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Bulletin du Cange

ARCHIVVM

LATINITATIS MEDII AEVI

CONSOCIATARVM ACADEMIARVM AVSPICIIS CONDITVM

TOME 74



2016

Librairie Droz – Genève

Publié avec le concours de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) et de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris.

ISSN 1376-74-53

ISBN 978-2-87043-016-3

Translation, repurposing, and misunderstanding from Egypt to Rome to Ravenna : φορεῖον - *phorium* - *furibum**

Minas was so ill that he could not even be carried in a *furibum*, «in which the sick are carried». Instead, he had to lie supine on a bed, conveyed by sixteen men in shifts to the saint who would finally cure him¹. The saint was Barbatianus, who later impressed Peter Damian for humbly using medicines to conceal his own holiness². The source is the *Vita Barbatiani* (B.H.L. 972), an anonymous life composed probably in the tenth century, which recounted Barbatianus' deeds in the Italy of Galla Placidia³. This article is about the mysterious vehicle

* I would like to thank Ned Schoolman for bringing my attention to the *Vita Barbatiani*, for sharing his photographs of relevant manuscripts, and for allowing me to read the draft of his book before its publication. I would also like to thank Michael McCormick, Gregor Kalas, Jake Ransohoff, Warren Pez , and Julian Yolles for corrections and suggestions.

¹ *Vita Barbatiani* (B.H.L. 972), c. 7, ed. Francesco LANZONI, «Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani presbyteri et confessoris' », *Rivista di scienze storiche*, 6, 1909, p. 644. Full quotation below.

² Peter Damian, *Sermo* 65, c. 4, ed. Giovanni LUCCHESI, *Petri Damiani Sermones*, Turnhout, 1983 (CCCM, 57), p. 391: «Ea nisi fallor intentione ut (...) medicinale aliquid fuisse credatur, et dum reparata salus medicinae tribuitur, in aestimatione hominum sanctitatis eius opinio minuat». On Barbatianus' cult, see Giovanni LUCCHESI and Maria Chiara CELLETTI, «Barbaziano», *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 2, Rome, 1962, col. 772-776; Alessandro TESTI-RASPONI, «Barbatianus», *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 6, Paris, 1932, col. 621-622; J. BAUR, «Barbatianus», *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 1, Freiburg, 1957, col. 1238; Mari tte VERHOEVEN, *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna: Transformations and Memory*, Turnhout, 2011, p. 80-85. For fuller discussion, see Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood in Italy: Hagiography and the Late Antique Past in Medieval Ravenna*, New York, 2016, esp. p. 77-138.

³ Francesco LANZONI, «Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani' », p. 635-658 (text), 712-734 (commentary), is the best edition, but see the review by Albert PONCELET in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 29, 1910, p. 166-168, at p. 167. The *editio princeps* is Benedetto BACCHINI (ed.), *Agnelli, qui et Andreas, Liber pontificalis, sive vitae pontificum ravennatum*, 2 vol., Modena, 1708, vol. 2 (*Appendix*), p. 39-58, preceded by an Italian abr g  : Girolamo FABRI, *Le sagre memorie di Ravenna antica*, 2 vol., Venice, 1664, vol. 1, at p. 193-195. Bacchini's edition was reprinted with revisions (in footnotes) by Ludovico MURATORI (ed.), *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, Milan, 1723, vol. 2, p. 194-198. Jacques-Paul MIGN  (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* [hereafter *PL*], 106, Paris, 1864, col. 769-778, introduced Muratori's emendations into the text (in square brackets). Peter Damian's sermon is the *terminus ante quem*. Agnellus of Ravenna's *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (between 830 and 846),

in which Minas was too ill to be carried, the *furibum*. It argues that this hapax legomenon, although enshrined in dictionaries of medieval Latin, is a lexicographical myth. In so doing, it considers the broader question of how words and texts migrate from one material context to another, and explores the implications of such cultural migrations for historians trying to reconstruct the life and language of the past.

Traditionally, the *Vita Barbatiani* was dismissed as the tale of an «invented saint»⁴. The life takes its stories nearly *verbatim* from older texts, above all, from the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John (*B.H.L.* 2080), a partly late seventh- and partly late ninth-century Latin translation of the seventh-century Greek Miracles of Cyrus and John (*B.H.G.* 477-479i) of Sophronios of Jerusalem⁵. That borrowing includes poor Minas, who was a sick man named «Mennas» (Μηνῶς) in Egypt before he was one in Italy⁶. Recently, however, Edward Schoolman has defended the *Vita Barbatiani* from accusations of mere plagiarism, using the text to explore memorial culture and the construction of sanctity in early medieval Ravenna⁷. The *vita*, Edward Schoolman argues, was a kind of «literary *furta sacra*», which inventively altered its sources to fit new needs⁸.

One byproduct of the text's re-use of older materials is its unusual vocabulary. If the *Vita Barbatiani* has failed to impress historians, it has long inter-

is often used as the *terminus post quem*, but Paolo TOMEA, «L'agiografia dell'Italia Settentrionale (950-1130)», in Guy PHILIPPART (ed.), *Hagiographies*, Turnhout, 2001, vol. 3, p. 99-178, at p. 135, n. 86, notes that it is not clear that the *Vita Barbatiani* is based on Agnellus rather than the other way around. Alessandro TESTI-RASPONI, «Barbatianus», col. 621, and J. BAUR, «Barbatianus», col. 1238, assign the text to the ninth century, without explanation. Francesco LANZONI, «Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani'», p. 719, 723, dates it to the tenth. The case for tenth-century dating is made convincingly by Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 91-124. Cf. Edward SCHOOLMAN, «Engineered Holy Authority and the Tenth-Century Vita of St. Barbatianus of Ravenna», in Shari BOODTS, Johan LEEMANS, and Brigitte MEIJNS (ed.), *Shaping Authority: How Did a Person Become an Authority in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance?*, Turnhout, 2016, p. 251-280, at p. 253.

⁴ Mariëtte VERHOEVEN, *Early Christian Monuments*, p. 80. Cf. Deborah DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2010, p. 104 («entirely derivative»); Alessandro TESTI-RASPONI, «Barbatianus», col. 621 («aucune valeur historique»); J. BAUR, «Barbatianus», col. 1238 («v. geringem hist. Wert»); Giovanni LUCCHESI, «Barbaziano», col. 772 («un romanzo agiografico»).

⁵ Sophronios, *Miracula Cyri et Iohannis* (*B.H.G.* 477-479i) [hereafter: *Thaumata*], ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la incubatio cristiana*, Madrid, 1975, p. 240-400; the only edition of the Latin translation (alongside the Greek) is Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium Romanum*, Rome, 1840, vol. 3, p. 97-669, reprinted in Jacques-Paul MIGNÉ (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca* [hereafter *PG*], 87.3, Paris, 1860, col. 3123-3676.

⁶ Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 5, c. 3, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 250; Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 117-122 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3431-3434), for the spelling «Mennas» in the Latin translation.

⁷ Edward SCHOOLMAN, notes the hagiographer's «plasticity» («Engineered Holy Authority», p. 269) and discusses the life's composition in depth in *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 91-124.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92. For Edward Schoolman, the text's composition in an age of Ottonian involvement in Italy reflected local interest in Ravenna's imperial past (*ibid.*, p. 30-32).

ested lexicographers⁹. The word *furibum* has appeared in dictionaries since the eighteenth century. It first appeared in the revised 1733 Maurist edition of the *Glossarium* of Du Cange, as «a kind of litter designed for carrying the sick»¹⁰. A nineteenth-century archaeological dictionary defined it as an «Art Sänfte»¹¹. For Francesco Arnaldi in 1939 it was a «lecticae genus»¹². Albert Blaise in 1975 defined it as a «sorte de litière (pour malades)»¹³. All these dictionaries used the text printed by Ludovico Muratori in his 1723 *Appendix* to Agnellus of Ravenna¹⁴:

(...) <et> quando ad eum venit, non pedibus, neque furibo, in quo deportantur ægroti, <quia> nec sedere poterat, nec ambulare, sed in lectulo jacens a sedecim hominibus <per vices> portatus est¹⁵.

(...) <and> when he came to him, it was not by foot, nor by a *furibum*, in which sick people are transported, <for> he was able neither to sit nor to walk, but reclining on a bed, he was carried <in shifts> by sixteen men.

