

The « Sermo adversus Iudaeos » of Quodvultdeus in manuscript *Paris, BN, lat. 8093*.

Résumé: Les folios 33r à 36v du manuscrit *Paris, BN, lat. 8093*, du IX^{ème} siècle, n'ont pas la même origine que les autres parts du manuscrit et son « membrum disiectum » *Leiden, Voss. F. 111*. Cependant, ces folios pourraient avoir été copiés à Lyon au sein d'une communauté espagnole, comme les autres folios des deux manuscrits. Parmi les poèmes intégrés dans ces folios, il y a des *Versus Sybille* qu'on peut identifier comme un *excerptum* du « Sermo aduersus Iudaeos » de Quodvultdeus, et pour cela ils sont un témoin que son éditeur n'a pas connu.

Abstract: Folios 33r to 36v of *Paris, BN, lat. 8093* (ninth century) have not the same origin as the rest of the manuscript and of its « membrum disiectum » *Leiden, Voss. F. 111*. Nevertheless, these folios could have been copied in Lyons, as was probably the case for the other folios of both manuscripts, by a Spanish community. Among the poems included in these folios, there are some *Versus Sybille* which can be identified as an *excerptum* of the « Sermo aduersus Iudaeos » of Quodvultdeus, and therefore as an evidence not recorded by its modern editor.

Scholars have traditionally considered manuscripts *Paris, BN, lat. 8093* (*P*) and *Leiden, Voss. F. 111* (*L*) as the remains of a ninth century poetic anthology or, properly speaking, of a compilation of several earlier poetic anthologies¹. To put it briefly, the ensemble originally created by *Paris lat. 8093* and *Voss. F. 111* (*S*, according to Manuela Vendrell) must be understood as the juxtaposition of at least three anthologies based, apparently, on cultural-geographical criteria. As exposed by Vendrell, the codicological and textual structure of *S (P+L)* would be as follows:

a) Fol. 1-32v (now in *P*= quaternio I, II, III, IV), Hispanic poetry, specially Eugenius Toletanus, Martinus Dumiensis, but also Sedulius, Dracontius in the Eugenic recensio, Hispanic epitaphs.

b) Fols 33*-72* (now in *L* as folios 1-40 = quaternio V, VI, VII, VIII, VIII), Works of Aquitanian origin: Ausonius, Paulinus Nolanus, and supposedly African origin: Petronius, Sulpicius Cartaginensis.

c) Fols. 73*, 80* (*P*, fols. 37-38 = quaternio X). Fol. 73* is the *Vita Vergilii* of Phocas; fol. 80*r an incomplete poem, and fol. 80*v *De fide ad Auitum episcopum*, abruptly interrupted.

From a codicological point of view, folios 33 to 36v of *Paris lat. 8093* have been regarded as a later addition to this manuscript and it is this particular section that I will examine in this paper. According to Vendrell, the textual materials copied on these folios are as follows:

THEODULF OF ORLEANS. — Prefatio Bibliothecae (fol. 33ra)³.—

¹ M. VENDRELL PEÑARANDA, *Estudio de los códices de la Biblioteca Nacional de París, ms. 8093, y de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Leiden, ms. Voss. F. 111*, in *Helmantica*, 43, 1992, p. 147-201.

³ This is carmen 41 in E. DÜMLER (ed), *Theodulfi Carmina*, in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. 1, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin, 1881, p. 532-538.

Item versus auctoris huius operis quibus ornamentis floribus huius libri consumaverit opus (fol. 35rb)⁴.

AUGUSTINE. — Versus Sibillae (fol. 35vb-36rb).

JULIAN OF TOLEDO. — Ad Modonem (fol. 36va)⁵.

ISIDORE. — In laude virorum illustrium (fol. 36vb)⁶.

