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In Search of a Harrowing Tale: Manuscripts of the Latin Translation of *De Christi passione*

Abstract

This paper examines the manuscripts of the Latin translation of Eusebius of Alexandria's *sermo 17* as evidence for medieval text searches. This homily, which treats the apprehension of Jesus, his trial and subsequent descent into hell, is found in four manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343; Cambridge, St John's College, C. 12; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm14540; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, a VII 5), which evince two distinct searches for the homily. In the English manuscripts, the homily fills a lacuna in Easter season within the Homiliary of Angers. In the earlier two manuscripts, the homily appears as part of a textual block that served to stock developing library collections. The evidence these manuscripts present for text-hunting help elucidate the influence the work of this obscure Byzantine author had in the Latin world.

Keywords

Eusebius of Alexandria, De passione Domini, Homiliary of Angers, Salzburg, St Emmeram.

Introduction

The composition of medieval books themselves provide rich evidence for the widespread and often anonymous text hunting activity that characterizes manuscript cultures. The processes of identification, selection and production – sometimes undoubtedly haphazard, more often deliberate – evident in books reveal the development, assemblage and dissemination of medieval knowledge. As institutions and individuals built up and maintained manuscript collections, the holdings often comprised libraries within libraries; in particular, the multiple-text manuscript can be fruitfully considered as a single-volume library.[1] As Marilena Maniaci details, many codices are "the product of bringing together under a single cover exist-

1. This approach and its productiveness are outlined in Friedrich and Schwarke.

ing units and/or others created *ad hoc*, which might have occurred at different times, in various ways for different reasons" (29). In this paper, I will consider the codicological circumstances of Latin manuscripts of the *homelia de passione Domini* to elucidate how closely aligned the two pairs of these four manuscripts are and the evidence they provide for a hunt for this text, even as we remain unable to identify the individuals responsible and the specific details of their hunting activities.

De passione Domini is a short homily for the Easter season that recounts the betrayal of Judas, the trial of Jesus and the despoiling of hell. The piece ends with the speech of the good thief, who explains his presence in paradise to the prophets as they arrive from their previous enclosure in hell. Written in Greek in the fifth or sixth century, the text was thereafter translated into Latin sometime before the 800s. As a matter of convenience, the homily is ascribed to Eusebius of Alexandria to whom a corpus of twenty-two homilies on the life of Jesus and ecclesiastical observance are ascribed.[2] This figure appears to be a medieval fabulation, as we will see, and the corpus attributed to him in manuscript tradition need not represent the work of single individual. Nonetheless, the texts, several of which were translated into Old Russian, Old Church Slavonic, Georgian, Armenian, Arabic and Syriac, were important in early Christianity.

In particular, the translation into Latin of two Eusebian homilies, *In diabolum et Orcum* (*sermo 15*) and *De Christi passione* (*sermo 17*), demonstrate interest in Eusebian works that treat the descent of Christ into hell in the Latin Middle Ages. In this paper, I will examine the books of Latin translations of *De Christi passione* (*sermo 17*) to elucidate possible motivations for medieval searches for this text.[3] As a point of departure, I will introduce the figure of Eusebius, as well as modern encounters with his texts which have prompted efforts to identify the author and establish the corpus attributed to him. Thereafter, I will turn to four manuscripts that preserve Latin translations of *De Christi passione* (*sermo 17*) and argue that these manuscripts can be fruitfully grouped based on codicological and textual elements into two pairs demonstrating different yet linked motivations for the search and use of this text. In this argument, these witnesses of the Latin translation serve as part of ongoing work to identify the use and influence of Eusebius and his work in the Latin Middle Ages.[4]

Sermo 17 is relatively short; in manuscripts of the Latin translation, the text comprises approximately 1150 words. However, although short, this homily, among the earliest accounts of the *descen-*

2. The corpus of this author can be found under Pseudo-Eusebius Alexandrinus in Geerard 356–58 (*CPG* nos 5513–29) with the additions in Noret 10 (*CPG* no 5523).

3. *De Christi passione* is the name found in Geerard (*CPG* no 5526). In the two Latin manuscripts in which a title is found, one reads *Omelia de passione domini*, which will be adopted when writing of the Latin translation.

