduin's reading *armatus* has been substituted for the word *flammatus* of the 'ancient *passio*' (c. 2), which was used by the compiler of the pre-Hilduin Office, no. [3].

Versus [9]: This wording of this *versus* is from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20: 'doctrinaque praeclarus, miraculis coruscans et uirtutum signis' (above, p. 274);

the *versus* has no correlate in the pre-Hilduin Office; it is omitted from MSS. M and R of the post-Hilduin Office.

Antiphon [10]: *CAO* 3939. The wording of this antiphon corresponds nearly verbatim to that of Antiphon no. [5] in the pre-Hilduin Office, with the difference that the compiler of the later work has substituted the word *expetere* (from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20) for *experiri* of the pre-Hilduin Office.

Psalm-verse [11]: In lieu of the psalm-verse given by D (*Domine quis*), MSS. MPR have *Cum inuocarem* (Ps. iv. 2).

Versus [12]: This wording of this *versus*, which has no correlate in the pre-Hilduin Office, has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20: 'tormentis expertus multis, morte tandem assecuturum se uitam tota nihilominus intentione desiderans' (above, p. 274); the *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

Antiphon [13]: *CAO* 2560. The wording of this antiphon has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: 'ecclesiam illic ... quae necdum locis illis et populis nota erat, construxit; ac officia deuote Domino seruientium clericorum ex more constituit, probatasque personas honore secundi ordinis ampliauit' (above, p. 276). Hilduin's wording is derived in turn from a passage in the 'ancient *passio*' (c. 2), and this same passage was adapted by the compiler of the pre-Hilduin Office, no. [28], as one of the antiphons for the Third Nocturn (see above).

Psalm-verse [14]: In lieu of the psalm-verse given by D (*Cum inuocarem*), MSS. MPR have *Verba mea auribus* (Ps. v. 3).

Versus [15]: The wording of this *versus*, which has no correlate in the pre-Hilduin Office, was taken from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: 'restituens populos creatori, quos a deuio cultu reuocauerat creaturae' (above, p. 278). This *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

Antiphon [16]: *CAO* 1805. The wording of this antiphon has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: 'Cinctus ergo fide et deuotione populi ... misericordiam eius in hoc tempore et iudicium futurum proponens, paulatim sociabat Deo, quos diabolo subtrahebat' (above, p. 278). But Hilduin's wording was derived in turn from the 'ancient *passio*' (c. 2), and corresponds verbatim to that of an antiphon for the Third Nocturn in the pre-Hilduin Office (above, no. [32]), which was probably the direct source of the present antiphon.

Versus [18]: The wording of this *versus*, which has no correlate in the pre-Hilduin Office, has been adapted from a passage in Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 26: ‘unum Deum et Dominum ... in trinitate perfecta’ (above, p. 284). This *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

[19]–[21]: These chants are omitted at this point in MSS. MPR; in PR they are inserted after no. [24].

Antiphon [19]: CAO 3767. The wording of this antiphon was drawn from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: ‘Miroque modo inermi uiro non ualebat plebs armata resistere’ (above, p. 278); but Hilduin’s wording was derived in turn from the ‘ancient *passio*’ (c. 2), and the very same sentence was used by the compiler of the pre-Hilduin Office as a *versus* for the Third Nocturn (see above, no. [36]).

Versus [21]: The wording of this *versus*, which has no correlate in the pre-Hilduin Office, was drawn from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: ‘in eo lux caelestis gratiae radiabat’ (above, p. 278).

Antiphon [22]: CAO 5107. The wording of this antiphon was drawn from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: ‘Tantas enim per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret’ (above, p. 278), a sentence which was derived by Hilduin from the ‘ancient *passio*’ (c. 2). The very wording of the present antiphon was twice used by the compiler of the pre-Hilduin Office: for an antiphon for the Second Nocturn (no. [19]), and for a responsory for the Third Nocturn (no. [35]).

Psalm-verse [23]: In lieu of the psalm-verse given by D (*Conserua me*), M has *In Domino* (Ps. x. 2).

Versus [24]: The precise wording of this *versus* is not found in Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*; but cf. c. 29, where Hilduin describes the preaching of St Dionysius in the prison-cell before the appearance there of Jesus Christ: ‘Vnde semper Iesum Christum uerum Deum esse cunctis spectantibus praedicans’ (above, p. 288). This *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

Antiphon [25]: CAO 2468. The wording of this antiphon was adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29: ‘Cum ... missarum solemnia ... celebraret, ... apparuit ei Dominus Iesus Christus ... cum multitudine angelorum’ (above, p. 290). This episode has no correlate in the ‘ancient *passio*’, and therefore does not figure in the pre-Hilduin Office. Before this antiphon, M inserts the

responsories given below as nos. [45]–[51], at the end of which M continues with the text as from no. [25].

Psalm-verse [26]: In lieu of the psalm-verse given in D (*Domine in uirtute*), P has *Beati quorum* (Ps. xxxi. 1).

Versus [27]: The wording of this *versus* does not derive from Hilduin; the *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

Antiphon [28]: CAO 2097. The wording of this antiphon was drawn from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29: ‘dedit illi, dicens: “Accipe hoc, care meus, quod mox complebo tibi una cum patre meo”’ (above, p. 290). Neither the episode nor the wording is found in the ‘ancient *passio*’, and hence not in the pre-Hilduin Office.

Versus [30]: The wording of this *versus* does not derive from Hilduin; the *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

Antiphon [31]: CAO 3728. The wording of this antiphon was drawn from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29: ‘quoniam mecum est maxima merces tua, et his qui audierint te, salus in regno meo’ (above, p. 290). There is no correlate in the ‘ancient *passio*’, and hence not in the pre-Hilduin Office.

Psalm-verse [32]: In lieu of the psalm-verse given in D (*Benedicam Dominum*), P has *Exaudi Deus* (Ps. liv. 2).

Versus [33]: The wording of this *versus* does not derive from Hilduin; the *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

Antiphon [34]: CAO 3976. The wording of this antiphon has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29: ‘Nunc facies fortiter, et memoria tua erit in laude. Dilectio autem et benignitas quam habes, semper pro quibuscumque petierit, impetrabit’ (above, p. 290). There is no correlate to this sentence in either the ‘ancient *passio*’ or the pre-Hilduin Office.

Psalm-verse [35]: In lieu of the psalm-verse given in D (*Exaudi Deus*), P has *Te decet* (Ps. lxiv. 2).

Versus [36]: The wording of this *versus* does not derive from Hilduin; this *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R.

Antiphon [37]: *CAO* 1243. The wording of this antiphon has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 30: ‘Ad hanc uocem Christi martyres – Dionysius, Rusticus et Eleutherius – in agonia pari confessione fidei et uirtutis constantia roborati, post nimia tormenta gloriosum complere martyrium elegerunt’ (above, p. 290). The wording of this antiphon has no correlate in the ‘ancient *passio*’ or in the pre-Hilduin Office. The fragmentary text in MS. V begins here with the words *Dionysius Rusticus*.

Psalm-verse [38]: After no. [38], M inserts nos. [52]–[59]; following the end of no. [59], M returns to no. [40].

Versus [39]: The wording of this *versus* was not taken directly from Hilduin, but was based on the wording of the previous antiphon (no. [37]); it is omitted from MSS. M and R. The rubric AD CANTICA is omitted from MSS. M and P, but retained in R.

Antiphon [40]: *CAO* 3866. The wording of this antiphon has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 36: ‘Sed nec illud silendum est, quod immundorum spirituum infestatione uexati, dum ad memoratorum Christi testium tumulos examinandi uirtute diuina ducuntur, sanctorum ipsorum coguntur imperio, quo quisque sit martyrum positus loco, designatis nominibus indicare’ (above, p. 300). The wording of this antiphon has no correlate either in the ‘ancient *passio*’ or in the pre-Hilduin Office.

Versus [41]: The wording of this *versus* was not taken directly from Hilduin, but was based on the wording of the previous antiphon (no. [40]); the *versus* is omitted from MSS. M and R. After no. [41], P omits the rubric (VERSUS SVPER NOCTVRNAM). At this point, MS. M inserts nos. [63]–[66], followed by an antiphon which is otherwise only attested as an additional responsory in MS. P (see below, commentary to nos. [61]–[64]: ‘Tres uiri isti trinitatis fidem studiose praedicantes hodierna die trinum martyrium consecuti sunt pariter’), followed by nos. [71]–[72]. Then M continues with the antiphons for Lauds (nos. [73]–[81]), omitting the *versus*, followed by the two antiphons IN EVANGELIO, nos. [86] and [88]. At this point the Office in M ends.

Versus [42]: *CAO* 8120. In lieu of the psalm-verse given in D (*Laetamini in Domino*), MS. V has *Iusti autem* (Ps. xxxvi. 29 or lxvii. 4).

Versus [43]: *CAO* 8070.

Versus [44]: CAO 7960.

[45]–[48] The compiler of the post-Hilduin Office now returns to the beginning of Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* (c. 1) as the source of the following four responsories and *versus*.

Responsory [45]: CAO 7402. The wording of this responsory has been excerpted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 1: 'Post beatam ac salutiferam Domini nostri Iesu Christi passionem ... in uniuersis gentibus apostolorum praedicatio profutura successit, ita ut fide crescenti, multi mererentur fieri Christi nominis confessores, quos catholica postmodum gaudet mater ecclesia promeruisse martyres' (above, p. 232).

Versus [46]: The wording of this *versus* has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 1: 'Qui siquidem cum imminere suas cernerent passiones quae, Domino Iesu Christo docente, didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt' (above, p. 232). At this point, MS. P (but not R) repeats the wording of the preceding *versus*, combined with that of the preceding responsory (no. [45]): 'Qui cum imminere suas cernerent passiones, quae Domino Iesu et isto docente didicerant, repleti spiritus sancti gratia docuerunt. Quos catholica postmodum gaudet ecclesia promeruisse martyres. *Gaudet ecclesia promeruisse*'. The fragmentary text in MS. V ends with the words *Qui cum*.

Responsory [47]: CAO 6791. The wording of this responsory has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 1: 'Vnde gratias tibi agimus, Domine Iesu Christe, qui infestantis inimici iacula probationem fidelium tuorum praestitisti esse et non uulnera. Sed inter cetera carismatum munera talem tuis testibus tribuisti pro labore mercedem, ut nullum tuorum fuisse gaudeat hostis imbellem' (above, p. 232).

