This book examines the cult of an eastern saint in the medieval Latin West, bridging traditional linguistic and geographical boundaries in the study of early medieval Europe. The movement of the cult of Anastasius the Persian monk (d. 22 January 628, in Kirkuk, modern Iraq) from Persia, Jerusalem, and Constantinople to Rome and Italy in the mid seventh century, and from there to Anglo-Saxon England and northern Europe, is documented by an extensive literary dossier, as well as by the veneration of the martyr’s relics and other evidence of liturgical commemoration. The book surveys the cult’s historical beginnings in the East, and its early development in Rome within the context of the city’s Greek-speaking population and the religious controversies of the seventh and eighth centuries. The entire Latin literary tradition of the cult of Anastasius goes back to two Greek texts (one composed in Jerusalem, the other in Rome itself) that were translated into Latin in Rome, the most important center of cultural exchange between Greek and Latin in the period. The Latin dossier’s relationship to the Greek texts affords us the almost unparalleled opportunity to observe early medieval translators at work and to understand more fully their tools, methodologies, and motivations at a time when the knowledge of Greek and its literary culture was in sharp decline in the Latin West.

The second part examines the diffusion and metamorphoses of the Latin dossier of Anastasius as a case study of the fluidity of hagiographic works, “living texts” that were constantly adapted to suit different settings and the changing functions of the books into which they were copied. Among the most significant of these revisions is one that may be identified with a lost work of Bede.

Critical editions of ten texts are included: the three original translations from the Greek and seven revisions, produced in various regions and across different periods, from the Greek communities of seventh-century Rome to the Cistercian abbeys of Flanders in the twelfth century and later. These editions exemplify the critical methodologies that are most appropriate to unstable texts and to texts transmitted exclusively within larger collections.

This study of the fortuna of the dossier of Anastasius in the Middle Ages shows the value of exploring both the cultural and codicological contexts in which hagiographic texts were composed and transmitted.
The Latin Dossier
of Anastasius the Persian

Hagiographic Translations
and Transformations

by

Carmela Vircillo Franklin

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This book has been published with the aid of a grant from the Stanwood-Cockey-Lodge Foundation of Columbia University.

National Library of Canada Data in Publication

National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Franklin, Carmela Vircillo
The Latin dossier of Anastasius the Persian: hagiographic translations and transformations / by Carmela Vircillo Franklin.

(Studies and texts, ISSN 0082-5328; 147)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-88844-147-9

1. Anastasius, the Persian, Saint, d. 628—Cult—Europe—History.

BX4700.A43F72 2004 270.2'092 C2003-906725-4

© 2004
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
59 Queen's Park Crescent East
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2C4

Printed in Canada
Contents

Preface vii
Abbreviations xii

I From Persia to Rome: A Martyr and His Relics 1
APPENDIX English Translations of the Passio S.
Anastasii and the Miraculum Romanum 29

II The First Latin Translation of the Acta S. Anastasii:
BHL 410b 53

III The Second Latin Translation of the Acta S. Anastasii:
BHL 411a 84

IV The Roman Miracle: BHL 412 126

V The Diffusion of the Passio 152
The Revisions of the First Translation:
BHL 408 and BHL 410 162

VI The Passio S. Anastasii in Anglo-Saxon England 186
APPENDICES
1. The Old English Martyrology 224
2. Ado of Vienne 226

VII The Other Revisions 229
APPENDICES
1. The ASS Text 248
2. Cesare Baronio and the Dossier of St. Anastasius 249

Conclusion 252
Contents

THE TEXTS

1 The First Translation: BHL 410b 259
2 The Second Translation: BHL 411a 299
3 The Roman Miracle: BHL 412 339
4 The BHL 408(p) Redaction 362
5 The Revision BHL 410 417
6 The Revision p1 449
7 The Roman Revision r2 469
8 The Revision BHL 411d 493
9 Abbreviated Versions 500
   Abbreviation A 500
   Abbreviation B 504

Appendix: The Sanctoral Table of Pl, Rg, St 508

Descriptive List of Manuscripts 511

Bibliography 543

Index 561

Index of Manuscripts 569

Charts and Stemmata

1. Overview of All the Latin Texts 161
2. Diagram of the Transmission of the First Translation 271
Preface

The subject of this book is the cult of an eastern saint in the medieval Latin West. My work follows an ecumenical approach to the study of early medieval European culture, one that disregards traditional linguistic and geographical boundaries. The movement of the cult of Anastasius the Persian monk (d. 22 January 628, in Kirkuk, modern Iraq) from Persia, Jerusalem, and Constantinople to Rome and Italy in the middle of the seventh century, and from there to Anglo-Saxon England, and then to northern Europe in the following centuries is documented by an extensive literary dossier, as well as by the veneration of the martyr’s relics, by church dedications and other evidence of liturgical commemoration. In Chapter I, I survey the historical beginnings of the cult of the Persian in the East, and its development in Rome and Italy particularly within the context of the religious controversies of the seventh and eighth centuries. I also provide a translation of the two texts that laid the foundation of the movement in the West, the original Acta of Anastasius and the so-called Roman Miracle of 713. My English version of these two works is based on both the Latin and Greek source texts.

The prominent literary expression of the cult of Anastasius in the West constitutes by far the largest part of my study. Chapters II-IV examine three texts translated from the Greek: an early Latin translation of the Greek Acta executed in Rome before 668, when Theodore of Tarsus may have taken it to England; a second version of the Acta, also carried out in Rome in the ninth or tenth century, which can be seen as part of the revival of Greek learning in Rome of which the papal diplomat Anastasius Bibliothecarius is the best-known exponent; and the Roman Miracle, the account of an exorcism composed in Greek in Rome in 713 and translated

1. I borrow Bernice Kaczynski’s terminology, used to describe the recent shift in medieval historiography in her “Review Article: The Seventh-Century School of Canterbury: England and the Continent in Perspective.”
into Latin not much later. The translation of Greek texts into Latin during the early Middle Ages is a subject that remains in need of substantial scholarly exploration, despite the appearance of several important studies in recent decades. Editions and detailed investigations of individual texts are needed from which to draw broad conclusions on the methods of translation, the tools and strategies employed by translators, as well as their motivations at a time when the knowledge of Greek and its literary culture was in sharp decline in the Latin West. I hope that my analysis of these three texts translated directly from the Greek will contribute to this work. Taken together, they exemplify the history of translation as it was practiced in early medieval Rome, the most important outpost for the cultural exchange between Greek and Latin in the period.

The diffusion and metamorphoses of the two translations of the *Passio S. Anastasii* are examined in chapters V-VII. This examination serves as a case study of the fluidity of hagiographic works, “living texts” that were constantly adapted to suit various needs, or to be included in a variety of books by scribes and editors throughout the Middle Ages. Among the most significant of these revisions is one that, as I discuss at length, is Bede’s lost correction of the translation brought to England by Archbishop Theodore, and another revision that Bede may have utilized in preparing his own work.

I provide critical editions of ten texts in the third part of my book, the three original translations from the Greek and seven Latin reworkings discussed in chapters V-VII that show no significant connection with the Greek originals. These texts were produced in various regions and across different periods, from the Greek communities of seventh-century Rome to the Cistercian abbeys of Flanders in the twelfth century and later. Each one is preceded by an introduction that summarizes the conclusions derived from the study and collation of the manuscript witnesses. The “Descriptive List” of the final section is meant to provide a comprehensive and

2. The use of this word is inspired by another work that has served as a model to my own, that of Pelagia the Penitent by Pierre Petitmengin et al.
systematic survey of all the manuscripts discussed in this study, including lost manuscripts.

Just as my work was going to press, Xavier Lequeux published, without my knowledge, a short article inspired by the unpublished first draft of my work, which had been made available to him.³ In this piece, published in 2003, Lequeux takes issue with the translation methodology of the first Latin translation of the *Acta* of Anastasius as I had postulated in an article published in 1995.⁴ Lequeux has known that my edition of the first Latin translation was being readied for publication in the present book. Had he waited, he could have considered the updated and greatly expanded treatment of the methodologies of medieval translators, and not focused artificially on material published more than eight years ago that is superseded by the fuller treatment included in chapters I-IV and VI of this book.

This study began many years ago when Paul J. Meyvaert invited me to assist in the identification of the “librum uitae et passionis sancti Anastasii male de greco translatum et peius a quodam imperito emendatum” listed among Bede’s works at the end of the Ecclesiastical History (V.25). I dedicate this book, which grew out of that original collaboration, to Paul, with gratitude for all that he has taught me over the years, and with deep affection.

I have incurred many debts to individuals and institutions during my extended manuscript hunt. Both Saint John’s University in Collegeville, Minnesota, where I began this project, and Columbia University in the City of New York, where I completed it, supported my research. I also owe thanks to the National Humanities Center and to the National Endowment for the Humanities for support during my sabbatical leave in 1990-1991 when some of the

³. Xavier Lequeux, “La plus ancienne traduction latine (*BHL* 410b) des actes grecs du martyr Anastase le perse. L’oeuvre d’un interprète grec?,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 121 (2003), 37-44. See n. 3 (p. 37), where Lequeux states that he had occasion to examine “une edition provisoire réalisée par Carmela Virgilio Franklin.” M. Lequeux had access not only to the unpublished edition of *BHL* 410b, but also to an early draft of my entire study, which included the discussion of this Latin translation, not just its text.

⁴. Franklin, “Theodore and the *Passio S. Anastasii.*”
research for this work was begun. I am extremely grateful to all the many libraries that have allowed me access to their collections. While it is impossible to list them all here, I wish to single out in particular the Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, the Biblioteca nazionale in Turin, and the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at Saint John’s University.

I wish to acknowledge also the extraordinary help I received from the following colleagues: Fr. Leonard Boyle, OP (†); Mirella Ferrari and R.C. Barker-Benfield, who kindly replied to my written queries; Alan Cameron; François Dolbeau; Bernard Flusin; Michael Lapidge; Giovanni Verrando (†). I am particularly grateful to Carol Lanham and Claudia Rapp who read large parts of this work and provided valuable suggestions, and to the anonymous readers for the press who read it all in a most constructive way. I am happy to acknowledge the contribution of Robert Franke, who prepared all stemmas and diagrams. I thank Fred Unwalla for coordinating this project for the press, and Clare Orchard for her help in revising the manuscript. My greatest debt is to my editor Jean Hoff. She has been a learned reader of Greek, Latin and English, a generous advisor, and a great teacher. The love of my husband R. William Franklin and my daughters Corinna and Beatrice has sustained me throughout the vicissitudes of this project.