4. This paper draws on research that will appear in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk. I have as much as possible drawn on and cite published material and sources, but where necessary I indicate where a topic will be more fully examined in forthcoming publication.

sus ad inferos narrative, includes many of the canonical elements of this story, as noted above. Moreover, in relating these canonical elements, *De Christi passione* frequently parallels the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, one of the most widespread and influential of early Christian apocrypha throughout the Middle Ages.[5] Indeed, work on the Latin reception of Eusebius of Alexandria promises to suggest significant revisions to our understanding of the origin and development of the *descensus* story.

Bringing Eusebius to Light

Early research into Eusebius, which enjoyed significant activity in the middle years of the nineteenth century, endeavored to identify the author, his period of activity and the corpus of this material.[6] The difficulty in establishing an historical author obscures certain fundamental historically oriented research questions such as the intellectual environment and date for the composition of the material. Indeed, the name and attribution of this person comes from a tripartite Greek biography, written by the obscure John the Notary,[7] which claims that Eusebius was a monk living near Alexandria before he was appointed to be successor to Cyril as bishop of Alexandria (412–44) in 444 CE. Although this claim runs afoul of the historical evidence in which Dioscorus, bishop from 444–54, succeed Cyril, a number of scholars, nevertheless, have seen the fifth or sixth century as a likely period in which the corpus came together.[8]

Coming to this tenuous consensus on uncertainty has been a rather long development. Modern interest in Eusebian material can be conveniently traced to the work of Henry Savile (1549–1622) who, in addition to his appointment to the commission responsible for an authorized English version of the Bible, published John Chrysostom's complete works (1611–13).[9] During the course of gathering texts and consulting other scholars, Savile encountered material attributed to Chrysostom in manuscript, but which contradicted his judgment of the corpus of Chrysostom's works. As a result, Savile occasionally opted to print matter under the heading of 'inauthentic writings' but did not systematically analyze the inauthentic material. Among these inauthentic writings is *De passione Christi*, *sermo* 17, in the corpus later attributed to Eusebius.

A similar approach was followed by Bernard de Montfaucon, in his edition of Chrysostom (1718–38), where *sermo 17* and related homilies were printed as *spuria*. In the following century, the effort

5. An exploration of the relation between Eusebius and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is found in MacCulloch (174–91) where the relevant corpus of Eusebius is compared with early accounts of the *descensus*. The relations in light of new evidence are also analyzed by Rémi Gounelle and Zbigniew Izydorczyk, "Relationships between *De Passione / De Confusione* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Parallel yet different narratives", in Gounelle, Conti, and Izydorczyk.

6. These subjects are laid out in Gounelle, "*Collectio sermonum*" and are updated in Gounelle's chapter entitled, "The genesis of the collection of homilies of Pseudo-Eusebius of Alexandria" in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

7. The biography is designated *CPG* no 5533 in Geerard 75.

8. A full treatment of the debates and difficulties in identifying this figure is found in a chapter by Diane Niquin, "Did Eusebius of Alexandria Really Exist?" in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

9. Savile's work on Eusebius is further explored in Gounelle, "The history of research on the manuscript tradition of sermons 15 and 17" in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

to define the Eusbeian corpus and identify the author was taken up by prominent scholars of early Christian thought, namely Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti (1772–1841), Johann Karl Thilo (1794–1853) and Angelo Mai (1782–1854). In the 1820s, Augusti published three sermons, attributed them to Eusebius of Emesa and declared it unlikely that more material would come to light (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 250–51). Thilo refuted the attribution in 1832 and proposed a study of the homilies of Eusebius of Alexandria, whom he thought could have been a part of Justinian's entourage (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 251). Thilo established a corpus of sixteen sermons comprising two series, ten on evangelical history and six on Christian life (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 251–52).

However, Thilo's work seems to have been little disseminated and read. As a result, Angelo Mai, who edited Eusebian sermons in publications appearing from 1838–44, developed a rather different, and confusing, sequence for the corpus, placing unrelated homilies together and separating pieces that clearly build and elaborate on one another (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 259). While Mai followed an Italo-Greek manuscript from the turn of the millenium to some extent, he did not hesitate to change the order of items as they appeared therein (Gounelle, "*Collectio Sermonum*" 255–56). Indeed, Mai published the material serially and seems to have become aware of the coherence of the corpus during the course of publication. Moreover, Mai did not publish material that had recently been published in the second edition of Montfaucon's Chrysostom (1838). As a result, Mai's renumbering disrupts the work of medieval copyists and users of the material. The athematic numbering system is reflected in the separation of the thematically and liturgically related *sermo 15* and *sermo 17*. In many Greek manuscripts the opening of *sermo 17* refers obliquely to *sermo 15* as the sermon that was delivered yesterday indicating these two pieces were consecutive. Moreover, as we will see, these two homilies, be it in Greek or Latin translation, could be and were merged into a composite homily.[10]

