

Gert Partoens

## Two Clunisian collections of Augustinian sermons A reply to a review in *Medioevo Latino* \*

*Summary* – In reply to a review in *Medioevo Latino* (2008) of an article published in the 2007 volume of the *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, the present article proves that two medieval homiletical compilations that have been preserved in Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920–22 and Vat. lat. 471/London Brit. Libr. add. 10942 and that were used by Angelo Mai, Germain Morin and André Wilmart for the publication of several previously unknown sermons of saint Augustine, were both produced at Cluny. It also refutes the hypothesis according to which the compilation preserved in the manuscripts of the Vatican and London was made in Carolingian Lyon by the famous deacon Florus.

### 1. Introduction

The exegetical collection *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* (VDA), which was composed at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, was the most popular collection of Augustinian sermons during the Middle Ages. The collection consisted of two parts, which were often transmitted separately: the first contained 64/65 homilies on the Gospels (*De verbis Domini* = VD), while the second offered 34/33 homilies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Letters of the New Testament (*De verbis Apostoli* = VA).<sup>1</sup> In an article published in *Recherches Augustiniennes* (2007), I have presented some rearranged and enlarged versions of this collection as well as the principles that have governed their rearrangement.<sup>2</sup> The most important of these adaptations is represented by the following five manuscripts and will henceforth be called VDA\*.<sup>3</sup>

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\* I thank prof. dr. Luc de Coninck, prof. dr. Caroline Macé and Dra Shari Boodts for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

<sup>1</sup> For VDA, see L. de Coninck-B. Coppeters 't Wallant-R. Demeulenaere, *La tradition manuscrite du recueil De Verbis Domini jusqu'au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle. Prolégomènes à une édition critique des Sermones ad Populum d'Augustin d'Hippone sur les Évangiles* (ss. 51 à 147) (*Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia* 45, Turnhout 2006) (VD); *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas. I. Recensuit G. Partoens* (*Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 41Ba, Turnhout 2008), pp. LXV–CLII (VA) (both with bibliography).

<sup>2</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée de la collection médiévale de sermons augustiniens De verbis Domini et Apostoli. Son importance pour la transmission de l'œuvre*

## VDA\*1

$V^{pa}$	VD + Acts	Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 2017 (XI ex.) orig. and prov.: Moissac
$V^{di}$	VDA	Dijon Bibl. Mun. 143 (XII in.) orig. and prov.: Cîteaux

## VDA\*2

$V^{vat}$	VD	Vat. lat. 471 (XII) orig.: Bellevaux
$V^{lon}$	VA	London Brit. Libr. add. 10942 (XII med. or 3/4) orig.: La Charité (foundation of Bellevaux in the diocese of Besançon)
$V^{au}$	VDA	Augsburg Univ. II.1.2°200 (1474 – 1476) orig.: written by Michael Staynprunner, prior of Heilig Kreuz (Donauwörth) prov.: Maihingen, Oettingen-Wallerstein <sup>4</sup>

This article will not offer a detailed description of the composition of the above manuscripts. I have done this at length in my 2007 article.<sup>5</sup> I will limit myself here to defending an hypothesis that I proposed at this article's very end and that met with some criticism in the 2008 volume of *Medioevo Latino* (see p. 255).

According to my reconstruction of the transmission of VDA\*, a first version of the adaptation (VDA\*1) was compiled in 9<sup>th</sup>-century Lyon – possibly by the famous deacon scholar Florus – on the basis of a VDA source and several other collections of Augustinian sermons (among which I was able to identify the 'collection de Lyon', the so-called *Orationes de concupiscentia carnis adversus spiritum*, and the collection *De paenitentia*).<sup>6</sup> The composition of VDA\*1 has been preserved in the 11<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript  $V^{pa}$  (VD + Acts) and, above all, in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century codex  $V^{di}$  (VDA).<sup>7</sup> Florus used a representative of VDA\*1 as a source for several fragments in his *Expositio beati Pauli collecta ex libris sancti Augustini*, which explains why the titles of the fragments of several sermons in this commentary contain the expression *de verbis Evangelii* followed by a number that in most cases does not correspond with the position of these sermons in the original version of VDA, but which in almost all cases coincides with their numbering in  $V^{pa}$  and  $V^{di}$ : ss. 54<sup>VD-2</sup>, 61<sup>VD-5</sup>, 62<sup>VD-6</sup>, 67<sup>VD-8</sup>, 70<sup>VD-9</sup>, 74<sup>VDA</sup>, 76<sup>VD-13</sup>,

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homilétique de l'évêque d'Hippone, in: *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 35 (2007) pp. 189 – 237 (esp. pp. 190 – 196).

<sup>3</sup> For a bibliography on these five manuscripts, see G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 189/190 nn. 2 – 6.

<sup>4</sup> The text of  $V^{aug}$  cannot be consulted because of the manuscript's valuable binding. Therefore,  $V^{aug}$  will not play a role in this article.

<sup>5</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 196 – 204 and 204 – 207; *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas* [see n. 1] pp. CXLII – CLI.

<sup>6</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 217 – 222.

<sup>7</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 204 – 207.

88<sup>VD-18</sup>, 100<sup>VD-7</sup>, 103<sup>VD-26</sup>, 104<sup>VD-27</sup>, 112<sup>VD-33</sup>, 129<sup>VD-45</sup>, 130<sup>VDA</sup>, 136<sup>VDA</sup>, 137<sup>VD-49</sup>, 138<sup>VD-50</sup>, 354<sup>VD-53</sup>, 169<sup>VA-15</sup> and 183<sup>VA-31</sup>.<sup>8</sup> The monastery of Saint-Oyen at Saint-Claude (Jura) inherited a VDA\*1 exemplar that was similar to  $V^{\text{di}}$  from Mannon, disciple of Florus, and once also possessed the manuscript Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 448 (IX), which contains 4 sermons that were borrowed from a source belonging to VDA\*1.<sup>9</sup> The origin of  $V^{\text{di}}$  (Cîteaux) as well as some influences which an acquainted source left on Troyes Bibl. Mun. 198 (XII) (Clairvaux) and two descendants of the latter manuscript – Vat. lat. 475 (XII) and Stockholm Kungl. Bibl. A 146 (XIII) – prove that the Lyonese version of VDA\* circulated among the Cistercians of Burgundy.<sup>10</sup>

The whole formed by the manuscripts  $V^{\text{at}}$  (VD) and  $V^{\text{lon}}$  (VA) represents a further development of VDA\* (VDA\*2). This new version resulted from the elimination of inauthentic items in VDA\*1 as well as of some Augustinian texts that are not sermones ad populum in the strict sense. In this second version was also inserted a number of – in some cases very rare – sermons which were absent from the initial version of VDA as well as from VDA\*1. As it is represented by  $V^{\text{at/lon}}$ , VDA\*2 contains 116 items of which only 2 are pseudo-Augustinian.<sup>11</sup> These observations suggest that the new version's compiler worked in a library that contained important Augustinian sources, and had an exceptional talent for discerning between authentic and inauthentic material. Since the compiler of VDA\*2 borrowed several of the added items from sources that were also used for the composition of the Clunisian compilation Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920 – 22 (XI), I postulated that VDA\*2 was a product of the same circle as the compilation preserved in the Brussels manuscript and thus may have originated at Cluny.<sup>12</sup> It was also from Cluny that the version travelled to the Grande Chartreuse, where it was used for the composition of a liturgical homiliary (Grenoble Bibl. Mun. 32 (101) (XII), 33 (102) (XII) and 20 (99) (XII<sup>4/4</sup>))<sup>13</sup> and of a lectionary for the refectory (Grenoble Bibl. Mun. 9 (110) (XII<sup>2</sup>), 24 (105) (XIII)

<sup>8</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 211–217. The data in superscript indicate the collection from which VDA\*1 has borrowed each of the listed items (VD = De verbis Domini; VA = De verbis Apostoli; ~~VDA~~ = a collection other than VD or VA) as well as the position occupied by each of these items within the collection they originally belonged to.

<sup>9</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 207–210.

<sup>10</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] p. 227; Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas [see n. 1] pp. CXXIX – CXXXVIII.

<sup>11</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] p. 207.

<sup>12</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 225/226. To be clear: I did not contend that VDA\*2 directly depends on Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920 – 22 or on an older codex with similar content.

<sup>13</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] p. 229 + n. 130.

and Toulouse Bibl. Mun. 1161/1162 (XIII)).<sup>14</sup> I also suggested that VDA\*2 left some traces in two ‘recueils mixtes’, viz. Paris Bibl. Nat. 1974 (XIV) (prov.: Colbert) and the Cistercian manuscript London Brit. Libr. add. 29630 (XII).<sup>15</sup> To this I now add that through the mediation of Carthusian sources, VDA\*2 seems to have left traces in the acquainted homiliaries London Brit. Libr. add. 10931/10932 (XV) (orig. Germany) and Madrid Bibl. Nac. 19147 (XV ex.) as well.<sup>16</sup>

That VDA\* originated in Carolingian Lyon and may have been compiled by the deacon Florus, was already suggested by A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk in an article on Mannon of Saint-Oyen in *Revue d’histoire des textes* (1999).<sup>17</sup> However, my interpretation of the history of VDA\* challenged two of her further claims: **(1)** A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk stated that  $V^{pa}$  and  $V^{di}$  ‘réflètent en réalité deux étapes successives de l’entreprise de remaniement de la collection [= VDA\*], dont les manuscrits de Bellevaux [=  $V^{vat}$ ] et de La Charité [=  $V^{lon}$ ] représentent un net perfectionnement.’<sup>18</sup> **(2)** Starting from the (erroneous) observation that the numbering in Florus’ *Expositio* of the sermons VDA listed above can only be explained in reference ‘à la place de ces textes dans les différents états de la collection remaniée [=VDA\*] connus de nous [=  $V^{pa,di,vat/lon}$ ]’, she also postulated that Florus ‘a eu plusieurs états du remaniement sous la main au cours de ce travail, et non pas seulement l’état du *lat.* 2017 [=  $V^{pa}$ ]’.<sup>19</sup> Thus she presumed that VDA\*2 was also produced in 9<sup>th</sup>-century Lyon, probably by Florus himself.

I believe to have proven in my 2007 article that both claims are incorrect. **(1)** The manuscripts  $V^{pa,di,vat,lon}$  do not belong to three successive stages in the evolution of VDA\* (version represented by  $V^{pa}$  > version represented by  $V^{di}$  > version represented by  $V^{vat,lon}$ ). The four manuscripts allow us only to postulate

<sup>14</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 227 – 229.

<sup>15</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] p. 230.

<sup>16</sup> See G. Folliet, *Review in Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 21 (1975) pp. 353 – 356 (esp. p. 355) of J. Divjak, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus. IV. Spanien und Portugal* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter 8, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 292, Wien 1974). See also G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] p. 229 n. 132 and Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaum. I. Ediderunt P. -P. Verbraken -L. de Coninck -B. Coppieters ’t Wallant -R. Demeulenaere -F. Dolbeau (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 41Aa, Turnhout 2008) pp. 325 and 467 on Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 798 (XIII) Carthusian origin; L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaum*, p. 467 on Sion Chap. 10, 3.

<sup>17</sup> The same suggestion was made earlier by F. Dolbeau, *Le sermonnaire augustinien de Mayence* (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 9): *analyse et histoire*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 106 (1996) pp. 5 – 52 (esp. p. 26 [n° 25]).

<sup>18</sup> See A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk, *Mannon de Saint-Oyen dans l’histoire de la transmission des textes*, in: *Revue d’histoire des textes* 29 (1999) pp. 169 – 243 (esp. p. 183).