Although some scholars, unaware of the different codicological nature of these folios, have argued that Theodulf of Orleans, both as a Visigoth and as a Carolingian poet, could have been responsible for the compilation of the whole anthology, that is of *S*, the distinctive features of folios 33 to 36v of *Paris BN lat. 8093* are recognizable at first sight. Yet, the hypothesis about the authorial role of Theodulf has been periodically revived, due to some of the peculiarities of *S* and of the texts previously described. What the now independent manuscripts preserve is a poetical compilation written in a ninth century Visigothic script whose copy can be placed in what was then the Septimania or even Gothia, the Visigothic provinces of southern France. The known provenance of the manuscripts, Ste. Martin de Ile-Barbe, near Lyon, coincides with the data supplied by the palaeographical analysis and further confirms the suggestion of Bernard Bischoff, Jean Vezin, and Louis Holtz⁷ about the presence of Visigothic intellectuals both in this monastery and in the cathedral library of Lyons in the first half of the ninth century.

According to Paulo Farmhouse Alberto⁸, the place of the manuscript copies could be Lyons (« Lyons emerges as the best proposal »). He also thinks that « at least some of the poems, such as the series of epitaphs copied between Sedulius and Eugenius of Toledo, could be related to other Spanish personalities in Lyons, like the Adoptionist friends of Felix of Urgell, who lived in Lyons since the outcome of the council of Aachen in 799 until his death in 818, under the surveillance of Leidrad and later of Agobard... »⁹. It is remarkable that, although Paulo Alberto does not cite her, Manuela Vendrell had already mentioned the role, hypothetically played by Felix of Urgell, in gathering the texts for the anthology, at least for its « Spanish » section. We will return to these issues later.

As I have previously said, Manuela Vendrell¹⁰ highlighted the role of the geographical, cultural, and politic elements in the elaboration of the anthology *S*. She

⁴ DÜMMLER, cit. n. 2, p. 538-540.

⁵ B. BISCHOFF (ed.), *Ein Brief Julians von Toledo über Rhythmen, metrische Dichtung und Prosa*, in *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 288-298 (= *Hermes*, 87, 1959, p. 247-256).

⁶ J. M. SÁNCHEZ MARTÍN (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis Versus*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXIII A, Turnhout, 2000.

⁷ B. BISCHOFF, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, Cambridge 2007, p. 33; J. VEZIN, *Manuscrits présentant des traces de l'activité en Gaule de Théodulfe d'Orléans, Claude de Turin, Agobard de Lyon et Prudence de Troyes*, in *Coloquio sobre circulación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península en los siglos VIII-XIII, 16-19 de septiembre de 1982*, Santiago de Compostela, 1988, p. 157-171; L. HOLTZ, *Les rapports de Lyon et de l'Espagne du temps de Charlemagne à la lumière de quelques manuscrits*, in *Euphrosyne*, 35 (2007) 177-190.

⁸ P. F. ALBERTO (ed.), *Eugenii Toletani Opera Omnia*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXIV, Turnhout 2005, p. 55.

⁹ ALBERTO, cit. n. 2, p. 60.

¹⁰ VENDRELL, cit. n. 1, p. 201: «No cabe duda de que estas cuatro antologías menores recogen selecciones modélicas procedentes de los centros culturales que con mayor fervor trataron de perpetuar la herencia del Imperio que se extinguía o de continuarla en los nuevos reinos nacientes: Toledo, capital de la Hispania visigoda; Burdeos, en la época de Ausonio; Cartago, en el siglo IV; la Galia Merovingia. Por ello su reunión en un solo manuscrito, exarado en los primeros años del siglo IX nos lleva a suponer que el

detected the presence of new « kingdoms » regarded as heirs of the Roman Empire: the Visigothic Kingdom of Toledo, Bordeaux in Ausonius' days, fourth century Carthage, Merovingian Gaul. The resulting manuscript seems to have been conceived as an anthology of the most representative Roman models as already filtered by Carolingian culture. In my view, this vision accords well with Vendrell's idea that the compilation was suited for scholastic purposes, as the metrical marks in the poems, and even the denomination of the different metrical patterns beside their titles, suggests. According to Fabio Stok¹¹, however, there is another specificity to look at: the tendency to put together older and new pieces, for instance a Roman epitaph devoted to an anonymous saint with epitaphs of Toledan saints or bishops¹². In Stok's opinion, this anthology had a courtly and official origin, as the predominant presence of Eugenius of Toledo suggests. And it was not only elaborated and copied by the Visigothic community in Southern France, but it was also amplified by them. Actually, Stok regards folios 33 to 36v of Paris 8093 as an addition inserted by this Visigothic-Carolingian community: « L'integrazione (se è effettivamente tale l'intera parte trascritta ai foli 33-36 dello spezzone parigino) comprende ancora prevalentemente testi di interesse spagnolo (oltre al visigoto Teodulfo, Giuliano di Toledo e Isidoro) e sembra quindi rivelare un preciso progetto di conservazione/sviluppo della silloge, in coerenza con il suo carattere di prevalente interesse spagnolo »¹³.