Versus [48]: The wording of this *versus* has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 1: 'quin immo perpetuum illis es largitus triumphum, ut ecclesiae tuae semper sint in exemplum' (above, p. 232).

Responsory [49]: CAO 6190. The wording of this responsory has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20: 'Macarius Dionysius ... tradente sibi beato Clemente Petri apostoli successore, uerbi diuini semina Gallicis gentibus eroganda susceperat ... quo amplius apud Gallias gentilitatis feruere cognouit errorem, illuc intrepidus et calore fidei armatus accessit' (above, p. 274); and

note that the same wording has already been used for two antiphons by the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office (see above, nos. [4] and [7], with accompanying commentary).

Versus [50]: The wording of this *versus* has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 20: 'non ueritus incredulae gentis expetere feritatem' (above, p. 274); and note that the same wording has already been used for an antiphon by the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office (see above, no. [10]).

Responsory [51]: CAO 6559. The wording of this responsory has already been used for two antiphons by the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office (see above, nos. [25] and [28]); the wording derives from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29 (above, p. 290), and has no correlate in either the 'ancient *passio*' or the pre-Hilduin Office.

Versus [52]: CAO 7138. The wording of this *versus* has already been used for two antiphons by the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office (see above, nos. [31] and [34]); the wording derives from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29 (above, p. 290), and has no correlate in either the 'ancient *passio*' or the pre-Hilduin Office.

Responsory [53]: CAO 7138. The wording of this responsory has already been used for two antiphons by the compiler of the post-Hilduin Office (see above, nos. [31] and [34]), as well as the immediately preceding *versus*; the wording derives from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29 (above, p. 290), and has no correlate in either the 'ancient *passio*' or the pre-Hilduin Office.

Versus [54]: The wording of this *versus* has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 29: 'Dilectio autem et benignitas quam habes, semper pro quibuscumque petierit impetrabit' (above, p. 290).

Responsory [55]: CAO 7753. The wording of this responsory has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: 'Tantas enim per illum Dominus dignabatur exercere uirtutes, ut rebellium corda gentilium non minus miraculis quam praedicationibus obtineret' (above, p. 278); but note that Hilduin's wording was taken nearly verbatim from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 2, and had been used for an antiphon for the Second Nocturn by the compiler of the pre-Hilduin Office (above, no. [19]).

Versus [56]: The wording of this *versus* has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: 'in eo lux caelestis gratiae radiabat' (above, p. 278).

Responsory [57]: CAO 6033. The wording of this responsory has been taken verbatim from a responsory in the pre-Hilduin Office, above, no. [22]; the wording has no correlate in Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*.

Versus [58]: The wording of this *versus* has been freely adapted from wording in Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 18: 'atque omnem hanc Galliam ipsius Dionysii apostolatu disponderet subleuari' (above, p. 272).

Responsory [59]: CAO 7897. The wording of this responsory has been adapted from wording in Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 33: 'inclutus nuntius et confessor ipsius pretiosus, succensus igne diuini amoris, constanter sustinuit supplicia passionis, et per immanitatem tormentorum peruenit ad societatem angelorum' (above, p. 294). The responsory is also used for offices of St Vincent, St Laurence, St Hippolytus, and the *Dedicatio ecclesiae*.

Versus [60]: The wording of this *versus* does not derive from Hilduin.

[61]–[64] In lieu of these chants, P has the following responsory (not taken from Hilduin): 'R Tres uiri isti trinitatis fidem studio se praedicantes hodierna die trinum martyrium consecuti sunt pariter. V̇ Beatus Dionysius Rusticus et Eleutherius in hac ergo fidei constantia permanentes. *Hodierna*.' In MS. R, this text is inserted after no. [64].

Responsory [61]: CAO 6904. The wording of this responsory has been adapted from wording in Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 36: 'Experientur tamen infirmi ... quantum Dei famulos conueniat honorari, quorum interuentu recipit caecitas uisum, debilitas gressum et obstrictae aurium ianuae recipere merentur auditum' (above, p. 300).

Versus [62]: The wording of this *versus* does not derive from Hilduin, but comes verbatim from an antiphon in the pre-Hilduin Office (above, no. [17]).

Responsory [63]: CAO 7373. The wording of this responsory does not derive from Hilduin; the responsory is also used for offices of St Valentine, St Clement and the *Inuentio S. Dionysii*.

Versus [64]: The wording of this *versus* does not derive from Hilduin.

Responsory [65]: CAO 6815. The first clause of this responsory has been adapted from wording in Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 25: 'Hi sancti uiri a beatissimi

Dionysii numquam sustinuerunt abesse praesentia'; the subsequent clause is based on the previous sentence in Hilduin ('persecutorum dirus furor inuenit'); and with the final clause, cf. a sentence in c. 26 of the same work: 'colamus patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum, unum Deum et Dominum, ita ut in trinitate perfecta' (above, pp. 282, 284).

Versus [66]: The wording of this *versus* is from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 30: 'Deinde terrore subiuncto multisque iniuriis et non antea perlatis suppliciiis macerati' (above, p. 290).

[67]–[68] These two chants are omitted here in MS. P, perhaps because they had been included earlier as responsory and *versus* for Vespers in the Office for the Vigil of St Dionysius (fo. 226^v).

Responsory [67]: CAO 7300. The responsory is also used for the offices of All Saints and for the Common of Several Martyrs. The full text of this responsory is found only in MS. R; it is given in very truncated form ('O ueneranda martyrum') in MSS. D and P.

Versus [68]: This *versus* is omitted from MS. R.

Responsory [69]: CAO 7431. The wording of the first part of the sentence has been composed *ad hoc*, but the wording of the following clause is taken from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 31: 'Nunc iam, Domine, per coronam martyrii cum fratribus meis – seruis tuis – suscipe me' (above, p. 292). The text from nos. [69] (*Domine per coronam martyrii*) through [76] (*quem tota deuotione*) is omitted from MS. P, as a result of the loss of a leaf, either in P itself or in its exemplar.

Versus [70]: This *versus* is omitted from MS. R.

Responsory [71]: CAO 6202. The wording of this responsory is from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 31: 'atque in hac fidei constantia permanentes, reddentes terrae corpora, beatas caelo animas intulerunt' (above, p. 292); but Hilduin's wording was derived in turn from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3, save that Hilduin replaced the word *pertinacia* of his source with *constantia*. The wording of the 'ancient *passio*' was also used for a responsory in the pre-Hilduin Office (above, no. [38]).

Antiphon [73]: CAO 3042. The wording of this antiphon has been taken from a previous responsory in the same Office (above, no. [64]).

Versus [74]: This *versus* is omitted from MS. R.

Antiphon [75]: *CAO* 3238. The wording of this antiphon has been abbreviated from that of a previous responsory in the same Office (above, no. [71]).

Antiphon [77]: *CAO* 5097. This wording of this antiphon has been taken from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 31: 'Taliq̄ ad Dominum meruerunt professione migrare, ut amputatis capitibus adhuc putaretur lingua palpitans Iesum Christum Dominum confiteri' (above, p. 292); but this sentence was taken over by Hilduin from the 'ancient *passio*', c. 3, whence it was re-used as a responsory by the compiler of the pre-Hilduin Office (above, no. [39]).

Versus [78]: This *versus* is omitted from MS. R.

Antiphon [79]: *CAO* 1571. This wording of this antiphon has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 31: 'Vere beata nimium et Deo nostro grata societas, inter quos nec primus alter potuit esse, nec tertius: sed trinitatem confitentes, trino meruere decorari martyrio' (above, p. 292).

Antiphon [81]: *CAO* 2701. The wording of this antiphon has been adapted from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 32: 'Et facta est comes multitudo caelestis exercitus exanimi eius corpori caput proprium, ab ipso monte, ubi fuerat decollatus, per duo fere milia deportanti' (above, p. 294). The antiphon is also used for offices of the SS. Innocentes, St Sebastian, All Saints, and the Common of Several Martyrs.

Versus [82]: This *versus* is omitted from MS. R.

Versus [85]: *CAO* 8114.

Antiphon [86]: *CAO* 1264. The wording of this antiphon was taken verbatim from an antiphon in the pre-Hilduin Office, where it is similarly specified for use 'in euangelio' (above, no. [47]).

Versus [87]: This *versus* appears to have been composed *ad hoc*.

Antiphon [88]: *CAO* 3999. The wording of this antiphon was adapted from an antiphon in the pre-Hilduin Office, similarly specified 'in euangelio' (above, no. [48]).

[⁸⁹]-[⁹²] These final four antiphons are omitted from MSS. P and R. In P, following no. [⁸⁸] on fols. 232^v-233^v, there is an Office for the Octave of St Dionysius (*In Octabas sancti Dionysii*), which ends incomplete on fo. 233^v.

Antiphon [⁸⁹]: CAO 1203. The first sentence of this antiphon was taken from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 22: 'Ab ipsis quoque destruebantur idola, quorum sumptu fuerant et studio fabricata' (above, p. 278); the second sentence has been adapted from c. 25 of the same work: 'Cum quo etiam beatum uirum Rusticum archipresbyterum et Eleutherium archidiaconem, quos ipse famulus Domini in suis ordinibus consecrarat, praedicationis et diuini obsequii coministros, persecutorum dirus furor inuenit' (above, p. 282).

Antiphon [⁹⁰]: CAO 3377. This wording of this antiphon has been confected from a previous responsory and *versus* in this same Office: see above, nos. [⁶⁵] and [⁶⁶].

Antiphon [⁹¹]: CAO 2636. The wording of this antiphon has been taken from Hilduin, *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 33: 'eligunt tetris Sequanae profundisque gurgitibus martyrum corpora perdenda committere' (above, p. 296); but cf. the identical wording of an antiphon for Lauds in the pre-Hilduin Office (above, no. [⁴⁴]).

Antiphon [⁹²]: CAO 2179. The wording of this final antiphon, intended for processional use, has been taken verbatim from the pre-Hilduin Office (above, no. [⁵³]) where, as here, it constitutes the final antiphon of the Office for St Dionysius.