⁹ The text is listed in Francesco ARNALDI, *Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi inde ab a. CDLXXVI ad a. MXXII Lexicon Imperfectum*, Brussels, 1939, vol. 1, p. 23; Albert BLAISE, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, Turnhout, 1975, p. LXVI; Franz BLATT et al. (ed.), *Index Scriptorum novus Mediae Latinitatis*, Copenhagen, 1973, p. 211; Bruno BON et al. (ed.), *Index Scriptorum novus Mediae Latinitatis: Supplementum (1973-2005)*, Geneva, 2005, p. 250; Francesco ARNALDI, Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, et al., *Latinitatis Italicae Medii Lexicon (Saec. v ex. - Saec. XI in.)*, rev. ed., Florence, 2001, p. 19 (cf. the *Index Auctorum et Operum*, Florence, 2008, p. 72). Francesco Arnaldi's revised lexicon uses the *Vita Barbariani* in fifty-nine entries: s.v. *accedo, cautitas, cogitatio, compedio, confero, continuo, contrarius, cymiterium, damno, de, demonstro, demoror, detineo, diminuo, dissensio, effero, eleuo, emensitas, emplastrum, empsicheus, eripes, exquiro, furibum, humor, illumino, incido, instanter, iungo, laus, liquefacio, loripes, luridus, macula, malitia, nerua, notus, opus, oratio, ordino, perfero, permaneo, petia, propter, recurro, redintegro, saluifico, saluus, sandalium, scrofulae, sedeo, sono, specialis, squama, supplicium, tantum, tenebrosus, turbo, turibulum, unitas*.

¹⁰ Charles Du Fresne DU CANGE, *Glossarium medie et infime Latinitatis* (Maurist edition), Paris, 1733, vol. 3, col. 756: «Species lecticae ad portandos ægrotos accommodæ». This entry was kept into later editions, up to Léopold FAVRE, Paris, 1938, vol. 3, p. 634.

¹¹ Hermann A. MÜLLER and Oskar MOTHES (ed.), *Illustriertes archäologisches Wörterbuch der Kunst des germanischen Alterthums, des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 2 vol., Leipzig, 1877-1878, vol. 1, p. 434 («Art Sänfte»); vol. 2, p. 820 (s.v. «Sänfte»).

¹² Francesco ARNALDI, *Lexicon*, vol. 1, p. 234; Francesco ARNALDI, Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, et al., *Lexicon*, p. 208.

¹³ Albert BLAISE, *Lexicon*, p. 408.

¹⁴ DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, vol. 3, col. 756, cites Muratori but quotes Benedetto Bacchini. BLAISE, *Lexicon*, p. LXV, lists Migne, but the entry (p. 408) corresponds to Muratori's edition. One notable exception is Bruno BON et al. (ed.), *Index scriptorum novus*, p. 250, which cites Francesco Lanzoni.

¹⁵ *Vita Barbariani*, c. 7, ed. Ludovico MURATORI, p. 196A. Words in brackets are emendations proposed in footnotes by Ludovico Muratori to Benedetto BACCHINI (ed.), p. 45: «quando ad eum venit, non pedibus, neque furibo venit, in quo deportantur ægroti, nec sedere poterat, nec ambulare, sed in lectulo jacens a sedecim hominibus vice portatus est». For the politics of Benedetto Bacchini's publication of Agnellus, see Arnaldo MOMIGLIANO, «Ecclesiastical Historiography», in Arnaldo MOMIGLIANO, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*, Berkeley, 1990, p. 132-152, at p. 132-136.

The lexicographers relied on the context provided by the text itself : « neque furibo, in quo deportantur ægroti »¹⁶. Yet by relying on Ludovico Muratori's edition, they overlooked a complication. In 1909 Francesco Lanzoni re-edited the *Vita Barbatiani* on the basis of four manuscripts (Edward Schoolman has now described fifteen)¹⁷. Francesco Lanzoni's edition is imperfect (there is no *apparatus*)¹⁸, but it incorporates additional readings, and prints the text along with its sources. In Francesco Lanzoni's edition, the *furibum* passage is grammatically problematic :

(...) et quando ad eum venit, non pedibus neque furibo, in qua deportantur aegroti, nec sedere poterat, nec ambulare, sed in lectulo iacens a sedecim hominibus per vices portatus est¹⁹.

The relative pronoun *qua* does not agree in gender with the putatively neuter *furibum*. To be sure, postclassical Latin is not always scrupulous about agreement²⁰. Francesco Lanzoni selected *qua* over *quo* as the *lectio difficilior*, since the manuscripts offer a mixture of both readings²¹. Jacques-Paul Migne, Ludovico Muratori, and Benedetto Bacchini had all printed *quo*²². *Qua* is, however, most likely a relic of reworking. This passage very closely refashions

¹⁶ I cannot find *furibum* (variously spelled) elsewhere on searchable Latin databases : CLCLT, AASS, PLD, M.G.H., Analecta Hymnica, Corpus Corporum. There is no entry for *furibum* in either Otto PRINZ, Paul LEHMANN, Johannes STROUX, et al. (ed.), *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch, bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1959-, or Jan F. NIERMEYER and Co VAN DE KIEFT, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, ed. Jan BURGERS, rev. ed., 2 vol., Leiden, 2002.

¹⁷ Francesco LANZONI, « Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani' », p. 635-637, describes Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 3129 (64) (s. XI); Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 718 (s. XI); Ravenna, Archivio Arcivescovile, ms. VI (2) (s. XI^{ex}/XIIⁱⁿ); and Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. lat. 371 (alfa.P.4.9) (the « Codex Estensis ») (s. XV). Albert PONCELET, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 29, p. 167, n. 1, adds Vaticano, BAV, lat. 6073 (s. XI^{ex}/XIIⁱⁿ). Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, Appendix 3, p. 177-179, adds Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana [=BML], Aed. 137 (s. XI^{ex}/ XIIⁱⁿ); Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 230 (s. XII); Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 300 (s. XII^{2/4}); Fiesole, Archivio Capitolare, cod. XXII.1 (s. XII); Cividale del Friuli, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. XVII (a. 1252); Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1 (s. XII); Gorizia, Biblioteca del Seminario teologico, ms. 8 (s. XIII/XIV); Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek, Ba 2 (s. XV); Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. lat. IX 16 (2943) (s. XV); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, ms. 3527 (8890-91) (s. XVII); New York, Morgan Library, ms. M 373 (s. XIV); and a Veneto translation, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. ital. V.32 (5647) (s. XV).

¹⁸ Cf. Albert PONCELET, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 29, p. 167: « Comme il n'a pas jugé bon de signaler aucune variante, il est malaisé de se rendre compte du mérite de cette édition ».

¹⁹ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 7, ed. Francesco LANZONI, « Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani' », p. 644. Francesco Lanzoni printed « (sic) » after the word *furibo*, without further comment.

²⁰ Veikko VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1981, p. 125; Dag NORBERG, *Manuel pratique de latin médiéval*, Paris, 1968, p. 24.

²¹ E.g. *qua* : Admont, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 1, fol. 95r ; Florence, BML, Conv. soppr. 230, fol. 139r. *Quo* : Ravenna, Archivio Arcivescovile, ms. VI, fol. 93v ; Gorizia, Biblioteca del Seminario teologico, ms. 8, fol. 292v. Thanks to Ned Schoolman for sharing his photographs of these manuscripts.

²² Benedetto BACCHINI (ed.), p. 45 ; Ludovico MURATORI (ed.), p. 196A ; Jacques-Paul MIGNE (ed.), *PL* 106, col. 771D.

Miracle 5 of the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John²³. The *qua* seems to have arisen when the author of the *Vita Barbatiani* only partially borrowed a phrase from this source : « quae sedes est in qua deportari aegroti a non aegrescentibus assolent »²⁴. This is not the only discrepancy, and it is worthwhile comparing all three texts :

**Sophronios, *Thaumata*,
m. 5, c. 3
(Original Greek)²⁵**

Τούτον οὖν ἡμέρας δις
ἐπὶ τὰ βαστάσας τὸν
κίνδυνον, καὶ μηκέτι
φέρειν δυνάμενος, ἐπὶ
Κύρον καὶ Ἰωάννην
τοὺς μάρτυρας
ᾤρησεν, τούτοις τὸ
ζῆν²⁸ καὶ τὸ θανεῖν
ἀναθέμενος. Ἦλθεν
δὲ οὐ ποσὶ χρώμενος,
οὐκ ἀλόγοις ζώοις
ὀχούμενος, οὐ φορεῖω
καθήμενος (θρόνος
οὗτος καθέστηκεν
ἐν ᾧ βαστάζειν οἱ
νοσηλεύοντες τοὺς
ἀσθενοῦντας εἰώθασιν).
Οὔτε γὰρ ἠδύνατο
καθῆσθαι οὕτως
ὀγκωθεὶς τὰ ἐνδόσθια²⁹
καὶ ξένον γενόμενος
θέαμα, ἀλλ' εἰς κράβατον
κείμενος, ἀνθρώπων
ἕξ καὶ δέκα τῆ διαδοχῆ
βασταζόμενος.

