

Decoding the political and moral justifications of *virtus* in five medieval French prose translations of Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*

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More than 300 Latin copies and Romance translations testify to the celebrity of Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris* (henceforth *Epitoma*). Goffart called it “the Bible of warfare throughout the Middle Ages, the soldier’s equivalent of the Rule of Saint Benedict”.¹ Reeve stated that “it was among those secular works of Antiquity that medieval readers most often copied, excerpted and translated”.² Every monastic or (later) princely library had at least one copy.³ Since military activity characterised both religious and secular noblemen, it is small wonder that the *Epitoma* was among the first Latin texts of Antiquity to be translated (in their entirety) into a Romance language.⁴

Several medieval French translations of this text are known. Chronologically speaking, the *terminus post quem* coincides in the case of two vernacular translations: the Anglo-Norman one, written perhaps by a certain *Mastre Richart* for an unspecified king Edward (c.1265-1272?),⁵ and the *Livre de l’art de chevalerie* or the so-called Levant translation, whose manuscripts date c.1265-1280.⁶ The translation with most manuscripts preserved to this day was made by Jean de Meun at the request of Jean de Brienne, count of Eu; it is dated 1284 or even earlier.⁷ It was the basis of a metrical version of the *Epitoma* treatise made by Jean Priorat

¹ Goffart 1977, p. 65.

² Reeve 2004, p. v.

³ Richardot 1989, p. 43-55, 195-198; Allmand 2010, p. 63-147.

⁴ Reeve 2000, p. 316. Jean Vignay expose la raison de la traduction dans son prologue, *por ce que li livres est en latin liquels n’est pas communement entenduz des chevaliers, a il esté aussi comme mis en noncaloir. Et ie [...] veil metre le dit livre en françois*, Löfstedt 1982b, p. 38

⁵ Ms Cambridge, Fitzwilliam, Marlay Add. 1 (second half of the 13th century) was copied after the Battle of Kenilworth (1265). It contains a Latin copy of the *Epitoma* preceded by its Anglo-Norman translation. This unique copy retains several elements that continue to attract attention: an illumination representing Vegetius offering the art of chivalry to a prince, Edward; and, even more mysteriously, an explicit which would have been transcribed by a different scribe, who did not copy the Latin text and the vernacular translation, but who mentions the city of Acre. Because of these features, research linked it to the stay of King Edward I of England in the East (1265-1271/1272), who may have dedicated the manuscript to his son, the future king Edward II of England. Cf. Thorpe 1953; the edition of Carley 1962; and Reeve 2000, p. 316. In the present study I refer directly to the manuscript.

⁶ *Livre de l’art de chevalerie et la doctrine de l’enseignement des gens d’armes et à pié et à cheval*. Mss Sankt-Peterburg, National Library, French F. v. IX, 1 (c.1240-1280); Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, Cod. Guelf., Blankenburg 111 (c.1275-1280). For an edition of this text, see Cruz Vergari 2016. Pour la datation des manuscrits et de la traduction, see Cruz Vergari 2022.

⁷ *Li abregemenz noble homme Vegesce Flave René des establissementz apartenanz a chevalerie* is preserved in 23 manuscripts. For the first edition, see Robert 1897. I quote Löfstedt 1977, who follows Carpentras, *Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine*, 332 (turn of the 14th century) as a base manuscript.

of Besançon at the turn of the 14th century.⁸ There is also *Li livres Flave Vegece de la chose de chevalerie*, a translation by Jean de Vignay, preserved in ten manuscripts and dated c.1320.⁹ *Le livre de l'art de chevalerie fait de hault homme et noble jadis Flave Vegesce du renc conte* is an anonymous translation dating back to 1380, preserved in two manuscripts.¹⁰ Last but not least, there is an anonymous partial rendering known as the *Aucuns notables extraitz du livre de Vegece* (15th century).¹¹ For the current intended purposes, the fragmentary and uneven character of the latter and of the Jean Priorat de Besançon adaptation make them unsuitable for comparison. The current study will be based solely on the five remaining complete translations.

