

to the Hispana Gallica, where we also find both long versions drawing on a common pool of solutions to basic problems and adding further enhancements independently<sup>46</sup>. The changes specific to A1 are minor<sup>47</sup>. Most remarkable are a few stylistic revisions. Whereas elsewhere Ps.-Leo is headed by a rubric reading *epistola Leonis papae [...] ad universos germaniae et europae atque galliae [...] episcopos*, A1 removes the seemingly redundant *et europae*. Subtler still but more interesting is a small change to Ps.-Leo's salutation. Everywhere else this reads *in deo aeterno salutem*, but An and Ap have only *salutem*<sup>48</sup>. In fact, *in deo aeterno* in the salutio is highly marked, occurring only in the pseudonymous epistolary preface to the Martyrologium Hieronymianum and a few pieces of early insular correspondence<sup>49</sup>.

The A/B recension in B provides a different set of changes<sup>50</sup>. It is intriguing to find that in the unique copy of this version, set down – as we have seen – by Fulda scribes, *atque Galliarum* is removed from the address, such that Ps.-Leo seems to direct his words only *universis Germaniarum regionum episcopis*. Additionally, A/B revises the second list of those things priests may not do *coram episcopo*, applying these limitations also to *chorepiscopi vel presbyteri* – rather than, as in Ps.-Leo extravagans and A1, to priests alone.

---

46) On this aspect of A1 and A/B, see KNIBBS, *Interpolated Hispana* (as n. 38) esp. p. 40–52.

47) With line references according to the appended edition: p. 519 l. 3 *ET EURUPAE*] om. A1; p. 519 l. 6 *in deo aeterno*] om. Ap An (while Ar retains it); p. 519 l. 12 *et*] om. A1; p. 520 l. 7f. *presbytero vel chorepiscopo*] *chorepiscopo vel presbytero* A1; p. 520 l. 13 *idcirco*] om. A1; p. 521 l. 4 *ecclesias vel altaria*] *altaria et ecclesias* A1; p. 521 l. 9f. *vel ad*] *et* A1 (closer to source).

48) While I have not surveyed the entire A1 manuscript tradition, Ar is the only A1 codex I know to retain *in deo aeterno*. In other instances too, Ar appears to preserve more archaic readings not attested elsewhere in the A1 tradition; see KNIBBS, *Pseudo-Isidore's Ennodius* (as n. 4) p. 12–25.

49) I have found four occurrences: 1) Ps. Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus, ed. Henri QUENTIN / Hippolyte DELEHAYE (AA SS Nov. II, Pars Posterior, 1931) p. 1; 2) Anonymous ep. to Aldhelm, ed. Ernst DÜMMLER (MGH Epp. 3, 1892) p. 237 l. 19f.; 3) Cutbherth, *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, in: *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram COLGRAVE / R. A. B. MYNORS (Oxford Medieval Texts, 1988) p. 80f.; 4) *Beda Venerabilis to Acca of Hexham*, in *Lucae evangelium expositio*, ed. David HURST (CC 120, 1960) p. 6 l. 80.

50) With line references according to the appended edition: p. 519 l. 6 *atque Galliarum*] om. B; p. 519 l. 8 *in Romana ecclesia*] *apud romanam ecclesiam* B; p. 520 l. 6 *nobis*] *vobis* B; p. 520 l. 7 *statuendum oportuit scientes*] *statutum oportet scire* B; p. 520 l. 6–p. 521 l. 1 *quadam ... quadam*] *quaedam ... quaedam* B; p. 521 l. 2 *et ... ac*] *aut ... aut* B; p. 522 l. 1 *presbyteris*] *corepiscopis vel presbyteris* B.