<sup>19</sup> See A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk, *Mannon de Saint-Oyen* [see n. 18] pp. 183/184.

two phases, the first being best represented by  $V^{di}$ , the second by  $V^{vat.lon}$ . The Paris manuscript ( $V^{pa}$ ) represents only a minor and secondary evolution within the first phase.<sup>20</sup> (2) The numbering in Florus' *Expositio* of ss. 54<sup>VD-2</sup>, 61<sup>VD-5</sup>, 62<sup>VD-6</sup>, 67<sup>VD-8</sup>, 70<sup>VD-9</sup>, 74<sup>VDA</sup>, 76<sup>VD-13</sup>, 88<sup>VD-18</sup>, 100<sup>VD-7</sup>, 103<sup>VD-26</sup>, 104<sup>VD-27</sup>, 112<sup>VD-33</sup>, 129<sup>VD-45</sup>, 130<sup>VDA</sup>, 136<sup>VDA</sup>, 137<sup>VD-49</sup>, 138<sup>VD-50</sup>, 354<sup>VD-53</sup> corresponds without any exception with the numbering of the sermons VD in  $V^{di}$  (VDA). The *Expositio*'s numbering of ss. 169<sup>VA-15</sup> and 183<sup>VA-31</sup>, on the other hand, does not correspond to that of the sermons VA in the Dijon manuscript, but cannot be explained in reference to  $V^{lon}$  (VA) or  $V^{aug}$  (VDA) either. The *Expositio*'s numbering thus proves that Florus knew VDA\*1, but does not support the hypothesis of his having known an exemplar of VDA\*2.<sup>21</sup>

My critic in *Medioevo Latino* (2008) seems to accept the thesis that  $V^{di}$  has best preserved the original composition of VDA\* and that  $V^{pa.di.vat.lon}$  represent only two successive phases in the development of VDA\*. On the other hand, he/she does stick to the hypothesis of Florus having been responsible for the compilation of VDA\*2. This position, however, is not based on A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk's interpretation of Florus' numbering of the VDA sermons listed above, but on the conviction that the hypothesis of both versions having been composed by separate compilers – one at Lyon, the other at Cluny – is not economical:

'[...] l'A. montre que c'est le manuscrit de Dijon qui restitue le mieux la révision primitive et que celle-ci fut effectuée dans le cercle de Florus de Lyon, à partir de recueils conservés sur place (collection dite de Lyon, *De paenitentia, Orationes de concupiscentia carnis adversus spiritum*). Le second rameau représenterait un remaniement ultérieur, qu'une étude récente d'A.-M. Turcan-Verkerk imputait aussi au milieu lyonnais, mais qui, selon l'A., aurait été effectuée à Cluny à partir de ressources locales (notamment la collection dite de Cluny), avant d'être exploité à la Grande Chartreuse (homélaire pour l'office, lectionnaire pour le réfectoire). Même si, pour VDA\*, aucun témoin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle ne s'est conservé, le rôle de Florus est indiscutable, car le manuscrit de Paris [=  $V^{pa}$ ] conserve en marge des notes conformes aux interventions du diacre de Lyon. Le problème est de savoir si sa responsabilité intellectuelle porte sur le premier rameau seul [=  $V^{pa.di}$ ] ou sur les deux [=  $V^{pa.di}$  and  $V^{vat.lon}$ ]. La position soutenue ici par l'A. est peu économique, car elle revient à admettre deux révisions successives, faites sur les mêmes principes, l'une à Lyon, l'autre à Cluny, chaque fois par un lettré de haut vol, capable de distinguer les sermons authentiques des apocryphes. Rappelons que la collection dite de Lyon (du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle) porte des traces directes de l'activité de Florus; en revanche, la collection de Cluny n'est attestée que dans un témoin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, 14920–22). Il suffirait de supposer que son archétype était carolingien et lyonnais, ce qui n'aurait rien d'étonnant d'après ce que l'on sait des modèles copiés à Cluny, pour fragiliser la thèse soutenue dans cet article.'<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See G. Partoens, Une version augmentée [see n. 2] p. 214.

<sup>21</sup> See G. Partoens, Une version augmentée [see n. 2] pp. 215–217.

<sup>22</sup> See *Medioevo Latino* (2008) p. 630 (n° 6760).

In the next paragraphs, I will try to convince the reader of the economical character of my hypothesis concerning the origin of VDA\*2. In order to do this, I will first offer a detailed analysis of Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920–22, which is much more than only the unique representative of the so-called ‘collection de Cluny’. I will show that this manuscript contains a compilation of Augustinian sermons that was produced at Cluny on the basis of several earlier collections of homiletic texts. Next I will clarify my reasons for believing that VDA\*2 was produced in the same environment as the compilation preserved in the Brussels manuscript.

## 2. A first Clunisian compilation: Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920–22

The manuscript Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920–22 (*B*) once belonged to the library of Cluny (see the words [...] *M<sup>ii</sup> Clun. Cath. ins.* [...] on f. 1).<sup>23</sup> As D. De Bruyne has proven a long time ago, the codex originally offered before its present f. 152 an additional quire, which has been preserved in manuscript Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 13089 from Saint-Germain-des-Prés (ff. 129–136<sup>v</sup>). The quire ended up in the latter abbey after having been stolen by the Maurist Anselme Le Michel during his visit to Cluny around 1644.<sup>24</sup> The following table offers a description of the manuscript’s content before this theft and corresponds – to the exception of the Galatians commentary – with Le Michel’s own description of the manuscript (around 1644): *Varii sermones divi Augustini; deinde duo Nicetii episcopi de vigiliis et psalmodia; item unus Valeriani episcopi Cemeliensis de bono disciplinae, impressus. Item sermo sancti Eligii, Noviomensis episcopi.*<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> This note is dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century by M. Verweij, curator at the manuscripts department of the Royal Library of Belgium (Brussels). I thank him for the help I received while studying manuscript *B*.

<sup>24</sup> For more details on this, see D. de Bruyne, *Membra disiecta* (n° 42), in: *Revue bénédictine* 37 (1925) pp. 166–169; F. Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique. Recherches sur divers sermons authentiques, apocryphes ou anonymes* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 179, Paris 2005) p. 577 n. 37.

<sup>25</sup> See L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds de Cluni* (Paris 1884) p. 385.

Table 1: the content of manuscript *B* before 1644

Position today	Content
<i>B</i> , ff. 1 <sup>v</sup> –3 (2 <sup>v</sup> blanc)	Table of content <sup>26</sup> First hand (ff. 1 <sup>v</sup> –2): the sermons of ff. 3–95 Second hand (f. 2): the sermons of ff. 95–132 <sup>v</sup> + the texts following on f. 151 <sup>v</sup> First hand (f. 3): the texts following on f. 151 <sup>v</sup>
<i>B</i> , ff. 3–53 <sup>v</sup>	18 items from the collection <i>De paenitentia</i> (= <i>pa</i> ) <sup>27</sup> ss. 351 <sup>pa-1</sup> , 127 <sup>pa-6</sup> , 342 <sup>pa-10</sup> , 270 <sup>pa-11</sup> , 344 <sup>pa-13</sup> , 300 <sup>pa-14</sup> , 105 <sup>pa-15</sup> , 24 <sup>pa-19</sup> , 21 <sup>pa-23</sup> , 41 <sup>pa-24</sup> , 38 <sup>pa-25</sup> , 20 <sup>pa-26</sup> , 358 <sup>pa-27</sup> , 359 <sup>pa-29</sup> , 81 <sup>pa-30</sup> , 194 <sup>pa-31</sup> , 374 <sup>pa-32</sup> , <i>s. de fide</i> (= <i>doctr. chr.</i> 1, 9, 9–15, 14) <sup>pa-35</sup>
<i>B</i> , ff. 54–71 <sup>v</sup>	5 items from the collection <i>De bono coniugali</i> (= <i>bc</i> ) ss. 65 <sup>bc-11</sup> , 150 <sup>bc-16</sup> , 45 <sup>bc-19</sup> , 351 <sup>bc-21</sup> , 352 <sup>bc-23</sup>
<i>B</i> , ff. 71 <sup>v</sup> –95	14 items from the collection <i>De alleluia</i> (= <i>a</i> ) ss. 13 <sup>a-5</sup> , 14 <sup>a-6</sup> , 15 <sup>a-7</sup> , 48 <sup>a-7bis</sup> , 49 <sup>a-8</sup> , 319 <sup>a-33</sup> , 151 <sup>a-20</sup> , 17 <sup>a-x</sup> (n. 28), 349 <sup>a-21</sup> , 73 <sup>a-27</sup> , 85 <sup>a-28</sup> , 92 <sup>a-31</sup> , 94 <sup>a-32</sup> , 107 <sup>a-34</sup>
<i>B</i> , ff. 95–132 <sup>v</sup>	15 items from the ‘collection de Cluny’ (= <i>y</i> ) <i>CPPM</i> 1, 1935 <sup>y-1</sup> , 68 auct. <sup>y-2</sup> , 53 <sup>y-3</sup> , 101 <sup>y-4</sup> , 23 <sup>y-5</sup> , 163A <sup>y-6</sup> , 141 <sup>y-7</sup> , 278 <sup>y-8</sup> , 233 <sup>y-9</sup> , 234 <sup>y-10</sup> , 116 <sup>y-11</sup> , 244 <sup>y-12</sup> , 249 <sup>y-13</sup> , 125A <sup>y-14</sup> , 63 <sup>y-15</sup>
<i>B</i> , ff. 132 <sup>v</sup> –151 <sup>v</sup> Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 13089, ff. 129–136	Aug., <i>Exp. Gal.</i> <sup>29</sup> Nic. Rem., <i>De vigiliis / De psalmodiae bono</i> (from <i>bc</i> [n. 48]?) Ps.-Cypr., <i>De XII abusivis saeculi</i> 1–7
<i>B</i> , ff. 152–154	Ps.-Cypr., <i>De XII abusivis saeculi</i> 7–12
<i>B</i> , ff. 154–167 <sup>v</sup>	Eligius, <i>Sermo ex praedicatione beati Eligii utillimus ad populum</i>
Between ff. 167 <sup>v</sup> and 168	lost part containing end of the previous and beginning of the next article [n. 39]
<i>B</i> , ff. 168/169	Valerianus Cemeliensis, s. 1 ( <i>de bono disciplinae</i> ) <sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For a description of the collections indicated in this column, see P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (Instrumenta patristica 12, Steenbrugge-Den Haag 1976) pp. 200/201 (*pa*), 214/215 (*bc*), 198–200 (*a*) and 204/205 (*y*). See also L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaeum* [see n. 16] pp. XXI–XXIII (*pa*), XXXI/XXXII (*bc*), XIV–XVII (*a*) and XIX–XXI (*y*). For the manuscript’s content, see also M. T. Wieser, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*. 8. Belgien, Luxemburg und Niederlande. 2. Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter 18. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 685, Wien 2000) pp. 131/132.

<sup>27</sup> P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques* [see n. 26] p. 227 (erroneously) states that only 17 of these 18 items stem from the collection *pa*.

<sup>28</sup> S. 17 is not found in the preserved direct witnesses of *a*, but certainly belonged to the collection’s archetype. See *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento, id est sermones I-L secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam novem sermonibus post Maurinos repertis*. Recensuit C. Lambot (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 41, Turnhout 1961) p. 235.

<sup>29</sup> Manuscript *B* is the oldest manuscript to contain the so-called ‘praefatio longior’ of *exp. Gal.* See J. Divjak, *Zur Textüberlieferung der augustinischen Expositio in epistolam ad Galatas*, in: *Studia Patristica* 14 (1976) pp. 402–409 (esp. pp. 403 [+ n. 7] and 409 [referring to *B* as Bruxelles Bibl. Royale 1087]).

<sup>30</sup> For the texts of Eligius and Valerianus, see also n. 39.

P. Van den Gheyn, D. De Bruyne and J. Divjak dated manuscript *B* to the 10<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>31</sup> today it is situated a century later.<sup>32</sup> The manuscript is mentioned for the first time in the ‘grand catalogue’ of the library of Cluny (n<sup>o</sup> 179), which L. Delisle dated to 1158–1161 (under abbot Hugo III),<sup>33</sup> but which, according to V. von Büren, was composed in the last decade of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (under abbot Hugo I of Semur).<sup>34</sup> The catalogue entry runs as follows: *Volumen in quo continentur XXXVII sermones, et tractatus Nicetii, et Cyprianus de XII abusivis, sermoque beati Eligii.*<sup>35</sup>

Several features suggest that codex *B* was written in successive phases and by different scribes: **(1)** The section of *pa* sermons (ff. 3–53<sup>v</sup>) ends eight lines above the end of f. 53<sup>v</sup>.<sup>36</sup> The first *bc* sermon starts at the top of f. 54 with an initial letter that is much more decorated than the initial letters of the immediately preceding *pa* items. **(2)** The transition on f. 71<sup>v</sup> from the *bc* sermons (ff. 54–71<sup>v</sup>) to the series borrowed from *a* (ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–95) is not as clear as the previ-

<sup>31</sup> See J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. II. Patrologie* (Bruxelles 1902) p. 125; D. de Bruyne, *Membra disiecta* [see n. 24] p. 169; J. Divjak, *Zur Textüberlieferung der augustinischen Expositio in epistolam ad Galatas* [see n. 29] p. 409.