My aim now is to take a closer look at these folios and the texts copied on them. Three of these are Spanish productions or poems that show some affinity with Spanish culture: in addition to the name of Theodulf, we read those of Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo. Besides this, at least two of these poems deal with books, authors or libraries, that is, with written culture. Theodulf poems are conceived as a kind of prologue to the Bible, since he provides his audience with a summary of the Biblical books and explains how to read them. Isidore's verses, filled with several praises of classic authors and their works, were probably meant to adorn the walls of his library. In his verses, Julian, who refuses the use of rhythmical patterns, favouring classical metrical schemes instead, also talks about ancient authors.

And what about the Sibyl's verses? For clarity sake, I copy them as they appear in *Paris BN lat. 8093*, f. 36r:

Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet
 E caelo rex adueniet per secla futurus
 Scilicet in carne praesens ut iudicet orbem
 Unde deum cernent incredulus atque fidelis
 Celsum cum *sanctis* aeui iam termino in ipso
 Sic animae cum carne aderunt quas iudicat ipse
 Qum iacet incultus densus in bepribus orbis¹⁴
 Reicient simulachra uiri cunctam quoque gazam

código de París-Leiden representa un intento de recopilación de los modelos antológicos más representativos de la herencia cultural romana realizada bajo el impulso de la naciente cultura carolingia».

¹¹ F. STOK, *Un'antologia poetica fra corte visigotica e cultura carolingia*, in *Critica del testo*, 2, 1, 1999, p. 57-73.

¹² This tendency suites Stok's idea that poetic anthologies are not merely repositories of previous poems or even previous compilations, but places where the compiler proceeds in a free and autonomous way. STOK, cit. n. 5, p. 58: «Più che di una lineare tradizione delle antologie, abbiamo infatti a che fare con processi di scomposizione e ricomposizione, in cui la riproposizione di una silloge, anche laddove se ne siano conservate le linee di fondo, presuppone comunque spazi di autonomia e di intervento da parte del copista/compilatore, in relazione al suo contesto culturale, alle sue scelte specifiche, e al suo pubblico».

¹³ STOK, cit., n. 5, p. 70-71.

¹⁴ Another hand corrected: Quum; vepribus.

Exuret terras ignis pontumque polumque
 Inquirens tetri portas effringet auerni
 Sanctorum sed enim cuncte lux libera carni
 Tradetur sontes eterna flamma cremavit
 Occultos actus retegens tunc quisque loquetur
 Secreta atque *deus* reserabit pectora luci
 Tunc erit et luctus stridebunt dentibus omnes
 Eripitur solis iubar et chorus interit astris
 Voluetur caelum lunaris splendor obibit
 Deiciet colles ualles extollet ab imo
 Non erit in rebus hominum sublime uel altum
 Iam equuantur campis montes et cerula ponti
 Omnia cessabunt tellus confracta peribit
 Sic pariter fontes torrentur fluminaque igni
 Et tuba tum sonitum tristem demitent ab alto
 Orbe gemens facinus miserum uariosque labores
 Tartareumque chaos monstrabit terra dehiscens
 Et coram hic *domino* reges sistentur ad unum
 Recidet e celo ignisque et sulphuris amnis