The disorder was further codified by the *Patrologia Graeca* that merged the work of Augusti, Mai and Montfaucon, but made no effort to reconstruct the original sequence of the texts and establish the coherence of the collection. As a result, the latest edition of the sermons of Eusebius of Alexandria appears in volumes 86/1 of the *PG* which must then be completed with the help of Chrysostom *spuria* in volumes 61, 62 and 64 (Gounelle "*Collectio Sermonum*" 249), a significant impediment to the study of this material. In short, the

10. In one Latin manuscript, this composite Latin translation is referred to as *De confusione diaboli*. See below.

Greek material examined by scholars of the nineteenth century yielded a corpus of twenty-two homilies that circulated together with a tripartite biography of their supposed author, Eusebius, written by one John the Notary, but the entirety and coherence of this corpus was terribly obscured by the publication history of the texts.

The Latin translation of *sermo 17: De passione Domini*

Despite the relative confusion in the Eusebian corpus in the nineteenth century, E.K. Rand in 1904 recognized a Latin homily, entitled *De confusione Diaboli,* that merged *sermo 15* and *sermo 17* of the Eusebian corpus into a single text (Rand 261–78).[11] Rand's work, based on Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1370 ($xi^{1/2}$), demonstrated that parts of the Eusebian corpus were sought after in the Latin West, but the extent of the interest was relatively little understood. In 1989, Zbigniew Izydorczyk, during the course of his research into the Latin manuscripts of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, published a notice of two more *De confusione Diaboli* manuscripts, demonstrating that the Vienna manuscript was not singular (Izydorczyk 253–55).[12] However, throughout the twentieth century knowledge of the Latin translation of these Eusebian pieces came solely from the composite *De Confusione Diaboli.*

In the early 2000s, a Latin translation of *sermo 17* was noted in two English manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Conti, "Preaching Scripture and Apocrypha"). The recognition of a translation of the individual homily *sermo 17* tentatively suggests that each of the two Eusebian pieces, *sermo 15* and *sermo 17*, were translated individually, but within the same environment and essentially at the same time, but research on the dynamics of the translation process remain open. To date no Latin translation of *sermo 15* as an individual piece has been identified. The following will examine four manuscripts of the Latin translation of *sermo 17*:

B = München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm14540, pt. 2, fol. 222r-226r (s. $ix^{2/4}$)[13]
J = Cambridge, St John's College, C. 12, fol. 141b (*c.* 1300)[14]
O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, fol. xvi^{r}-$xvii^{r}$ (s. xii^{2})[15]
S = Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, a VII 5, fol. 29v-32v (s. $ix^{1/4}$ and ix^{mid})[16]

11. Shortly after Rand's article, Rand's edited text was also published with an accompanying German article (Rand and Hey).

12. At present, seven manuscripts of *De confusione diaboli* have been identified; these will be treated in Gounelle, Conti and Izydorczyk.

13. This dating follows Halm et al. 189–90. I am grateful to Stephen Pelle for the identification of *De passione Domini* in this manuscript. My work on this manuscript has been based on the digital files [accessed 21. November 2023].

14. James (82–89 [no 62]) dates the manuscript to the thirteenth century. Wenzel 163 suggests "approximately 1300."

15. The dating is provided by Ker 368 [no 310].

16. For dating, see Bischoff, *Katalog* 288–89 [nos 5424, 5425, 5426]. The translation of *De passione Domini* in this manuscript was identified by Zbigniew Izydorczyk. I am grateful to Sonja Führer, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, for permission to consult this manuscript in 2022.