<sup>32</sup> See C. Lambot, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento* [see n. 28] p. XII; P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques* [see n. 26] pp. 205 and 228; Augustin d’Hippone. *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d’Afrique. Retrouvés à Mayence, édités et commentés par F. Dolbeau* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 147, Paris 1996) p. 102; J. Elfassi, *Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin. Édition critique et tentative de datation*, in: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 45 (1999) pp. 21–50 (esp. p. 25); M. T. Wieser, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* [see n. 26] p. 131; L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaeum* [see n. 16] p. XIX.

<sup>33</sup> See L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. II (Histoire générale de Paris, Paris 1874) p. 458; Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [see n. 25] p. 337; E. M. Wischermann, *Grundlagen einer cluniacensischen Bibliotheksgeschichte* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 62, München 1988) pp. 9 and 104/105.

<sup>34</sup> See V. Von Büren, *Le grand catalogue de la bibliothèque de Cluny*, in: *Le gouvernement d’Hugues de Semur à Cluny. Actes du Colloque scientifique international Cluny, septembre 1988* (Cluny 1990) pp. 245–263; *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de Cluny du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle reconstitué*, in: *Scriptorium* 46 (1992) pp. 256–267; *Ambroise de Milan dans la bibliothèque de Cluny*, in: *Scriptorium* 47 (1993) pp. 127–165; *La bibliothèque de Cluny*, in: *Dossiers d’archéologie* 269 (December/January 2002) pp. 54/55.

<sup>35</sup> See L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [see n. 33] p. 465; *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [see n. 25] p. 347.

<sup>36</sup> In the margin of f. 53<sup>v</sup>, one reads: *Hic deest multum*. This remark was probably added to indicate that the last *pa* item, the so-called *s. de fide*, in reality is a slightly adapted fragment of doct. chr. 1, 9, 9–15, 14 (inc. *Hoc dicimus et hoc dicemus, carissimi, quod Deus lux est non corporum, sed mentium. Beati enim, inquit, mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt omnibusque ad contemplandum communiter atque incommutabiliter praesto est; expl.: non solum sine murmure, sed etiam cum delectatione faciamus*).



ous transition from the *pa* to the *bc* sermons: there is no blank between both series, and the first *a* text (s. 13) is not marked by a special initial. However, a slight change in page layout can be discerned: the end of the last *bc* sermon (s. 352) is more densely written than the beginning of s. 13. **(3)** The ff. 1–2 form a separate quire and offer an index capitulorum that was written by two different hands: the first wrote the capitula for the first 37 sermons (from *pa*, *bc* and *a*) in dark ink (ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–2); the second added in much clearer ink the capitula for the *y* sermons and the texts of Nicetas, Pseudo-Cyprian, etc. (f. 2).<sup>37</sup> The change of hands on f. 2 is reflected in the situation on f. 95, where the transition from the last *a* sermon (s. 107) to the first item of *y* (*CPPM* 1, 1935: *Omelia sancti Augustini de eunucho regni caelorum*) is marked by a change in handwriting. On the other hand, there is no blank between both sermons, and the latter is presented as the 38<sup>th</sup> item of a series (*XXXta VIIIto Incipit omelia sancti Augustini de eunucho regni caelorum*). All this suggests that the *y* sermons were added to an already existing collection of 37 sermons, with which they were intended to form a new collection of Augustinian homilies (*b*). **(4)** The series of *y* sermons (ff. 95–132<sup>v</sup>) seems to have been written by several hands,<sup>38</sup> while the Galatians commentary (ff. 132<sup>v</sup>–151<sup>v</sup>) was clearly written by the hand that was responsible for the last *y* sermons. **(5)** The Galatians commentary ends on the fourth line on f. 151<sup>v</sup> and is followed by a blank covering the remaining part of the folio. Before the quire that ended up in Saint-Germain was stolen, f. 151 was followed by several quires written by different hands, which contained the above mentioned texts of Nicetas, Pseudo-Cyprian, Eligius and Valerianus of Cimiez (Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 13089, ff. 129–136 + *B*, ff. 152–169). The five texts are not only announced in the index capitulorum on f. 2 (second hand, clearer ink), but also in a second index on f. 3, which only lists these 5 items and was written by the scribe who was responsible for the capitula for the *pa*, *bc* and *a* items of ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–2 (first hand, dark ink). The second index covers the lines 14–18 of f. 3 and is only followed on line 21 by the first *pa* sermon. It thus seems to have been added on a large blank that was left by the scribe of the first *pa* sermon.

The above observations allow us to reconstruct the genesis of *B* as follows:

**(1)** An Augustinian compilation of 37 sermons was created by joining 18 *pa*

<sup>37</sup> The hand that was responsible for the addition of the capitula for the *y* sermons and the texts of Nicetas, Pseudo-Cyprian etc. also added a fragment of ep. 147 (14,33–14,34) at the bottom of f. 2 (inc. *Qui enim cognovit, inquit, latitudinem*; expl. *quae praecellet omnem intellectum*). For this fragment, see also *CPPM* 1, 1324.

<sup>38</sup> A very clear break in handwriting, page layout and folium format can be discerned at the transition from f. 106<sup>v</sup> to f. 107. Moreover, the same phrase is read at the bottom of f. 106<sup>v</sup> and the top of f. 107 (s. 53, 16: *Ubi profundum nisi in ea parte quae terrae defixa est? Occulta est enim in abdi-*). The sentence at the bottom of f. 106<sup>v</sup> has been crossed out.

sermons, 5 *bc* homilies and 14 items borrowed from an *a* source. **(2)** To this compilation were added the texts of Nicetas, Pseudo-Cyprian, Eligius and Valerianus. This state of the manuscript is described in the ‘grand catalogue’ of the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, which mentions neither the *y* sermons nor the Galatians commentary: *Volumen in quo continentur XXXVII sermones, et tractatus Nicetii, et Cyprianus de XII abusivis, sermoque beati Eligii*.<sup>39</sup> The index on f. 3 was added in order to make clear that the manuscript did not only contain a series of sermons, the first of which started on the very same folio. Subsequently, a detailed index of the Augustinian compilation of 37 sermones was written on the verso and recto side of two additional folia that were to precede f. 3. **(3)** After the establishment of the ‘grand catalogue’, the *y* sermons were inserted (together with the Galatians commentary) as a continuation of the already existing Augustinian compilation of 37 sermons. This state of the manuscript was described around 1644 by dom Le Michel. **(4)** The manuscript’s present composition was reached shortly after as a result of the theft of the quire now to be found in Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 13089 (ff. 129–136<sup>v</sup>). **(1–4)** If my reconstruction of the genesis of *B* is correct, this manuscript has to be considered as the first (and maybe last) representative of a new compilation of Augustinian sermons (*b*).

Some researchers remain silent about the place of origin of *B* and limit themselves to the indication of Cluny as its provenance.<sup>40</sup> Most scholars, however, claim that it was also a product of this very abbey’s scriptorium.<sup>41</sup> I am inclined to agree with the latter for the following reasons:

**(1)** The name ‘collection de Cluny’ (*y*) is rather misleading: it was named after the provenance of its sole representative *B*, but was already present during the Carolingian period in the Cathedral library of Lyon, where it was used by Florus for the compilation of his Augustinian commentary on the Letters of

<sup>39</sup> The text of Eligius, which corresponds with *Vita Eligii* 2, 14–16 (as edited in PL 87, cc. 524C–551A *coepto tramite pergens - ministrabat plebi adipem*), suddenly breaks off in the middle of a sentence at the bottom of f. 167<sup>v</sup>, while Valerianus’ sermon *de bono continentiae* is written by a different hand and starts at the top of f. 168 in the middle of a sentence of § 4. As a consequence, the latter text has neither a title nor an indication of its author. Both are mentioned only in the indices at the beginning of the manuscript. If the beginning of Valerianus’ *sermo de bono disciplinae* had already disappeared at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, this may explain why the latter text is not mentioned in the description of *B* in the ‘grand catalogue’.

<sup>40</sup> See M. T. Wieser, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* [see n. 26] p. 131.

<sup>41</sup> See D. de Bruyne, *Membra disiecta* [see n. 24] p. 169; P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques* [see n. 26] pp. 204 and 227; E. M. Wischermann, *Grundlagen einer cluniacensischen Bibliotheksgeschichte* [see n. 33] p. 40; J. Elfassi, *Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin* [see n. 32] p. 25; F. Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique* [see n. 24] p. 577 n. 37; L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaicum* [see n. 16] p. XIX.

Paul. Since the library of Lyon has had a major influence on that of Cluny,<sup>42</sup> my critic in *Medioevo Latino* is probably right in suggesting that the *y* part of manuscript *B* may ultimately depend on a Lyonese source. Depending on a Lyonese source, however, does not necessarily mean having a Lyonese origin. The above study of the composition and genesis of *B* clearly proves that its folia containing the *y* items (ff. 95–132<sup>v</sup>) were added in Cluny to an already existing whole of 37 sermones borrowed from *pa*, *bc* and *a*. *Terminus post quem* for this addition was the establishment of the abbey's 'grand catalogue' at the end of 11<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the following observations suggest that the collection of 37 *pa*, *bc* and *a* sermones was also compiled at Cluny.

(2) Three of the five sermones for which *B* depends on the Arlesian collection *De bono coniugali* (ss. 65, 150, 45, 351 [§§ 7–12] and 352)<sup>43</sup> have already been edited on the basis of an extensive study of their manuscript transmission: ss. 65 (L. de Coninck), 150 (J. Elfassi) and 45 (C. Lambot). According to J. Elfassi's and L. de Coninck's recent descriptions of the collection's transmission, a 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript from Italy, Vat. Pal. lat. 210, has to be considered the archetype of all complete *bc* witnesses. Two branches came forth from this manuscript: one branch's hyparchetype is the present Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448 (*P*), which may have been copied from the Vatican manuscript at the court of Louis the Pious and eventually ended up in the library of Cluny; the second branch may go back to another copy of Vat. Pal. lat. 210 that was made at Lorsch. Manuscript *P* is mentioned in Cluny's 'grand catalogue' (n° 163)<sup>44</sup> and is generally considered to belong to the library's oldest kernel. According to most researchers, it even belonged to the 100 manuscripts that saint Odon is told

<sup>42</sup> See V. von Büren, *Ambroise de Milan dans la bibliothèque de Cluny* [see n. 34] p. 135: 'En effet plusieurs autres volumes de cet érudit lyonnais de la première moitié du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle avaient trouvé le chemin de Cluny. L'abbé Maieul, qui avait fait ses études à Lyon, a dû servir d'intermédiaire pour le transfert de ces manuscrits lyonnais à la bibliothèque de Cluny. La plupart contenait surtout des œuvres augustiniennes.'

<sup>43</sup> For the Arlesian origin of *bc*, see L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaicum* [see n. 16] p. XXXI. It should be noted that exactly the same sequence of 5 sermones is found in Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 16854 (xii<sup>3/4</sup>) from Lonrey (St-Cyran), which contains the following works: the collection *De Verbis Domini et Apostoli* (ff. 2–178<sup>v</sup>), *CPPM* 1, 1215.1106–1109 (ff. 179–195<sup>v</sup>), ss. 65, 150, 45, 351, 352 (ff. 195<sup>v</sup>–212), *s. dom. m.* (ff. 212–241<sup>v</sup>); *nat. b.* (ff. 241<sup>v</sup>–249<sup>v</sup>). The text of the *bc* sermones in this manuscript is closely related to their text in *B*. See C. Lambot, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento* [see n. 28] p. 514 (regarding s. 45); L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaicum* [see n. 16] p. 371 (regarding s. 65).

<sup>44</sup> See L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [see n. 33] p. 464: *Volumen in quo continentur libri de bono coniugali, de sancta virginitate, de modo orandi, cum aliis pluribus tam libris quam epistolis ad diversos et de diversis.*

to have brought from Tours to the Burgundian abbey.<sup>45</sup> L. de Coninck and J. Elfassi firmly claim that the ss. 65 and 150 in *B* depend on this very manuscript.<sup>46</sup> With regard to s. 45, C. Lambot only suggests a close relationship of *B* and *P*,<sup>47</sup> but his critical apparatus does not plead against a dependence of the former on the latter (see the presentation and interpretation of this apparatus in the appendix to the present article).<sup>48</sup>

(3) In a study of the sources used for the composition of the 12<sup>th</sup>-century liturgical lectionary of Cluny as well as of its non-liturgical complement that has been preserved in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1436 (*C* = lectionary + corollary), R. Étaix has indicated that *C* contains pieces from *pa* and *bc* that were probably borrowed from the same sources as the *pa* and *bc* items in *B*.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> For the story, see *Vita sancti Odonis*, 23 (PL 133, c. 54A-B). See J. Vezin, Un martyrologe copié à Cluny à la fin de l'abbatit de saint Hugues, in: G. Cambier, Hommages à A. Boutemy (Collection Latomus 145, Bruxelles 1976) pp. 404–412 (esp. p. 410 + n. 25: on Odon's manuscripts in general and on *P* in particular [according to Vezin, *P* was even written at Tours]); E. M. Wischermann, Grundlagen einer cluniacensischen Bibliotheksgeschichte [see n. 33] pp. 34–37 (on Odon's manuscripts in general) and 136 + n. 134 (on *P* in particular); D. Ganz, Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance (Beihefte der Francia 20, Sigmaringen 1990) p. 75 (on *P* in particular); V. von Büren, Ambroise de Milan dans la bibliothèque de Cluny [see n. 34] pp. 155 (on *P* in particular) and 156/161 (on Odon's manuscripts in general).