Although I have preserved Vendrell's title —that is, « Augustine's verses »— they are not his work but rather part of the « Sermo contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arrianos » of Quodvultdeus, another Carthaginian and Augustine's friend and follower. It should be noted that this witness was not known to the *Corpus Christianorum* editor. Actually, there is just one scholar, as far as I know, who identified the presence of this text in *Paris lat. 8093*, although she does not go further in her study of it. María del Carmen Gómez¹⁵ asserts not only that the poem copied on f. 35v-36 of manuscript *Paris lat. 8093* is part of Quodvultdeus' *Sermo*, but also that the manuscript was copied in Tarragona, without, unfortunately for us, giving the reason of this provenance¹⁶. She also sets apart manuscript *Paris lat. 8093* from other Southern French manuscripts containing these same verses (*Paris BN lat 2772*, f. 55v-56, and *Paris BN lat. 2832*, f. 123v-124) because, according to her, in these manuscripts « the verses of the Eritrean Sybil are preceded by the fragment from the *Diuinae Institutiones* by Lactantius (book 4, chap. 18) that St. Augustine reproduces at the end of the chapter containing the Sybil's verses »¹⁷. What she does not seem to realize is that Lactantius' fragment,

¹⁵ M. GÓMEZ, *From the Iudicii Signum to the Song of the Sybill: Early Testimony*, in S. ZAPKE (ed.), *Hispania Vetus. Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman Transition (9th-12th centuries)*, Bilbao, 2007, p. 159-175.

¹⁶ M. GÓMEZ, cit. n. 12: « If Bede's text was known from a very early period onwards in the territory of the former Marca Hispanica, today Catalonia, this is equally the case with the *Sermo de symbolo*. This is suggested by a miscellaneous Tarragona codex from circa 800, in which the Sybil's verses are accompanied by the paragraph that precedes them in the sermon by the Bishop of Carthage (*Paris BNF, lat. 8093*, fols. 35v-36) ».

¹⁷ M. GÓMEZ, cit. n.12, p. 165. Augustine speaks about the Sybill and reproduces the Erythrean Sybill verses in *De ciuitate Dei* 18,23,1. In *De ciuitate Dei* 18,23,2, he also mentions Lactantius and quotes his text: « Inserit etiam Lactantius operi suo quaedam de Christo vaticinia Sibyllae, quamvis non exprimat cuius. Sed quae ipse singillatim posuit, ego arbitratus sum coniuncta esse ponenda, tamquam unum sit prolixum, quae ille plura commemoravit et brevia. In manus iniquas, inquit, infidelium postea veniet; dabit autem Deo alapas manibus incestis et impurato ore expuent venenatos sputus; dabit vero ad verbera simpliciter sanctum dorsum. Et colaphos accipiens tacebit, ne quis agnoscat, quod verbum vel unde venit, ut inferis loquatur et corona spinea coronetur. Ad cibum autem fel et ad sitim acetum dederunt; inhospitalitatis hanc monstrabunt mensam. Ipsa enim insipiens tuum Deum non intellexisti, ludentem mortalium mentibus, sed et spinis coronasti et horridum fel miscuisti. Templi vero velum

despite its appearance, is another poem, a cento, whose incipit is « Dabunt autem Deum alapas » and that it is also part of Quodvultdeus' *Sermo* (16, 4, 6). Thus, there is not an apparent reason to put our manuscript apart from other witnesses, not only of the Sibyl verses, but properly of the tradition of Quodvultdeus' *Sermo*. Let us explain something about the presence of this work in manuscript *Paris BN lat. 8093*.

On folio 36r, preceded by the sentence: « Audite quid dixerit », we read the famous hexameters, previously transcribed, whose incipit is: « Iudicii signum tellus sudore madescet » and explicit: « Recidet e celo ignisque et sulphuris amnis »¹⁸. It is a prophetic poem supposedly sung by the Erythrean Sibyl foreshadowing the final judgement and describing its symptoms. As such, this could be Augustine's poem inserted in *De ciuitate Dei* 18, 23¹⁹; that was in fact the common opinion: on folio 35v we read: « Hos versus Sybillae sic beatissimus Augustinus contra Iudaeos adorsus est in libro Ciuitatis Dei... », Needless to say that Quodvultdeus used Augustine's poem to his own purposes, which dealt with the religious polemic, particularly against the Jews, about the arrival of Jesus Christ and the final judgement. In his *Sermo*, several characters, such as Moses, Simeon, Daniel or Nebuchadnezzar talk about the arrival of Christ. Among them, the Sibyl also prophesizes his birth, passion and second arrival. If I assert that on these folios the text is not Augustine's but that of Quodvultdeus' it is because after this foreword, the *Sermo* begins (16,1) with the words: « In lege inquit uestra scriptum est quod... ». At the end of the poem, on fol. 36r, the *Sermo* continues (16, 5-17,1) in a way that deserves some comments. The text in our manuscript is as follows: « Hec de Christi natiuitate passione et resurrectione atque secundo eius aduentu ita dicta sunt ut si quis in Greco capita horum uersuum discernere uoluerit, inueniet Ihesus Christus Yius Theu Soter, quod et in Latinum translatis eisdem litteris apparet propter quod Grecarum litterarum proprietates non adeo potuit obseruari. Credo iam uos, o inimici Iudei, tantis testibus ita obrutos confutatosque esse ipsa ueritate ut nihil ultra repugnare, nihil querere debeatis ».