De passione Domini and the Homiliary of Angers: O and J

The distinguishing characteristic of *De passione Domini* in **O** and **J** is the appearance of the sermon within a collection of short biblical expositions known as the Homiliary of Angers (HA). The character of this homiliary, which was first detailed by Raymond Étaix in 1994 and has since been the subject of sustained interest, merits some attention so that one can place *De passione Domini* in its manuscript context. HA, which in its entirety comprises sixty items covering the gospel and in a few cases epistle readings for Sundays throughout the liturgical year, is preserved in over thirty manuscripts and sets of fragments, ranging from more or less complete witnesses to short extracts for liturgical reading.[17] The earliest known witness, a fragment preserving three HA homilies (nos 28–30), dates from the final third of the ninth century.[18] The latest manuscripts are dated to the fourteenth century.[19] Moreover, there is evidence of items translated into Catalan from *c.* 1200 (Sánchez Sánchez 163–92), Old English from the 1000s (Gretsch 145–93) and Old Church Croatian in the 1500s (Reinhart 471–90). The geographical range of the Latin witnesses of this collection span present-day Spain, Italy, France, England, Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Even if one allows for potential revisions in manuscript dating, especially for those dates found in older catalogues, it seems that the homiliary enjoyed a lifespan of approximately six hundred years and circulated rather widely in the Latin Middle Ages.

As Étaix noted, the predominant format of the manuscripts with an absence of divisions into lessons indicates that the collection did not primarily serve to provide readings for the Night Office (177). However, there is evidence that on occasion pieces were used for office readings (Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 270). Primarily, the homiliary appears to have served as outlines for pastors to convey biblical understanding to their congregants (Étaix 177), a sort of "exegetical primer" (Rudolf, "Angers in England" 185), a hypothesis that has been upheld as more manuscripts have been recognized. For example, Stephen Pelle identified a copy of HA in a mendicant (Dominican) manuscript (Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 270–71).[20] Moreover, Pelle also examined a manuscript in which items from HA appear as marginal texts, "an archive of biblical quotations, homilies, prayers and other texts" which may well have been "collected and written down for practical, pastoral purposes, perhaps by or for a priest who

17. An updated list of manuscripts is found in Conti, Pelle and Rudolf 140–41, with supplemental information in Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 257–88.

18. This manuscript is Épinal Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 161 (74) (**fE**), fol. 139r–v. First noted in Rudolf, "Angers and St Père" 40.

19. For example, Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, 222 and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf. 196 Helmst.

20. The manuscript, Paris, Les Enluminures, TM 762 is now listed as sold; see web [accessed 20. May 2024].

owned or frequently used the volume" (Conti, Pelle and Rudolf 151). In a similar manner, HA in **O** and **J** suggests a pastoral concern for facilitating biblical knowledge and interpretation to congregants.

O, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 is a manuscript dated to the second half of the twelfth century and written, as best as one has been able to discern at this point, somewhere near but not at Worcester (Irvine lii), which was an important post-Conquest writing center. The manuscript comprises two parts written by two different scribes, both of whom write both Latin and Old English, and is recognized as the largest post-Conquest Old English manuscript (Treharne 14–15). It is not clear when the two parts were bound together, but this did happen before Robert Cotton gave the book as one of eleven in 1602–03 to Thomas Bodley who was refitting the university library at Oxford at the time (Conti, "Common endeavour" 259). Susan Irvine's work on the manuscript has suggested that the circulation of booklets in the eleventh and twelfth centuries played an important role in the material available to the compiler of **O** (Irvine lii). Indeed, the sequence of items in the HA part of the manuscript supports this possibility. In **O**, HA begins with an exposition of the epistolary reading for Quinquagesima (the second part of HA 10) and ends with the exposition of the gospel for the same day (the first part of HA 10). This peculiar beginning and end cannot be readily explained as a faulty collation within the present binding – that is the quires that comprise HA could not be reordered to construct a more regular beginning and end. As a result, it seems possible that the anomalous order could have arisen as the result of the use of booklets in the copying and compilation process (Conti, "New Evidence" 390–91). That booklets were used and available suggests the text-hunting environment that lies behind the creation of this book.

Although efforts to localize the manuscript to a post-Conquest English writing center have not yielded a consensus, an addition in the manuscript associates the book with the Augustinian priory in Stone, Staffordshire which was (re)founded after the Norman conquest in the reign of Henry I (1100–35) on the site of a previous Anglo-Saxon church (Baugh et al. 240). For example, on flyleaf iii, a thirteenth century hand has written a rhymed antiphon for St Wulfhad (Ker 374 [no. 310]), to whom the priory's church was dedicated. Wulfhad's story and legend appear to be "an almost entirely fictional, probably post-Conquest, fabrication" (Thacker 444–45). In this manner, the legend of this saint may have conferred historical, Anglo-Saxon legitimacy to the recent Norman foundation. Interestingly, in addi-