The great maxim of the *Epitoma* assures that technique can overcome strength in warrior exercise. The idea is mentioned in the general prologue (or prologue to Book I) and justifies the entire *breuiarium*, since the treatise itself is devoted to the theoretical explanation of military art techniques.¹² The *Epitoma* states that *in omni autem proeli non tam multitudo et virtus indocta*¹³ *quam ars et exercitium solent praestare victoriam*.¹⁴ In this sentence, *virtus indocta* refers to physical strength, as evidenced by the translation choice *force* in the Levant text and in the translation of Jean de Vignay.¹⁵ However, this idea is expressed several times throughout the book and *virtus* often represents precisely a quality that opposes physical strength: *omni enim conflictu non tam prodest multitudo quam virtus*.¹⁶ This led to a series of peculiar translation choices in the medieval French renderings of the Latin text. For instance, there is no

⁸ *Li abrejance de l'ordre de chevalerie*. Ms Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, f. fr. 1604, f. 1-76 (turn of the 14th century). For an edition, see Robert 1897.

⁹ Preserved in ten manuscripts. For an edition, see Löfstedt 1982b, who uses as base manuscript Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library, fr. 448/424, f. 1-78 (early 14th century).

¹⁰ Mss Brussels, *KBR*, 11046 (c.1420, base manuscript for the edition); Torino, *Biblioteca Reale*, Saluzzo 188 (c. 1410). Edited by Löfstedt *et al.* 1989.

¹¹ Mss London, British Library, Additional 12028, f. 173r-185v (15th century); Paris, *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, 2693, f. 124v-133v (15th century); Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, f. fr. 1234, f. 140r-140v (14th century); Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, f. fr. 1235, f. 147r-158r (15th century); Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, f. fr. 24257, f. 76v-77v (15th century). Edited by Löfstedt 1982a.

¹² P. 6 [I.1.7]. See [I.28.1-2] et [III.prol].

¹³ *Virtus indocta* εδ, *vires ineruditae* β (Reeve 2000, p. 278). The Latin manuscript of the Anglo-Norman text reads *rudis indocta*. The translation omits the maxim from the prologue (cf. f. 1r-4r).

¹⁴ For all quotations of the Latin text, see Reeve 2004, here p. 2 [prol]. For the Anglo-Norman translation, see ms. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam, Marlay Add. 1. For the Levant text, see Cruz Vergari 2016. For Meun, see Löfstedt 1977. For Vignay, see Löfstedt 1982b. For the 1380 anonymous translation, see Löfstedt *et al.* 1989.

¹⁵ Cruz Vergari 2022, p. 139 (Levant); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 38 (Vignay). Meun uses a binomial: *fort et vertueus*; Löfstedt 1977, p. 67. The Anglo-Norman text and Anonymous 1380 omit the passage. Cf. Reeve 2004, p. 64, where *vis* is compared to *numero* [III.prol.6]: *legiones inferior numero ac viribus interemit*. The sense of 'force' is evident when the word *virtus* is paired with *ars* and *corpus*. Cf. e.g. [II.15.5] *quod arte et virtute directum et scutatos pedites et loricatos equites saepe transverberat*—p. 49; [II.23.6] *missilibus etiam palos ipsos procul ferire meditentur, ut et ars dirigendi et dexterarum virtus possit adcrecere*—p. 58; [III.prol.5] *non virtut sed arte solus ferret auxilium, prostratis exercitibus cepit*—p. 64; [III.43.2] *in navarchis diligentia, in gubernatoribus peritia, remigibus virtus eligitur propterea*—p. 156; *tribunus praeerat armorum scientia, virtute corporis, morum honestate praecipuus*—p. 46.

¹⁶ Reeve 2004, p. 12 [I.8.5].

comparable term for *multitudo* in the Levant translation. That term is replaced by *force*,¹⁷ while *virtus* is rendered as *proesse dou corage*.¹⁸ This goes against all the other translations, where the term used is *vertu*. Later, the idea reappears—*amplius iuvant virtus quam multitudo*,¹⁹ where Levant renders *virtus* as *proés*.²⁰

Virtus covers both Greek *ἀρετή* and *ἀνδρεία*,²¹ hence its ambiguous use, depending on context. One of them has a moral connotation, while the other is closer to what some French translators rendered as *proesse* and *vigor*. The word, in their language, was probably inherited from Christian theological teachings, closer to *ἀρετή* than *ἀνδρεία*. Thus the original physical meaning of *ἀρετή* and *virtus*, accompanied by a spiritual one that developed ethical connotations, well developed in philosophy and Christian theology.²² Translators contrasted physical force, which was rather connected with disorderly violence,²³ to virtue, a beneficial (orderly) force, which ensured the courage of the soldier and troops, and which could lead to victory, even in the face of more numerous armies. The preference shown by the Levant translation for *bonté* or *force* testifies to this. Other translators linked *virtus* to positive forces through the creation of rather explicit synonymic pairs (*binômes synonymiques*): *ad praefecti laudem subiectorum redundare virtutem* is rendered as *la vertuz et li bienfais* (Meun) and *la vertuz et li biens* (Vignay),²⁴ or *le bien de la vertu* (Levant).²⁵ The Levant translator distinguishes *bonté* (10) from *proesse* (5) and *force* (15). *Vertu* thus becomes a refined sort of *virtus*. Either it is translated by *force*, or by *vertu*, *proesse*, *pooir*, *preuz*, *onneor*, *vigor*, (good) *coustumes des anciens*, etc.—beneficial qualities associated with rewards and setting a good example with beneficial effects for the entire army.²⁶

The list of occurrences of Lat *virtus*, starting with the most recurrent uses of OFr *vertu* in translations, offers an interesting overview. The Anglo-Norman translation uses *vertu* (34) and *force* (2). Meun prefers *vertu* 25 (+2 adj. *vertueus*), *force* (8+1 adv. *forment*), *envie de valeur* (1), and *coustumes* (1) and synonymic pairs with *force* and *vertu*. Vignay chooses *vertu* (23), *force* (4), *pooir* (3), *vigor* (1), and *desire de valoir* (1) and *vertuz et pooirs* (1). The anonymous translation of 1380 offers a wide array of translation choices, but *vertu* (19) prevails

¹⁷ For the meaning ‘army’ or ‘multitude of soldiers’ in connection with *force*, see Matsumura 2018, p. 1586. See also Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 284 [III.17.1] for the Levant translation’s use of *surjointe force* to translate *addita virtute* in the context of confrontations.

¹⁸ Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 157 [I.8.5]: *quar en toutes les batailles non soulement y vaut la force, mais la proesse dou corage*.

¹⁹ Reeve 2044, p. 117 [III.26.10].

²⁰ For the Anglo-Norman text, see f. 71r; Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 308 (Levant); Löfstedt 1977, p. 161 (Meun); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 99 (Vignay). They render it as *vertu*; only Anonymous 1380 prefers *force*; Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 158. In another context where *vertu* is opposed to multitude, the same results occur: *hoc enim casu oppressis nec virtus potest nec multitudo prodesse*; Reeve 2004, p. 111 [III.22.12]. Cf. *vertu* in f. 67r (Anglo-Norman); Löfstedt 1977, p. 156 (Meun); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 96 (Vignay). Cf. *proesse* in Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 300 (Levant); and *force* in Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 120 (Anonyme 1380).

²¹ For Aristotle, in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (3, 10), *ἀνδρεία* was also an *ἀρετή*.

²² Cf. Lottin 1929, Eisenhut 1973, Sarsila 1982, Lorentz 2015, Gangloff 2018.

²³ Voir les nombreux sens et expressions reliés à violence à Matsumura 2018, p. 1586-1587.

²⁴ Löfstedt 1977, p. 101 (Meun); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 61 (Vignay); cf. *Ad praefecti laudem subiectorum redundare virtutem* p. 45 [II.9.7].

²⁵ Reeve 2004, p. 37 [II.3.1] Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 197.

²⁶ See [II.3.1], quoted at n. XXX, and [II.7.10], *campigenii, hoc est antesignani, quia eorum opera atque virtute exercitui genius crescit in campo* [II.7.6]. All translations render it as *vertu*, except for Levant with opts for *bonté* (Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 204).

force (8), next to isolated choices such as *onneur, povoir, preuz*. The Levant translation prefers *force* (15) or *bonté* (10) to *vertu* (7) and *proesse* (5), being the only text which uses the Latin word in a warcry (*Virtus!*).²⁷ With the exception of the Anglo-Norman text, all translators avoid translating *virtus* by *vertu*, in a slavish automatic equivalence, especially the Levant translation (5), where this choice was perhaps carefully chosen.

As a matter of fact, in the rare instances when all of them translate *virtus* by *vertu*, the meaning of the word is restricted to warrior power, both abstract and concrete. When it is abstract, it draws its strength from order (see [I.28], [II.1.8] or [III.9.12])²⁸ and Vegetius proposes to restore it, because *robur in factum est, cum virtutis praemia occuparet ambitio*.²⁹ When it is concrete, it refers to elasticity and strength of *crines feminarum*, which can replace the ropes of war machines when and if necessary.³⁰

In the Old French translations, when *vertu* is well-ordered, that is, mastered through practice (*exercitum*) and theory (*ars*),³¹ it becomes a power that ensures the *proesse de corage*, indispensable to success, as opposed to brute force (*virtus indocta*). The chapters on the selection of soldiers show this well. The Latin sentence *plaga caeli ad robur non tantum corporeum sed etiam animorum plurimum valet*³² is rendered as *la contree du ciel vaut mult a vertu de cors et de corage* in the Anglo-Norman translation; as *force dou cors et bonté dou corage* in the Levant text; as *force de cors [...] force des courages* in Meun; as *force de cors et*

²⁷ Reeve 2004, p. 73 [III.5.4].

²⁸ Reeve 2004, p. 30 [I.28]. Anglo-Norman, Levant et Meun: *vertu*. Vignay and Anonymous 1380 omit the word. The ancient virtue is also connected with Rome: *antiquae virtutis* [I.28.1]. For the translation choice *ancienne vertu*, see Cruz Vergari 2022, p. 184 (Levant); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 54 (Vignay); Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 58 (Anonymous 1380). The Anglo-Norman text speaks of *de la vertu de Rome*; f.18r. Meun, who is the second translator to use the word *vertu* preferentially, explains it as a result of regular practice: *coustumes des anciens*; Löfstedt 1977, p. 91. See also another situation in: [II.1.8] *Romana autem virtus praecipue in legionum ordinatione praepollet*; Reeve 2004, p. 35 / Anglo-Norman: *la vertu de rome passe les autres com de chivalerie de legions par ordeinement*; f. 20r / Levant: *la vertu des Romains resplandist en l'ordenement des legions*; Cruz Vergari 2022, p. 194 / Meun: [omitted]; Löfstedt 1977, p. 94 (but the idea returns at p. 95 [II.2.7] and [II.2.11]) / Vignay: *la romainne vertuz resplandist en ordener les legions*; Löfstedt 1982b, p. 56 / Anonymous 1380: *la vertu des Rommains est en legions et en l'ordonnance d'elles*; Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 61.

²⁹ See n. 23. Cf. also *necessitas enim quaedam virtutis est desperatio*; Reeve 2004, p. 141 [III.25.5]. Cf. the Anglo-Norman text, which omits the entire chapter; f. 81r-v; Cruz Vergari 2022, p. 344 (Levant); Löfstedt 1977, p. 112 (Meun); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 180 (Vignay); Anonymous 1380 omits the sentence; Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 142. See also another example: *ad rem pertinet qualis ipse adversarius [...] quae pars sibi magis victoriam repromittat; eiusmodi enim cogitationibus virtus augetur aut frangitur*; Reeve 2004, p. 86 [III.9.11-12].

³⁰ *Crines feminarum in eiusmodi tormentis non minorem habere virtutem Romanae necessitates experimento*; Reeve 2004, p. 129-130 [III.9.2]. Cf. the Anglo-Norman text; f. 76r; Levant omits the entire chapter 328; cf. Löfstedt 1977, p. 171 (Meun); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 106 (Vignay); Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 132 (Anonymous 1380).

³¹ *Exerceantur assidue [...] postremo sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires; nam si doctrina cesset armorum, nihil pagauns distat a milite*; Reeve 2004, p. 59 [II.23.13-14]. *Scientia enim rei bellicae dimicandi nutrit audaciam*; Reeve 2004, p. 6 [I.1.7], because *bene exercitatus miles proelium cupit, ita formidat indoctus*; Reeve 2004, p. 59 [II.23.13]. See the entire chapter 23 (p. 57-59) on training, from which *exercitus* derives its name; Reeve 2004, p. 35 [II.1.6]. For *ars*, see the prologues of the first two books and [I.28].

³² Reeve 2004, p. 136 [I.2.2].

hardement de cuer in Vignay; and as *force de corps et hardiesses des courages*, in Anonymous 1380.³³ The Anglo-Norman text, on the other hand, is so fond of the word *vertu* that it even manages to translate *robur* by *vertu* in the first occurrence of this word. This *vertu* opposes here the physical plane to the spiritual one—*vertu de cors et de corage*. The Levant text opts for *bonté*; Vignay and Anonymous 1380 appeal to courage, while Meun remains faithful to *robur* and repeats *force* (*de cors [...] force des courages*), no doubt in an effort to confront one to the other. Thus, when it comes to the size of soldiers, *non tam staturae rationem convenit habere quam virium*. The Anglo-Norman text glosses *virium* by *fort e bien taillé et de bon quer* and the Levant translation creates a binomial *la force et la vertu*.³⁴ At the end of that chapter, the Levant translation summarises *en petit cors, regnent grans vertus*, where the use of the plural dismisses the meaning of sheer physical force.³⁵

Vertu can also be linked to moral qualities. For instance, in the first occurrence of the word, Meun glosses over its meaning: *li iuene home que len eslit a deffendre le país [...] doivent seurmonter les autres et en lignage et en bonté de cuer, ce est a dire en vertuz [...] quar bons cuers et honestes fait le bon chevalier honte de foïr [et] li donne ardemment de combatre, dont il vient a victoire*.³⁶ The *vertu de chivalerie* appears in the Anglo-Norman version of the maxim mentioned at the beginning of the current study.³⁷ Similarly, *si confidentia vel virtus est militaris*³⁸ is rendered as *fiance ne vertu de chevalerie*; Vignay translates it in a rather similar manner: *de fiance et vertu de chevalier*.³⁹ Since a leader can never lead soldiers into battle when they lack courage, *numquam ad certamen publicum produxeris militem nisi cum eum videris sperare victoriam*.⁴⁰ When a leader doubts the *virtus* of his soldiers or when Vegetius speaks of types of strategies in general, translators have a tendency to render the concept as *force* or *proesse*. The Levant translator is consistent on this point [III.26.6], [III.26.6], [III.26.11].⁴¹ Similarly, the Levant text never attributes *bonté* to enemies, and in general enemies are not

³³ See f. 4r (Anglo-Norman translation); Cruz Vergari 2022, p. 147 (Levant); Löfstedt 1977, p. 70 (Meun); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 40 (Vignay); Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 42 (Anonymous 1380).

³⁴ Reeve 2004, p. 9-10 [I.5.2-3]. Cf. f. 5v-6r (Anglo-Norman text); Cruz Vergari 2022, p. 152 (Levant). The other translations oppose size to *force*; Löfstedt 1977, p. 73 (Meun); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 42 (Vignay); Löfstedt *et al.* 1989, p. 44 (Anonymous 1380).

³⁵ The formula seems to emulate the proverb *en petit cors git bonne ame*; cf. Morawski 1925, p. 24 (proverb 647).

³⁶ Löfstedt 1977, p. 74-75. For the Latin text, see Reeve 2004, p. 11 [I.7.5-6]. Cf. also *vertu* of the leader (Levant *bonté*) in *dux ergo cui tantae potestatis insignia tribuuntur, cuius fidei atque virtutis possessorum fortunae, tutela urbium, salus militum, rei publicae creditur gloria*; Reeve 2004, p. 88 [III.10.4]. Or *vertu* of the emperor (Levant *bonté*; Anonymous 1380 omits; and all other texts render it as *vertu*), *quatenus virtute pariter ac dispositione mirabilis rei publicae tuae et imperatoris officium exhibere et militis*; Reeve 2004, p. 120 [III.26.38].

³⁷ See note 16. For the Old French quote, see f. 7r. Cf. the Latin text: *in omni enim conflictu non tam prodest multitudo quam virtus*.

³⁸ Reeve 2004, p. 135 [III.18.1]. Cf. Löfstedt 1977, p. 175 (Meun).

³⁹ See f. 79r (Anglo-Norman translation, omitted); Löfstedt 1982b, p. 109 (Vignay).

⁴⁰ Reeve 2004, p. 118 [III.26.14].

⁴¹ Meun confers a very broad meaning to *vertu*, just like the Anglo-Norman text; the meaning ‘force’ is not entirely ruled out by *vertu* in these texts. For example, Meun translates the maxim *non virtute sed arte solus* (Reeve 2004, p. 64 [III.prol.6]) as *non mie par vertu, mais par art* (Löfstedt 1977, p. 117). Anonymous 1380 omits the passage and the Anglo-Norman translation omits the entire chapter. For a translation choice *force*, see Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 238 (Levant) and Löfstedt 1982b, p. 72 (Vignay).

endowed with *vertu*. For example, if enemies *virtute aut multitudine premebantur*, all translators render the concept as *force*.⁴²

In conclusion, Medieval French translations of the *Epitoma* attest to the existence of a rich cluster of translation choices for the word *virtus* which is, on the one hand, grounded in a series of basic synonymical pairs in the medieval French language; all while being, on the other hand, related to a contextual interpretation of the ST. The OFr word *vertu* is used in specific contexts linked to spiritual force, linked to courage and other positive qualities, in a contrasting pair with physical strength, which is usually rendered as *force*. This spiritual force, that is, virtue, offers beneficial qualities that ensure military power. Since virtue is attributed to Rome, emperors, to leaders of armies, good knights, and rarely to enemies, all translations seem to provide some sort of moral justification for the above's warlike activities towards their enemies (*force*) and announce the ethical dimension of the virtues of chivalry that we find in works such as the *Llibre de l'Orde de cavalleria* by Ramon Llull (1274-1276),⁴³ where the maxim of Vegetius examined at the beginning of the current study is definitely imbued with the following moral dimension: *alcuns cavallers són qui amen plus gran nombre de cavallers que qui sien bons*.

It is difficult to say if translators truly acknowledged an evolution of meaning from the time when the original Latin text was written to their own time. In that timeframe, the word *virtus* had suffered a depletion of meaning in the sacred language, evident in its vernacular avatars, but this cannot be the only reason for a compensation of meaning via 'synonymic binomials'.⁴⁴ In light of the material from our texts, this development seems to be gradual. Traces of it are present in the Levant translation and in the version of Jean de Meun, perhaps even in the Anglo-Norman text, where a certain feeling of hesitation led the translator to opt for a tripartite construction such as *fort e bien taillé et de bon quer*. Sometimes, they can even lead to the use of glosses, such as in the passage where Meun glosses over the meaning of *vertu*. Yet all in all, the choices of the translators, the binomials, and the glosses seem to express the need for a political and moral justification of the war.

⁴² Reeve 2004, p. 51 [II.17.2], Anglo-Norman text: *par force ou par multitudine de gent*; f. 30r. Levant: *<s>e les henemis les rebatoient par force ou par multitude de jens*; Cruz Vergari 2016, p. 217. Meun: *la force de leur anemis*; Löfstedt 1977, p. 107. Vignay and Anonymous 1380 omit the fragment. Cf. also *copiosos exercitus magis propria multitudine quam hostium virtute depressos*; Reeve 2004, p. 65 [III.1.4]. All translate it by *force*, except for the Anglo-Norman translation which uses *vertu* (f. 37v).

⁴³ Gustà 1989, p. 50 (see also p. 59, 67, 75-83); Aurell 1987, p. 146-149.

⁴⁴ Cf. the chapter by V. Agrigoroaei, C. Pignatelli ("[The Metz Psalter Translator...](#)") in the current volume.