If we take a look at R. Braun's edition in the *Corpus Christianorum*²⁰, we notice the differences between our text and the edited one. Our text lacks the second poem of the *Sermo* (16, 6) with incipit/explicit: « In manus infidelium postea ueniet.../Primus resurrectionis principio reuocatis ostenso ». Instead, our text combines *Sermo* 16, 5 (« ... potuit obseruari ») and *Sermo* 17,1 (« Credo uos, o inimici Iudei... »).

scindetur; et medio die nox erit tenebrosa nimis in tribus horis. Et morte morietur tribus diebus somno suscepto; et tunc ab inferis regressus ad lucem ueniet primus resurrectionis principio reuocatis ostenso ». Regarding these two different works, see N. BROCCA, *Lattanzio, Agostino e la Sibylla Maga. Ricerche sulla fortuna degli Oracula Sibyllina nell'Occidente latino*, Roma, 2011, p. 181-354.

¹⁸ There is a rich bibliography regarding this poem, its original Greek model, Lactantius' version and Augustine's use of it in *De ciuitate Dei* 18,23. To sum up, it could be useful to read B. BISCHOFF, *Die lateinischen Übersetzungen und Bearbeitungen aus den Oracula Sibyllina*, in *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 150-171. U. PIZZANI, *L'Acrostico cristologico della Sibilla (Orac. Sib. 8, 217-250) e la sua versione latina (Agust. Civ. Dei 18,23)*, in *Cristianesimo Latino e Cultura Greca sino al secolo IV. XXI incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana*, Roma 7-9 maggio 1992, Roma, 1993, p. 379-390. M. GÓMEZ, *El canto de la Sibila. Orígenes y fuentes*, in M. GÓMEZ-M. BERNADÓ (ed.), *Fuentes musicales en la Península Ibérica (ca. 1250-ca. 1550). Fonts musicals a la Península Ibérica*, Lleida, 2001, p. 35-70. From a wider point of view, see E. SUÁREZ DE LA TORRE, *La Sibila: pervivencia literaria y proceso de dramatización*, in *Castilla: Estudios de literatura*, 6-7, 1983-1984, p. 113-141.

¹⁹ And in that way it was transmitted, even with musical annotation, in manuscript El Escorial S.I.16, eight/ninth century. See S. BOYNTON, *An Early Notated Song of the Sibyl*, in *Hortus troporum. Florilegium in honorem Gunillae Iversen*, Stockholm, 2008, p. 47-56. This is another codex copied in Catalonia or Southern France, according to J. ALTURO i PERUCHO, *La escritura visigótica de origen transpirenaico. Una aproximación a sus particularidades*, in *Hispania Sacra* 46, 1994, p. 33-64.

²⁰ R. BRAUN (ed.), *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi Episcopo tributa*, CC Series Latina LX, Turnhout, p. 224-258.