St Dionysius in Byzantine Hagiography

St Dionysius the Areopagite was widely culted in the Byzantine church, against his feast-day 3 October.¹ During the late eighth and early ninth centuries there was frequent diplomatic contact between Constantinople and the Frankish kingdom, and this contact is reflected in Byzantine hagiography, which shows pervasive influence of the Latin (Frankish) *passiones* of the saint. One Byzantine text in particular, the ‘Synaxarion of Constantinople’ (no. (d) below), shows indebtedness to the *Passio S. Dionysius* of Hilduin of Saint-Denis. The relevant texts may be listed as follows.

a *The Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae*

The *Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae* [*BHG* 554] is apparently the earliest of the Byzantine *passiones* of St Dionysius.² It is simply a literal translation of what I call the ‘anonymous *Passio S. Dionysii*’ [*BHL* 2178], printed above as Appendix II (pp. 660–703). The relationship is clear from the very first sentence of text: the Latin *Post beatam et gloriosam resurrectionem Domini nostri* etc. is rendered literally as Μετὰ τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτην ἀνάστασιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν (col. 66g). But there are many details in the narrative of *BHG* 554 which are not found in the Latin source, as may be seen from the following synopsis: St Paul comes to Rome during the reign of Nero, where Peter was preaching; Peter and Paul are both executed (c. 2), but before his execution, Peter was able to hand the keys of the kingdom of heaven to Clement (c. 2).

¹ *ODB I*, p. 629.

² *PG* iv. 669–684; see discussion of this text by Loenertz, ‘Le panégyrique de S. Denys l’Aréopagite’, pp. 105–107. The Greek text of *BHG* 554 was subsequently retranslated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in 875 or 876, and sent with a dedication to Charles the Bald (d. 877): see Introduction, ch. 3 (above, pp. 106–107). Anastasius attributed the Greek text to Methodius of Constantinople, who had died in 847; but the attribution is doubtful. Anastasius’ *Passio S. Dionysii* is listed *BHL* 2184, and ed. Pierre-François Chifflet, *Dissertationes tres* (Paris, 1676), pp. 7–35; his dedicatory letter to Charles the Bald (but not the text of the *passio* itself) is ed. *PL* cxxix. 737–739. This derivative Latin version by Anastasius [*BHL* 2184] entered the body of Latin hagiography concerning St Dionysius, and sometimes formed part of the manuscript-collections which I refer to as ‘Dionysielli’ (see Appendix III, above).

Previously, St Paul had been in Athens, where he had converted Dionysius (c. 3). From Rome, Pope Clement sent out apostles (c. 4). The apostles arrived in Arles, whence Marcellus was sent on to Spain, Lucian to Beauvais, and Dionysius, with Rusticus and Eleutherius, to Paris (c. 5). Paris is described at length (c. 6). Dionysius converts multitudes (c. 7), whence Domitian launches a second persecution (i.e. following that of Nero) against the Christians (c. 8). The agents of Domitian arrive in Paris and arrest Dionysius, from whom Rusticus and Eleutherius refuse to be separated (c. 9). Dionysius is interrogated by the unnamed agent: are you not that despicable old man, etc.: οὐκ εἶ σὺ ὁ ἀνώνυμος γέρων, ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῶν τὸ σέβας κενώσας, etc. (c. 11). The three martyrs reply in unison with their confession of the Christian faith. They are duly decapitated, the tongues in their decapitated heads still confessing Christ (c. 12). Dionysius then picks up his head and walks two miles from the top of the hill (c. 13). Plans are made to dispose of the bodies, but they are foiled by the devices of a *materfamilias* named Catula (Κατοῦλα) (c. 14). Later, a mausoleum is built on the site where the three bodies were hidden, where miracles occur (c. 17). The author concludes by remarking on the paucity of written sources for the saint (c. 18).

Because this *passio* [BHG 554] was used as a source by Michael the Synkellos, who composed his *Encomium* on St Dionysius in 833 or 834 (see below, no. (b)), it must have been in existence before that date: with the implication that the ‘anonymous [Latin] *passio*’ of St Dionysius had been transmitted to Constantinople soon after it was composed (possibly during the abbacy of Waldo (806–814): see above, p. 668), probably by way of one of the Byzantine embassies which visited Louis the Pious.

b The *Encomium beati Dionysii Areopagitae* by Michael the Synkellos

Michael (c. 761–846), the *synkellos* (principal adviser; lit. ‘one who shares a cell’) of the patriarch of Jerusalem (from c. 811 onwards), was a monk of the lavra of St Sabas near Jerusalem. While he was en route to Rome on behalf of Patriarch Thomas, he stopped in Constantinople, probably in 815, and was arrested almost immediately for his determined opposition to the iconoclasm then prevailing (he was a committed iconodule), and was held in prison for some five years. Under Emperor Michael II (820–829), he was remanded in custody to the monastery of Parousias (near Prusa in Bithynia), where he remained in exile until the fifth year of the reign of Theophilus (1 October 833 to 30 September 834), when he was brought back to Constantinople, and where he composed and delivered his *Encomium* to St Dionysius. He was not released

from captivity until after the death of Theophilus in 842, and in 843 became *synkellos* to Patriarch Methodios (of Constantinople); he died four years later in the monastery of Chora in Constantinople.³

The *Encomium* for St Dionysius [BHG 556]⁴ basically consists of two complementary parts: the first part (cols. 620–656) contains a synopsis of the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius; the second part (cols. 656–668) contains an account of the life and martyrdom of St Dionysius, based on the anonymous *Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae* [BHG 554; no. (a) above]. The narrative is as follows:

Dionysius rejects the abominations of Athenian religion, as illustrated by the *Theogony* of Hesiod; he associates himself with St Paul and adopts his Christian teachings (cols. 624–625). This conversion takes place at the time of Christ's crucifixion, as is known from his *Epistola VII* to Polycarp (cols. 628–629); the letter is partly summarized, partly quoted verbatim. St Paul then goes to the Areopagus and finds the shrine to the 'unknown god' (Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ), and explains to the Athenians who this 'unknown god' really is, discoursing therefore on the mysteries of the Incarnation, the Virgin birth, and the Trinity (cols. 629–633). Dionysius absorbs all this divine learning, and then expresses it in his own sublime writings: *De diuinis nominibus* (cols. 640–641), *De ecclesiastica hierarchia* (cols. 641–649), and the *Epistola (VIII)* to Demophilus on St Carpus of Crete (cols. 649–652); mention is also made of other letters (to Timotheus, Polycarp and Titus (col. 653), and to John the Evangelist in exile on Patmos (col. 653)).

At this point, Michael moves on to narrate the martyrdom of St Dionysius, which he situates in the principate of Trajan (col. 656), who is described waging war on the Thracians and Scythians, as well as on Christians. By this point Dionysius is seventy years old: Διονύσιος ἐπὶ ἑβδομηκονταετῆ χρόνον (col. 657; cf. col. 664). The report of his teaching reaches Trajan (col. 660) in Rome; meanwhile, operating from Paris, Dionysius together with Rusticus and Eleutherius destroys temples and leads people away from Belial (cols. 660–661). Dionysius is summoned before a tribunal and asked, in a clear reminiscence of the earlier *Martyrium S. Dionysii*: are you by any chance that despicable old man who is rejecting the cult of our gods, etc.: Ὁ δὺστηνε γεραιέ, σύ τυγχάνεις ὦν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῶν τὸ σέβας ἀπαγορεύων, etc. (col. 661). Dionysius replies by giving the

3 On Michael the Synkellos, see *ODB* II, pp. 1369–1370; Loenertz, 'Le panégyrique de S. Denys l'Aréopagite par S. Michel le Syncelle', pp. 96–98; and H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 503–505. Although he never returned to Jerusalem, Michael must have retained some affection for the place, for he described it as 'the common mother of all Christians': τὴν πάντων Χριστιανῶν κοινομήτορα (PG iv. 653).

4 PG iv. 617–668; for discussion see Loenertz, 'Le panégyrique de S. Denys l'Aréopagite par S. Michel le Syncelle', pp. 94–107.

tribunal a lengthy exposition of the Christian faith and the Trinity. The martyrs are tortured savagely (col. 664), and then beheaded (col. 665). Blessed is the city of Paris! (cols. 665–666). Michael's *Encomium* thus ends with this fulsome praise of Paris; no mention is made of the cephalophory or of the martyrs' burial.

It will be seen that, although (for the latter part of his narrative) Michael was clearly following the earlier *Martyrium S. Dionysii*, he brought to it his own independent interpretation of events, for example by situating the martyrdom in the principate of Trajan rather than that of Domitian, or by stating that Dionysius was 70 years old at the time of his martyrdom (whereas in other *passiones* he is stated to have been 90).⁵

c Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et conversatio S. Dionysii Areopagitae*

The *Vita et conversatio S. Dionysii Areopagitae* [BHG 555] is a chapter in the vast *Menologium* of Symeon Metaphrastes (c. 1000), where it is found among the entries for October.⁶ Symeon's *Vita* begins by stating that St Paul, while he was in Athens, led Dionysius from darkness to light (cols. 589–592); then comes the story of the shrine to the 'unknown god' (col. 592), then the baptism of Dionysius (col. 593). Dionysius then leaves Athens for Rome and goes to Pope Clement (col. 593); he is sent to Gaul with Rusticus and Eleutherius, as well as Lucianus, who goes on to Beauvais (col. 596). In Paris, Dionysius builds a basilica (called by Symeon a 'temple': *ναός*) (col. 596). He teaches the Parisians with marvellous doctrine, as can be seen from his letter to Demophilus of Athens (i.e. *Ep.* VIII), who reported that, when once he was in Crete, he visited Carpus; the vision of Carpus is then narrated (cols. 597–601). While Dionysius is converting multitudes in Paris, this news reaches Domitian, who sends his agents to Paris (col. 601). Dionysius is arrested and interrogated, in terms which

5 See discussion by Loenertz, *ibid.* pp. 97–98: 'il l'a fait en orateur, en homme de goût et de bon sens, avec une pointe d'esprit critique. Il en est résulté une certaine divergence entre le discours et sa source'.

6 The *Menologion* is ptd in three vols. of PG (cxiv–cxvi); the *Vita S. Dionysii* is found at PG cxv. 1032–1049 (and is reprinted in PG iv. 589–608, from which I quote). On Symeon Metaphrastes, see *ODB* III, pp. 1983–1984; on his *Menologion*, see A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche: von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1936–1952), II, pp. 306–709, with discussion of the entries for October at pp. 358–392 (and of the relationship of Symeon with the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople' at p. 389), and of St Dionysius at pp. 358 and 391.

by now are familiar: 'Are you, O execrable head, the one who reduces our gods to nothing, and strives to remove our religion from our midst?' (Σὺ εἶ, ὦ καταράτη κεφαλῇ, ὁ τοὺς ἡμετέρους θεοὺς ἐν μηδενὶ τιθέμενος, καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐκ μέσου ποιῆσαι θρησκείαν φιλονεικῶν; (col. 604)). The dialogue continues; the saints expound their Christian faith. They are decapitated (col. 605). Dionysius then takes his head to a more distant location (καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν, ὡσπερ τι βραβεῖον, ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν ὁ μάρτυς δεξάμενος, ἐφ' ἱκανον τόπον δίεισιν (col. 605)). (Note that no specific distance or location is mentioned.) The imperial agents decide to dispose of the bodies; but a certain woman called Catula provides a lavish banquet so that the agents forget their mission (col. 605). When they have departed, Catula, on 3 October (no year is mentioned) places the martyrs' remains in a certain house.

d The 'Synaxarion of Constantinople'

The 'Synaxarion of Constantinople' was compiled c. 1000 in Constantinople.⁷ The entry for St Dionysius includes certain details which indicate that one of the sources on which the compiler drew was Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii* [BHL 2175];⁸ for that reason I have reproduced the (brief) chapter on St Dionysius in its entirety. The text is taken from the edition of Hippolyte Delehaye, in the *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris: Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi* (Brussels, 1902), cols. 101–102. As usual in Byzantine liturgical sources, the entry for St Dionysius is recorded against 3 October (not 9 October, the day on which he was commemorated in the West).

⁷ ODB III, p. 1991.

⁸ For example, the statement that Dionysius was ordained bishop of Athens by St Paul (καὶ χειροτονεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ [scil. Παύλου] ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν): such a statement is not found in Act. xvii. 34, and is not made in any of the earlier hagiography (Greek or Latin) of St Dionysius, but is unambiguously stated in Hilduin's *Passio S. Dionysii*, c. 8: 'ab eodem beato Paulo apostolo Atheniensium est ordinatus antistes' (above, p. 244). Similarly, the statement about Dionysius's great learning and the description of him sitting among the judges on the Areopagus may have been prompted by c. 5 of Hilduin's *passio* ('qui ob plenitudinem diuae supernorum numinum scientiae theosophus ... et a regione urbis, qua sedulo commorabatur et innatus principabatur, "areopagita" genuino quasi uocabulo utebatur'); and the statement that he reached the West during the reign of Domitian is easily deduced from cc. 17–18 of Hilduin's work (recall that Michael the Synkellos assigned these events to the principate of Trajan).

1. Ἐπιτομή τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπου γενομένου Ἀθηνῶν Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου. Ὁς ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνδόξων πλούτῳ καὶ σοφίᾳ περίβλεπτος. Νόμος δὲ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑνέα κριτὰς προκαθέζεσθαι παρὰ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον, διαφέροντας τῶν λοιπῶν, τὰς φονικὰς κρίνοντας κρίσεις· ὧν εἷς ὑπῆρχε καὶ Διονύσιος. Τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου κηρύξαντος ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἄκρος τὴν σύνεσιν ὧν, ἐπέγνω τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἐπίστευσεν εἰς Χριστόν· καὶ χειροτονεῖται παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα μυεῖται παρὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ Ἰεροθεοῦ. Διὸ καὶ μόνος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐκτίθεται τῶν ἐπουρανίων ταγμάτων τοὺς διακόσμους καὶ πάσης ἱεραρχίας καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατάξεως ἐφερμηνεύει τοὺς τύπους. Οὗτος ὀλοκαυτοῦται ἐν πυρὶ συλληφθεὶς ὑφ' ἑλλήνων, συγκατακαέντων αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων, ἃ φασὶ τινες ἐν μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποκεῖσθαι βιβλιοθήκῃ· εὕρισκονται δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν βιβλία αὐτοῦ δέκα. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὰ ἐσπέρια, ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Δομετιανοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ θαύματα ἐπιδειξάμενος, μετὰ τὸ ἀποτμηθῆναι τὴν κεφαλὴν /col. 102/ χερσὶν ἰδίαις ὑποδεξάμενος, μέχρι δύο μιλίων ἐβάδισε· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέθετο αὐτὴν, ἕως συνήνητησε πιστῇ γυναικὶ ὀνόματι Κατούλα· καὶ ταύτης ταῖς χερσὶ τὸν ἱερὸν θησαυρὸν ἤτοι τὴν κάραν ἐπίστευσε. Σύν αὐτῷ δὲ Ῥουστικός τε καὶ Ἐλευθέριος τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετμήθησαν. Ἦν δὲ κατὰ τὸν σωματικὸν τύπον, τὸ μέγεθος μέσος, ἰσχνός, λευκός, ὑποχρος, τὴν ρίνα ὑπόσιμος, τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακῶς, κοῖλος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς ἐπὶ συννοίας ἀεὶ, ὦτα μεγάλα ἔχων, πολίος, κομήτης, μετρίως βαθυνόμενος τὴν ὑπὴν, ἀραιὸς τὴν ἔκφυσιν τοῦ γενείου, ἡμέρα προγιάστῳ, μακροδάκτυλος ταῖς χερσίν. Ἡ δὲ σύναξις αὐτοῦ τελεῖται ἐν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

[3 October]. 1. The martyrdom of our father Dionysius the Areopagite, who became bishop of Athens. He happened to be celebrated among those Athenians, being esteemed for his wealth and wisdom. It was the custom among them for nine judges to sit in tribunal on the Areopagos,⁹ set apart from the others, passing judgement in cases of homicide; Dionysius was one of these. When the divine Paul the apostle was preaching in Athens, Dionysius, being outstanding in his quick comprehension, perceived the truth and believed in Christ; and he is ordained bishop of Athens by Paul and is initiated into the mysteries by the wise man Hierotheus.¹⁰ Accordingly, Dionysius alone reveals in his writings the orders of celestial ranks and explains the patterns of all hierarchy and ecclesiastical organization. This work was gathered together by the Greeks and burned whole in a fire; his other writings were burned together with it. Some people say they are preserved in a single Roman library. Ten of his books are found in our libraries. Reaching the West in the reign of Domitian, and revealing many miracles, after being decapitated, he took up his head in his own hands and walked for two miles; and he did not put it down before he encountered a trustworthy woman named Catulla, and entrusted the sacred treasure – that is, his head – to her hands. With him Rusticus and Eleutherius were beheaded. In terms of bodily appearance¹¹ he was of moderate height, emaciated, pale-skinned, flat-nosed, with furrowed brows,¹² sunken eyes always deep in thought, large ears, grizzled long grey hair, drooping moustache, straggly beard, slightly pot-bellied, long-fingered. His Office is celebrated in the Great Church.¹³

9 The author of the entry must have misunderstood his source: the *boulē* or ‘council’, which from the time of Solon sat on the Areopagus, consisted of about 150–200 members, all ex-archons, to which nine new ex-archons were admitted each year. The implication would be that Dionysius had been an archon before his elevation to the Areopagus. The Areopagus was particularly concerned with intentional homicide trials (but also with arson and personal injury). See D.M. MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law in the Age of the Orators* (Manchester, 1963), pp. 39–47, and R.W. Wallace, *The Areopagos Council to 307BC* (Baltimore, MD, 1989), esp. pp. 52–55, 94–97 *et passim*. The ultimate source for our understanding of the Areopagus is Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* [‘The Athenian Constitution’], esp. 3, 6; 8, 2; 25; 27, 1; 35, 2; and 57.

10 In his treatise *De diuinis nominibus*, the pseudo-Dionysius refers to Hierotheus as his teacher: II. 9–10, III. 1–3. Hierotheus is said there to be the author of a treatise entitled *The Elements of Theology* (which, by the way, is the name of a treatise by the Neoplatonist Proclus (d. 485): this is one of the reasons that the pseudo-Dionysius is thought to have been a student of Proclus; see above, p. 64).

11 This physical description of the saint – a common feature of Byzantine hagiography – has no correlate in the Latin hagiography of St Dionysius.

12 Possibly a quotation of Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1069 (τις τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακῶς).

13 By which is meant, presumably, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

The *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176]

At the end of his letter to Abbot Hilduin, in which Louis the Pious commissioned the abbot to compose a new *passio* of St Dionysius, the emperor asked the abbot 'to add the vision revealed to Pope Stephen in the church of this same St Dionysius, as it was dictated to him, and the narratives which were appended to it.'¹ The work referred to by the emperor is the so-called *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* [BHL 2176], its title being derived from the wording of the emperor's letter. The work in question consists of three short chapters, the first of which narrates the story of a vision vouchsafed to Pope Stephen II (752–757) while he was lying ill in Saint-Denis in early 754. In the vision, SS. Peter and Paul, in company with St Dionysius, appear to the pope on his sickbed within the church of Saint-Denis, assure him that he will recover from his illness and be able to return to Rome, and instruct him to dedicate the altar near which they are seen to the two apostles themselves. The second chapter records the dedication of the altar on 28 July 754 and, on the occasion of the ceremony of consecration, the anointing of King Pippin and his two sons (Charles and Carloman) as kings of the Franks, as well as Pippin's queen, Bertrada, combined with the papal injunction that no one should ever presume to become king of the Franks unless he be descended from the royal stock of Pippin. The third and final brief chapter narrates Pope Stephen's return to Rome and his plans to establish there a monastery dedicated to St Dionysius, to house the relics of St Dionysius, which the pope had brought from Paris. The monastery was intended for Greek monks and was to be known as the *Schola Graecorum*. According to the narrative, Pope Stephen died before the monastery could be completed, but it was brought to completion by the pope's successor, his brother Paul (757–767).

It is clear from this summary that the purpose of the *Reuelatio* was to magnify the importance of St Dionysius, and even to assert for him quasi-apostolic status by associating him with SS. Peter and Paul. Largely on the basis of the *Reuelatio*, Maximilian Buchner even argued that the monks of Saint-Denis were attempting to claim for their abbey quasi-papal status,² but this extreme argu-

1 *Ep.* I. 4: 'ut [scil. subiungas] reuelationem ostensam beato papae Stephano in ecclesia eiusdem sanctissimi Dionysii, sicut ab eo dictata est, et gesta quae eidem subnexa sunt' (above, p. 198).

2 Buchner, 'Das Vizepapsttum des Abtes von St. Denis. Studien zur Offenbarung des Papstes Stephan II (*Reuelatio*) und ihrem Anhang (*Gesta*)'.

ment was quickly rejected by historians.³ Nevertheless, the *Reuelatio* throws interesting light on the cult of St Dionysius, and reveals how the manipulation of *bona fide* historical sources could contribute to the creation of a work of pious fiction.

The first chapter of the work describes the vision (*reuelatio*) of Pope Stephen himself, on the occasion of his sojourn and illness at Saint-Denis. The circumstances of Stephen's journey to Francia to seek the support of King Pippin in his struggle with Aistulf, king of the Lombards, are known from the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 753: 'That year Pope Stephen came to Francia, seeking aid and support for the rights of St Peter.'⁴ From the *vita* of Pope Stephen in the *Liber pontificalis* (c. xciv) it is known that, as winter (753/754) was approaching, Pippin invited Stephen to spend the winter at Saint-Denis, and there the pope, exhausted by his journey, fell desperately ill: 'But as the season of winter was pressing, he [Pippin] asked the holy pope to make his way with all his companions to Paris, to spend the winter at the venerable monastery of Saint-Denis ... As a result of the very gruelling journey and the uncertain weather the blessed pope was so gravely ill that his own companions and the Franks who were there gave up hope for him.'⁵ This passage from the *Liber pontificalis* supplied the context, and some of the wording (e.g. *desperarent*) for the vision described in the *Reuelatio*; but neither the *Annales regni Francorum* nor the *Liber pontificalis* contain any mention whatsoever of the pope's vision of St Dionysius. The vision itself was manifestly inspired by a similar vision in the *Gesta Silvestri* [BHL 7725 *et sqq.*], in which the apostles SS. Peter and Paul appear in a dream to the emperor Constantine during an illness; Constantine was subsequently able to verify their identity by consulting images which were supplied to him by Pope Silvester (see below, commentary to the *Reuelatio*, n. (5)). The author of the *Reuelatio* embellished this vision by including St Dionysius, who is pictured chatting amiably to the two apostles; and it is through the agency of St Dionysius in particular that the pope recovers his health (*tua gratia est sanitas eius*, as St

3 E.g. by Wilhelm Levison, 'Zu Hildvin von St. Denis'.

4 Ed. Kurze, p. 11: 'eodem anno [753] Stephanus papa venit ad Pippinum regem ... suggerens ei, ut se et Romanam ecclesiam ab infestatione Langobardorum defenderet'; trans. Scholz, p. 40.

5 Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, I, p. 448: 'Sed quia tempus imminabat hyemalis eundem sanctissimum papam cum suis omnibus in Parisio apud venerabilem monasterium beati Dionysii ad exhibendum pergere rogavit ... Et beatissimus papa prae nimio labore itineris atque temporis inequalitate fortiter infirmavit, ut etiam omnes tam sui quamquam etiam Francorum ibidem existentium homines eum desperarent' (cc. 27–28); trans. Davis, p. 64.

Peter is made to say to St Dionysius). The first chapter ends with St Dionysius's command to Stephen to dedicate the altar in Saint-Denis to SS. Peter and Paul.

The second chapter describes Pope Stephen's dedication of the altar (and in certain manuscripts bears the rubric *DE DEDICATIONE ALTARIS*).⁶ According to the text, the dedication itself took place on 28 July 754. There is no mention of the dedication of the altar in either the *Annales regni Francorum* or the *Liber pontificalis*. However, according to c. 2 of the *Reuelatio*, the ceremony of consecrating the altar was combined with the anointing of King Pippin and his two sons (Charles and Carloman), and this event is mentioned in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 754: 'Pope Stephen confirmed Pippin as king by holy anointing and with him he anointed as kings his two sons, the Lords Charles and Carloman'.⁷ The anointing is also mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*, but there it is stated that the anointing took place 'some days' (*post aliquantos dies*) after the pope's arrival at Saint-Denis.⁸ Neither the *Annales regni Francorum* nor the *Liber pontificalis* specifies the date at which the anointing took place, but the wording of the *Liber pontificalis* implies that it occurred soon after Stephen's arrival at Saint-Denis: either late in 753 or early in 754, not as late as July 754. Where the author of the *Reuelatio* derived the date 28 July is unknown: he would appear to be the primary source for it. However, the ceremony of the anointing is described in detail in a text known as the *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis*. This brief work – it consists of a single paragraph – is preserved in two manuscripts (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 7666–7671 (s. x^{ex}),⁹ fols. 99^v–100^r, and Stuttgart, Württembergische Lan-

6 Earlier commentators reserve the title *Reuelatio* for what is c. 1 in the following text, but confusingly refer to c. 2 as the *Gesta Stephani*. There is no support for this nomenclature in the manuscripts, and hence I abandon it altogether, as did Levison before me ('Zu Hildvin von St. Denis', p. 518).

7 Ed. Kurze, p. 12: 'supradictus apostolicus Stephanus confirmavit Pippinum unctione sancta in regem et cum eo inunxit duos filios eius, dominum Carolum et Carlomannum, in regibus'; trans. Scholz, p. 40.

8 Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, I, p. 448: 'Quo peracto et in eodem venerabile monasterio cum iamfato christianissimo Pippino coniungente, Domino annuente, post aliquantos dies hisdem Christianissimus Pippinus rex ab eodem sanctissimo papa, Christi gratia, cum duobus filiis suis reges uncti sunt Francorum.' See discussion by Levison, 'Zu Hildvin von St. Denis', pp. 523–524.

9 See M. Coens, 'La provenance du ms. Bruxelles 7666–7671 contenant la *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis*', in *Essays presented to G.I. Lieftinck*, *Varia codicologica* 1 (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 25–34.

desbibliothek, Theol. fol. 188 (Zwiefalten, s. xii)¹⁰), and has been edited by Georg Waitz for MGH and by Alain Stoclet.¹¹ It purports to have been composed at Saint-Denis in 767, during the abbacy of Fulrad (750–784), who acted as Pippin's royal chaplain.¹² Although doubts have been expressed about the authenticity of the *Clausula*, and some scholars (notably Maximilian Buchner and Alain Stoclet) have argued that the work is a late ninth-, or even tenth-century, forgery,¹³ it is fair to say that the consensus of scholarly opinion maintains the authenticity of the *Clausula*.¹⁴ The matter is relevant to the present discussion, because there are undeniable verbal links between the *Clausula* and the *Reuelatio* (in the following quotations, shared wording is italicized):

Clausula: Nam ipse praedictus domnus *florentissimus Pippinus rex* ... per manus eiusdem Stephani pontificis denuo in beatorum praedictorum

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- 10 Stoclet, who collated the Stuttgart manuscript for the first time, judged it 'inutile' to provide the reader with the folio references ('La "Clausula de unctione Pippini regis"', p. 4); one might add that it is equally 'inutile' to record the readings of the Stuttgart manuscript, which consist entirely of trivial spelling variants.
- 11 Ed. Waitz, MGH, SS xv/1. 1; ed. Stoclet, 'La "Clausula de unctione Pippini"', pp. 2–3. Waitz's edition is based solely on the Brussels manuscript, Stoclet's on both the Brussels and Stuttgart manuscripts. For orientation and bibliography on the text, see *LMA* II, cols. 2134–2135 [J. Fleckenstein].
- 12 'Si nosse vis ... quibus hic libellus temporibus videatur esse conscriptus ... invenies anno ab incarnatione Domini septingentesimo sexagesimo septimo ... in beatorum praedictorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii ecclesia, ubi et venerabilis vir Folradus archipresbiter et abbas esse cognoscitur' (ed. Waitz, p. 1; ed. Stoclet, pp. 2–3). On Fulrad, see Introduction, above, pp. 13–14.
- 13 Buchner, 'Die *Clausula de unctione Pippini*, eine Fälschung aus dem Jahre 880'; Stoclet, 'La "Clausula de unctione Pippini regis": mises au point et nouvelle hypothèses', and idem, 'La "Clausula de unctione Pippini regis", vingt ans après'. Buchner argued that the *Clausula* was forged in 880 by Abbot Gauzlin of Saint-Denis; Stoclet dated the forgery later still, to a period after 911, and attributed it to St Gallen.
- 14 E.g. M. Baudot, 'La *Clausula de unctione Pippini* est-elle un faux du 1xe siècle', *Le moyen âge* 37 (1927), 172–181; L. Levillain, 'De l'authenticité de la *Clausula de unctione Pippini*', *BECh* 88 (1927), 20–42; E. Schulz, 'Die *Clausula de Pippino* keine Fälschung', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 23 (1926), 446–455 (who described Buchner's arguments as 'geradezu grotesk' (p. 449)), and idem, 'Nochmals die *Clausula de Pippino*', *ibid.* 24 (1927–1929), 608–614; Levison, 'Zu Hildvin von St. Denis'; Affeldt, 'Untersuchungen zur Königserhebung Pippins', pp. 103–109; and, more recently, Noble, *The Republic of St Peter*, p. 87 with n. 108.

martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii ecclesia ... *in regem* et patricium *una cum praedictis filiis Carolo et Carlomanno* in nomine sanctae trinitatis unctus et benedictus est. In ipsa namque beatorum martyrum ecclesia, uno eodemque die, nobilissimam atque devotissimam et sanctis martyribus devotissime adherentem *Bertradam*, iam dicti florentissimi regis *coniugem*, praedictus venerabilis pontifex *regalibus indutam cicladibus gratia septiformis Spiritus* benedixit.

Reuelatio, c. 2: unxit in reges Francorum *florentissimum regem Pippinum, et duos filios eius Karolum et Karlomannum, sed et Bertradam coniugem ipsius inlyti regis Pippini, indutam cycladibus regis, gratia septiformis spiritus sancti* in Dei nomine consignavit.

The question, therefore, is whether the author of the *Reuelatio* was drawing on the *Clausula*, or, if the *Clausula* is indeed a forgery of ninth- or tenth-century date, whether the author of the *Clausula* drew on the *Reuelatio*. There are several obvious points. If the author of the *Clausula* was drawing on the *Reuelatio*, what would have prompted him to alter the *Reuelatio*'s statement that Pippin and his sons were anointed on one occasion, at the hands of Pope Stephen, to the statement that there were *two* separate occasions of royal anointing: once, through the authority of Pope Zacharias (741–752), at the hands of Gallic bishops, three years before the present anointing ('Pippinus rex pius per auctoritatem ... Zacharie papae et unctionem sancti chrisimatis per manus beatorum sacerdotum Galliarum et electionem omnium Francorum, tribus annis antea in regni solio sublimatus est' [i.e. in 751]), and then again – *denuo* – at the hands of Pope Stephen in 754 ('Postea per manus eiusdem Stephani pontificis denuo in beatorum praedictorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii ecclesia')? If, on the other hand, the author of the *Reuelatio* was drawing on the *Clausula*, it will have been a straightforward matter to eliminate the mention of the earlier (751) anointing in order to highlight that performed at Saint-Denis by Pope Stephen in 754. And if the *Reuelatio* preceded the *Clausula*, one must wonder why the author of the *Clausula* neglected to adopt the date of the anointing provided by the *Reuelatio* (28 July 754), given that throughout his brief text the author of the *Clausula* is concerned with matters of dating and chronology ('invenies anno ab incarnatione Domini septingentesimo sexagesimo septimo', 'consecrati sunt anno tertio decimo', etc.). In short, it seems clear to me that the *Clausula* was the earlier composition, probably (as it states itself to be) dating from 767 or shortly thereafter, during the abbacy of Fulrad at Saint-Denis, and that the author of the *Reuelatio* drew on the *Clausula* for his account in c. 2 of the anointing by Pope Stephen,

and the concomitant stipulation that succession to the Frankish throne is to be limited to members of Pippin's family.¹⁵

The third chapter of the *Reuelatio* concerns Pope Stephen's return to Rome, and his determination to establish on his own property there a monastery dedicated to St Dionysius, to house the relics of that martyr which he had brought with him from Paris. In the event, according to the *Reuelatio*, Pope Stephen died before he could complete the monastery, which was intended to house Greek monks, but the work was brought to completion by Stephen's successor, his brother Paul. One can see that it was an inspired attempt by the author of the *Reuelatio* to associate a known church in Rome carrying by chance a dedication to a certain Dionysius, with the apostle of Gaul, and furthermore, given the putative Greek origins of St Dionysius, to associate the Roman monastery with Greek monks. Unfortunately, however, the association is a piece of pure fiction for, as R.-J. Loenertz showed beyond any reasonable doubt, the basilica in Rome carrying the dedication to Dionysius is in fact dedicated to *Pope* Dionysius (260–267), and has nothing whatsoever to do with the apostle of Gaul.¹⁶

The *Reuelatio* is transmitted anonymously in manuscript. But because Louis the Pious had requested from Hilduin a copy of the work, and because it travels almost invariably in manuscript with Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, the assumption has always been made that the *Reuelatio* was composed by Hilduin himself.¹⁷ I doubt, however, whether the attribution to Hilduin can stand: stylistic considerations tell strongly against it. Hilduin's Latin prose is excessively verbose and pompous, but its syntax is always crystal-clear. What-

15 This sequence was authoritatively endorsed by Wilhelm Levison: 'Auch ich glaube an der Echtheit der Clausula festhalten zu müssen und sehe in ihre eine Quelle der Revelatio, keine Ableitung' ('Zu Hildvin von St. Denis', p. 529).

16 Loenertz, 'Un prétendu sanctuaire romain de S. Denys de Paris', and below, commentary to the *Reuelatio*, no. (18). Loenertz's arguments about the dedication to Pope Dionysius were presciently anticipated by Levison, 'Zu Hildvin von St. Denis', pp. 526–527.

17 Cf. *inter alia* the following comments, by Waitz: 'Quam Hilduinum abbatem sancti Dionysii in libello mox sequente exscripsisse et longius propagasse, iam satis constat' (MGH, ss xv/1. 1); by Buchner ('Das Vizepapistum', *passim*); by Schulz, 'Die Clausula de Pippino keine Fälschung', p. 447: 'eine von Hildvin gefälschten Revelatio Stephani'; by Levillain (review of Buchner, 'Das Vizepapistum', in *Le moyen âge* 39 (1929), 85–95); and most recently by Cécile Lanéry, 'Hilduinus sancti Dionysii abb.', p. 504: 'Selon toute probabilité BHL 2176 fut l'oeuvre d'Hilduin lui-même, soucieux de faire allégeance à l'empereur Louis le Pieux'. Hilduin's authorship is assumed *passim* by Levison ('Zu Hildvin von St. Denis').

ever his stylistic vanities, Hilduin had sound knowledge of the techniques of Latin prose composition. By contrast, the author of the *Reuelatio* is barely literate in Latin, and has immense difficulty with the structure of complex sentences, such as that which concludes c. 2 ('et obtestatus est ... consecrare'). His prose teems with opaque and barely comprehensible formulations, such *nota mente* and *in parte stabant* (both c. 1). It is a convention of Latin prose composition that the adverb precedes the verb, except in certain instances where an adverb is construed in the superlative, in which case the adverb is positioned at the end of the clause for especial emphasis.¹⁸ In his prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, Hilduin follows this convention without exception,¹⁹ as in the following examples: *obedienter impleuit* (c. 8), *intelligibiliter laudare* (c. 10), *substantialiter constitutus* and *superexcellenter pariens* (c. 13), *horribiliter obscuratus*, *tenaciter inhaesit* and *ineffabiliter effero* (c. 14), *horribiliter increpans* and *spiritaliter subiungit* (c. 15), *gnauiter ministravit* (c. 17), *irremediabiliter occupauerat* and *miserabiliter ancillari* (c. 18), *fideliter adhaerebat* (c. 21), *incessanter restituens* and *ineffabiliter radiabat* (c. 22), *uiriliter decertabo* (c. 26), and many more. This convention was apparently unknown to the author of the *Reuelatio*, who in two successive sentences in c. 2 could write *misit manum suam ad pectus domni Dionysii amicabilem* and *dixit dominus Petrus ad dominum Dionysium hilariter*. The author of the *Reuelatio* uses vocabulary which is never found in the writings of Hilduin, such as the verbs *dementare* (c. 1) and *silentiare* (c. 1). At one point he uses the phrase *subtus campanas* (c. 1), where *subtus* is clearly employed as a preposition ('beneath the bell-tower [lit. bells]'). In Classical Latin *subtus* was employed, like *intus*, solely as an adverb; the prepositional usage derives from Vulgar Latin.²⁰ Hilduin never uses *subtus* either as a preposition or otherwise. The author of the *Reuelatio* describes the site of Saint-Denis as the *pagus Parisiacus* (c. 1), an expression which is nowhere used by Hilduin.²¹

18 See J. Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine*, III. *Les articulations de l'énoncé* (Paris, 1949), pp. 14–20, with discussion of the exceptional cases of final positioning of adverbs in the superlative at pp. 28–29; and see also (briefly) LHS II, p. 410.

19 There is one instance in the prose *Passio S. Dionysii* of an adverb placed in the final position of a sentence – 'Flagellantur etiam Rusticus et Eleutherius satis acerrime' (c. 28) – but this is one of the exceptions described by Marouzeau (see previous note) in which the adverb is construed in the superlative and placed in final position for especial emphasis.

20 LHS II, p. 280.

21 The phrase is current in Merovingian and Carolingian charters: for Merovingian charters, see MGH, *Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica*, ed. T. Kölzer et al., 2 vols. (Hannover, 2001), pp. 109, 131, 225, 377, 389, 390, 431, 433, 450, 455; for charters of Pippin, see MGH, *Diplomata Karolorum*, i. 9, 11, 32; and for charters of Charlemagne, *ibid.* i. 89

In his vision, Pope Stephen describes St Dionysius as holding a thurible and a palm-branch, and adds that he was attended *cum presbytero et diacono qui in parte stabant* (c. 1). The reference here is evidently to Rusticus and Eleutherius. If Hilduin had written this sentence, he would almost certainly have named Dionysius's two companions, and would in any case have described them not simply as *presbytero* and *diacono*, but as *archipresbytero* and *archidiacono*. In sum, stylistic evidence indicates decisively that Hilduin was not the author of the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano*.

Because it was transmitted alongside Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*, the *Reuelatio* survives in a large number of manuscripts: Cécile Lanéry has listed some fifty of these, and more no doubt await detection.²² A reliable text of the *Reuelatio* can be constructed on the basis of nine early manuscripts, all dating from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, most of which also transmit Hilduin's prose *Passio S. Dionysii*. (Because, with the exception of W, these manuscripts have all been described in detail above, no further description is provided here.)

- A Paris, BNF, lat. 2873A (s. x²), fols. 41^v–43^v
 D Paris, BNF, lat. 10846 (Saint-Denis, s. x), fol. 81^{r-v} [fragm.]
 E Paris, BNF, lat. 10847 (Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, s. xi), fols. 23^r–24^r
 F Paris, BNF, lat. 11751 (Saint-Germain, s. xi^{med}), fols. 52^v–54^r
 L London, BL, Add. 22793 (Regensburg, s. xi^{med}), fols. 29^v–31^v
 O Saint-Omer, BM, 342 bis (Saint-Bertin, s. x^{ex}), fols. 101^v–103^v
 P Paris, BNF, lat. 13345 (?Saint-Denis, s. ix^{med}), fols. 114^v–116^v
 T Munich, BSB, Clm 4608 (Benediktbeuern, s. xi^{med}), fols. 85^v–87^r
 W St Petersburg, Russian National Library, Q. v. I. 37 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés, s. x),²³ fols. 1^v–3^v

The *Reuelatio* was first printed by Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis*, v [1580], pp. 740–741, who noted that 'Habetur in peruetusto MS. codice', but did not specify where this very old manuscript was found. The text was repr.

and 133. The usage continued into the reign of Louis the Pious, as in two charters in favour of Saint-Denis, both dated 1 December 814: *in praefato Parisiaco pago* (PL civ. 996) and *infra pagum Parisiacum* (ibid. col. 997). In other words, *pagus Parisiacus* is the term preferred by draftsmen of Carolingian charters to describe the region of Paris; but it is not a term which was ever used by Hilduin.

22 'Hilduinus sancti Dionysii abb.', pp. 505–506.

23 A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du ve au xiiie siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg*, 2 vols. (St Petersburg, 1910), I, pp. 216–217.

by Migne, PL lxxxix. 1022–1024, from Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1759–1798), XII, cols. 556–558. The first scholarly edition is that by Georg Waitz in MGH, SS xv/1. 2–3 (from MSS. O and T).

1. STEPHANVS EPISCOPVS SERVVS SERVORVM DEI. 'Sicut nemo se debet iac-
 tare de suis meritis, sic non debet opera Dei quae in illo per suos sanctos fiunt
 sine suis meritis silentiare, sed praedicare, quia sic angelus admonet Tobiam.(1)
 Vnde ego pro oppressione sanctae ecclesiae a rege atrocissimo et blasphemo
 5 et nec dicendo Aistulfo,(2) ad optimum et sancti Petri fidelem domnum Pippi-
 num Christianissimum regem in Franciam ueni; ubi aegrotavi usque ad mor-
 tem, et mansi aliquod tempus apud pagum Parisiacum, in uenerabili monaste-
 rio sancti martyris Christi Dionysii.(3) Quo cum iam me medici desperarent,
 fui sicut in oratione in ecclesia eiusdem beati martyris subtus campanas, et
 10 uidi ante altare bonum pastorem domnum Petrum, et "magistrum gentium" (4)
 domnum Paulum;(5) et nota mente(6) illos recognoui de illorum surtariis;(7)
 et ter beatum domnum Dionysium ad dexteram domni Petri, subtilem et lon-
 giorem, pulchra facie, capillis candidis, colobio indutum candidissimo purpura
 15 clauato, pallio toto purpureo auro interstellato; et sermocinabantur inter se lae-
 tantes. Dixitque bonus pastor domnus Petrus: "Hic frater noster postulat sanita-
 tem." Et dixit beatus domnus Paulus: "Modo sanabitur." Et adpropinquans misit
 manum suam ad pectus domni Dionysii amicabiliter; respexitque ad domnum
 Petrum. Et dixit domnus Petrus ad domnum Dionysium hilariter: "Tua gratia est
 20 sanitas eius." Et statim beatus Dionysius turibulum incensi et palmam in manu
 tenens, cum presbytero et diacono qui in parte stabant,(8) uenit ad me, et dixit
 mihi: "Pax tecum, frater. Noli timere; non morieris, donec ad sedem tuam pro-
 sperere reuertaris. Surge sanus, et hoc altare in honore Dei et apostolorum eius
 Petri et Pauli quos uides dedica, missas gratiarum agens." Erat enim ibi inaesti-
 mabilis claritas et suauitas. Moxque sanus factus, uolebam implere quod mihi
 25 praeceptum erat. Et dicebant qui ibi aderant quod dementabam.(9) Quapropter
 retuli ex ordine illis et regi suisque optimatibus quae uideram, et quomodo
 sanatus fuerim; et impleui quae iussa sunt mihi omnia. Benedictus Deus!

2. DE DEDICATIONE ALTARIS. Gesta sunt autem haec in beato Stephano papa
 diuina clementia, adiuuantibus sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo per beatissi-
 30 mum martyrem Dionysium, hoc anno qui est ab incarnatione Domini nostri
 Iesu Christi .dccliii., .v. kalendas Augusti. Quoniam Christi roboratus uirtute,
 inter celebrationem consecrationis praefati altaris et oblationem sacratissimi

1 nemo se] se nemo L 2 suos] post suos add. T seruos 6 Christianissimum] om. F 7
 aliquod tempus] aliquo tempore T 7-8 uenerabili monasterio] uenerabile monasterium W
 9 sicut] sic T, om. Surius 10 domnum Petrum] Petrum dominum T 11 surtariis] surgariis
 L 12 ter] om. W 14 interstellato] interstella W 18 Tua gratia] tuae gratiae O 25
 praeceptum erat] iussum fuerat O 27 sanatus] sanatus sic F, sanus ELOPT || omnia] om. L
 28 DE DEDICATIONE ALTARIS] om. EFLPW Surius 29 apostolis] om. L 31 Quoniam] Quo
 ELPT, qui W

1. POPE STEPHEN, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD. 'Just as no one should vaunt himself on his achievements, so he should not keep silent about the works of God which take place through His servants regardless of their deserts, but rather should broadcast them, as the angel exhorts Tobias to do. Whereupon I, because of the suppression of Holy Church by the most wicked and blasphemous and unspeakable king, Aistulf, came into France to the excellent and most Christian king Lord Pippin, the faithful supporter of St Peter; I fell deathly ill there and remained for some time in the district of Paris, in the venerable monastery of Dionysius, the holy martyr of Christ. While I was there, since the physicians despaired of me, I was praying as it were in the church of this same blessed martyr, beneath the bell-tower, and I saw in front of the altar the good shepherd St Peter, and St Paul, the "teacher of peoples"; and, with discerning perception I recognized them from their images; and thrice-blessed St Dionysius standing to the right of St Peter, thinner and taller, of attractive appearance, with shining white hair, dressed in a gleaming undergarment adorned with a purple stripe, covered with a purple cloak speckled with gold; and they were chatting contentedly among themselves. And the good shepherd St Peter said: "This brother of ours seeks his health". And St Paul said: "He shall now be healed". And, drawing near, he placed his hand on the chest of St Dionysius in a friendly manner; and he looked at St Peter. And St Peter said cheerfully to St Dionysius: "His recovery is the result of your influence". And immediately St Dionysius, having a thurible of incense and a palm-branch in his hand, together with a priest and deacon who were standing by, came towards me, and said to me: "Peace be with you, brother. Fear not; you shall not die until you return safely to your see. Arise in good health, and dedicate this altar in honour of God and His apostles Peter and Paul, whom you see before you, by celebrating a mass of thanksgiving." There was present there an incalculable brightness and sweetness. Restored immediately to health, I wished to fulfil that which had been enjoined upon me. And those who were present there said that I was raving. Accordingly, I related to them, and to the king and his noblemen, the things I had seen, in narrative sequence, and how I had been healed; and I fulfilled all the things that had been commanded of me. Blessed be God!

2. ON THE DEDICATION OF THE ALTAR. These events happened to the blessed Pope Stephen through divine mercy, with the assistance of the holy apostles Peter and Paul acting through the blessed martyr Dionysius, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ 754, on 28 July. Because he had been strengthened by Christ's miraculous power, between celebrating the consecration of the aforementioned altar and the offering of the sacred sacrifice [i.e.

sacrificii, unxit in reges Francorum florentissimum regem Pippinum, et duos filios eius Karolum et Karlomannum,(10) sed et Bertradam coniugem ipsius incltyti regis Pippini, indutam cycladibus regiis, gratia septiformis spiritus sancti in Dei nomine consignauit,(11) atque Francorum proceres apostolica benedictione sanctificans, auctoritate beati Petri sibi a Domino nostro Iesu Christo tradita obligauit; et obtestatus est ut numquam de altera stirpe per succedentium temporum curricula ipsi uel quique ex eorum progenie orti regem super se praesumant aliquo modo constituere, nisi de eorum propagine: quos et diuina prouidentia ad sanctissimam apostolicam sedem tuendam eligere, et per eum uidelicet uicarium sancti Petri – immo Domini nostri Iesu Christi – in potestatem regiam dignata est sublimare et unctione sacratissima consecrare.(12)

3. Hunc autem locum sacratissimum priuilegiis magnae auctoritatis sublimauit, et super altare quod consecrauit pallium apostolicae dignitatis pro benedictione sancti Petri reliquit, et clauas ob uenerationem praerogatiuae eius, qui in ligandi et soluendi pontificio clauas regni caelorum a Domino Iesu Christo accepit, hic in memoria et honore atque reuerentia principis apostolorum dimisit, ut, quia eius ceterorumque apostolorum simul et sancti ac pretiosissimi Dionysii merita sunt iuncta in caelis, eorum memoriae pariter uenerarentur in terris. Isdem namque sanctus pontifex reliquias sanctissimi Dionysii Romam detulit, et monasterium in honore ipsius aedificare in proprio suo coepit;(13) quod frater eius Paulus, illo morte praeuento, quoniam ipsi in pontificatu successerat, nobiliter consummauit; (14) et conuecta ibidem plurima sanctorum martyrum corpora(15) consecrauit seu ueluti a fratre et praedecessore suo iussus fuerat, famulatores Domini natione Graecos inibi constituit,(16) et idem monasterium ‘Ad sanctos martyres in scola Graecorum’ (17) appellari fecit, ad honorem et memoriam pretiosissimi Dionysii sociorumque eius,(18) quorum cultus et ueneratio redundat ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui cum patre in unitate spiritus sancti debetur honor et adoratio per immortalia saecula saeculorum.(19) AMEN.

3 Pippini] *om. L* 5 beati] *beata T* || nostro] *Deo ELOPW, om. F* 5–6 tradita] *tradidit E* 7 ipsi] *ipse W* 10 nostri] *om. EP* 10–11 potestatem] *potestate ET* 13 quod] *quos W* 14 ob] *ab W* 15 et soluendi] *om. P* || et] *ac FO* || pontificio] *pontificium W* 17–18 ac pretiosissimi] *speciosissimi W* 18 iuncta] *om. L* 18–19 uenerarentur] *uenerantur W* 20 monasterium] *memoriam O* 21–22 pontificatu] *pontificatum ELT* 22 consummauit] *consummatum T* 23 consecrauit] *post consecrauit add. T* altare 23–24 praedecessore] *praecessore W* 24 natione] *nationes W* 27 ueneratio] *memoria L* || nostri] *om. F* 28 unitate] *hic explicit O (folio amisso)*

mass], he anointed the excellent King Pippin and his two sons Charles and Carloman, as kings; and he also confirmed Bertrada, the wife of this same distinguished king Pippin, dressed in royal robes, through the grace of the sevenfold Holy Spirit in the name of God; and, sanctifying these rulers of the Franks with his apostolic blessing, he bound them with the authority of St Peter, bestowed on him by our Lord Jesus Christ; and he solemnly swore that they, or anyone sprung from their kin, should never presume in any way to establish over them a king descended from any other lineage throughout all succeeding ages, but only those from their own stock: those whom divine providence deigned to elect, to raise up to royal authority and to consecrate through holy unction to defend the holy apostolic see – through him, that is, the vicar of St Peter, indeed of our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. He exalted this most holy place [Saint-Denis] with charters of great authority, and he left the pallium of apostolic office on the altar which he consecrated, through the blessing of St Peter, and, out of veneration for his prerogative, the keys – he [St Peter] who through the pontifical power of binding and releasing received the keys to the kingdom of heaven from the Lord Jesus Christ; he left them here in memory and honour and reverence for the prince of apostles so that, just as his achievements and those of the other apostles, together with those of the holy and precious Dionysius, are joined in the heavens, so their memories would be equally venerated on earth. Now this same holy pope took the relics of St Dionysius to Rome, and began to build a monastery in his honour on his own property; his brother Paul, who had succeeded him in the pontificate when he had been carried off by death, brought it splendidly to completion; and he consecrated the many remains of holy martyrs brought there, and, just as he had been commanded by his brother and predecessor, he established there servants of the Lord of Greek origin, and had this same monastery named ‘To the holy martyrs in the *schola Graecorum*’, to the glory and memory of the precious Dionysius and his companions, whose cult and worship redounds to the praise and honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom is due honour and adoration, together with the Father in the unity of the Holy Spirit throughout immortal ages.

Commentary

(1) Tobias xii. 6–15, esp. 7 ('opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est').

(2) Aistulf was king of the Lombards from 749 until his death in 756: see O. Bertolini, 'Astulfo', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, IV [1962], pp. 467–483, and P. Delogu, *Il regno longobardo* (Turin, 1980), pp. 169–178. Aistulf attempted to bring all Italy (including the papacy) under the domination of the *regnum Langobardorum*. He was successful in taking control of Ravenna and the Exarchate in 751, and thereafter advanced on Rome, reaching as far as Spoleto: at which point Pope Stephen II fled in 753 to Francia to seek the support of Pippin. During the winter of 755/756 Pippin's armies forced Aistulf to withdraw from Rome and Ravenna, and in 756 Aistulf died as the result of a hunting accident. See the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.aa. 755 and 756, and discussion by Caspar, *Pippin und die römische Kirche*, pp. 68–95, and *LMA* I, cols. 246–247. The violent language with which Aistulf is described in the *Reuelatio* is palpably influenced by that of the *vita* of Pope Stephen II in the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xciv. 5–10 (ed. Duchesne, I, pp. 448–449; trans. Davis, pp. 54–57): cf. *nefandissimus Aistulfus ... a praefato nec dicendo Aistulfo tyranno* (p. 448), *nequissimi Aistulfi versutia ... Aistulfo nequissimo Langobardorum regi ... atrocissimi Aistulfi ... sevissimo Aistulfo regi* (p. 449). The journey of Stephen II to Francia is also mentioned in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 753 (ed. Kurze, p. 11: 'Eodem anno [753] Stephanus papa venit ad Pippinum regem ... suggerens ei, ut se et Romanam ecclesiam ab infestatione Langobardorum defenderet'; trans. Scholz, p. 40: 'That year Pope Stephen came to Francia, seeking aid and support for the rights of St Peter').

(3) The story of Pope Stephen's illness is drawn from the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xciv. 28: 'Et beatissimus papa prae nimio labore itineris atque temporis inequalitate fortiter infirmavit, ut etiam omnes tam sui quamquam etiam Francorum ibidem existentium homines eum desperarent' (ed. Duchesne, I, p. 448; trans. Davis, p. 64).

(4) II Tim. i. 11 ('praedicator et apostolus et *magister gentium*').

(5) The appearance of SS. Peter and Paul in a dream-vision is clearly modelled on an episode in the *Gesta Silvestri* [*BHL* 7725 *et sqq.*], in which the two apostles appear in a dream to the Emperor Constantine shortly after he has abolished the persecution of Christians: 'somni tempus advenit. Et ecce adsunt apos-

toli sancti Petrus cum Paulo dicentes: “Nos sumus Petrus et Paulus: quoniam flagitiis terminum posuisti et sanguinis innocentis effusionem horruisti, missi sumus a Christo Iesu Domino nostro dare tibi sanitatis recuperandae consilium”. Constantine is in some perplexity about the identity of the two apostles, so that he asks Silvester whether there is an image of them, so that he can verify their identity: “peto utrum hos istos apostolos habet aliqua imago expressos, ut in ipsis lineamentis possim agnoscere hos esse quos me reuelatio docuisset, qui mihi dixerunt se a Deo missos esse”. Tunc sanctus Silvester iussit diacono suo ut imaginem apostolorum exhiberet ...’ (ed. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, ed. monachi Solesmenses, II, pp. 511–512).

(6) The words *nota mente* are an awkward and unusual expression which, according to the electronic databases, was used only by the author of the *Reuelatio*, and by later authors who drew verbatim on the present chapter, such as Regino of Prüm (850–915), who quoted this passage in his *Chronicon*, s.a. 753 (MGH, SS rer. Germ. xiv. 45), and John, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Viktring in Carinthia (d. 1345), in his *Liber certarum historiarum*, c. 3 (MGH, SS rer. Germ. xxxvi/1. 7). The so-called ‘Annalista Saxo’ also quoted the passage verbatim, but evidently felt uneasy with the expression *nota mente*, which he altered to *tota mente* (MGH, SS vi. 556).

(7) The word *surtaria* is attested only here and in texts derived from the *Reuelatio* (see previous note). Its etymology is uncertain, and DuCange, *Glossarium s.v.*, suggests that it is a corrupt form of *scutaria* (cf. Greek σκουτάριον), a breastplate in the shape of a shield which typically carried images of various sorts. In the present context, and bearing in mind the debt to the *Gesta Silvestri* discussed above in n. (5), *surtaria* must mean ‘images’ or the like.

(8) *in parte stabant*: this awkward phrase does not appear to be attested elsewhere (the words *in parte* are normally construed with an adjective, such as *utraque*).

(9) The word *demento* is normally used transitively, as in Act. viii. 11 (‘magicis suis dementasset eos’); the intransitive form used here (‘to be raving’) is exceptionally rare, and is not found in the writings of Hilduin.

(10) The anointing of Pippin and his sons Charles and Carloman as kings is an event mentioned in the *Annales regni Francorum*, s.a. 754 (ed. Kurze, p. 12: ‘supradictus apostolicus Stephanus confirmavit Pippinum unctione sancta in regem et cum eo inunxit duos filios eius, domnum Carolum et Carlomannum,

in regibus'; trans. Scholz, p. 40: 'Pope Stephen confirmed Pepin as king by holy anointing and with him he anointed as kings his two sons, the Lords Charles and Carloman'); it is also referred to in the *vita* of Pope Stephen II in the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xciv. 27 (ed. Duchesne, I, p. 448; trans. Davis, p. 64). The fullest account of the anointing is found in the brief text known as the *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis* (ed. Waitz, MGH, SS xv/1. 1; ed. Stoclet, 'La "Clausula de unctione Pippini regis": Mises au point', p. 3): 'Postea per manus eiusdemque Stephani pontificis denuo in beatorum praedictorum martirum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii ecclesia ... in regem et patricium una cum predictis filiis Carolo et Carlomanno in nomine sanctae Trinitatis unctus et benedictus est'. Note that the adjective *florentissimus*, used here in the *Reuelatio* to describe Pippin, is also used by the author of the *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis*: 'Nam ipse praedictus domnus florentissimus Pippinus rex pius ... iam dicti florentissimi regis coniugem' (ibid.); according to the databases, the combination of *rex* and *florentissimus* is not found outside these two texts, and texts directly indebted to them, such as the *Gesta abbatum Sithiensium* of Folcuin of Saint-Bertin.

(11) On the blessing of Queen Bertrada, cf. the *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis*: 'uno eodemque die, nobilissimam atque devotissimam et sanctis martiribus devotissime adherentem Bertradam, iam dicti florentissimi regis coniugem, praedictus venerabilis pontifex regalibus indutam cicladibus gratia septiformis Spiritus benedixit' (ed. Waitz, p. 1; ed. Stoclet, p. 3).

(12) Cf. the *Clausula de unctione Pippini regis*: 'Simulque Francorum principes benedictione sancti Spiritus gratia confirmavit et tali omnes interdictu et excommunicationis lege constrinxit, ut numquam de alterius lumbis regem in evo presumant eligere, sed ex ipsorum quos et divina pietas exaltare dignata esse et sanctorum apostolorum intercessionibus per manus vicarii ipsorum beatissimi pontificis confirmare et consecrare disposuit' (ed. Waitz, p. 1; ed. Stoclet, p. 3).

(13) The church in question is now S. Silvestro *in Capite*, which lies on the Piazza S. Silvestro just east of the Corso, adjacent to the central Post and Telegraph Office; it was rebuilt in 1690 on the site of Pope Stephen's original church. The church was identified by L. Duchesne, 'Saint-Denis in Via lata', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 20 (1900), 316–330; originally it consisted of two adjacent churches: a monastery dedicated to SS. Stephen and Silvester, and a basilica dedicated to St Dionysius. On the identity of this St Dionysius, see below, n. (18).

(14) Pope Paul I (757–767) was indeed the brother of Pope Stephen II; see *Liber pontificalis*, c. xcvi (ed. Duchesne, I, pp. 463–465; trans. Davis, pp. 80–84); in c. xcvi. 5 it is stated that the church of SS. Stephen and Silvester was built ‘in his own house’ (ibid. p. 464; trans. Davis, ibid. p. 82): ‘Hic sanctissimus presul in sua propria domu monasterium a fundamentis ... construxit’. It is from this source that the author of the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano* took the detail that the monastery of St Dionysius was constructed *in proprio suo*.

(15) From the *Vita Pauli I* in the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xcvi. 4–5, we learn that Pope Paul removed many remains of saints from extra-mural cemeteries and deposited them in his church of SS. Stephen and Silvester (ed. Duchesne, I, pp. 464–465; trans. Davis, p. 82): ‘illicque innumerabilium sanctorum corpora quae de praefatis demolitis abstulit cymeteriis maximo venerationis condidit affectu’.

(16) This detail, too, is taken from the *Vita Pauli I* in the *Liber pontificalis*, c. xcvi. 5: ‘There he established a community of monks and decreed it should be a monastery for chanting the psalms in the Greek manner’ (ed. Duchesne, I, p. 465; trans. Davis, p. 83): ‘ubi et monachorum congregationem constituens grece modulationis psalmodie cynovium esse decrevit’.

(17) In spite of the fact that Pope Paul established the church of SS. Stephen and Silvester for Greek monks, it was not referred to as the *Schola Graecorum*: as Loenertz pointed out, the title *Schola Graecorum* in fact applied to the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin (see Loenertz, ‘Un prétendu sanctuaire romain’, p. 131, and Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma*, p. 327 [no. 33]).

(18) The dedication of the Roman church of SS. Stephen and Silvester (with its basilica dedicated to St Dionysius) is a fiction invented by the author of the *Reuelatio ostensa papae Stephano*. In fact, as Loenertz demonstrated conclusively, the dedication of the Roman church is unambiguously to Pope Dionysius (260–267), whose remains were probably among those removed by Pope Paul from the cemetery of Callistus where, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, he had been buried: see Loenertz, ‘Un prétendu sanctuaire romain de Saint Denys de Paris’, and Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, I, pp. 159–160, with II, p. 187, n. 157. Among the early records of the church of S. Silvestro *in Capite*, there is no trace whatsoever of the relics of St Dionysius of Paris.

(19) Cf. Heiric of Auxerre, *Homiliae I (pars hiemalis)*, no. lx: ‘cui est cum patre et spiritu sancto sempiterna gloria per immortalia saecula saeculorum’ (CCCM cxviA. 573).

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