***Miracula Cyri et
Iohannis*, m. 5
(Latin Translation)²⁶**

Hoc igitur per bis septem
dies perpessus periculum,
et ultra ferre non valens,
ad Cyrum et Joannem
martyres confugit, eis
vitam mortemque com-
mittens. Venit autem non
pedibus, non jumento vec-
tatus, non in phorii pileto
considens, quae sedes est
in qua deportari aegroti
a non aegrescentibus
assolent; nec enim sedere
poterat, tam magno tumore
interioribus ejus extensis,
ut nova visio cerneretur;
sed in lectulo rejacens a
sedecim hominibus per
vices portatus est.

***Vita Barbatiani*, c. 7
(Reworking)²⁷**

Qui dum per bis septem
dies perpessus pericu-
lum et ultra ferre non
valens, ad sanctissimum
virum Barbatianum in
cellula, ubi se applicuerat,
confugit, et eidem vitam
mortemque committens, et
quando ad eum venit, non
pedibus neque furibo, in
qua deportantur aegroti,
nec sedere poterat, nec
ambulare, sed in lectulo
iacens a sedecim homini-
bus per vices portatus est.

²³ For detailed discussion, see Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 101-105.

²⁴ Francesco LANZONI, «Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani' », p. 644.

²⁵ Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 5, c. 3, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 250, with alternative readings from Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 118-119 (PG 87.3, col. 3433A).

²⁶ Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 119 (PG 87.3, col. 3434A).

²⁷ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 7, ed. Francesco LANZONI, «Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani' », p. 644.

²⁸ «ζῆν» : Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 119 (PG 87.3, col. 3433A).

²⁹ «ἐντόσθια» : *ibid.* Two manuscripts («C» and «E») read ἐντόσθια («intestines»), but Natalio Fernández Marcos favors the orthography of «F», which reads ἐνδόσθια.

So enduring this trial for twice seven days, and no longer having the power to bear it, he sped to Cyrus and John the martyrs, committing to them both life and death. And he came not using his feet, nor carried by brute animals, nor seated in a litter (that seat on which those who take care of the sick are accustomed to use to lift up the infirm)³⁰. For nor was he strong enough to sit upright, swollen as he was in his intestines, and he became a strange sight, but lying on a bed he was carried by sixteen men taking shifts.

So enduring this trial for twice seven days, and no longer able to bear it, he fled to the martyrs Cyrus and John, committing to them his life and death. And he came not on foot, not carried by beast, not sitting in a carriage-litter, which is a seat in which sick people are accustomed to be carried by those who are not ill ; nor was he able to sit or walk, with his insides distended by such great swelling that he looked an unusual sight ; but reclining on a bed he was carried in shifts by sixteen men.

After he had endured this trial for twice seven days, and being no longer able to bear it, he fled to the most holy man Barbatianus in the cell where he had devoted himself, and committing to him his life and death, and when he came to him, it was not by foot nor by a *furibum*, in which sick people are transported, nor was he able to sit or walk, but reclining on a bed, he was carried in shifts by sixteen men.

What is gained and lost between Egypt, Rome, and Ravenna ? To answer that question, it is crucial to understand the different conditions of composition. Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem (634-638), lived long enough to see his city's conquest by Caliph 'Umar in 638³¹. A friend and student of John Moschos, Sophronios authored a number of literary works, including hagiography³². Among his saints' lives were the Praises and Miracles of Cyrus and John³³. According to legend, Cyrus and John were a physician and a soldier martyred during the persecution of Diocletian. Their relics were discovered in the fifth century by Cyril of Alexandria, who promoted their healing cult at Menouthis

³⁰ Cf. Jean GASCOU (tr.), *Sophrone de Jérusalem: Miracles des saints Cyr et Jean (BHG I 477-479): traduction commentée*, Paris, 2006, p. 35: « (...) ni assis sur un phoreion (siège sur lequel les personnes en charge de malades ont coutume de les transporter) ».

³¹ Aristeides PAPADAKIS, « Sophronios », in Alexander KAZHDAN (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vol., Oxford, 1991, vol. 3, p. 1928-1929; Christoph von SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jérusalem: vie monastique et confession dogmatique*, Paris, 1972, p. 53-98.

³² Mauritius GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 3 : *A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum*, ed. Jacques NORET, 2nd rev. ed., Turnhout, 2003, p. 422-431 (nos. 7635-7685 ; the encomium and acts of Cyrus and John are nos. 7645-7646). For Sophronios' friendship with John Moschos, see Henry CHADWICK, « John Moschos and His Friend Sophronios the Sophist », *The Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series, 25, 1974, p. 41-74.

³³ Christoph von SCHÖNBORN, *Sophrone de Jérusalem*, p. 105, dates the *Miracles* to shortly after 610.

(Abu Qir) in Egypt³⁴. Sophronios penned an encomium in their honor (*B.H.G.* 475-476) as well as an account of their seventy miracles (*B.H.G.* 477-479i), in gratitude for their aid, after he recovered at their shrine from an eye disease³⁵. Sophronios' Miracles offer insights into medicine and daily life in Late Antiquity³⁶. They may even shed new light on the great plague pandemic that began in the mid-sixth century and continued into the eighth century³⁷.

³⁴ For their cult, see Rudolf HERZOG, «Der Kampf um den Kult von Menuthis», in Theodor KLAUSER and Adolf RÜCKER (ed.), *Pisciculi : Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums : Franz Joseph Dölger dargeboten*, Münster, 1939, p. 117-124 ; Hippolyte DELEHAYE, «Les Saints d'Aboukir», *Analecta Bollandiana*, 30, 1911, p. 448-450 ; Alexander KAZHDAN and Nancy PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO, «Kyros and John», in Alexander KAZHDAN (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 2, p. 1164 ; Filippo CARAFFA and Maria Vittoria BRANDI, «Ciro e Giovanni», in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 4, Rome, 1964, p. 2-5.

³⁵ Sophronios' encomium (*B.H.G.* 475-476) is edited in Pauline BRINGEL (ed.), *Sophrone de Jérusalem, Panégyrique des saints Cyr et Jean: Réédition et traduction d'après de nouveaux manuscrits*, Turnhout, 2008 (*Patrologia Orientalis*, 51.1). On the edition of Sophronios' miracles (*B.H.G.* 477-479i) by Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS (ed.), *Los Thaumata*, p. 240-400, see John DUFFY, «Observations on Sophronios' 'Miracles of Cyrus and John' », *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 35, 1984, p. 71-90, with corrections at p. 77-90. Jean GASCOU, *Sophrone de Jérusalem*, proposes more corrections. A new edition is in preparation by Marina DETORAKI (ed.), *Sophronii Hierosolymitani SS. Cyri et Iohannis Miracula*, Turnhout, forthcoming (*CCSG*, 88). The Latin Miracles are available only in Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3 (1840), reprinted in MIGNE (ed.), *PG* 87.3 (1860). For the relationship between the encomium and the miracles, see Theodor NISSEN, «De SS. Cyri et Iohannis vitae formis», *Analecta Bollandiana*, 57, 1939, p. 65-71. For Sophronios' eyes : Sophronios, *Laudes*, c. 1, ed. Pauline BRINGEL, p. 16 ; Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 70, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 394-400. Cf. Alan CAMERON, «The Epigrams of Sophronios», *The Classical Quarterly*, 33, 1983, p. 284-92, at p. 284-288.

³⁶ E.g. Theodor NISSEN, «Sophronios-Studien III : Medizin und Magie bei Sophronios», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 39, 1939, p. 349-381 ; Harry John MAGOULIAS, «The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 57, 1964, p. 127-150, esp. p. 146-147, 148-149. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS (ed.), *Los Thaumata*, p. 23-59 (for the practice of *incubatio*).

³⁷ Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 6, c. 1, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 251, describes Geddaios, a seaman of some description (ναυλομάχος; cf. Geoffrey W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, p. 899, and Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 101-102), who was «πάθος δὲ τὸ τῆς σύριγγος νόσημα, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ βουβόνοϋ ἐσχηκός» («suffering a disease of a fistula, which he bore on his groin»). In the Latin translation, σύριγγ becomes *fistula* : Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 122 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3434D). Cf. m. 8, c. 13, 15, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 256, for cases of groin swelling. These may not be bubonic plague, but the symptoms and circumstances (the victim is a sailor) deserve investigation. A clearer case is *Thaumata*, m. 51, c. 10, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 364 : «Λοιμός ἦν, καὶ οἱ τότε νοσοῦντες πρὶν ἢ διαγνωσθῆναι τὴν νόσον ἀπέθνησκον» («There was plague, and those who were sick at that time perished even before the disease was diagnosed»). Natalio Fernández Marcos notes (p. 364, n. 10) that in Vaticano, BAV, Vat. Graec. 1607 (s. x^{ex}), the word λοιμός («plague») is glossed φθορά («devastation») and ἔκβρασις («pullulation»). Jean GASCOU, *Sophrone de Jérusalem*, p. 183, n. 1102, argues that this second term suggests «une maladie à bubons». Anastasius Bibliothecarius translates : «Pestilentia erat, et qui tunc aegrotabant, prius quam languor nosceretur, moriebantur» : Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 535 (*PG* 87.3, col. 3615C).

Cyrus and John quickly attracted a western audience³⁸. By the late seventh century, some of Sophronios' miracles had been translated into Latin by a member of the papal court named Boniface the *consiliarius*³⁹. This Boniface was sent by Pope Sergius I (r. 687-701) to Constantinople⁴⁰. Later he befriended and taught a celebrated Anglo-Saxon visitor to Rome, Wilfrid (c. 634-709/710)⁴¹. From the acts of II Nicaea (787), it appears that Boniface took part in the council of III Constantinople (680/681)⁴². At some point, Boniface translated twelve chapters of Sophronios' Miracles of Cyrus and John. We know this thanks to the preface to the later and fuller Latin translation of Sophronios' work by the great mid-ninth-century Roman author Anastasius Bibliothecarius⁴³. Anastasius

³⁸ For an eighth-century icon of «St. Abbakyros» (Father Cyrus) at Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, see David KNIPP, «The Chapel of Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 56, 2002, p. 1-23, esp. p. 17-23. Cyrus and John were also invoked with other pairs (Sergius and Bacchus, Cosmas and Damian) in the ritual of «brother making» (*adelphopoiesis*) first attested in an eighth-century Italo-Byzantine manuscript : Stefano PARENTI and Elena VELKOVSKA (ed.), *L'Euologio Barberini Gr. 336*, 2nd rev. ed., Rome, 2000 (*Ephemerides liturgicae, Subsidia*, 80), no. 211, p. 199 (fol. 204^v). Cf. Claudia RAPP, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium : Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual*, Oxford, 2016, p. 84-85.

³⁹ Walter BERSCHIN, «Bonifatius Consiliarius (+ Nach 704) : Ein römischer Übersetzer in der byzantinischen Epoche des Papsttums», in Walter BERSCHIN, *Mittelateinische Studien*, Heidelberg, 2005, p. 65-78. Cf. Benedetta VALTORTA, *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi : Auctores Italiae (700-1000)*, Florence, 2006, p. 70-71.

⁴⁰ *Vita Sergii I*, c. 7, ed. Louis DUCHESNE, *Le liber pontificalis*, rev. ed. by Cyrille VOGEL, 3 vol., Paris, 1955-1957, vol. 1, p. 373. Also ed. Theodor MOMMSEN, *Liber pontificalis*, Berlin, 1898 (*M.G.H. Gesta Pontif. Rom.* 1), p. 212. See Erich CASPAR, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2 vol., Tübingen, 1930-1933, vol. 2, p. 634-635

⁴¹ Eddius Stephanus, *Vita Wilfridi (B.H.L. 8889)*, c. 5, 52, ed. Bertram COLGRAVE, *The Life of Bishop Wilfred by Eddius Stephanus*, Cambridge, 1927, p. 12, 114 ; Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 5.19.5, 5.19.11, ed. Michael LAPIDGE, *Bède le Vénérable : Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais*, Paris, 2005 (*Sources chrétiennes*, 491), vol. 3, p. 116, 124.

⁴² Walter BERSCHIN, «Bonifatius», p. 68. Jean-Marie SANSTERRE, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne : milieu du VI^e s.-fin du IX^e s.*, 2 vol., Brussels, 1982-1993, vol. 1, p. 192-193, believes that Boniface was a native Greek-speaker.

⁴³ Girolamo ARNALDI, «Anastasio Bibliothecario», in Alberto M. GHISALBERTI (ed.), *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1961, vol. 3, p. 25-37 ; Franz BRUNHÖLZL, *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, trans. Henri ROCHAIS and revised by Jean-Paul BOUHOT, Turnhout, 1996, vol. 2, p. 282-287. For Anastasius' translation project, see Claudio LEONARDI, «Anastasio Bibliothecario e la traduzioni dal greco nella Roma altomedievale», in Michael HERREN (ed.), *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks : The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, Exeter, 1988, p. 277-296. On Anastasius' translations of Sophronios, see Benedetta VALTORTA, *Clavis*, p. 23-24 ; Bronwen NEIL, «The Miracles of Saints Cyrus and John : The Greek Text and Its Transmission», *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association*, 2, 2006, p. 183-193, at p. 188-191 ; Bronwen NEIL, «The Politics of Hagiography in Ninth-Century Rome», in Chris BISHOP (ed.), *Text and Transmission in Medieval Europe*, Newcastle, 2007, p. 58-75, at p. 62-69 ; and Bronwen NEIL, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs : The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, Turnhout, 2006, p. 52-55. See also Réka FORRAI, «Anastasio Bibliothecarius and his Textual Dossiers : Greek Collections and their Latin Transmission in 9th century Rome», in *L'antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales : textes et représentations, VI^e-XIV^e siècle*, Rome, 2008, p. 319-337.

explained that «Boniface the *consiliarius*, at the request of Theodore the Roman church's *primicerius defensorum*, previously translated twelve chapters and the preface of these miracles, leaving the rest to my facilities to unpack and bring into the light for Latin readers, should life, by God's aid, remain my companion»⁴⁴.

All the stories which the author of the *Vita Barbatiani* borrowed from the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John derive from the first twelve (in fact, eleven) miracles of the seventy total miracles in the narration, so Francesco Lanzoni concluded that the author was working from Boniface rather than from Anastasius Bibliothecarius⁴⁵. Angelo Mai had also assumed that Boniface had translated the first twelve miracles as they appeared in the manuscript he used⁴⁶. Yet, as Walter Berschin notes, Anastasius never specified which twelve miracles Boniface translated⁴⁷. Judging by these first eleven miracles, the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John do sometimes deviate from their Greek source, but we cannot always know whether this is because of transmission error or purposeful emendation⁴⁸. In the passage quoted above, for instance, there are shifts in language and style. Sophronios' heavy *cursus* is not entirely taken up⁴⁹. The translator (whether Boniface or Anastasius) has made «οἱ νοσηλεύοντες» («caretakers») into «non aegrescentes» («not sick»).

Another change concerns the bed on which sixteen men carry Minas/Mennas/Μηνᾶς, because he was too ill to sit in a *furibum, phorii pilentum*, or φορεῖον. In the Greek, the word for the bed or mattress («κράβατος») on which he is transported underscores the relationship between this passage and its biblical analogue⁵⁰. Sophronios builds on the episode in Mark 2 in which

⁴⁴ Anastasius, *Praefatio*, c. 2, ed. Walter BERSCHIN, «Bonifatius», at p. 77 : «Quorum videlicet miraculorum Bonifatius Consiliarius ad petitem Theodori Primicerii defensorum ecclesiae Romanae duodecim cum praefatione capitula olim interpretatus est cetera, si deo auctore vita fuerit comes, nostri famulus obsequio Latinis enucleanda et elucidanda dimittens». Walter Berschin's edition (at p. 75-78) improves upon Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Epistolae sive praefationes*, no. 10, ed. Ernst PERELS and Gerhard LAEHR, Berlin, 1928 (*M.G.H. Epistolae*, 7), p. 426-427.

⁴⁵ Francesco LANZONI, «Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani'», p. 713-714. Of the sixteen *capitula* into which Lanzoni divides the text, nine refashion the Latin Miracles : c. 1 builds on the preface ; c. 4 builds on m. 2 and m. 1 ; c. 5 builds on m. 3 and m. 1 ; c. 6 builds on m. 4 ; c. 7 builds on m. 5 ; c. 8 builds on m. 6 ; c. 9 builds on m. 7 ; c. 10 builds on m. 2 and m. 8 ; and c. 12 builds on m. 1 and m. 11.

⁴⁶ Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 1-2, n. 1. Angelo Mai used Vaticano, BAV, ms. lat. 5410 (s. XVII). The text is also preserved in Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, H 360 (c. 1000), and Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 1046. Another manuscript, Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 63 (115) (s. IX/X), was destroyed during World War II.

⁴⁷ Walter BERSCHIN, «Bonifatius», p. 69-70. Anastasius might have also revised Boniface's text.

⁴⁸ Cf. John DUFFY, «Observations», p. 77.

⁴⁹ John DUFFY, *op. cit.*, p. 77-78, discusses Sophronios' persistent use of prose rhythm.

⁵⁰ Mark 2 : 4, 9, 11, 12, ed. Barbara ALAND, Kurt ALAND, et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece : Nestle-Aland*, 28th rev. ed., Stuttgart, 2015, p. 107-108 (generally with a double tau : «κράβατος»). Cf. John 5 : 8-11, ed. Barbara ALAND, Kurt ALAND, et al., p. 307. Geoffrey W. H. LAMPE, *Lexicon*, p. 774 ; Evangelinus A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York, 1990, vol. 2, p. 688 ; Henry G. LIDDELL and Robert SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev.

Jesus heals the paralytic on a κράβατος. Jesus commands the man to pick up his κράβατος and walk out (Mark 2, 11), which he does (Mark 2, 12). Sophronios' translator does not at first use the Latin word *grabatus*, which appears both in the Vulgate and in earlier Vetus Latina versions of this biblical passage⁵¹. Instead, the author of the Latin Miracles (as well as the *Vita Barbatiani*) uses the word *lectulus* («bed», «couch») in the first instance, and only later, when he explicitly compares this miracle to its biblical analogue, does he write «grabatus»⁵².

The change that concerns us most, however, is the translation of the word for the litter or sedan-chair on which Minas/Mennas/Μηνῦς is too ill to be carried. In the Greek, this is one word, φορεῖον, a normal term for a litter⁵³. Although φορεῖον is a common word, Sophronios felt the need to specify that he meant a chair («θρόνος») on which caretakers transported invalids⁵⁴. Perhaps he provided the parenthesis to differentiate between the seated sedan chair (Lat. *sella*) and the litter for lying down (Lat. *lectica*), since by Late Antiquity the latter form had become rarer⁵⁵. The Latin Miracles expands Sophronios' phrase «ὄ φορεῖω καθήμενος» into «non in phorii pilento considens».

What is a *phorii pilentum*? A *pilentum* was, traditionally, a wheeled carriage. In classical Latin, it was associated with the elegant sitting-carriages of elites, especially grand matrons, a usage enshrined by a gloss of Servius on Virgil⁵⁶. In mid-seventh-century Spain, Isidore of Seville defined *pilentum* as a «four-wheeled carriage that matrons formerly used», implying that *pilenta* were a

Henry S. JONES and Roderick MCKENZIE, et al., 9th ed., Oxford, 1996, p. 988. Hans LAMER, «Lectica», *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, rev. ed., 23. Halbband, Stuttgart, 1924, col. 1056-1108, at col. 1065-1066.

⁵¹ Mark 2 : 4, 9, 11, 12, ed. Robert WEBER, Bonifatius FISCHER, Roger GRAYSON, et al., *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed., Stuttgart, 2007, p. 1576-1577 (generally «grabattus»). Vetus Latina versions of these passages mostly read «grabatus» (with various orthography, generally with a double *t*), but a few read «lectus» : Jean-Claude HAELEWYCK (ed.), *Vetus Latina : Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, Freiburg, 2014, vol. 17, fasc. 3, p. 166, 171, 173.

⁵² Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 122 (PG 87.3, col. 3434D) : «(...) illum opere aemulatus, qui in probatica piscina languens iacuerat, quem Christus post triginta et octo annos salvificans, tollere grabatum ipsum iusserat». Cf. *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 7, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 645.

⁵³ Hans LAMER, «Lectica», col. 1067-1068. Cf. Henry G. LIDDELL and Robert SCOTT, *Lexicon*, p. 1950-1951.

⁵⁴ On litters for the sick, see Hans LAMER, «Lectica», col. 1101.

⁵⁵ Rolf HURSCHMANN, «Sänfte», in Hubert CANKI and Helmuth SCHNEIDER (ed.), *Der Neue Pauly : Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart, 2001, vol. 10, col. 1210-1211, at col. 1211. According to Hans LAMER, «Lectica», col. 1066, *lectica* was an equivalent for φορεῖον.

⁵⁶ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.665-666, ed. Gian Biagio CONTE, *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis*, Berlin, 2009, p. 254 : «castae ducebant (...) / pilentis matres in mollibus». Servius, *Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos*, 8.666, ed. Georg THILO and Hermann HAGEN, *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, Leipzig, 1884, vol. 2, p. 296-297. Marijke OTTINK, in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 2003, vol. 10.1, fasc. 14, col. 2137-2138 (s.v. «pilentum»).

thing of the past⁵⁷. *Phorium*, for its part, is a Latinization of φορεῖον⁵⁸. Anastasius Bibliothecarius used *phorium* in his *Chronographia tripertita* as a direct translation from the Greek⁵⁹.

How did «*phorii pilentum*» become «*furibum*» in the *Vita Barbatiani*? The hagiographer does make some changes to Cyrus and John's story in fashioning his own⁶⁰. In the passage above, Barbatianus replaces Cyrus and John, and the action moves from Egypt to Barbatianus' cell in the catacombs of Calixtus. The *Vita Barbatiani* also removes details, such as the line in both the Greek and Latin Miracles that the sick man was not transported by beasts, and the fact that his swollen intestines prevented him from sitting up and made him a «strange sight» (ξέρον θέαμα, *nova visio*)⁶¹. Is it possible that the hagiographer was confused by the loanword *phorium*, but understood the sense by context, and so used a current local expression (*furibum*) referring to a litter for the sick?

This seems unlikely. *Furibum* does not resemble any obvious term for a sitting or carrying device in Latin⁶². It seems farfetched to imagine this term as a Germanic loanword⁶³. It is more probable that it represents a mishandled

⁵⁷ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 20.12.4, ed. Wallace M. LINDSAY, *Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, 2 vol., Oxford, 1911, vol. 2, n. p. : «Pilentum uel petorritum contexta quattuor rotarum uehicula, quibus matronae olim utebantur». The same text is found in Jean-Yves GUILLAUMIN (ed.), *Isidore de Séville, Étymologies, Livre XX : De penu et instrumentis domesticis et rusticis*, Paris, 2010, p. 99, with slightly different chapter numbering (20.11[12].4).

⁵⁸ Girolamo ARNALDI, *Lexicon*, vol. 2, p. 519 ; Girolamo ARNALDI, Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, et al., *Lexicon*, rev. ed., p. 491, 1419 ; François DOLBEAU et al., *Novum glossarium mediae Latinitatis*, fasc. *Phacoides-Pingo*, Brussels, 2003, col. 92. It is easy to see how the suffix -εῖον could become -ium, since φορεῖον appears as φόριον in manuscripts : Henry G. LIDDELL and Robert SCOTT, *Lexicon*, p. 1950.

⁵⁹ Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Chronographia tripertita ex Nicephoro, Georgio et Theophane*, a.m. 6945, a.m. 6259, [a.m. 6303], ed. Carl DE BOOR, *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 vol., Leipzig, 1883-1885, vol. 2, p. 110, lines 2-4 : «non phorio portatus secundum morem sed pedes letanias faciens incedebat» ; p. 291, lines 9-10 : «iussit autem eum in phorio portari» ; p. 330, lines 29-31 : «porro Stauracius (...) arefactus est femoribus simul et tibiis adeo, ut phorio veniret Byzantium». Cf. David TABACHOVITZ, «Sprachliches zur lateinischen Theophanesübersetzung des Anastasius Bibliothecarius», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 38, 1938, p. 16-22.

⁶⁰ Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 97-105. Cf. also «Engineered Holy Authority», p. 270.

⁶¹ The phrase «ξέρον θέαμα» may be a mishearing of the expression «καινόν θέαμα» (e.g. John Chrysostom, *In Romanum martyrem*, 2.1, PG 50, col. 614 (line 2); Athanasius, *Narratio de cruce Berytensi*, c. 1, PG 28, col. 805C).

⁶² The word is close in sound but not sense to *furibundus* (cf. adv. *furibunde*).

⁶³ One slim possibility is that *furibum* is an orthographically-mangled Latinization of a Lombard word for a «bier». In Lombard, **beran* («carry, bear») is attested indirectly in the name-element «-bora» («bearer») : Nicoletta FRANCOVICH ONESTI, *Vestigia longobarde in Italia (568-774) : lessico e antroponomia*, Rome, 1999, p. 70. This verb is cognate with Greek φέρω («carry, bear»), the origin of φορεῖον by way of its o-grade derivation φορά : Robert BEEKES, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden, 2010, vol. 2, p. 1563 ; Pierre CHARTRAINED, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque : histoire des mots*, ed. Jean TAILLARDAT, Olivier MASSON, and Jean-Louis PERPILLOU, new rev. ed., Paris, 2009, p. 1147. Cf. Latin *fero* (Michiel DE VAAN, *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*, Leiden, 2008, p. 214) and

Grecism, especially given the phonetic proximity of *furibum* to the Latin Miracles' *phorium*. Greek words and letters enjoyed prestige in the late ninth- and tenth-century West, especially among Italian authors engaged with the Byzantine world⁶⁴. Even Liudprand of Cremona, with his hostility to the Greeks and their sour wine, peppered his works with Greek vocabulary⁶⁵. The Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John often bring Greek terms into the Latin with minimal change, particularly in the case of professions and medical terms. For instance, the model for the *Vita Barbatiani's* «Minas», called Mennas in the Latin Miracles, appears there as a *philoponus* (from the Greek φιλόπονος)⁶⁶. The Miracles of Cyrus and John may have been selected as a base text for the *Vita Barba-*

Gothic *batran* (Winfred Philipp LEHMANN, *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden, 1986, p. 57). All these words derive from a Proto Indo-European (PIE) root *b^her-(e/o) («carry, bear»). From Lombard **beran* came a noun with Germanic cognates, **bāra* («bier, litter»; cf. Italian *bara*, *barella*). See Elda MORLICCHIO, «Germanismen im Wortschatz des Italienischen», in Eva SCHMITSORF, Nina HARTL, and Barbara MEURER (ed.), *Lingua Germanica : Studien zur deutschen Philologie : Jochen Splett zum 60. Geburtstag*, Münster, 1998, p. 185-197, at p. 195-196. It is possible to imagine that *bara* or *bora* (as in name-elements) could have undergone enough phonetic or orthographical mutation to end up as *fur-*. Both written Lombard and Latin mix up *b*, *p*, and *f*: Karl MEYER, *Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Langobarden : Quellen, Grammatik, Glossar*, Paderborn, 1877, p. 266-267 (cf. Nicoletta FRANCOVICH ONESTI, *Vestigia longobarde*, p. 185, for «la consueta variabilità fra *b- / p-* iniziali»). Similarly long vowels like *ā*, *ō*, and *ū* were subject to interchangeability in both written Lombard and postclassical Latin more generally (Karl MEYER, *Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Langobarden*, p. 262-263; Veikko VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction*, p. 29-30). This still would not explain the word's strange ending, *-ibum*. Is it possible that this could be an orthographically-compromised form of the adjectival suffix «-iuus, -iua, -iuum»? Normally, *-iuus*, *-iua*, *-iuum* are formed from perfect passive participles (e.g. *captivus*), but sometimes they are formed from verbs (*nocivus*, *rediuivus*): P. G. W. GLARE (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 2012, vol. 1, p. 1086. Might a terminal *-iuo* have become *-ibo*, given the confusion between intervocalic *b* and semi-consonantal *u* (Veikko VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction*, p. 50-51; Dag NORBERG, *Manuel*, p. 21; cf. Karl MEYER, *Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Langobarden*, p. 6)? Yet I seriously doubt that *bara* or *bora* (through something like **boriuo*, «by a carrying device») could have produced «*furibo*» in this way.

⁶⁴ Walter BERSCHIN, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages : From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. FRAKES, rev. ed., Washington, D.C., 1988, esp. p. 157-171, 172-200. For the Greek alphabet's popularity, see Bernhard BISCHOFF, «Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters», in Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vol., Stuttgart, 1967, vol. 2, p. 246-274, esp. p. 251-259; Pascal BOULHOL, *La connaissance de la langue grecque dans la France médiévale VI^e-XV^e s.*, Aix-en-Provence, 2008, p. 51-54; Peter SCHREINER, «Zur griechischen Schrift im hochmittelalterlichen Westen : Der Kreis um Liutprand von Cremona», in Peter SCHREINER, *Orbis Byzantinus, Byzanz und seine Nachbarn*, Bucharest, 2013, p. 25-44.

⁶⁵ Johannes KODER and Thomas WEBER, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zum griechischen Sprachschatz und zu realienkundlichen Aussagen in seinen Werken*, Vienna, 1980 (*Byzantina Vindobonensia*, 13). For «undrinkable» Greek wine, see Liudprand, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, c. 1, ed. Paolo CHIESA, *Liudprandi Cremonis Opera Omnia*, Turnhout, 1998 (CCCM, 156), p. 187. Cf. Thomas WEBER, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel*, p. 76-81.

⁶⁶ Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 117-122 (PG 87.3, col. 3431-3434); Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 5, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 249-251. A *philoponos* (φιλόπονος) was a member of a pious church organization common in late antique Egypt. See Ewa WIPSYZKA,

tiani in part for this engagement with Greek realia. Barbatianus was supposed to be an Antiochene, after all⁶⁷.

In many cases, however, the author of the *Vita Barbatiani* sought to avoid using Greek loanwords while plundering content from the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John. Minas is no longer a *philoponus* in the *Vita Barbatiani*, unlike his model Mennas in the Latin Miracles⁶⁸. Another sick individual in Sophronios' original, Γεδδαίος the ναυλομάχος (a hapax legomenon in the original Greek which refers to a sailor of some kind) becomes *Gegdaeus naulomachus* in the Latin Miracles, but simply «a certain man named Geddeus» in the *Vita Barbatiani*⁶⁹. The hagiographer was comfortable with some borrowed medical terms, like *emplastrum* («ἐμπλάστρον», «bandage»)⁷⁰. Yet when Barbatianus heals another petitioner using a *cataplasma* («κατάπλασμα», «poultice»)⁷¹, the text omits the additional detail that Cyrus and John made their poultice by mixing sesame and honey with «biscuit bread» («paxematicus panis»), a translation of Sophronios' «παξαμήτης» («biscuit»)⁷².

Other Greek loanwords which are carried over into the *Vita Barbatiani* bear signs of corruption. For instance, in Sophronios' original, one petitioner comes to the saints with a case of «stoppage» or «ἔμφραξις»⁷³. The Greek word (in the accusative) «ἔμφραξιν» is Latinized directly as *enphraxin* in the Latin translation of the Miracles⁷⁴. Yet in the *Vita Barbatiani*, this becomes «empi-

«Les confréries dans la vie religieuse de l'Égypte chrétienne», in *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive*, Rome, 1996, p. 257-278. Cf. Harry John MAGOULIAS, «The Lives of the Saints», p. 148.

⁶⁷ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 4, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 640. Cf. Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 5.

⁶⁸ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 7, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 643; Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 117-122 (PG 87.3, col. 3431C).

⁶⁹ Greek : Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 6, c. 1, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 252. Latin: Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 122 (PG 87.3, col. 3434D). *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 8, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 645: «vir quidam nomine Geddeus». For ναυλομάχος, see Geoffrey W. H. LAMPE, *Lexicon*, p. 899.

⁷⁰ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 12, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 649, 650. Cf. Girolamo ARNALDI, Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, et al., *Lexicon*, rev. ed., p. 167. The *Vita Barbatiani* is comfortable with loanwords which had long circulated in Latin : c. 7, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 644 : *antidotum* (ἀντίδοτος); c. 3, 16, ed. LANZONI, p. 639, 656 : *aroma* (ἄρωμα); c. 4, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 640 : *cymiterium* (κοιμητήριον).

⁷¹ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 8, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 646. Cf. Girolamo ARNALDI, Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, et al., *Lexicon*, rev. ed., p. 67, for this word and for the related verb *cataplasmo*.

⁷² Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 6, c. 3, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 252; Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 124 (PG 87.3, col. 3435A) : «cum paxematico pane». Cf. Geoffrey W. H. LAMPE, *Lexicon*, p. 1006 (s.v. «παξαμᾶς»), and Alexander SOUTER, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.*, Oxford, 1949, p. 290.

⁷³ Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 5, c. 2, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 250.

⁷⁴ The three separate printed versions of the text differ slightly in orthography, reminding us that variant readings are not only a medieval phenomenon : Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 117, reads «enphraxin» ; PG 87.3, col. 3431D (purportedly a reprint), reads «emphraxin» ; and Francesco LANZONI, p. 643, in offering (purportedly) Angelo Mai's text in a parallel column, reads «enfraxin».

cheam»⁷⁵. In another case, this time with no parallel in the Miracles of Cyrus and John, Barbatianus is summoned by Galla Placidia to Ravenna, where he founds a monastery on the site of the empress' «ergodosium» (or «ergodosum» in one manuscript)⁷⁶. Francesco Lanzoni wondered if this was a corruption of *ergodochium* (ἐργοδοχεῖον) or *ergasterium* (ἐργαστήριον), two Greek words meaning «workshop» later favored by Peter Damian⁷⁷. Similarly, in adapting Greek names from the Latin Miracles into the *Vita Barbatiani*, while common names (Isidore and Theodore) pose no problems, less familiar ones bear marks of turbulent transmission.⁷⁸

It is not clear from the existing editions of the *Vita Barbatiani* (Francesco Lanzoni) and the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John (Angelo Mai) how such corruptions or changes arose. Francesco Lanzoni notes variants haphazardly, sometimes without specifying the manuscript; Angelo Mai printed his Latin text of the Miracles from only one manuscript alongside the Greek text. Take the reading «empsicheam»: how did the author of the *Vita Barbatiani* (or some later scribe) arrive at this replacement for «emphraxin»? Perhaps the author made a knowing choice to change the sense, striving for a Greek word meaning «alive» (ἔμψυχος)⁷⁹. Perhaps the author or a scribe was confused. In some Latin manuscripts of texts using Greek words, scribes included Greek text in majuscules with a Latin transcription above the line⁸⁰. One could imagine *phi* being confused with *psi*, and *chi* with *xi*, if a now lost manuscript of the

⁷⁵ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 7, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 643. Francesco Lanzoni prints «(sic)». Has the word «stoppage» (ἔμπαυσις) been confused with the word «alive» (ἔμψυχος) (cf. «ἔμψυχία», «animation») ? On this logic, *empsicheus* (like *furibum*) was added by the Maurists to their revised edition of DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, vol. 3, col. 74 : «a Græco ἔμψυχος, Spirans, vivus» (citing the *Vita Barbatiani*). Kept in FAVRE et al. (ed.), *Glossarium*, vol. 3, p. 261. Cf. Girolamo ARNALDI, Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, et al., *Lexicon*, p. 167 : «ad animam pertinens?».

⁷⁶ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 11, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 648-649. Cf. p. 658, n. 13, for the alternate reading.

⁷⁷ Francesco LANZONI, «Gli 'Acta s. Barbatiani' », p. 658, n. 13. Peter Damian, *Sermo* 5, c. 1, ed. Giovanni LUCCHESI, p. 24, describes how God raised a saint from humble beginnings in a wool-worker's workshop («de lanificii ergodocio»). Peter Damian, *Epistola* 28, ed. Kurt REINDEL, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, Munich, 1983 (*M.G.H. Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 4.1), p. 275, likens a cell («cella») to a workhouse («ergasterium»). Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 180, n. 10, adds that «ergasterium» may refer specifically to a «medical office or surgery». Cf. Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation of yet another life in the dossier of Cyrus and John, the so-called *Historia Acephala SS. Cyri et Iohannis* (B.H.L. 2077), ed. Angelo MAI, *Spicilegium Romanum*, Rome, 1840, vol. 4, p. 253 (PL 129, col. 705D) : «ergasterium, id est locus medicinalis».

⁷⁸ *Calus* (Κάλος) becomes (via ablative *Calo*) *Gallogenis*. Sophronios, *Thaumata*, m. 3, c. 1, ed. Natalio FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, p. 248; Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 112 (PG 87.3, col. 3430C); *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 5, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 641. The manuscripts give many variants for personal names.

⁷⁹ DU CANGE, *Glossarium*, vol. 3, col. 74; FAVRE (ed.), *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, vol. 3, p. 261.

⁸⁰ See Walter BERSCHIN, «Liudprands Griechisch und das Problem einer überlieferungsgerechten Edition», *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 20, 1985, p. 112-115.

Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John followed this convention. A new edition of both texts, carefully noting manuscript variants and marginal glosses, would shed light on the question. At present, however, we cannot know where in the sequence of translation, repurposing, and transmission «stoppage» became «alive».

What is clear is that Greek loanwords generated corrupted readings in the manuscript transmission of the *Vita Barbatiani*, and *furibum* is more likely one of those corruptions than a genuine specimen of tenth-century Latin. This must have occurred early in the transmission history of the text, since nearly all the best manuscripts of the text read «furibo»⁸¹. While it is difficult to imagine that the whole phrase «phorii pilento» could become the one word «furibo», it is possible that «phorii pilento», as Angelo Mai has it, was not the original reading in the Latin Miracles. Instead, that reading may reflect the inclusion of a marginal gloss into the text. When Anastasius Bibliothecarius used the word *phorium* to translate φορεῖον in the *Chronographia tripertita*, it was glossed as *portatorium* in two manuscripts⁸². It is possible that the original reading was «phorio», and a marginal gloss, «pilento», was subsequently incorporated into the text⁸³.

A relationship between *furibum* and *phorium* is easy to imagine. *F* and *ph* are entirely interchangeable, while *o* and *u* are easily confused phonetically⁸⁴. We know from a reading like «scruphulae» for «scrofes» that both conflation occur in the *Vita Barbatiani* as we have it⁸⁵. Aural mistakes were often incorporated into manuscripts because many early medieval scribes read aloud as they copied⁸⁶. The most problematic element is the *b*. Yet *b* is frequently conflated

⁸¹ Fiesole, Archivio Capitolare, XXII.1, pag. 135 : «neque funibus in qua deportatur egroti», is an exception.

⁸² In two manuscripts of Anastasius' translation of the *Chronographia*, Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, ms. 6 (s. XI), and Vaticano, BAV, Pal. lat. 826 (s. IX/X), the word «phorio» is glossed as «portatorio» in the margin : Carl DE BOOR (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. 2, p. 110, note to line 3. *Forium* also appears in the «AA Glossary», Southern Italian glosses surviving in ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts : Georg Goetz (ed.), *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, Leipzig, 1894, vol. 5, p. 456, line 24 : «Ferculum discum seu portatorium idest forium». Cf. Girolamo ARNALDI, Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, et al., *Lexicon*, rev. ed., p. 1419 ; François DOLBEAU et al., *Novum glossarium*, fasc. *Phacoides-Pingo*, col. 92.

⁸³ Compare the passage from above : Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 124 (PG 87.3, col. 3435A) : «cum paxematico pane». It is possible that *pane* is also an interpolated gloss.

⁸⁴ Veikko VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction*, p. 29-30 ; Louis HAVET, *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins*, Paris, 1911, p. 214-215.

⁸⁵ *Vita Barbatiani*, c. 12, ed. Francesco LANZONI, p. 649 : «quia eius guttur scruphulae circumdederant» ; cf. m. 1, Angelo MAI (ed.), *Spicilegium*, vol. 3, p. 99 (PG 87.3, col. 3423C) : «in gutture passionem pessimam habuit, quod medici merito scrofes appellant».

⁸⁶ Louis HAVET, *Manuel*, p. 252-253 ; Malcolm B. PARKES, *Their Hands Before our Eyes : A Closer Look at Scribes*, Aldershot, 2008, p. 66 ; Paul SAENGER, *Space Between Words : The Origins of Silent Reading*, Stanford, 1997, p. 48 ; Alphonse DAIN, *Les manuscrits*, 3rd ed., Paris, 1975, p. 44-46, calls this phenomenon (for Greek manuscripts) «la dictée intérieure».

in Late Latin with intervocalic *u*, particularly in oral transmission⁸⁷. If a scribe early in the transmission of the life observed the reading *furiuo*, *furibo* would be an easy slip, especially given that the *Vita Barbatiani* was transmitted in manuscripts (legendaries, liturgical books) designed for public recitation⁸⁸. It is possible to imagine a chain of transmission in which an earlier scribe wrote *furiu* for *phorio*, expunged the *u* with a dot above or below the line, and corrected to *furiuo*⁸⁹. This in turn could have become *furibo* if a later scribe failed to notice the expunging dots⁹⁰. This is speculation, but the evidence for *furibum* as a transmission error is at least as strong as the evidence for *furibum* as an independent word.

Furibum, in other words, reflects the movement of Sophronios' story from Egypt to Rome to Ravenna through multiple authors, translators, and scribes. In this process of translation, selective plagiarism, and evident misunderstanding, the material world of Sophronios' text, itself a mixture of his seventh-century realities and an imagined fourth-century past, necessarily altered its shape. As a lexicographical myth, *furibum* also reflects a parallel journey, from the *Appendix* of Muratori's edition of Agnellus into the Maurists' Du Cange, and from there into a series of later dictionaries (compare the very similar fate of *empischeus*). This game of lexicographical telephone continues into the twenty-first century, as lexicographers continue to rely not on Francesco Lanzoni's text but on Muratori's (who made emendations without being aware of the text's dependence on the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John). The first step in sifting innovation from error, now that Sophronios' text is being re-edited for the *Corpus Christianorum* and Edward Schoolman has restored the *Vita Barbatiani* to welcome attention in his recent book, is to re-edit both the *Vita Barbatiani* and its source, the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John.

Furibum is a hapax legomenon in a little-read saint's life. Striking this word from the lexicographical record will not change much. But the story of how *furibum* came into being reveals the continuities and disruptions that shaped the «migration of ideas» in the premodern Mediterranean⁹¹. It illuminates the uneasy connections between East and West, the continued fascination of Eastern medical saints for early medieval Italy, and the project of translation itself:

⁸⁷ Veikko VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction*, p. 50-51; Dag NORBERG, *Manuel*, p. 21; Louis HAVET, *Manuel*, p. 218-219.

⁸⁸ Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. 77, and Appendix 3, at p. 177-178.

⁸⁹ See Wallace M. LINDSAY, «Collectanea varia (part VII)», in Wallace M. LINDSAY (ed.), *Palaeographia Latina*, 6 vol., London, 1924, vol. 3, p. 65-66, at p. 65. Cf. Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Dáibhí Ó CRÓINÍN and David GANZ, Cambridge, 1990, p. 171-172.

⁹⁰ Cf. Wallace M. LINDSAY, «Collectanea varia (part VII)», p. 65, for an example (*victa/vita*).

⁹¹ Cf. Rosamond MCKITTERICK, «The Migration of Ideas in the Early Middle Ages: Ways and Means», in Rolf H. BREMMER and Kees DEKKER (ed.), *Foundations of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, Paris, 2007, p. 1-18, at p. 14-15.

subject to manipulation as well as misunderstanding. The chain from Sophronios to Boniface to Anastasius to the *Vita Barbatiani* connects four different times and places, four worlds and sets of motives.

Sophronios wrote his medical miracles in a late antique disease environment, when plague still raged; his political focus was on orthodoxy and the competition for followers among Christian sects⁹². Boniface translated parts of Sophronios within the same century, but under vastly changed circumstances, and from the perspective of the world of early medieval Rome. David Knipp has argued that Cyrus and John in their Roman environs served a Greek community, which «seems very much in keeping with the idea of Rome around A.D. 700 as a predominantly Byzantine city»⁹³. Yet we should also remember that Byzantium itself was not a static entity. When Anastasius finished his predecessor's work, it was in a new moment of connection between Rome and Byzantium⁹⁴.

In the tenth century, a Ravennate hagiographer interested in the age of Galla Placidia chose to base his life on the story of these medical saints. He united the prestige of the Eastern world with Ravenna's imperial past⁹⁵. And for Peter Damian in the eleventh century, with whom we began, the story of Barbatianus had yet another meaning. Damian was struck by Barbatianus' modesty in ascribing to medicine and not sanctity the efficacy of his cures⁹⁶. *Furibum* may be a lexicographical myth, but it is also a small piece of evidence for the constant borrowing, remaking, and misunderstanding of the resources of the past⁹⁷. The movement from φορεῖον to *phorium* to *furibum* gives a glimpse into the minds of individuals making sense of alien wisdom. In reaching for the past, they made something new.

Shane BOBRYCKI

Harvard University/Massachusetts Institute of Technology
sbobryck@fas.harvard.edu

⁹² Henry CHADWICK, «John Moschus», p. 54-55.

⁹³ David KNIPP, «The Chapel of Physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua», p. 23.

⁹⁴ For later ninth-century bonds between Italy and Byzantium, see Michael McCORMICK, «Byzantium and the West, 700-900», in Rosamond MCKITTERICK (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2 : c. 700-900, Cambridge, 1995, p. 349-380, at p. 371-373.

⁹⁵ Cf. Edward SCHOOLMAN, *Rediscovering Sainthood*, p. xix.

⁹⁶ Peter Damian, *Sermo* 65, c. 4, ed. Giovanni LUCCHESI, p. 391.

⁹⁷ Cf. the essays in Clemens GANTNER, Rosamond MCKITTERICK, Sven MEEDER (ed.), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, Cambridge, 2015; and for a classic study of an earlier process of cross-cultural connection, see Arnaldo MOMIGLIANO, *Alien Wisdom : The Limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge, 1975.

ABSTRACT. — This article examines the word *furibum*, a medical hapax legomenon in the *Vita Barbatiani* (B.H.L. 972). *Furibum* has been enshrined in several dictionaries of medieval Latin as a sort of «litter» for the sick. This article argues that *furibum* is a transmission error and not a genuine Latin word. The probably tenth-century *Vita Barbatiani* was modeled on the Latin Miracles of Cyrus and John (B.H.L. 2080), a translation of Sophronios of Jerusalem's Greek Miracles of Cyrus and John (B.H.G. 477-479i). *Furibum* likely arose as a misreading of *phorium*, the Latin Miracles' Latinization of Sophronios' φορεῖον («litter»). *Furibum* should be removed from the dictionaries, but the history of this error sheds light on the entanglements of cultural transmission across centuries, languages, and regions.

RÉSUMÉ. — L'article examine le mot *furibum*, un hapax médical dans la *Vita Barbatiani* (B.H.L. 972). *Furibum* s'est inscrit dans plusieurs dictionnaires du latin médiéval comme une sorte de «litière» pour malades. Cet article affirme que *furibum* n'est pas un véritable mot latin mais une faute de transmission. La *Vita Barbatiani* (probablement du x^e siècle) a pour sources les Miracles latins de Cyr et Jean (B.H.L. 2080), une traduction des Miracles grecs de Cyr et Jean (B.H.G. 477-479i) de Sophrone de Jérusalem. Il est probable que *furibum* résulte d'une méprise vis-à-vis de *phorium*, la latinisation dans les Miracles latins du φορεῖον («litière») de Sophrone. *Furibum* doit être retiré des dictionnaires, mais l'histoire de cette erreur illustre les vicissitudes de la transmission culturelle à travers les siècles, les langues, et les régions.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG. — Dieser Artikel untersucht das Wort *furibum*, ein medizinisches Hapax legomenon in der *Vita Barbatiani* (B.H.L. 972). *Furibum* wird in mehreren mittellateinischen Wörterbüchern als eine Art «Sänfte» für Kranke rezipiert. *Furibum*, so dieser Artikel, soll man jedoch als Überlieferungsfehler und nicht als echtes lateinisches Wort verstehen. Die wahrscheinlich aus dem 10. Jahrhundert stammenden *Vita Barbatiani* hat nämlich als Quellengrundlage den lateinischen Wunderbericht der Cyrus und Johannes (B.H.L. 2080), der aus dem von Sophronius von Jerusalem verfassten griechischen Wunderbericht der Cyrus und Johannes (B.H.G. 477-479i) übersetzt worden war. Vermutlich entstand *furibum* aus einer Fehlesung von *phorium*, die der im lateinischen Wunderbericht für Sophronius' φορεῖον («Sänfte») benutzten Latinisierung zurückzuführen ist. *Furibum* sollte zwar aus den Wörterbüchern entfernt werden, aber die Geschichte dieses Fehlers zeigt die Verwicklungen der Kulturvermittlung über verschiedene Jahrhunderte, Sprachen, und Räume hinweg.

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LE 29 SEPTEMBRE 2016

a cura di Antonio DE PRISCO

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NOVUM GLOSSARIUM MEDIAE LATINITATIS

Dictionnaire du latin médiéval (800-1200)

Éditeur: Union Académique Internationale

Diffuseur: Librairie Droz, 11, rue Firmin-Massot, C.P. 389, CH-1211 Genève 12

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BREPOLIS

Brepols Publishers Online

brepolis@brepols.net

www.brepolis.net

Achevé d'imprimer en Belgique le 31 août 2017

Impression:
Communications, Limal.