Nevertheless, the text of this last paragraph also changes if we compare it with Braun's edition. In fact, according to Braun, this paragraph varies considerably depending on the different manuscripts, but *Paris BN lat. 8093* offers a text quite similar to that offered by manuscripts r (*Reims Bibliothèque municipale. 296 (E 381)*, ninth century) and s (*Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale. 1408 (Y 109)*, twelfth century) of Braun's edition. These manuscripts are the witnesses chosen by Braun of what he calls *excerptum*. According to Braun²¹, from the ninth century on, it was common to copy just the paragraphs 11 (« Vos inquam conuenio o Iudaei... ») to 16, 5 of the *Sermo*, where the author addresses himself only to the Jews. It was also frequent to omit the second poem and to merge paragraph 16 with paragraph 17, with small changes in the last sentences. Our text, thus, belongs to this tradition of *excerpta*, but it is even shorter than Braun's witnesses and other manuscripts of this kind, because, as said, it just copies paragraphs 16 and 17. What is more, it contains, with slight variants, a sentence that, according to Braun, is only transmitted by his witnesses r and s: « Quod et in Latinum translatis eisdem uersibus apparet, praeter quod (var. propterea quod) Graecarum litterarum proprietates non adeo potuit obseruari ». Braun does not know whether this was an addition of these manuscripts or if it was already present in the original text. According to my research, however, our manuscript is not the only one, leaving aside those chosen as witnesses by Braun, that transmits this sentence: at least Córdoba, Biblioteca Capitular, 1, a tenth century manuscript copied in Burgos, on its folio 327v, and Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale 297 (eleventh century), f. 11v, also include it²².

The text of paragraph 16, 4 (« Hec de Christi natiuitate... ») acts as a comment on the poem and helps the reader find the acrostic verses embedded in it. Our text, however, shows again a special feature. If we take a look at the first letters of the poem, we perceive that line 33 does not fit with the expected word SOTER, because our text reads « Et tuba... » while it should read « Sed tuba... ». This mistake seems absurd, in so far as the text itself comments on the explanation of the Greek acrostic and its Latin translation, but in my opinion, it could be understandable if we think that the poem was originally copied not line after line, but as a prose text, as we find it on sixth century manuscript *Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria G.V. 26 (CLA IV 463)*, f. 62-104, the oldest witness for Braun's edition²³. Some of the other manuscripts that copy only the poem, independently of the *Sermo*, keep the reading *Et*, for instance *Paris BN lat. 2832* - another remarkable ninth century poetic anthology probably copied in Lyons or its area - on its folio 123v, where the poem bears musical annotations, or *Paris BN lat. 1154*, copied at St. Martial de Limoges in the tenth century, on fol 122v, also with musical notes. Although Corbin and Donovan²⁴ regarded these manuscripts as the oldest

²¹ BRAUN, cit. n. 8, p. xlv.

²² Manuscript *Córdoba 1*, copied by the scribe Florentius in 953 in Valeránica, Burgos, offers the *Sermo* from paragraph 11 on; the verses have musical annotations, as it is the case of manuscript *Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó Ripoll 151*, fol. 37, s. X/XI. According to M. GOMEZ, cit. n. 12, p. 167, « In the Berlanga and the Ripoll manuscripts, notation was added to some or all of the Sybil's verses after they were copied. We can deduce that until then they did not include music, and as a result, the melody that accompanies them, which is perhaps the work of a Benedictine monk, may be no earlier than the 9th century or 10th century in ». Manuscript Reims, *Bibliothèque Municipale 297* copies the poem in prose as part of the *Sermo* on its folios 8v-11v. It also bears the variant *Et* for *Sed* of which I will speak later.

²³ Actually, a second hand « a substitué une présentation en vers à la présentation en prose de la première main », R. BRAUN, cit. n. 8, p. xl. It is worthwhile remembering that in this manuscript the *Sermo* is already attributed to Augustine. Cfr. R. S. GRAHAM, *The Dissemination of North African Christian and Intellectual Culture in Late Antiquity*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Los Angeles, 2005, p. 164.

²⁴ S. CORBIN, *Le Cantus Sibyllae: origines et premiers textes*, in *Revue de Musicologie*, 31, 1952, p. 1-10. R.B. DONOVAN, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain*, Toronto, 1958, p. 165-171.

witnesses of the transmission of the poem, what I try to suggest here is that our manuscript could be older than them. I think that the poem accompanied by the *Sermo* should be regarded as older than the independent copy of the poem; the common error *Et* for *Sed* should demonstrate a certain dependence between the texts that bear this mistake. In my opinion *Paris BN lat. 2832* depends on *Paris BN lat. 8093*, as Tafel suspected for another text, that of Theodulf *carmen* 41²⁵. I also presume our manuscript is older than witness r of Braun, and therefore one of the eldest witnesses of the *excerpta* of Quodvultdeus' *Sermo*, although in an even shorter version.