<sup>46</sup> See J. Elfassi, Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin [see n. 32] p. 25 (on the transmission of s. 150): 'X [= our manuscript *B*], L [= our manuscript *V<sup>abon</sup>*] et Q [= Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1974] dépendent de *C*<sup>2</sup> [= Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448]'; L. de Coninck, Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaem [see n. 16] p. 371 (on the transmission of s. 65): 'Parmi les collections secondaires dépendant de *C*<sup>2</sup> [= Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448] nous citons dans notre apparat la deuxième section de la collection de Bruxelles (*X* [= our manuscript *B*] [...] et un ms. *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* qui contient en annexe cinq sermons de la tradition *De bono coniugali* (*r*<sup>1</sup>) [= Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 16854]. Les mss. *X* et *r*<sup>1</sup> reproduisent l'état de *C*<sup>2</sup> avant que l'un des correcteurs n'ait inséré dans ce ms. quelques variantes provenant de la tradition homilétique *p* [= Sancti Catholici Patres] *t* [= collection Tripartite] *r*<sup>6</sup> [= Grenoble Bibl. Mun. 33 (102)] *r*<sup>7</sup> [= Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 799].'

<sup>47</sup> See C. Lambot, Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento [see n. 28] p. 514: 'De la branche à laquelle appartient ce dernier [= Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448], sont sortis *X* [= our manuscript *B*] et *α* [= Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 16854], étroitement apparentés.'

<sup>48</sup> It should be noted that *bc* and *B* also share two works of Nicetas of Remesiana: *De vigiliis* and *De psalmodiae bono* (CPL 648/649; *bc*-13/14; *B* = Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 13089, ff. 129ff.). I have not checked if *B* depends on *P* for these items.

<sup>49</sup> See R. Étaix, Le lectionnaire de l'office à Cluny, in: Recherches Augustiniennes 11 (1976) pp. 91–159 (esp. p. 159): 'Puisque l'on sait que la collection augustiniennne de Cluny [= manuscript *B* in general and not part *y* of *B*] a été composée à partir des collections *De paenitentia* et *De bono coniugali*, on peut supposer que la bibliothèque de Cluny possédait des exemplaires complets de ces deux dernières collections, lesquels auraient été utilisés et par le lectionnaire de l'office et par le volume complémentaire.'

Table 2

Item	C	Collection	B
s. 270, 1–5 +	n.a.l. 1436, pp. 610–615	<i>pa</i> -11	ff. 15 <sup>v</sup> –18 <sup>v</sup>
s. 357, 5		<i>pa</i> -9	-
s. 277, 1/2	Sanctorale, n° 17	<i>bc</i> -15	-
s. 288	n.a.l. 1436, pp. 634–639	<i>pa</i> -22	-
s. 292, 1–4	Sanctorale, n° 65	<i>pa</i> -7	-
s. 374 <sup>50</sup>	n.a.l. 1436, pp. 352–355	<i>pa</i> -32	ff. 52/53

The above evidence allows us to conclude that the Augustinian sermons in *B* were not copied from a model which already contained *b*, but that *B* was the latter collection's first (and maybe even last) exemplar and that it was compiled on the basis of separate representatives of *pa*, *bc*, *a* and *y*.<sup>51</sup> While it is certain that the first three sections within *B* contain only a selection of the items that belonged to the original versions of *pa*, *bc* and *a*, it is difficult to say whether this is also the case for the section with the *y* sermons, since *B* is this collection's only preserved direct witness. It cannot be excluded, however, that also the *y* section in the latter codex offers only a selection of the sermons that originally belonged to *y*. G. Morin and F. Dolbeau have noted that one of the scribes responsible for the *y* sermons started copying s. 352A (Dolbeau 14) on f. 130<sup>v</sup>, but stopped after a few lines and continued copying s. 125A (Mai 128).<sup>52</sup> This phenomenon suggests that s. 352A was also present in the scribe's *y* model and that the *y* part in *B* is the result of a deliberate selection.

### 3. A second Clunisian compilation: VDA\*2

#### 3.1. An uneconomical hypothesis?

The hypothesis concerning the origin of VDA\*2 that I proposed in *Recherches Augustiniennes* (2007), assumes that the two versions of VDA\* were produced by at least two compilers, who worked at significantly different times and places: the first in Carolingian Lyon, the second in Cluny between

<sup>50</sup> An enlarged version of s. 374 is s. Dolbeau 23. Both manuscripts of Cluny contain the abbreviated version that was already present in *pa*. See F. Dolbeau, *Augustin d'Hippone. Vingt-six sermons* [see n. 32] pp. 580/581. In n. 41 on p. 536, Dolbeau does not express himself concerning the exact relation between our sources *B* and *C* with regard to s. 374.

<sup>51</sup> Compare C. Lambot, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento* [see n. 28] p. XVIII: 'Pour chacune d'elles [= the collections *pa*, *bc* and *a*] le compilateur disposait de manuscrits distincts des nôtres [...].'

<sup>52</sup> See *Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti* [...] in *unum collecti et codicum fide instaurati studio ac diligentia G. Morin* (*Miscellanea Agostiniana* 1, Roma 1930) pp. 370/371 n. 15; F. Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique* [see n. 24] pp. 582/583 n. 63. At the bottom of f. 130, one reads the title of s. 125A. This title is followed at the top of f. 130<sup>v</sup> by the first lines of s. 352A. After these lines, we read the incipit of s. 125A.

909/910 (foundation of the abbey) and 1200 (most recent dating of  $V^{at/lon}$ ). According to my critic in *Medioevo Latino*, this assumption is uneconomical: ‘La position soutenue ici par l’A. est peu économique, car elle revient à admettre deux révisions successives, faites sur les mêmes principes, l’une à Lyon, l’autre à Cluny, chaque fois par un lettré de haut vol, capable de distinguer les sermons authentiques des apocryphes.’ This argument, however, poses two major problems:

(1) The first of these is purely formal. An hypothesis can only be considered more economical than another one, if both try to do justice to an identical set of observations. Since my hypothesis tries to do justice to a range of observations that are not taken into account in my critic’s review (see § 3.2), the hypothesis of Florus having been responsible for the compilation of VDA\*2 does not necessarily qualify as more economical than mine.

(2) The claim that my hypothesis presupposes two revisions based on identical principles and made by two compilers who were both capable of distinguishing authentic from inauthentic material, is not correct:<sup>53</sup>

(a) VDA\*1 was based on three principles: (a1) the rearrangement of the sermons VD and (especially) VA according to the order of the biblical verses quoted in each sermon’s title; (a2) the elimination of 4 VDA sermons, of which only 1 was inauthentic;<sup>54</sup> (a3) the addition of several items, which can be divided in three groups: 23 genuinely Augustinian sermons,<sup>55</sup> 2 authentic texts that do not belong to the sermons ad populum in the strict sense,<sup>56</sup> and 9 inauthentic pieces.<sup>57</sup> This means that the compiler of VDA\*1 was especially interested in rearranging and enlarging the original VDA collection, but did not aim specifically at eliminating inauthentic material or Augustinian texts that did not belong to the sermons ad populum in the strict sense. Consequently, the best representative of VDA\*1 ( $V^{di}$ ) contains – on a total of 127 items – 21 inauthentic pieces<sup>58</sup> and 7 Augustinian texts that do not belong to the sermons ad populum in the strict sense ( $28/127 = 22\%$ ).<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The following remarks have to be read in combination with G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] pp. 197–204 (detailed description of  $V^{di}$  and  $V^{at/lon}$ ) and 204–207 (discussion of the principles of the composition of these manuscripts).

<sup>54</sup> Ss. 115<sup>VD-36</sup>, 52<sup>VD-63</sup>, 384<sup>VA-1</sup> [P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques* [see n. 26] p. 155: ‘authenticité: très douteuse’], 294<sup>VA-14</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Ss. 114, 66, 74, 77, 81, 86.1–5, 87<sup>version De paenitentia</sup>, 91, 95, 99, 342, 292, 130, 136, 355, 356, 278, 279 + Morin 1, 151, 152, 127<sup>version De paenitentia</sup>, 170, 176<sup>version De paenitentia</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> Fragmentum Bordier [= PLS 2, cc. 1290–1293 = in Ps. 36.2.1/3–4/8], in Ps. 36.1.1–3.

<sup>57</sup> App. 65, app. 72<sup>version quinquaginta homiliae</sup>, CPPM 1.1938–1942, app. 104, s. Mai 131.

<sup>58</sup> App. 268<sup>VD-3</sup>, app. 65<sup>VDA</sup>, app. 72<sup>VD-14</sup>, app. 72<sup>version quinquaginta homiliae</sup>, app. 82<sup>VD-19</sup>, app. 75<sup>VD-20</sup>, app. 84<sup>VD-28</sup>, CPPM 1.1938–1942<sup>VDA</sup>, s. 367<sup>VD-25</sup> [P.-P. Verbraken, *Études*

(b) VDA\*2 resulted from three additional adaptations: (b1) a slight rearrangement of the order of the items contained in VDA\*1; (b2) the elimination of 20 inauthentic items and 6 genuinely Augustinian texts that did not belong to the sermones ad populum in the strict sense;<sup>60</sup> (b3) the further addition of 23 authentic sermons (see table 3 of this article) and only one inauthentic item (*De praedestinatione et gratia*: CPL 382 + CPPM 2, 179). On a total of 116 items, VDA\*2 contains only 2 inauthentic texts and one Augustinian item that does not belong to the sermones ad populum in the strict sense ( $3/116 = 2.6\%$ ).<sup>61</sup>

The evidence stated above shows that, whereas the compiler of VDA\*1 aimed at rearranging and enlarging the original version of VDA without special attention to questions of authenticity and appropriateness, the person responsible for VDA\*2 wanted above all to purify VDA\*1 from items that did not belong in a strictly Augustinian sermon collection, and to enlarge it with authentic and appropriate homiletic material. This means that, apart from their common aim to enlarge the VDA collection, the compilers of VDA\*1 and VDA\*2 wanted to remedy a major shortcoming that was typical of respectively VDA and VDA\*1: (a) The original VDA collection – and especially its VA section – did not systematically present its items according to the order of the biblical verses quoted in each item's title;<sup>62</sup> this shortcoming was remedied by VDA\*1 (as it was remedied in at least two other adapted VDA versions).<sup>63</sup> (b) VDA\*1 contained a large amount of inauthentic items and genuinely Augustinian texts that did not belong to the sermones ad populum in the strict sense (28/127 = 22%). This deficiency, which affected VDA\*1 to an even larger degree than the original VDA version ( $18/98 = 18\%$ )<sup>64</sup> and might even cast some doubt on the

critiques [see n. 26] p. 151: 'authenticité douteuse', *app.* 96<sup>VD-52</sup>, *app.* 97<sup>VD-57</sup>, *app.* 246<sup>VD-58</sup>, *app.* 99<sup>VA-26</sup>, *app.* 100<sup>VA-25</sup>, *app.* 104<sup>VDA</sup>, *app.* 109<sup>VA-34</sup>, s. Mai 131<sup>VDA</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Fragmentum Bordier<sup>VDA</sup> [= PLS 2, cc. 1290 – 1293 = *in Ps.* 36.2.1/3 – 4/8], *div. qu.* 59<sup>VD-22</sup>, *in Ps.* 70.2<sup>VD-34</sup>, *in Ps.* 36.1.1 – 3<sup>VDA</sup>, *Io. ev. tr.* 33<sup>VD-47</sup>, *Io. ev. tr.* 71<sup>VD-56</sup>, *div. qu.* 71<sup>VA-21</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> This elimination entailed the removal of some authentic sermones ad populum as well: ss. 124<sup>VD-42</sup>, 139<sup>VD-51</sup>, 87<sup>VD-59</sup>, 143<sup>VD-60</sup>, 144<sup>VD-61</sup> and 127<sup>version De paenitentia</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Inauthentic: *app.* 72<sup>VD-14</sup>, *De praedestinatione et gratia*<sup>VDA</sup>. Not belonging to the sermones ad populum in the strict sense: Fragmentum Bordier<sup>VDA</sup> [= PLS 2, cc. 1290 – 1293 = *in Ps.* 36.2.1/3 – 4/8].