tion to the antiphon for Wulfhad, one finds in the originally empty space of the manuscript is a drawing of a bishop with the name of Wolstane, probably referring to Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (who died in 1095) (Ker 374 [no 310]). From these additions, we see the manuscript evokes the idea of an Anglo-Saxon past in a Norman present. Turning aside from the question of the origin of the manuscript, the later, additional material suggests that the manuscript may have been used in a relatively new foundation, Stone, as an authoritative book that boasted Anglo-Saxon roots in the West of England during a period of Norman expansion. In this regard, the manuscript provided reading for both contemplation as well as material that the canons could use in their parish responsibilities, and the compiler(s) looked to both Old English and Latin texts, which included the Homiliary of Angers with supplemental material, such as *De passione Domini*.

As in **O**, the copy of the Latin translation of *sermo 17* in **J** (Cambridge, St John's College, C. 12) appears embedded within HA. This composite manuscript, as Wenzel (163) notes, represents "a collection of material for priests … [and] contains several batches of sermons scattered throughout its quires," including those of the Dominican preacher William Perault (*c.* 1190-1271). Indeed, the appearance of synodal statutes, which priests were required to have in their parishes, indicates "content … explicitly addressed to parochial clergy" (Reeves 48). In addition, the final quire "probably originated from the notebook of a student in a Dominican *schola*" (Reeves 45). Taken together, the final quire, together with the material that served parish priests, suggests that the manuscript was owned by a priest who attended a Dominican school.

However, it is not entirely certain when texts from HA were incorporated in the book. The table of contents by William Crashaw (1572-1626) confirms that HA and *De passione Domini* were part of the book at the time of its donation to St John's College, Cambridge in the 1600s.[21] However, the present binding shows evidence of anomalies. For example, the singleton listed as quire fourteen (James no 62) originally belonged to the first quire. Indeed, Wenzel (163) notes that the "collation is not entirely trustworthy"; the present foliation does not in other words coincide with the tallies of the collation. Moreover, the sixteenth quire, in which HA is found, does not display the divot at the top of the folios in the preceding quires. The items from HA in **J** comprise HA 5–9, part of HA 10, HA 14 and the incomplete *De passione Domini* which ends imperfectly in the middle of the speech of the good thief in paradise at the end of the folio.

21. On the journey of Crashaw's donation to the library, see James (vi–viii).

As a result, one cannot assert definitively that HA and *De passione Domini* were used in the book as it was compiled by or for secular clergy. Nonetheless, parallel evidence in which HA appears in books used by Dominicans and also by regular clergy (Conti, "Everyday Exegesis" 270–72) indicates that the appearance of HA in **J** is entirely consistent with other books of the homiliary. Additionally, the variegated content of the manuscript itself evidences the process of text-hunting and compilation.

Much as the use of HA in these manuscripts indicate searches for pastoral material, the appearance of *De passione Domini* within these copies of HA suggest that this text was sought after to augment the contents of HA. While the homiliary provides sixty items, primarily for Sundays throughout the liturgical year, the collection leaves ample opportunity for compilers to supplement the collection with pieces from other sources for particular seasons and feast days.[22] In his analysis of the homiliary, Étaix (174) noted that the collection did not provide items for Easter or Palm Sunday, and that individual manuscripts filled this lacuna according to perceived need and local tradition. For example, Gregory's *homelia in evangelia 21* is found for Easter in the Angers manuscript (fol. 48r–53r) of the homiliary (Étaix 161). In three other manuscripts, one finds composite homilies that comprise parts of Gregory's homily and other material.[23] Moreover, in at least two of the manuscripts known to Étaix, Easter week was served by homilies that draw heavily on the *Gospel of Nicodemus*,[24] suggesting that some compilers and their intended communities desired a narrative account of the events of Easter week. The inclusion of *De passione Domini* seems to be a parallel development, a search for a text to fill in the Easter season that treats in both narrative and exegetical fashion Christ's descent into hell following the crucifixion. That *De passione Domini* could be available to compilers of HA looking to fill this gap is, as we will see, likely due to Carolingian interest in this text.

22. For example, Rudolf, "Angers and St Père" 23 details the interpolation of Rogationtide homilies from the St Père collection into HA.

23. These are Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, Aem. 39, fol. 48v–49v; Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular 33–1, fol. 117r–118r, where the same homily is acephalous; and Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Clmae 481, fol. 12r–14v, which has a different composite homily. See Étaix 164–67.

24. For example, Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, 236, fol. 37v–47r and Grenoble, Bibliothèque municipale, 470, fol. 20r–25r.

Carolingian copies of *De passione Domini*: B and S

While the specific routes by which *De passione Domini* was incorporated into two manuscripts of HA remain unknown, two roughly contemporaneous manuscripts written in Carolingian Bavaria present a tentative trace. München, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540, part 2 (**B**) and Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, a. VII. 5 (**S**) both preserve *De passione Domini* within similar particular codicological contexts.

B comprises two parts, both written in Carolingian minuscule, and is one of the 943 manuscripts of the Benedictine house of St Emmeram preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. The first part, folios 1–158, dates to the second half of eighth century and was written in a script characteristic of Northern Italy, possibly Verona (Lowe 21 [no 1305]). At the beginning of the section, on fol. 1r one finds a colophon that states Louganpertus gave the book to St Emmeram (*Istum librum dedit Louganpertus ad sanctum emmerum pro tutone episcopo et pro remedium animę suę*). It is one of three books that Louganpertus donated to St Emmeram for bishop Tuto (Lerner 245–46), who was abbot and bishop until his death in 930. Moreover, Louganpertus' gift is one of several recorded in the books belonging to St Emmeram and written and donated in this period. There are, for example, two books that Baturich, abbot and bishop from 817–43, and student of Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda (Goldberg 169), had written for the abbey. Although Louganpertus' donations are later, the colophons as a whole attest to an active library-building endeavor through donations at St Emmeram in the 800s and early 900s.

The second part of the manuscript, folios 158–245, dates to the second quarter of the ninth century and was written at St Emmeram. Part 2 is described as Patristic excerpts (Bischoff, *Katalog* 260 [no 3231]) and includes excerpts from or attributed to John Cassian, Cyprian of Carthage, Jerome, Isidore and John Chrysostom. *Omelia de passione domini* begins on fol. 222r and ends on fol. 226r. The translation of the Eusebian homily is preceded by *De miraculis natiuitatis Christi* (f. 219r–222r) and is followed by *Gesta Sanctorum dormientum qui in Epheso dormiunt* (226r–242v). Remarkably, this sequence is also found in another contemporary Carolingian manuscript written approximately 125 kilometers to the east.

S was written in the early 800s, at the Benedictine house of St Peter in Salzburg which also served as the cathedral (the abbot also served as archbishop from 798–987). The manuscript is described as having three parts (1. fols. 1–48; 2. fols 49–119; 3. fols. 120–35) (Bischoff, *Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken* 147 and 163). Indeed, parts 1 and 3 are written in a Carolingian minuscule by a hand of the first half of the 800s, characterized by Bischoff as transitional between the Arno (*c.* 750–821) style and the new calligraphic style of the early Adalram (d. 836) period. The period of Arno's tenure in particular marked the transformation of the bishopric into a metropolitan, the integration of the region into Charlemagne's empire, and the establishment of a library at Salzburg.

On fol. 1r, a mid-ninth century table of contents confirms that the three parts were combined by that time (Bischoff, *Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken* 147 [no 132]). The ninth-century book, which has since been rebound (as is seen in figure 1 below), contains *De passione Domini* on fols 29v–32v. Moreover, *De passione Domini* was preceded by *De miraculis nativitatis* (f. 27r–29r), and succeeded by *Gesta sanctorum septem dormientum* (f. 32v–48r).