Actually, I would like to remark that our folios are a poetic compilation in their own right, probably part of a wider and more extensive poetic anthology. The Sibyl's verses, although surrounded by an abbreviation of the excerpt of the « *Sermo contra Iudeos* », are also accompanied by other poetical works in the same manuscript. It is necessary to lay emphasis on this aspect since the other witnesses mentioned by Braun are homiliaries, as the very nature of Quodvultdeus' *Sermo* requires. It seems as if our folios, and other manuscripts probably related in some way to them, had attempted to underscore the poetic nature of the verses instead of their homiletic function, forgetting the context where the poem was originally inserted²⁶.

Our manuscript contains some annotations executed by Florus of Lyons, the famous deacon and « la personnalité la plus marquante de l'Église de Lyon au IX^e siècle »²⁷. They can be seen on fol. 33r, for instance. There, he adds two verses which are missing in Theodulf's text: « Psalmicanique actus et iniqui gesta Saulis/ <Primi> sequensque liber hinc Samuhelis habes », preceded by his characteristic sign, an X with dots written in the gaps. According to Fabio Stok²⁸, Florus would also have copied from Leidensis Vossianus 111 (our section *L*) Ausonius' poem « de laboribus Herculis » (VII 25) into manuscript Vaticanus Reg. Lat. 598, fol. 42r. This feature seems to put us on the track of Lyons again. We can suppose that folios 33 to 36v, probably part of a longer poetic manuscript, were in Lyons by the second third of the ninth century. We do not know whether, at that time, they were already put together with folios 1-32v and 37-38v of *Paris BN lat. 8093* and *Leiden Vossianus F. 111*, but the presence in the three of them of Florus' annotations could be a reason to assume their unity.

The script of the folios also fits with the idea that they were written in Lyons or in Southern France. However, this is also a controversial topic: Millares Carlo²⁹ identifies at least three different hands in these folios. S. Tafel³⁰ already noticed these lines in fol. 35v, after the explicit of Theodulf's poem and before the beginning of the *Sermo*: « Cerne apices lector poteris sic/ contra iuventa/ noscere fessa seniem et tremebunda manus » (Tafel corr. *seni*). In fact, the *ts* in this section are mostly written in the Visigothic fashion, while in the previous column the script looks like that of an

²⁵ S. TAFEL, *Die vordere, bisher verloren geglaubte Hälfte des vossianischen Ausonius-Kodex*, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 69, 1914, p. 630-641, here in p. 641, n. 2: « Für den Text der Theodulf Gedichte ist es zweifelhaft, ob nicht Paris 8093 die direkte Vorlage für Paris 2832 gebildet hat ».

²⁶ This is not always the case for all poetic manuscripts. The *Sermo* has generated a liturgical tradition which would lead to the liturgical drama and to the *Ordo Prophetarum*. In this tradition, the *Sermo* as such, that is, as a treatise in prose, takes part in the liturgical representation. See R. B. DONOVAN, cit. n. 21, and the classical study of K. YOUNG, *The drama of the medieval church*, vol. 2, Oxford, 1933, p. 125-171.

²⁷ C. CHARLIER, *Les manuscrits personnels de Florus de Lyon et son activité littéraire*, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 119, 2009, p. 252-269, here p. 253.

²⁸ cit. n. 9, p. 61.

²⁹ A. MILLARES CARLO, *Manuscritos visigóticos. Notas bibliográficas*, Madrid, 1963, p. 63.

³⁰ S. TAFEL, cit. n. 22., p. 640.

older hand. Nevertheless, this is a script where Visigothic features coexist with Carolingian ones, which again speaks for a Southern French origin. The only dissenting voice with regards to this topic is that of José Carlos Martín³¹ who thinks of Orleans as the place where these folios were copied. As he does not give any reason to support his assertion, I suppose that it must have been because of the presence of Theodulf in the compilation.