<sup>62</sup> See G. Partoens, Une version augmentée [see n. 2] pp. 192 – 194.

<sup>63</sup> See G. Partoens, Une version augmentée [see n. 2] pp. 194 – 196.

<sup>64</sup> Inauthentic material: *app.* 268<sup>VD-3</sup>, *app.* 72<sup>VD-14</sup>, *app.* 82<sup>VD-19</sup>, *app.* 75<sup>VD-20</sup>, s. 367<sup>VD-25</sup> [P.-P. Verbraken, Études critiques [see n. 26] p. 151: 'authenticité douteuse'], *app.* 84<sup>VD-28</sup>, *app.* 96<sup>VD-52</sup>, *app.* 97<sup>VD-57</sup>, *app.* 246<sup>VD-58</sup>, s. 384<sup>VA-1</sup> [P.-P. Verbraken, Études critiques [see n. 26] p. 155: 'authenticité: très douteuse'], *app.* 100<sup>VA-25</sup>, *app.* 99<sup>VA-26</sup>, *app.* 109<sup>VA-34</sup>. Material not belonging to the sermones ad populum in the strict sense: *div. qu.* 59<sup>VD-22</sup>, *in Ps.* 70.2<sup>VD-34</sup>, *Io. ev. tr.* 33<sup>VD-47</sup>, *Io. ev. tr.* 71<sup>VD-56</sup>, *div. qu.* 71<sup>VA-21</sup>.

ascription of its compilation to Florus of Lyon himself,<sup>65</sup> was rectified in VDA\*2, in which the amount of inauthentic and inappropriate material was reduced to 2.6% (3/116).

If my analysis of the adaptations typical of VDA\*1 and VDA\*2 is correct, both versions can be considered as almost naturally deriving from the deficient character of the version that preceded them. Although this observation is no argument in favour of two different compilers, it at least renders the latter possibility less improbable than my critic suggests.

### 3.2. The relation between VDA\*2 and preserved Clunisian sources

My critic's main argument against my hypothesis concerning the origin of VDA\*2 ran as follows: '[...] la collection de Cluny n'est attestée que dans un témoin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, 14920-22). Il suffirait de supposer que son archétype était carolingien et lyonnais, ce qui n'aurait rien d'étonnant d'après ce que l'on sait des modèles copiés à Cluny, pour fragiliser la thèse soutenue dans cet article.' However, the supposition that the *y* sermons in *B* ultimately depend on a Lyonese source that was known to Florus of Lyon, does not necessarily weaken the hypothesis that VDA\*2 was compiled at Cluny. The supposition only implies that – in case further arguments in favour of a Clunisian origin are lacking – the Cathedral library of Lyon is as good a candidate as the scriptorium of Cluny for having produced VDA\*2. I think, however, that there are further arguments in favour of a Clunisian origin. I will present them below in reference to the following table, which shows that the supplementary sermons of VDA\*2 do not only stem from *y*:<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> The high amount of inauthentic material in VDA\*1 contradicts the following characterization of Florus by C. Lambot, *Critique interne et sermons de saint Augustin*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 79 (1969) pp. 134 – 147 (esp. p. 135): 'Moins encore que l'antiquité, le moyen âge était capable de distinguer le vrai du faux. La presque totalité des lecteurs ne se doutait même pas qu'un sermon muni du nom de saint Augustin pût lui être totalement étranger. Un Florus de Lyon est une exception. Je ne vois pas qu'il ait inséré dans son Florilège augustinien sur les Épîtres de saint Paul un seul extrait qui ne fût authentique, et pourtant il puisait dans des sources qui n'étaient pas toutes sans mélange.'

<sup>66</sup> Compare this overview with table IX in G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] 222/223.



Table 3: supplementary sermons of VDA\*2

Collection	Sermon	Position in $V^{\text{at,lon}}$
'collection de Cluny' = $y$	s. 53 <sup><math>y</math>-3</sup> (n. 67)	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 6 <sup>v</sup> –10
	s. 63 <sup><math>y</math>-15</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 22 <sup>v</sup> –23
	s. 68 auct. <sup><math>y</math>-2</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 24–28 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 125A <sup><math>y</math>-14</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 119 <sup>v</sup> –121 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 163A <sup><math>y</math>-6</sup>	$V^{\text{lon}}$ , ff. 81/82
<i>div. qu.</i>	s. 101	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 89 <sup>v</sup> –92 <sup>v</sup>
<i>De alleluia</i> = $a$	s. 73 <sup><math>a</math>-27</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 44 <sup>v</sup> –45 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 85 <sup><math>a</math>-28</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 62/63 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 92 <sup><math>a</math>-31</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 77/77 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 94 <sup><math>a</math>-32</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 81/81 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 107 <sup><math>a</math>-34</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 101/102 <sup>v</sup>
<i>De bono coniugali</i> = $bc$	s. 150 <sup><math>bc</math>-16</sup>	$V^{\text{lon}}$ , ff. 15–18 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 45 <sup><math>bc</math>-19</sup>	$V^{\text{lon}}$ , ff. 65 <sup>v</sup> –69 <sup>v</sup>
<i>De paenitentia</i> = $pa$	s. 52 <sup><math>pa</math>-18</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 2–6 <sup>v</sup>
<i>Quinquaginta homiliae</i> = $q$	s. 58 <sup><math>q</math>-43</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 12 <sup>v</sup> –15 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 135 <sup><math>q</math>-44</sup>	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 137 <sup>v</sup> –139
Eugippius	s. 162 (frgm. 324 Eug.)	$V^{\text{lon}}$ , ff. 56 <sup>v</sup> –58 <sup>v</sup>
Collection source unknown	s. 70A	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 33/33 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 132A	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 132 <sup>v</sup> /133
	s. 136A	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 136 <sup>v</sup> –137 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 139A	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 146–146 <sup>v</sup>
	s. 142 auct. (including Wilmart 11)	$V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 148 <sup>v</sup> –152 <sup>68</sup>
	s. 160, 5–7	$V^{\text{lon}}$ , ff. 85/86 <sup>69</sup>

What do we know with certainty concerning the stemmatical position of VDA\*2 within the transmission of the sermons listed in table 3? I will limit myself to the items borrowed from  $y$ , *div. qu.*,  $a$ ,  $bc$  and  $pa$ .

<sup>67</sup> S. 53 in  $V^{\text{at}}$  depends on the 'collection de Cluny' ( $y$ -3) and not on *De bono coniugali* ( $bc$ -12). See L. de Coninck, Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaicum [see n. 16] pp. 85/86.

<sup>68</sup> The version of s. 142 in  $V^{\text{at}}$  is a composite version of the sermon, which depends on a VD source (§§ 1–5), on (a descendant) of Lyon Bibl. Mun. 604, ff. 70–72<sup>v</sup> (§§ 6b–10a) and on a representative of the *Quinquaginta homiliae* (§§ 6a + 10b–14). We do not know at the moment from which source VDA\*2 has borrowed this composite version. See G. Partoens, A More Original Version of s. 142 of Saint Augustine, in: Augustiniana 60 (2010) pp. 119–144, which corrects G. Partoens, Une version augmentée [see n. 2] pp. 200 and 222.

<sup>69</sup> Initial information concerning the position of  $V^{\text{lon}}$  within the transmission of s. 160 and especially of its paragraphs 5–7 is offered in F. Dolbeau, Le sermonnaire augustinien de Mayence [see n. 17] p. 31 = F. Dolbeau, Augustin et la prédication en Afrique [see n. 24] p. 49; G. Partoens, Une version augmentée [see n. 2] pp. 222/223 table IX.

(1) Sermons 53, 63, 68 auct., 125A and 163A are possibly not the only sermons that VDA\*2 has borrowed from *y*. As we have argued above, the only extant representative of the collection (ff. 95–132<sup>v</sup> of manuscript *B*) may contain only a selection of the original *y* items. This would imply that Florus might have known a larger version of *y* than we do today. This larger version may have contained not only s. 132A, of which *V*<sup>vat</sup> is the only complete witness and which is quoted in Florus' *Expositio*,<sup>70</sup> but also some of the other rare items that were included in VDA\*2, but are not quoted in the *Expositio* (ss. 70A,<sup>71</sup> 136A,<sup>72</sup> 139A<sup>73</sup>).

We saw above that the model of ff. 95–132<sup>v</sup> in *B* must have been a *y* source that was present at Cluny, but probably belonged to a tradition that had its roots in Lyon. Moreover, in his general introduction to the CCSL edition of ss. 51–70A, L. de Coninck states that the text of ss. 53, 63 and 68 auct. in *B* and Florus' *Expositio* belongs to a first branch in the *y* transmission (*y*<sup>1</sup>), while their version in *V*<sup>vat</sup> represents a second branch (*y*<sup>2</sup>), which has preserved correct readings that have been lost in *B* (ss. 53, 63 and 68 auct.) and Florus (ss. 53 and 68 auct.). According to L. de Coninck, both branches were once present at Cluny, where a representative of *y*<sup>2</sup> was used to correct the *y* items in *B*:

'Florus cite des extraits de plusieurs sermons de la collection [= *y*]. Son texte est généralement conforme à celui qui se lisait dans *Y* [= our manuscript *B*] avant l'intervention d'une seconde main; [...] Florus atteste ainsi, sinon la supériorité, à tout le moins l'ancienneté de la forme textuelle *Y*. / Aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles le texte *y* circulait aussi dans une version différente [= *y*<sup>2</sup>] de celle de Florus et du copiste de *Y* [= *y*<sup>1</sup>]. On trouve cette version dans des recueils d'origine cistercienne et cartusienne [= *V*<sup>vat/lon</sup> and the Carthusian homiliaries derived from VDA\*]. [...] / C'est de cette même version que s'inspire le correcteur principal (la « seconde main ») du ms. *Y*. [...] cette tradition cistercienne et cartusienne a conservé des phrases et expressions

<sup>70</sup> See G. Morin, *Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti* [see n. 52] pp. 375–377 (s. Mai 129). Excerpts of the sermon have been preserved in Berlin Staatsbibl. Preussischer Kulturbesitz Ms. Theol. Lat. 2° 377 (XIV) (prov. Germany) and Köln Historisches Archiv GB 8° 40 (XV<sup>1</sup>) (prov. Köln).

<sup>71</sup> Compare L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaem* [see n. 16] p. 477: 'Il est possible que le sermo 70 A ait également fait partie de *y*; il ne réapparaît pas dans le témoin principal de *y*, le ms. bruxellois *Y* [= our manuscript *B*], mais celui-ci ne contient pas forcément la collection entière [...].' The other witnesses of s. 70A are München Bay. Staatsbibl. Clm 12609 (XII) prov. Ranshofen, München Bay. Staatsbibl. Clm 17059 (IX med.) prov. Northern Italy + Schäflarn, Oxford Bodl. Libr. Lyell 55 (XI or XII) prov. Austria, Toulouse Bibl. Mun. 1161 (xiii) prov. Villeneuve-lès-Avignon + Beauvoir and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl. Cod Lat. 994 (IX med.) prov. Salzburg.

<sup>72</sup> See G. Morin, *Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti* [see n. 52] pp. 377–379 (s. Mai 130). There are no other manuscript witnesses of s. 136A than *V*<sup>vat</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> See G. Morin, *Sancti Augustini sermones post Maurinos reperti* [see n. 52] pp. 353–355 (s. Mai 125). The other witnesses of s. 139A are London Brit. Libr. Add. 29630 (XII) and Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1974 (XIV) prov. Colbert.

authentiques qui se sont dégradées ou perdues dans la version du copiste Y [...]. Elle repose donc sur une source qui se situe en amont de Y. Il se peut qu'elle remonte au delà de l'exemplaire utilisé par Florus [...].<sup>74</sup>

De Coninck's observation does not necessarily imply that VDA\*2 was compiled at Cluny, but it does involve that the attribution of the compilation of VDA\*2 to Florus presupposes more than the simple presence in Carolingian Lyon of an ancestor of *B*, viz. that Florus knew at least two representatives of *y*: the first belonging to the same branch as *B* (*y*<sup>1</sup>) and being the source of the *y* items in the *Expositio*, the second being independent of the youngest common source of the *y* items in *B* and the *Expositio*.

(2) The rarely represented sermon 101<sup>75</sup> has been preserved without its paragraphs 8b–11 within the *y* section of *B* (ff. 107–110: *Sermo habitus in basilica Fausti de messe et seminare et praedicatione evangelii*). A second important witness of the sermon is the famous Carthusian codex Mainz Stadtbibl. I 9 (ff. 88<sup>v</sup>–90: *Sermo beati Augustini de messe et operariis ex evangelio*). S. 101 is also present between *quaestiones* 58 and 59 in some witnesses of *div. qu.* The oldest extant manuscripts of this group date from the 9<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>76</sup> but the insertion of s. 101 between *div. qu.* 58 and 59 may have taken place much earlier, as is suggested by the title of the sermon's fragment in Bede's *Expositio in Apostolum* (*Ex libro LXXXIII [sic] quaestionum capitulo LVIII [sic]*).<sup>77</sup> The preserved

<sup>74</sup> See L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaecum* [see n. 16] pp. XX/XXI.

<sup>75</sup> For this sermon's transmission, see also F. Dolbeau, *Le sermonnaire augustinien de Mayence* [see n. 17] pp. 25/26 = F. Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique* [see n. 24] pp. 43/44.

<sup>76</sup> See Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibl. 157 (IX), ff. 73–84 (S. Janner-R. Jurot, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*. IX. Schweiz. 2. Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter 20, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 688, Wien 2001] p. 131); Wolfenbüttel Herzog-August-Bibliothek Cod. Guelf. 63 Weiss. (Heinemann 4147) (IX<sup>1</sup>), ff. 36–42 (R. Kurz, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*. V. Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin. 2. Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter 10, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 350, Wien 1979] p. 529); Schaffhausen Stadtbibl. Min. 32 (1080–1096), f. 44 (S. Janner-R. Jurot, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung*, p. 168); Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1449 (X/XI), ff. 87–90.

<sup>77</sup> See I. Fransen, *Description de la collection de Bède sur l'Apôtre*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 71 (1961) pp. 22–70 (esp. p. 46 [n° 263]). Compare F. Dolbeau, *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique* [see n. 24] pp. 521 n. 113 and 637 (addendum ad p. 521 [131] n. 113).

manuscripts of this group of *div. qu.* witnesses all omit a large section of § 5,<sup>78</sup> probably due to a ‘saut du même au même’ (SPM 1, p. 49, ll. 4–23 *breviter-revertetur*). According to Lambot’s critical edition of the sermon (SPM 1, pp. 44–3), which needs revision – Lambot did not know the Mainz codex –, but still offers valuable information for the present study,  $V^{\text{vat}}$  does not contain this passage either. Moreover, it offers the same title for the sermon (*De messe et operariis*) as the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1449, the only interpolated witness of *div. qu.* that was used by Lambot. According to the edition’s critical apparatus, the text of the latter manuscript, which has a Clunisian provenance too (it’s n° 159 in the ‘grand catalogue’),<sup>79</sup> is very close to that of  $V^{\text{vat}}$ , although it cannot have been one of its ancestors.<sup>80</sup>

(3) Ss. 73, 85, 92, 94 and 107 in  $V^{\text{vat}}$  ultimately depend on the ancient collection *De alleluia* (*a*). This collection – for which we have no sufficient proof that Florus ever knew or used it<sup>81</sup> – has come down to us through five direct representatives ( $A^{1-5}$ )<sup>82</sup> and partially through the medieval collection *De lapsu mundi* (*l*), which is represented by at least 16 manuscripts ( $L^{1-16}$ ),<sup>83</sup> and the ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–95 in the Clunisian manuscript *B*. The selection of *a* items in *B* is almost identical to that in *l*. Previous research on the global composition of  $A^{1-5}$ ,  $L^{1-16}$

<sup>78</sup> I thank Dr. K. Schmuki (Sankt Gallen), Dr. S. Limbeck (Wolfenbüttel) and Dr. R. Specht (Schaffhausen) for having checked this in the manuscripts mentioned in n. 76.

<sup>79</sup> See L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [see n. 33] p. 464: 159. *Volumen in quo continentur sermones et epistole librique XIV, cum propositionum Expositionibus in Apostolum LXXXII, et opus de diversis questionibus similiter LXXXII, et de mendacio*. Compare L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [see n. 25] pp. 81–84; J.-P. Aniel, *Le scriptorium de Cluny aux X<sup>ème</sup> et XI<sup>ème</sup> siècles*, in: *Le gouvernement d’Hugues de Semur à Cluny. Actes du Colloque scientifique international Cluny, septembre 1988 (Cluny 1990)* pp. 265–281 (esp. p. 275); E.M. Wischermann, *Grundlagen einer cluniacensischen Bibliotheksgeschichte* [see n. 33] pp. 42 n. 156 and 44 n. 163.

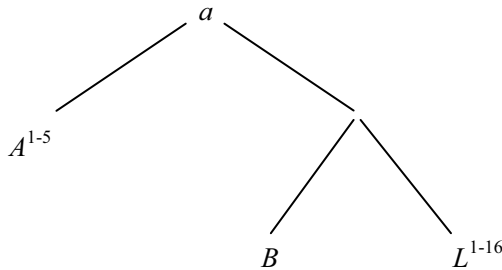
<sup>80</sup> Compare also A. Wilmart, *Le sermon de saint Augustin sur les prédicateurs de l’évangile*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 42 (1930) pp. 301–315 (esp. pp. 304/305).

<sup>81</sup> The collection *De alleluia* contains 47 sermons, of which only three are quoted in the *Expositio*: ss. 151<sup>a-20</sup>, 278<sup>a-38</sup> and 75<sup>a-39</sup>. The fragments of s. 151 were certainly not borrowed from *De alleluia*, but stem from the so-called *Orationes de concupiscentia carnis adversus spiritum* and the Augustinian anthology of Bede. See G. Partoens, *Le sermon 151 de saint Augustin. Introduction et édition*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 113 (2003) pp. 18–70 (esp. pp. 37/38) and *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas* [see n. 1] pp. LXXIII/LXXIV.

<sup>82</sup> For a list of these manuscripts and further bibliography, see G. Partoens, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas* [see n. 1] pp. LXV and LXX n. 3.

<sup>83</sup> For a list of these manuscripts, see P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques* [see n. 26] pp. 230–232.

and the ff. 71<sup>v</sup>–95 of *B* as well as on the text of several of their items has resulted in the following stemma:<sup>84</sup>



Unfortunately, we do not have a modern critical edition of any of the sermons 73, 85, 92, 94 and 107 at our disposal. For two reasons, however, we can safely situate their text in  $V^{\text{at}}$  within the same sub-branch as the Clunisian manuscript *B*: **(a)** The five sermons form an uninterrupted series in *B* (ss. 73<sup>B-33</sup>, 85<sup>B-34</sup>, 92<sup>B-35</sup>, 94<sup>B-36</sup>, 107<sup>B-37</sup>), which is not the case in  $A^{1-5}$  and  $L^{1-16}$ .<sup>85</sup> **(b)** Collations for s. 107 have shown that its text in  $V^{\text{at}}$  is closely related to that of the same sermon in *B*.<sup>86</sup> Again we encounter a close stemmatical relationship between VDA\*2 and a Clunisian source.

**(4)** Sermon 52 was present in the original version of VDA (VD-63), but was eliminated by the compiler of VDA\*1.<sup>87</sup> It was reintroduced by the compiler of

<sup>84</sup> For a synthesis, see G. Partoens, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in epistolas apostolicas* [see n. 1] pp. LXX/LXXI (with further bibliography in n. 5).

<sup>85</sup> For *B*, see table 1. For  $A^{1-5}$  and  $L^{1-16}$ , see respectively P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques* [see n. 26] pp. 198–200 and 230/231.

<sup>86</sup> Collated manuscripts:  $A^1$  = Darmstadt Hess. Landes- und Hochschulbibl. 1489 (IX<sup>2/3</sup>) /  $A^2$  = Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 13376 (IX<sup>2</sup>), ff. 75–77 + 85<sup>v</sup>–87<sup>v</sup> /  $L^1$  = Oxford Bodl. Libr. 93 (XII/XIII), ff. 63–65 /  $L^2$  = Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 2722 (XII/XIII), ff. 133–136 /  $V^{\text{at}}$ , ff. 101–102<sup>v</sup> / *B*, ff. 93<sup>v</sup>–95. Significant variant readings: PL 38, c. 629, l. 11–c. 631, l. 24 *damnatur-habeo*  $A^{1.2}$ ] *om.*  $L^{1.2}$  *B*  $V^{\text{at}}$  || c. 631, ll. 27–28 *audivit christum da mihi hominem qui*  $A^{1.2}$ ] *om.*  $L^{1.2}$   $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || c. 631, l. 43 *sede ad te*  $A^{1.2}$ ] *om.*  $L^{1.2}$   $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || c. 627, ll. 45/46 *post accipiatis*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *om.*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || c. 628, l. 9 *sibi relicta*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$  (*derelicta*  $L^{1.2}$ ] *derelicta sibi*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 15 *dicturus erat*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *erat dicturus*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 34 *eum plus*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *enim plus eum*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 54 *cupide*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *om.*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 56 *si forte hoc pondus*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *om.*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || c. 629, l. 6 *illi*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *domino nostro*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || c. 631, l. 29 *cavete*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *cave*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 36 *dic pro me*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *pro me dic*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 40 *do*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *dico*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || c. 632, l. 18 *cum*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *si*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 22 *es*<sup>1+2</sup>  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *om.*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$  || l. 30 *deus voluit*  $A^{1.2}$   $L^{1.2}$ ] *voluit deus*  $B$   $V^{\text{at}}$ .

<sup>87</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] p. 220.

VDA\*2, who borrowed the item from a representative of *pa* (*pa*-18).<sup>88</sup> Whereas the *pa* sermons that were inserted (possibly by Florus) in VDA\*1,<sup>89</sup> ultimately depend on the oldest representative of *pa*, a 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript that was annotated by the Lyonese deacon and has been partly preserved in Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 11641, Saint Petersburg Bibl. Publ. F. papyr. I.1 and Genève Bibl. Publ. et Univ. lat. 16, the version of s. 52 in VDA\*2 is independent from the latter source.<sup>90</sup> The ascription of VDA\*2 to Florus would thus presuppose that Florus knew at least two different *pa* sources, which each belonged to a different branch of the collection's transmission. We know on the other hand that a *pa* version that was independent from the oldest *pa* witness, circulated in Burgundy from at least the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, for manuscript *B* from Cluny and the medieval collection *De diversis rebus* from Clairvaux (preserved in Troyes Bibl. Mun. 40.10 (XII), ff. 121–230)<sup>91</sup> have also borrowed *pa* sermons from a source that was independent from the Lyon manuscript. However, since they do not contain s. 52, it is not possible to establish a positive link between the versions of the latter sermon in VDA\*2 and the Burgundian collections.

The above observations concerning the transmission of *y*, *div. qu.*, *a* and *pa* only suggest that VDA\*2 may have originated at Cluny, but do not rule out the possibility that it was compiled by Florus. They prove, on the other hand, that the hypothesis of a Lyonese origin presupposes a lot more concerning the manuscripts that were at Florus' disposal than my critic in *Medioevo Latino* suggests. Moreover, the following observations concerning the two *bc* items in VDA\*2 (ss. 45 and 150) seem to exclude once and for all the possibility that the second redaction saw the light in 9<sup>th</sup>-century Lyon. In fact, they prove almost with certainty that VDA\*2 depends on Clunisian sources. (5) We have seen above that according to J. Elfassi's and L. De Coninck's recent reconstructions of the transmission of *bc*, the manuscript Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448 (P) was a copy of the Italian codex Vat. Pal. lat. 210 that ended up in the library of Cluny and has to be considered the model or at least an ancestor of the *bc* items in manuscript

<sup>88</sup> See P.-P. Verbraken, Le sermon LII de saint Augustin sur la Trinité et l'analogie des facultés de l'âme, in: *Revue bénédictine* 74 (1964) pp. 9–35 (esp. pp. 13 and 15); L. de Coninck, La tradition manuscrite du recueil *De Verbis Domini* [see n. 1] pp. 141/142; *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaem* [see n. 16] p. 54.

<sup>89</sup> See G. Partoens, Une version augmentée [see n. 2] pp. 217/218 (VDA\*1 contains 12 *pa* items: frgm. Bordier<sup>pa-36</sup> [PLS 2, cc. 1290–1293], s. 77<sup>pa-5</sup>, s. 81<sup>pa-30</sup>, s. 87<sup>pa-4</sup>, s. 99<sup>pa-28</sup>, in *ps.* 36, s. 1, 1–3<sup>pa-34</sup>, s. 342<sup>pa-10</sup>, s. 292<sup>pa-7</sup>, s. 279 + Morin 1<sup>pa-20/21</sup>, s. 127<sup>pa-6</sup>, s. 176<sup>pa-16</sup>).

<sup>90</sup> See P.-P. Verbraken, Le sermon LII de saint Augustin [see n. 88] pp. 13 and 15; L. de Coninck, La tradition manuscrite du recueil *De Verbis Domini* [see n. 1] pp. 141/142; *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaem* [see n. 16] p. 54.

<sup>91</sup> See L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaem* [see n. 16] p. XLI.

B. According to the editors of ss. 45 (C. Lambot) and 150 (J. Elfassi)<sup>92</sup>, the same can be said of  $V^{lon}$ . Now, one little detail concerning the transmission of s. 45 definitively excludes the possibility that manuscript *P* or one of its descendants was used in 9<sup>th</sup>-century Lyon as a source for the compilation of VDA\*2. In his introduction to s. 45, C. Lambot has indicated that  $V^{lon}$  as well as Grenoble Bibl. Mun. 9 (110) (XII<sup>2</sup>) (orig. and prov. Grande Chartreuse) and Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1974 (XIV) (prov. Colbert) ‘pourraient bien dériver de  $C^2$  [= *P*] corrigé par une seconde main.’ In Lambot’s apparatus, this second hand has been dated several times to the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. If the latter dating is correct<sup>93</sup> and C. Lambot and J. Elfassi are not mistaken in tracing the *bc* items in  $V^{lon}$  back to the Clunisian manuscript *P* – appendix 1 of this article shows that their hypothesis is highly probable – the insertion of ss. 45 and 150 into VDA\*2 cannot have been the work of Florus and to all probability took place at Cluny.

#### 4. Two Clunisian compilations and their importance for the rediscovery of Augustine’s homiletic corpus

In this article, I have tried to prove that the medieval homiletic compilations that have been preserved in Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920–22 (XI) and Vat. lat. 471 (XII) / London Brit. Libr. add. 10942 (XII med. or 3/4) were both produced at Cluny. The Brussels manuscript was written in the scriptorium of this abbey and is the very manuscript in which items borrowed from older collections (*De paenitentia*, *De bono coniugali*, *De alleluia* and the so-called ‘collection de Cluny’ [y]) were brought together in order to form a new collection. Although the manuscript passed through the hands of dom Anselme Le Michel during his stay at Cluny around 1644, it was not used for the Maurist edition of the sermons ad populum of 1683. For this reason, the Maurists missed three sermons that were preserved in the manuscript’s *y* section (ss. 68 auct.<sup>y-2</sup>, 163A<sup>y-6</sup> and 125A<sup>y-14</sup>). Ss. 68 auct. and 125A were discovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Angelo Mai in Vat. lat. 471 (see below), but the editio princeps of s. 163A was only published in 1912 by Germain Morin on the basis of the Clunisian codex from Brussels and London Brit. Libr. add. 10942 (s. Morin 10).

The Cistercian manuscripts Vat. lat. 471 (*De verbis Domini*) and London Brit. Libr. add. 10942 (*De verbis Apostoli*), which were produced at respectively

<sup>92</sup> See C. Lambot, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento* [see n. 28] p. 514; J. Elfassi, *Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin* [see n. 32] pp. 25/26.

<sup>93</sup> A check of these corrections (in black ink) on the original manuscript (ff. 170<sup>v</sup>–176) has confirmed Lambot’s dating. The corrections are rather subtle and limited to the addition/adaptation of one/a few letter(s), but seem to have been introduced by the same later hand as the one responsible for the large interventions in the text of s. 65 on ff. 137<sup>v</sup>–140<sup>v</sup> (see L. de Coninck, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones in Matthaëum* [see n. 16] p. 371).

Belleaux and La Charité, represent the second redaction of an adapted version of *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* (VDA\*). The first redaction of VDA\* (VDA\*1) was produced in Carolingian Lyon with the aim of enlarging and rearranging the collection's original composition. The second redaction (VDA\*2) was made at Cluny in order to further enlarge the first redaction and to purify it from elements that did not belong in a strictly Augustinian sermon collection. The supplementary sermons in this Clunisian version of *De verbis Domini et Apostoli* were borrowed from older collections, especially from *De alleluia*, *De bono coniugali* and, again, the 'collection de Cluny' [ $\gamma$ ]. The manuscripts from the Vatican and London were used by Angelo Mai in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Germain Morin/André Wilmart in the 20<sup>th</sup> century for the editiones principes of several sermons, most of which may have originally belonged to  $\gamma$  (Vat. lat. 471: ss. 68 auct.<sup>y-2</sup> [Mai 126], 70A<sup>(y)</sup> [Mai 127], 125A<sup>y-14</sup> [Mai 128], 132A<sup>(y)</sup> [Mai 129], 136A<sup>(y)</sup> [Mai 130], 139A<sup>(y)</sup> [Mai 125], 142 auct.<sup>(?)</sup> [Wilmart 11]; London Brit. Libr. add. 10942: post sermonem of s. 279 [Morin 1]<sup>De paenitentia-21 (n. 94)</sup>, 163A [Morin 10<sup>y-6</sup>]).

Appendix 1 – ss. 45 and 150 in Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448 and its descendants

The following list presents all cases where Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448, ff. 170<sup>v</sup>–176 ( $P = C^2$  in the critical apparatus of Lambot) contains a reading that differs from the text of the archetype of s. 45 as reconstructed by Lambot (CCSL 41, pp. 515–526). Apart from two important corrections,<sup>94</sup> this list was composed on the basis of the critical apparatus of Lambot's edition (CCSL 41, pp. 515–526). It proves that Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 14920–22, ff. 58<sup>v</sup>–62<sup>v</sup> ( $B = X$  in the critical apparatus of Lambot), Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 16854, ff. 199<sup>v</sup>–202<sup>v</sup> ( $\alpha$ ), Grenoble Bibl. Mun. 9 (110), ff. 188<sup>v</sup>–192<sup>v</sup> ( $\beta$ ), London Brit. Libr. Add. 10942, ff. 65<sup>v</sup>–69<sup>v</sup> ( $\gamma =$  our manuscript  $V^{\text{lon}}$ ), and Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1974, ff. 323<sup>v</sup>–326 ( $\delta$ ) all depend on  $P$ . This hypothesis is not weakened by the instances where  $B$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and/or  $\delta$  offer Lambot's text while  $P$  contains a variant for which no alternative is given.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>94</sup> One lemma of Lambot's apparatus has been suppressed, for the text that is said to be lacking in  $P$  (279–281 has promissiones-spiritus] *om. p. homoeot. P*  $\delta$ ) does belong to this manuscript's original text. I also corrected the lemma 154 terra illa] illa terra  $B$   $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\gamma$   $\delta$  into 154 terra illa] illa terra  $P$   $B$   $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\gamma$   $\delta$ . I thank Dr. Jeroen Dekeyser (KULeuven) for having checked both cases on the manuscript's microfilm at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>95</sup> These instances are: 15 inhabitant] [ $P$ 's reading is easily correctible: the title of s. 45 in  $P$  quotes Is. 57, 13 with the verb *inhabitabant* + the variant *habitabant* in  $P$  is followed by an accusative instead of an ablative] || 73.76.78.82 obsequuntur [orthographical variants] || 92 aerumna [orthographical variant] || 127 mundare [ $e-i$  change] || 131 ergo [the reading *ergo* in  $\gamma$  is secondary within the group  $P$   $B$   $\alpha$   $\beta$   $\gamma$   $\delta$ ] || 133 nasceretur [ $P$ 's



10 recitatas] recitas  $P^{1m}$ . || 15 inhabitabunt (cfr. Is. 57, 13)] habitabunt in  $P$ , habitabunt  $B$   $\alpha$  || 21 reficiendorum] perficiendorum  $P^{1m}$ .  $\alpha$  || 43 qui] om.  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 46/47 apostolicae-lectionis] om. *p. homoeot.*  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 63 delicias] deliciis  $P^{1m}$ . || 73.76.78.82 obsequuntur] obsecuntur  $P B \alpha$  || 84 ad] om.  $P^{1m}$ . || 86 de] \*om.  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 92 aerumna] haerumna  $P$  || 95 educaverunt] edocaverunt  $P^{1m}$ . || 102 colit] coleret  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$ , coluit  $B^{2m}$ . || 125 illum] illam  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 127 mundare] \*mundari  $P \alpha \beta \delta$  || 130 es tu] esto  $P^{1m}$ .  $B \alpha$  || 131 ergo] om.  $P B \alpha \beta \delta$  || 133 nasceretur] nascitur  $P$  || 144 hyems] hiemps  $P B \alpha$  || 146/147 pauperibus] pauperum  $P^{2m}$ .  $\gamma$  || 148 secatur] siccatur  $P^{2m}$ , sequatur  $\alpha^{1m}$ .  $\beta^{1m}$ . || 151 ego sum] add. inquit  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  (def.  $B$ ) || 154 terra illa] illa terra  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 174 ut] et  $P^{1m}$ .  $B \alpha$  || 181 resurget] resurgeret  $P^{2m}$ .  $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 182 quia] add. non  $P B \beta \gamma \delta$  || 182 resurrexit<sup>1</sup>] resurrexisset  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 200 recedent] ita correctione  $B \beta \gamma$ , recedens ex archetypo  $P \alpha$ , recedant  $\delta$  || 207.208.211 Danihel] ita scr.  $P$  || 207 dubitat] dubitet  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$ , dubitabat  $\alpha$  || 223 quid] quis  $P^{1m}$ . || 230/231 dicam] \*dicamus  $P B \alpha \delta$  || 232/233 sine manibus] add. hoc est  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 239 primus] add. mons  $P^{2m}$ .  $B^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 246 Giddava] ita ex archetypo  $P^{1m}$ .  $B \alpha$ , Giddaba docta correctione  $P^{2m}$ . saec. x-xi  $\beta \gamma \delta$  (cfr. ep. Io. tr. 1, 13) || 247 nobis] praem. a  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 248 puta] praem. ut  $P^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 260 iste] \*om.  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 264 ille mons] \*om.  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 266 pressit] compressit  $P^{2m}$ . saec. x-xi  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 267 obscuret] ita ex archetypo  $P^{1m}$ .  $B$ , obscuraret  $\alpha$ , obturet recta forte correctione  $P^{2m}$ . saec. x-xi  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 267 verbosorum] verborum  $P^{1m}$ . || 286 coenum] cenum  $P$  || 286 coinquinata] quoinquinata  $P$  || 286/287 coinquinatio] quoinquinatio  $P$  || 287 nil est] nihil  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 290/291 perpetrato adulterio] ita  $P^{1m}$ .  $B \alpha$ , perpetratio adulterii  $P^{2m}$ . saec. xi  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 292 ad] om.  $P \beta \gamma \delta$  || 297 eam<sup>2</sup>] om.  $P^{1m}$ . || 304 incoinquinata] coinquinata  $P^{1m}$ .  $B^{1m}$ . || 309 abstinere] add. te  $P^{2m}$ .  $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 335 timore] add. est  $P^{2m}$ .  $B^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 353 non] \*add. enim  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$  || 361 facit<sup>1</sup>] faciet  $P^{2m}$ . saec. x-xi  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 361 facit<sup>2</sup> et] sic  $P^{1m}$ .  $B^{1m}$ .  $\alpha$ , faciet  $P^{2m}$ .  $B^{2m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 366 ipse] sic  $B \alpha^{2m}$ , \*ipso  $P \alpha^{1m}$ .  $\beta \gamma \delta$

$B \alpha$  and  $\beta \gamma \delta$  constitute two different branches within the descendants of  $P$ :

16 ascendit] accessit  $B \alpha$  || 123/124 et ipsa-montem] om. *p. homoeot.*  $B \alpha$  || 156 sancta] om.  $B \alpha$  || 159–161 Et quid est ipsa ecclesia? Corpus Christi. Adiunge illi caput, et fit unus homo. Caput et corpus, unus homo. Caput quis est? Et quidem ipsa ecclesia corpus Christi. Adiunge illi caput, et fit unus homo. Caput et corpus, unus homo caput. Quis est?  $B \alpha$  || 249 Christum] Christus  $B \alpha$  || 277/278 ipsum montem] in ipso monte  $B \alpha$  || 295 maritus] maritum  $B \alpha$  || 317 esse<sup>2</sup>] om.  $B \alpha$  || 321 concepit] concipit  $B \alpha$  || 331 talia] alia  $B \alpha$  || 349 nonnisi] om.  $B \alpha$  || 349 sanctificavit] si autem  $B$ , sed si  $\alpha$  || 360 animalibus] add. et  $B \alpha$

24/25 praeparans dominus] praeparante domino  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 48 lectio apostoli] apostolica lectio  $\beta \gamma$ , apostoli lectio  $\delta$  || 108 fraudari se] se fraudari  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 124 illum] illam  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 144 eo] eodem  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 182 non] om.  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 191 nuntiarunt] nuntiaverunt  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 238 duo montes sunt ergo] duo ergo montes sunt  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 338 ibi] om.  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 343 fecit] facit  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 354 est] enim  $\beta$

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reading is easily correctible: cfr. *diceret* on the same line] || 144 hyems [orthographical variant] || 200 recedent [the variant *recedens* in  $P$ , above being easily correctible, stems from the sermon's archetype] || 207.208.211 Danihel [orthographical variant] || 230/231 dicam [the reading *dicam* in  $\beta \gamma$  is secondary within the group  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$ ] || 286 coenum [orthographical variant] || 286 coinquinata [orthographical variant] || 286/287 coinquinatio [orthographical variant] || 292 ad [ $P$ 's reading is easily correctible: *nondum accessit adulterium* > *nondum accessit ad adulterium*] || 366 ipse [the reading *ipse* is secondary within the group  $P B \alpha \beta \gamma \delta$ ].

$\gamma \delta$  || 355 et mutatur] mutabitur  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 358 facit] faciet  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 360 hominem] om.  $\beta \gamma \delta$  || 374 postea] *praem.* sed  $\beta \gamma \delta$

The group  $\beta \gamma \delta$  has integrated a lot of corrections or interventions made in *P* that have not been taken over in *B*  $\alpha$ ,<sup>96</sup> which suggests that the branch formed by *B*  $\alpha$  predates the corrections, while the branch formed by  $\beta \gamma \delta$  is of a younger date. Moreover, the date of some interventions in *P* that have been integrated into the text of  $\beta \gamma \delta$  allows us to postulate the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century as terminus post quem for the insertion of s. 45 (and s. 150) into VDA\*2 (represented here by  $\gamma = V^{\text{lon}}$ ).<sup>97</sup>

The following list presents all divergences between manuscript *P* and the critical edition of s. 150 by J. Elfassi (REAug 45 [1999] pp. 39–49). In almost all cases, the codex  $V^{\text{lon}}$  ( $\gamma$  in the apparatus of Lambot's edition of s. 45) offers the same text as *P* (*p.c.*), which again suggests that VDA\*2 depends on the Clunisian manuscript. The few places where  $V^{\text{lon}}$  does not correspond with *P* do not plead against a dependence of  $V^{\text{lon}}$  on *P*.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> See the following lemmata in the first list of this appendix: 43 qui || 102 colit || 125 illum || 130 es tu || 151 ego sum || 174 ut || 181 resurget || 207 dubitat || 232/233 sine manibus || 239 primus || 246 Giddava || 247 nobis || 248 puta || 266 pressit || 267 obscuret || 290/291 perpetrato adulterio || 309 abstine || 335 timore || 361 facit<sup>1</sup> || 361 facit<sup>2</sup> et.

<sup>97</sup> See the following lemmata in the first list of this appendix: 246 Giddava || 266 pressit || 267 obscuret || 290/291 perpetrato adulterio || 361 facit<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> 10 excellentiae [the correction of *scientia* (*P*) into *scientiae* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$  ~ archetype of *De bono coniugali* = *bc*) is suggested by the immediate context (cfr. *comparandi*)] || 26 areopagos [banalisation of *areos pagos* (*P* ~ archetype of *bc*) into *ariopagus* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ )] || 51 appetiverunt [the reading of  $V^{\text{lon}}$  (*petierunt*) presupposes that of *P* (*petiverunt*)] || 64 a [the reintroduction of the preposition *a* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$  ~ archetype of *bc*) is suggested by the immediate context (cfr. *discretos*)] || 70 et [the reintroduction of the connector *et* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$  ~ archetype of *bc*) is suggested by the immediate context (*Unde ergo ille perversus? Quia bonum quaerit et malum facit*)] || 70/71 aspirat [orthographic normalisation of *auspirat* (*P* ~ archetype of *bc*) into *aspirat* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ )] || 101 stoicos [orthographic normalisation of *istoicos* (*P*) into *stoicos* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$  ~ archetype of *bc*)] || 147 omnino [the reading *omnino* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ ) is secondary within the transmission of *bc*; *P* (*omnimodo*) ~ archetype of *bc*]] || 219 potest [the reading *potest* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ ) is secondary within the transmission of *bc*; *P* (*potes*) ~ archetype of *bc*]] || 222/223 eligit [the reading *eligit* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ ) is secondary within the transmission of *bc*; *P* (*elegit*) ~ archetype of *bc* (compare *eligit* on l. 219)] || 225 alienata [the reading *alienata* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ ) is secondary within the transmission of *bc*; *P* (*aliena*) ~ archetype of *bc* (compare *alienata* on l. 219)] || 233 domine [the reading *dominum* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ ) is secondary within the transmission of *bc*; *P* (*domine*) ~ archetype of *bc*]] || 237 ait<sup>1</sup> [the reading *ait* ( $V^{\text{lon}}$ ) is secondary within the transmission of *bc*; *P* (*at*) ~ archetype of *bc*]] || 247 et veritas et vita [the reading *ego sum veritas et veritas et vita* (*P*) is prior within the transmission of *bc* (~ archetype of *bc*), which implies that the reading *ego sum via et veritas et vita* in  $V^{\text{lon}}$  is the result of a correction (cfr. Ioh. 14, 6)]. The only case for which I have no explanation, is 103 beatam vitam, for which  $V^{\text{lon}}$  offers a correct reading (*beatam vitam*), while *P* presents *vitam beatam*.

5 actu] actus *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 6 fuisse] *non leg. P* <sup>a.c.</sup>, esse *P* <sup>p.c.</sup> <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 10 excellentiae] scientia *P*, scientiae <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 13 si *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || nostro *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || dicemus] dicamus *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 17 erat] enim *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 17/18 philosophorum] erat *add. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 22 et *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 22/23 finito] facto *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 25 nominatur] nominabatur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 26 areopagos] areos pagos *P*, ariopagus <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || enim *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || curia] cura *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 29 audivimus] audimus *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 31 aliqui] alii qui *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || crediderunt] et *add. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 36/37 trepidaret] trepidasset *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 42 philosophi] *e praem. P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 44/45 modo nos] nos modo *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 46 audiant] audiunt *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 47 isti] illi *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 48 primo] primum *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 49 quique] quoque *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 50 quaerendo *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 51 appetiverunt] petiverunt *P*, petierunt <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 52 enim] etiam *add. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 55 res tam] restat *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 61 se beatum esse posse] beatum se posse esse *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 63 sint] sunt *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 64 a *om. P* || 65 diceret] mihi *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 70 et *om. P* || 70/71 aspirat] aspirat *P* || 72 opus iubet] iubet opus *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 75 quaeris] et *add. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 78 instituimus] proposuimus *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 87 et<sup>1</sup> *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 88 possint veraciter] veraciter possint *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 89 et vos *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || iudicetis] vos *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 90 timeo] peto *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 93 non *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 95 ergo] enim *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || constans] constat *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 98 faciat] facit *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || cum] *non leg. P* <sup>a.c.</sup>, si *P* <sup>p.c.</sup> <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 100 tota ergo quaestio est *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || beatam vitam] vitam beatam *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || faciat<sup>2</sup>] *aliquid quod non legitur praem. P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 101 beatam vitam] vitam beatam *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || stoicos] istoicos *P*, et *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 102 christianos] et *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 103 beatam vitam] vitam beatam *P* || 109 disceptamus] disputamus *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 110 sint] sunt *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 112 in<sup>2</sup> *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 113 anima] in *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || posuerunt beatam vitam] vitam beatam posuerunt *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 114 beatitudo] beata vita *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 116 beatam vitam] vitam beatam *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 117 non] minime *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 122 causam] causae *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || numquid] numquam *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 125 hoc *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 128 lineamentis] laniamentis *P* <sup>a.c.</sup>, laniamentis *P* <sup>p.c.</sup> <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 129 diverberatus] diverberata *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 135 mores bonos] bonos mores *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 136 apostolo *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 138 morimur<sup>1</sup>] moriemur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || cras enim morimur *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || nihil] et *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 139 umbrae] umbra *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || est *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || enim<sup>2</sup> *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 144 dicent] dicentes *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 146 morimur] moriemur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 147 omnino] omnimodo *P* || morimur] moriemur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 148 quis] qui *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 151 morimur] moriemur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || sed si] *non leg. P* <sup>a.c.</sup>, sed *P* <sup>p.c.</sup> <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 154 morimur] moriemur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 155 futuri] victuri *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 156 morimur<sup>1,2</sup>] morimur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || et] *aliquid quod non legitur add. P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 157.161 moriemur] morimur *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 162 in corpore poneret] poneret in corpore *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 168 itaque *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 168/169 hominis bonum] bonum hominis *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 170 spem] ipsum *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 171 igitur *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || omnis *iterat P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 173 epicureo stoico christiano] epicureis stoicis christianis *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 178 mala et bona] bona et mala *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 183 quia<sup>2</sup>] qui *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 184 et *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 188 es<sup>1,3</sup> *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 192 iudaeus] tu *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 207 tua iustitia] iustitia tua *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 210 cuius<sup>2</sup> *om. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 212 sed] et *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || recte *om. P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 215 mori] moveri *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 216 an] et plus *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 219 potest] potes *P* || 222/223 eligit] elegit *P* || 224 fallacia et veritate] veritate et fallacia *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || praevallet] valet *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 225 alienata] aliena *P* || 227 videre] ridere *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 230 poenam] poenas *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 231 eam noluit] noluit eam *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 232 sed hanc appellavit vitam] nisi eam *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || beate aeterna] beata et *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 233 domine] domino *P*, dominum <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 237 ait<sup>1</sup>] at *P* || respondit] respondi *P* <sup>a.c.</sup> || 245 inquit sum] sum inquit *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 247 et veritas et vita] ego sum veritas *praem. P*, ego sum via *praem. P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup> || 248 plane] sane *P* <sup>V<sup>don</sup></sup>

## Appendix 2 – Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1974 (XIV) prov. Colbert

The ff. 323<sup>v</sup>ff. of Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1974 contain – in a series that has only been interrupted by s. 359 – 6 sermons which do not belong to VDA or VDA\*1, but are present in *V<sup>nat/lon</sup>* (VDA\*2): ss. 45, 139A, 150, 68 auct., 162 and 160, 6ff. In my 2007 article, I suggested at the very end of my treatment of the influence

of VDA\*2 on other collections of Augustinian or Patristic texts that the six sermons in the Parisian codex might depend on a representative of VDA\*2.<sup>99</sup> My critic in *Medioevo Latino* has doubts about this suggestion:

‘Un autre point, à propos duquel il est permis d’émettre des doutes, est la relation exacte entre VDA\* et Paris, BNF, lat. 1974, XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui présentent en commun des sermons rarissimes. L’A. postule un dépendance du second à l’égard de VDA\*, mais il a bien fallu que ces textes arrivent à Lyon d’une façon ou d’une autre: pourquoi ne serait-ce pas grâce à un ancêtre du manuscrit latin 1974?’<sup>100</sup>

I admit that my suggestion concerning Paris Bibl. Nat. lat. 1974 needs further proof. However, the hypothesis of a 9<sup>th</sup>-century Lyonese version of this manuscript is contradicted by the previous appendix, which shows that the Paris manuscript contains a version of ss. 45 and 150 that – just like  $V^{\text{lon}}$  – depends on the Clunisian manuscript Paris Bibl. Nat. n.a.l. 1448 after its 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup>-century correction.<sup>101</sup>

Gert Partoens  
 KU Leuven  
 Letteren  
 Blijde Inkomststraat 21, bus 3311  
 3000 Leuven  
 Belgium

<sup>99</sup> See G. Partoens, *Une version augmentée* [see n. 2] p. 230: ‘*Il n’est donc pas exclu* [italics added] que les six articles en question remontent à un exemplaire de VDA\* comparable à  $V^{\text{vat/lon}}$ ’.

<sup>100</sup> See *Medioevo Latino* (2008) p. 630 (n° 6760).

<sup>101</sup> See C. Lambot, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini sermones de Vetere Testamento* [see n. 28] p. 514; J. Elfassi, *Le sermon 150 de saint Augustin* [see n. 32] pp. 25/26.