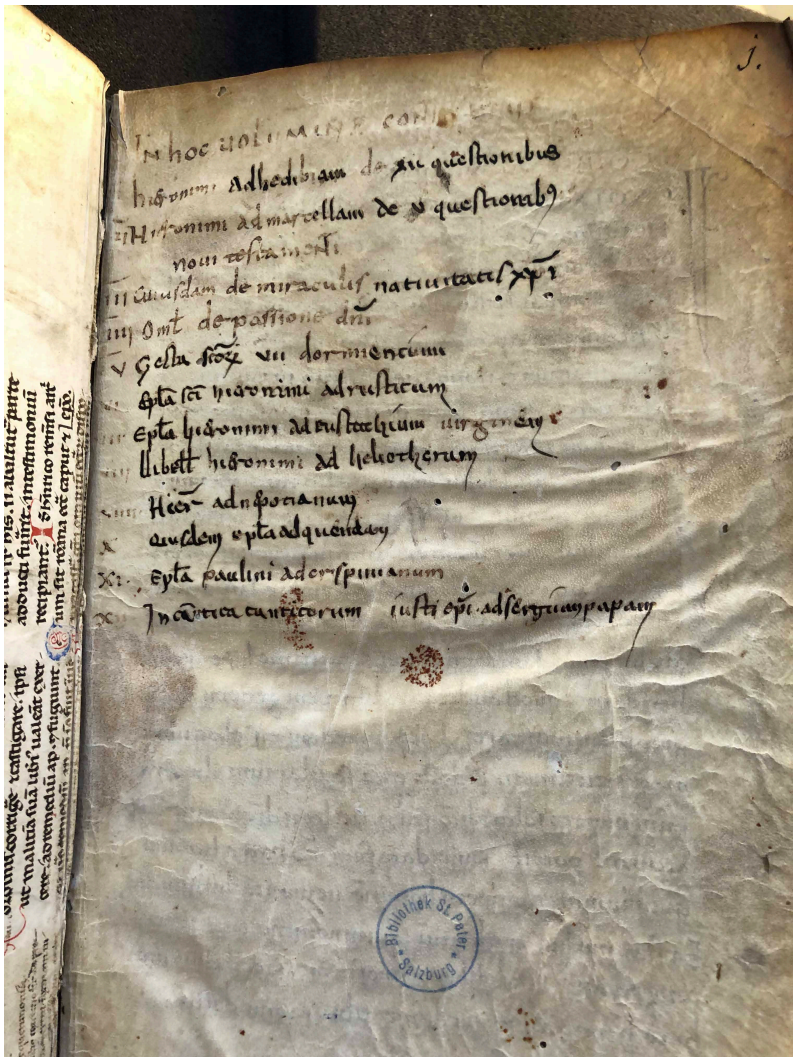

Figure 1. Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St Peter, a. VII. 5, fol. 1r. *Omelia de passione domini* appears as number IIII. Much of the original writing appears to have been worn, especially for items V–X (and to a lesser extent for items I–III). In these places, one sees a darker ink written in a later hand that appears to attempt to reproduce the script of the original scribe.

This sequence of texts, identical to that found in **B**, is suggestive. Given that both St Emmeram and Salzburg were undergoing periods of library building in the early ninth century, it appears that this textual block constituted an authoritative, or at least legitimate set of sought-after texts. It is possible that this text block was found in a book or booklet which served the compilers and copyists of **B** and **S**. Alternatively, **B** and **S** may have compiled this sequence independently from different sources, if one takes a more expansive view of book availabil-

ity in the region. In either case, the first part of **B** which originates in Northern Italy in tandem with our knowledge on Carolingian searches for authoritative books, hints at a possible link with Italy, where the proximity between Latin and Byzantine religious houses may have prompted the original translation of *De passione Domini*.

Conclusion

Whatever the location and date of the original translation of *sermo 17*, the manuscripts of this text suggest two distinct text-hunting lines for *De passione Domini*. These suggestive, rather than definitive, arguments propose, first, that *De passione Domini* came, likely from Italy, as part of a book or textual block to help build libraries in Carolingian Bavaria. Given the number of identified witnesses, it seems the story of the *descensus* as it appears in *De passione Domini* likely enjoyed limited circulation. However, the story, which was clearly associated with Easter events, was available and known to certain clergy who also used the Homiliary of Angers. These individuals, recognizing that the homiliary lacked material for Easter week, used *De passione Domini* to fill the gap, in a manner similar both to the use of *descensus* narratives in other manuscripts of the homiliary and to the characteristic augmentation of the homiliary overall. In turn, the Homiliary of Angers with *De passione Domini* was sought after by compilers looking for texts for pastoral care in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.

While these four manuscripts which contain *De passione Domini* can appear at first glance to be collections of disparate material, a closer examination of their contents in relation to each other allow us to see processes of the medieval hunts for texts that are typical of manuscript cultures. *De passione Domini* likely had a limited circulation, but this tentative text-searching story suggests that the text did enjoy sustained, if relatively specific, currency after its translation and reception into the Latin West. Indeed, though the specific time and place of the original translation remain unidentified and may well remain so for the foreseeable future, nevertheless, the translation of *De passione Domini* and related Eusebian material gestures towards a collaboration and cooperation among Latin and Greek monastic houses in post-Roman Italy, an important reminder of the intersections and text-sharing initiatives within Christian communities often viewed as distinct.

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