To sum up, folios 33 to 36v of manuscript Paris BN lat. 8093 are probably what remains of a broader anthology written in or near Lyons around 830-840. In any case, the anthology was certainly in Lyons by the time Florus made his annotations. Judging by these four folios, the most prominent features of the poems are the presence of Spanish authors (Isidore, Julian, in a certain way Theodulf) and the thematic focus on books, authors and libraries. I also would add another important topic, that of the juxtaposition, or contrast between Pagans and Christians, of Old and New Testament. The latter is supposed to be the red thread behind the whole compilation, as in the case of the books of the Bible summarized by Theodulf (carmen 41), sometimes with polemic aims, as the context where the *Versus Sybille* appear let us imagine. Indeed, this very early utilization of Quodvultdeus' *Sermo* in the Middle Ages, concords, for instance, with the anti-Jewish attitude of Agobardus of Lyon, who wrote, among others, a treatise « De Iudaicis superstitionibus et erroribus » addressed to Louis the Pious³².

As a crossroad between Italy and Spain, Lyons could have received not only men, like Visigothic intellectuals and refugees, but also texts brought by those men, which could have been even older³³. Although the eldest known witness of the tradition of Quodvultdeus' *Sermo*, the aforementioned manuscript Torino G.V. 26, was probably copied in North Italy in the sixth century³⁴, and was certainly at Bobbio by the ninth century, we should not forget the role of Spain in the transmission of African texts. It is known that Florus read and annotated a manuscript, *Paris BN lat. 1622*, which contains minor works of Tertullian and belonged to the personal library of Agobard, who donated it to Saint Stephen³⁵'s altar. *Vaticanus Reginensis Latinus 267* (CLA 1, 104a/b), a seventh century manuscript containing Fulgentius of Ruspe's works, was probably written, according to Lowe, in Spain or in the Septimania, if we heed Jean Vezin³⁶. In any case, it was surely annotated in this area. Therefore, it is not unlikely that Quodvultdeus' *Sermo*, misattributed to Augustine, have travelled from Africa through

³¹ J. C. MARTÍN, *Versus Sancti Isidori*, in P. CHIESA, L. CASTALDI (ed.), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo, Te.Tra 2*, Firenze, 2005, p. 396-406, here p. 398.

³² L. VAN ACKER (ed.), *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera omnia*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis LII, Turnhout, 1981, p. 198-221.

³³ L. HOLTZ, cit. n. 6, p. 182-183: «la présence des exilés a pu avoir deux conséquences complémentaires: en premier lieu, le transfert à Lyon des manuscrits de la propre bibliothèque de Félix, c'est-à-dire de mss hispaniques de date variable, en provenance d'Urgel, certains étant assez anciens et remontant même antérieurement à l'invasion arabe. Seconde conséquence, la production à Lyon même de copies à partir de modèles hispaniques, en minuscule lyonnaise ou en minuscule wisigothique».

³⁴ R.S. GRAHAM, cit. n. 21, p. 164. The very fact that the *Sermo* in this codex was misattributed to Augustine, while Quodvultdeus, at least as a Saint, was well known in the Campania, suggests that the sermon collection was copied in North Italy, and perhaps that it was copied several times in Italy before being copied in Torino G.V. 26.

³⁵ L. HOLTZ, cit. n. 6, p. 188. Cfr. J. FONTAINE, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, vol. 2, Paris, 1959, p. 854-859.

³⁶ J. VEZIN, cit. n. 6, p. 162, n. 14. See also R.S. GRAHAM, cit. n. 21, p. 174-186. According to A. PETRUCCI, *L'onciale romana. Origini, sviluppo et diffusione di una stilizzazione grafica altomedievale (sec. VI a IX)*, in *Studi Medievali*, 12, 1971, p. 75-134, here in p. 95 and 97, the manuscript was probably copied in Rome. However, there is a good chance that it was in Lyons in the ninth century, as its marginal annotations show.

the Iberian Peninsula and arrived to Lyons where it would be part of a poetic anthology probably composed by some Spaniard in the first half of the ninth century.

Helena DE CARLOS VILLAMARÍN
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela