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The Gospel Text used by Sedulius in the Paschale Carmen and Paschale Opus

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**SEDULIUS'S GOSPEL SOURCES
IN THE PASCHALE CARMEN
AND
THE PASCHALE OPUS**

OLIVER W. E. NORRIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

This study examines the Gospel citations in the *Paschale Opus* and the *Paschale Carmen*, the twin works of the 5th-century Latin poet Sedulius. To date no study had conducted a full investigation of the origin and use of Sedulius's Gospel sources in both works, composed in the middle of a crucial period in the evolution of the Latin Bible. Sedulius's biblical citations were broken up into variant sites that were analysed against the principal traditions in the Old Latin and Vulgate versions of the Gospels. The full collection of these variant sites can be found in the Appendix. The analysis of these variant readings proposes that Sedulius's Gospel citations in both works are principally Old Latin, closest among unmixed Old Latin codices to the Veronensis (VL4) in Matthew, the Corbiensis II (VL8) in Luke and the Usserianus I in John (VL14), but his citations also reveal that Sedulius made significant use of the Vulgate, especially in book two of the *Paschale Opus*. Sedulius's biblical text reveals his use of homilies and the importance of the liturgy on the composition of his works but his biblical citations are nearly always paralleled by an Old Latin or Vulgate manuscript witness rather than those forms found in the earliest witnesses to the liturgy. Finally, the study's findings have important consequences for our knowledge concerning the use and dissemination of what came to be known as the Vulgate version of the Gospels.

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Introduction

1.1 Outline of the Study

‘Which version of the Bible did Sedulius use? Did he consult the Greek original? Did he use a version of the Vulgate or the *Itala* or both? Did he have some kind of harmony of the Gospels before him as he wrote, or did he rely on his memory, or use some combination of both? Upon what extra biblical sources (e.g., apocryphal Gospels, contemporary art, oral catechesis and preaching, or his own fertile imagination), might he have drawn?’¹

Carl Springer asked these questions in the introduction to his 2013 translation of and commentary on the *Paschale Carmen*, the first full English translation of a hexameter poem on the miracles of the Old and New Testaments by the 5th-century poet Sedulius. Springer admitted that he could not provide all of the answers, but in asking the questions he articulated the frustrations that many Sedulian scholars have felt probably since Remigius of Auxerre first prepared his commentary on the *Paschale Carmen* in the 9th century, but certainly since the first flourishing of modern scholarship on Sedulius in the 19th century. In 1879 Leimbach, while appraising the findings of the Sedulian scholar Huemer, to whom we owe the basis of the current critical edition of Sedulius,² queried Huemer’s identification of Sedulius’s Juvencan borrowings on the grounds that Sedulius could have simply been reproducing what both he and Juvencus had read in their respective biblical sources.³ The current study does not pretend to hold all of the answers to Springer’s questions but it aims to offer answers to some of the most fundamental questions concerning Sedulius’s use of Gospel sources in his two major works, the *Paschale Carmen (PC)* and its subsequent prose paraphrase, the *Paschale Opus (PO)*.⁴

¹ Springer (2013: xxx). It has been assumed that by ‘Greek Original’ and ‘Itala’, Springer refers to the

² Huemer & Panagl (2007).

³ Leimbach (1879: 43): ‘Auch lässt sich eine gewisse Abhängigkeit des Sedulius von Juvencus nicht wohl ableugnen; obgleich von den zehn Stellen, in welchen Huemer eine solche Nachahmung gefunden zu haben glaubt, einige ganz gewiss gestrichen werden müssen, weil bei der Schilderung derselben Stoffe einzelne Ausdrücke gar nicht zu umgehen waren, welche beide Dichter in ihrer lateinischen Bibel lasen.’ See Huemer (1878: 48-9).

⁴ Sedulius names the two works in a pair of prefatory letters attached to each work addressed to his patron Macedonius. The names given by Sedulius have not always been followed. The *PC* is named the *Paschale Opus* in Asterius’s inscription, the Gelasian Decree and in Nebrija’s edition. Often the order of

The central premise of this study is that establishing Sedulius's biblical source(s) will aid the analysis of the relationship between Sedulius's works and those of other authors who use biblical sources. Leimbach's quandary and Springer's questions can be reduced to two fundamental issues that are to some extent inseparable. The first relates to Sedulius's use of the biblical text: what proportion of his references to the biblical text are primary, i.e. are taken directly from a passage of a Gospel that we know existed contemporaneously to the composition of Sedulius's works? The second relates to his use of non-biblical texts, such as sermons, commentaries and the liturgy: what, if any, proportion of his biblical references is borrowed from secondary sources, and what role did these texts play in shaping Sedulius's composition?

The current study approaches these issues from two angles. First an attempt is made to reconstruct as far as possible Sedulius's Gospel text on the basis of the citations found in the *PO*. The citations in the prose work have been chosen as the starting point as the prose text cites biblical passages free from the constraints of metre found in the poem, thus allowing for the easier identification of the underlying biblical text. Once this text has been identified, analysis on a verse-by-verse basis can verify whether Sedulius's biblical citations display homogeneity, both within the biblical book on which they are drawn and, where present in both works, between those of the *PO* and those of the *PC*.

The first step in analysing any patristic writer's biblical text is assessing what the writer himself has to say about them. However, Sedulius does not comment on his biblical sources, unlike a writer such as Augustine who remarks on the different versions of Psalter he has seen or on the quality of different Latin translations.⁵ Therefore the analysis of Sedulius's biblical sources must start from a thorough examination of the citations and paraphrasing of biblical material found in his twin works. However, these two works do offer insights into Sedulius's approach to his use of biblical sources when rewriting a poem as a prose work, allowing us to see which biblical passages Sedulius decided to keep, remove, enlarge or replace. Furthermore, Sedulius was writing at a

the epithet is reversed, *Carmen Paschale* for *Paschale Carmen*, etc. For a recent analysis of these titles see Mori (2013: 18; 29-30).

⁵ Augustine for example praises the quality of the 'Itala' in the *De Doctrina Christiana* 2,15,1. In his *Enarrationes In Psalmos*, Augustine regularly makes remarks about variants in the different Psalter traditions, for example at Ps 3,5,15; Ps 6,3,15; Ps 33 s 2,7,3; Ps 33 s 2,11,22; Ps 67,12,37; Ps 67,61,2; Ps 67,19,14; Ps 67,27,1; Ps 67,28,4; Ps 67,31,1; Ps 67,41,1; Ps 67,41,38; Ps 67,42,3; Ps 70 s 1,19,2, etc.

time of crucial and fast changing development concerning the Latin Bible - in the 380s Jerome commenced his revision, first of the Gospels, then the Psalter and the rest of the Old Testament, that came to be known collectively as 'the Vulgate'. One can see from patristic citations that the Vulgate gradually replaced the Old Latin versions that were used previously,⁶ but in Sedulius's revision of his earlier work, it is also possible to observe this Late Antique writer's changing attitude to the Vulgate according to biblical episode. The three major studies thus far conducted on Sedulius's biblical sources, that of the German scholar Theodor Mayr in 1916, of the Italian scholar Giovanna Moretti Pieri in 1969 and of the Dutch scholar Paulus van der Laan in 1990, have shown that Vulgate and Old Latin readings co-exist throughout Sedulius's works.⁷ Therefore the study of these readings should reveal if, where and perhaps why Sedulius switched biblical versions on an episode-by-episode basis. In order to begin answering these questions, it is essential to establish which passages appear to be drawn from the Old Latin versions and which from the Vulgate, an area that no previous study has satisfactorily answered, in part because the coverage of individual studies has been narrowly focussed, and has not encompassed the entire text of either the *PO* or the *PC*.⁸

The study presents the analysis of citations taken from the separate books of the Gospels. Analysis of those citations taken from the Pauline Epistles and the Psalms has also been done and can be found in the appendices, but is not analysed in the body of the thesis for reasons of space. Together these make up the bulk of the biblical material used by Sedulius. The quantity of material used by Sedulius allows firm conclusions to be drawn on Sedulius's text types. Each chapter presents a background to the codical and patristic witnesses that make up the Latin tradition for that Gospel, the results of the variant site analysis, and a commentary section where Sedulius's use of the biblical text in the *PO* and, where present, the *PC*, is analysed and discussed in greater detail.

⁶ For example, Houghton's (2008: 157) analysis of Augustine's citations, which has revealed his preference for the Vulgate over his African Old Latin version after 403.

⁷ Mayr (1916: 95); Moretti Pieri (1969: 141); van der Laan (1990).

⁸ In addition to the studies of Mayr, Moretti Pieri and van der Laan, five commentaries have been published on the *PC*. Mazzega (1996) on book three; van der Laan (1990) on book four; Deerberg (2011) on the first half of book five; Springer's (2013) commentary covers all five books with less emphasis, as he readily admits, on Sedulius's biblical sources. An older commentary by the Dutch scholar Scheps (1938) treats books one and two of the *PC*, but with a primary focus on Sedulius's classical sources. Of these commentaries, only van der Laan (1990) tackles the question of Sedulius's primary biblical sources in any depth, in an appendix to his commentary.

1.2 Background to Sedulius and his works

The precise composition date for the *PC* remains unclear even today. What we do know stems from two main sources: a short biographical notice found in over 30 of the manuscripts from the 9th century, that claims that the *PC* was written in Greece at the time of the Emperors Theodosius the Younger and Valentinian,⁹ and the information provided by Sedulius in two dedicatory letters written to his patron Macedonius that preface his two principal works the *PC* and the *PO*. If we choose to follow the former, we can accept a composition date of somewhere between 425 and 450. If we are unwilling to follow this biographical notice on the basis that it is absent from the earliest manuscripts, then a *terminus post quem* of around 390 can be fixed if we accept the mention, in the first dedicatory letter, of Jerome sending copies of his own treatises to noble ladies as a reference to Jerome's correspondence with Paula and Eustochium.¹⁰ A *terminus ante quem* can be secured by one of two mentions of the *PC*: the first is a subscription found in the oldest extant manuscript of Sedulius, the 7th-century Taurinensis (E. IV. 42) which contains a claim that the Roman consul of 494, Asterius, published the *PC* as an ex-consul.¹¹ The second is through its mention as a recommended work in the Gelasian decree of the early 6th century.¹² The work had almost certainly been in circulation for some time prior to its inclusion in the Gelasian decree and therefore we can comfortably accept a compositional date somewhere in the mid 5th century. In this context, Springer, as well as Green, sees no reason to reject the biographical notice found in some of the manuscripts and accept a compositional date somewhere between 425 and 450.¹³

If the composition date of the *PC* can be placed at some point in the 5th century, probably in the period 425-450, very little at all is known concerning where the poem was composed. The great renaissance grammarian, Antonio Nebrija, opened his 16th-century commentary on Sedulius by saying 'who Sedulius was, whence he came or at which time he flourished, things which we are wont to look for in other writers, I

⁹ Springer (1988: 23).

¹⁰ Remigius, *Expositio In Paschale Carmen*, 9,2 (CSEL 10, 319).

¹¹ Springer (1988: 24).

¹² The Gelasian Decree is thought to have been composed in the early 5th century, perhaps in S. Gaul. See Dekkers (1995).

¹³ Springer (1988: 28); Green (2006: 141).

confess that as far as I can recall I have never read'.¹⁴ Today we are scarcely able to answer these questions better than Nebrija. The above-mentioned biographical notice claims that Sedulius taught in the epic metre in Italy before writing his works in Greece; Springer remains sceptical while Green questions what demand for Latin works there would have been in Greece at the time;¹⁵ instead Italy or Southern Gaul is generally accepted.¹⁶ The theory put forward by MacDonald, that Sedulius came from Spain or Southern Gaul, based on iconographic parallels with the *PC* found in these regions, has been rejected both by Green and Springer on the grounds that the imagery is also found more broadly in patristic sources, such as Prudentius.¹⁷

Sedulius's audience

Little is known about Sedulius's background and his surroundings and what position he held in the church, if any.¹⁸ However, knowledge of his audience would assist us in forming an idea of the types of biblical sources Sedulius would have had contact with and the level of biblical knowledge we might expect. Sedulius has been variously described as a *laicus*, *presbyter* or *antistes*;¹⁹ yet in his prefatory letters, where the most reliable information concerning his life is found,²⁰ he only mentions that he was 'once engaged in secular studies' before 'dedicating his mind to God'.²¹ Sedulius provides far more information concerning his circle, centred on his patron Macedonius. In his first prefatory letter he mentions a bishop, Ursinus, three priests, Laurentius, Gallianus and a

¹⁴ Aelius Antonius Nebrissensis, *Comentario al Carmen Paschale y a dos himnos de Sedulio*, Prologus 5-7 (Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Grammatici Opera, 8,78).

¹⁵ Green (2006: 139-40); Springer (1988: 23). Although there are many examples of writers composing in Latin in a foreign land, Ovid and Jerome are just two that spring to mind.

¹⁶ The evidence is thin on the ground; Huemer (1878: 15-17), accepts Italy or perhaps Rome, a location supported by a couple of verses found in a poem attributed to Aldhelm (*Ep.* 6 = Ps. Bonifatius. *S. Bonifatii et Lulli Ep.*, 2) as well as Paschasius Radbertus's *De Partu Virginis* 2. For a more recent summary see Springer (2013: xvi) or Deerberg (2011: 13-15).

¹⁷ MacDonald (1933); Green (2006: 137-8); Springer (1988: 27). MacDonald noticed similarities between Sedulius's depiction of the Massacre of the Innocents and icons in the South of France, but Springer argues that Sedulius's source is more like to be Prudentius's *Cathemerinon* 12,117-20.

¹⁸ The most thorough summary can be found in Springer (1988: 28-32).

¹⁹ As *laicus* in the manuscript subscriptions; as *presbyter* in Isidore of Seville's *De Viris Illustribus* 20 (PL 83, 1094); as *antistes* in the acrostic *Carmina* written by Belisarius and Liberatus, which spell out Sedulius Antistes, included in some manuscripts with Sedulius's work. See Huemer & Panagl (2007: 307-10).

²⁰ Springer (1988: 29, n.18) suspects that the details found in the manuscript inscriptions could well be extrapolated from the information contained in the prefatory letters.

²¹ *Epistola Ad Macedonium I*, p.2-3: cum saecularibus igitur studiis occupatus uim inpatientis ingenii... non utilitati animae sed inani uitae dependerem, et litterariae sollertia disciplinae lusibus infructuosi operis, non auctori seruiret... totoque nisu melioris arbitrii cultum inlustrati pectoris Deo dicaui.

couple of ascetics, both a man, Felix, and a woman, Syncletica.²² This group of clergymen and ascetics is possibly Sedulius's idealised audience for the *PC*, but other internal evidence suggests that his works were aimed in the first instance at a small group of like-minded Christians. For example, Sedulius informs the reader at the start of the *PC* that he was accustomed to Psalm singing.²³ Green takes this as evidence that Sedulius was a member of a devout community and familiar with the liturgy, while Springer notes that allusions to stories typologically related to baptism such as Noah's flood were unlikely to be aimed at anyone who was ignorant of Christian doctrine.²⁴ In addition, Sedulius's texts show evidence not only of the use of canonical biblical sources,²⁵ but they also include details that are not found in biblical books of the canon, such as the presence of the ass at Jesus's birth,²⁶ and one citation that is of an unknown source, found elsewhere only in the early monastic rule, the *Regula Magistri*.²⁷

All this internal evidence suggests that Sedulius not only had knowledge of and access to the liturgy and the books of the Bible but that he also operated in a literate, perhaps erudite, Christian circle that had knowledge of Christian texts beyond the Bible. Consequently, the choice of some Sedulian scholars to avoid the question of Sedulius's sources or to assume that he drew his sources directly from the Bible itself must be taken for what it is, a necessary but unsatisfactory solution as long as a complete biblical *Quellenforschung* remains wanting.²⁸ Given the internal evidence outlined above, it is clear that it is necessary to include secondary sources such as the liturgy,

²² *Epistola Ad Macedonium I*, p.7-9.

²³ *PC* 1,23-5: ...Dauitici adsuetus cantibus odas / Cordarum resonare decem sanctoque uerenter / Stare choro et placidis caelestia psallere uerbis...

²⁴ Springer (1988: 31): 'it is hard to imagine anyone unfamiliar with Christian doctrine and practice fully appreciating the story of the flood as an allegory of baptism.'

²⁵ Concerning the Canon in the mid-5th century, one can either accept that the list reproduced in the 6th-century Gelasian Decree (CPL 1676) represents the state of affairs of the previous century, perhaps dating to the time of Pope Damasus, or earlier documents such as the 2nd - 4th century Muratorian Canon (CPL 1862) or the Acts of the May 419 Council of Carthage (CPL 1765) as representative of the canon as a whole in the Western Church during Sedulius's time. With one exception (see *infra*, n.27), all the biblical scriptures cited by Sedulius's can be found in the 'canon' of the Gelasian Decree.

²⁶ Mention of the ass at Jesus's birth is found in Sedulius's description of the donkey that carries Jesus into Jerusalem, *PC* 4,300-2: non illius inpar / qui patulo Christum licet in praesepe iacentem / agnouit tamen esse Deum. The reference is to Isaiah 1:3: cognouit bos possessorem suum et asinus praesepe domini sui. The earliest recorded connection of Isaiah 1:3 to the Nativity is found in the Infancy Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, dated to roughly 600 (CA 51).

²⁷ *PO* 2,17, p.221, 3: *quoniam scriptum est doceant uos terrena quae sunt caelestia*. See *Regula Magistri*, 11,5 (CPL 1858).

²⁸ For example, see Green (2006: 184): 'it will be assumed in what follows, therefore [his analysis of the *PC*], that Sedulius worked directly from the Gospels themselves.' Also see Mazzega (2006: 52): 'die Frage, welche Version Sedulius benutzte, steht in dieser Arbeit nicht im Vordergrund, da sie für die Interpretation gewöhnlich nicht von Belang ist.'

patristic writings and non-canonical Christian writings, when examining Sedulius's possible 'biblical' sources. As for where the two works were composed, it is possible that the identification of Sedulius's sources may provide some clues, which must however be taken with caution as texts, biblical or non-biblical have a tendency to travel a far distance from their original provenance, just like people. A far more secure indicator of Sedulius's origin and the probable location of the composition of his works lies in the earliest securely datable reference to his works, that of Asterius in Rome in 494. If we require a place to begin our search for Sedulius, Rome, or Italy at least, would appear therefore a sensible place to start.

1.3 Background to studies of Sedulius's biblical text

Sedulius's popularity in the early modern period can be seen in the more than fifty printed editions that Springer lists of Sedulius's works between the *editio princeps* in 1473 and the end of the 16th century.²⁹ Large-scale editions continued to be printed in the 17th and 18th centuries, culminating in the publication of Arévalo's momentous Roman edition of Sedulius's works in 1794.³⁰ In the centuries that followed, this love of Sedulius was gradually replaced by a certain disdain, so much so that Curtius described Sedulius as a man with 'a large measure of literary ambition, but who had nothing to say' and 'a poet to be associated with the inflated, vain, soulless and unintelligent rhetors of the time'.³¹

Despite a recent flurry of studies, Sedulius's works remain relatively neglected by modern scholars, with the number of studies on the *PC* vastly outweighing those done on the *PO*.³² Yet the study of Sedulius's biblical text is not a new phenomenon.

²⁹ Springer (1995: 211).

³⁰ Arévalo (1794).

³¹ Curtius (1953: 460-2).

³² In addition to the commentaries and studies on Sedulius's biblical text outlined in the first part of this introduction (p. 6, n.8), there have been a number of recent studies on the *PC* published in Spanish, Italian, German, French, Polish and English. Of the most relevant here, see chapters devoted to Sedulius's poem in Roberts (1985), Green (2006) and de Nie (2012). A number of studies have treated Sedulius's use of Classical sources, in particular Leimbach (1879), van der Laan (1993), Grillo (1978) and Hutchinson's doctoral thesis (2009). Sedulius's use of biblical material compared with other Late Antique poets such as Juvencus and Paulinus of Nola has also been examined by Hutchinson (2009) and Green (2007) in particular. Only three studies have compared Sedulius's treatment of material in the *PC* and the *PO*, that of Bossier (1882) and Mori (2013), both from a stylistic standpoint and that of Schnurr (1985) for the Lord's Prayer alone and from a largely theological standpoint.

Rudimentary biblical analysis can be seen in the first marginal glosses identifying biblical references in some of the earliest Sedulian manuscripts.³³ These typically consist only of a brief note indicating the Gospel source; even in a thoroughly glossed edition of Sedulius, such as the 9th-century Parisian B.N., lat 18853, biblical source indications are sporadic and generally reserved for pericopes that could be taken from several sources. Commentators expanded on this practice and Remigius of Auxerre's late 9th-century commentary records nine Pauline allusions made by Sedulius, three Matthean, three Johannine, one Lukan and five allusions to the Psalms, in addition to noting passages found in patristic writers such as Augustine.³⁴ This Carolingian practice was further augmented by the Renaissance scholar Antonio de Nebrija who notes Sedulius's biblical sources with due thoroughness: Nebrija records 118 allusions to Matthew, 80 to John, 50 to Luke, 18 to Mark, 18 to Paul and 34 to the Psalms among others.³⁵

In some of the early editions, such as Eyssenberck's (1502), the possible source passages were regularly indicated in the margin. This practice was continued in the 1794 edition of Arévalo, which presents the *PC* text juxtaposed with that of the *PO* alongside notes from *scholia* from Remigius, through to the Dutch scholar Arntzenius in 1761. The focus of all scholia, however, tends to be on Sedulius's classical sources, in particular Virgil, and to other Late Antique poets such as Prudentius and Juvenecus. Furthermore, the scholia generally compare Sedulius's quotations with the Vulgate text of the Bible, when in fact Sedulius's text is not always Vulgate, meaning that some quotations are misassigned. This is the case both in the earlier editions and in the current standard edition found in the CSEL series. For example, in book five of the *PO*, Jesus's words to Peter, *amen, amen, dico tibi quoniam non cantabit hodie gallus donec tu ter me abneges*,³⁶ are listed by Huemer (and Panagl) in the 2007 CSEL edition as Matthew 26:34 or Luke 22:34, when it is in fact identical to the Old Latin text of John 13:38 found in the 7th-century Irish Codex Usserianus.³⁷

³³ For an example, see the early 9th-century manuscript Paris Bib. Nat., Lat. 18553. Biblical sources are noted sporadically, e.g. that Sedulius was following the Matthean version of the Curing of the Woman with Flux (Mt. 9:20) at f. 20v.

³⁴ Remigius, *Expositio In Paschale Carmen* I, v. 66-106, 32: mors est priuatio uitae, dicitur autem mors secundum Augustinum a morsu uetiti pomi (CSEL 10, 324).

³⁵ Yarza Urkiola (2011: 19).

³⁶ *PO* 5,5, p.277, 12.

³⁷ See John 13:38 *infra*.

Scholarship of the last century has tended to focus on Sedulius's classical sources at the expense of his biblical sources, which in turn have often been treated merely as the four Gospels.³⁸ The reason for this probably lies in Sedulius's own prefatory comments that outline his work as being arranged around the writings of the four Gospels up to the passion, resurrection and ascension of the Lord.³⁹ However, in book two of the *PC* at least, 'source' should be understood in its loosest sense. On the one hand, Sedulius stretches events such as Jesus's baptism to thirty-five lines of verse from three verses of biblical text (Mt. 3:14 and 3:16-17); on the other, the last seventy lines of the three-hundred-line book are based on the Lord's Prayer, which is as much a liturgical or oral document as a strictly textual one drawn from the Gospels. Despite this, the CSEL edition still assigns Sedulius's citation of the Lord's Prayer to Matthew 6:9-13 with the exception of the 4th petition, *panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie*, which is assigned to Luke 11:3, presumably on the basis of Sedulius's use of *cotidianum* where the Matthean verse has *supersubstantialem* in the Vulgate.⁴⁰ Yet this overlooks the fact that Sedulius's text is found in all the Old Latin Matthean versions of the fourth petition and if there is a need to assign a biblical verse number at all, it should surely be Matthew 6:11, in accordance with the other Lord's Prayer citations.

Recent scholarship has shown greater appreciation of the complexity of Sedulius's biblical sources. In addition to Springer's comments quoted above, Deerberg acknowledged the influence which liturgy might have had on the Passion episode in book five as well as the need to recognise Sedulius's use of commentaries, homilies and theological treatises.⁴¹ Giselle de Nie's recent work highlights the role that the liturgy of the sacraments plays in Sedulius's poem, in particular books two and five.⁴² The welcome shift in attitudes shown in the comments of de Nie or Deerberg does not change the fact that only three studies have attempted a thorough analysis of Sedulius's biblical text and the conclusions of all these scholars, despite their valuable insights, require revision in the light of recent findings concerning both the Vulgate and the Old Latin traditions. Mayr's study suffers from being dependent on the limited number of

³⁸ Roberts (1985: 110-1); Green (2006: 184).

³⁹ *Epistola Ad Macedonium I*, p.12, 5-7.

⁴⁰ Huemer & Panagl (2007: 224).

⁴¹ Deerberg (2011: 21-22): 'dabei ist es oft schwierig, eine konkrete Vorlage auszumachen, da die Passionsgeschichte zu den zentralen Überlieferungssträngen der Alten Kirche gehörte und die verschiedenen Berichte allzu leicht auch unbewusst harmonisiert wurden.'

⁴² de Nie (2011: 368).

Old Latin witnesses available to him, which was insufficient to provide a full picture of the Old Latin tradition.⁴³ The studies of Moretti Pieri and van der Laan draw on a wider range of Old Latin witnesses, thanks to the use of the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland (MJA) *Itala* edition.⁴⁴ However, since the publication of the MJA edition, additional Old Latin manuscripts have been discovered, the understanding of the interrelationship between codices has been improved and the editions are in the process of being replaced by the superior *Vetus Latina* edition that includes patristic citations alongside manuscript readings.⁴⁵ Another weakness of the three above-mentioned studies is the restriction to Sedulius's Gospel citations with little or no consideration of his numerous Epistle or Psalm citations. Unlike the Gospel Old Latin tradition, the Psalter and Epistle tradition is often clearly defined according to geographical location and period and when these are used in conjunction with his Gospel text they can provide important clues to Sedulius's biblical sources. The current study therefore has analysed Sedulius's Psalter and Epistle citations, with the key findings placed in the appendix, so that citations that are relevant to Sedulius's Gospel text can be discussed in the commentary section. Therefore, the combination of a new methodology, new sources and wider ranging approach to Sedulius's biblical sources in the current study justifies the revision and supplementation of the important discoveries made by previous studies.

Vulgate and Old Latin

Mayr in his 1916 dissertation was the first to tackle the question of whether Sedulius's biblical text was based on an Old Latin or a Vulgate version. It was Mayr's opinion that Jerome's revised translation of the Gospels, undertaken in 383, was quickly adopted in the West, and that as a result Sedulius's use of an Old Latin text was principally confined to his treatment of the Old Testament.⁴⁶

⁴³ Mayr (1916: 95-6), based his conclusions on readings drawn from a handful of 'Itala' manuscripts, the Palatinus (VL2), Vercellensis (VL3), Veronensis (VL4), Bezae (VL5), Corbiensis II (VL8), Brixianus (VL10) and Rehdigeranus (VL11).

⁴⁴ Jülicher, Matzkow, & Aland (1970-76). Moretti Pieri (1969: 134-142) apparently used the first edition of the *Itala* (Jülicher's edition) judging by the selection of 'Itala' and 'Afra' manuscripts found in her analysis of the Temptations episode. Van der Laan (1990: 204-219) based his conclusions on the MJA second edition of the four Gospels.

⁴⁵ For a further discussion of the limitations of the MJA edition, see Burton (2000: 10-11).

⁴⁶ Mayr (1916: 95): 'Die von Hieronymus in Jahre 383 begonnene und noch im gleichen Jahre vollendete Revision des Neuen Testaments fand in der abendländischen Kirche willige Aufnahme. Bei Sedulius, der in den Jahren 430-440 gedichtet hatte, gehören Nachwirkungen der *Itala* des Neuen Testaments zu den Seltenheiten.'

Despite his argument for the dominance of the Vulgate Gospels in the *PC*, Mayr did list seven instances of Old Latin Gospel readings that he found in the *PC*.⁴⁷ Of these the description of Matthew's Mute Man cured by Jesus (Matthew 9:32-7) as being deaf-mute in Sedulius's treatment of the episode at 3,154 is perhaps the most significant, as it is an element found in the Old Latin tradition but entirely absent from the Vulgate tradition.⁴⁸ Mayr had in fact identified a very small proportion of the Old Latin readings present in the *PC*. Moretti Pieri, in the process of evaluating the likelihood that Sedulius used a Gospel Harmony as the source for his biblical material, added a further two Old Latin readings in her study on Sedulius's sources for the *PC*.⁴⁹

Moretti Pieri based her argument for Sedulius's use of a harmonised source on her observation of apparent differences in Gospel versions that used in the *PC* and the *PO*. She cited the use of the reading *unum ouile* in Sedulius's citation of John 10:16 in chapter two of *PO*,⁵⁰ where the Old Latin codices have *unus grex*, as evidence that Sedulius based the *PO* on a Vulgate version of the Gospels. Furthermore, in the readings of *pinnaculum* in book two of the *PO* and *pinna* in the equivalent passage in the *PC*,⁵¹ Moretti Pieri saw evidence for Sedulius's use of different versions of the Bible to compose the *PC* and the *PO*.⁵² She explained Sedulius's use of the Vulgate in the *PO* as a conscious choice to use a more reliable textual source for the *PO* than the one he used for the earlier *PC*.⁵³ Moretti Pieri argued that his use of Old Latin in the *PC* was due to the unavailability of the Vulgate at the time of the composition of the *PC*.⁵⁴ Van der Laan countered this argument by noting that the 'Vulgate' reading *pinnaculum* is also found in the Old Latin codex Rehdigeranus (VL11), but this point itself loses much

⁴⁷ *PC* 2,81: *requiri*; *PC* 2,102: *per somnum moniti*; *PC* 3,153-4: *uoce relictus, auditu uacuis*; *PC* 5,7: *ideo*; *PC* 5,73-5: *milia... legiones... plus duodena*; *PC* 5,120: *prodeest*; *PC* 5,393: *captum*. Mayr overlooked many important Old Latin codices in his list, which was subsequently completed by van der Laan (1990: 205).

⁴⁸ See Mazzega (1916: 158), who cites Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, 9,33: *quod autem graece dicitur κωφὸν magis tritum est sermone communi ut surdus magis quam mutus intellegatur. Sed moris est scripturarum κωφὸν indifferenter uel mutum uel surdum dicere* (PL 26, 60).

⁴⁹ See Moretti Pieri (1969: 141). *PC* 2,210: *fastigium*; *PC* 3,98: *grabatum*. However, as both Moretti Pieri (1969: 161) and van der Laan (1990: 205) recognise this could also be a reading from Mark 2:9: *tolle grabattum tuum* or Luke 5:24: *tolle grabattum tuum* (codices VL5 VL6 VL14). In addition, it could come from John 5:8: *tolle grabatum tuum*.

⁵⁰ *PO* 2,8, p.207, 15-16.

⁵¹ *PO* 2,14, p.217, 11; *PC* 2,210. *Pinnam* is the translation of τὸ πτερύγιον found in the majority of Old Latin witnesses; *pinnaculum* is found in the Vulgate and mixed text witnesses. See Burton (2000: 195).

⁵² Moretti Pieri (1969: 141).

⁵³ *ibid*, 141, n.1: 'l'espressione seduliana, sembra denotare la scelta cosciente tra due diverse tradizioni, scelta quindi che verrebbe a testimoniare la conoscenza, da parte di Sedulio della Vulgata, quando compone l'Opus.'

⁵⁴ *ibid*, 141, n.1.

of its force if we accept that the *Rehdigeranus* is a mixed-text codex preserving a Vulgate reading at this point.⁵⁵

The discussion over this reading highlights the weaknesses in both studies. Driven by her desire to support Sedulius's use of a harmonised source, Moretti Pieri overlooked that the *PO* might only have been partly revised against a Vulgate text while using essentially the same source as the *PC* for the majority of citations. Van der Laan's dependence on the MJA edition that includes all the readings from Old Latin manuscripts, including those readings that originally stem from a correction against a Vulgate manuscript, meant that he sometimes treated Vulgate readings in Sedulius's text as possible Old Latin readings.

In the appendix of his 1990 commentary van der Laan nonetheless identified twenty-nine instances where Sedulius appears to be following an Old Latin source in book four of the *PC*, thereby expanding our understanding of the Old Latin character of that text.⁵⁶ However, in an attempt to correct Moretti Pieri's position on the Vulgate source for the *PO*, van der Laan provides eighteen instances where Old Latin readings can be found in book four of the *PO*.⁵⁷ As a result of these findings van der Laan came to four conclusions:⁵⁸

- a. Sedulius makes use of different sources as his Gospel Text in *PC* and in the *PO*.
- b. Neither in the *PO* nor in the *PC* does Sedulius consistently use an exclusively Old Latin or a Vulgate source, with both Old Latin and Hieronymian translations found in passages in both works.

⁵⁵ van der Laan (1990: 209).

⁵⁶ *PC* 4,1: transgressus; *PC* 4,19-20: recondi thensauros; *PC* 4,26: egenus; *PC* 4,27: substantia; *PC* 4,51: aruit; *PC* 4,52: omnis enim; *PC* 4,57: oblatu; *PC* 4,74: mulier; *PC* 4,91: exclusos; *PC* 4,99: rursus; *PC* 4,116: dimitti; *PC* 4,116: piscantia; *PC* 4,134: iuuenis; *PC* 4,134: in tempore; *PC* 4,157: uipereas; *PC* 4,161: subiaceat; *PC* 4,166: dicturus; *PC* 4,166: cuncti; *PC* 4,203: conuersus; *PC* 4,204: adorans; *PC* 4,213: accedere; *PC* 4,216: inportuna; *PC* 4,242: moechae; *PC* 4,245: recessit; *PC* 4,248: nam uomitum... canis ore relambit; *PC* 4,251: considerare; *PC* 4,257: inliniens; *PC* 4,261: oculos; *PC* 4,275: flebant.

⁵⁷ *PO* 4,1, p.255, 15: parate uiam domino; *PO* 4,2, p.257, 2: recondit; *PO* 4,2, p.257, 2: non.. tineae, non aeruginis; *PO* 4,2, p.257, 4: peregrinis; *PO* 4,2, p.257, 8: substantiam; *PO* 4,8, p.260, 16-17: obmutesce et exi de homine spiritus immunde; *PO* 4,12, p.263, 10: et dedit eum matri suae; *PO* 4,14, p.264, 12: ecce do; *PO* 4,14, p.264, 15: nocebunt; *PO* 4,14, p.264, 16: subiecti sunt; *PO* 4,14, p.264, 16: quoniam; *PO* 4,14, p.264, 17: caelo; *PO* 4,14, p.265, 3: non noui uos; *PO* 4,14, p.265, 3-4: omnes qui operamini; *PO* 4,16, p.266, 8-9: Samariam et Galilaeam Hierichumque; *PO* 4,16, p.266, 13: Iesu magister; *PO* 4,17, p.268, 5: inportunitatis; *PO* 4,21, p.271, 11: prodi foras.

⁵⁸ van der Laan (1990: 212).

- c. Contrary to the position held by both Mayr and Springer, the text of the *PC* in general does not depend on the Vulgate.
- d. Contrary to the position held by Moretti Pieri, Sedulius has no preference for the Vulgate in the *PO*.

In addition to these conclusions, van der Laan was the first to highlight the similarities between Codex Usserianus (VL14) and the text of the *PO*.⁵⁹ However, while van der Laan concedes that many of the citations found in the *PO* appear to come from the Vulgate, he observes that rarely do these citations provide readings that cannot be paralleled in one or more of the Old Latin codices.⁶⁰ In fact, as in the reading of *pinnaculum* cited above, this underestimates a little the Vulgate character of these citations, for although it is true that many of the Vulgate readings in Sedulius can be found in Old Latin manuscripts as well, these are principally restricted to the 'mixed' text codices, that is, codices that contain a text that is 'fundamentally Old Latin in type, but with a distinctive Vulgate overlay'.⁶¹ An unfortunate consequence of van der Laan's study being conducted before our understanding of the Old Latin tradition had been improved by the works of Burton, Fischer and the recent progress of the VL edition, is that he treated all readings found in non-Vulgate manuscripts as Old Latin, even if they were in fact Vulgate readings that had infiltrated a basically Old Latin text. As a result, some of van der Laan's 'Old Latin readings' are in fact Vulgate readings. Therefore, in order to establish satisfactorily the extent to which Sedulius's text depends on the Vulgate, it is necessary first to identify those readings that are Vulgate specific, that is to say, that do not have their origin in any Old Latin tradition. To this end, this study has followed the method proposed by Burton in his study on the Old Latin Gospels and adopted in the VL edition of John. In addition, following Burton, 'any reading found in a known mixed text, agreeing with the Vulgate but not found outside the Vulgate and the other mixed texts, may be attributed to Vulgate influence'.⁶²

⁵⁹ *ibid*, 211: 'Men kan haar reconstrueren uit verschillende mss van VL waarbij S[edulius]' versie voor het grootste deel overeenstemt met Itala r'.'

⁶⁰ *ibid*, 208: 'Inderdaad komen vele citeringen in OP overeen met de tekst van Vg. Tegelijkertijd echter dient te worden vastgesteld, dat in veel gevallen de tekst van Vg daar gelijk is aan die welke minstens een maar meestal alle of de meeste mss van VL bieden.'

⁶¹ Burton (2000: 7).

⁶² Burton (2000: 7-8).

Van der Laan's study is the most thorough undertaken to date on Sedulius's biblical sources, even if the scope, an analysis of book four alone, was rather narrow, and as a result his findings have generally been accepted: while Springer compared Sedulius's biblical text against the Stuttgart Vulgate on the basis of Mayr's conclusion, subsequent studies, such as Green's comparison of the treatment of Gospel episodes by Sedulius and Juvencus, have compared his biblical text against the Old Latin *Itala*.⁶³

Despite certain shortcomings, van der Laan's study dispelled many of the fallacies held concerning Sedulius's biblical sources and revealed the degree of complexity that exists in establishing his biblical sources. However, while recognising the presence of Vulgate and Old Latin readings in both the *PO* and the *PC*, his study did not attempt to establish the extent of Sedulius's dependence on these versions. Drawing on only a handful of readings, van der Laan could not hope to produce the number of results needed to quantify his findings, not to mention that extrapolating from such a small base can produce skewed results. For example, in book two of the *PO* Sedulius quotes twelve consecutive verses of book two of Matthew in order to foreground his discussion on the Nativity; these verses follow the Vulgate text almost verbatim and as a result twelve Vulgate-specific readings can be found in Sedulius's text. It is however unusual for Sedulius to quote such a large amount of text, and at other points, Sedulius's citations are predominantly Old Latin in character: clearly there are Vulgate and non-Vulgate sources to Sedulius's text, but without taking into full consideration the elements that make up Sedulius's text, we cannot understand what role the Vulgate or the Old Latin traditions played in the *PC* and the *PO*.

In sum, the previous studies of Mayr, Moretti Pieri and van der Laan have shown that Sedulius had at least some sort of access to both Vulgate and Old Latin versions of his biblical sources. However, the investigation of Sedulius's biblical sources was of secondary importance to all these studies, which as a result failed to provide subsequent commentators with a clear picture of Sedulius's biblical sources or even of the extent to which Sedulius's 'Bible' could be considered Old Latin or Vulgate. As a result there is a lingering sense of confusion in Sedulian scholarship about how to approach his biblical sources which manifests itself in the divergent approaches adopted by scholars: Green compares Sedulius's text against the MJA *Itala* text in his article on Gospel episodes in

⁶³ Springer (1988: 110); Green (2007).

Juvencus and Sedulius, while Mazzega prefers to compare Sedulius's text to the Weber Vulgate.⁶⁴ Deerberg, like Mazzega makes occasional references to the Old Latin tradition,⁶⁵ but neither commentator is in a position to take into account all the different possibilities.

The current work, the first study dedicated solely to Sedulius's biblical sources, will attempt to address these shortcomings. Firstly, it will compare the largest feasible sample of Sedulian citations against the latest editions of biblical material. Secondly, it will take into account not only Sedulius's use of primary biblical sources but also his use of secondary sources such as the liturgy, patristic commentaries and homilies. Finally, it will consider Sedulius's citations both from the literary and the biblical studies angle, acknowledging Sedulius both as a poet and a theologian. By employing such an approach, the current study can include the findings of Sedulian commentators alongside NT studies such as Schnurr's analysis of Sedulius's exegesis of the Lord's Prayer in the context of the Western Tradition from Tertullian to 6th-century African homilies, which has been unfortunately ignored until now by Sedulian scholars.⁶⁶

Sedulius and the four creatures of Revelations 4:6-10

Although Moretti Pieri felt that Sedulius did not have access to a Vulgate version of the Gospels when composing the *PC*, some internal evidence for Sedulius's use of a Vulgate Gospels comes from his representation of the four evangelists according to the four creatures from book four of Revelations found at lines 355-8 of book one of the *PC*:

*Hoc Mattheus agens hominem generaliter implet,
Marcus ut alta fremit uox per deserta leonis,
Iura sacerdotii Lucas tenet ore iuuenci,
More uolans aquilae uerbo petit astra Iohannes.*

⁶⁴ Green (2007). Mazzega (1996: 52): 'Der Bequemlichkeit halber zitiere ich biblische Texte nach der Vulgata (ed. Weber) und weise nur bei auffälligen Übereinstimmungen des Dichtertexts mit der Vetus Latina (edd. Jülicher/Matzkow darauf hin).'

⁶⁵ e.g. Deerberg (2011: 168).

⁶⁶ Schnurr (1985: 184-99).

As Favreau has pointed out, this interpretation of the evangelists follows that laid out in the preface of Jerome's commentary on Matthew, the *plures fuisse* that was prefaced to many early Vulgate codices.⁶⁷ In addition, Sedulius places the evangelists in the Eastern order of the Gospels as found in the Vulgate, where other near contemporaries who use a similar interpretation, such as Chromatius, place the interpretation of the evangelists in the Western order as found in Old Latin codices like the Vercellensis (VL3), the Bezae (VL5), the Veronensis (VL4) and the Palatinus (VL2).⁶⁸ While Augustine uses a different interpretation to Jerome in the preface of his *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, he maintains the Eastern order of the evangelists as befits his mainly Vulgate text.⁶⁹ Although Sedulius's verses could be directly based Jerome's commentary alone, it appears unlikely that he would have maintained the Eastern order of the evangelists if he was used to or using an Old Latin Gospels codex with a Western order. Indeed, the most likely source for Sedulius's interpretation is a *plures fuisse* preface attached to an early Vulgate edition of the Gospels, which makes it highly likely that Sedulius did have access to the Vulgate even during the composition of the *PC*.

How did Sedulius compose the PC and the PO?

Mayr proposed two ways in which Sedulius assembled his biblical material. The first is that Sedulius used some sort of Eusebian Canon table or Ammonian sections to organise his material, in the manner of Augustine in the *De Consensu Evangelistarum*.⁷⁰ Mayr believed that Sedulius did this for the Gospel material in books 2-4. For book 5, however, he suggested that Sedulius used some sort of Passion Harmony in the style of that found in book 3 of Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*.⁷¹ Van der Laan, on

⁶⁷ Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, prologus 5-6. Sedulius's four verses subsequently enjoyed a significant tradition alongside miniatures of the evangelists that preface Vulgate Gospel books. For a summary of the tradition, which originates with Iraeneus, of associating the figures of Ezekiel's vision of Yahve's Chariot (Ez. 1:10), the four creatures that surround the Heavenly Throne in Revelations 4:6-9 and the four evangelists as well as the role played by Sedulius's verses in the later miniatures tradition, see Favreau (1993). See also Springer (2013: 44). For the use of *plures fuisse* as a preface to early Vulgate codices see McGurk (1961: 8).

⁶⁸ Chromatius, *Tractatus In Mattheum*, prologus 6. For the Western order of these codices, see Metzger (1977: 296-7).

⁶⁹ Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, 1,6,9. On the use of the Vulgate in *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, see Houghton (2008: 162): "in conclusion, a detailed study of the text of John supports the other arguments for the authorial use of the Vulgate in *De Concensu Evangelistarum*."

⁷⁰ Mayr (1916: 53).

⁷¹ *ibid*, 54.

the other hand, proposes that Sedulius was simply inserting the miracles from Matthew in the order in which they are found in the Gospel of Matthew from *PC* 3,23 through to *PC* 4,81, before switching to the Marcan then Lukan miracles.⁷² However, as van der Laan admits, this theory is more than a little undermined by the insertion of the Healing of the Mute demoniac (Lk. 11:14) at *PC* 4,57-63.⁷³

Moretti Pieri, taking her lead from Mayr, suggested that all of books two, three and five have been composed using a *diatessaron* or Gospel Harmony as a base text for his composition of the *PC*. Her study attempted to answer the harmonisation question by comparing the passages in the *PC* with parallel passages drawn from witnesses of Tatian's Diatessaron, the Gospel Harmony written in Syriac or Greek in the 170's.⁷⁴ Since Tatian's work has been almost entirely lost, save for one possible Greek fragment,⁷⁵ our knowledge of what it might have looked like is dependent on secondary witnesses.⁷⁶ Moretti Pieri chose Ciasca's edition of the Arabic Diatessaron and Ranke's edition of the *Unum Ex Quattuor* found in the Codex Fuldensis as her witnesses.⁷⁷ The former is an 11th-century Arabic witness to Tatian's work while the latter is a 6th-century Italian Latin witness.⁷⁸ Moretti Pieri first analysed Sedulius's biblical sources and, given the complexity of his harmonisation, suggested that he based his account on the Diatessaron to avoid the laborious task of combining the separate Gospels.⁷⁹ Having collated the previously identified 'harmonised' passages along with the text found in her two *diatessaron* witnesses, Moretti Pieri concludes that the similarity between Sedulius's base text and the text of the Arabic Diatessaron was unlikely to be due to coincidence alone.⁸⁰

⁷² van der Laan (1990: 45-6).

⁷³ *ibid.*

⁷⁴ For a summary of Tatian's Diatessaron and the different positions concerning its original language, see Metzger (1977: 3-36).

⁷⁵ The 'Dura-Europos fragment'. See Parker et al. (1999).

⁷⁶ Metzger (1977:10-25) provides an extensive list.

⁷⁷ Ciasca (1888); Ranke (1868).

⁷⁸ For a summary of the *Unum Ex Quattuor*, see Schmid (2003). For the Arabic Diatessaron, see Joose (1999).

⁷⁹ Moretti Pieri (1969: 133): 'Il testo, infatti, di cui è più probabile che il Poeta si sia servito per evitare l'opera laboriosa di riunire personalmente il contenuto dei diversi evangelisti e riservare, invece, a se stesso, il compito di elaborarlo classicamente, è quello di una armonia evangelica.' However, as Schmid (2003: 192) observes, this is an issue for modern readers, not for the readers of Late Antiquity who would have been trained to use Eusebian Canon tables. Jerome included the canon table in his Vulgate edition, which assumes a Western tradition from the end of the 4th century. See Oliver (1959).

⁸⁰ Moretti Pieri (1969: 242).

The following passage, taken from *PC* 3,103-11, illustrates the level of harmonisation present in the opening of Sedulius's version of the Resuscitation of Jairus's daughter:⁸¹

<p><u>Principis</u> interea <u>synagogae</u> filia clauso <u>Functa</u> die superas <u>moriens</u> amiserat auras. At genitor, cui finis edax spem prolis adultae Sustulerat, sanctos Domini <u>lacrimansque</u> <u>gemensque</u> <u>Conruit ante pedes</u>, uix uerba <u>precantia</u> fari Singultu quatiente ualens, 'miserere parentis Orbati, miserere senis, <u>modo</u> filia' dicens 'Vnica uirgineis nec adhuc matura <u>sub annis</u>. <u>Occidit</u> et misero patris mihi nomen ademit.'</p>	<p><u>Lk. 8:41</u> princeps synagogae erat <u>Mt. 9:18</u> defuncta est <u>Lk. 8:42</u> moriebatur <u>Lk. 8:41</u> <i>rogans</i> <u>Lk. 8:41</u> cecidit ad pedes; <u>Mk. 5:22</u> procidit ad pedes (<u>Mk. 5:23</u>) et deprecabatur eum <u>Lk. 8:42</u> filia unica erat illi fere annorum duodecim <u>Mk. 5:42</u> erat autem annorum duodecim <u>Mt. 9:18</u> modo (defuncta est)</p>
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Sedulius's passage is principally Lukan but contains notable Matthean and Marcan details. For example, the fact that Jairus's daughter is already dead is present in Matthew alone, whereas the Marcan and Lukan accounts state that she is dying. Other details such as the image of Jairus falling at the feet of Jesus are not found at all in Matthew; the age of girl is found in Luke and Mark but the fact that she was Jairus's only daughter is only found in Luke.⁸² Such harmonisation is not unusual in Sedulius's accounts: Moretti Pieri's study on Sedulius's sources identified fourteen other passages that contained significant harmonisation.⁸³

However, Moretti Pieri's study is not without certain weaknesses that have left later scholars unwilling to follow her conclusions.⁸⁴ First, both witnesses to Tatian's Diatessaron postdate the composition of Sedulius's work by a significant period of time. Sedulius's text is not therefore a witness to either text but at best these two texts can be

⁸¹ Quotations, page and line numbers throughout are taken from Huemer & Panagl's 2007 CSEL X edition. The Vulgate citations throughout are taken from the 5th edition of the Weber & Gryson Stuttgart Vulgate (2007).

⁸² Although *deprecabatur* is also a detail only found in Mark, the more obvious source for *precantia fari* is Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9,159.

⁸³ Moretti Pieri (1969: 201-33).

⁸⁴ Green (2006: 183-4). van der Laan (1990: 219). Both Green and van der Laan reproach Moretti Pieri's study for its lack of consideration of episode sequence in particular.

considered witnesses to the text used by Sedulius. Furthermore, as Metzger states, 'a Gospel harmony has two independent characteristics; it has a text, and it has also a sequence'.⁸⁵ By sequence, Metzger is referring to the order in which the harmony combines the episodes or verses from the separate Gospels; both the Arabic Diatessaron and the *Unum Ex Quattuor* are witnesses only to the sequence of Tatian's Diatessaron, not to its text, since both have been adapted to include texts drawn from much later biblical sources. The text of the *Unum Ex Quattuor*, at some point in its transmission, was adapted from its original text to a Vulgate Latin model and it is therefore of little value as a witness to Tatian's text, nor to any possible Old Latin translations of that text.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the Arabic Diatessaron's value as a witness to Tatian's original has been called into serious question, as its Arabic text is said to be heavily contaminated by the Vulgate Syriac Peshitta,⁸⁷ furthermore, Ciasca's Latin translation of the Arabic Diatessaron used by Moretti Pieri has been once again adapted to the Vulgate text, producing some resemblances to the Vulgate text that are apparently absent from the Arabic.⁸⁸ Despite this, Moretti Pieri draws on the readings found in the text of both witnesses as evidence for Sedulius's use of a *diatessaron*, whereas she should only be drawing on shared sequence of passages.

As a result, Moretti Pieri sometimes assigns the wrong origin to a particular passage in the *PC* according to the Vulgate text, which could have been avoided if the Old Latin text had been consulted with more rigour. For example, in Sedulius's portrayal of Jesus walking on water (Mt. 14:22-33; Mk. 6:45-52, Jn. 6:16-21) in book three, Moretti Pieri notes the similarity between line 221, *cum induceret hesperus umbras*, and the *Unum Ex Quattuor's uespere facto* (cap. 81).⁸⁹ The latter is certainly taken from the Matthean Vulgate reading *uespere autem facto* (Mt. 14:23). Ciasca's translation of the Arabic Diatessaron on the other hand preserves at chapter 18 the text *ut autem sero factum est*, which is also found in the Vulgate version of John 6:16. As a result, Moretti Pieri suggests proximity to the *Unum Ex Quattuor* on the basis of this Matthean reading.

⁸⁵ Metzger (1977: 26).

⁸⁶ Schmid (2003) calls the *Unum Ex Quattuor* 'a fine example of an early Vulgate text' that had been adapted to a Vulgate model at some point in its transmission.

⁸⁷ Metzger (1977: 16): 'From the point of view of the textual critic... most scholars have considered the Arabic Diatessaron to be worthless, either because it had been translated from a Syriac Diatessaron which was almost completely assimilated to the Peshitta text, or because the Arabic translation itself had accommodated to the Peshitta.'

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, 15: 'Ciasca's Latin translation of the Arabic text is not altogether satisfactory, for he frequently adopts the familiar Vulgate wording instead of making a literalistic rendering of the original.'

⁸⁹ Moretti Pieri (1969: 222-3).

However, consultation of the Old Latin tradition reveals that the codex Veronensis (VL4) and codex Usserianus (VL14) have the text *cum autem uespere factum esset* at John 6:16, which is clearly closer to Sedulius's text than either passage found in the Vulgate or the *diatessaron* witnesses. In the same episode, the comparison is drawn between Sedulius's *laborantem puppim* (PC 3,224) and Mark 6:48, *uidens eos laborantes in remigando*, as found in the Vulgate and the *Unum Ex Quattuor*. However, as Moretti Pieri concedes herself, Codex Palatinus (VL2) preserves the reading *nauis... magnis fluctibus laborabat* at Matthew 14:24, suggesting yet again a possible link between the Old Latin tradition and Sedulius's text that cannot be ignored.⁹⁰

These examples stem from the fundamental weakness in Moretti Pieri's study that is impossible to escape: there exists no contemporary or earlier Old Latin *diatessaron* with which Sedulius's text can be compared.⁹¹ Any attempt to draw conclusions on Sedulius's use of a *diatessaron*, or indeed any non-Latin biblical harmony such as Marcion's text or the Dura Europus Harmony, must therefore be confined to the comparison of episode sequence alone. However, at the level of detail required for the investigation of Sedulius's biblical sources, the analysis of verse sequence is to some extent dependent on the Latin text of the Old Latin or Vulgate version that the author uses. An example is seen in Sedulius's account of Jesus's healing of a Paralytic Man (Mt. 9:1-8; Mk. 2:1-12; Lk. 5:18-26) found at PC 3,86-102 and analysed as a Marcan passage below. This brief passage offers credible evidence to some extent supporting Moretti Pieri's theory that Sedulius used an Old Latin *diatessaron* as his base text when composing the *PC*. However, it is also clear how difficult it is to draw conclusions based on later witnesses to such a text like the *Unum Ex Quattuor* and the Arabic *Diatessaron*. In such a scenario, one is restricted to basing conclusions on analysis of verse sequence, but this can only be determined with certainty once Sedulius's text type has been established, as seen with the use of *grabatum* in the Paralytic Man episode that

⁹⁰ Moretti Pieri (1969: 177).

⁹¹ Schmid (2003: 198-9) examining the different approaches taken by scholars in an effort to reconstruct a possible Old Latin *Diatessaron*, concludes that there is no evidence to suggest that the variant readings found in medieval vernacular Gospel harmonies are proof of a lost Old Latin *diatessaron* rather than the result of transmission and editing errors: 'Although it is conceivable that such an Old Latin translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* once existed, the efforts to reconstruct this text by using later western harmony witnesses, especially in the vernacular, have not been successful... The large Latin textual tradition that was generated by Codex Fuldensis... is sufficient to explain most of the "parallels" found among the later western vernacular harmonies. For the rest, the appeal to chance is not just a cheap escape, but based on observable fact.' See also his monograph, *Unum Ex Quattuor* (2005).

is Marcan if the Vulgate tradition alone is considered, but is also found in Luke and Matthew in the Old Latin tradition.

For this reason, the current study focuses on establishing Sedulius's biblical text traditions as a necessary preliminary to any analysis of his possible use of diatessaronic texts or Gospel harmonies. Sedulius's use of a harmonised source should not be discarded *per se*, but this work prefers to consider those harmonised passages that occur in the Latin tradition, typically found in homilies or other secondary sources. As for the wider question of Sedulius's compositional technique, this study will tackle the question from the standpoint of establishing the character of his biblical text in order to examine what the relationship of the individual passages under investigation can tell us about the methods that Sedulius may have employed to organise his biblical material.

In considering the composition of the *PO* in particular, it is worth questioning whether all five books were composed in the same manner. It is evident that the two miracle books, three and four, were written in the same style that combines intricate rhythmic and metrical prose and short un-metrical verbatim citations, above all the words of Jesus. In this manner, Sedulius reproduces in the *PO* the same effect found in the *PC*, where Jesus's words are given special emphasis as the vector of the *uirtus operata*.⁹² To a large extent the same the same method is used in books one and five, although the subject matter is different, the miracles of the Old Testament in the former and the Judgement, Passion and Resurrection of Jesus in the latter. Book two, on the other hand, stands apart from all the others in its style as well as in the type of biblical citation. Rather than weave short citations into stylised narrative passages, book two begins several chapters with extensive citations sometimes spanning multiple verses. This is discussed further below but it is worth considering whether book two's form has anything to do with the Asterius's subscription found in several manuscripts that *inter alia* claims he found Sedulius's work scattered amongst his papers.⁹³ It is possible therefore that book two is not in its final state but represents a draft form with long biblical passages out of which Sedulius intended to craft the book in the manner found in the remaining books of the *PO*. As shall be seen below, this theory is not without issues, not least the fact that many citations in the book appear to be from a totally

⁹² Bureau (2004: 202-3).

⁹³ Huemer & Panagl (2007: vii): opus... quod Sedulius inter cartolas suas sparsas reliquid et recolliti adunatique sunt a tuscio rufo asterio.

different source to those found elsewhere in the *PO*. However, if not representing an unfinished state of his composition, it appears likely that book two at least represents a different stage of the *PO* composition and treatment of the biblical text.

Finally, it is worth considering Sedulius's reasons for the composition of the *PO* alongside the *PC*. In the second prefatory letter to Macedonius, Sedulius's mentions the constraints of metre while composing the *PC* in his explanation as to why he composes the *PO*.⁹⁴ As Sedulius makes clear that the *PO* was composed after the *PC*, it is generally assumed that the former was created by Sedulius by paraphrasing his verse work into prose.⁹⁵ As Sedulius's works are the earliest extant examples of this *opus geminatum*, we are somewhat obliged to take him at his word when he implies that the *PO* was composed after the *PC*.⁹⁶ However, this is not the case with another well-known *opus geminatum*, that of the *Laude/Carmen De Uirginitate* of Aldhelm of Malmesbury, in which Aldhelm explicitly states that he composed his prose version of his work on virginity before the verse version.⁹⁷ Even if Sedulius composed the *PC* before the *PO*, it appears likely that he would have compiled some sort of draft work in prose to aid him in the composition of the verse work, according to the method that Virgil was said to have employed in the composition of the *Aeneid*.⁹⁸ When composing the *PO*, it would therefore make sense to return to this draft and use it as the basis for his polished prose work. Therefore, it is perhaps more useful to think of the *PO* as sibling of the *PC* rather than a direct descendent. This has important consequences for how we treat the two works as witnesses to Sedulius's biblical text. For if both works witness the same draft text, in which the biblical citations would have possibly laid out, then the *PO* is as likely as the *PC*, if not more likely, to preserve an earlier form of Sedulius's biblical text, since in the latter Sedulius would have been more likely to change or modify his biblical text in order to fit the constraints of metre.

⁹⁴ *Epistola Ad Macedonium* II, p.172, 1-2: siquidem multa pro metricae necessitatis angustia priori commentario nequaquam uidentur inserta.

⁹⁵ Friesen (2011: 131-2).

⁹⁶ The term *opus geminatum* was first applied to the *PO* and *PC* by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (731). For a summary of the use of the term and other notable Anglo-Saxon examples, see Friesen (2011).

⁹⁷ Aldhelm, *Prosa De Uirginitate*, 60.

⁹⁸ Aelius Donatus, *Uita Uergilii*, 23: Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestam que in XII libros particulatim componere instituit.

1.4 Method of Investigation

The initial aim of this study was to examine all biblical material, paraphrased and cited both in the *PC* and the *PO*. However, as regards the *PC*, establishing a source text on the basis of poetic paraphrased material is beset with difficulties. As Green remarks, the paraphrase technique employed by biblical epic poets renders it difficult to establish an exact concordance with a particular version of the Bible.⁹⁹ As Sedulius himself admits, the poet makes many modifications to the text due to metrical necessity.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, a reading that looks like an Old Latin variant can sometimes come from a non-biblical source. For example, at *PC* 2,210, in the phrase *fastigium pinnae*, *fastigium* is found in the African codex *Bobiensis* alone at Matthew 4:5, suggesting a possible link to the African tradition. However, as van der Laan has shown, the word is also found in Virgil in the *fastigia tecti* of Evander's hut at *Aeneid* 8,388.¹⁰¹ Thus literal allusions along with the exigencies of poetic technique often cloud the biblical source used by Sedulius. A further issue with Sedulius's text, both in the *PC* and the *PO*, is his habit of harmonising different pericopes when composing his work. As seen in the above sample of text taken from the Paralytic Man Miracle, analysis of Sedulius's biblical text first demands unravelling the different Gospel strands before each strand can be compared against the Old Latin and Vulgate traditions. Unfortunately, there is sometimes a certain amount of harmonisation between the Old Latin Gospels themselves and as a result some episodes are almost impossible to trace.¹⁰² Finally, Springer casts doubt on whether Sedulius's biblical text can even be found, noting the example found in Athanasius's *Life of St Antony*, who was able to memorize the scriptures simply by hearing them.¹⁰³

Many of these issues are, if not entirely removed, greatly reduced in the analysis of Sedulius's text in the *PO*. As a prose work, the biblical material is not affected by metrical constraints and part or full line citations of biblical text are regularly found throughout the work. In the *PO* Sedulius cites 93 part or full verses of the Gospels (of which 49 are Matthean, 21 Johannine, 20 Lukan and three Marcan), 33 verses from the

⁹⁹ Green (2007).

¹⁰⁰ *Epistola Ad Macedonium* II, p.172, 1-2.

¹⁰¹ van der Laan (1990: 205).

¹⁰² In particular in the Colbertinus (VL6) and the Vercellensis (VL3).

¹⁰³ Springer (1988: 15, n.68).

Psalms and 15 verses from the Epistles. Given the complexity of unravelling and then analysing the separate elements within Sedulius's *PC* text, not to mention the additional problems posed by his use of paraphrase and metre, it was decided, after some attempts at analysing his *PC* text, to use as a starting point the citations found in all of the books of the *PO*. This provides a selection of readings that is both wide enough to draw important conclusions on Sedulius's text type and that is not too great that the variant readings cannot be discussed in detail. Nevertheless, paraphrasis is considered when it is found alongside citation as a control to the readings found in the citation, but without the presence of cited material, analysis of paraphrased text alone has the tendency to produce many contradictory variant readings, which themselves preclude accurate conclusions.

Although prose text is less subject to the type of metrical constraints that can be observed in hexameter verse, Sedulius's prose in the *PO* is typical of the highly intricate metrical and rhythmical prose of Late Antiquity.¹⁰⁴ As a result, Sedulius's choice of word is partly dictated by his choice of rhythm in his *clausulae*. This is especially true in the paraphrased text that surrounds citations but also in the selection of text for citations themselves. It is therefore important to take this into account when using paraphrased text in particular as a source of biblical text variants. For example, in the of John 14:5-6, Jesus's reply to Thomas's question of how they can find the way is framed by Sedulius as follows:

PO 5,38, p.302, 19:

respondit euidenter **et dixit:** ego sum uia et ueritas et uita

The words *et dixit* are a potential variant site in the Latin tradition. Group **2B** witnesses, the Vulgate manuscripts, generally read *dicit ei iesus* as a translation of λέγει αὐτῷ [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς; Group **2A** Old Latin witnesses read *dicit ei ihs* but the Group **1** witnesses are split between *dicit illi ihs* (VL5 VL13 VL14) and *ait illi ihs* (VL2 VL3). As a result, Sedulius's *et dixit* appears to be evidence that his base text preserved *dicit* rather than *ait*. However, of far more importance is the *clausula* rhythm and metre. Jules Clandel's

¹⁰⁴ Hagendahl's study on *clausulae* reveals that both metre and accent were important in the Late Antique *clausulae* form, with accent dominating by the time of Ammianus, without ever totally displacing metre. See Hagendahl (1937: 20-24).

study on Sedulius's *clausulae* reveals that the spondaic *clausula* is one of the most important used by Sedulius.¹⁰⁵ In addition to *et dixit*, notable variations used by Sedulius can be seen introducing Jesus's words to the Ten Lepers in book four of the *PO* and citations taken from Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians and the Book of Wisdom in books three and five of the *PO* respectively.¹⁰⁶ It is far more likely therefore that Sedulius's choice of *dixit* was determined by his desire to have a final spondee in the *clausula*, which is possible with *et dicere* but not *et aiere* and not reflective of the reading found in his base text. As a result, variants found in the *clausulae* of paraphrased prose text have sometimes been disregarded and all variants found in *clausulae* even in verbatim cited text have been treated with caution. However, in support of the value of verbatim citations for preserving the original text, it is important to note that the *contrast* between the prose style of the paraphrased text and the ametric text of the verbatim citation is arguably part of the design of the *PO*. This in turn strengthens the argument that the verbatim citation was deliberately left unchanged from its original form.

It is also worth noting that not all citations are of the same value for analysis. As mentioned above, some of Sedulius's citations quote explicitly and at length the biblical text, such as in book two of the *PO*, where Matthew 2:1-8 and 2:9-11 are cited in a block at the beginning of the two passages (*PO* 2,7 & 2,8) almost as if they were extended lemmata. In such circumstances, there is a high degree of certainty that the cited text represents that found in Sedulius's biblical source. Unfortunately, not all of Sedulius's citations are of the same quality or quantity; many are only of a few words. In contrast to his predecessor Juvencus, Sedulius's citation style in the *PC* has been described as focusing on the symbolic power of the narrative rather than attempting to reproduce the biblical text faithfully in his poem.¹⁰⁷ Sedulius reproduces this style in the miracle passages of the *PO*, choosing to cite only a couple of key words spoken by Jesus, his disciples or the object of the miracle and reconstructing the remainder of the episode in his own words. As a result, these miracle passages, compared with the

¹⁰⁵ Clandel (1904: 33).

¹⁰⁶ *PO* 4,16, p.266, 14: respondit miseranter ac dixit; *PO* 3,14, p.244, 15: et iterum monet idem doctor et dicit; *PO* 5,23, p. 293,1: scriptura quippe uenerabilis dicit. All of these also belong to category two of the rhythmic *clausulae* identified by Hagendahl in his study on Arnobius's *clausulae*, i.e. two syllables between the last and penultimate accent in the *clausula*. This form accounts for half of Ammianus's *clausulae* and 63% of Arnobius's. See Hagendahl (1937: 22-25).

¹⁰⁷ Bureau (2004).

narrative of Jesus's life, provide little help in our search to identify Sedulius's biblical source; instead, when they include citation at all, the cited passages often only throw up one or two words that show variation between the different traditions. In such cases it is important to establish the reliability of the citation. Houghton has shown the importance of establishing when a writer is likely to be citing directly from a text, which he terms 'primary citations' and when he is likely to be recalling from memory, 'secondary citations'.¹⁰⁸ Ideally, primary citations will make a reference to the codex used,¹⁰⁹ but in Sedulius, this extends only as far as mentioning that the 'the Gospel chapter continues thus...' or 'the text of the Gospel lesson continues thus...'.¹¹⁰ While such information is not a certain indicator that Sedulius is citing from a written text, the use of such phrases occurs alongside the longest, principally Vulgate, biblical citations in the *PO*. These two elements taken together is strong evidence for Sedulius's direct use of a written source at some points at least in the composition of the *PO*.

Text Types

In establishing the relationship between Sedulius's text and the Latin Gospel tradition this study has compared Sedulius's readings with individual manuscripts; as mentioned above, the readings compared can be found in the appendices and the results of this comparison have been compiled and displayed in the tables and graphs at the beginning of each chapter. In addition, however, recourse has been made to the text type theory in order to give an idea of how Sedulius's Latin text compares with the other principal Latin traditions. This is primarily used in the discussion of Sedulius's text in the verse-by-verse commentary but results for the major text types have also been included in the tables and graphs. The text type theory is not without its drawbacks, some of which will be discussed here below.¹¹¹ It does however have the great advantage of practicality, allowing discussion of three or four traditions rather than constant referral to a dozen or so manuscripts.

On the other hand, text types must be treated with caution in the Latin tradition, firstly because their use can be a little misleading, as terms such as African, European, Spanish

¹⁰⁸ Houghton (2008: 73-4).

¹⁰⁹ See Parker (2008: 111).

¹¹⁰ *PO* 2,8, p.205, 16: Euangelicum ergo sequens ait ita capitulum. *PO* 2,13, p.213, 3: Euangelicae lectionis ergo textus ita prosequitur. See also *PO* 2,9, p.209, 5 & 2,15, p.218, 13.

¹¹¹ A recent and detailed summary of the weaknesses and strengths of text type theory can be found in Burton (2013: 177-186).

or Italian text types suggest a homogenous text used in a clearly defined region that is exactly not the case.¹¹² Second, there are sometimes very real difficulties in reconstructing text types. In the case of the Gospels, this is perhaps less marked than in other books of the Bible, but this nevertheless varies from one Gospel book to the next. For the Latin tradition of Matthew, the situation is the clearest, with a mostly complete manuscript witness to an early “African” text type, the Bobiensis (VL1) a handful of manuscripts that witness a different “European” text type. Given the complexities of the Old Latin tradition, no attempt has been made to fully reconstruct an **I** text type; instead it is taken as the readings of the Veronensis (VL4), which is usually supported by the majority of the unmixed Old Latin manuscripts. Only when VL4 offers a text that is not supported anywhere else, even in the patristic tradition, is the testimony of other Old Latin manuscripts preferred. Finally there are those manuscripts that witness Jerome’s revision of this recension (Vulgate).¹¹³ However, even in the case of Matthew there are those manuscripts, the so-called “mixed text” witness that fall somewhere between the Old Latin European tradition and Jerome’s revision, displaying readings that are found in both text types.

In the other Gospels, the situation is less clear. In John, this is reflected by the decision taken by the editors of the *Vetus Latina* edition of John to present a format that offers a compromise between text types and single manuscripts, with text types used for Jerome’s revision (Group **2B**) and the 4th-century Old Latin recension from which came the manuscript used by Jerome as the base text for his revision (Group **2A**). However, the manuscripts that preserve a text that is neither like a Group **2A** or a Group **2B** text are placed in Group 1 and the readings of these manuscripts are displayed in individual lines.¹¹⁴

The *Vetus Latina* edition of Mark uses text types, which have been followed for comparison with Sedulius's text; here the quantity of Sedulius's Marcan readings is insufficient to judge the worth of the text type theory in Mark in comparison with

¹¹² Burton (2013 : 184-5) draws on examples of text types in Old Latin Revelations where the “African” **C** text type is used by Cassiodorus, “Spanish” text type **S** used by Tyconius and Augustine’s **A** type is found in the Sinai Lectionary.

¹¹³ The basis for the identification of different European and African recensions in the Old Latin tradition is the use of noticeably different lexis and syntax for the translation of certain specific Greek words and clauses. See Burton (2013: 178).

¹¹⁴ Burton et al. (2011: 4).

Sedulius's text. In Luke, on the other hand, no *Vetus Latina* edition was available at the time of the study and Burton's study on the Old Latin Gospel text of Luke reveals a complicated picture for the Old Latin traditions.¹¹⁵ As a result, efforts were made in this study to produce text types using the results of Burton's *Übersetzungsfarbe* analysis.¹¹⁶ This is discussed further in the introduction of Chapter four below, but some preliminary points should be made here. The *Übersetzungsfarbe* method aims to reveal similarities between manuscripts based on common translation patterns and does not pretend to establish the relationship between those manuscripts. Text type theory on the other hand aims to place different manuscripts into groups according to their proximity to pre-defined recensions. Thus witnesses that display an early text type as found in 3rd century Africa are assigned to **K**; witnesses that display characteristics of this text 'revised against' or, more accurately, 'mixed with' a later text found predominantly in European writers of the 4th century onwards are assigned to the text type **C** and so on. Needless to say text type theory relies far on the judgement of the scholar and depends on the premise that such a text predates another. *Übersetzungsfarbe* on the other hand depends less on human judgement and does not establish any sort of hierarchy between traditions.

In using the *Übersetzungsfarbe* method to produce 'text types', this study could be accused of attempting a shortcut from similarities between manuscripts to a hierarchical system. I can assure the reader that this is not the aim, but that the text type nomenclature was employed in to ensure a certain harmony between the different chapters. The four text type symbols used for Luke's text were **V** (Vulgate), **I**, **D** and **C**. Vulgate and **I** are essentially the same European recension and can be distinguished by Jerome's revisions in the former. The two other text types, given the symbols **C** and **D**, are less clearly defined. **D** is taken from the readings of the Vercellensis (VL3), an Italian manuscript which is also the oldest manuscript witness. At many points VL3 is supplemented by the readings of VL5 where the two witnesses agree against the other witnesses. **C** is taken from the readings of VL2, the Palatinus and represents an essentially African text with a European admixture. Rather than view these three manuscripts as representatives of separate text types, it is more useful to think of them as equivalents of the Group 1 witnesses of John, in that they do not really fit with the

¹¹⁵ Burton (2000: 56).

¹¹⁶ For details of the *Übersetzungsfarbe* method, see Burton (2013: 186-90).

other Latin witnesses. Although the use of text-type symbols reduces the need to refer to specific manuscripts, there is the risk of blurring the lines that exist in the complex Latin tradition and over-generalising the relationship of Sedulius's text this tradition. The reader is therefore urged to refer the appendices for the results of the individual manuscript comparison as a first port of call.

Control

In considering the framing that Sedulius uses to introduce citations, it is worth noting that the wider comments that Sedulius makes on the citation, where present, act as useful control for Sedulius's cited text. Often, the surrounding text in the *PO* will provide some sort of context or explanation of the passage cited. In such cases the vocabulary used can sometimes confirm that a variant reading found in the citation has not been altered by later correctors or corrupted somehow in transmission. Where Sedulius does not provide any explanatory context for the citation in the *PO*, the equivalent passage in the *PC* can also act as a control, but the following factors must be taken into consideration:

1. Sedulius could be using different versions of a biblical text for the *PC* and *PO*.
2. The passage in the *PC* will be adapted according to the requirements of the hexameter and poetic diction.

Therefore, the passage found in the *PC* is only ever suggestive, never conclusive.

Flattening and errors due to memory

It is also important to note that citations from memory are subject to changes in word order and flattening that must be considered when determining their text type, although this does not necessarily reduce their value in determining Sedulius's Bible text.¹¹⁷ A possible example of flattening and word order alteration is Sedulius's citation of I Timothy 2:5, which in the **DIV** Pauline tradition reads *unus enim Deus unus et mediator Dei et hominum*.¹¹⁸ Sedulius's text however reads: *omnipotens enim Dominus Iesus*

¹¹⁷ For flattening, see Houghton's analysis, complete with examples, of Augustine's citation technique, in Houghton (2008: 68-77).

¹¹⁸ **DIV** form the basis of the European tradition. **V** is the text commonly found attached to Vulgate versions of the Gospels; **D** is formed from the agreements between the Latin side of the bi-lingual Claromontanus (VL75) and the Budapest manuscript (VL89). **I** is based on the readings found in the

*Christus, qui Dei mediator et hominis adprobatur...*¹¹⁹ While the singular *hominis* is found in a dozen or so patristic citations on the Vetus Latina Database Online (VLD),¹²⁰ none of these citations are drawn from a commentary lemma text and it is probable that these, like Sedulius, preserve the singular out of error. The only other variant in the text from text types **DIV** is the word order of *mediator Dei* that is reversed in Sedulius. This is not found elsewhere on the VLD and is probably due to Sedulius's error in recalling the text or his adaptation of the biblical text to suits the needs of its use as an epithet for Jesus. This example is unusual for Sedulian citations, with most of the citations, especially the longer ones paralleled by a codical text.

In addition to flattening, Houghton lists two other factors that can be the cause of an altered form in a patristic citation that are not the responsibility of the author: the use of scriptural extracts or *testimonia* and the influence of another patristic text.¹²¹ The use of *testimonia* is largely reserved to OT citations, which outside of the Psalms do not form part of this investigation. However, the Psalm text itself was subject to its own form of alteration, when a verse is used as the basis for an antiphon or psalter collect, the short supplementary prayers recited after a psalm that are based on one or two modified verses of the relevant psalm.¹²² An example of Sedulius citing an antiphon text rather than the verse found in the psalter can be seen in his citation of Psalm 28:3, which in Sedulius's text is given as *uox domini super aquas multas*.¹²³ Sedulius's form of 28:3 is unusual in the addition of *multas* after *aquas*. *aquas multas* is not found in this position in any of the Psalters, but error on Sedulius's part can be discounted as the same reading is found in the equivalent passage in the *PC*.¹²⁴ The most plausible explanation is that Sedulius's text is a form that has been adapted to suit the liturgy and indeed it is found in this form in the Baptism Rite of the Stowe Missal.¹²⁵ Antiphons were not taken from Psalms alone but could be drawn from any part of the Bible to reflect the readings at the relevant feast. Consequently, several of Sedulius's shorter biblical citations, in

lemma texts of the commentaries of Ambrosiaster and Marius Victorinus. While we await the new Vetus Latina edition on the Pauline Epistles the most recent explanation of the text types remains Fröhlich's (1995-1998) introduction to the Vetus Latina edition of I Corinthians.

¹¹⁹ *PO* 2,6, p.202, 16.

¹²⁰ **POT** Subst 10; **AN** Paul 1 Cor 077; **PS-HI** 2 Cor 1; **GR-M** Jb 9,61; 12,13; 28,33; **AN** h Tol 19,4; **S-MO** 917; **PS-SALO** Prv 69; **PS-GAI**.

¹²¹ Houghton (2008: 72).

¹²² For an introduction to Psalter collects see Brou & Wilmart (1948: 16-18).

¹²³ *PO* 1,9, p.183, 21-2.

¹²⁴ *PC* 1,143-4.

¹²⁵ Stowe Missal, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, **Ms D ii 3, f. 52 v**.

particular those associated with a known feast, could well have been drawn from the chants used in his ecclesiastical milieu.¹²⁶ The possibility of liturgical sources has been considered throughout the study, but a full comparison of Sedulius's biblical text with the text found in the extant liturgical documents goes beyond the scope of the present study. Such a study is a *desideratum* for future work on Sedulius.

It must however, always be borne in mind that some of Sedulius's biblical citations may have been drawn from hearing the liturgy, or from other sources. This is particularly evident in Sedulius's discussion of the Lord's Prayer, which is drawn from Matthew 6:9-13, but only superficially: the immediate source for Sedulius would have been the text that he learnt by heart within his Church. Another source of material for citations that do not come directly from the scriptures are patristic commentaries: Mayr suggested a raft of parallels with patristic writers, Greek and Latin, including Hippolytus, Origen, Victorinus of Pettau, Fortunatianus of Aquileia, and Hilary as well as Augustine and Ambrose.¹²⁷ However, Sedulius's preference for commonplaces and the fact that he does not name any sources apart from the Gospel, the Apostle Paul and the Psalms (or David/The Prophet),¹²⁸ has made most commentators cautious in drawing conclusions.¹²⁹

Use of Secondary Sources

Concerning the influence of another patristic text, Houghton stresses that 'a similar text is not always a sure sign of dependence' but that a better indication of reliance on a secondary source comes from 'similar sequence of biblical citations or verbal correspondence outside the scriptural text'.¹³⁰ In addition, the analysis of the text types found in Sedulius's biblical text could give a good idea of a reading that is 'out of

¹²⁶ A number of Sedulius's biblical citations have been used at some point as antiphons but in John alone particularly common antiphons include John 1:14, John 1:29, John 10:30 and John 14:11.

¹²⁷ Mayr (1916: 55-68). Green (2006: 234-6) judged all but the allusions to Ambrose and Augustine as speculative, and subsequent studies have focused on Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannem*, Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam* and Jerome's *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*.

¹²⁸ See *PO* 2,7, p.205, 16: euangelicum ergo sequens ait ita capitulum...; *PO* 3,14, p.244, 11: paulum audiamus apostolum...; *PO* 2,17, p.225,4: denique Dauid... praedicat; *PO* 2,17, p.255, 13: audiamus... propheta.

¹²⁹ Deerberg (2011: 21-22).

¹³⁰ Houghton (2008: 72).

character'. For example, in Sedulius's citations of John, he consistently uses a text, outside of book two of the *PO*, that translates *δοξάζειν* by *honorificare*, a reading only found consistently in the Group 1 (the oldest codices) witnesses VL13 VL14 and VL3; the Group 2A and the 2B (the later Old Latin and the Vulgate witnesses) principally use *clarificare* to translate *δοξάζειν*.¹³¹ Nevertheless, in Sedulius's citation of John 17:10, the following reading is found: *clarificatus sum in eis*. The use of *clarificatus sum* is out of character with the rest of Sedulius's Johannine citations and the influence of a secondary source should be suspected. However, no secondary source fits both cited text and context exactly.

The context is part of the exegesis of the first petition of the Lord's Prayer, of which there is a long commentary tradition; however, although there are numerous examples of patristic writers from Cyprian onwards citing biblical verses with variants of *clarificare* at this point, none of those verses is John 17:10.¹³² *Clarificatus sum in eis* is found in Augustine's *Tractates* at *Tractate* 107,3. There is 'verbal correspondence' between Sedulius's text and Augustine's, but crucially Augustine does not mention the Lord's Prayer. Therefore, if Augustine is Sedulius's source, the latter is responsible for using Augustine's citation and exegesis of the verse in a new context. Since no 'smoking gun' can be found in this instance, Sedulius's citation is included alongside the other citations for quantification, but it is not considered a good witness to his biblical text due to the extensive use of *clarificare* in other witnesses to the exegesis of the first petition of Lord's Prayer and Sedulius's own similarity to Augustine's *Tractate* on 17:10.

Occasionally, the reading found in Sedulius is not at all paralleled by a reading in another source. In cases where a secondary source of this kind is suspected but cannot be identified, or when Sedulius's text shows no more than an incidental resemblance to a biblical verse, it is futile to use such citations as evidence of contact between Sedulius and the biblical text. Fortunately, however, Sedulius is unusual as a patristic writer as he usually quotes the biblical text with great care, and in most cases Sedulius's text finds a precise equivalent in the codical tradition. One example, among many that could be cited, is Sedulius's citation of Luke 10:20:

¹³¹ Burton (2000: 68).

¹³² See *infra ad loc.*

*uerumtamen nolite gaudere, quia spiritus uobis subiecti sunt. gaudete autem, quoniam nomina uestra scripta sunt in caelo.*¹³³

The text is typical of Sedulius's citations: it is almost identical to the text found in the Codex Usserianus (VL14), differing only in Sedulius's omission of *in hoc* (a possible transmission error as the *PC* text has *nec tantum hoc gaudete*).¹³⁴ The verse is popular with patristic writers and there are more than one hundred patristic citations found on the VLD, but comparison with these reveals Sedulius's worth as a witness to the biblical text: apart from Sedulius, the only other patristic authors to quote the verse in its entirety are Augustine in his *Speculum* and Bede in the lemma text of his Commentary on Luke.¹³⁵ Nearly all other authors flatten the text to some extent: *uerumtamen in hoc nolite gaudere* is frequently simplified to *nolite (in hoc) gaudere* and *gaudete autem* is replaced by *sed (gaudete)*. In this form, with minor variants, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose, Augustine, Rufinus and Gregory the Great amongst others quote the verse, yet it is not found once in this form in the codical tradition.¹³⁶ Outside of the psalms Sedulius generally reveals his preference for the scriptural form over the liturgical: an example of this can be seen in his citation of Luke 2:13-14, where Sedulius quotes *in altissimis Deo* in accordance with the majority of codical witnesses, against *in excelsis Deo*, the form found in the Gloria and a great number of patristic citations.¹³⁷

Therefore, several criteria have been used in this study to ensure that Sedulius's citations accurately reflect an actual Bible text that he had before him and that he used for his citations. Firstly, I have taken into account the length of citations, assuming that abbreviated passages are more likely to have been quoted from memory. Secondly, I have identified the presence of his readings in codical sources, especially if these readings agree with the scriptural form against readings found in liturgical sources. Lastly, I have identified the absence of 'flattening hallmarks', such as omitting connectors like *enim*.¹³⁸ If these readings then agree with the text type of the other

¹³³ *PO* 4,14, p.264, 15-17.

¹³⁴ *PC* 4,160.

¹³⁵ *AU* spe 27; *BED* Lc 3.

¹³⁶ *AMst* 1 Cor 12,31; *AM* Ps 48,19,1; *AU* Jo 2,13; 13,17,22; Ps 130,8,20; 146,10,49; s 33A,4; *RUF* Rm 9,15; *GR-M* Ep 11,36.

¹³⁷ See *infra ad loc.*

¹³⁸ Houghton (2008: 69-70) sees abbreviation, omission of connectors such as *enim* and the lack of support for cited variants among the biblical manuscript tradition as indicative that the cited text is from memory.

readings in the primary citations, then all the better. Although slightly circular, this reasoning can be used to establish Sedulius's characteristic text type. Possible secondary citations, such as the citation of John 17:10, will still be analysed as they provide useful information about Sedulius's citation method and can, with caution, also be used to reveal the character of his Bible text.

Hermann Frede of The Vetus Latina Institute proposed another approach to the analysis of patristic citations.¹³⁹ Although some of Frede's concerns relate to the interference of the Greek tradition that do not apply in the case of Sedulius,¹⁴⁰ the most relevant ensure that common variants are not down to coincidence alone,¹⁴¹ that variants are not caused by contamination from secondary literature, and finally that the variant is not a correction by a later scribe.¹⁴² The approach to variants from secondary literature has been discussed above, but variants due to chance or scribal error deserve further discussion.

For Frede, only a thorough survey of all variants found in other writers can allow one to conclude that a variant's appearance is down to chance.¹⁴³ For the current study, the number of citations used by Sedulius renders the collation of all variants, found both in manuscripts and patristic citations almost impossible. Bonifatius Fischer, as part of his study into the Latin Bible, prepared partial collations of all manuscript variants found in the Latin Gospels before the 10th century, but the passages he selected rarely overlap with Sedulius's citations.¹⁴⁴ To supplement Fischer's findings, the VL edition, which makes use of the latest codices as well as including the patristic citations, is used when available for Sedulius's citations. However, this is still in the process of being published. At the time of writing, the Gospels of John and Mark have been half

¹³⁹ Frede (1972).

¹⁴⁰ Given that Sedulius's citations are nearly always paralleled by a Latin tradition, it can be safely assumed that he was not translating of his own accord from a Greek text.

¹⁴¹ Frede (1972: 462): 'Wenn ein Schriftsteller eine Bibelstelle mit eigenen Worten variiert, diese Worte aber bei anderen Autoren im direkten Zitat erscheinen, hat dann der erste die Bibel des zweiten gekannt oder nicht?'

¹⁴² Frede (1972: 468-9).

¹⁴³ Frede (1972: 462): 'nur aufgrund eines zusammenfassenden Überblicks über alle vorhandenen und in Frage kommenden Lesarten an der betreffenden Stelle läßt sich darauf eine Antwort finden, und auch dann nicht immer!'

¹⁴⁴ Fischer (1988-91). Where Fischer's selections do overlap with Sedulius's citations, I have followed his findings as far as possible.

completed,¹⁴⁵ while the Pauline Epistles are complete save for Corinthians and Romans, although a thorough introduction exists for the former.¹⁴⁶ Luke, Matthew and the Psalms have not yet been published in any form. For those citations where the VL edition is not available, Sedulius's text has been compared against Denk's card index of citations as reproduced online on the VLD and when a reading found on the VLD is cited in support of the text type, it is done so using Fischer and Frede's system of abbreviations used in the VL Edition, as set out in Gryson's *Répertoire général*.¹⁴⁷ However, it must be kept in mind that despite the large number of cards found on the database, it is not a complete index of the patristic readings for any given biblical verse. Furthermore, the readings found on the VLD are sometimes out of date, both for patristic and codical citations where a newer edition has been released. In such instances, the latest edition has been used as far as possible. For the codices, the readings in John have been taken from the electronic VL edition available online; for the other Gospels, the readings of the Codex Bezae have been taken from the online transcription made available by the Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing (ITSEE);¹⁴⁸ other readings have been taken from the VLD. When the readings for codices found on the VLD differ from those found in the MJA 2nd edition, the reading found in the latter has generally been preferred. Despite their drawbacks, the database cards provide a basis for comparison to remove incidental variants in Sedulius's text that find few or no parallels in other patristic writers from those variants that are supported by substantial use in other authors. Finally, for scribal errors, Frede's third concern, a detailed understanding of manuscript tradition that supports Sedulius's text is required.

1.5 Manuscripts

With the focus of this study falling on the biblical citations in the *PO*, it is essential to understand the manuscript tradition behind the text of the *PO* in which these citations

¹⁴⁵ Burton et al. (2011-). All of the codical witnesses for Old Latin John are available through the electronic edition of VL John found at <http://iohannes.com/vetuslatina/edition/index.html>. Haelewyck (2013-).

¹⁴⁶ Fröhlich (1995-8).

¹⁴⁷ Gryson et al. (2007).

¹⁴⁸ <http://epapers.bham.ac.uk/1664/1/Bezae-Latin.xml>.

are found. The great advantage of the *PO* is that as a prose work it includes large sections of text that offer a valuable witness to Sedulius's biblical text. The great disadvantage is the manuscript tradition. Parker, like Frede, emphasises the importance of knowing how carefully the manuscript tradition has preserved the writer's original text.¹⁴⁹ In the case of Sedulius, he wrote the *PO* in the mid-5th century, but the oldest manuscript dates to the late 8th century. This gap of over three hundred years is less than ideal and is a century longer than the gap for the *PC*. Furthermore, while Springer lists 175 manuscripts that contain the *PC*, only seven are listed as containing the *PO* more or less in its entirety.¹⁵⁰ Of these seven, Huemer used four for his 1887 edition:

Parisinus, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 12279, s. IX^{med}, (**P**)

Londinensis, British Library, Harley 3012, s. IX^{med} (**H**)

Bruxellensis, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, 5649-5667, s. IX² (**B**)

Turicensis, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 77, s. X (**R**)

In addition, the 1585 *editio princeps* was based on the now-lost Codex Iuretus (**I**). Of the three manuscripts neglected by Huemer, two are of great importance to the manuscript tradition of which one, the Berolinensis (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillips 1727, s. VIII/IX (**C**)) is the earliest witness to the *PO*. The other, the Aurelianensis (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 303, s. X² (**F**)) is of less value but nonetheless a valuable witness. The final manuscript of the *PO*, the Spinalensis (Épinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, 74(161), s. IX^{2/3}) is not included either in Huemer's original edition or in Panagl's 2007 revision.

Given the paucity of manuscripts for the *PO*, it is essential that their quality as witnesses to the biblical text be evaluated. In this, a good witness to Sedulius's prose text does not necessarily translate to being a good witness of Sedulius's biblical text. The biblical text can be affected by additional factors such as correction and Vulgatisation by a well-intentioned scribe who may help transmit an excellent copy of Sedulius's prose text, but from our perspective a totally useless copy of his biblical text.

¹⁴⁹ Parker (2008: 110).

¹⁵⁰ Springer (1995: 5-6, n. 15).

In addition, the readings found in the two 'new' manuscripts, the Berlinensis and the Aurelianensis, must be considered alongside the existing readings.¹⁵¹

The various merits of the different manuscripts used by Huemer have already been evaluated in his CSEL edition and here will only be repeated in brief. Of the manuscripts used by Huemer, he ranks **P** and **R** as the most important manuscripts, followed by **H**, **B** and finally **I**.

Despite the fact that Huemer fails to use **C** and **F** in his edition, he does provide a stemma for the manuscript tradition in two recensions, one made from **R** and **P** and the second, younger recension from **H**, **B** and $v (=I)$. Of the two recensions, **RP** contains fewer errors: seven that Huemer identifies as shared between the two manuscripts as compared with thirty-three in the **HBv** recension.¹⁵² **C** and **F** both fit into these two recensions very neatly. Springer already noted in his 1995 study that the readings of **C** most often correspond with those of **P** and **R**.¹⁵³ In addition, **C** also contains manuscript inscriptions as found in **R**.¹⁵⁴

In fact, of the seven errors found in **PR**, six are also found in **C**, which in turn contains only two of the thirty-two errors identified in **HBv**. Likewise, **F** shares twenty-six of the errors found in **HBv** and none of the seven errors found in **RP**. If Huemer's stemma is updated to include codices **C** and **F**, the recensions remain largely unchanged but the better recension **CRP** should be based on the following six not seven errors:¹⁵⁵

1,29, p.193, 20 dixit esse] dixisse **CPR**

2,11, p.211, 6: potuit] fuit **CPR**

2,17, p. 220, 10 habitans] habitent **C**, habitant **P**, habitet **R**

2,17, p.222, 15 canentium] canticum **CPR**

3,9, p.239, 19 frigentibus] frigentis **CPR**

3,11, p.241,7 uocibus] uocis **CPR**

¹⁵¹ Hereafter the manuscripts will be referred to by their initial.

¹⁵² Huemer & Panagl (2007: XL-XLI).

¹⁵³ Springer (1995: 23, n.53).

¹⁵⁴ Huemer & Panagl (2007: 500).

¹⁵⁵ Errors found in **PR** not found in **C**: *PO* 2,17 p.226,13: *uirus CFHB*] *uirtus PR*

While the younger, inferior recension, **HB_Fv**, is based on the following twenty-five shared errors:

Errors shared by **F** and **HI(v)** (**B** wanting):

- 1,1, p.180, 8: fungentem **PR**] fulgentem **FH_v**
1,5, p.182, 8: parceret **PR**] filium non feriret **FH_v**
1,20, p.188, 22: nutu traxerit **CPR**] nutu naturae traxerit **F**, nutu retraxerit **H**, naturae traxerit **v**
1,29, p.193, 15: autem **CPR**] *om.* **FH_v**
1,30, p.194, 23: ostentant **CPR**] ostentent **F**, ostendunt **H_v**
1,31, p.196, 6: spatiantur **CPR**] sparguntur **HF_v**
2,9, p.209, 15: confidentum **CPR**] confidentem **F**, confitendo **H_v**
2,10, p.210, 22: fuerit **CPR**] fuit **FH_v**
2,12, p.212, 1 baptizandus **CPR**] baptizaturus **F_v**, baptizatus **H**

Errors shared by **F** and **HBI(v)**:

- 2,13, p.213, 11: cum **CPR**] sunt **FHB_v**
2,14, p.216, 22: dignaretur saeculares **CPR**] saeculares dignaretur **FHB_v**
2,14, p.217, 7: posuerit **CPR**] deposuerit **FHB_v**
2,16, p.220, 5: donaret **PR**, donare **C**] largiretur **FHB_v**
3,1, p.232, 6: uidelicet **CPR**] scilicet **FHB_v**
3,2, p.233, 1: dehinc **CPR**] deinde **F**, inde **HB_v**
3,6, p.235, 17: prouidus **CPR**] profidus **FHB_v**
3,14, p.244, 1: sicut ... tractibus **CPR**] *om.* **FHB_v**
4,14, p.265, 8: aemularum **CPR**] nebularum **FHB_v**
5,8, p.280, 1: ignorantiae **CPR**] ignorantiae meae **FHB_v**
5,19, p.290, 9: cunctus **CPR**] totus **FHB_v**
5,21, p.291, 10: nequissima **CPR**] sequissima **F**, saeuissima **HB_v**
5,17, p.287, 22: quia **CPR**] qui **FHB_v**
5,24, p.293, 11: sacramenta **CPR**] secreta **F**, sacrata **HB_v**
5,31, p.298, 13: ante **CPR**] ante mortem **FHB_v**
5,37, p.302, 2: praerogare **PR**] prorogare **CFHB_v**

The above analysis of the errors Huemer used for the basis of his stemma shows that **C** should be ranked alongside **P** and **R**, while **F** is clearly a good witness from the younger recension. As witness to Sedulius's *PO* text **C** is clearly of the greatest importance; however, does this translate to **C** also being a good witness to Sedulius's biblical text?

Looking at **C** in greater detail, it is written in an early Caroline minuscule of Veronese type.¹⁵⁶ It contains many of the same errors as highlighted by Huemer as stemming from the copying of the archetype, written in continuous quadrata script,¹⁵⁷ such as confusion of 'C' & 'G', 'C' 'T', 'I' 'T', 'F' 'T', 'I' 'L' and 'E' 'I' and mistaken division of words.¹⁵⁸ In addition, Huemer notes that the scribe of the archetype frequently both omitted final 'm', 'n', 't', 's' and added them superfluously as well as confusing e, i - o, u.¹⁵⁹ These errors are particularly noticeable in **C**.¹⁶⁰

In addition, Huemer proposes a second codex (x) on which **PRHBv** (&**CF**) depend, written in an Anglo-Saxon script on the basis of the 'r' 's', 'a' 'u', 'ci' 'u', 'c' 'e' and 'a' 'o' confusions.¹⁶¹ In addition to these errors, **C** is characterised by the confusion of 'e' and 'a'.¹⁶² The 'e' 'a' confusion is probably behind the reading *reget* (=Vulgate) in Sedulius's citation of Mt. 2:6.¹⁶³ This characteristic must always be taken into account when evaluating **C**'s value as a witness to Sedulius's biblical text.

For the other new manuscript identified by Panagl, **F**, the number of errors shared with **HBv** clearly places it within this recension, but it is equally clear that it contains fewer errors than the other members of the recension. Indeed, for seven of the thirty-two

¹⁵⁶ Springer (1995: 37).

¹⁵⁷ Huemer & Panagl (2007: XLI). Presumably Uncialis Quadrata, though the 'E' 'I' confusion is only possible with a straight back 'E' as found in Capitals, therefore it is probably written in a somewhat hybrid script.

¹⁵⁸ e.g. *PO* 3,3, p.233, 14: uitii] uicus **C**; *PO* 3,5, p.235, 3: sauciati] saucitati **C**; *PO* 1,21, p.189, 1: inclinati stultum] inclinatis stultum **CRH**.

¹⁵⁹ Huemer & Panagl (2007: XLI).

¹⁶⁰ 'i' 'e' confusion: *PO* 2,5, p.201, 5: infernis] infirmis **C**; *PO* 2,8; 'u' 'o' confusion: *PO* 1,27, p.191, 9: tutum] totum **C**; *PO* 3,14, p.243, 8: infirmus] infirmos **C**; 'm' omitted: *PO* 2,7, p.205, 2: speluncam] spelunca **C**; *PO* 2,11, p.211, 14: longam] longa **C**; superfluous 'm': *PO* 2,8, p.208, 12: praesentia] presentiam **C**; 't' omitted: *PO* 2,12, p.212, 9: gereret] gerere **C**; *PO* 2,12, p.212, 10: deperderet] deperdere **C**.

¹⁶¹ Huemer & Panagl (2007: XLI). Presumably Semi-Uncial, the only script in which 'u' 'ci' confusions appear likely. Examples of these confusions, 's' 'r': *PO* 2,1, p.198, 2: serum] rerum **C**; *PO* 2,7, p.204, 19: contumeliose] contumeliore **CH**; *PO* 2,16, p.220, 4: largitus] largitur **CPB**; *PO* 2,17, p.227, 4: dinoscimus] dinoscimur **CPB**

¹⁶² *PO* 2,7, p.204, 16: parare] parere **C**; *PO* 2,8, p.207, 15: fiet] fiat **C**; *PO* 2,11, p.211, 11s.: doctrina] doctrine **C**.

¹⁶³ *PO* 2,7, p.203, 12: regat **PRFBv**] reget **CH Par**.

errors identified as common to this recension, **F** agrees with the **CPR** recension against **HBv**:

2,17, p.222, 5: *discipulis se CPRF]* *discipulis suis HBv*

2,17, p.230, 1: *arbor est CPRF]* *arborem HBv*

3,6, p.236, 15: *pariter CPRF]* *pariter iter HBv*

3,27, p.253, 13: *stercoribus CPRF]* *sordibus HBv*

4,1, p.255, 15: *parate CPRF]* *parare HBv*

4,22, p.272, 14: *moderatur CPRF]* *moderat HBv*

5,25, p.294, 9: *acerba PRF]* *acerua CHBv*

In other examples, **F** preserves a reading that, while different from **CPR** appears corrected in **HBv**. For example, at *PO* 5,21, p. 291, 10: *nequissima CPR]* *sequissima F, saeuissima HBv*. In this example, it is easy to see how *sequissima* could be corrected to *saeuissima* but it is harder to understand the jump from *nequissima* to *saeuissima*, or that *sequissima* could be based on *saeuissima*. At other points, it appears that **F** and **HBv** preserve different interpretations of the same error:

3,2, p.233,1: *dehinc CPR]* *deinde F, inde HBv*

2,9, p.209, 15: *confidentum CPR]* *confidentem F, confitendo Hv*

1,30, p.194, 23: *ostentant CPR]* *ostentent F, ostendunt Hv*

2,12, p.212, 1: *baptizandus CPR]* *baptizaturus Fv, baptizatus H*

If Huemer's stemma were reproduced to include **F**, this latter manuscript would have to be placed closer to the archetype in the **HBv** recension than any of these three.

C and **F** are invaluable additions to the manuscript tradition as a whole and examination of the biblical text they preserve reveals that they are also important witnesses to Sedulius's biblical text. Analysis of the biblical citations preserved in the five manuscripts and **v** reveals that **R** and **C** are the best witnesses of the biblical text and **F** of the younger recension. The variants found in the citations of Matthew were correlated as below:

Matthew		C	P	R	H	B	F	v
2:1	in oriente (=V)	x	x	x			x	x
	in orientem (=I(3 4) 7 9 10 56)				x			
2:6	regat populum (IV(var))		x	x			x	x
	reget populum (=V, 9)	x			x			
2:8	mittens eos (=5 7 10 13)	x	x	x			x	
	mittens illos (=IV)				x			x
2:12	regressi sunt (=I (3 4))	x		x				
	reuersi sunt (=V)		x		x		x	x
3:16	aperti sunt caeli (=HIL, HI CHRO(var))	x	x	x	x		x	
	aperti sunt ei caeli (=IV)					x		x
3:17	mihi bene conplacui (=30)			x	x	x		x
	mihi conplacui (=V)	x	x				x	
4:1	Iesus ductus est (=IV)	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	ductus est Iesus (=CHRO (var); GR-M; RES-R)							x
4:3	panes fiant (=IV)	x	x	x		x	x	x
	fiant panes (=3)				x			
4:4	uiuuit (=11 15 30 56; V(NAMFPGCΦcd))	x		x	x	x	x	x
	uiuuet (=IV(sZDϑ))		x					
4:5	supra pinnaculum (=IV)	x	x		x	x		x
	super pinnaculum (=6 V(ZPDc))			x			x	

Overall results from Matthew

	C	P	R	H	B	F	v	Total
Towards Vulgate	2	3	0	8	6	6	7	32
Towards Old Latin	0	1	2	3	3	2	3	14
Unparalleled text/error	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2

This small selection of 48 departures from the text of the edition nevertheless reveals some important characteristics of the seven witnesses to the *PO* text. It was found that a variant agrees with the Vulgate against the edited text on a total of 32 occasions. On a total of 14 occasions, a variant agrees with the Old Latin text against the edited text of Sedulius. The majority of these Vulgate variants appear to be corrections by scribes to the Old Latin text. There are two factors that support this: the majority of vulgate 'corrections' appear in the younger manuscripts, in particular the *editio princeps*, which preserves the greatest number (7) of Vulgate 'corrections'. Second, the better quality witnesses of **CPR** recension have a much smaller number of Vulgate corrections (seven in total compared with twenty-seven in the **HBV** recension). Furthermore, at some points, all of the manuscripts in the **FHBv** recension have variants that appear to be deliberate corrections. For example, Matthew 4:6, where **CPR** omit the second part of the verse (Psalm 91(92):11-12), **F** has a completed version of the verse, apparently from memory (*non uero offendas in lapidem pedem tuum*) while **HBv** complete the verse according to the Vulgate.

Just as the **CPR** recension is the best for Sedulius's biblical text as it is for his *PO* text, so the manuscripts of the **FHBv** recension contain serious flaws. Most notably **B**, which has numerous instances of haplography and omission.¹⁶⁴ However, **B** contains fewer 'corrections' than either **H** or **v(I)**. This contradicts the evidence provided by Huemer on the value of the manuscripts in this recension as witnesses to the *PO* text:¹⁶⁵ **H** may have been written by a more careful scribe than **B** but also one who felt free to correct the biblical text. The best representative of this recension for Sedulius's biblical text is **F**, which contains nine corrections (of which six towards Vulgate) and one omission compared with eleven in **H**, nine in **B** and ten in **v(I)**.

Of the **CPR** recension the best witness appears to be **R**, which contains no Vulgate corrections. Of the three vulgate corrections in **C**, one is apparently coincidental due to the 'a' 'e' confusion seen elsewhere in **C**.¹⁶⁶ However, this reading in **C** and a second reading, found at the Matthean text of the Baptism (Mt. 3:17) are possibly the *lectiones verae* as the Old Latin readings in these cases are more common, even in many Vulgate

¹⁶⁴ eg. haplography at *PO* 2,16, p.219, 17 and *PO* 3,15, p.244, 16. Entire omission of Matthew 6:12 at *PO* 2,17, p.227, 1 and I Cor. 1:25 at *PO* 2,16, p.219, 15.

¹⁶⁵ Huemer & Panagl (2007: XLII).

¹⁶⁶ *PO* 2,7, p.203, 12: regat **PRFBv**] reget **CH Par**.

witnesses, than the reading of the Stuttgart Vulgate. Of the three manuscripts in this recension, **P** is the worst with four Vulgate corrections and **CR** are the best.

In conclusion, in regards to Sedulius's biblical text **CRF** agreements are taken as the authoritative cited text. When these disagree, preference is given to the **CPR** recension, then to agreements between **CF** or **RF**.

1.6 Quantitative Model

Part of the aim of this study is to provide data that can be quantified to give a percentage figure for Sedulius's proximity to a particular biblical manuscript or text type. In the same way that Houghton was able to give a percentage figure to the Vulgate content of the continuous text of Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium*,¹⁶⁷ and Heinsdorff in a recent study on Juvencus's Matthean text gives a percentage for the agreement of Juvencus's text with the different Old Latin manuscripts,¹⁶⁸ so the present study aims to quantify Sedulius's biblical text. Neither of these two models was entirely suitable for Sedulius's text as Houghton's study concentrates on the Vulgate text, while Heinsdorff's model is adapted to the analysis of Juvencus's paraphrased readings in verse. Instead, the method of collation and analysis of variant sites found in Frede's study of Paul's epistles and Fischer's study of the Latin Gospels was adapted for Sedulius's text.¹⁶⁹

First, variants from the Vulgate text are analysed to establish the degree of Sedulius's contact with the Vulgate. For this I have followed Burton's rule in distinguishing Old Latin readings, whereby a reading is only considered Vulgate if it agrees with two or more Vulgate manuscripts against the unmixed Old Latin tradition.¹⁷⁰ Second, all of the major variants found in the codical and patristic citations are collated for each Sedulian citation. Sedulius's text at these variant sites was then analysed and compared against the text-types found in the other Latin biblical traditions. Where the traditions have been established by the VL Institute, these have been used in this study; where the VL edition is lacking (Luke and Matthew) the text-type traditions have been established at

¹⁶⁷ Houghton (2008: 109).

¹⁶⁸ Heinsdorff (2003).

¹⁶⁹ In particular as used by Frede (1973) in his analysis of the Budapest manuscript (VL89).

¹⁷⁰ See Burton (2000: 58).

the opening of each chapter according to the studies of Burton, Fischer and Frede.¹⁷¹ For Matthew and Luke, each variant site has been compared to the Greek text taken from Swanson's edition of the Greek New Testament Manuscripts arranged in horizontal lines.¹⁷² Following the practice employed in Jean-Claude Haelewyck's VL edition of Mark, when the Latin reading is clearly supported by the Alexandrine text type represented by the Codex Vaticanus (**B03**), the Byzantine text type represented by the Codex Alexandrinus (**A02**) and the 'Western text type' represented the Codex Bezae (**D05**), this has been indicated as such in the appendices. When a Latin tradition is supported by another Greek tradition other than that found in **B03**, **A02** or **D05**, then the relevant manuscript is recorded next to the Latin reading.

When considering which readings constitute 'major variants' rather than trivial variants, the following criteria have been used: following Fischer's study, spelling variant sites have been treated as trivial variants, as have small changes in word order that are not found in any other Latin or Greek tradition. Spelling variants have not been included so as not to disproportionately skew the results against Spanish and Irish witnesses in particular that tend to have quite different spelling conventions, but sometimes preserve the same text as found in Sedulius (e.g. VL14). Minor word-order variants are usually down to an individual scribal correction; as the majority of Latin Gospel witnesses are dated to after Sedulius, such minor variants are likely to be errors that were introduced after the date of Sedulius's biblical text. For the same reasons, minor errors that appear to be a result of scribal error and that are not paralleled in any other source have been ignored.

Each witness is scored one for positive reading and zero for a negative reading compared with Sedulius's text at the variant site. The sum of the positive readings is calculated and divided by the number of variant sites for each particular witness, which gives a percentage agreement with Sedulius's text, a proximity coefficient. The results of this analysis are tabulated to give percentage agreements for each text type according to citation. The percentages of the most relevant text types or manuscripts are displayed in a spider graph for comparison of Sedulius's changing adherence to text types according to episode or verse.

¹⁷¹ Burton (2000); Fischer (1987); Frede (1972).

¹⁷² Swanson (1995).

Sedulius's text of John 1:29 can serve as an example of how the figures found in the tables and graphs are calculated:

PO 2,12, p.212, 7:

ecce agnus dei **qui tollit peccatum** mundi

The bold readings indicate variant sites, i.e. points where the Latin tradition offers multiple readings for the same verse. Usually the variant sites are easily defined, as in the above example where there is one variant site for the inclusion or not of *ecce*, one for the form of *tollere* and one for the singular or plural of *peccatum*. Occasionally, the variant site may be more complicated and manuscripts may differ at the same point in construction, word order and the Latin word used. For example, in Sedulius's text of Matthew 4:1, it is clear that Sedulius's reading *congregans*, which is found in Vulgate witnesses, is closer in terms of the Latin word used to the Old Latin European tradition of *congregavit* than *conuocatis* found in VL1, but arguably not in terms of syntax. In such scenarios, multiple variant sites are used to reflect the complexity of the Latin tradition. The variant sites found in the appendices relevant to John 1:29 are given here:

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
1:29	qui tollit ☩	x	x	x			/	x						x		x		x			
	+ ecce <i>praem.</i>				x	x	/		x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
							/														
	tollit ☩	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x			x
	tollet						/							x							
	tulit						/												x		
	tullit						/														x
							/														
	peccatum ☩	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x			x		x	x		x	x	x
	peccata			x			/						x		x			x			
	peccatam						/					x									

The number of times that a certain manuscript witness agrees with Sedulius text for John 1:29 can be compiled into a table as follows, with the first line the number of times that the variant in the witness agrees with Sedulius's reading, the second line the total

number of variant sites present and the third line of data is the 'proximity coefficient', i.e. the number of agreements divided by the number of variant sites.

Group 2b/V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
3	2	2	2	/	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	1
3	3	3	3	/	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
1	.67	.67	.67	/	1	.67	.67	.67	.33	.33	.67	.33	1	.67	.67	.33	.67	.33

In order to save space, the tables given in the results section of each chapter preserve only the third line of data, the number of agreements divided by number of variant sites. Although in the above example, all witnesses, with the exception of VL5 which is lacunae, preserve three variant sites, this number will often vary due to the changing state of individual manuscripts. The figures taken from the third line of data can then be plotted on a graph. The spider graphs used allow a quite large amount of data to be displayed along with non-obtrusive labelling but are not without their own drawbacks. The reader is advised that when the figures for more than one tradition concur the lines will overlap and that when a tradition offers no reading a gap will occur in the graph.

Next, Sedulius's citations and their surrounding paraphrased text are presented in the commentary sections. The text in the *PO* is then compared with the verse material found in the *PC* and key differences are evaluated. Sedulius's own comments in the preface that he re-wrote the poem as a prose work in order 'to add in the latter work that which had been left out in the former',¹⁷³ and that he was 'changing neither the argument nor the order found in the *PC*',¹⁷⁴ suggest that the sources for both works should be the same. However, once the character of Sedulius's *PO* text has been established, it can be compared against the material found in the *PC* for consistency. Finally, Sedulius's citations are discussed individually in order to include information unearthed during the study that cannot satisfactorily be presented in the tabulation of results. The quantitative method treats all negative readings as the same, but in reality this is rarely the case; the commentary is designed to flag up particularly significant variants and analyse the possible sources that Sedulius may have drawn on.

¹⁷³ *Epistola Ad Macedonium II*, p.173, 2-3: sed quae defuerant primis addita sunt secundis.

¹⁷⁴ *Epistola Ad Macedonium II*, p.173, 3-4: nec impares argumento uel ordine, sed stilo uidentur et oratione dissimiles.

1.7 Guide to using the two parts of the study

The study has been presented in two parts. The overall results of the analysis of Sedulius's biblical text can be found in the main body of the thesis along with a verse-by-verse commentary. The second part is the appendices that contains the individual results of the analysis of Sedulius's variant sites from all four Gospels (appendix one), the comparison of Sedulius's passion episode with two passion harmonies (appendix one) and finally the results from the Epistles and Psalms analysis (appendices three and four).

In the main body of the thesis, the first part of each chapter presents the bulk of the statistics, including significant Old Latin and Vulgate readings and the comparison of Sedulius's text with the major text types of the Latin tradition. This study has attempted to present all the relevant biblical text in as economical a manner as possible. With this in mind each biblical citation is presented within its immediate context. Text that does not contain any reference to the biblical pericope whence the citation is taken has been removed as far as possible to concentrate on Sedulius's version of the biblical text.¹⁷⁵ As a result, readers are advised to compare the text with that found in the CSEL edition if the full text surrounding the citation in the *PO* or *PC* is desired. Where a single biblical passage is spread across a great amount of text or when Sedulius's text necessitates comparison with one or more biblical texts or secondary sources, it is placed in a table alongside the relevant text for easier comparison (as in the Lord's Prayer and the Anointing of Jesus episodes).

The cited text from the *PO* is double spaced as it appears in the CSEL edition. Words within this cited text that are variant sites that can be found in appendix one are in bold. Words in the surrounding text of the *PO* or in the equivalent passage in the *PC* that can be found in the biblical passage (or as a near equivalent) are in italics. Thus a bold word in the main body text has a corresponding variant site row in appendix 2.

¹⁷⁵ Pericopes are capitalised throughout the study, e.g. The Wedding at Cana.

As mentioned, patristic citations from the VLD that support Sedulius's variant site are cited using the abbreviated form as laid out by Fischer and Frede.¹⁷⁶ All other references to texts that are not directly related to variant sites are made in full form. Old Latin manuscripts are referred to using their Beuron number based on Frede's system with full names of the manuscripts and the editions consulted to be found in the bibliography.¹⁷⁷ Old Latin and Greek text types are highlighted in bold.

¹⁷⁶ Gryson et al. (2007).

¹⁷⁷ Gryson (1999).

Chapter 1. Sedulius's Text of John

Background

For Sedulius's text of John, this study has followed the findings of Burton, Houghton, MacLachlan and Parker, as laid out in the *Vetus Latina* edition of John.¹⁷⁸ Following the work of Burton on the Old Latin Gospels, which revised Jülicher's division of the Old Latin tradition in John into separate European and African traditions as found in the MJA Itala edition, the new VL edition of John divides the Old Latin tradition into three groups: **1**, **2A** and **2B**.¹⁷⁹ Group **1** contains the most distinctly Old Latin manuscripts, the 4th-century Vercellensis (VL3), the 5th-century Palatinus (VL2), Veronensis (VL4)¹⁸⁰ and Bezae (VL5) and the 6th/7th-century Monacensis (VL13), Usserianus (VL14) and Sarzanensis (VL22).¹⁸¹ Group **2** is split into two sub-groups: Group **2B** contains those codices that contain a text that is broadly within the continuum of the Vulgate. Group **2A** contains Old Latin codices of a text type similar to Corbeiensis II (VL8).¹⁸² Of the mixed-text codices used in the MJA Itala edition - the Colbertinus (VL6), Brixianus (VL10) Rehdigeranus (VL11) and Aureus (VL15) - Burton considers VL15 and VL10 to be 'basically Vulgate with an Old Latin admixture, whereas VL6 and VL11 are basically Old Latin with a Vulgate overlay.'¹⁸³ Of the newly discovered mixed texts used in the VL edition, the St Petersburg Insular Gospels (VL9A) is considered basically Vulgate by Houghton and is considered part of Group **2B**.¹⁸⁴ The Würzburg Universitätsbibliothek M.p.th.f.67 (VL11A) belongs to Group **2A** in John 1:1 – 5:40 and John 12:34 – 13:10 and elsewhere it is classed as **2B**.¹⁸⁵ Elsewhere the St Gall Stiftsbibliothek 60 (VL47) is classed as a Group **1** manuscript from 1:29-3:26 but a group **2B** manuscript for the rest of John.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁸ Burton et al. (2011)

¹⁷⁹ Burton et al. (2011: 4).

¹⁸⁰ Burton et al. (2011). VL4 is part of Group **1** from chapter 1 until John 10:12, at which point it is classed as a member of Group **2A**. VL47 is considered part of Group **1** in chapter 2 alone, elsewhere it is part of Group **2B**.

¹⁸¹ The Latin text of the Bezae is frequently modified to provide a literal translation of its opposing Greek text. For the value of the Bezae as an Old Latin witness, see Fischer (1972: 39-43) and Burton (2000: 22). For the dating and provenance see Parker (1992: 269ff).

¹⁸² Burton et al. (2011: 4-5).

¹⁸³ Burton (2000: 62).

¹⁸⁴ Houghton (2010a).

¹⁸⁵ Houghton (2010b).

¹⁸⁶ McNamara (2004: 102).

The codices against which Sedulius's text is compared in full are:

Group 1:

Palatinus (VL2), Vercellensis (VL3), Veronensis (VL4) 1:1-10:12, Bezae (VL5), Monacensis (VL13), Usserianus Primus (VL14), Sarzanensis (VL22) and the Codex Sangallensis 60 (VL47) 1:29-3:26. In addition the following fragments have been included: Sangallense (VL20) and Mediolanese (VL24).

Group 2A:

Veronensis (VL4) 10:13-21:24, Colbertinus (VL6), Corbeiensis (VL8), Rehdigeranus (VL11) and Würzburg Univ. 67 (VL11A) 1:1 – 5:40 and 12:34 – 13:10 and the Weingartense fragment (VL18).

Group 2B:

Sangermanensis primus (VL7), Fossatensis (VL9A), Brixianus (VL10), Würzburg Univ. 67 (VL11A) 5:41 - 12:33 and 13:11-18:35, Aureus (VL15), Usserianus secundus r² (VL28), Sangermanensis secundus (VL29), Gatianus (VL30), Gallican lectionary palimpsest (VL32), Carnotensis (VL33), Moliensis (VL35), Sangallensis 60 (VL47) 3:26-21.24 and the Sangallensis 51 (VL48).

In accordance with the VL edition of John, Codex Interlinearis Sangallensis (VL27), the Aberdonense fragment (VL23) and the Pericope Cryptoferratensis (VL34) are treated as witnesses to the Vulgate tradition and are not included, while the Poitiers (VL39), Vendôme (VL40) and Laon (VL46) Canon tables are treated as patristic citations, not manuscript witnesses.¹⁸⁷

Sedulius's text of John can be divided into two categories: That found as part of his paraphrasis of entire pericopes taken from John as part of the narrative of the *PC* and the *PO*, and those citations of entire verses or half verses from John in support of his exegesis. There are twenty-one verses of John cited in whole or partial form in the *PO*, twenty of which find an exact equivalent in the Old Latin or Vulgate codices, and one a very close equivalent; eight of these citations of John are also found in the *PC*.

The citations that are incorporated into the narrative taken from a Johannine pericope tend to be the shortest citations, as Sedulius telescopes much direct speech in an effort

¹⁸⁷ Burton et al. (2011: 6).

to maintain the *brevitas* of his narrative.¹⁸⁸ Sedulius uses six pericopes from John as the basis of episodes in his miracle books in the *PO* and *PC*: book three of both works opens with the Wedding at Cana where Jesus turns water into wine (Jn. 2:1ff), following this with the Healing of the Royal Official's Son (Jn. 4:46ff); book four contains Jesus's speech to the Samaritan Woman at the Well (Jn. 4:1ff), the Adulterous Woman Pericope (Jn. 8:1ff),¹⁸⁹ the Healing of the Man Born Blind (Jn. 1ff) and the Resurrection of Lazarus (Jn. 11:1ff). Book five of the *PC* and the *PO* is devoted to the Passion and Resurrection and John is used sparsely in both, but again at significant points: at the point where Jesus enters Jerusalem and predicts the Coming of His Hour (Jn. 12:1ff), the foot washing episode of the Last Supper (Jn. 13:1ff) and Peter's Denial (Jn. 13:38). Finally books five conclude with the Doubting Thomas episode (Jn. 20:1ff) and Jesus's appearance on the shores of the Sea of Galilee and the Catch of 153 Fish (Jn. 21:1ff). It is also with a close paraphrase of John 21:25 that Sedulius closes both verse and prose works. These passages potentially contain a number of variants that shed light on Sedulius's text of John, but only those paraphrased episodes that also contain citations have been considered for analysis. Of these, directly cited text accounts for only four verses, to which we can add two verses taken from chapter one of John that are included as part of the Nativity and Baptism narratives. The following six citations fall into this category:

PO 2,4, p.199, 16. The Word Becomes Flesh (Jn. 1:14)

PO 2,12, p.212, 7. Lamb of God (Jn. 1:29)

PO 3,2, p.233, 7. The Curing of the Royal Official's Son (Jn. 4:50)

PO 4,21, p.271, 10. Resurrection of Lazarus (Jn. 11:43)

PO 5,1, p.273, 8. The Coming of Jesus's Hour (Jn. 12:27-8)

PO 5,5, p.277, 12. Peter's Denial (Jn. 13:38)

The majority of citations come from passages quoted by Sedulius as support for his own exegesis:

PO 1,29, p.193, 21. Affirmation of the Trinity (Jn. 14:11 & 10:30)

PO 2,8, p.206, 7 - p.207, 16. On the Gifts of the Magi (Jn. 4:22-3, 5:22-3, 10:16)

¹⁸⁸ Roberts (1985: 111).

¹⁸⁹ It is perhaps significant that Sedulius's text, both in the *PC* and the *PO*, includes the Adulterous Woman pericope. It is absent from VL3, VL4, VL10, VL11, and VL13.

PO 2,8, p.208, 20. The Pre-Existence of Jesus (Jn. 8:58)

PO 2,17 p.220, 14 - p.221 & p.221, 21 - p.222, 8. 1st Petition of the Lord's Prayer (Jn. 17:10 & 20:17)

PO 5,22, p.291, 18. Jesus Laying Down His Soul (Jn 10:17-18)

PO 5,38, p.302, 17. The Way to the Father (Jn. 14:5-6)

The citations from these twelve sections are the focus of the analysis below.

Analysis of Variant Readings

The first stage in the analysis of Sedulius's text is the identification of Vulgate-specific readings in his text as well as those places where Sedulius's text disagrees with the Vulgate in favour of an Old Latin tradition.

1.1 Vulgate Readings

Two Vulgate specific readings are found in Sedulius's text:

1. 8:58 πρὶν Ἀβραάμ (**B03 A02**) = antequam abraham fieret] SED (*PO* 2,8, p.208, 21) VL7 VL10 VL28 VL29 VL30 VL33 VL35 VL47 VL48: || 11A: antequam abraham esset; ante abraham VL2 VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL8 VL9A VL11 VL13 VL14 VL15 (=D05)
2. 10:16 γενήσονται μία ποίμνη = fiet unum ouile] SED (*PO* 2,8, p.207, 16) VL7 VL29 VL30 VL33 VL35 VL47 VL49 || fient unum ouile VL10 VL11A VL48; fiet unus grex VL4 VL6 VL8; fit unus grex VL9A VL15 VL32; fiet una grex VL2 VL3; fiat unus grex VL11: fient unus grex VL5; fiet unum... (?)VL14)

1.2 Old Latin readings

By contrast there are 26 readings that are not found in the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate, 24 of which are supported by a variant found in a manuscript belonging to Old Latin Groups **1** or **2A**:

Agrees with Group 1/2A witnesses

1. 10:16 εἷς ποιμήν = unus pastor] + et *praem.* SED (*PO* 2,8, p. 207, 16) **V**(var), **1** (VL2 VL3 VL14), **2A** (VL4 VL8 VL6 VL11), VL7 VL9A VL10 VL11A VL15 VL29 VL30 VL32 VL33 VL35 VL47 VL49
2. 10:17 λάβω = sumam] accipiam SED (*PO* 5,22, p.292, 2) **1** (VL5 VL14 (...piam)), **2A** (VL11), VL30
3. 10:18 λαβεῖν = sumendi] accipiendi SED (*PO* 5,22, p.292, 4) **2A** (VL11)
4. 10:18 παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου = a patre meo] meo *om.* SED (*PO* 5,22, p.292, 5) **1** (VL3 VL5 VL14), **2A** (VL4 VL8)
5. 11:43 δεῦρο ἔξω = ueni foras] prodi foras SED (*PO* 4,21, p.271,11) **1** (VL14 VL20), **2A** (VL4)

6. 12:27 πάτερ σῶσόν με = pater saluifica me] pater salua me SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 8) **1** (VL5 VL14), **2A** (VL11), VL7 VL10
7. 12:27 ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης = ex hora hac] de ista hora SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 8) **1** (VL2 VL14), **2A** (VL11)
8. 12:27 τὴν ὥραν ταύτην = horam hanc] istam horam SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 9) **1** (VL14) (ista horam); **2A** (VL4 (horam istam))
9. 12:28 σου τὸ ὄνομα = tuum nomen] nomen tuum SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 9) V(var), **1** (VL2 VL3 VL14), **2A** (VL6 VL8 VL11), VL10 VL30
10. 13:38 λέγω σοι = dico tibi] + quoniam SED (PO 5,5, p.277, 12) **1** (VL5 VL14), **2A** (VL6)
11. 13:38 ἀρνήση με τρίς = me ter neges] + tu *praem.* SED (PO 5,5, p.277, 13) **1** (VL3 VL14), **2A** (VL4 VL8)
12. 14:5 δυνάμεθα τὴν ὁδὸν εἰδέναι (**A02**) = possumus uiam scire] possumus uiam nosse SED (PO 5,38, p.302, 19) **1** (VL14), VL30
13. 14:11 ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἐμοί = pater in me est] est *om.* SED (PO 1,29, p.194, 6) **1** (VL3 VL5 VL13), **2A** (VL4 VL8), VL10

Agrees with Group 1 witnesses alone

14. 10:17 Διὰ τοῦτό = propterea] propter hoc SED (PO 5,22, p.291, 23-p.192, 1) VL5 VL14
15. 10:17 ὅτι = quia] quod SED (PO 5,22, p.292, 1) VL14
16. 12:27 διὰ τοῦτο = propterea] propter hoc SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 8) VL5 VL14
17. 12:28 δόξασόν = clarifica] honorifica SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 9) VL3 VL14
18. 12:28 οὖν = ergo] autem SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 13) VL3 VL14
19. 12:28 ἐδόξασα = clarificaui] honorificaui SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 14) VL2 VL3 VL14
20. 12:28 δοξάσω = clarificabo] honorificabo SED (PO 5,1, p.273, 14) VL2 VL3 VL14
21. 13:38 φωνήση = cantabit] + hodie SED (PO 5,5, p.277, 13) VL14
22. 13:38 ἀρνήση με τρίς (**B03 D05**) = me ter neges] ter me abneges SED (PO 5,5, p.277, 13-14) VL3 VL14 (=A02)
23. 14:5 πῶς (**A02 D05**) = et quomodo] et *om.* SED (PO 5,38, p.302, 19) VL3 VL4 VL14 (=B03)

Agrees with 2B / 2A

24. 10:17 ἵνα = ut] et SED (PO 5,22, p.292, 2) V(var), 2A (VL6), VL29

No manuscript tradition - possible error

25. 10:18 ἐμαυτοῦ = meipso] me SED (PO 5,22, p.292, 3) SED

26. 20:17 ἀναβαίνω = ascendo] uado SED (PO 2,17, p.220, 18) SED

Table 1.3 below shows the distribution by Old Latin manuscript of all agreements with variants found in Sedulius's text.

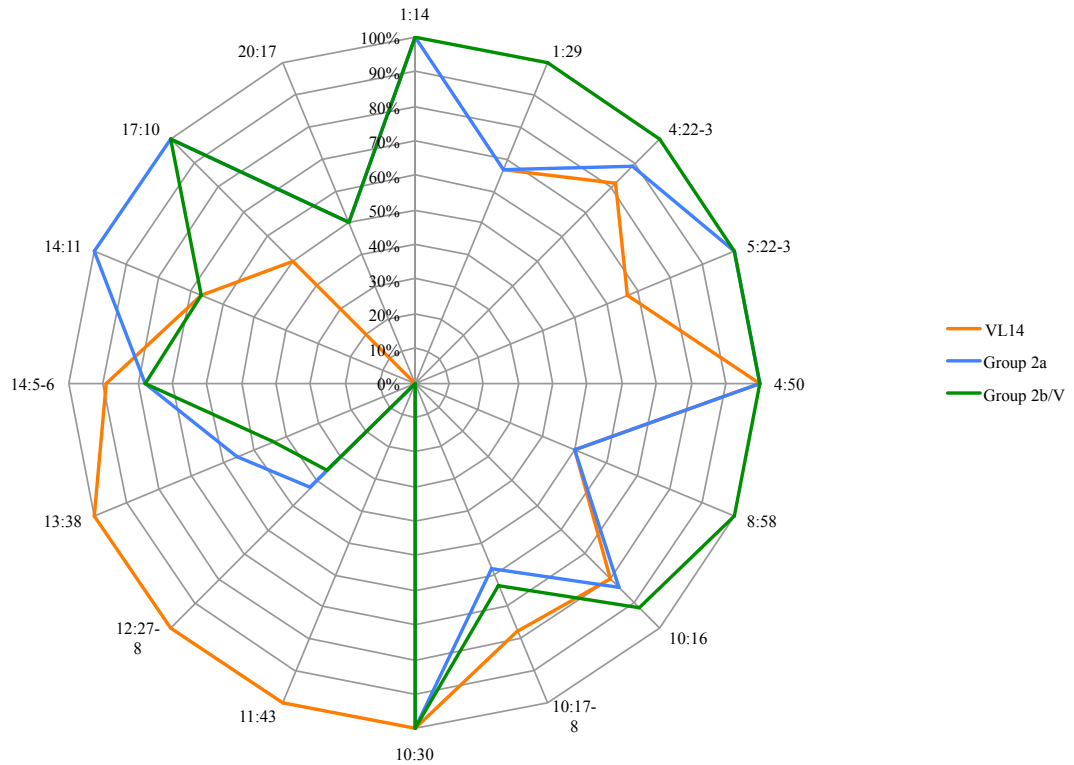
1.3 Number of agreements / Total variant sites

	Group 2b/V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	Group 2a	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
1:14	1.00	0.50	0.50	0.50	/	1.00	/	1.00	1.00	/	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
1:29	1.00	0.67	0.67	0.67	/	1.00	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.33	0.33	0.67	0.67	0.33	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.33	0.67	0.33	
4:22-3	1.00	0.67	0.75	0.72	0.72	0.83	0.82	0.78	1.00	0.83	0.89	0.89	0.94	0.83	0.89	1.00	0.89	0.61	0.72	0.72	
5:22-3	1.00	1.00	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.67	1.00	0.67	0.33	
4:50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	0.50	
8:58	1.00	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.25	0.50	0.50	0.50	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
10:16	0.92	0.67	0.50	0.92	0.33	/	0.80	0.75	0.75	0.67	0.83	0.83	1.00	0.75	0.83	0.83	0.92	0.92	0.92	0.92	
10:17-18	0.63	0.47	0.53	0.58	0.68	/	0.78	0.53	0.47	0.63	0.63	0.58	0.63	0.53	0.58	0.58	0.63	0.63	0.58	0.63	
10:30	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	/	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	
11:43	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	/	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
12:27-8	0.36	0.57	0.57	0.29	0.43	/	1.00	0.43	0.36	0.46	0.36	0.43	0.43	0.36	0.50	0.36	0.43	0.25	0.36	0.36	
13:38	0.44	0.11	0.44	0.56	0.33	0.44	1.00	0.44	0.78	/	0.33	0.56	0.44	0.44	0.33	0.56	0.56	0.44	0.44	0.56	
14:5-6	0.78	0.44	0.89	0.89	0.78	0.67	0.89	0.78	0.78	/	0.78	0.78	0.67	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.67	0.78	0.78	
14:11	0.67	0.67	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.67	0.67	0.67	/	0.33	1.00	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.33	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	
17:10	1.00	0.50	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	/	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
20:17	0.50	0.50	0.00	0.50	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	/	/	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	
Σ + readings	78	56	62	70	59	39	76	66	72	49	67	74	76	67	75	70	76	63	70	69	
Σ variant sites	105	105	103	105	100	57	93	105	105	77	103	105	105	105	105	105	105	95	105	105	
Overall	0.74	0.53	0.60	0.67	0.59	0.68	0.82	0.63	0.69	0.64	0.65	0.70	0.72	0.64	0.71	0.67	0.72	0.66	0.67	0.66	

The analysis of variant readings that can be found in full in the appendix reveals that the Codex Usserianus, VL14, has the highest proximity coefficient of 82%, with 76 readings of a possible 93 variant sites agreeing with the text found in Sedulius. This is significantly higher than the figure of 74% found in Group 2B/Vulgate or 70% in Group 2A. The proximity coefficient for VL14 is also much higher than any other manuscript from Group 1, the next highest being VL13 with 68%.

The variation according to verse in proximity to Sedulius's text of VL14, Group 2A and Group 2B is shown in Graph 1.4 below:

1.4 Proximity coefficient of Group 2B, 2A and VL14



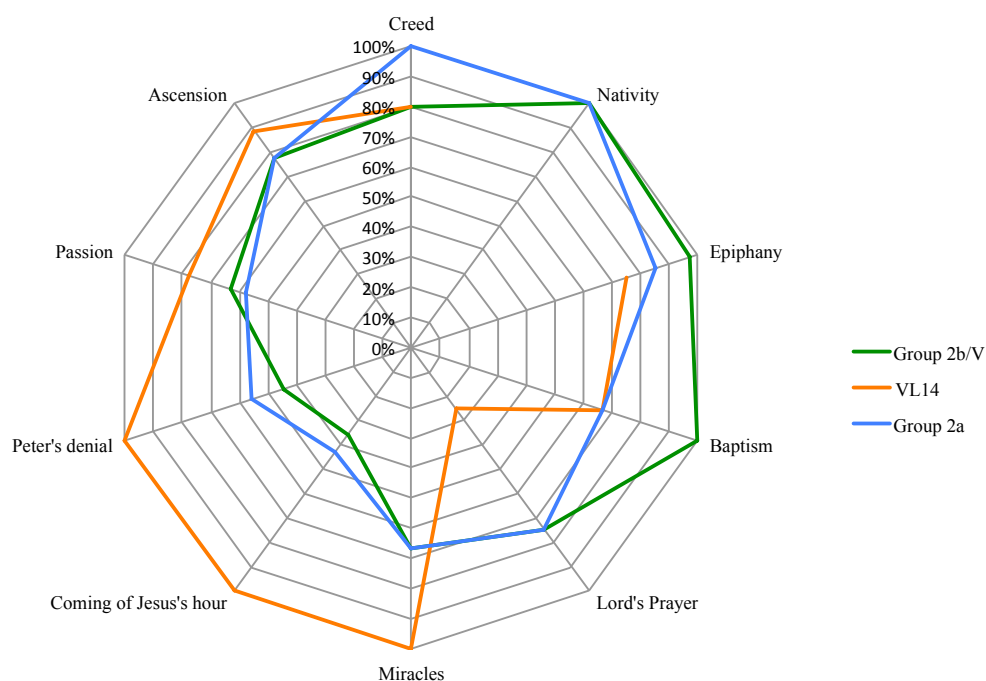
This shows a clear preference for a Vulgate text in the early chapters of John that is replaced by a marked preference for VL14 in later chapters.

Table 1.5 and graph 1.6 below reveal the variation in proximity coefficient when sorted according to episode placement or theme in the *PO*, as opposed to its placement in John.

1.5 Number of agreements / total variant sites for principal traditions according to placement in PO

	Group 2b/V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	Group 2a
Creed	0.80	0.40	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00	0.80	1.00
Nativity	1.00	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	1.00
Epiphany	0.97	0.65	0.64	0.74	0.59	0.74	0.75	0.85
Baptism	1.00	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.67	0.67
Lord's Prayer	0.75	0.50	0.00	0.75	0.50	0.00	0.25	0.75
Miracles	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	0.67
Coming of Jesus's hour	0.36	0.57	0.57	0.29	0.43	0.43	1.00	0.43
Peter's denial	0.44	0.11	0.44	0.56	0.33	0.44	1.00	0.56
Passion	0.63	0.47	0.53	0.58	0.68	0.68	0.78	0.58
Ascension	0.78	0.44	0.89	0.89	0.78	0.67	0.89	0.78
Average	0.74	0.53	0.60	0.67	0.59	0.68	0.82	0.70

1.6 Proximity coefficient of Group 2B, 2A and VL14 according to to placement in PO



Thus Sedulius's proximity to the Vulgate is closest for the Johannine citations used in the Nativity, Baptism and Epiphany sections in the *PO*. Here are also are found the Vulgate specific readings. Overall, Codex Usanianus (VL14), which preserves a distinctly Old Latin text type, is the codex to which Sedulius's text of John is closest,

confirming the findings of van der Laan.¹⁹⁰ However, despite the proximity to VL14 there are a number of anomalies:

a) The Vulgate specific readings at *PO* 2,8 - *antequam abraham fieret* (Jn. 8:58) and *PO* 2,8 - *fiet unum ouile* (Jn. 10:16)

b) The use of *clarificatus* at *PO* 2,17 - *et clarificatus sum in eis* - (Jn. 17:10). VL14 is consistent throughout the Gospel of John in its use of forms of *honorificare* to translate $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\zeta\omega$, with only one example of *clarificare* against twenty of *honorificare* found in the entire book.¹⁹¹

There are two possible hypotheses that will be explored below. The first is that Sedulius used a text that changed half way through, in the manner of Veronensis (VL4), but in Sedulius's case half Vulgate and half VL14. The second possibility is that Sedulius used different sources for different parts of the *PO*. It is immediately noticeable that all of the Vulgate readings are found in the second book, in particular the Epiphany episode where Sedulius draws on a number of Johannine citations in order to explain in further detail his Christological views as part of the Epiphany episode, an addition to the narrative not found in the *PC*. If Sedulius is drawing on different Johannine sources, it needs to be clarified which is his base text. Is the text found in the Passion his base text and the Epiphany text different, or *vice versa*? And what is the cause of this text switch? The answer to these questions will be explored below in the commentary section.

¹⁹⁰ See *supra*, p.16-17.

¹⁹¹ Burton (2000: 68). *clarificare* is found at Jn. 13:31.

Commentary

1:14. Incarnation

PO 2,4, p.199, 15 - 18

claruitque fetu uirgineo spiritalis gratiae manifesta promissio: et uerbum caro **factum est et habitauit** in nobis, id est, **habitauit** in homine, cuius se dignatus est *carne* uestire.

PC 2,42-4

...cum uirgine feta

Promissum conpleuit opus: **uerbum** *caro factum*,

In nobis **habitare** uolens.

None of the variants sometimes found in the Old Latin witnesses, such as the agreement of *factum est* with *caro* (VL2 VL4) or the use of *inhabitare* (VL3 VL11A), are found in Sedulius's text, which is the standard form dominant in the Latin tradition. Only Tertullian offers regular citations of an alternative form in patristic literature, that of *sermo caro factus est...*¹⁹² The passage concerning the Incarnation is one of the richest in scriptural allusion in the whole of the *PC*, and follows directly on from a prayer to Mary as the New Eve, a common feature of Eastern liturgies but quite rare in the West.¹⁹³ Sedulius's portrayal of the Incarnation draws on Psalms 18:6 and 44:3 as well as Philippians 2:7 both in the *PO* and the *PC*, as shown here in a passage that immediately follows Sedulius's citation of John 1:14:

¹⁹² **TE** mon 5,3; Pra 15,19; 15,46; 21,15; 26,19; 27,43; 27,48; pud 6,16; 16,6.

¹⁹³ It is found in the Missale Gothicum as a *contestatio* at the Mass of the Virgin Mary on the 1st of January and in the Ambrosian rite as a preface on the Last Sunday of Advent in the Bergamo Sacramentary. Sedulius's with the praise of Mary taking place prior to the Nativity is closer to the Ambrosian rite that celebrates the role of Mary in Advent rather than the Gallican and Roman Rites that celebrate Mary's role in the Octave of Christmas in Sedulius's time. See Lemarié (1956: 201-2).

PC 2,48-56	PO 2,4, p.200, 7-9	Gallican Psalter ¹⁹⁴
<p>Quae noua lux mundo, quae toto gratia caelo!</p> <p>Quis fuit ille nitor, Mariae cum Christus ab aluo</p> <p><i>Processit splendore nouo, uelut ipse decoro</i></p> <p><i>Sponsus ouans thalamo,</i></p>	<p>quae caelo laetitia! quis ille nitor effulsit, cum Christus splendore sidereo, uelut sponsus procedens de thalamo suo, Mariae <i>processit</i> ex utero!</p>	<p>Ps. 18:6 et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo exultauit ut gigans ad currendam uiam suam</p>
PC 2,51-53	PO 2,4, p.200, 9-17	
<p><i>'forma speciosus'</i> amoena</p> <p><i>'Prae filiis hominum'</i>, cuius radiante figura</p> <p>Blandior in labiis diffusa est gratia pulchris.</p>	<p>cuius ita <i>species</i> diuina uidebatur <i>gratia</i> praenitere, ut Dauiticus ipsum psalmus ita pronuntiet: <i>speciosus forma prae filiis hominum diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis</i>, et cetera. bene autem <i>prae filiis hominum speciosum forma</i> definiuit, quia licet humanae <i>susceperit incarnationis effigiem</i> filiumque hominis in euangelica praedicatione saepe se dixerit, peccatum nos tamen originale foedauerat, quod ipse non habuit qui suae nos natiuitatis puritate mundauit.</p>	<p>Ps. 44:3 <i>speciosus forma prae filiis hominum diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis</i> propterea benedixit te Deus in aeternum</p>
PC 2,54-56	PO 2,4, p.200, 17-21	
<p>O facilis pietas! ne nos seruile teneret</p> <p>Peccato dominante iugum,</p> <p><i>seruilia summus</i></p> <p><i>Membra tulit Dominus</i></p>	<p>o pietas clemens et facilis ad salutem! ne nos iugum diuturnae premeret seruitutis pro condicione peccati,</p> <p>Dominus <i>serui membra suscepit</i>. audiamus uocem Pauli dicentis Apostoli: <i>semet ipsum exinaniuit et formam serui suscepit</i>, et cetera.</p>	<p>Phil. 2:7 sed semet ipsum exinaniuit formam serui accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inuentus ut homo</p>

¹⁹⁴ Weber & Gryson (2007).

Although some of these verses can be found together in Christological treatises from the time of Novatian and Tertullian,¹⁹⁵ it is the number of times that these passages are found together in Nativity homilies that is testimony to the importance of these passages in the Christmas liturgy in the fifth and sixth centuries: Psalm 18 and 44 are amongst those classed by Lemarié as ‘the Christmas Psalms’ found in all liturgies, East and West, which in the Roman liturgy are joined by lessons from Isaiah and Hebrews all centred around the prologue to John.¹⁹⁶ In addition, the use of Philippians 2:7, the Pauline expression of the Word taking on the ‘form of a slave’ plays a central role in the contemplation of the contrasts and antitheses that express the mystery of Incarnation alongside John 1:14.¹⁹⁷ The use of John 1:14 alongside this verse of Paul’s Christic Hymn (Phil. 2:5-11) deserves special mention, as the patristic use of *kenosis* the ‘emptying of God’, taken from Phil. 2:6-7, has a clear tradition in connection with the Nativity. Given the relative lack of early Nativity homilies, however, our sources are somewhat patchy around Sedulius’s time. The earliest sources for Nativity homilies are Optatus’s sermon *In Natali Sanctorum Innocentium*, Gregory of Nazianzus’s *In Theophania* and John Chrysostom’s *In Diem Natalem*, which are all dated to the end of the 4th century.¹⁹⁸ Of these, only Gregory of Nazianzus makes a reference to *kenosis* in connection with the Nativity:¹⁹⁹

Καὶ ὁ πλήρης, κενοῦται· κενοῦται γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἵν’ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐκείνου μεταλάβω πληρώσεως

Given the tradition of the use of this verse in treatises on the Trinity from the time of Novatian, its appearance in connection with the Incarnation in Gregory’s Nativity homily is not surprising and it is not in itself suggestive that Phil. 2:5-11 could be an Epistle reading at Christmas.²⁰⁰ However, the regular use of Phil. 2:7 alongside John 1 in Nativity sermons is first seen in Augustine, who uses the verses together in five of his

¹⁹⁵ For example, John 1:29 and Psalm 18:6 in Novatian's *De Trinitate* 13,1; See also Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Mortuorum*, 63.

¹⁹⁶ Lemarié (1956: 103. 110).

¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, 89. 121.

¹⁹⁸ Optatus, *Sermo In Natali Sanctorum Innocentium* (CPL 245); John Chrysostom, *In Natalem Diem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi*; Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Theophania* (*orat.* 38). Lemarie (1956: 29-33) accepts a date of 360 for Optatus’s sermon, 379 for Gregory Nazianzus’s and 386 for Chrysostom’s.

¹⁹⁹ Gregory of Nazianzus, *In Theophania* (*orat.* 38), 13 (PG 33, 325).

²⁰⁰ Novatian, *De Trinitate*, 22.

Nativity sermons to explain the double birth of the Son, one human, the other divine.²⁰¹ However, of the 50-odd sermons of Augustine that draw on Phil. 2:5-11 identified in Verwilghen's study on Augustine's Christology, only one, on the Circumcision and Presentation of Jesus, appears to have the passage as the Epistle reading for that Mass. This is reflected in liturgical sources with Phil. 2:7 rarely found referenced in the context of the Incarnation at the Nativity with only one clear reference found in the VL edition, as part of the *inlatio* of the Second Sunday in Advent in the Mozarabe Sacramentary.²⁰² Thus, there appears little likelihood that Sedulius's source for Phil. 2:7 is the Epistle reading or indeed an antiphon or sacramentary preface used at the feast of the Nativity. As a result, we can probably look beyond a direct liturgical source for John 1:14 as well. However, a large number of later Nativity sermons do include Phil. 2:7 alongside John 1:14 and by the time of Pope Leo in the mid-5th century, perhaps thanks to Augustine, the use of the two verses together appears to be established in the Christmas homiletic tradition.²⁰³ The number of Nativity homilies that make use of Psalms 18 and 44 are no less frequent, a small number of which, like Sedulius, contain allusions to both Psalms, Philippians 2:7 and John 1:14 in the same passage.²⁰⁴

In addition to the uses of these passages, a number of motifs are also found alongside John 1:14 in Sedulius's text that are frequently found in homilies and the liturgy: particularly striking is the expression of the antithesis within the Incarnation of the Word is the representation of the Son of God as an infant and the contrast between His power and frailty.²⁰⁵ This can clearly be seen in the *PO* in Sedulius's phrase that the 'child was both small and great, although tiny in his limbs, he was enormous in his divinity' and his comment that 'the one, for whom the sky was no limit, the earth was

²⁰¹ Augustine, *Sermones* 186,2.3; 187,1.4; 194,3.4; 196,1; 371,1.3. See also 192,2.3 where Augustine uses Phil. 2:7 alongside Psalm 18:6. For Augustine's use of Phil. 2:5-11 in Nativity sermons, see Verwilghen (1985: 129-131), who believes Augustine uses *kenosis* and John 1:14 in his Nativity sermons in an effort to re-affirm the humanity of Christ at the Incarnation and attack the renewed rise in Arianism in Africa following the Fall of Rome in 410.

²⁰² **S-Mo** 15.

²⁰³ Leo, *Tractatus* 97, 21,1. In addition to Leo's Nativity homily, see in particular [Maximus of Turin], *s.* 45,1 (CPL 221); Pseudo-Augustine, *s. Cai I* 13,3 (CPPM 1243); *s. Cai II*, 25 (CPPM 1329); [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 6 (CCSL 87, 49).

²⁰⁴ Pseudo-Augustine, *s.* 126, 1 (CPPM 911); Fulgentius, *In Natale Domini De Duplici Natiuitate Christi*, 4 (CPL 829).

²⁰⁵ Lemarié (1956: 83-92). An example of this use of antithesis in the liturgy can be found in the *Missale Gothicum* in the *collectio* for the Mass at Christmas: *Ut iaceret in praesepe qui regnabat in caelo* (HBS 52, 4-5). Other motifs found both in the *PO* and the *PC* that enjoy wide popularity in Nativity homilies, hymns and prayers are the presence of light at the birth of Christ and the regeneration of Eve through Mary and by consequence mankind through birth of Jesus (Lemarié, 1956, 227. 173).

inadequate and the waves of the sea could not contain, remained entirely within his puerile body, God lying in a modest manger'.²⁰⁶ This use of these biblical citations and motifs suggest that the episode is directly concerned with the celebration of Christmas within the Church as it contains elements that are not found within the biblical text or the patristic commentaries alone. However, Sedulius's text is probably not drawn directly from the liturgical readings of Christmas but is based on a Nativity homily that he had at hand or that he had heard and, if we accept Augustine's influence in popularising the use of Phil. 2:7 alongside John 1:14, it appears likely that this homily circulated post-410. Whether Sedulius's text of John 1:14 is taken from a homily as a secondary citation, or whether it hails directly from his own Gospel text of John, the lack of variants makes it impossible to tell.

1:29. Lamb of God

PO 2,12, p.212, 3-10

hunc Iohannes Baptista conspiciens, quem matris in utero senserat, dum lateret iam Christi conscius adfuturi... proclamare coepit et dicere: ecce agnus dei **qui tollit peccatum** mundi. cum dicit *tollit*, ostendit eum non habere quod *tollit*, quod quidem tulit non ut ipse gereret sed ut ipse deperderet.

PC 2,143-151

Hunc Baptista potens ut uidit ab amne Iohannes,
 Quem matris dum uentre latet nondumque creatus
 Senserat obstruso iam tunc sermone prophetes
 Ut muto genitore fluens, cui munera linguae
 Post noni taciturna diu spiramina mensis
 Parto redduntur nato mox praedicat: *agnus*
Ecce Dei ueniens peccatum tollere mundi.
 Tollere cum dicit quod non habet, hoc mihi *tollit*.
 Non mala ut ipse gerat, sed ut ipse nocentia perdat.

Sedulius's text of John 1:29 is typical of the Group **2B**/Vulgate witnesses, omitting the second *ecce* before *qui tollit* both in the *PO* and the *PC* texts, along with the singular

²⁰⁶ *PO* 2,4, p.199, 18 – p.200, 1: infans namque paruus ac maximus, membris exiguus, deitate praecelsus. *PO* 2,4, p.201, 1-3: cui caeli paruus est limes, terra deficit, maris unda non sufficit plenus mansit in corpore puerili, modico Deus recubans in praesepti.

peccatum as a translation of *τὴν ἁμαρτίαν* and *qui tollit* for *ὁ αἴρων*. No Greek codices include an equivalent reading for the second *ecce*, so it is possible that Jerome removed it in his revision of the Gospel, but it cannot be considered a Vulgate reading since it is also found in two Group 1 witnesses, VL13 and VL2. Amongst the codices, variants in the translation of *ὁ αἴρων* are confined principally to younger witnesses (VL7 VL35 VL48), while the plural *peccata*, a reading supported by the Codex Washingtonianus (**W032**) in the Greek tradition, is found only in VL2 in Group 1, VL11A in Group 2A and VL9A VL15 and VL30 in Group 2B witnesses.

Despite the fact that Sedulius's text is found in VL13 amongst Old Latin codical witnesses, a survey of the VL edition reveals that his text is rare amongst Old Latin patristic witnesses. Indeed, only Aponius's exposition on the Song of Songs, the translation of Eusebius of Emesa and Petrus Chrysologus among Sedulius's near contemporaries use the same text as Sedulius.²⁰⁷ This suggests that Sedulius's reading is probably taken from the Vulgate, but this conclusion is surprising as the context of his usage of John 1:29 is almost certainly liturgical. Previous commentators have offered a range of explanations for Sedulius's insertion of this verse at the baptism episode: Corsaro saw it as a total distortion of the figure of John the Baptist, presenting him more 'as a cunning sophist than the *Vox clamantis in deserto*'.²⁰⁸ Moretti Pieri argues against the possibility that Sedulius inserted the line spontaneously, instead suggesting that the line together with the words *Hunc... ut uidit* at Jesus's approach suggests that the text is based on the whole of John 1:29.²⁰⁹ Elsewhere, she notes how the Arabic Diatessaron includes John 1:29 at this point and suggests this as a possible witness to Sedulius' source.²¹⁰ Against Moretti Pieri's view that the similarity between Sedulius's text and the Arabic Diatessaron is evidence that Sedulius used a Latin *diatessaron* as his source for the episode, it should be noted that the verse is found in this place in the Arabic Diatessaron alone amongst *diatessaron* witnesses and that Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron places the verse prior to the Baptism episode in the discussion about John the Baptist's lifestyle.²¹¹ On the other hand, the conflation of John 1:29 and the synoptic account of the baptism is not a rare occurrence in the Latin tradition and it is found prior to Sedulius both in Fortunatianus's 4th-century

²⁰⁷ **APO** 1,2; 9,3; **EUS-E** 3,5; **PET-C** s 45,6; 111.

²⁰⁸ Corsaro (1956: 26).

²⁰⁹ Moretti Pieri (1969: 144).

²¹⁰ *ibid.*, 204.

²¹¹ Ephrem, *Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*, 3,17 (McCarthy, 1993: 81-2).

commentary on the Gospels and in the Gospel of Nicodemus.²¹² Both of these texts use the Old Latin form of John 1:29 and must be excluded as direct sources for Sedulius, but the conflation of John 1:29 with the synoptic account is just one element of this passage; of equal importance in understanding Sedulius's use of 1:29 are certain features of the passage in the *PO* and *PC* that are also found in representations of the Baptism at Epiphany.

Lemarié, in his work on representations of Christmas and the Epiphany, underlines two key elements in liturgical and patristic uses of John 1:29 in connection with the Epiphany: the redemption of humanity from the Original Sin and the purification and sanctification of the baptismal waters in Jesus's entrance into the Jordan.²¹³ Both of these features are to the fore in Sedulius's accounts, in particular in the lines following the insertion of John 1:29, where Sedulius compares Jesus to the dawn light scattering the darkness and the 'good craftsman cleaning us with fire of the original contagion.'²¹⁴ Sedulius follows this image with a description of the Jordan sensing the presence of Jesus before inserting a quote from Psalm 113:3-5, which celebrates the crossing of the Jordan by Joshua. Likewise, Lemarié underlines the role of illumination and the use of Old Testament events such as the crossing of the Jordan as types for the baptism in particular in Eastern liturgy.²¹⁵ As Ferguson's study on the Baptism has shown, the motifs of the Jordan's surprise or fear and of light at the Baptism are not exclusive to the Eastern tradition but can be seen in the 5th-century mosaic of the dome of the Baptistry of the Arians in Ravenna.²¹⁶ Vertical columns of water found in an early 4th-century

²¹² Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarium In Evangelia*, 12 (f. 25v, 876-9). Fortunatius's Commentary has only recently been re-discovered in a 9th-century Cologne Manuscript by Dr Lukas Dorfbauer. As the *editio princeps* is currently in preparation, I am indebted to Dr Dorfbauer, who has kindly allowed me to consult his text, due to be published as part of the CSEL series in 2016. References are to folio & line numbers of the principal manuscript: MS Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibl. 17 (s. IX^{1/3}). *Gospel of Nicodemus*, 18,3 (Kim, 1973: 37). Despite the 6th-century date of the Gospel of Nicodemus, Ferguson (2009: 106) suggests that the baptism episode could rest on much earlier sources.

²¹³ Lemarié (1956: 305-10).

²¹⁴ *PO* 2,12, p.212, 14-16: nam ut ignis metalla sordium consumptione clarificat, ita nos ab originali contagione sua bonus opifex flamma mundavit. Only the dawn light imagery is found in the *PC* at 2,152-6. Also see Isaiah 4:4: si abluerit Dominus sordem filiarum Sion et sanguinem Hierusalem laverit de medio eius spiritu iudicii et spiritu ardoris. This is used as the reference for the allusion to the baptism of fire in the *Opus Imperfectum's* five-fold explanation of baptism. Cf. *Opus Imperfectum In Mattheum*, 5 (PG 56, 661).

²¹⁵ Lemarié (1956: 374). See also Lundberg (1942: 90) for the tradition of Psalm 113 and representations of the Baptism and Ohrt (1938: 92) for an analysis of the development of Psalm 113 as a Stehwunder in baptismal liturgical texts stemming from Joshua's Crossing of the Jordan.

²¹⁶ Ferguson (2009: 130).

sarcophagus in Leon may be evidence of an even earlier allusion to Psalm 113.²¹⁷ An allusion to the Jordan's trepidation at Jesus's Baptism can also be found in Paulinus of Nola, while Ambrose's hymn *Illuminans Altissimus* also makes reference to Psalm 113 at Jesus's Baptism.²¹⁸ Ferguson also underlines the importance of the establishment of Christian baptism through Jesus's sanctification of the waters in the feast of Epiphany, a feature that is again prevalent in Sedulius's texts: following the commonplace that Jesus had no need for purification, in an allusion to the link between the Jordan and the Holy Water of baptismal fonts, Sedulius describes Jesus as 'even purifying the springs themselves through the majesty of his sacred body, he blessed the fame of the river that had partaken in the glory of the Lord's Baptism.'²¹⁹

While the combination of these features is found in Eastern patristics, most noticeably in Pseudo-Hippolytus's *On the Holy Theophany*, probably composed sometime between the 4th and 6th centuries, Western patristic parallels to Sedulius's text are far fewer.²²⁰ Two of Maximus of Turin's sermons on the Epiphany contain the allusion to Psalm 113, one of which, Sermon 64, also includes John 1:29 in the text in a similar context to Sedulius:²²¹

atque ideo uenit dominus ad lauacrum non ut purificetur ipse aquis, sed ut nobis aquarum fluentia purificet. ex quo enim ille in aquis mersit, ex eo omnium credentium peccata deleuit. necesse est autem ut omnium peccata deleuerit, qui omnium peccata suscepit, sicut ait euangelista : *hic est agnus dei, hic est qui tollit peccata mundi.*

Another Epiphany homily that includes John 1:29 and descriptions of wonders in the river Jordan, though without direct reference to Psalm 113 (although Joshua's Crossing

²¹⁷ *ibid*, 128.

²¹⁸ Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* 27,48. Ambrose, *Illuminans Altissimus*, 4-8.

²¹⁹ *PO* 2,12, p.212, 17-19: ipsos denique latices sacri corporis maiestate purificans beuuit gurgitis famam, honorem Dominici baptismatis consecutam. See *PC* 2,158-61. I have translated *latices* as 'streams' to bring out the allusion to baptismal fonts, but this is justified as Sedulius himself uses *latices* to refer to baptism at *PO* 1,1, p.187, 14: quin potius iucunda florei graminis prata et amoenos beatae sedis accessus per liquidos puri fontis latices introite. For the commonplace of Jesus's immaculate entrance into the Jordan and the link between the sanctification of the baptismal waters and the Epiphany festival see Ferguson (2009: 114-115).

²²⁰ On the dating of Pseudo-Hippolytus's *On the Holy Theophany*, in some places ascribed to Leontius of Constantinople, see Ferguson (2009: 333).

²²¹ Maximus of Turin, *Sermones*, 64,1 (CCSL 23, 269). For the Psalm 113 reference, see *s.* 64,3 (CCSL 23, 271) & *s.* 13b, 2 (CCSL 23, 49).

of the Jordan is mentioned elsewhere in the homily), is the Arian Epiphany sermon found in the Verona Collection:²²²

Venientem igitur ad seipsum dominum saluatorem gaudebat et ipse fluminis albeus, obsequentibus undis circa bestigia domini, Iordannesque sese cum suis fluctibus humilabat. Ibant aquae leni meatu currentes et dulce quiddam suis uocibus resonantes. Aderat sine dubio angelorum omnium chorus et ad mirifica domini sacramenta magnifice laetabatur. Baptidiatur itaque dominus noster et mergitur in aquis, ut nos lebaret in caelis. Agnus immaculatus, *agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi*, purissimi fontis liquoribus lababatur ut nos a peccatis ablueret et regnis caelestibus sociaret.

A final possible witness also comes from North Italy in the shape of Maximus II, the 5th-century Bishop of Turin who conflates John 1:29 with the synoptic account and many of the features found in Sedulius's account in an Epiphany homily dated to the mid-5th century.²²³ Yet, a noticeable feature of all these homilies is the use of the plural *peccata* in the citation of John 1:29, which would appear to rule them out as direct sources for Sedulius or witnesses of his source. Given the liturgical context outlined above, the logical explanation for Sedulius's text form is that it stems from his own liturgy. However, a survey of the VL edition reveals that the liturgical forms of John 1:29 are generally limited to the Agnus, which places the address directly to Jesus in the 2nd person with the plural *peccata* or the Old Latin form that includes the repetition of *ecce* with both the singular and the plural of *peccatum*.²²⁴ Other forms found employ the *hic est agnus dei* formula also seen above in Maximus of Turin's sermon, *abstulit* in place of *tollit* or similar forms to Sedulius but with the plural *peccata*.²²⁵ Only once, in the so-called Gothic Breviary is Sedulius's form found, on the 19th of June at Matins in

²²² [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 4 (CCSL 87, 51-56).

²²³ Maximus II, *De Baptimo Christi VI* (PL 57, 297) = Pseudo-Maximus, *Homily 34* (CPPM 5787). For the attribution to Maximus II, see Etaix (1987). The authenticity of homilies 31-35 attributed to Maximus by Bruno Brunoni has been called into doubt by Pellegrino (1955-6: 113) who offers compelling evidence that they should be considered forgeries produced by M^{sgn} Meyranesius. For homilies 31-34, however the sources if not the homilies themselves were known to Brunoni.

²²⁴ Agnus: **Brev. Goth.** 709C; **M-Go** 211; **M-M** 855B; **M-St** 4; 14; 18; **S-Gr** H20; *ecce... ecce...*: **ANT-M** 69r; 70v; 117v; 213r; 214r; **ANT-S** 2 v,17; 3 r,19; **M-M** 229B (*qui aufert*); 756A; 761C; **RES-R** 2490; 2523; 6856; 7547; **S-Mo** 809.

²²⁵ *hic est...*: **M-Go** 211; *qui tollit peccata*: **M-M** 481D; **RES-R** 6575; *qui abstulit*: **S-Ge** V 1,45,6; **S-Gr** H 379; 385; **S-Mo** 605.

a context directly connected to the Feast of John the Baptist without reference to the synoptic account of Jesus's baptism as in Sedulius's text.²²⁶

Thus it appears that Sedulius's text form for the citation of John 1:29 is chosen in spite of the liturgical context of the usage of John 1:29, rather than being dependent on it. Indeed, given the forms of John 1:29 seen elsewhere in similar contexts, it would appear unlikely that Sedulius's original text included a Vulgate form, but this Vulgate form was probably added by Sedulius from an independent source, such as a Vulgate version of the Gospel of John. Finally, it is noteworthy that all of the homiletic sources that contain a similar use to that found in Sedulius have an apparently Northern-Italian provenance. In addition, it appears that the celebration of Jesus's Baptism on the feast of Epiphany, which is associated with the texts discussed above, is principally a North Italian/Gallican custom, whereas the Roman Rite celebrates the Visitation of the Magi at Epiphany and Jesus's Baptism on the 13th of January.²²⁷ However, there is reason to be cautious in adopting North Italy as the provenance of Sedulius's source material as we possess very few patristic sources that could shed light on the state of affairs in the celebration of Epiphany in Italy between the time of Ambrose at the end of the 4th century and Peter Chrysologus in the middle of the 5th century.²²⁸ Indeed, the North Italian custom of celebrating the Baptism of Jesus at the Epiphany on the 6th of January may have preserved texts that otherwise became redundant elsewhere in the 5th or 6th centuries with the change of the Epiphany feast from a celebration of the *tria miracula* of the Visitation of the Magi, the Baptism of Jesus and the Wedding at Cana to the separate celebration of these events on Epiphany, the 13th of January and the 2nd Sunday after Epiphany respectively.²²⁹

4:22-3 & 5:22-3. True Worship

PO 2,8, p.206, 7 - p.207, 1

nisi enim ueris adoratoribus Deum non conceditur adorare, sicut ipse Dominus noster ad Samaritanam mulierem locutus est dicens: uos **adoratis quod nescitis; nos adoramus quod scimus, quia salus ex Iudaeis est sed uenit**

²²⁶ Breviarium Gothicum, *Festa Iunii Die XIX*, ad Matutinum (PL 86, 1131C).

²²⁷ Lemarié (1956: 46-50).

²²⁸ *ibid*, 48-9.

²²⁹ *ibid*, 48-9. 430.

hora et nunc est **quando ueri adoratores adorabunt Patrem** in spiritu et ueritate **nam et Pater tales quaerit, qui adorent eum**. licet ergo Dominicae uerba doctrinae manifesta sint et aperta, quod Deum nisi *ueritas non adoret*, debemus tamen uim sermonis diligentius perscrutari, quid sit *uenit hora et nunc est, quando ueri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et ueritate*. arbitror itaque iuxta sensum, quem meae Dominus paruitati largitur, quod per significationem praesentis temporis, quo se palam mundo monstrauit, in se *Patrem* dixerit *adorari*. sic enim sequentibus patefecit alloquiis dicens: **iudicium omne dedit Filio**, ut omnes honorificent Filium sicut **honorificant Patrem**. magnifice uero postquam dixit *in spiritu*, adiecit *et ueritate*, quoniam *spiritum* Dei gerentes *ueritas* sequitur, alienum fallacia comitatur.

Sedulius includes the two passages in a comparison of the true adoration of the Three Kings and the feigned adoration of Herod to assert that the equality of the Father with the Son is a central tenet of true worship. The first citation is taken from Jesus's speech to the Samaritan woman, the second from his speech in the Temple to the Jews concerning the Judgement of the Father and the Son following the Healing of the Infirm Man at the Pool of Bethesda. The passages are absent from the *PC*. The context confirms the most significant variants in the citations, the use of *quando*, *uenit*, as well as *in spiritu et ueritate*. There are no Vulgate-specific readings in the passages but Sedulius's text is nonetheless identical to the Group **2B**/Vulgate form and readings such as *quando*, which is not found in Group **1** readings save VL2 and *uenit*, which is only found in VL6 VL11A and VL14, are rare among Old Latin witnesses, Group **1** in particular.

4:46-54. The Curing of a Royal Official's Son

PO 3,2, p.233, 1-7

Dehinc *regulus quispiam* Domino flebiliter supplicabat, *ut aegrum morientis filii* releuaret incommodum deque sede corporis anxiantis animam labi prohiberet *infirmam*. tunc larga diuinae potestatis humanitas, quae credenti nil denegat nec donum dilatione suspendit, quod a comitatu fidei non recedit, plenam *puero* sospitatem uoce praestitit, sermone concessit. ita namque respondit: **uade filius tuus uiuit**.

PC 3,12-20

Post *regulus* nato *quidam* moriente *rogabat*
Flebilis et supplex Dominum, quo uiseret aegrum
Febre laborantem *puerum* trepidamque uetaret
Labi animam de sede sua. tunc larga potestas
Credenti quae nulla negat nec dona retardat,
Velocem comitata fidem, sermone salutem
Concedens facili: *uiuuit iam filius*, inquit,
Perge tuus. quantum imperii fert iussio Christi!
Non dixit 'uicturus erit' sed '*iam quia uiuuit*'

The second of John's Signs is the second miracle described in book three of the *PC* and *PO*.²³⁰ Sedulius's text is largely paraphrased in both works. Only four words are cited from John 4:50, which are identical in Group 1, Group 2A and Group 2B. Only VL30 has a significant variant, *di(s)cende* for *uade*, but Sedulius's text both in the *PC* and *PO* is clearly based on *uade*. The contextual paraphrase of the citation does not provide many more clues to Sedulius's text. *Regulus ... quidam/quisdam*, the reading found in both the *PO* and the *PC* is found in nearly all the codices; only differences are found in VL2, which has *illic regulus* without *quidam*, while VL5 and VL3 prefer *basilicus quidam*. At line 14 in the *PC*, Sedulius refers to the official's son as *puer*, but *filius* at the same point in the *PO*. This appears a reference to John 4:49, where *το παιδίον* is translated as *puer* in VL2 VL4 VL8 VL11 VL11A VL13 and VL14, but as *filius* in the remaining codices; *puer* does occur in the *PO* several lines later, *PO* 3,2, p.233, 6, *plenam puero sospitatem uoce praestitit*, but this context is not directly connected to John 4:49. This use of *puer* in the *PC* should not be considered significant: Sedulius has probably used the word to avoid the cretic *filium* and the context fits John 4:47 better in any case, where all the codices read *filium*.

Although the text used by Sedulius contains no significant variants, the placement of John's passage is of interest in determining how Sedulius composed the *PC* and *PO*. Mazzega remarks how Sedulius's passage draws on both the Johannine text and the

²³⁰ Mazzega (1996: 74f); van der Laan (1990: xvii).

synoptic text of the Healing of a Centurion's servant.²³¹ For example, the description of the royal official as a believer, *credenti* (v. 16), appears closer to the Matthean passage, where Jesus is astounded at the centurion's faith (Mt. 8:10), than the Johannine passage, where Jesus remarks that people do not believe unless they see signs (Jn. 4:48).²³² Mazzega points out in addition that the equivalent passage in Sedulius's hymn *A Solis Ortus Cardine* mentions details found in both Matthew and John: the son of the royal official is replaced by the centurion's servant but the fever (Jn. 4:52) remains. In addition to this apparent harmonisation, the position of the passage is significant as Sedulius postpones the Conversation with the Samaritan Woman at the Well (Jn. 4:1-44) to book four, apparently in order to place the first two signs of John together or because both John 4:48-52 and John 2:1-11 take place in Cana while the Well episode takes place on the way from Judea to Galilee.²³³

While the source of the harmonisation may be due to poetic license, as Mazzega suggests, it is worth considering whether the episode order and harmonisation are due to Sedulius's use of a lectionary passage or a homily assigned to the Octave of Epiphany.²³⁴ We have seen in the analysis of John 1:29 above that the traditional celebration at Epiphany is of the *tria miracula* before the Wedding at Cana episode was postponed to the 2nd Sunday after Epiphany in the Roman Rite, while the old custom of the *tria miracula* persevered in the North Italian and Gallican Rites. Likewise in two early Gallican lectionaries, the Trier Evangeliary and the Gospel book of St. Kilian, John 4:46-54 is designated in marginal notes as a reading in the Octave of the Epiphany,²³⁵ in the former on the Sunday after Epiphany, and in the latter all that can be read is '*... in... Epifanie*'.²³⁶ Another witness that contains the Johannine pericope in the weeks after Epiphany is the North Italian Gospel Book of Milan, where the pericope is marked for reading on the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany.²³⁷ In the Roman Rite the only trace of a similar usage is in the use of the Matthean pericope covering both the Cleansing of the Leper and the Healing of the Centurion's Servant (Mt. 8:1-13) that is

²³¹ Mazzega (1996: 74-5) notes that the episode is harmonised in Origen, *Commentarius in Matthaem I*, 13,3 (GCS 40); in *Iohannem*, 13,63; Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, 5,84; Augustine, *Tractatus In Iohannem*, 16,5.

²³² *ibid.*, 79.

²³³ *ibid.*, 75; van der Laan (1990: 144).

²³⁴ Mazzega (1996: 79).

²³⁵ Trier, Dombibliothek, codex 420 (olim 134); Würzburg M.p.th.q.Ia.

²³⁶ Salmon (1953: cvii).

²³⁷ Morin (1903).

found on the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany at least since the time of mid-7th century Capitulary of Würzburg.²³⁸ It appears therefore that there was both a possible transition from celebrating the Curing of the Royal Official's Son to the Curing of the Centurion's Servant and that this feast was postponed, like the celebration of the Wedding at Cana from the Octave of Epiphany to the third Sunday after Epiphany. The varying use of these two passages at the same feast in different Italian rites is perhaps a result or reflection of the harmonisation of the two passages in the patristic commentaries remarked by Mazzega above. Sedulius's text with its similar harmonisation could be taken directly from one of the commentaries mentioned by Mazzega or it could be taken from a homily or lectionary passage that adapts the patristic commentaries for reading at Mass on the feast day. The latter possibility has the advantage of also explaining why Sedulius places the episode directly after the Wedding at Cana episode while omitting the Samaritan Woman Episode until books four: he was following arranging the pericopes, at least at the start of books four according to order of the readings he was familiar with from his church.

8:58. The Pre-existence of Jesus

PO 2,8, p.208, 20-22

in euangelio nihilominus ad Iudaeos Abraham sibimet praeponentes antiquitate sic inquit: **amen amen dico uobis antequam abraham fieret** ego sum. uide distantiam utriusque substantiae, Deum *discernentem* et hominem. de Abraham dixit: **antequam fieret**; de se ipso non *dixit ego fui*, sed *ego sum*, quoniam diuinitatis esse est non fuisse, quae uiua semper aeternitate consistens nec initiis oritur nec terminis explicatur.

Sedulius draws on another Johannine passage to expound his Christological views in the Epiphany exegesis, again drawn from Jesus's teaching to the Jews, this time in chapter eight of John. Sedulius's text is clearly **2B/Vulgate**, containing two incontestable Vulgate readings in *antequam* and *fieret* that are supported by Sedulius's own commentary on the passage. Given that Sedulius's text outside of the Epiphany exegesis is closest to the Group **1** readings, it is possible that Sedulius was drawing on a secondary source that included the quote of John 8:58 in a Vulgate text type.

²³⁸ Morin (1911).

Augustine's text found in the *Tractates*, 43,17, is almost identical to that found in Sedulius, including the same text, the same argument and the same language. While it could be argued that both passages are standard defences of the equality of Jesus's divine and human natures, Sedulius changes Augustine's text only superficially, replacing *intellege* by *uide* and possibly reusing Augustine's *discernite* in his phrase *deum discernentem et hominem*. On the other hand, Augustine's passage makes no reference to the Burning Bush (Ex. 3:14) referenced by Sedulius just prior to John 8:58.²³⁹

irati iudaei responderunt: quinquaginta annos nondum habes, et abraham uidisti!
et dominus: amen, amen dico uobis, antequam abraham
fieret, ego sum.

appende uerba, et cognosce mysterium.

antequam abraham fieret.

Intellige, fieret ad humanam facturam, sum uero ad diuinam pertinere
substantiam.

fieret, quia creatura est abraham.

non dixit: antequam abraham esset, ego eram; *sed: antequam abraham fieret*,
qui nisi per me non fieret, ego sum.

neque hoc dixit: antequam abraham fieret, ego factus sum.

in principio enim fecit deus caelum et terram; nam in principio erat uerbum.

antequam fieret abraham, ego sum.

agnoscite creatorem, *discernite* creaturam.

This citation is one of three Johannine citations introduced by *euangelium* rather than *euangelista*, the others being being John 10:16 (*PO* 2,8, p.207, 12) and John 17:10 (*PO* 2,17, p.222, 7). All three are in a Vulgate text type that differs from the Group 1 Old Latin text type generally seen elsewhere. It is possible therefore this change of terminology is because Sedulius settled on *euangelium* as his preferred word at a later stage of his career; the fact that this is accompanied by a change in text types is concordant with a hypothesis that Sedulius changed his text of John from Old Latin to Vulgate at some point during the composition of the *PO*.

²³⁹ Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannem*, 43,17 (PL 35, 1713).

Chapter eight of book two of the *PO* appears to be a complete re-writing of the Epiphany section in the *PC*, where Sedulius uses the opportunity of the Gifts of the Magi to expound in detail his anti-Arian Christology. In rewriting this chapter for the prose work, Sedulius introduces a number of quotations that are not found in the *PC* including John 10:16, 4:22-3 and 5:22-3 in addition to this citation. It is possible that this re-writing was done towards the end of his work and that circumstances compelled him to use a new source for John or that he deliberately chose the Vulgate as his source.

10:16. The Good Shepherd (The Visitation of the Magi)

PO 2,8, p.207, 13-16

per se autem ipsum in euangelio tamquam bonus pastor ita promisit: **et alias oues habeo quae non sunt ex hoc ouili. et illas oportet me adducere et uocem meam audient et fiet unum ouile et unus pastor.**

The citation of part of the Good Shepherd pericope is included as part of the exegesis on the gifts of the Magi in support for the interpretation of the New Testament as the gift of God's Kingdom to the gentiles. As mentioned above, chapter eight in book two of the *PO* finds no equivalent in the *PC*.

At 10:16, as at 8:58, Sedulius appears to follow the **2B/Vulgate** tradition. The rendering of the Greek *ποιμνη* through *ouile* is, as far as we can tell, unique to the Vulgate, with the Old Latin traditions preferring *grex*.²⁴⁰ It is not found in any patristic citations before Augustine's *Tractates*, and is not attested in any of the VL witnesses of either Old Latin tradition. Sedulius's text does nevertheless contain one Old Latin reading, the use of the conjunction *et* between *unum ouile* and *unus pastor*. However, the Vulgate reading, which omits *et* in agreement with all the Greek witnesses is rare and found in a single witness in the Stuttgart edition, the *Mediolanensis*. Sedulius's text is therefore identical to that found in the majority of Vulgate witnesses. A secondary source such as Augustine could again be the origin of this Vulgate text, but Augustine's standard text for this verse of John included *grex* not *ouile*, and although he does cite the verse in Vulgate form twice in his *Tractates*, in *Tractate* 47 and again in 49, neither citation fits

²⁴⁰ Houghton (2008: 281).

the context found in Sedulius.²⁴¹ Thus it appears that Sedulius is not citing his text from a secondary source but using his own text of John.

10:17-18. Jesus laying down and taking up his Soul

PO 5,22, p.291, 18 - p.292, 8

Ut ergo beatae Dominus omnia passionis impleuit, *animam* protinus *suam* sancto de corpore uolens ipse *deposuit*, eam uoluntarie *rursus* ipse *sumpturus*...
audiamus ex eius persona Iohannes euangelista quid referat; ait enim Dominus ad discipulos suos: **propter hoc** me pater diligit **quod** ego **pono animam meam et iterum accipiam eam. nemo tollit eam a me, sed ego pono eam a me** : potestatem **habeo ponendi** eam et potestatem habeo **iterum accipiendi** eam. **hoc mandatum** accepi **a patre**. quis itaque possit dubitare uel audeat eum, cui suam *ponere* licuit *animam* cum liberet, potuisse quoque *resumere* cum placeret...

PC 5,261-3

Ergo ubi cuncta boni completa est passio Christi,
Ipse *animam* proprio *dimisit* corpore sanctam,
Ipse iterum sumpturus eam

The next two verses taken from the Good Shepherd pericope, John 10:17-18, are used in an entirely different place by Sedulius, as part of the description of Jesus's descent to the Gates of Hell in the *PO*. Sedulius's text is unusual and is possibly flattened, but on balance is Group 1, closest to VL14; it is markedly different to the Vulgate text found for 10:16. *propter hoc* is unique to VL14 and VL5; *quod* rather than *quia* is specific to VL14; *et* for *ut* is found only in VL6, VL29, the Codex Amiatinus and Alcuin's recension of the Vulgate; *accipiam* is found in VL5, VL11 and VL30 and although VL14 is slightly lacunate, the ending *..pam* suggests that *accipiam* was the reading it once contained. In 10:18, *me* for *meipsum* appears a flattening of the text; likewise in the following verse, *accipiendi*, the reading found in Sedulius's text as a translation of

²⁴¹ *ibid.*

λαβειν is possibly an error from memory prompted by the use of the verb *accipiam* at 10:17.²⁴²

All codices save VL11 preserve *sumendi* or *tollendi/tollere* (VL6 & VL5 respectively) as a translation of *λαβειν*. This appears the oldest reading, with *sumendi* or *sumere* found in Marius Victorinus,²⁴³ and *resumendi* found in Lactantius,²⁴⁴ two of the oldest sources. However, *accipiendi* is found in the Codex Rehdigeranus (VL11), the writings of Fortunatus as quoted by Augustine, some old manuscripts of Augustine's *quaestiones* and in the 8th-century Irish writer Pseudo-Hilary of Arles.²⁴⁵ Variants of *accipere* appear nearly as old as variants of *sumere*, since *accipiendi* is found in the writings of Hilary and *recipere* in Novatian.²⁴⁶ Unusually, Sedulius's cited text is not at all supported by his contextual exegesis in the *PO* or by the text found in the *PC*. Both of these sources employ derivatives of *sumere*, which suggests at the very least that Sedulius knew of the variant *sumendi* and possibly that the reading *accipiendi* is unreliable. Elsewhere at 10:18, the reading *mandatum* agrees with both the **2B** tradition and the Group **1** tradition against the Group **2A** tradition as a translation of *ἡ ἐντολή*.²⁴⁷

10:30 & 14:11. Affirmation of The Trinity

PO 1,29, p.193, 21- p.194, 10

quid est ergo principium nisi cacumen excelsum, supra quod nihil penitus reperitur, semper *in Patre* permanens, quia semper *in ipso* permanet *Pater*, rerumque omnium caput *unus* indiuiduae maiestatis est Deus non quod Filius hic credatur esse qui Pater est, sed quia Filius hoc credatur esse quod Pater est, sicut per euangelicam locutus est ipse doctrinam dicens: **ego** in **Patre** et **Pater** in me. deinde consequenter adiecit: **ego** et **Pater** unum sumus. Arrius *unum* dici audiat, Sabellius *sumus* dici cognoscat...

²⁴² Scribal error in the copying of the *PO* should not be ruled out due to the homoioteleuton of *accip(...)* *eam*.

²⁴³ **MAR** Ar 3,12; 3,18.

²⁴⁴ **LAC** in 4,26,31.

²⁴⁵ **AU** Fo 32; q 80,3; **PS-HIL-A** 3,1. Houghton (2008: 141) believes Augustine's use of *accipiendi* in the *quaestiones* deserves special mention, given that it is found in one of the two oldest witnesses, G.

²⁴⁶ **HIL** tri 9,12; **NO** tri 21.

²⁴⁷ See Burton (2000: 71) for the importance of *mandatum* vs *praeceptum* in determining Old Latin traditions in John.

PC 1,319-23

Non quia qui summus Pater est, et Filius hic est,
Sed quia quod summus Pater est, et Filius hoc est.
Sic ait ipse docens: ego in Patre et Pater in me.
Rursus: ego atque Pater unum sumus. Arrius unum
Debet scire sumusque Sabellius esse fatendum.

The citation of 10:30 and 14:11 are both found in a Christological context, in Sedulius's exegesis of the Symbol and his attack on Arius and Sabellius. Huemer follows Arévalo in assigning *ego in patre et pater in me* to 10:38, *in me est Pater et ego in Patre*.²⁴⁸ However, there is no need to look to 10:38 as a possible source for Sedulius since the exact words are found at 14:11; indeed, manuscript F of the *PO* corrects the citation in accordance with the Vulgate through the addition of *est*, revealing that this medieval scribe at least acknowledged 14:11 as Sedulius's source. Furthermore, two other details point to 14:11. First, the context in the *PO*: Sedulius's words concerning the permanent presence of the Father in the Son (*semper in Patre permanens, quia semper in ipso permanet Pater*) are a direct reference to 14:10, where Jesus says that the words he speaks are of himself but of the Father, who *dwells in him* (*uerba quae ego loquor uobis a me ipso non loquor Pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera*). The 'words' referred to by Jesus are the same as in 14:11, but with the addition of *est* in all traditions. Second, 10:30 and 14:10-11 are often found in treatises defending the Trinitarian position, and are indeed found in the exact same forms as found in Sedulius in chapter 24 of Tertullian's *Aduersus Praxean*.²⁴⁹

Although the text appears in very similar forms in 14:10 and 14:11, the absence of *est* points to 14:11, since all traditions contain *est* in 14:10, yet it is largely absent from the Old Latin tradition in 14:11.

Sedulius's text is therefore an Old Latin citation, but it is only one of two instances in his citations where the Old Latin text is not found in VL14, which includes *est* after *pater in me*. This difference should not be considered particularly significant. The use of these two citations of John in an attack on the Arian position on the nature of the Trinity is common in 4th and 5th centuries. Sedulius is possibly citing the passage with

²⁴⁸ Huemer & Panagl (2007: 39 & 194). Arévalo (1794: 191).

²⁴⁹ Tertullian, *Aduersus Praxean*, 24.

Tertullian's text in mind or indeed with another similar trinitarian treatise, such as Hilary's *De Trinitate*, Ambrose's *De Fide* or Gaudentius in mind or in view, all three of which include John 14:11 and 10:38 as found in Sedulius as part of their Trinitarian arguments.²⁵⁰

11:43. The Resurrection of Lazarus

PO 4,21, p.270, 19 - p.271, 9-15

Bethaniam deinde sollicitus salutiferis gressibus clementer aduenerat, ubi *Lazarus* humana finem condicione sortitus sepulchrali sub *lapide quartae* iacebat *lucis* cursu iam fetidus. cuius ad tumulum Domino ueniente collectae *flebant* pio luctu germanae, *flebat turba* consistens, *fleuit* et ipse simul Omnipotens...

igitur Dominus ut imperiosae *uocis* iussu mirabili dixit exclamans: **L a z a r e p r o d i**
f o r a s, magna repente formidine tartara patuere concussa, inferni penetrabile contremuit, letale chaos expauit et lex profundae mortis abscessit; animaque sui corporis iterum fibris infusa rupto *monumenti* tutamine uiuum cernitur cadauer adstare.

PC 4,271-288

Bethaniaeque solum repetens intrarat: ibique

Lazarus occidua *tumulatus* sorte iacebat

Iam *quarto* sine luce *die* claususque sepulchri

Marmore corruptum tabo exalabat odorem.

Flebant germanae, *flebat* populatio praesens,

Flebat et Omnipotens, ...

Ergo ubi clamantis Domini sonuit tuba dicens:

'Lazare, **perge** foras!', magno concussa pauore

Tartara dissiliunt, herebi patuere recessus,

Et tremuit letale chaos, mortisque profundae

Lex perit atque anima proprias repente medullas

Cernitur ante oculos uiuens adstare cadauer.

²⁵⁰Hilary, *De Trinitate*, 2,10; Ambrose, *De Fide*, 11,134 & 143; Gaudentius, *Tractatus*, 19,1. Of the two sources, Hilary is a more likely alternative to Tertullian than Ambrose, as he juxtaposes the two citations in the same paragraph as in Sedulius.

The citation is found as part of Sedulius's presentation of the Resurrection of Lazarus, the last miracle described by Sedulius in the miracle books three and four. Whereas most of the Johannine miracles are paraphrased, for Lazarus's resurrection Sedulius also includes a brief citation of Jesus's words. Sedulius's *PO* text preserves the reading *prodi*, found in two witnesses of the Group 1 tradition, VL14 and VL20 as well as VL4. The reading *prodi* is elsewhere found four times in the sermons of Augustine amongst Sedulius's contemporaries.²⁵¹ The use of a Group 1 text type as a base text for the scene is supported by the following paraphrased text:

PO 4,21, p.271, 1-2: Domino ueniente collectae *flebant* pio luctu *germanae*, flebat turba consistens, fleuit et ipse simul omnipotens (Jn. 11:33 VL3 VL4 VL14 VL22: Iesus autem [ergo VL4] ut uidit eam [illam VL3] flentem; VL2: I. a. uidit illam fl.; VL20: I. a. cum uidisset e. fl. || V VL5 VL6 VL8 VL10 VL11 VL15: I. ergo ut uidit eam plorantem; GK: Ἰησοῦς οὖν ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὴν κλαίουσαν)

PO 4,21, p.271, 2: *flebat* turba (Jn. 11:33 VL2 VL3 VL4 VL6 VL8 VL14 VL15 VL22: Iudaeos flentes; VL10 VL20: Iudaeos ... flentes || VL5 VL11: I. plorantes; V: I. ... pl.; GK: Ἰουδαίους κλαίοντας)²⁵²

The readings found in Sedulius are paralleled by the readings found in VL14 on both occasions. The text found in the *PC* appears to be based on the same source: *perge* is preferred to *prodi* presumably as the former forms a dactyl rather than a spondee and is a more poetic alternative.²⁵³ In addition, the *PO* contains *exclamans*, which is closer to the reading *exclamauit* found in VL3 VL14 VL20 VL35 VL47 VL48 than *clamauit* found in most of the other witnesses or *uocauit* found in VL2. However, *dixit exclamans* forms a spondaic *clausula* and it is likely that Sedulius would have used the compound form for this reason in any case. Similarly, little can be read into Sedulius's use of *clamantis* in the *PC*, which would suggest the Vulgate text rather than *exclamans* found in the *PO*, as it is highly unlikely that Sedulius would use an epitrite in hexameter in any case. The derivatives of *flere* not *plorare* that are found in the *PC* as in the *PO* are a more significant indicator that Sedulius's text of John was Group 1 for both works.

²⁵¹ Houghton (2008: 289).

²⁵² The reading *turba consistens* (*PO* 4,21, p.271, 2) has not been considered as support for the use of the present participle found in VL2 VL3 VL6 VL8 VL10 VL15 VL18 it is a spondaic *clausula* with cursus.

²⁵³ *Perge*, for example, recalls Venus's command to Aeneas directing him towards Dido's Palace in Book 1 of the *Aeneid* (Vergil, *Aeneid* 4,401: *Perge modo et, qua te ducit uia, derige gressum*).

12:27-8. The Coming of Jesus's Hour

PO 5,1, p.273, 5 - 14

turbatusque pauxillulum mortis uicina ut homo formidans, talibus ad Patrem uerbis fiducia piaie religionis exclamat Dei filium se demonstrans: **pater salua me de ista** hora; sed **propter hoc ueni in istam horam. pater honorifica nomen tuum**. nimium diuine locutus est et potenter, qui cum semet *honorificari* deposceret, *patris* nomen *honorificandum* esse signauit. Deus enim nomen est illi, quod pater et filius communi pariter maiestate possident indiuisum. **uenit autem uox de caelo et honorificaui** et iterum **honorificabo**

PC 5,6-10

Exclamansque palam '*pater istac memet ab hora Saluifica*, sed in hanc ideo ueni tamen horam; *Clarifica*' dixit '*nomen tuum*'. magnaue caelo *Vox* resonans *uenit* per nubila: *clarificaui*, *Clarificemque*²⁵⁴ iterum.

The passage that opens book five is cited verbatim in the *PO*, but paraphrased in the *PC*. The text in the *PO* displays strong affinities with VL14. At 12:27 Sedulius's text has *salua me de ista hora*, a reading found in codices VL14 and VL11 alone, while **2B/Vulgate** has the reading *saluifica me ex hora hac*, and the witnesses of the Group **2A** have *libera/salua me ex hac hora*. At 12:28 Sedulius's text has *pater honorifica nomen tuum*; the Latin *honorificare* translates *δοξάζειν*, and is only found consistently in codices VL14, VL13 and VL3; the Groups **2A** and **2B** principally use *clarificare* to translate *δοξάζειν*.²⁵⁵ In the same verse, Sedulius's text preserves *honorificabo*, a reading found in VL2 VL3 & VL14, while the other codices have *clarificabo* or *glorificabo*.

²⁵⁴ Deerberg (2011: 64, n. 15) with justification prefers *clarificabo*, the reading found in Group **2A/2B** codices, as well as CDFG¹HSO¹ in Sedulius's *PC* witnesses due to its better tradition and support in the Old Latin.

²⁵⁵ Burton (2000: 68).

The difference in the translation of *δοξάζειν* found in the text of the *PO* and that of the *PC* is striking and led Moretti Pieri to assert that Sedulius used different versions of John for the *PO* and the *PC*.²⁵⁶ However, this contravenes what we have seen elsewhere in Sedulius's use of John and Moretti Pieri's statement needs qualifying. First, Sedulius's *PC* text does not entirely follow the Group **2A/2B** tradition. The use of *istac ... ab hora* is surely reflective of *de ista hora* as found in the *PO* and VL5, VL11 and VL14. Second, there must be some doubt whether Sedulius would use *honorificare* in hexameter, even if it appeared in his base text: the short first syllable restricts its use to immediately following a trochee, unlike *clarificare*, which starts with a dactyl and the length of the word would hardly make for an elegant line of verse (indeed it is not found once in the *PC*). It is possible that Sedulius was aware that *clarificare*, *glorificare* *honorificare* were essentially interchangeable as translations of *δοξάζειν* and that he made the conscious choice of *clarificare* over *honorificare* for metrical reasons.²⁵⁷

As for the other readings in the *PC* text that differ from the *PO* text, they are *saluifica* (VL4 + Group **2B**), *ideo* (VL2 VL3 VL6 VL8), *in hanc horam* (Group **2B** + VL2 VL3 VL6 VL8), and the inclusion of *resonans* at *PC* 5,9 that appears to owe something to *dicens* found in VL2 VL3 VL5 VL6 and VL15. These do not point to the consistent use of one single tradition. Rather, it appears that Sedulius was aware of the different traditions and adapted his text to fit the requirements of his metre. However, the other side of the argument is that elsewhere in the lead-up to the Passion, as seen in Peter's Denial hereafter, Sedulius does appear to be using different sources in the *PC* and *PO*. Therefore, it is possible that here also Sedulius is following some sort of harmonised text that is based on a biblical text with a different text type to that found in his version of John.

13.38. Peter's Denial

PO 5,5, p.277, 10-15

ipsi namque tunc Petro confidenti uoce pollicito uelle sese cum Domino et mori *dixit*:
amen, amen, dico tibi, quoniam non cantabit hodie gallus,

²⁵⁶ Moretti Pieri (1969: 131).

²⁵⁷ See the comment made by the Carolingian Haymo Autissiodorensis in the 5th chapter of his *Expositio In Epistulam Ad Hebraeos*: *Glorifico, honorifico, clarifico, tria quidem sunt uerba unum sensum habentia, quod Graece pro Latino positum habetur δοξάζω* (PL 68, 715). See also Deerberg (2000: 63).

donec tu ter me abneges non infidelitatis hunc arguens, sed metum futurae trepidationis aperiens.

PC 5,79-81

Namque Petro clara iamdudum uoce fatenti
Cum Domino se uelle mori '*Prius aliger*' inquit
'*Quam gallus cantet, hac me ter nocte negabis*'
Non reprobando fidem, sed praedicendo timorem.

Sedulius's text, both in the *PO* and *PC*, is assigned to Luke 22:34 or Matthew 26:34 in Huemer and on the VL Database. However, examination of the text shows that it is identical in every aspect to the second part of John 13:38 found in VL14. This text contains several unique or near-unique readings, such as the interpolation of *hodie* from Luke 22:32 and the use of *quoniam* (also VL6). In addition, the inclusion of *tu* is found only in VL3 VL4 VL8 and VL14 and *abneges*, found only in VL3 VL14 and VL15, is a probable translation of ἀπαρνήση found in the Byzantine tradition as opposed to *neges/negabis* found in the other Latin codices that translates the Alexandrian/'Western' ἀρνήση.

The *PC* text on the other hand is totally different, indeed, it is probably not even Johannine, as the closest text is found in the Vulgate and Old Latin tradition of Matthew 26:34:

V: *amen, dico tibi quia in hac nocte antequam gallus cantet ter me negabis*

VL4: *amen, dico tibi quod hac nocte antequam gallus cantet ter me negabis*

This text only differs from that found in Sedulius through the use of *priusquam* in place of *antequam*, but *priusquam* is found in many patristic witnesses as well as VL5.²⁵⁸ Although metrical considerations would in any case prevent the use of *abneges*, which forms a cretic, it is noticeable that none of the key readings found in Sedulius's *PO* text, such as *quoniam*, *hodie*, *tu* and *donec* find an equivalent in the *PC* text. That Sedulius switched from Matthew to John appears a probable explanation for the different readings, but it is unclear why he might have made this choice. One possibility is that

²⁵⁸ e.g. **AU** Jo 11,2,47; Ps 138,21,13; **HIL** Mt 30,3; **ORI** ser 81; 88; **PROS** Ruf 11.

his source for the Passion episode in the *PC* was in some way harmonised but that he elected to use separate Gospel sources in the *PO*. Sedulius's use of a Passion harmony as a source text for book five of the *PC* has long been suspected.²⁵⁹ A possible source of such a harmonised passage could be an early lectionary; in those that are extant the episode heading often assigns the passage to a single Gospel source but the content of the passage is drawn on several sources. For example, the Spanish Liber Commicus preserves such a passage as the Gospel reading at the service on the Last Supper, i.e. Maundy or Holy Thursday, where the reading is titled *Lectio Sancti Euangellii Secundum Iohannem*, and begins, like Sedulius with John 13 but draws the majority of its material, in particular Peter's Denial, from Matthew 26.²⁶⁰ Although the passage is found only in two 11th-century manuscripts and we do not truly know how far back stretch the sources of the Liber Commicus, this passage does nevertheless provide a concrete example of the type of passage that could cause the confusion apparent in Sedulius's books.²⁶¹

14:5-6. The Way to the Father

PO 5,38, p.302, 17 - p.303, 1

ut iter eis qua sequerentur ostenderet, quibus ante passionem sibi dicentibus: **Domine nescimus quo uadis quomodo possumus uiam nosse?** respondit euidenter et dixit: ego **sum uia** et ueritas et uita. **uia**, quoniam per eum Patris peruenitur ad gratiam. **ueritas**, quia credentibus tribuit quae promittit. **uita**, quoniam morti non subiacent quos adoptat.

The conversation between Jesus and his disciples following the Last Supper where he comforts them for when he will have departed is placed by Sedulius only in the *PO* towards the very end of book five. There are several variants between the different text types in John 14:6 but two stand out in particular, the omission of *et* before *quomodo* in the translation of $\pi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ in accordance with Alexandrian text, a reading that is only found in Group **1** witnesses VL3 VL4 and VL14 and the translation of $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\ \tau\eta\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$. This is rendered as *possumus uiam nosse* in VL14 and VL30 alone, as

²⁵⁹ Mayr (1916: 54).

²⁶⁰ *Legendum in Cena Domini ad VIII* (Pérez de Urbel & González Ruiz-Zorrilla, 1950: 332).

²⁶¹ Paris, Bib. Nat. N.A. lat. 2171, s. XI; Madrid, R.A.Hist., 22, s. XI.

possumus uiam scire in **2B**/Vulgate witnesses in agreement with the Byzantine text, and variously as *uiam nouimus* (VL2 VL3 and VL5 (=D05)) or simply *uiam scimus* in VL4. Sedulius's text agrees with the reading found in VL14 and VL30, and is in fact a near exact match once again to this text type, only differing in the reading *quo* where VL14 has *ubi*.

17:10. The Glorification of the Father

PO 2,17, p.221, 21 - p.222, 8

sanctificatio quae potest aestimari, qua Dominus sanctificari ualeat, qui cuncta sanctificat, nisi ut cor pium, mite, placidum, castum ad eius praeparemus ingressum? quatenus tali domicilio delectatus sanctificationis suae in nobis operetur augmentum, quemadmodum ipse Dominus noster Iesus Christus *in discipulis se clarificatum esse memorat*, qui clara semper diuinitatis luce fulgebat. nam in euangelio secundum Iohannem pro discipulis supplicat patri; inter diuersa quae prosecutus est uerba sic inquit : **clarificatus sum in eis**, scilicet quia *claritatem suam in eis* inuenit.

The text is not found in the *PC* and is the third citation introduced by *euangelium* rather than *euangelista*. Given that, like VL14, Sedulius's text of John is characterised by the use of a form of *honorificare* for the different translations of *δοξαζειν*, the appearance of *clarificatus* is surprising. One possible explanation is that Sedulius chose *clarificare* to fit with his subsequent exegesis, *qui clara semper diuinitatis luce fulgebat*. However, this comment, as well as the later one, *scilicet... inuenit*, appears a reaction to the biblical text, not the other way round. Thus, it is perhaps worth considering whether Sedulius's text is dependent on a secondary source and that the reading *clarificatus* entered his text as part of a longer allusion to existing exegesis. A possible source is found in Augustine, whose *Tractate* 107 begins the third paragraph with the text *et clarificatus sum, inquit, in eis*, before going on to explain that by *eis*, Christ is referring to his disciples.²⁶² Sedulius's text takes this later point for granted in his use of the passage: *nam in euangelio secundum Iohannem pro discipulis supplicat patri*. Sedulius uses John 17:10 as evidence that Christ's glorification through the actions of his disciples allows Christians to sanctify Christ's name by imitating his actions *ubi ergo et sanctificationis suae signa reppererit, sanctificare se ibidem dicit*. The use of *Tractate*

²⁶² Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannem*, 107,3 (PL 35, 1913).

107 would require a composition date of the *PO* after 420, the accepted publishing date for this band of the tractates, but in reality it would have been some time before their manuscripts were widely available and accessible to Sedulius.²⁶³

Sedulius uses John 17:10 as part of a wider exegesis of the first petition of the Lord's Prayer claiming that God's name must be sanctified through the good acts of Christians. This idea can be traced back to Cyprian who, in the exegesis of the first petition in his *De Dominica Oratione*, draws on I Reg. 2:30, that 'I shall glorify those who glorify me' (*Eos qui clarificant me clarificabo*) and I Cor. 6:20, that one must 'Glorify and carry God in your body' (*Clarificate et portate Deum in corpore uestro*).²⁶⁴ Nonetheless, Cyprian's text speaks in general terms of acting as 'Temples of God'; it does not mention the specific terminology of the chaste and pious heart as found in Sedulius. This is found however in the later commentary by the Latin Pseudo-Chrysostomus:²⁶⁵

Quae est ista sanctificatio dei, nisi ut sanctis moribus uiuentes in nobis deus sanctificetur? Nam quicumque puro corde et pacifico cum omnibus hominibus uiuit, loquitur ueritatem in corde suo et dolose non agit sub lingua sua: in hoc uidentes homines bona opera, clarificant patrem qui est in caelis (Mt. 5:16).

Pseudo-Chrysostomus follows neither Corinthians nor I Reg. as in Cyprian, nor John 17:10 as in Sedulius, but Matthew 5:16, although the language used and the underlying signification of the passage is very similar. The same passage is also found in John Cassian although with the variant *glorificant* in place of *clarificant*:²⁶⁶

quod tunc efficaciter inpletur in nobis, quando uident homines opera nostra bona et glorificant patrem nostrum qui est in caelis.

It appears that Sedulius's source text also made reference to this passage of Matthew, since the preceding sentence makes definite allusion to the shining light of the Lord in the Lord's house, as per Matthew 5:14-5: *Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest ciuitas*

²⁶³ Houghton (2008: 108).

²⁶⁴ Cyprian, *De Dominica Oratione*, 11 (CCSL 3A, 96).

²⁶⁵ Pseudo-Chrysostomus ('Chrysostomus Latinus'), *Sermones XXXI Collectionis Morin Dictae*, 28 (CPL 915, PLS 4, 818).

²⁶⁶ Cassian, *Conlationes*, 9,18 (CSEL 13, 267).

abscondi supra montem posita, neque accendunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus qui in domo sunt.

It is possible therefore that Sedulius's source text is a variant version of the tradition witnessed by Pseudo-Chrysostomus Latinus and John Cassian, in which the original text of Mt. 5:14-16 has been supplemented by the text of John 17:10. That Sedulius has not added the quotation of John 17:10 himself is suggested by the text type of this citation, which is Group 2. Furthermore, the variant *glorificant* rather than *clarificant* in John Cassian's text suggests that Sedulius is not a direct witness of this text, but that the two texts are witnesses to the same tradition, for it is hard to see how John 17:10 could have supplemented Mt. 5:16 on the basis of the word *glorificant*. None of the four possible secondary sources studied above match Sedulius's text in context and text type. It is therefore prudent to treat Sedulius's citation as his own for the time being, noting that like the other citations of John introduced by *euangelium*, it is of a Group 2, possibly 2B/Vulgate, text type and is possibly therefore a later addition to the text.

20:17. Jesus and the Father

PO 2,17 p.220, 14 - p.221, 3

quamquam enim in omnibus euangeliiis hoc habeatur adscriptum, in illo tamen euidenter Dominus Iesus ipse capitulo iuris sui potentiam singularem docuit a populari permixtione discretam, ubi discipulos confortabat haec alloquens: **u a d o** a d P a t r e m m e u m e t **p a t r e m** u e s t r u m . quod ait *meum*, hanc sibi specialem gloriam congrue uindicauit; quod ait *uestrum*, generalem gratiam communiter cunctis esse patefecit...

Text not found in *PC*.

The short citation of John 20:17, taken from Jesus's words to Mary Magdalene, is found only in the *PO*. It appears as part of the exegesis of the first petition of the Lord's Prayer as support for Jesus's use of the term *Pater meus* and the idea of Christians' adoption as children of God through the use of the term *Pater noster*. The text is apparently flattened, as *uado* for *ascendo* is not found in any codical source. There appear two possibilities for the presence of *uado*; first that it is in error, the second that it stems from a secondary source. According to the VLD, the use of *uado* at this point in the

verse occurs thrice in Augustine, once in Ambrosiaster and once in the anti-Arian pamphlet the *Anonymous Altercation of Heraclianus and Bishop Germinus*.²⁶⁷ Houghton considers the three Augustine citations with *uado* instead of *ascendo* as a slip as Augustine has taken *uado* from its use in the first half of the verse.²⁶⁸ Sedulius in turn is possibly reproducing this error by recalling *uado* in place of *ascendo* in the biblical text. However, there is also possibility that he has transferred the error found in his secondary source.

One of Augustine's citations of *uado* is found in his 21st *Tractate* on John in his exegesis of John 1:3, on inseparability of the acts of the Father and the Son, in a similar context to that found in Sedulius's passage.²⁶⁹ In the third paragraph of this tractate Augustine also uses John 20:17 alongside the first petition of the Lord's Prayer as support for the adoption of Christians by God the Father; it is very possible therefore that Sedulius's use of *uado* stems directly from this source. Mayr suggests another sermon of Augustine, Sermon 57 on the Lord's Prayer as a possible source for Sedulius, before noting that adoption is also mentioned by Augustine in his Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount.²⁷⁰ However, the theme of adoption is present throughout a long tradition of commentary on the Lord's Prayer commentary in the exegesis of the first petition, starting with Tertullian's use of John 1:12, *dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius*.²⁷¹

Schnurr's analysis of the Lord's Prayer tradition distinguishes two types of adoption: adoption of Christ by God according to a Christological schema, and adoption of mankind by God according to a soteriological schema.²⁷² While the Christological schema, is frequently discussed in patristic writings, Schnurr sees Sedulius as chiefly concerned with the soteriological model, and traces the origin of soteriological adoption, which he claims is found only in later Lord's Prayer commentaries, to Marius Victorinus's commentary on Galatians 4:6-7.²⁷³ The explicit usage of the term *adoptio*,

²⁶⁷ **AMst** Eph 1,17,18; **AN** alt; **AU** sy 18; Gn q 59; Jo 21,3,23.

²⁶⁸ Houghton (2008: 351).

²⁶⁹ Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannem*, 21,3,23.

²⁷⁰ Mayr (1916: 66). Augustine, *s. 57,2*; Augustine, *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,16.

²⁷¹ Tertullian, *De Oratone*, 2,1: scriptum est: Qui in eum crediderunt, dedit eis potestatem ut filii dei uocentur (FC 76, 222).

²⁷² Schnurr (1985: 187).

²⁷³ *ibid*; Marius Victorinus, *In Epistola Pauli Ad Galatas II*, 4,5 (CPL 98).

however, hails not from the Latin tradition but first appears in the writings of Origen,²⁷⁴ who connects John 1:12 with the Pauline concept of mankind's adoption through God's grace, as per Romans 8:15, *non enim accepistis spiritum seruitutis iterum in timore sed accepistis Spiritum adoptionis filiorum in quo clamamus Abba Pater*. The presence of this understanding of adoption, often alongside the idea of a conversion from servitude to kinship is thereafter found in many writings on the Lord's Prayer, both North African and Italian.²⁷⁵

However, the use of John 20:17 is not found in Marius Victorinus's text and this cannot be Sedulius's source. In fact, nowhere in the extant corpus of commentaries and sermons on the Lord's Prayer is John 20:17 used. However, it is a stock anti-Arian response found in defence of the equal nature of Trinity: it is used by Ambrose in the *De Fide* to demonstrate the difference between birth and grace, while in the anti-Arian altercation of Heraclianus and Bishop Germinus, it is one of the citations used by Heraclianus as defence of Christ's relationship to God.²⁷⁶ Jesus's words as recorded by John highlight the difference between humans and Christ, in that God is first Christ's Father and his God as he is begotten not made. No notion of this is found in the *PC*; it appears therefore that Sedulius may have introduced it of his own accord in order to strengthen the anti-Arian tone of the *PO*. If we feel that the text is dependent on a Lord's Prayer commentary, where John 20:17 was used as evidence for Christians' adoption, then this commentary is for the time being lacking, but, as seen above, Sedulius could have introduced the citation independently using Augustine's Tractate 21 as his source.

²⁷⁴ Origen, *Peri Euches*, 22.

²⁷⁵ Augustine, *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,15; Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaem*, 28,1,2; [Chromatius], s. 40,2 (CPL 219); Cassian, *Conlationes*, 9,18; Pseudo-Augustine, s. 65,1 (CPPM 850); Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio Quattuor Evangeliorum* (CPL 631).

²⁷⁶ Ambrose, *De Fide*, 5,91; *Altercatio Heracliani laici cum Germinio Episcopo Sirmiensi* (CPL 687). This text, an anti-Arian treaty also shares the use of *uado* rather than *ascendo* for the quotation of Jn. 20:17: *Nam et de filio dei scriptum est: Ego uado ad deum meum et ad deum uestrum et ad patrem meum et ad patrem uestrum* (Caspari, 1883: 140).

Conclusion

Sedulius's text of John is heterogeneous within the citations found in the *PO* but generally homogenous between the *PC* and the *PO*. The opinion of Moretti Pieri that Sedulius used a different text for the *PC* and the *PO* has only been found to hold true at specific junctures, with the same text used in the *PO* and *PC* in the main, though Sedulius does occasionally use variants found in other versions of John in the *PC*, probably from memory, to suit the constraints of metre. The one area where Moretti Pieri's hypothesis may indeed hold true is in the Passion episodes, where Sedulius's text of John 12:27-8 and 13:38 show significant differences between the two works. While metrical requirements account for some of the differences, it is also possible that Sedulius was working from a Passional for the *PC* but that he decided to draw directly from the separate Gospels when composing the *PO*. Here at least we do have Late Antique documents with which Sedulius's text can be compared and in this the affinities of his text with that of the Passional found in the *Liber Commicus* are strong enough to suggest that Sedulius made use of a similar text as his base text for the Passion sequence of book five. This hypothesis will be explored further in the study of Sedulius's synoptic citations below.

Three different text types have been found in the citations of John: an Old Latin base text that is very similar to VL14 that has been used for the miracle episodes, the text of Peter's denial, the Last Prayer made by Jesus to God, the Passion and the Ascension episodes. A **2B**/Vulgate text that is found in the quotes of John 1:14 and 1:29 used in the Nativity and Baptism sections and the citations of John 4:22-3, 5:22-34, 8:58 and 10:16 used in the Epiphany exegesis (*PO* 2,8). An Old Latin Group **2A** text that has been used for the short citations found in the Christological Creed citations, John 10:30 and 14:11, and possibly in the Lord's Prayer exegesis. These Group **2A** citations are the shortest and we could expect these to come from memory; at the same time, they are the most obviously doctrinal and this increases the probability that they could come from a secondary source. The citations used in connection with John 1:14 and 1:29, which as we have seen are used in a liturgical context might be expected to come from Sedulius's memory of the liturgy. However, the liturgical forms for these citations are either specific like the *Agnus* or, when they are not, almost exclusively Old Latin, at least up to Carolingian times. Thus Sedulius was either using a Vulgate based liturgy, which appears unlikely given liturgical sources that we have, or he added these citations in the

PO from a Vulgate source to supplement or replace his original base text that was presumably used in the *PC*.

In addition, the Vulgate citations from chapters four, five and eight and 10:16 are all found in the Epiphany chapter in the *PO* and these were added at a later date than the other citations in the *PO*, in an apparent rewriting of the chapter to strengthen the Anti-Arian tone. The use of Augustine's *Tractates* is a possibility where Sedulius quotes John 8:58, 17:10 and 20:17, due to the reproduction at these junctures of a text that is recognisably foreign to Sedulius's Old Latin base text in a context that is similar to Augustine's use. This cannot however explain the use of the Vulgate text of John 1:29 or 10:16, where even Augustine's *Tractates* on John reproduce an Old Latin text. Thus, another text must have been responsible for these two citations at least. This is a possibility, but it appears that the simplest and most economical explanation is that Sedulius had a Vulgate text of John in addition to an Old Latin text of John and that he used the Vulgate source as the basis of his later citations.

That many of the unusual readings in Sedulius, both in the citations and the paraphrasis are also found in the Usserianus, an Irish 6th/7th century text is surprising. Sedulius's links to an Irish text are not completely understood but presence of Sedulian readings in the Usserianus should in no way suggest that Sedulius was Irish. Sedulius was likely writing in a period concurrent with the arrival of Christianity to Ireland, traditionally put at 432, but there is no record of an Irish Christian text prior to the Usserianus in 600.²⁷⁷ It hardly appears an environment suited to the penning of Sedulius's twin works.

The connection can possibly be explained by the missionary movement to Ireland, led by Palladius in the early part of the 5th century that had recognised links with Gaul and Rome. According to the Chronology of Prosper of Aquitaine, our earliest source concerning Palladius, as a deacon he persuaded Pope Celestine to lend his authority to Germanus in his battle against the Pelagian heresy in Britain.²⁷⁸ The same source states that he was sent as bishop on a mission to convert the Irish in 435.²⁷⁹ It is probable that Palladius, first as Germanus's envoy to Rome, then later as missionary, albeit in Ireland while Germanus and Bishop Lupus were in England, was one of Saint Germanus's

²⁷⁷ McNamara (2004: 96).

²⁷⁸ Prosper, *Chronicle*, s.a. 433 (PL 27, 717).

²⁷⁹ Prosper, *Chronicle*, s.a. 435; (PL 27, 717).

circle.²⁸⁰ If so, the first Gospels that Palladius brought with him to Ireland would have probably come from his homeland of Gaul or from Rome where he previously lived and it was these that could have been at the base of the tradition whence came Codex Usserianus. This suggests that the manuscript on which Sedulius drew for his text of John in the *PO* also had a Gallic or Italian origin. Palaeography is of little help in this matter: Julian Brown in his paper on the late antique background of the early Irish manuscripts concludes that the script used in Usserianus and the book of Mulling was *home-grown* with its roots in the ‘personal, unofficial end of the Later Roman script system as a whole’ as used by native writers that had bifurcated into a documentary cursive that became the insular minuscule found in the book of Mulling and a formalised literary cursive suitable for liturgical use as found in the Usserianus.²⁸¹ Textually, the Usserianus is classed as part of the Gallic-Irish group, but this group is not well attested and the link to Gaul of VL14 in John depends on the proximity to a text found in a fragment of a Gallican Sacramentary from the South of France. It would appear a far safer basis for the origin of the Usserianus text type lies in the translation of *δοξάζειν*, which is only consistently translated as *honorificare* in codices VL3 VL13 VL14 VL22.²⁸² Indeed the findings of Burton on specific translation words place the Usserianus in a closer lexical relationship to these Italian codices than to any of the principal Gallic Codices and if anything the VL14 text type should surely be considered Italian.²⁸³

This tallies with other elements in Sedulius’s Johannine text suggest an Italian origin: in particular, his use of John 1:29, a principally Eastern feature that has a homiletic tradition in North Italian works, such as the Epiphany homilies of Maximus of Turin and the anonymous Verona homilies and Sedulius's ordering of pericopes around the Epiphany celebration that is paralleled in Gallican and North Italian lectionaries. This Italian connection is investigated further in the synoptic citations below.

²⁸⁰ As believes Charles-Edwards (2000: 212).

²⁸¹ Brown (1996: 321).

²⁸² Burton (2000: 68).

²⁸³ *ibid.*, 70-1.

Chapter 2. Sedulius's Text of Matthew

Background

Sedulius's citations of Matthew in the *PO* encompass passages taken from the entire span of the Gospel. Sedulius uses Matthew to varying degrees: the bulk of citations are used to frame the narrative of Jesus's life from his birth in the beginning of book two to his death and resurrection in book five. 34 of the 50 verses cited by Sedulius belong to this category, encompassing Jesus's Nativity, Baptism, Temptation by the devil, Transfiguration, Passion and Resurrection. The length of these citations makes it highly probable that they are taken directly from a written text of Matthew. In some cases, such as the Nativity and Baptism and Temptations sections, the entire relevant passage of text is cited, occasionally with the insertion of words such as *Euangelicum ergo sequens ait ita capitulum....*²⁸⁴ While the use of this phrase may be partly stylistical, there is no reason to doubt that Sedulius is quoting from a written source as his text is nearly always remarkably close to at least one Old Latin or Vulgate codical witness.

The following further verses taken from the key narrative passages of Jesus's life in books three and four are probably cited directly from a written source:

PO 3,3, p.233, 12. Jesus's Cleansing of a Leper (Mt. 8:1-4)

PO 3,6, p.235, 6 - p.236, 6. The Calming of the Storm (Mt. 8:23-7)

PO 3,14, p.243, 1-10. The Mission and the Message of the Twelve (Mt. 10:5-8)

PO 3,15, p.244, 18 - p.245, 8. The Restoration of a Withered Hand (Mt. 12:9-14)

PO 4,4-5, p.257, 20 - p.258, 1-11. The Cursing of the Fig Tree (Mt. 21:18-22)

The citations taken from these passages tend to be truncated compared to the biblical text but there is little reason to suppose that Sedulius knew his text by heart and is quoting from memory; the text remains close to the that preserved in the codices and rarely is there evidence of flattening. There is however the possibility that Sedulius drew his text from secondary sources such as homilies or commentaries.

²⁸⁴ *PO* 2,8, p.205, 16.

The remaining verses concentrate on Jesus's teaching. There are those, such as Sedulius's citation of the Lord's Prayer, which we can safely assume that our author was quoting from memory. Yet even others such as Matthew 6:34, *tomorrow will worry for itself*, 19:23, *it is hard for rich man to enter heaven*, and 25:34, *the kingdom is prepared for you since the beginning of the world*, are amongst the best known sayings from the book of Matthew and we can reasonably expect Sedulius to have known them by heart. Therefore, particular care has been taken to examine these citations for evidence of flattening or other hallmarks of quotation from memory.

The verses taken from Jesus's teaching are the following. Sedulius cites two part-verses of Jesus's Teaching about Care and Anxiety (Mt. 6:34) and the Fruits of the Healthy and of the Diseased Trees (Mt. 7:15-20) for exegesis on the Lord's Prayer. Two verses taken from Jesus's teaching on oaths in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5:33-7) and one from his teaching on The Easy Yoke and The Light Burden (Mt. 11:28-30) are used at the end of book one as part of Sedulius's discussion on faith. One verse is cited from Jesus's Teaching on the Sayers and Doers of the Will of God (Mt. 7:21-23) in connection with the Sending out of the Seventy Two (Lk.10:3ff) in book four of the *PO* (4,14, p.264, 10). Of the remaining two verses, one is taken from the Parable of Sheep and Goats (Mt. 25.31-46) at the opening to book four, while the last is an eschatological citation of Matthew 25:34 placed at the end of book five. One final verse, Jesus's words to Peter before his denial (Mt. 26:34) is Matthean in the *PC* but taken from John in the *PO*.²⁸⁵

The Latin Tradition of Matthew

Unlike the Gospels of John and Mark, there is no *Vetus Latina Institut* edition of Matthew. When determining the Latin tradition that Sedulius is closest to, it is therefore necessary to establish some primary text types according to the findings of current studies into the Latin Matthean tradition. In this, two studies in particular have been used in this chapter to establish the different texts: Fischer's study on the variants in the Latin manuscript tradition before the 10th century,²⁸⁶ which puts into practice the

²⁸⁵ See John 13:38, *supra*.

²⁸⁶ Fischer (1998); Burton (2000).

results of his earlier work on the Gospels,²⁸⁷ and Burton's study on the Gospels. Fischer identified a European Old Latin *Kerngruppe* comprising the Veronensis (VL4), the Corbiensis II (VL8) and the Vindobonensis (VL17), as closest to that used by Ambrose and Ambrosiaster towards the end of the 4th century.²⁸⁸ This text has been assigned the text type letter **I**, in accordance with the practice employed in the *Vetus Latina* edition of Mark. However, in Matthew the last of these three manuscripts is unavailable, while the Corbiensis is only available from chapter twelve. Yet for Matthew, Burton considers that Vercellensis (VL3) belongs to this group as well, and the agreements between the Veronensis (VL4) and the Vercellensis (VL3) in the first half of Matthew, and the Veronensis, Vercellensis and Corbiensis II from chapter twelve have been used as the basis for text type **I**.²⁸⁹ Related to this group are the manuscripts of the so-called Gallic-Irish group in Matthew that comprise the Claromontanus (VL12), the Usserianus (VL14), and the Old Latin portion of the Sangermanensis (VL7).²⁹⁰ Therefore, in those cases where the key witnesses for **I** disagree, these further three witnesses are used to decide the text of **I**. Other manuscripts assigned to Fischer's Old Latin Group in his study on Matthean variants,²⁹¹ are the Codex Bobiensis (VL1), the Codex Palatinus (VL2), the Bezae (VL5), the Colbertinus (VL6), the Corbiensis I (VL9), the Rehdigeranus (VL11), the Monacensis (VL13), and the Veronensis II (VL41).²⁹² Also included are the St Gallen fragments (VL16). Save the first two manuscripts, the research of Burton, based on the analysis of specific translation words, has shown that the rest all derive from a common source.²⁹³ The first two manuscripts, Bobiensis and Palatinus, provide two African text types **K** and **C** respectively; the former is extant up to chapter 15 of Matthew, while the latter is extant from Matthew 12:50 - 24:49. Both text types are similar to that found in the writings of Cyprian, whose text lies midway between **K** and **C**, but the Palatinus has a noticeable European element to its text absent in the Bobiensis.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁷ In particular, Fischer (1972; 1987).

²⁸⁸ Fischer (1972: 36).

²⁸⁹ Burton (2000: 20, n.3).

²⁹⁰ For the basis of the Gallic-Irish Group, see Fischer (1972: 36).

²⁹¹ Fischer (1987: 54-6).

²⁹² Available for Mt. 1:18-9:9. According to Gryson & Frede (1999: 63), it is a version of VL4 watered down by the Vulgate. However, the text contains very few Vulgate specific readings, and while undoubtedly similar to VL4, it includes several different Old Latin readings, such as *nascitur* for *nascetur* at Mt. 2:4 and *regionibus* for *finibus* at Mt. 3:16 agreeing with **I** witnesses against VL4 and the Vulgate on both occasions. Readings are taken from Vogels (1952) edition.

²⁹³ Burton (2000: 44).

²⁹⁴ Burton (2000: 16-8).

In addition to the codices, important variants are provided by the patristic citations. The lemmata in two works on Matthew, the Anonymous *Opus Imperfectum* and the *Tractatus* of Chromatius deserve mention. The former still lacks a critical edition and the text used in this study is based on that found in volume 56 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. It therefore must be treated with caution. Chromatius's text does have a critical edition, but his lemma text is very abridged, with two manuscripts, **P** and **F** frequently completing the text according to a Vulgate text. Finally, the commentary of Fortunatianus of Aquileia provides a useful source of early European Old Latin text types, but the early chapters of Matthew are frequently cited twice, once in a preface to the commentary and a second time in the commentary proper, sometimes with different readings.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ Matthew 2:1-18 appears as a lemma text in the preface in folios 14v, 413 - 562 and in the commentary proper in folios 23r, 776 - 24r, 815.

Analysis of Variant Readings

As in John, analysis starts with the Vulgate readings found in Sedulius.

2.1 Vulgate Readings

19 Vulgate specific readings are found in Sedulius's *PO* text:

1. 2:1 παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα = uenerunt hierosolymam] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 3) VL9 VL10 VL56 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL4 VL5 VL7 VL13 VL41): uenerunt in hierosolyma; VL3 VL15: uenerunt hiersolyma; VL6 VL30: uenerunt in hierosolymam
2. 2:4 ἐπυνθάνετο = sciscitabatur] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 8) VL15 VL30 VL56 || **K** (VL1): quaesit; **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL9 VL13 VL41): interrogauit; VL5: interrogabat; VL10: requisiiuit
3. 2:6 γῆ Ἰούδα (**B03 C04**) = terra Iuda] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 11) VL15 VL30 VL56 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL3 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL13 VL41): Iudaeae (=D05); VL9 terra Iudaeorum; VL10: Iudae; VL4: Iudaea
4. 2:6 οὐδαμῶς = nequaquam] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 11) VL15 VL30 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL13 VL41): non; V(var) VL9 VL56: numquid
5. 2:6 ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν = in principibus] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 11-12) VL9 VL15 VL30 VL56 || **K** (VL1): in ducibus; **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL13): in principes
6. 2:7 λάθρα = clam] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 13) VL15 VL30 VL56 || **K** (VL1): latenter; **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL9 VL10 VL13 VL41): occulte
7. 2:7 [constructio] καλέσας τοὺς μάγους = uocatis magis] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 13-14) VL9 VL15 VL56 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL13 VL30 VL41): uocauit magos *vel sim.*; VL5 VL10: uocans magos
8. 2:7 ἠκρίβωσεν = didicit] SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 14) VL15 VL30 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL9 VL10 VL13 VL41): exquisiuit
9. 2:9 ἐλθὼν ἐστάθη = ueniens staret] SED (*PO* 2,8, p.205, 19) VL9 VL15 VL30 VL56 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL13): uenit et stetit; VL41: ueniens stetit
10. 2:9 οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον = ubi erat puer] SED (*PO* 2,8, p.205, 19) VL9 VL10 VL15 VL30 VL41 VL56 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL13): puerum

11. 2:12 χρηματισθέντες = responso accepto] SED (*PO* 2,9, p.209, 5) VL9 VL15 VL30 || **K** (VL1):responso moniti; **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL13 VL41): admoniti; VL5: moniti; VL56: responsum acceptum
12. 3:16 βαπτισθεις... ὁ Ἰησοῦς = baptizatus] SED (*PO* 2,13, p.213, 3-4) VL11 || **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL48): baptizato Iesu; VL5: baptizatus est Jesus; **V**(var) VL9 VL10 VL15 VL30 VL32 VL35: baptizatus... (dominus) Iesus; VL12: cum baptizatus esset Iesus
13. καταβαίνοντα (**B03 C04**) = descendentem] SED (*PO* 2,13, p.213, 5-6) VL9 VL10 VL15 VL32 VL48 || **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL11 VL12 VL30 VL35): + de caelo (=D05)
14. ἐπ' αὐτον = super se] SED (*PO* 2,13, p.213, 5-6) VL9 VL11 VL15 VL30 VL32 VL35 || **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL12 VL41): in ipsum; VL5VL10 VL48: super eum
15. 3:17 λέγουσα (**B03 C04**) = dicens] SED (*PO* 2,13, p.213, 6) VL6 VL9 VL10 VL15 VL30 VL32 VL35 VL41 VL48 || **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL7 VL12): dicens ad eum (a. e. d. VL7) (=D05)
16. 3:17 εὐδόκησα = mihi conplacui] SED (*PO* 2,13, p.213, 8) VL9 VL11 VL15 VL30 VL32 || **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL12 VL35 VL48): bene conplacui
17. 4:3 προσελθὼν = accedens] SED (*PO* 2,14, p.214, 18) VL9 VL10 VL11 VL15 VL30 VL35 VL48 VL56 || **K** (VL1), **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL12 VL41): accessit
18. 4:4 ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος (**B03 C04**) = quod procedit de ore] SED (*PO* 2,14, p.216, 8-9) VL6 VL9 VL10 VL11 VL15 VL30 VL35 VL56 || **I** (VL4 VL5 VL7 VL41 VL48): *om.* (=D05)
19. 4:5 τὸ πτερύγιον = pinnaculum] SED (*PO* 2,14, p.217, 11) VL11 VL15 VL30 VL35 VL56 || **K** (VL1): fastigium; **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL9 VL10 VL12 VL41): pinnam; VL48: pinna.

In addition there are 34 readings that are not found in the Stuttgart Vulgate text, 32 of which are supported by readings found in Old Latin manuscripts.

2.2 Different from Vulgate

Agrees with Old Latin (I & K/C) witnesses against Vulgate

1. 4:5 παραλαμβάνει = adsumit] assumpsit SED (*PO* 2,14, p.217, 10) **V**(var), **K** (VL1), **I** (VL4 VL6 VL7 VL9 VL10 VL12 VL15 VL30 VL35 VL41 VL48 VL56)
2. 4:6 ἐντελεῖται = mandabit] mandauit SED (*PO* 2,14, p.217, 13) **V**(var), **K** (VL1), **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL11 VL12 VL15 VL30 VL35 VL41 VL48)
3. 6:11 τὸν ἐπιούσιον = supersubstantialem] cotidianum SED (*PO* 2,17, p.224, 1) **V**(var), **K** (VL1), **CY**, **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL9 VL10 VL11 VL12 VL13 VL15 VL18 VL30 VL41 VL175 VL309)
4. 10:8 δαιμόνια = daemones] daemonia SED (*PO* 3,14, p.243, 9) **K** (VL1), **I** (VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL12 VL13 VL45 VL56)

Agrees with I witnesses against K/C & Vulgate

5. 2:5 εἶπαν αὐτῶ = dixerunt ei] ei *om.* SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 9) **I** (VL3 VL41 VL6 VL13 VL30)
6. 2:6 ὅστις ποιμανεῖ = qui reget] qui regat SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 12) **V**(var) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL13 VL15 VL30 VL41 VL56)
7. 2:12 ἀνεχώρησαν = reuersi sunt] regressi sunt SED (*PO* 2,9, p.209, 7) **I** (VL3 VL4)
8. 4:3 προσελθὼν (**B04**) = accedens *sine add.*] + ad eum (=C04 D05) SED (*PO* 2,14, p.214, 18) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL12 VL30 VL35 VL41 VL48)
9. 6:9 ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς = qui in caelis es] qui es in caelis SED (*PO* 2,17, p.220, 6) **V**(var) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL15 VL30 VL41 VL309)
10. 6:10 ἐλθέτω = ueniat] adueniat SED (*PO* 2,17, p.222, 17) **V**(var) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL10 VL12 VL13 VL15 VL18 VL30 VL41 VL175 VL309)
11. 6:13 μὴ εἰσενέγκης ἡμᾶς = ne inducas nos] ~ne nos inducas SED (*PO* 2,17, p.229, 6) **V**(var) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL10 VL30 VL32 VL41 VL309)
12. 6:34 μεριμνήσητε = esse solliciti] solliciti esse SED (*PO* 2,17, p.224, 17-19) **V**(var) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL9 VL11 VL30 VL32 VL41)
13. 7:23 οὐδέποτε = numquam] non SED (*PO* 4,14, p.265, 3) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL12 VL13 VL41)

14. 8:25 σῶσον = salva nos] libera nos SED (*PO* 3,6, p.236, 3) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL12 VL13 VL41)
15. 12:13 ἐξέτεινεν = extendit] + manum suam SED (*PO* 3,15, p.245, 5) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL8 VL12)
16. 12:13 ἀπεκατεστάθη ὑγιῆς = restituta est sanitati] restituta est ei SED (*PO* 3,15, p.245, 6) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL12)
17. 12:13 ὡς = sicut] + et SED (*PO* 3,15, p.245, 6) **I** (VL3 VL8 VL9 VL12)
18. 28:19 οὖν (**B03**) = ergo] nunc (=D05) SED (*PO* 5,37, p.302, 4) **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL12 VL15 VL16)

Agrees with K/C witnesses against I and Vulgate

19. 2:7 ἠκρίβωσεν = diligenter didicit] diligenter *om.* SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 14) **K** (VL1) VL5
20. 4:4 ζήσεται = uiuet] uiuit SED (*PO* 2,14, p.216, 216) **V**(var), **K** (VL1) VL11 VL15 VL30 VL41 VL48 VL56
21. 7:16 ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν = a fructibus] ex fructibus SED (*PO* 2,17, p.230, 5) **K** (VL1) VL6
22. 27:25 αὐτοῦ = eius] huius SED (*PO* 5,11, p.284, 3) **C** (VL2) VL5 VL10 VL14 VL35 VL56
23. 28:19 αὐτούς = eos] eas SED (*PO* 5,37, p.302, 4) **C** (VL2) VL16

Agrees with minor witnesses against I, K/C and Vulgate

24. 2:1 τῆς Ἰουδαίας = Iudaeae] iudae SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 1) **V**(var) VL9 VL10
25. 2:5 τῆς Ἰουδαίας = Iudaeae] iudae SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 10) **V**(var) VL7 VL9
26. 2:8 αὐτούς = illos] eos SED (*PO* 2,7, p.203, 15) VL5 VL7 VL10 VL13
27. 3:16 ἀνεώχθησαν αὐτῶ οἱ οὐρανοί (**C04 W032**) = aperti sunt ei caeli] ei *om.* (=B03) SED (*PO* 2,13, p.213, 5) VL32 VL35 VL48
28. 4:1 ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος = ab spiritu] a spiritu SED (*PO* 2,14, p.214, 15) VL5 VL6 VL30 VL35 VL48
29. 4:4 ἐπ' ἄρτω μόνῳ = in pane solo] in solo pane SED (*PO* 2,14, p.216, 7) **V**(var), VL3 VL15
30. 5:35 ἐστὶν τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως = est magni regis] ~magni regis est SED (*PO* 2,14, p.216, 24) VL30
31. 7:23 οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι (**B03 C04**) = qui operamini] + omnes *praem.* (=Θ038) SED (*PO* 4,14, p.265, 3-4) VL4 VL30

32. 25:34 τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν = paratum uobis regnum] regnum
paratum uobis SED (*PO* 4,2, p.257, 4) VL10

No tradition / Possible Errors

33. 10:7 δὲ = autem] ergo SED (*PO* 3,14, p.243, 6)

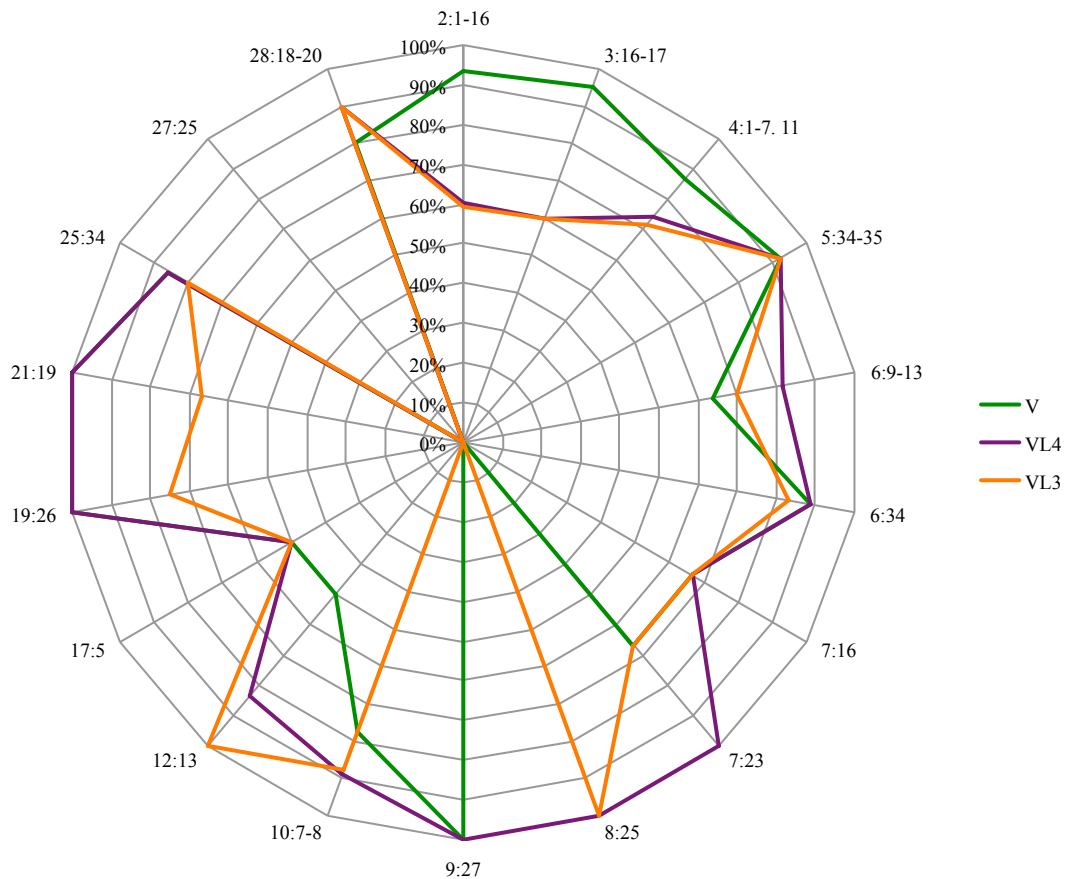
34. 17:5 ηὐδόκησα = mihi bene conplacuit] bene conplacui SED (*PO* 3,24, p.251, 6)

As in Sedulius's text of John, all of the Vulgate specific readings are found in book two of the *PO*. There are some Old Latin readings found in the citations of book two, but the majority of these readings are also found in some Vulgate witnesses. Indeed, if the Clementine Vulgate edition had been used as the representative of the Vulgate Text rather than the Stuttgart Vulgate, there would be hardly any Old Latin readings from book two of the *PO*. The one notable exception is *regressi sunt* for *reuersi sunt* in Sedulius's citation of 2:12 (N° 7 above), which is a clearly an Old Latin reading of note. Outside of book two however, Sedulius's text is clearly Old Latin. There are no Vulgate specific readings but, on the contrary, there are a number of variants that are specific to the Old Latin traditions. Of these, variants found in manuscripts of the Old Latin **I** tradition are more frequent and more significant. Only five readings agree with the African tradition against **I** and the Vulgate; of these, one is an omission and the other four concern pronoun or preposition usage, which could be due to coincidence or scribal error. Therefore, there appears a substantial **I** component to Sedulius's text outside of book two.

2.3 Number of agreements / Total variant sites

	V	I Group	VL1	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30
2:1-16	0,94	0,62	0,33		0,59	0,60	0,60		0,48	0,61	0,63	0,85	0,67	0,92		0,61		0,86	0,84
3:16-17	0,95	0,65			0,60	0,60	0,65		0,40	0,65	0,55	0,90	0,65	0,75	0,50			0,90	0,80
4:1-7. 11	0,87	0,77	0,56		0,72	0,74	0,74		0,63	0,71	0,70	0,78	0,80	0,84	0,71			0,93	0,93
5:34-35	0,92	0,92	0,31		0,92	0,92	0,92		0,38	0,92	0,92	0,92	0,85	0,92	0,69			0,92	1,00
6:9-13	0,64	0,82	0,36		0,70	0,82	1,00		0,82	0,73	0,64	0,91	0,73	0,55	0,73			0,82	0,91
6:34	0,89	0,89	0,38		0,83	0,89	1,00		0,78	0,25	1,00	0,50	1,00	0,38				0,89	0,89
7:16	0,67	0,67	0,67		0,67	0,67	0,33		1,00	0,67	0,67	0,67	0,67	0,67	0,67			0,67	0,67
7:23	0,67	0,83	0,17		0,67	1,00	0,67		0,50	0,83	0,67	0,83	0,67	0,67	0,67			0,67	0,83
8:25	0,00	1,00	0,00		1,00	1,00	1,00		1,00	1,00	0,00		0,00	1,00	1,00			0,00	0,00
9:27	1,00	1,00	1,00		0,00	1,00			1,00	1,00	0,00	1,00	0,00	1,00	0,00	1,00		1,00	1,00
10:7-8	0,78	0,89	0,56		0,88	0,89			0,67	0,67	0,89	0,78	0,78	0,78	0,78	0,89		0,78	0,67
12:13	0,50	0,83	0,33		1,00	0,83		1,00	0,33	0,83	0,67	0,33	0,33	0,50	0,83	0,50		0,50	0,50
17:5	0,50	0,50		0,00	0,50	0,50		0,50	0,50	0,00	0,50	0,00	0,50	0,50		0,50		0,50	0,50
19:26	1,00	1,00		0,75	0,75	1,00		1,00	0,75	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	0,75	0,75	1,00	1,00	1,00
21:19	1,00	1,00		1,00	0,67	1,00		1,00	0,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	0,67	1,00	1,00	1,00		1,00	0,33
25:34	0,86	0,86			0,80	0,86		0,71	0,43	0,43	0,86	0,71	1,00	0,57	0,71	0,71	0,71	0,71	0,71
27:25	0,00	0,00			0,00	0,00		0,00	1,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	1,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	1,00	0,00	0,00
28:18-20	0,80	0,90		0,60	0,90	0,90		0,70	0,40	0,80	0,80	0,80	0,80	0,80	0,90	0,80	0,80	0,90	0,70
Σ + readings	219	185	75	33	163	181	144	25	108	174	171	204	183	136	105	110	16	216	211
Σ variant sites	250	248	191	55	233	246	205	30	213	250	247	250	248	167	152	162	20	250	250
Overall	0,88	0,75	0,39	0,60	0,70	0,74	0,70	0,83	0,51	0,70	0,69	0,82	0,74	0,81	0,69	0,68	0,80	0,86	0,84

2.4 Proximity coefficient of Sedulius's text to VL3, VL4 and Vulgate



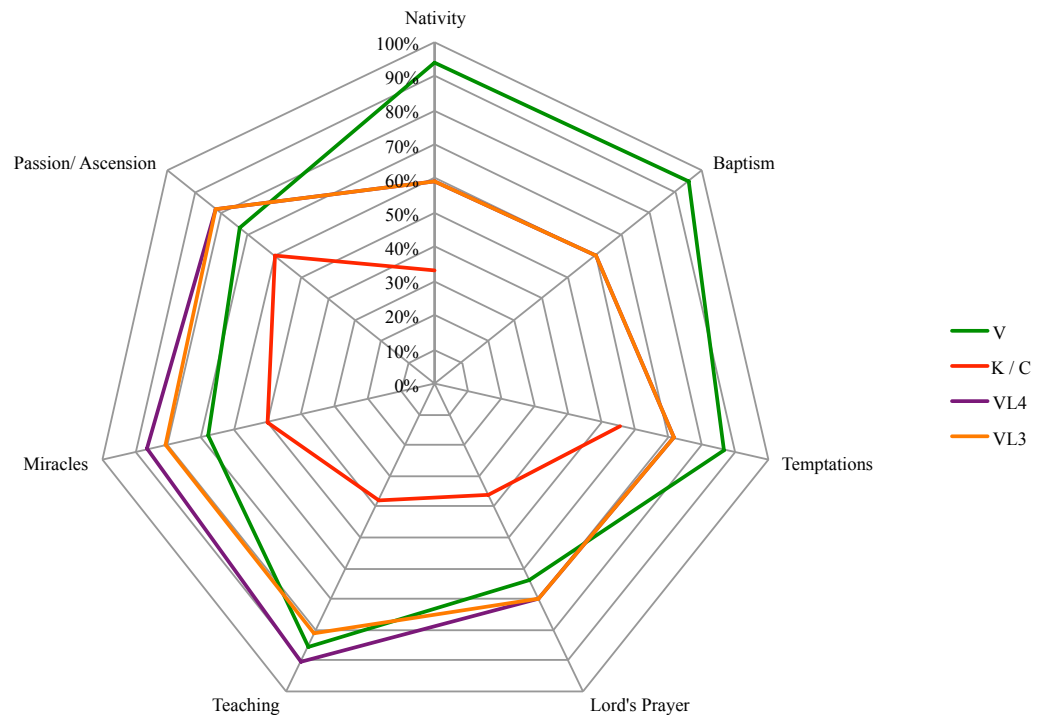
According to table 2.3, Sedulius's text is closest to the Vulgate with a proximity coefficient of 88%. Sedulius's proximity to **I** is by comparison 75% while to VL3 and VL4 it is 70% and 74% respectively. Sedulius's text clearly has very little affinity with **K** or **C** with 39% and 60% proximity respectively. Notable figures among the Old Latin manuscripts are the scores of 83% and 82% to VL8 and VL14 respectively, but these manuscripts are only available in the second half of Matthew, where Sedulius's text shows a greater affinity to the Old Latin in any case.

In Table 2.5 and Graph 2.6 below the proximity coefficient for Sedulius's text to the main traditions is arranged according to placement in the *PO*, with separate scores given for the Nativity, Baptism, Temptations and Lord's Prayer episodes, the sum of the scores from the Teaching and Miracle passages and from the Passion and the Great Commission passages.

2.5 Number of Agreements / total variant sites for principal traditions according to placement in PO

	V	I Group	K / C	VL3	VL4
Nativity	0.94	0.62	0.33	0.59	0.59
Baptism	0.95	0.65		0.60	0.60
Temptations	0.87	0.77	0.56	0.72	0.72
Lord's Prayer	0.64	0.82	0.36	0.70	0.70
Teaching	0.86	0.88	0.38	0.81	0.90
Miracles	0.68	0.91	0.50	0.81	0.86
Passion/ Ascension	0.73	0.82	0.60	0.82	0.82
Average	0.88	0.75	0.44	0.70	0.74

2.6 Proximity coefficient of Sedulius's text to K/C, VL3, VL4 and Vulgate according to placement in PO



The graph clearly shows the proximity of Sedulius's text to the Vulgate for the early chapters of Matthew, that is those taken from Mt. 2:1-16, 3:16-17 and 4:1-11. Here, there is sometimes as much as 30% greater proximity between Sedulius's text and that of the Vulgate than any other tradition. For the citations of the Lord's Prayer, Sedulius's text is clearly closest to VL3/VL4. For the citations relating to Jesus's teaching there is no significant difference in proximity to any of the main European traditions. However, this is more a reflection of the similarity of the European Old Latin and Vulgate text for these well-known citations.

Sedulius's text has a significantly higher proximity of nearly 20% to VL4 over the Vulgate in the citations found in the Miracle passages. This is likely a reflection of a different text type used for these citations. Finally, there is only a moderately higher proximity to VL4 in Sedulius's text in the Passion and Great Commission citations.

Commentary

2:1-8. The Nativity

PO 2,7, p.202, 24 - p.203, 1-18

diuinus deinde sermo prosequitur dicens: **Cum ergo natus esset Iesus in Bethleem Iudae** in diebus Herodis regis, ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt **Hierosolimam** dicentes: ubi est, qui natus est rex Iudaeorum? uidimus enim **stellam eius in oriente** et uenimus adorare **eum**. **audiens** autem **Herodes rex** turbatus est et **omnis** Hierosolima cum **illo**. et **congregans** omnes **principes** sacerdotum et scribas **populi sciscitabatur ab eis** ubi Christus **nasceretur**. **at illi dixerunt**: in **Bethleem Iudae** sic enim **scriptum est per prophetam**. et tu Bethleem, **terra Iuda**, **nequaquam minima es in principibus Iuda** ex te enim **exiet dux**, qui **regat** populum meum Israhel. tunc Herodes **clam uocatis magis didicit** ab eis tempus **stellae quae apparuit eis**. et **mittens eos in Bethlem dixit**: **ite et interrogate** diligenter de **puero**. et cum **inueneritis**, **renuntiate** mihi, ut et ego **ueniens adorem eum**.

PC 2,73-82

Talia *Bethleis dum* signa geruntur in oris,
Eoi uenere magi saeuumque tyrannum
Grandia sollicitis *perturbant* nuntia *dictis*:
Iudaicis nuper populis *orientis ab axe*
Progenitum fulsisse *ducem*, hoc caelitus astra,
Hoc *stellam* radiare nouam. feras arbiter aulae
Aestuat Hebraeae ratus hunc succedere posse
Mox sibimet, qui primus erat: tunc fronte serena
Nubila mentis alens *clam* mandat ubique *requiri*
Sicut *adorandum*, quem tractat fraude necandum.

Sedulius's text of Matthew 2:1 is identical to the Vulgate text found in the Cava Bible and Alcuin's recension and is closest in Old Latin to the Corbiensis 1(VL9).²⁹⁶ The first verse of book two is largely the same in the African and European Old Latin traditions as well as the Vulgate. The Old Latin African tradition, represented primarily by **K** and supported by citations of Cyprian, begins *et cum*, which is not supported by the Greek traditions.²⁹⁷ Manuscripts of the Old Latin **I** tradition are characterised by the addition of *ciuitate(m)* before *Iudaeae* either in the accusative (VL4 VL41 VL7 VL13) or the ablative (VL3 VL6). This reading is comparatively rare in Old Latin patristic sources, however, and is only found in the 4th-century commentary of the Gospels by Fortunatianus of Aquileia and a couple of minor works which may be drawing on this commentary.²⁹⁸ It is notably absent from the *Opus Imperfectum* and Chromatius's *Tractates*. Sedulius's text contains none of these readings but one Old Latin reading exists: *Iudae* as a translation of *τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, which is also found in VL9, the Cava Bible and Alcuin's recension as well as many liturgical texts with a Vulgate text,²⁹⁹ where the other Vulgate witnesses prefer *Iudaeae*. *Iudae*, as Jerome remarks, is the reading found in the Hebrew version of Matthew.³⁰⁰ There is one reading only found in Vulgate or mixed codices, the translation of *παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* by *uenerunt Hierosolimam*; **I** witnesses (VL4 VL5 VL13 VL41) read *uenerunt in Hierosolyma*, while **K** and VL3 VL15 read *uenerunt Hierosolyma*.

The text of Matthew 2:2 is largely the same in the different traditions with only one variant reading that is found in more than one codex, the translation of *ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ* as *in orientem* in **I** (VL3 VL4 VL41) and mixed texts VL7 VL9 VL10 and the Liber

²⁹⁶ Cavensis, Cava, Archivio della Badia I (14).

²⁹⁷ **CY** te 2,12; te 2,29.

²⁹⁸ Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarium In Evangelia*, 3 (f. 14r, 393); 3 (f. 23r, 776); **PS-THI** Ev 1,2; **PS-AU** s Mai 111. The work known as Epiphanius Latinus's *Interpretatio Evangeliorum* (CPL 914) has now been shown in fact to be part of Fortunatianus's commentary; in the same article Dr Dorfbauer (2013) demonstrates the dependence of Pseudo-Theophilus's Commentary on the Four Gospels (CPL 1001) on Fortunatianus's commentary.

²⁹⁹ **M-A** 80,12; **M-M** 232B; **RES-R** 6371; 7112; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 9427, f. 24v. See Salmon (1944: 19). The current study has not been able to compare Sedulius's text with all of the early liturgical books available but has concentrated on the readings found on the Vetus Latina database as well as the Liber Commicus and the Luxeuil Lectionary, where clear parallels exist. A full comparative study is a *desideratum* for future research on Sedulius.

³⁰⁰ Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, 1: in ipso Hebraico legimus: Iudae, non Iudeae (PL 26, 26). It is unclear what Jerome means by *in ipso Hebraico*, but it is an apparent reference to the so-called Gospel of the Ebionites or Nazarenes, mentioned by Jerome in his comment on Matthew 12:13, Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, 2: in euangelio quo utuntur nazareni et hebionitae quod nuper in graecum de hebraeo sermone transtulimus (PL 26, 611).

Commicus (VL56) as against *in oriente* in the Vulgate, VL5 and VL13.³⁰¹ Sedulius's text follows the Vulgate text at this and the other minor variant sites. In Matthew 2:3, Sedulius's text is identical to the Vulgate and differs only in word order from text found in **I** witnesses. The main variants in Old Latin tradition are principally restricted to **K**, such as *cum audisset* and *tota Hierosolima* in place of *audiens* and *omnis H.* as the translation of *ἀκούσας* and *πᾶσα Ἱερουσόλυμα* respectively, but these variants are not found elsewhere in codical or patristic sources.

In Matthew 2:4, there are several significant variant readings that characterise the different Latin traditions, and Sedulius's text is again identical to the Vulgate text in all seven variant readings. The most significant variant readings concern the translation of *συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς, ἐπυνθάνετο* and *γεννᾶται*. The first phrase is translated as *conuocatis omnibus sacerdotibus* in **K**, which receives partial support from the readings in the North East of Italy with variants of *conuocare* and *uocare* found in Fortunatianus and the *Opus Imperfectum* as well as elsewhere in Augustine and Pseudo-Augustine.³⁰² **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL41 VL6 VL7 VL13) translate *συναγαγὼν* as *congregauit*, whereas the Vulgate is closer to the Greek with the participle *congregans*. Although this reading is found in VL5 in addition to the Vulgate, it is not found in any pre-Hieronymian patristic witness and can probably be considered a Vulgate reading. Concerning the translation of *ἐπυνθάνετο*, *sciscitabatur* found in Vulgate witnesses has been considered Vulgate specific as it is only found in mixed text codices VL15 VL30 and the Liber Commicus VL56 outside of Vulgate manuscripts. That Sedulius contains this reading is strong evidence that he used a Vulgate source in the *PO*.

The Old Latin **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL13), several mixed texts (VL6 VL7 VL9), Ambrose, the *Opus Imperfectum* and Fortunatianus's preface have *interrogauit*,³⁰³ whereas the early African reading *quaesit* seen in **K** manifests itself as forms of *quaerere*, *inquirere* or *requirere* in later African writers and in sources from the North East of Italy, such as Fortunatianus, Chromatius and the Codex Brixianus (VL10).³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ The text of VL1 *post stellam* is written *in margine*. It is unclear whether it is in the first hand or is a later correction and the readings, which are the same as **I**, have not been included.

³⁰² **AN** Mt h 2; Fortunatianus, *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 3 (f. 15v, 443); 4, (f. 23r, 790); **AU** Jo 31,2,15; s 374,2; s Dol 17,14; **PS-AU** s Cai 86; s Cai II app 18.

³⁰³ **AM** Lc 2,49; **AN** Mt h 2; Fortunatianus, *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 3 (f. 15v, 444).

³⁰⁴ *quaerere*: **AU** Jo 31,2,15; s 374,2; s Dol 17,14; **HI** Mi 2; *inquirere*: **PS-AU** s Cai 86; s Cai II app 18; **AP-E** inf A 88a; **AP-E** Mt 16,1; *requirere*: VL10; Fortunatianus, *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 4 (f. 23r, 790); **CHRO** Mt 4,3; h et 2,3; **PS-AU** s 218,1; *requirere*: **CAr** Ps 47,5.

Nothing should be read into Sedulius's use of *requiri* at 2,81 in the *PC*. This verse paraphrases Matthew 2:7-8, where Herod asks the wise men to search for the infant Jesus and report back to him, not Matthew 2:4. The final significant reading is the translation of *γεννᾶται*, which is usually found as *nascitur* in the Old Latin traditions, **K** and **I** (VL3 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL13 VL41) and as *nasceretur* in the Vulgate and the majority of mixed text codices (VL9 VL10 VL11 VL15 VL30 VL56). It is not however a Vulgate specific reading as it is found in a number of Old Latin sources, most importantly VL4 and Fortunatianus.³⁰⁵

Sedulius's text of Matthew 2:5 in the *PO* is again the same as the Vulgate in the key reading, the translation of *γέγραπται*, which is rendered as *scriptum est* in **K**, Tertullian, VL3 and VL5 and the Vulgate but as *dictum est* in **I** (VL4 VL41 VL13) and the *Opus Imperfectum*.³⁰⁶ Given that Sedulius's text shows no similarities with **K** or VL3/VL5 elsewhere, it is an indication that his base text was the Vulgate, though *scriptum est* is present in Chromatius's *Tractates* text.³⁰⁷ Despite this reading, Sedulius's text does contain a couple of minor Old Latin variants: the omission of *ei* after *dixerunt* a reading that is found in **I** (VL3 VL41 VL13) and VL6 and the 'Hebrew' form of *Iudae* as in Matthew 2:1. The omission of *ei* is regularly found in patristic works and is perhaps just an accidental omission or due to flattening, while the use of *Iudae* is far commoner here than in the earlier verse. It is found in mixed texts such as VL7 VL9 (as *Iudae*), VL15 VL30 (as *Iuda*), and Vulgate witnesses such as the Harleianus,³⁰⁸ Fuldensis, and Cava Bible, Alcuin's recension and the Clementine Vulgate as well as numerous patristic witnesses, in particular Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, which preserves a largely Vulgate text.³⁰⁹

Sedulius's *PO* text of Matthew 2:6, itself a citation of Micah 5:2, is strongly Vulgate with four Vulgate specific readings, although Sedulius's text is closer to the Clementine Vulgate than the Stuttgart Vulgate. The only Old Latin reading found in Sedulius's text is *regat* found in **I** (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL13 VL41), many mixed texts (VL6 VL7 VL10 VL15 VL30 VL56), the Clementine Vulgate, the Split Bible and the Luxeuil

³⁰⁵ Fortunatianus, *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 3 (f. 15v, 444).

³⁰⁶ **TE** Jud 13,2; **AN** Mt h 2.

³⁰⁷ **CHRO** Mt 4,3.

³⁰⁸ Harleianus, London, Brit. Lib., Harley 1775.

³⁰⁹ **AU** Ev 2,17. Houghton (2008: 162).

lectionary.³¹⁰ However, the Vulgate reading *reget* is found in the oldest witness to the *PO*, **C** as well as in **H**, and given the popularity of the Old Latin reading in the Middle Ages it should be considered a real possibility that Sedulius's original text had *reget* not *regat*. The other Vulgate specific readings, which are all found in Sedulius's text, are *terra Iuda* as translation of *γῆ Ἰούδα* (**K, I**: *Iudaeae* with *terra* omitted);³¹¹ *nequaquam* as a translation of *οὐδαμῶς* (**K, I**: *non*); and *in principibus* for *ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν* (**K**: *in ducibus*, **I**: *inter principes*). None of these features are found in pre-Hieronymian texts and the earliest non-Vulgate text that contains these features is Rufinus's translation of Origen's *De Principibus*.³¹² In addition, Sedulius's text agrees with the Vulgate and **K** against **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 LV10 VL13 VL41) in the word order of *minima es* (**I**: *es minima*; **GK**: *ἐλαχίστη εἶ*) and with Tertullian and Fortunatianus against **I** witnesses (VL4 VL7 VL10 VL13) in the use of *dux* (**K**: *ducator*; **I**: *princeps*; VL3 VL30: *rex*; **GK**: *ἡγούμενος*).³¹³ Given Sedulius's text shows no signs of contact with **K**, these readings probably stem from a Vulgate text. Sedulius's *PC* text, which thus far contains no variant sites, has the reading *ducem* at 2,77. However, while this is possibly evidence of Sedulius using the same Vulgate text as in the *PO*, it must be taken into account that *principem* cannot be used in hexameter as it forms a cretic. On the other hand, *princeps* in the nominative, genitive or ablative is used eight times by Sedulius in the *PC* and if it were the reading he had in his base text, one would expect him to use a different inflection in order to fit the word in the hexameter.³¹⁴

The following verse, Matthew 2:7, contains another four Vulgate specific readings which are again found in Sedulius's *PO* text. In addition, one of them, *clam* as a translation of *λάθρα*, (**K**: *latenter*; **I**: *occulte*), is also found in the *PC* at 2,81.³¹⁵ It could be argued that *clam* fits into hexameter text a little more elegantly than *occulte* despite Both *clam* and *occulte* are metrically acceptable but since the latter consists of

³¹⁰ Split, Cathedral s.n., vi-vii, probably North Italian. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 9427, f. 25. See Salmon (1944: 19). It is hard to treat this reading as a significant variant given that both *regat* and *reget* could arise from the probable Greek manuscript reading ΠΟΙΜΑΝΕΙ, which lacking accents could be read as either a future or a subjunctive.

³¹¹ **K** and **I** witnesses are possibly following the reading found in the 'Western text' **D05**, *της Ιουδαιας*, but this could be a back-translation from Latin.

³¹² **RUF** pri 4,1,5.

³¹³ **TE** Jud 13,2; Fortunatianus, *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 4 (f. 23v, 793), but *princeps* at *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 3 (f. 15v, 452). The reading found in VL1 is not found elsewhere.

³¹⁴ Wacht (1992: 152).

³¹⁵ Fortunatianus, *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 3 (f. 16r, 456); 3 (f. 23v, 802); **AN** Mt h 2.

three long syllables its use is rare in classical hexameter;³¹⁶ indeed Sedulius uses *clam* thrice in the *PC* but never uses *occulte*.³¹⁷ However, all things being equal, the simplest explanation for Sedulius's use of *clam* is that this Vulgate reading occurred in his text. *Occulte* is the reading found in Fortunatianus and the *Opus Imperfectum*, Chromatius omits any rendering of *λάθρα*, and *clam* is not found in any Old Latin patristic witness. The other Vulgate readings are *uocatis magis* as a translation *καλέσας τοὺς μάγους*, *didicit* as a translation of *ἠκριβώσεν* and *stellae quae apparuit eis* as a translation of *τοῦ φαινομένου ἀστέρος*. The ablative absolute construction with *uocatis* is not found in any Old Latin witness, which read either *(con)uocauit (magos)* as in **K, I**, the *Opus Imperfectum*, Fortunatianus and Chromatius or *uocans (magos)* in VL5 and VL10. *didicit* is mentioned by Burton as one of Jerome's 'unfocussed renderings', which modifies the Old Latin *exquisiuit* without producing a reading that is more classical or closer to the Greek.³¹⁸ Unusually, Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, which is otherwise almost identical to the Vulgate, preserves the Old Latin reading *inquisiuit* rather than the Vulgate *didicit*;³¹⁹ this must be kept in mind when considering whether Sedulius took his Vulgate text from this source. Finally, *stellae quae apparuit eis* has been treated as a Vulgate specific reading as it is not found in any Old Latin codices or patristic witnesses, which generally preserve *quando apparuit eis stella*. However, its proximity to the reading in **K**, *stellae quae apparuerat*, is significant, and it is unfortunate that there are not more African witnesses for this verse to see whether the Vulgate reading is not just the same as the 4th/5th-century African reading. In face of this considerable evidence for Sedulius's use of a Vulgate text, there is one notable omission, that of *diligenter* before *didicit*, a variant that is also found in **K**, VL5 and the Luxeuil Lectionary.³²⁰ However, it is possible that the omission is due to Sedulius's error or an error of transmission as Sedulius's text shows no connection to the African tradition.

The final verse cited by Sedulius contains a couple of readings that are found in the Vulgate but that are absent from **I** witnesses, with the exception of VL5, and found once in **K**. As there is no evidence of readings found in either of these two codices occurring

³¹⁶ It is used once each in Vergil's *Aeneid* (12,411) in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10,519) and twice in Statius's *Thebaid* (11,564 & 11,627), each time in the second foot. It is never found in Lucan.

³¹⁷ Wacht (1992: 28).

³¹⁸ Burton (2000: 194).

³¹⁹ **AU** Ev 2,17.

³²⁰ Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 9427, f. 25. See Salmon (1944: 19).

in Sedulius when the reading is not also found in the Vulgate, the following readings are again a good indication that Sedulius used a Vulgate text. The first is the use of *mittens... dixit* to translate *πέμψας... εἶπεν*, which **K** renders with a *cum*-clause and witnesses to the **I** tradition (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL13 VL15 VL41) render by inverting the participle and finite verb to give *misit... dicens*. The second reading is also a change in construction to bring the Latin text in line with the Greek, as *ὄπως ἐλθῶν προσκυνήσω* is rendered *ut... ueniens adorem* in the Vulgate and VL5 as opposed to *ut... ueniam et adorem* in **K** and **I**. The other reading of note is a difference between the African and European traditions: *ἐξετάσατε* is translated as *interrogate* in **I** witnesses and the Vulgate but as *quaerite* in **K** and *requirite* in VL10 and the possibly North Italian Latin Pseudo-Origen's Commentary on Matthew.³²¹ There is no significance of this reading for the text of the *PC*, which at line 2,81 has *requiri*. *Interrogare* is unmetrical in any form other than the third person singular so *requiri* would have been a natural choice. Overall Sedulius's *PO* text is again extremely close to the Vulgate, despite a couple of minor Old Latin readings (*eos* for *illos* as a translation of *αὐτοὺς*).

The text used by Sedulius for the Nativity episode in the *PO* is largely Vulgate as seen by the large number of Vulgate readings found in Sedulius's text. Sedulius's *PO* text is not entirely absent from Old Latin readings, but these are minor, restricted to the occasional omission, variant in pronoun or the use of *Iuda* in place of *Iudaea*. Some of these errors may just be due to transmission or indeed regional variations in the Vulgate text. The most significant Old Latin variant is the use of *regat* instead of *reget* at 2:6, but *reget* is found in two of his *PO* witnesses, one of which, **C**, is the oldest witness to the *PO*. However, it is noticeable that the difference between **I** witnesses and the Vulgate tradition is greater in the codical tradition than in patristic citations. Part of this may be due to scribal correction bringing an Old Latin text closer to a known Vulgate text. However, it should not be discounted that this could have occurred in Sedulius's text as well. Nevertheless, this surely could not account for all of the readings, and the 90% proximity coefficient to the Vulgate, compared with 29% to **K** and 51% to **I**, tells its own story. Despite the *PC* text being heavily paraphrased with only three identifiable variant sites, two of these, *ducem* at *PC* 2,77 and *clam* at *PC* 2,81, agree with the Vulgate against the Old Latin and the third, *requiri*, is of no significance. It

³²¹ **PS-ORI** Mt 17,11 (CPL 668). It is thought to be composed in same region and period as the *Opus Imperfectum*. See Dekkers (2008: 235).

thus appears possible that Sedulius's *PC* text was also based on the Vulgate or at least that Sedulius was aware of these Vulgate readings.

2:9-12. The Visitation of the Magi

PO 2,8, p.205, 16 - p.206, 7

Euangelicum ergo sequens ait ita capitulum: **qui cum audissent** regem,
abierunt et ecce **stella**, quam **uiderant in oriente**,
antecedebat eos, **usque dum ueniens staret supra, ubi erat**
puer. uidentes autem stellam gauisi sunt **gaudio magno**
ualde. et intrantes domum inuenerunt puerum cum Maria
matre **eius** et **proidentes** adorauerunt **eum** et **apertis**
thesauris suis obtulerunt ei **munera**: aurum tus et **myrram**.

PC 2,89-96

Ergo alacres summo seruantes lumina caelo

Fixa *magi sidusque* micans regale secuti

Optatam tenuere uiam, quae lege futura

Duxit *adorantes* sacra ad cunabula gentes.

Thensaurisque simul pro religione *solutis*,

Ipsae etiam ut possint species ostendere Christum,

Aurea nascenti fuderunt *munera* regi,

Tura dedere Deo, *myrram* tribuere sepulchro.

PO 2,9, p.209, 5-15

Lectionis itaque sermo prosequitur: et **responso accepto in somnis**, ne
redirent ad Herodem, **per** aliam uiam **regressi sunt in**
regionem suam.

PC 2,101-104

... Tunc caelitus illi

Per somnum moniti contemnere iussa tyranni

Per loca mutati *gradientes* deuia callis

In patriam rediere suam.

Sedulius's *PO* citation of Matthew 2:9 maintains the pattern seen thus far in the first verses of book two of Matthew. The majority of significant readings separate the European tradition from the African tradition as preserved in **K**; thus ἀκούσαντες is translated as *cum audissent* in **I** witnesses and the Vulgate, which is Sedulius's reading, but as *ubi audierunt* in **K**; προῆγεν is rendered as *antecedebat* in **I** witnesses and the Vulgate, again the reading found in Sedulius, but as *praeibat* in **K**, supported by Quodvultdeus's *Liber Promissionum*.³²² There are two Vulgate specific readings in the passage, both of which are found in Sedulius's *PO* text. The first is the translation of ἐλθὼν ἐστάθη by *ueniens staret*, where **K**, **I** (VL4 VL5 VL13) and a number of mixed witnesses (VL6 VL7 VL10) read *uenit et stetit*. The second, the translation of οὗ ἦν τὸ παιδίον by *ubi erat puer* (**K**: *super puerum*; **I** (VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL13): *supra puerum*), has been considered a Vulgate specific reading on the basis of the Old Latin codical readings but there is mixed evidence to support this in the patristic witnesses, as this reading is found in the generally Old Latin texts of Quodvultdeus's *Liber Promissionum* and Maximus of Turin.³²³ However, the reading is not found in the *Opus Imperfectum*, which has *super caput pueri* or Chromatius, which read *supra puerum*, thus it is possible that a Vulgate reading crept into Quodvultdeus and Maximus of Turin's text.³²⁴ For this reason, the reading has been treated as Vulgate specific.³²⁵

Matthew 2:10 contains no variant sites of note, and the following verse, Matthew 2:11, shows no large differences between the European Old Latin and the Vulgate text, with Sedulius's *PO* text again following the Vulgate tradition; the one significant difference is the omission of *in* before *domum*, translating εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. This represents the one time that Vulgate text agrees with **K** against **I** witnesses; elsewhere in the verse, the Latin shows a wide spread of different readings, as the translation of εἶδον the oldest codices, VL1 and VL3, as well as later codices VL5, VL10 and VL13 read *uiderunt*; the remaining **I** witnesses and the Vulgate preserve the reading *inuenerunt*. Other notable readings found in **K** are the translations of τὸ παιδίον, πεσόντες, and δῶρα respectively as *infantem* (**V**, **I**: *puerum*), *prostrati* (**V**, **I**: *procidentes*) and *dona* (**V**, **I**: *munera*). *munera* is also found in the *PC* at line 2,95, the most significant variant site relating to 2:9-11, which suggests that Sedulius's *PC* base-text was likewise European.

³²² QU pro 3,7.

³²³ QU pro 3,7; MAX h 27.

³²⁴ AN Mt h 2 (PG56, 641); CHRO Mt 5,1.

³²⁵ VL3 is unfortunately illegible at this point.

Although there is only one variant site in the *PC* for the verses relating to 2:9-11, in verse 2:12 there are two important variant sites that suggest Sedulius is using a different source in the *PC* to the *PO*. The first is the reading *per somnum moniti* at line 102 which agrees with **I**, *admoniti in somnis* against the Vulgate reading *responso accepto in somnis* which is found in the *PO* text. Furthermore, *gradientes... rediere* at line 103-4 suggests **I**'s *regressi sunt* rather than the Vulgate's *reuersi sunt*, but this reading is found in both *PC* and *PO*. The use of *regressi sunt* at 2:12 in the *PO* text is a hugely significant Old Latin reading, found only in VL3 and VL4 and in none of the later Old Latin witnesses, not even VL41 (which represents the 8th-century Verona text). Sedulius's use of *gressus* (p.209, 15) in the surrounding text appears to confirm the reading.

In patristic citations *regressi sunt* is found in Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, Quodvultdeus and a variant of Arnobius the Younger.³²⁶ Given that Augustine's text appears, like that of Sedulius, in a single block of text, it is remarkable that the entire text of Sedulius is virtually identical to that of Augustine in the *De Consensu Evangelistarum*. It is also remarkable that both texts contain this unusual Old Latin reading. There is a possibility, therefore, that Sedulius has copied Augustine's text, which may have circulated as an authoritative version of the biblical text. Although three African writers preserve the variant *regressi sunt*, it is not found in VL1 and should be considered a European variant on the strength of its presence in VL3 and VL4. The text used by Arnobius and Quodvultdeus - both Africans writing in Italy - is possibly a result of its appearance in Augustine's text. A reason for Sedulius apparently following Augustine's *De Consensu* text at this point can be found in the comparison between the *PO* and *PC* text. Sedulius's *PC* text has changed from apparently Vulgate in verses 2:1-8 to Old Latin in 2:9-12. This is a theme that will be seen to continue in the Massacre of the Innocents episode below.

The simplest explanation for this change in text-type is that Sedulius was not using a continuous text of Matthew for both passages in the *PC* but based his text on two different pericopes. As we have seen above in Sedulius's text of John, a number of features suggest a loosely 'liturgical' source for his Nativity passage, such as a homily or

³²⁶ **AU** Ev 2,15; **QU** Jud 10,9; **AR** exp Mt 1 (var).

possibly a 'lectionary' lesson. Likewise, the change in text-type apparent in the transition from Matthew 2:1-8 to Matthew 2:9-12 is possibly because Sedulius was drawing on scriptural passages attached to two different feasts, the former concerned with the celebration of the Nativity, the latter with the feast of the Holy Innocents or Epiphany. As seen below in the analysis of Matthew 2:16, contextual factors strongly suggest that Sedulius drew on a homily as his source for the Massacre passage, at least in the *PC*. The apparent change in text type at Matthew 2:9 suggests that this homily was Sedulius's source from line 89 in book two; the earlier passage based around Matthew 2:1-8 in the *PC* could have been taken from a different homily or indeed a Vulgate-type lesson.³²⁷

Sedulius apparently used a different method for the passages in the *PO*, where the text-type from Matthew 2:1-16 is consistent and suggests that Sedulius drew all the text from the same source, a continuous Vulgate-type passage. This was possibly a Vulgate version of Matthew that Sedulius had acquired or indeed it is possible that Sedulius or his source drew directly on Augustine's *De Consensu* text.

2:16. The Massacre of the Innocents

PO 2,10, p.209, 16 - 22

Dehinc talia per ordinem gesta narrantur: Tunc Herodes **uidens, quoniam inlusus esset a magis, iratus est ualde et mittens occidit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethleem** et in omnibus **finibus** eius a bimatu et infra secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis. igitur a magis, quos crediderat inludendos, *inlusus* dissimulatos motus ira praecipiti rex impius publicauit...

PC 2,107-8

Ergo *ubi delusum* se conperit, impius iram

Rex aperit

³²⁷ The lack of an extant 5th-century lectionary greatly hinders this avenue of research; the 7th-century Luxueil Lectionary however does contain a possibly similar layout to that drawn on by Sedulius with a continuous Vulgate lesson of Matthew 2:1-23 at the Feast of the Innocents (24v - 26r) and an Old Latin homily used as Gospel lesson at the Vigils of Epiphany (72v - 74v). See Salmon (1944: 19-20. 56-7).

Sedulius's text in the *PO* is again Vulgate and identical to Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*. *uidens* is not a distinctly Vulgate reading, although it is only found in VL5 amongst unmixed Old Latin witnesses, as well as the *Opus Imperfectum*;³²⁸ elsewhere *ut uidit* is preferred in **I** (and VL6 VL7), whereas *cum uidisset* is found in **K**. Sedulius's *PO* reading *inlusus esset* is found in the Vulgate and **K** against *delusus est* found in **I**. This reading is confirmed by Sedulius's surrounding text where *inlusus* is repeated. *mittens* is not a distinctly Vulgate reading but is only found in VL5 VL13 in Old Latin unmixed codices with **K** and **I** preferring *misit*. The reading *in omnibus finibus eius* is quite rare in Old Latin codical witnesses, only found in VL4 and VL5, with the **I** reading taken as *in omnibus regionibus eius* (VL3 VL41 VL6 VL7), but is the dominant reading in patristic witnesses. The final part of Matthew 2:16, from *a bimatu et infra* offers no significant variants between the different traditions. While there are no Vulgate specific readings in the text, Sedulius's *PO* text matches the Vulgate at every variant site.

The Gospel text only occupies one and a half lines in the *PC* yet even from this it is apparent that Sedulius's texts in the *PC* and the *PO* probably come from different sources. This is evidenced by the reading *delusum* and Sedulius's construction that uses *ubi* and the indicative, which is closer to *ut... delusus est* found in the **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL13), rather than the Vulgate text *quoniam... illusus esset*. There appears to be no real metrical advantage in *delusum* (=I: *delusus est*) over *illusum* (=V, **K**: *illusus esset*) in the *PC*, therefore Sedulius's use of a different source text must be considered probable.

The rest of Sedulius's *PC* text, from 110 -133 is devoted to extensive imagery and allusions to embellish the Massacre scene. While these do not relate directly to Sedulius's text of Matthew, they provide important indicators to the source of Sedulius's *PC* text. As mentioned above, the Nativity passage (Mt. 2:1-8) in the *PC* contains two Vulgate readings and appears to stem from a Vulgate source in the same manner as the text in the *PO*. The *PC* text of the Visitation of the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents on the other hand contains no Vulgate readings but several Old Latin readings. There are a number of possibilities for the Sedulius's use of forms of *dux* and *clam* in the first

³²⁸ AN Mt h 2.

part of the *PC*: first, Sedulius's source text was Old Latin and he was unaware of the 'Vulgate' readings but they occur out of coincidence; there are after all, only a certain number of ways that the words *leader* and *secretly* can be rendered in Latin hexameter. Second, there is the possibility that Sedulius's source text was Old Latin from 2:1 - 2:16, but that he knew of the Vulgate readings and chose to use them in the earlier verses for metrical reasons. Third, Sedulius used a source text with some Vulgate readings from 2:1-8 and a source text with Old Latin readings alone for the Visitation of the Magi and Massacre of the Innocents pericopes. This third possibility is considered below.

The source for the Old Latin readings found in these two passages could be a homily similar to one of the several 5th/6th century Epiphany homilies that can be found, *inter alia*, in the 11th-century Monte Cassino manuscript 12, published by Caillau and Guillon in the Collection of Church Fathers series.³²⁹ In particular, three homilies, numbers 17, 18 and 21 in volume 24a, all dated to the 5th/6th century and of African provenance are similar to Sedulius's *PC* passage in language and sources used.³³⁰ At least one of these, homily 21 beginning "*Audiuit nobiscum charitas uestra euangelistam*" circulated in Europe, and possibly in Sedulius's time, as a passage to be read at Epiphany in early lectionaries. Although there is not a lectionary from Sedulius's time, this sermon is found in one of the oldest lectionaries in existence, the 7th-century Merovingian Luxeuil lectionary, at the Vigils of Epiphany.³³¹ In addition, many of the features found in these three homilies are also found in the *In Natale Infantium* sermon found in the 5th-century Anonymous Arian Verona manuscript, edited by Gryson,³³² and Chromatius's *Tractate Six* on Matthew.³³³ With the exception of Chromatius, all these sources are thought to be originally African, and all, including Chromatius, are late 4th or 5th century.³³⁴

³²⁹ Caillau (1842: 403-9; 409-13; 424-428). The Epiphany homilies under discussion are sermons 17-18 & 21 attributed to Saint Augustine.

³³⁰ Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermones Caillau - Guillon II*, app. 17 (CPPM 1425); *Sermones Caillau - Guillon II*, app. 18 (CPPM 1426); *Sermones Caillau - Guillon II*, app. 21 (CPPM 1429). For dates and provenance see Gryson et al. (2007: 295). Pseudo-Augustine, s. Cai II, App. 17 is found in many homiliaries including the Mainz sermon collection alongside many Augustinian homilies discovered by Dolbeau. See Raymond (1993).

³³¹ Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 9427, ff. 72v-74v. See Salmon (1944: 56-7).

³³² [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 8 'In Natale Infantum' (CCSL 87, 69-72).

³³³ Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaëum*, 6 (CCSL 9A, 220-222). In Manuscript F the Tractate is titled *in uigilia epiphaniae*. See Etaix & Lemarié (1974: 223).

³³⁴ Gryson et al. (2007: 295) lists the three Pseudo-Augustine homilies as 5th-century and African. The Verona manuscript has been dated on paleographic grounds to the 5th century: on the basis of the Arian content and the lack of polemical tone in the Verona sermons, Gryson (1987: xix-xx) suggests that the sermons were written by an Arian writer in a securely Arian environment such as Vandal Africa.

The case for Sedulius's use of some sort of a homiletic version of the text can be made on the linguistic similarities, the shared *topoi* and the shared use of psalm references. Sedulius's passage comprises four parts: the biblical text; an animal simile used to describe Herod; an elaborate description of the massacre containing details not found in the Gospel, such as babies being dashed against rocks and the bereft mothers cutting themselves with their fingernails; finally, Sedulius includes a near word-for-word four-line imitation of *Aeneid* 4,408-11, with Herod replacing the figure of Dido. The last of these is an example of contrast imitation that is not found in any homily.³³⁵ However, the other three features are common in some form to the three homilies listed above. Comparison of the separate elements with those found in these homilies reveals the similarity of Sedulius's text to that found in the homilies. First, Sedulius's paraphrase of the biblical text has been placed alongside the equivalent passages in the homilies:

Biblical text - Matthew 2:16

Sedulius, <i>PC</i> 2,107-108	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 17 (Caillau, 1842, 408)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 18 (Caillau, 1842, 410-11)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 21 (Caillau, 1842, 425)
Ergo ubi delusum se conperit, impius iram Rex aperit	Exurgit tamen aliquando de latibulis suis circumuenta ferocitas. Iubet Herodes infantes occidi.	Sic enim Matthaei evangelistae nostri praesens lectio recitata est: " <i>Videns, inquit, Herodes quia delusus est a Magis</i> , uocauit scribas et inquisiuit ab eis quo tempore Christus nasceretur	Cum uidisset rex, <i>quia delusus esset a Magis</i> , iratus uehementer, misit ut occiderentur omnes infantes in Bethlehem et in omnes terminos eius a bimatu et infra

Of these three Sedulius's text is closest to that found in homily 21. There is no possibility of Sedulius's text being taken from homily 17, since the latter does not include the biblical text at all. Sedulius's text has an indicative construction *ubi... conperit* similar to the text found in **I** witnesses, which reads *ut uidit*. The text found in homily 18 is identical to that found in VL5, *uidens quia delusus est*, as well as VL6 and VL10 that differ only in the use of the conjunction; *uidens* is also the text found in Vulgate witnesses. Homily 21 preserves the text found in **K**, with the subjunctive *cum*

³³⁵ For discussion of these four lines see van der Laan (1993: 159); see also Green (2006: 175) & Hutchinson (2009: 198).

clause. The second part of this clause differs in the Latin traditions over the translation of *ἐνεπαίχθη*. As seen above, the Vulgate and **K** translate it as *illusus esset*; **I** witnesses generally translate it as *delusus est*. Homily 18 preserves the reading found in **I**, whereas homily 21 has *delusus esset*, a compromise between **I** and **K** that is also found in the *Opus Imperfectum* and some witnesses of Chromatius's *Tractates*.³³⁶ Sedulius's base text, which has been rendered as *se delusum [esse]* in *oratio obliqua* in the *PC*, could have had either reading found in homily 18 or 21. From this point, Sedulius's text departs sharply from that found in homily 18, that interpolates Matthew 2:4, a reading not found at this point in the *PC*. However, the text found in homily 21, *iratus uehementer*, appears to be Italian, possibly North Italian, and is found in VL10 VL13, the *Opus Imperfectum* and Lucifer.³³⁷ All other witnesses prefer *iratus [est] ualde*. Sedulius's text *aperit... iram* could have been taken from either reading. The *misit ut* construction found in homily 21 is not paralleled elsewhere. Although Sedulius's text is marginally closer to **I** than the biblical text found in homily 18 or 21, both of these homilies contain a text that is more similar to Sedulius's *PC* text than that found in the *PO*. Both must be considered possible sources or witnesses to the source text used by Sedulius.

The animal simile

Sedulius, <i>PC</i> 2,107-108	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 17	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 18 (Caillau, 1842, 411)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 21 (Caillau, 1842, 425)
Ereptumque gemens facinus sibi, ceu leo frendens Cuius ab ore tener subito cum labitur agnus, In totum mouet arma gregem manditque trahitque Molle pecus, trepidaeque uocant sua pignora fetae	...	O Herodes, si unius regis natiuitas tuos conterruit motus, cur innocentes necasti multitudines, ut agnos decerpens rabidus pardus?	Nam Herodem istum tantum rabidus sensus furoris facibus erigebat, quantum amor dulcis potestati accenderat.

³³⁶ **AN** Mt h 2 (PG 56, 243); **CHRO** Mt 4,4 (mss **M**, **P** in marg.).

³³⁷ **AN** Mt h 2 (PG 56, 243); **LUC** ath 2,3.

Nequiquam et uacuas implent balatibus auras			
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Green sees Sedulius's lion simile as modelled primarily on Virgil's description of Turnus as a hungry lion at *Aeneid* 9,339-41, with elements taken from *Aeneid* 12,6 and *Aeneid* 9,61-2 & 565-6.³³⁸ Sedulius's use of Virgilian language is undeniable, but the use of animal imagery to describe Herod is not unusual in the homiletic tradition and elements of the simile can be found in two of the three homilies above.³³⁹ In homily 18, just prior to the start of the massacre, the preacher uses an animal simile to address Herod, comparing him to a rabid panther attacking lambs. Homily 21 contains no simile, but at the same position as Sedulius and homily 18 describes Herod as aroused by the rabid feeling of fury. Given the similar position of the trope in all three texts, it is quite possible that a similar reference to Herod's animal rage existed in Sedulius's base text and that this was the inspiration for his lion simile.

The massacre

Sedulius, <i>PC</i> 2,107-108	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 17 (Caillau, 1842, 408)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 18 (Caillau, 1842, 411-2)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 21 (Caillau, 1842, 425-6)
Haut secus Herodes Christo stimulatus adempto <i>Sternere conlisas paruorum strage cateruas</i> Inmerito non cessat atrox. quo crimine simplex Turba perit? cur qui uixdum potuere creari Iam meruere mori? furor est in rege cruento, Non ratio; <i>primosque</i>	Infantes igitur <i>eliduntur ad saxa</i> , et <i>lacteos artus</i> crudelis officina consumit. Secabat <i>recentes ab ubere partus transiens gladius</i> , nec inueniebat ubi saeuaret, quia non habebat in infanti corpore quod feriret.	Molles, ut dictum est, congregauit <i>paruulos ab uberibus matrum abstractos</i> , quos sine pietate immaniter propriis a patribus fecit esse iugulatos. Mittuntur per innumeras urbes barbari milites inflexa pietate parentes et illustrum matrum foetus iugulantes, nec muneribus conquiescebant, ne nocerent, neque precibus	Carnifices suos ad inquirendum mittit infantem, quasi quidem posset inuenire cum uellet. <i>Mactabantur in cunis infantes</i> , in quibus nondum erat nascendi conscientia ; et illud membrorum initium primum funus discit esse, quam corpus. Occidebantur initia membrorum, <i>minutissimi lactentes</i> , et accepti a matribus

³³⁸ Green (2006: 217). See also Springer (2013: 69-70, *ad loc*).

³³⁹ For example, see Augustine, *s.* 375: Turbatus est Herodes, quasi uenerit Christus regnum quaerere et inuenire terrenum. Natus est coeli leo, et turbata est terrena uulpecula (PL 39, 1668).

Sedulius, <i>PC</i> 2,107-108	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 17 (Caillau, 1842, 408)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 18 (Caillau, 1842, 411-2)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 21 (Caillau, 1842, 425-6)
<i>necans uagitus et audens Innumerum patrare nefas puerilia mactat</i>		mitigabantur, ut quiescerent, sed possessi mortifera esurie, saginabantur de infantium nece.	<i>paruuli in duritia lapidum uibrantur</i> , ut ad execrandum malum saxorum aspera moles artus aspergeret. et necatus excipit nolens terra <i>conlisos</i> ;

The massacre scene in the *PC* has received considerable scholarly attention: McDonald saw in Sedulius's remark that the infants were dashed on the ground *conlisas* as evidence of a connection between Sedulius's text and the iconographic tradition in Southern France or Northern Italy or Spain, where this representation of the Massacre was popular in 5th century icons.³⁴⁰ However, McDonald's view has been refuted by Springer. He noted that Prudentius uses the same image in the *Cathermerinon*, a more likely source, and that an ivory depicting the scene in the Bode Museum, dating to the 3rd to 5th century and coming from Milan or Rome, reveals this depiction to be more widespread than McDonald believed.³⁴¹

While Sedulius's passage may owe something to Prudentius, it is worth noting that a very similar description is also found in the homiletic tradition. Two of the three homilies describe the infants as being dashed against the rocks. Homily 17 has the infants dashed on the rocks (*eliduntur ad saxa*) while homily 21 describes them hurled against the hardness of stones (*in duritia lapidum uibrantur*) later describing them as *conlisos*, the word used by Sedulius. Furthermore, in the Arian sermon found in the Verona collection, the children are described as 'some smashed on the ground, others transfixed by spears, still others sliced open by blades'.³⁴²

³⁴⁰ McDonald (1933).

³⁴¹ Prudentius, *Cathermerinon* 12,117-20. See further Springer (1988: 27). For details of the 3rd/5th century ivory held at the Bode Museum für byzantische Kunst in Berlin (Inv.2719), see Springer (2013: 70).

³⁴² [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 8,4: Rapiunt, ferociunt, cedunt partim conlidentes ad terram, partim astis infigentes, alios mucronibus diidentes (CCSL 87, 71).

Springer suggests the origin of the image may be the last line of Psalm 136, *beatus qui tenebit et adlidet paruulos tuos ad petram*.³⁴³ This seems probable as the other image found in the homiletic tradition and indeed alluded to in the *PC* and the *PO*, that of milk-fed babies being killed, is directly dependent on the liturgical use of Psalm 8:3, *ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem*. The use of Psalm 8:3 as exegesis for the Massacre goes back at least as far as Origen and is still used as today the Introit for the feast of the Holy Innocents in the Tridentine Rite.³⁴⁴ In the Latin tradition the earliest extant reference to the use of this Psalm as exegesis of Matthew 2:16 is found in the Gospel Commentary of Fortunatianus, who understands the *enemy and avenger* from Psalm 8:3 as Herod.³⁴⁵ According to the *In Natale Infantium* (sermon VIII) in the Verona Collection, Psalm 8:3 was sung at the service prior to the sermon.³⁴⁶ The preacher of the Arian sermon understands this verse in connection with Matthew 19:14, quoted as *nolite prohibere infantes uenire ad me, talium est enim regnum caelorum*, as support for the idea that the infant martyrs inherit the Kingdom of God. In turn the preacher, like Fortunatianus, interprets the *enemy and avenger* from Psalm 8:3 as Herod, thus suggesting that both the Psalmist's infants and enemy are represented in the Matthean scene.³⁴⁷ The connection between the infants of Psalm 8:3 and of the Massacre of the Innocents is made clear by the use of the Psalm as an antiphon on this feast and probably led to description of the infants of the Massacre as 'milk-fed'.³⁴⁸ The use of Psalm 8:3 to expound the death of the innocents is also found in some sources without any reference to the dashing of the infants against rocks, such as in Chromatius's *Tractates*.³⁴⁹ Whether by the use of Psalm 8:3 in the liturgy at Epiphany Vigil or the Feast of the Holy Innocents, or directly via the commentary tradition that

³⁴³ Springer (2013: 70).

³⁴⁴ Origen, *Commentarius in Matthaum III (fragmenta)*, 31: ἀναιροῦνται δὲ παῖδες, ἵνα ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καταρτίσῃται αἶνον (GCS 41/1, 28). Guéranger (2004: 211).

³⁴⁵ Fortunatianus, *Commentarium in Evangelia*, 3 (f. 18v, 556ff);

³⁴⁶ [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 8,2: Hodie in psalmo presenti conuenienter pro sollemnitate infantium recitatum est: Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laude (CCSL 87, 70).

³⁴⁷ [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 8,4: Inimicum et defensorem iterum Herodem illum pessimum demonstrabat (CCSL 87, 70).

³⁴⁸ In a further source, Augustine's *Sermon 375*, delivered on Epiphany, the authenticity of which has been called into question by the Maurists (see Verbraken, 1976: 153), Psalm 8:3 is inserted into the Massacre narrative.

³⁴⁹ Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaum*, 6,2: Qui dum innocentes pro Christo moriuntur, primi Christi martyres exstiterunt. De quibus et Daudid significare monstratur, cum dicit: Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et defensorem. In hac enim persecutione infantes adhuc paruuli atque lactantes pro Christo occiduntur, et perfectae laudis martyrium consequuntur (CCSL 9A, 222).

begins with Origen, the association of this verse with the Massacre of the Innocents appears widespread in both Italy and Africa by Sedulius's time.

This allusion is found in varying degrees in Sedulius's works and the homiletic tradition. It is alluded to in *PC* in the closing lines with the description of the bereft mother pressing her dead infant to her breasts.³⁵⁰ In the *PO*, further details are introduced, with the mother described as 'pouring out milk and blood through the cut veins of her breasts'.³⁵¹ The use of this added detail suggests that Sedulius re-used the same source in the *PC* when rewriting the scene in the *PO* adding details that could not be used in the *PC*, even though he used a different source for his cited text of Matthew. Sedulius's *PO* text echoes the depictions that include milk-fed infants in the homiletic tradition. The anonymous Arian sermon speaks of 'impious butchers' sent into Bethlehem to find 'infants on the breasts of their mothers'.³⁵² Homily 17 speaks of the 'cruel task consuming the milky limbs' and 'new-borns cut off from the breast'. Homily 18 speaks of 'children snatched from the breasts of mothers', and of 'a mother's breasts dripping with the mead of milk for no children', whereas homily 21 describes the deaths of 'tiniest milk-fed ones.' It is clear that these elaborate scenes grew out of the original association of Psalm 8:3 with Matthew 2:16. Of the four sources, Sedulius's text is closer to homily 21 and the Arian homily in the relatively subdued reference to Psalm 8:3, although the allusion is noticeably stronger in *PO* than in the *PC*. The presence of this image alongside the dashing of the infants and indeed the epithet butcher for Herod, is joined by a final image common to all but one of these sources, the elaborate description of a mother's grief at losing her child.³⁵³

³⁵⁰ *PC* 2,125-6.

³⁵¹ *PO* 2,10, p.210, 17-19: infelix mater nec iam mater super unci gelidum corruens cadauer extincti per absceis uberum uenas lactis copiam cum cruore fundebat.

³⁵² [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 8,4: Ibant itaque impii ab Herode missi carnifices, et uenientes in Betlhem et in omnibus finibus eius inuenerunt infantes nunc ad ubera matrum, nunc in patrum complexu pendentes (CCSL 87, 71).

³⁵³ Not as *carnifex* in Sedulius's text, but as *lanio*, see *PC* 2,127.

The Grief of the mothers

Sedulius, <i>PC</i> 2,107-108	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 17 (Caillau, 1842, 408)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 18 (Caillau, 1842, 412)	Pseudo-Augustine, <i>Sermones Caillau - Guillon II</i> , app. 21 (Caillau, 1842, 425)
<p>Milia plangoremque dedit tot matribus unum. Haec laceros crines nudato uertice rupit, Illa genas secuit, nudum ferit altera pugnis Pectus et infelix mater (nec iam modo mater) <i>Orba</i> super gelidum frustra premit ubera natum. <i>Quis tibi tunc, lanio</i>, cernenti talia sensus? Quosue dabas fremitus, cum uulnera fervere late Prospiceres arce ex summa uastumque uideres Misceri ante oculos tantis plangoribus aequor? Extinctisque tamen quamuis infantibus absens Praesens Christus erat, qui sancta pericula semper Suscipit et poenas alieno in corpore sentit.</p>	<p><i>O crudelis gladiator</i>, o conscia, o dira manus ! <i>lactentes paruulos</i>, carnifex, necas, quid faceres, si tales forsitan non haberes?</p>	<p>In sua satisfactione congemebant uiscera, <i>quod nullis paruulis mulsum lactis stillabant ubera matris.</i> congemebat in matribus pietas desolata, dum perfidi milites iugulabant paruulos, confixa in tenuia membra uibrarum hasta; cumque multarum matrum foetus subtracto ense periisset, quaedam nuper connexa conjugio, desolata, unicum a suo pectore raptum uidens a barbaro cruciari, pro quo minime poterat consolari, condolens scurrilati Herodis quasi dicit : <i>O Herodes</i>, si ex uirgine quaeris natum, cur mihi pristinum reuocasti gemitum, quae maritale congaudeo solatium?</p>	<p><i>Sub conspectu matrum praemebatur uagitus infantum</i> et lacrimas suas in maternos oculos reportabant. ... Natabant domus sanguine paruulorum, nec fuit qui consolari alterum posset, quia non erat qui lacrimas non haberet. Inuicta <i>orbitas</i> cunctos aequauerat, et commune malum ubique luctibus gerebatur: <i>oppressi uagitus</i>, majores gemitus exigebant: nulla domus, nullus orbitati restauerat locus, ubi non diligens crudelitas fuit...</p>

The imagery found in Sedulius's text of the *PC*, which is repeated in the *PO*, may be his interpretation of the reaction of the mothers to the Massacre, but it is certainly not

unique to Sedulius. Both homily 18 and 21 switch the focus immediately after the Massacre from the infants to the mothers. In addition to these two homilies, the anonymous Arian sermon contains a similar image of women tearing out their hair and kissing their dead children in vain.³⁵⁴ Unlike the African homilies that do not give specifics about the mothers' appearance, the description found in the Arian sermon closely reflects the picture of 'self-harm' found in Sedulius's text. Homily 17 contains only the apostrophe of Herod questioning why the 'butcher' murdered the 'milk-fed infants'. This is reflected in Sedulius's text in a similar apostrophe, but Sedulius has replaced *carnifex* by *lanio* within the framework of *Aeneid* 4,408-11, presumably because *lanio* fits into hexameter a lot easier than a form of *carnifex*. It should be noted that similar apostrophe is found in homily 18, though placed in the mouth of one of the bereaved mothers. Sedulius's *PC* text then concludes with the apology for Jesus's absence (*Extinctisque tamen quamuis infantibus absens / praesens Christus erat*) an apology that is found in many patristic sources.³⁵⁵

In sum, Sedulius's text has a structure that is clearly similar to that found in several homiletic sources and at times Sedulius's text shares imagery and vocabulary with the texts of the African homilies and the Arian sermon that cannot be due to coincidence alone. However, it is also clear that none of these homilies can be a direct source for Sedulius; of the three African homilies, Sedulius's *PC* text is closest to homily 21, but even with homily 21, Sedulius's text contains several details not found in the homiletic source, such as the butcher apostrophe (found in homily 17) and the details of mothers tearing their hair (found in the Arian sermon). These homilies rather appear to bear witness to a tradition that Sedulius's text witnesses. While the reference to suckling babes in all the sources, as well as Chromatius and Augustine, is possibly due to shared liturgical usage of Psalm 8:3, this cannot explain the other figures found in Sedulius's text that are also found in the homiletic tradition, not to mention that Sedulius makes no direct reference to any psalm in his text. Thus Sedulius appears to be drawing on a secondary source that has the biblical text and psalm reference embedded and the use of

³⁵⁴ [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 8,4: Flebant crinibus effusis matres et dulcia oscula iacentibus paruulis infigebant (CCSL 87, 71).

³⁵⁵ For example here in Homily 21: qui ad hoc permisit pro se infantes occidi, ut pro ipso ceteri discerent mori (Caillau, 1842: 426). In addition, see Augustine, *s.* 373,3: Nullo modo istos infantes desereret grati Saluatoris infantis, qui uenerat quaerere quod perierat, non solum in carne nascendo, uerum etiam in cruce pendendo (PL 39, 1665). Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaem*, 6,2: Vnde non immerito infantes illi beati per omnia exstiterunt, qui primi mori pro Christo meruerunt, Domino ac Salvatore nostro, cui est laus et gloria in saecula saeculorum (CCSL 9A, 222).

such a text explains the difference in biblical texts found in the *PC* and the *PO*: the *PC* is reproducing the homiletic biblical text, whereas the *PO* has reused much of the material from the *PC* but has also added a citation from a Vulgate source.

3:16-7. Baptism of Jesus

PO 2,13, p.213, 3 - 22

Euangelicae lectionis ergo textus ita prosequitur: **baptizatus autem confestim ascendit** de aqua, et ecce **aperti sunt caeli**, et uidit Spiritum **Dei descendentem sicut columbam uenientem super se. et** ecce uox **de caelis dicens: hic est Filius meus dilectus**, in quo **mihi [bene] conplacui**. consideremus attentius, quantum reueletur et in hoc loco mysterium. postquam enim *Dominus de aqua baptizatus ascendit, mox aperti sunt caeli*. quomodo *mox aperti*, cum Christo, cui super sidera semper est domus, numquam caelum uideatur obclusum? sed arbitror, quantum pietas eius meis sensibus adspirare dignatur, quod *ideo tunc aperti sunt caeli, quando Dominus ab aqua baptizatus ascendit*, ut suis misericors doceret exemplis homini, *cuius effigiem sumpsit*, caelorum regna tunc pandi, cum meruerit spiritalis aquae consecratione perfundi. quod autem *Spiritus Dei super eum in specie columbae descendit*, ostenditur quanta sit eius bonitas, mansuetudo, simplicitas per uolucrum fellis amaritudinem non habentem. et ne corporaliter uisus esse nesciretur Deus, *uoce Patris* asseritur dicentis: **hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi conplacui**.

PC 2,166 - 174

Ergo ubi flumineum post mystica dona lauacrum
Egrediens siccas **Dominus** calcavit harenas,
Confestim patuere poli, *sanctusque columbae*
Spiritus in specie Christum uestiuit honore
Mansuetumque docet multumque incedere mitem
Per uolucrum quae felle caret, Natoque uocato
Voce Patris triplici Deus ex ratione probatur,
Quod Pater et Natus, quod Spiritus est ibi sanctus,
Quo manet indignus qui non numerauerit unum.

The Old Latin text of Jesus's Baptism has a number of notable features. First, in two codices, VL3 and VL7, there is a substantial prologue with an apocryphal account of light appearing over the Jordan prior to Jesus baptism.³⁵⁶ Fischer counts this insertion as an addition to verse 3:15 rather than part of 3:16 and the readings have not been counted in the statistics.³⁵⁷ Elsewhere, a number of sources contain a somewhat harmonised account of the Baptism that complicates analysis: chief among these are variations on the description of the description of the Holy Spirit 'descending like a dove' through the insertion of *manentem* from Mark 1:10, as in Fortunatianus, Augustine and Quodvultdeus,³⁵⁸ *mansit* from John 1:32,³⁵⁹ (*corporali*) *specie* from Luke 3:22,³⁶⁰ or a combination of these as in Maximus of Turin and Jerome.³⁶¹ A second frequent contamination is found in God's words to Jesus at the transfiguration, with *ipsum audite (vel sim.)* in addition to VL7 and VL10. We are unfortunately missing the testimony of **K** for the Baptism episode, and while Tertullian, Cyprian, Pseudo-Cyprian, Optatus, Augustine, Arnobius and Quodvultdeus preserve an Old Latin text, they are either in a fragmented, harmonized or paraphrased form making comparison difficult.³⁶² An unusual form of Matthew 3:16-17 is found in Augustine's *Sermo* 52 on the Baptism which possibly preserves a near complete African form of the text.³⁶³

cum ergo baptizatus esset, aperti sunt coeli, et descendit super eum spiritus sanctus specie columbae; deinde uox desuper consecuta est, hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo bene sensi.

Some elements are closer to Luke, such as the phrase *descendit... spiritus sanctus specie columbae*, which is close to Luke's *descendit spiritus sanctus corporali specie sicut columba*, but significantly, Augustine's text does not include *corporali specie* 'in physical form.' Furthermore, the words pronounced by God at the baptism, *hic... sensi* are typical of Matthew, as the versions found in Luke and Mark contain the address in the second person. The reading that suggests an 'African' element in Augustine's text is

³⁵⁶ For the possible origin of this insertion see Boismard (1992: 127-133).

³⁵⁷ Fischer (1988: 75).

³⁵⁸ **AU** Jo 6,5,7; **QU** pro 3,12; Fortunatianus, 12 (ff. 25v - 26r, 887-8).

³⁵⁹ **PS-AU** s Cai II, 70; **NO** tri 29.

³⁶⁰ **AU** Jo 99,2,1; q 62; tri 1,4 ap Fu ep 14,12.

³⁶¹ **MAX** s 60; **HI** Is 11.

³⁶² **TE** ba 8,3; **CY un** 9; **PS-CY** reb 3; 8; 18; **OPT** Par 4,7; **AU** Jo 6,5,7; s 52,1; **AR** Ps 44; **QU** pro 3,12; sy 1,9,5.

³⁶³ Augustine, s. 52 (PL 38, 354-64).

the translation of *εὐδόκησα* by (*bene*) *sensi*. This is an early reading as shown by its presence in the 4th-century commentary of Fortunatianus.³⁶⁴ It is also the reading found for the translation of *εὐδόκησα* in VL2 at Matthew 17:5 and at Luke 3:22 (Transfiguration and Baptism scenes), as well as twice in Cyprian and once in Tertullian and Optatus, for the Transfiguration scene.³⁶⁵ It appears, therefore, that this reading originated in African authors, even if its presence in Fortunatianus suggests it occurred in European texts in the mid-4th-century.

Sedulius's *PO* text of Matthew 3:16-17 is of Vulgate character but has one Old Latin reading of particular note, the omission of *ei* after *ecce aperti sunt (caeli)*. This is confirmed by his surrounding text, where *aperti sunt caeli* is repeated twice without *ei*.³⁶⁶ The absence of *ei* in Sedulius is a reading found in a handful of Old Latin codices with Gallic and Irish connections, viz the Gallican Lectionary (VL32), Book of Mulling (VL35), the St Gallen Stiftsbibl. 51 (VL48), Book of Deer,³⁶⁷ and the 7th-century Irish Gospels.³⁶⁸ In addition, the reading is found notably in Augustine's *Sermo* 52, Hilary's Commentary on the Psalms, Pseudo-Vigilius's *De Trinitate* and the 3rd sermon of the 5th century North Italian/North African Pseudo-Ambrose found in the Sessorianus codex.³⁶⁹ While flattening is of course a risk with such a reading, the absence of *αὐτῷ* is found in the Alexandrian tradition (**B03**) amongst others. The absence of *ei* is the only Old Latin reading found in Sedulius's text which is otherwise identical to the Vulgate and contains three Vulgate-specific readings: the omission of *Iesus*, the omission of *de caelo* and the translation of *ἐπ'αὐτον* as *super se* (**I**: *in ipsum*).

In 3:17, Sedulius's one Old Latin reading, the inclusion of *bene* after *mihi*, from the first citation of 3:17 should be discounted as it is a probably scribal addition. Sedulius's second citation of the verse in lines 21-22 does not include *bene* and three of the best four witnesses do not contain the reading (**CPF**); only in **R** is the reading found. *bene* and *mihi* is an Old Latin reading, probably introduced out of a desire to harmonise this text with the words of God at the Transfiguration text of Matthew 17:5. The earliest

³⁶⁴ Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarii in Euangelia*, 12 (ff. 25v - 26r, 887-8).

³⁶⁵ **TE** Pra 23; **CY** te 1,10; ep 63,14; **OPT** Par 4,7.

³⁶⁶ *ei* is found in one *PO* manuscript **B**, but this is an inferior witness, which likely preserves a correction.

³⁶⁷ Cambridge University Library, MS. Ii.6.32

³⁶⁸ Milan bibl. Ambrosiana I.61 sup.

³⁶⁹ **AU** s 52,1; **HIL** Ps 138,6; **PS-AM** s Se 3,9; **CHRO** Mt 13,1-3(var); **HI** Mt 1(var); Is 11; **PS-VIG** tri 4,3.

sources that preserve the reading are Faustinus and Hilary's *Liber in Constantium*.³⁷⁰ However the very fact that the reading appears as a variant in the Codex Gatianus (VL30) (as a second hand addition), Hilary's *De Trinitate*, one of Pope Leo's sermons, the Latin Iraeneus, Quodvultdeus and Eusebius of Edessa,³⁷¹ is testimony to the habit of scribes to harmonise the text and it therefore should be discounted in Sedulius's text as it is in these other sources. The typical Old Latin reading is *bene complacui* as a translation of *εὐδόκησα*, a reading found in I witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL12 VL35 VL41), Ambrosiaster and Chromatius.³⁷² Certain Old Latin sources render it just as *conplacui* as seen in Ambrose, *Opus Imperfectum* and Hilary, whereas Augustine's *Sermo 52*, as seen above, provides a likely African tradition with *bene sensi*.³⁷³

Sedulius's *PO* text preserves the Vulgate reading, not found in any pre-Hieronymian witnesses, which renders the Greek by *mihi conplacui*, although two witnesses, the Mediolanensis and the Autun Bible have *mihi conplacuit*.³⁷⁴ A final Vulgate-specific reading is found in omission of *ad eum* after *dicens*, in accordance with the Alexandrian and Byzantine traditions, where I witnesses and the 'Western text' include *ad eum* (**D05**: *προς αὐτον*) after *dicens*.

Concerning the *PC*, there is the strong possibility that Sedulius is using a different base text. Of the three variant sites found in the *PC*, the most significant is the use of *specie*, which as shown above, is typical of the harmonised versions of the text particularly prevalent in African writers. This is one of two readings noticed by Mayr, the other being the insertion of Jesus's age, taken from Luke 3:23, inserted at the start of the baptism account at 2,139.³⁷⁵ Drawing on this, Moretti Pieri argues that Sedulius's text at lines 168-9, which places the Holy Spirit as the subject of the verb *uestiuit*, cannot be based on Matthew 3:16 or for that matter Mark 1:10 where Jesus sees the Holy Spirit descending onto him, but derives from Luke 3:22, where *Spiritus Sanctus* is the subject of *descendit*.³⁷⁶ As a result she compared the passage with the Arabic Diatessaron and the *Unum Ex Quattuor*, suggesting that Sedulius's passage is drawn from a version of

³⁷⁰ **FAUn** Ar 2,2; **HIL** c Con 9.

³⁷¹ **HIL** tri 2,8 (E); **LEO** s 64,4 (F 2 C 1 3); **IR** 3,9,3 (A μ Ha St); **QU** Sy 1,9,5 (α B O M); pro 1,34 (W); 3,12 (P); **EUS-E** 4,2 (P).

³⁷² **AMst** fi 3;

³⁷³ **AU** s 52,1; See also Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarii in Euangelia*, 12 (ff. 25v - 26r, 887-8).

³⁷⁴ **AM** ex 2,19; inc 48; 2,94; **AN** Mt h 4; 5; **HIL** Ps 138,6.

³⁷⁵ Mayr (1916: 38).

³⁷⁶ Moretti Pieri (1969: 146).

Tatian's Diatessaron that resembles the Arabic Diatessaron, as both passages contain Luke 3:23 and a line of John 1:29 in precisely the same position, albeit placed within an overarching Matthean structure.³⁷⁷ As seen in the analysis of Sedulius's use of John 1:29 Moretti Pieri overlooks uniqueness of the Arabic Diatessaron amongst *diatessaron* witnesses for the Baptism scene as well as those texts that are not *diatessarons* but which include John 1:29 in the position found in Sedulius. Of the different possible sources mentioned in the analysis of John 1:29, only the anonymous Verona sermon contains the biblical text as found in Sedulius. This text is placed alongside the Arabic Diatessaron and Sedulius's text below:

<i>PC 2,166-72</i>	[Maximinus], <i>De Sollemnitatibus</i> , 2,6 ³⁷⁸	Arabic Diatessaron ch. 4 ³⁷⁹
vv. 166-7 Ergo ubi flumineum post mystica dona lauacrum egrediens siccas Dominus calcauit harenas	(Lk. 3:21) Cum baptidiatus esset, inquit (euangelium), omnis populus et Iesu baptidato et orante	(Lk. 3:21b) Et quand tout le peuple eut été baptisé, Jésus fut baptisé aussi.
vv. 168-169 (Mt. 3:16) Confestim patuere poli, (Lk. 3:22) sanctusque columbae spiritus in specie Christum uestiuit honore	(Lk. 3:21) apertum est caelum et ²² ecce spiritus sanctus corporali specie sicut columba uenit super eum	(Mt. 3:16b) Et aussitôt il sortit de l'eau et le Ciel s'ouvrit pour lui. (Lk. 3:22b) Et le Saint-Esprit descendit sur lui sous la forme d'un corps de colombe.
vv. 171-2 Natoque uocato uoce Patris triplici Deus ex ratione probatur	et uox de caelo facta est ^(Mt. 3:17) hic est filius meus dilectissimus, in quo bene conplacui, ipsum audite.	(Mt. 3:17) Et voici qu'une voix du Ciel (qui) dit : "Celui-ci (est) mon Fils Bien-Aimé en qui je me suis complu."

As can be seen above, the Anonymous Verona homily contains a similar harmonisation of Luke and Matthew to that found in Sedulius, Augustine's sermon 52 and the Arabic Diatessaron. Indeed, only the difference between Sedulius's text and that of the Verona

³⁷⁷ *ibid*, 142-7. 204.

³⁷⁸ CCSL 87, 54.

³⁷⁹ Marmardji (1935: 37)

homily is Sedulius's allusion to the Matthean *caeli* in his use of *poli*, whereas the Verona homily maintains the Lukan *caelum*. However, *caeli* is found in Augustine's text whereas the singular is also found in the Arabic Diatessaron so there appears no reason to look to possible witnesses of Tatian's work to explain Sedulius's text. Furthermore, in response to Moretti Pieri's argument that only Luke makes the dove subject of the verb *descendere*, it is clear from the texts above that some principally Matthean texts also have the dove as the subject. Indeed, the patristic evidence suggests that early versions of the Baptism passage offered far more variety than the biblical manuscript tradition suggests. Of greater significance is the fact that Sedulius's does not include *corporali specie*, in physical form, which is a specific feature of Luke. Rather it appears, as elsewhere, that Sedulius is drawing on an Epiphany homily that preserves an early, partly harmonised version of Matthew, like that found in Augustine or the Verona collection or indeed some sort of harmonised lectionary lesson.³⁸⁰

4:1-7. 4:11. Temptations of Jesus

Sedulius's text of the Temptations in book two of the *PO* is highly unusual. The biblical text is cited in a block, commencing with Matthew 4:1-4, switching to Luke for the second Temptation, 4:5-8, then back to Matthew, but in the Lukan order so that the next passage is Matthew 4:5-7, and finally concluding the passage with Matthew 4:11.³⁸¹

While several of the Old Latin Lukan codices (VL4 VL6 VL11 VL13 VL14) follow (or show evidence of having followed as in the Vercellensis (VL3)) the Matthean order for

³⁸⁰ The Verona homilist appears to remark that his text is taken from a Gospel lesson, 2:6: De quo refert sanctum euangelium, ut ipsius lectionis ordinem prosequamur... (CCSL 87, 54). Augustine's sermo 52 came to my attention too late to conduct a full comparison with Sedulius's Baptism scene in both the *PC* and the *PO*, but even a cursory glance reveals that both of Sedulius's versions of the Baptism scene share the same exegesis as Augustine's text, in particular the understanding of the Baptism as a tri-partite affirmation of the Trinity and the allusion to Phillipians 2:6-7. Augustine, s. 52,1: habemus ergo distinctam quodammodo trinitatem: in uoce patrem, in homine filium, in columba spiritum sanctum. euidenter enim, nec ullo dubitationis scrupulo commendatur haec trinitas. cum ipse dominus christus in forma serui ueniens ad ioannem, utique filius est: non enim dici potest quod pater est, aut dici potest quod spiritus sanctus (PL 38, 355). If Sedulius was drawing on the exegesis of this sermon (or one dependent on the same tradition), as appears likely, then it would be no surprise if his biblical text came with the exegesis, at least in the *PC*.

³⁸¹ It is the view of Green (2006: 176) that this order is due to Sedulius's habit of switching between Gospel passages as he likes, while van der Laan (1990: 219) maintains that it is part of Sedulius's creativity. However, there does not appear to be any advantage for Sedulius in choosing the Lukan order over the Matthean order for a largely Matthean text

the Temptations, no extant codex shows evidence of the contrary, as is found in Sedulius. However, outside of the codices, the Sedulian version of the Temptations, that is to say, a Matthean text in a Lukan order, is found in three African sources: Augustine's *De Vera Religione*, the Latin Pseudo-Chrysostom's *Sermo 21, De Lapsu Primi Hominis*,³⁸² and the 13th Mainz Sermon of Augustine.³⁸³ In addition, three Medieval Gospel harmonies, the Persian Diatessaron, Clement of Llanthony's Harmony and the Pepysian Harmony as well as the Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron bear witness to this order.

Concerning the African texts, both the *De Vera Religione* and the Latin Chrysostom text interpret the Temptations scene in light of verse 2:16 in the first epistle of John, which reads *quoniam omne quod est in mundo concupiscentia carnis et concupiscentia oculorum est et superbia uitae quae non est ex Patre sed ex mundo est*. Augustine's text is one of his earliest writings and it contains the entire temptations scene in which he equates *desire of the flesh* with the first temptation, *desire of the eyes (curiositas)* with the third temptation (the temple) and *worldly ambition* with the second temptation. The very fact that Augustine altered the order of 1 John 2:16 so that it conforms to his text of the temptations suggests that the Lukan order is genuine and not a memory slip.³⁸⁴ This order is confirmed by the second African text, that of the 'Latin Pseudo-Chrysostom', which probably dates to the early 5th century.³⁸⁵ It clearly bears some relationship with Augustine's text, although direct dependence can probably be ruled out as the order in which John's verse is applied to the Temptations is different: *worldly ambition* is equated with the Temple temptation, while the devil's offer of his kingdoms is equated with *desire of the eyes*. It appears contaminated by a European text type as it includes readings such as *uada retro Satanus* found in (VL3 VL6 VL9) plus mixed texts (VL7 VL10 VL15), *pinnam 3 4 5 6 9 12* for *fastigium* (VL1 AU),³⁸⁶ and *omni uerbo quod procedit ex ore Dei* (Vg VL9 VL11 (VL6)) but it does preserve some Old Latin

³⁸² Pseudo-Chrysostomus 'Chrysostomus Latinus', *Sermo 21*, (CPL 922, PLS 4, 793).

³⁸³ Augustine, *Sermones Nouissimi* (a F. Dolbeau in cod. Mainz, Stadtbibl. I 9 detecti), 13D (=159A), 8.

³⁸⁴ We can be sure that Augustine's source had the standard order for he quotes 1 John 2:16 correctly a few lines earlier in *De Vera Religione*, 38,70: *concupiscentia carnis est et concupiscentia oculorum et ambitio saeculi* (CCSL 32, 233). Augustine again manipulates the order of 1 John 2:16 to interpret the Temptations in a Lukan order in his Exposition on Psalm 8:13 before using the verse a third time to interpret the Temptations at much later date, with the same comparisons but this time in the Matthean order, in his commentary on the 1st Epistle of John, 2.

³⁸⁵ For the text's dating and African origin see Leroy (2004).

³⁸⁶ AU rel 199.

African readings, such as *si prostratus adoraueris me* (VL1, AU).³⁸⁷ Furthermore, it contains a number of specific readings that can also be found in Sedulius's text, such as the repetition of *repulit... repellens* to describe the devil's unsuccessful temptation attempts, which is paralleled by Sedulius's *repulsus... hoste repulso* and, most significantly of all, the curious phrase uttered by the devil before the temptations *Aut iste est ut primus homo, et decipio eum: aut si ipse est Christus confusus recedo*. This finds a very close parallel in Sedulius's comment after the third temptation that *et ualidi confossus cuspide uerbi... fugit*.³⁸⁸

The third text, one of the recently discovered Mainz Sermons of Augustine, contains too little text for meaningful comparison but repeats the pattern found in these two texts. The Temptations episode is this time used as an example of the importance of scripture and preserves a Matthean text, once again set in a Lukan order, this time without mention of 1 John 2:16. However, Augustine's sermon does include much the same vocabulary as found in the Latin Chrysostom, for example after the devil is foiled in his second temptation, Augustine writes: *At ubi uidit se ille callidus serpens bis numero ex lege repulsum*. After the devil is foiled for the final time, he writes: *Et hic ex eadem lege uulnerauit inimicum, prostrauit, confusum abire fecit*. Therefore, three African texts provide the same version of the Temptations but used in quite different contexts: the first in the *De Vera Religione* as an example of how to overcome worldly temptations, second in Latin Chrysostom's sermon on the Fall as a demonstration of how Jesus redeemed man from the Original Sin, and finally as an example of how to overcome those who wish to remove the Christian from adherence to the Scriptures. However, what unites the three texts is the instructional nature of the Temptations episode and we may speculate that this version of the Temptations existed in North Africa as some sort of catechetical text.

While it is very possible that a Matthean text in Lukan order such as the one that appears to have existed in Africa around the close of the 4th century could be the same as the base text used by Sedulius, there are a number of obstacles to this theory. First and foremost, Sedulius's text is not exclusively Matthean, containing Lukan readings at

³⁸⁷ AU rel 199.

³⁸⁸ Heumer's edition reads *confossus... cuspide uerbi*, but *confusus* is found in the oldest manuscript containing Sedulius's works, the Taurinensis (E. IV 44). Given the similarities between Sedulius's passage and the passage found in the Latin Chrysostomus, there is an argument for accepting the older reading. On the other hand, *confossus* fits with the military metaphor of *cuspide*.

least two points: at verse 175 Sedulius's *sacro spiramine plenum (Iesum)* is surely a poetic rendering of Luke 4:1, *Iesus autem plenus spiritu sancto*, avoiding the troublesome cretic in *spiritu*.³⁸⁹ Furthermore, at line 206 Sedulius's text reads *Angelicis subuectus eas ut tutior ulnis*, a rendering of Psalm 90:11-12 as found in Luke 4:10 that reads *angelis suis mandabit de te ut conseruent te*. In Matthew, the devil misquotes Psalm 90 and the second part of verse 11 is omitted, whereas it is partly included in Luke as well as in Sedulius's text. Since Augustine's text is entirely Matthean such a detail is absent; however, Psalm 90:11-12 is quoted in its entirety in the Latin Chrysostom: *ut custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis*...³⁹⁰ It is therefore possible that the African text preserved the Lukan reading in some form. Second, apart from the odd isolated citation, above all in his exegesis of the Lord's Prayer, Sedulius does not show any contact with an African text type. Yet regarding this point there is evidence that the tradition found in the three African texts above also could be found in Italy, as homily 15 in the *Opus Imperfectum* begins with an allegorical understanding of the Temptations, yet again in a Lukan order, though the work is a commentary on Matthew, and with the three temptations understood as allegories for *gula, auaritia* and *uana gloria*.³⁹¹ This text uses the Temptations passage as an encouragement for the audience to commit to alms-giving, praying and fasting and this edificatory setting is one that tallies well with Sedulius's use of the Temptations passage.³⁹² Finally, Augustine makes clear in the *de consensu evangelistarum* that the difference in episode order between Matthew and Luke is of no consequence.³⁹³ It is therefore a possibility that Sedulius altered the episode order to conform with his exegesis, which highlights the two natures of Christ in his responses to the devil. Interestingly, Sedulius makes specific use of the episode order in his exegesis of the Temptations, which he sees as an attack on Jesus's humanity by the devil who dares not attack his divinity.³⁹⁴ In the first temptation Sedulius says that Jesus responds to this attack in the manner of a man; in the second (worldly goods) from his human nature; and in the last (the temple), revealing himself

³⁸⁹ See Moretti Pieri (1969: 134).

³⁹⁰ Pseudo-Iohannes Chrysostomus 'Chrysostomus Latinus', *Sermo 21* (PLS 4, 794).

³⁹¹ Pseudo-Chrysostomus, *Opus Imperfectum In Mattheum*, 15: omnium malorum prima et fortiora sunt tria mala: id est, gula, auaritia, et uana gloria. Aduersus quae Dominus tentationis suscipiens bellum, pugnavit pro nobis. Contra gulam in eremo, contra auaritiam super montem, contra uanam gloriam super templum (PG 56, 715). Homily five, where the passage is treated at length, preserves the normal Matthean order. This pattern where the Matthean order is used for the commentary proper and Lukan order in a later passage reflecting on the Temptations is also found in Ephrem.

³⁹² It is worth noting that the *De Lapsu Primi Homini* is used as a lectionary reading in Paul Deacon's homiliary prior to Lent for the *In Sexagesima* mass. See Grégoire (1966: 87).

³⁹³ Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, 2,16,33.

³⁹⁴ *PO* 2,14, p.215, 8-9: nec audebat adgredi diuinitatem, nisi mixtum uideret hominem.

to be God and the Lord he prevents the devil from going further in his endeavours.³⁹⁵ While this would explain Sedulius's choice to follow the Lukan order, it raises other questions, such as why, if the episode order was so inconsequential, did Sedulius simply not rearrange the episodes of Matthew to fit his exegesis? Or more specifically, why did Sedulius feel it necessary to cite from Luke for the worldly goods temptation, placing it in the middle of the Matthean sequence and text?

Much of the exegesis found in Sedulius's version of the Temptations in the *PO* can also be found in homily five in the *Opus Imperfectum*, which interprets the Temptations, here in the Matthean order rather than the Lukan order as in homily fifteen of the same work, to the effect that Jesus also answers according to his human nature until he decides that it is time to put an end to the devil's tempting by revealing his divine nature.³⁹⁶ For the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, the words *vade retro satanas* signal the end of Jesus's patience with the devil and the revelation of his divinity, which is prompted by the devil's attempt to assume divine honours for himself.³⁹⁷ The revelation of Jesus's divine nature fits with Sedulius's exegesis of the final temptation (the temple), but he gives no explanation as to why this temptation should be the moment that Jesus reveals his divinity in his own version of the Temptations rather than the world goods temptation as in the *Opus Imperfectum*. Nor, for that matter does Sedulius include the words *vade retro Satanas* anywhere in his account of the Temptations, either in the *PC* or the *PO*. Thus it is impossible to know whether these words also signalled the revelation of Jesus's divinity for Sedulius, as they did for the author of the *Opus Imperfectum*, and where they appeared, if at all, in his base text.

However, homily five of the *Opus Imperfectum* suggests that the exegesis found in Sedulius was equally valid in a Matthean order for the Temptations as it was in the

³⁹⁵ *PO* 2,14, p.216, 10-11: velut homo respondit; p.217, 4-5: adhuc ex humana cernitur respondere persona; p. 218, 8: hic Dominum Deumque sese iam pandens tales ergo ultra conatus adsumere prohibet temptatorem.

³⁹⁶ Pseudo-Chrysostomus, *Opus Imperfectum In Mattheum*, 5: quid aliud poterat respondere et Filius Dei abscondens se, ut non ostendatur quod non potest. (PG 56, 665); non dixit "non tentabis me Dominum Deum tuum", ne se manifestaret Deum: sed ita, non tentabis dominum Deum tuum: quod poterat dicere et omnis homo Dei, tentatus a diabolo (PG 56, 666); finem tentandi diabolo imponit dicens 'vade retro satanas' ut ne progrediatur ulterius tentans (PG 56, 668).

³⁹⁷ Pseudo-Chrysostomus, *Opus Imperfectum In Mattheum*, 5: adhuc vide, cum Christus in prima tentatione passus fuisset tentationis injuriam... non est exasperatus, nec in increpationem vel abjectionem eius est excitatus... similiter et in secunda, quamvis esset injuriatus... turbatus non est, nec increpans ei dixit 'vade retro satana'. Nunc autem quando diabolus Dei sibi praesumpsit honorem... exasperatus est, et iratus est, et increpavit eum et repulit dicens 'vade retro satana' (PG 56, 668).

Lukan order. Thus it appears unlikely that Sedulius would have altered the order of his text to suit his exegesis. On the other hand, Sedulius's text and exegesis for the *PC* episode at least could have come from a single source, one that was adapted for use in the *PO* with the addition of text from a different source. The following analysis of the individual episodes of Sedulius's Temptations suggests that the *PC* version was entirely Matthean, which would support this two-source hypothesis.

4:1-4. First Temptation

PO 2,14, p.214, 15-19

Tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum a spiritu, ut temptaretur a diabolo. et cum ieiunasset quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, postea esuriit. et accedens ad eum temptator dixit ei: si Filius Dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant.

PO 2,14, p.216, 6

respondens ergo Dominus Satanae sic dixit: **scriptum est: non in solo pane uiuit homo, sed in omni uerbo, quod procedit de ore Dei.**

PC 2,175-185

*Inde quater denis iam noctibus atque diebus
Ieiunum dapibus, sacro Spiramine plenum,
Insidiis temptator adit doctusque per artem
Fallaces offerre dapes: si filius, inquit,
Cerneris esse Dei, **dic ut lapis iste repente
In panis uertatur opem, miracula tamquam
Haec eadem non semper agat, qui saxea terrae
Viscera frugiferis animans fecundat aristis
Et panem de caute creat. Hac ergo repulsus
Voce prius hominem non solo uiuere pane
Sed cuncto sermone Dei***

VL1, the Bobiensis is lacking for the first verse of book four and we are dependent on the readings found in African patristic works to form some idea of an African text-type. The texts found in the Vulgate and **I** witnesses are largely the same with only minor

variables largely stemming from liturgical forms such as *in illo tempore* or the addition of *dominus noster* to Jesus, both found in the Liber Commicus (VL56). **K** probably would read *in eremo* as the translation for *εἰς τὴν ἔρημον*, the reading found thrice in Augustine, once in Priscillian and once in the aforementioned 15th homily in the *Opus Imperfectum*.³⁹⁸ Sedulius's *PO* text contains one minor Old Latin reading, the use of *a spiritu* to render *ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος*, though the oldest *PO* witness (**C**) reads *ab spiritu*. *a spritu* is only found in VL5, VL6 and VL30 amongst codices.³⁹⁹

There are no major variant sites in Matthew 4:2 with three of the four variants found in VL5, which renders the Greek text with greater fidelity. In Matthew 4:3 however, there are a number of important variants. First, there is what appears to be a Vulgate specific reading in the use of *accedens* to render *προσελθὼν* where **K** and **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL12 LV41) read *accessit*. Sedulius's *PO* text includes the Vulgate reading whereas his *PC* text appears to follow the Old Latin reading with the perfect *adit* (2,177).⁴⁰⁰ Next another Vulgate reading is found in the removal of *ad eum* to bring the text closer to the Alexandrian tradition (**B03**). Sedulius's *PO* text retains the Old Latin reading, which is found in **I** witnesses (**K**: *ad illum*). Finally, for verse 4:3, **K** omits the *dic ut* construction found in the other traditions as a translation of *εἰπὲ ἴνα*, but this is probably some sort of transmission error as Tertullian's text has *dic ut*.⁴⁰¹ Sedulius's *PC* text appears to repeat this structure with *dic ut lapis iste...*; this is at odds with the text of Augustine whose text, apart from the *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, which is Vulgate,⁴⁰² always reads *dic lapidibus istis ut...*⁴⁰³

The following verse 4:4 also contains a probable Vulgate reading, absent from the 'Western text' (**D05**) and only found outside of the Vulgate in mixed texts, the rendering of *ἐν/ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ* as *in omni uerbo quod procedit*

³⁹⁸ **AU** Ps 60,3,14; s 263,4; Ps 94,14,8; **PRIS** tr 4; **AN** Mt h 15.

³⁹⁹ There is a certain ambiguity in the understanding of *spiritus* in Mark 1:12, as to whether 'The Spirit', 'a spirit' or 'Jesus's spirit' drove him out into the desert. This is reflected in the Old Latin tradition with τὸ πνεῦμα variously translated as *Spiritus* (Vulgate, VL3), *Spiritus Sanctus* (VL5) or simply *spiritus* (VL4 VL6 VL8 VL10 VL11 VL14 VL15 VL19).

⁴⁰⁰ Sedulius's text of the first temptation begins with *Insidiis temptator adit*, the tempter approached him with traps. Moretti Pieri (1969: 135) regards this as drawn from the Vulgate text of Matthew 4:3 *accedens temptator*, seeing the replacement of the participial phrase by a finite verb as Sedulius's effort to bring more precision to the passage. Against this however, stands the Old Latin sources, which all have *accessit*. Rather than an adaption of the Vulgate, it is more likely that Sedulius was simply following Old Latin Matthew 4:3.

⁴⁰¹ **TE** Pra 1,2.

⁴⁰² **AU** Ev 2,33.

⁴⁰³ **AU** 1 Jo 2,14; Ps 8,13,47; Ps 30 en 2 s 1,10,16; Ps 36 s 3,5,6; 90 s 2,6,34; rel 198; s 123,2; s Dol 14,8.

de ore Dei. Both the African text and **I** witnesses follow the 'Western text' of ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι θεοῦ. Although **K** omits the end of the line altogether, Cyprian's text provides a likely African example with the text *in sermone dei*.⁴⁰⁴ The reading in **I** and mixed text witnesses is generally *in omni uerbo Dei* (VL4 VL41 VL5 VL7 VL41 VL48), but VL12 preserves the reading *in omni uerbo procedenti ex ore Dei*, suggesting a revision against a Byzantine/Alexandrian Greek text independent of the Vulgate. Sedulius's text in the *PO* contains the Vulgate reading, whereas his *PC* text at 2,185, *cuncto sermone Dei* suggests an Old Latin text.⁴⁰⁵

4:8-10. Second Temptation

The *PO* text of the second temptation is clearly taken from Luke and has been analysed in chapter four. The *PC* text on the other hand appears closer to Matthew than to Luke as the following comparison shows:

<i>PC</i> 2,187-97	Codex Bobiensis (VL1)	Codex Palatinus (VL2)
vv. 187-8 Cum Domino <u>montana</u> petit <u>cunctasque per orbem</u> <u>Regnorum</u> monstrauit <u>opes</u> :	Mt. 4:7 iterum adsumpsit illum diabolus in <u>montem</u> altum nimis et ostendit Mt. 4:8 illi <u>omnia regna</u> huius mundi et claritatem illorum	Lk. 4:5 et inposuit illum secundo supra <u>montem</u> ostendit illi <u>omnia regna</u> <u>orbis</u> terrae in puncto temporis Lk. 4:6 et dixit ad illum diauolus tibi dabo potestatem istorum omnium et claritatem illorum quia mihi tradita sunt et cui uolo do illa.
vv. 188-9 haec omnia, dicens, Me tribuente feres, <i>si me</i> <u>prostratus</u> adores	Mt. 4:9 et dixit illi haec omnia tibi dabo <u>si prostratus adoraueris</u> <u>me</u>	Lk. 4:7 tu ergo si <u>prostratus adoraueris</u> in conspectu meo, erit tua omnes.

⁴⁰⁴ **CY** ep 76.

⁴⁰⁵ Moretti Pieri (1969: 136) suggests that Sedulius's *sed cuncto sermone Dei* is a rendering of the Vulgate Matthean reading *sed in omni uerbo quod procedit de ore Dei*. This seems implausible; instead, it appears an almost word for word adaptation of *sed omni uerbo Dei* found in the Lukan text and in several Old Latin Matthean witnesses.

PC 2,187-97	Codex Bobiensis (VL1)	Codex Palatinus (VL2)
vv. 196-7. Christus ad haec: tantum <u>Dominum</u> scriptura <u>Deumque</u> Iussit <u>adorari</u> et <u>soli</u> famularier uni.	Mt. 4:10 Tunc dicit illi Iesus: Vade Satanas. Scriptum est <u>Dominum Deum tuum</u> <u>adorabis et illi soli seruies.</u>	Lk. 4:8 Et repondens Iesus dixit: Vade retro Satanus. Scriptum est: <u>Dominum Deum tuum adorauis et</u> <u>illi soli seruies.</u>

Sedulius's passage has been placed alongside the two codices representing the African Old Latin tradition, the Bobiensis for Matthew and the Palatinus for Luke, as these are the only codices that feature *prostratus adoraueris*, a phrase rendered by Sedulius as *prostratus adores*. This is the only instance of *prostratus* in Sedulius's text and it does not appear to be a replacement for the un-metrical *procidens* found in the majority of Old Latin codices (which could be replaced by *cadens* in any case).⁴⁰⁶

As evident in the above comparison, if we decide Sedulius's textual source on lexical criteria alone, then this passage could have been taken either from Luke or Matthew; the few Matthean or Lukan specific words are hardly conclusive. If anything *cunctasque per orbem regnorum monstrauit opes* shares more lexical similarities, in the common use of *orbs*, with the Lukan verse *ostendit illi omnia regna orbis* than the Matthean *et ostendit illi omnia regna huius mundi*. Hypallage sees the *cunctas opes regnorum* replace *omnia regna...* with the genitive *orbis* rendered by *per orbem*; however, metrical considerations may lie behind Sedulius's choice of *per orbem*, a phrase that Sedulius uses elsewhere for *mundus* to complete the hexameter.⁴⁰⁷ On the other hand, the second part appears clearly more Matthean, in the omission of a prepositional phrase after *adoraueris*, which is found in all but two (VL11 VL14) of the Lukan witnesses against the use of *adoraueris* with a direct object as in all the Matthean codices as well as in the rendering of *dixit*.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ Moretti Pieri (1969: 139) attributes Sedulius's use of the word to personal choice, perhaps in order to add a 'classical note' to the passage. This appears unlikely given that the word is not part of the Sedulian lexicon, although it could be argued that *prostratus* renders the idea of the Greek *προσκυνήσης* more vividly than *procidens*. However, given that there is little evidence that Sedulius had any contact with the Greek tradition, it appears more likely that his use of *prostratus* is because he encountered the word in the Latin tradition.

⁴⁰⁷ PC 3,287: ut maior sit nostra fides, nunc esse per orbem. See Moretti Pieri (1969: 137).

⁴⁰⁸ Moretti Pieri (1969: 138) sees *me tribuente feres* as a rendering of the Lukan *tibi dabo... erunt tua*, on the basis that *feres* shifts the focus from the giver to the receiver, as does the Lukan *erunt tua* but not the Matthean *tibi dabo*. While this is possible, the Ovidian allusion rather muddies the water and makes such a hypothesis precarious.

Lexically, therefore, the passage shows possible Lukan dependence in the opening verses before displaying probable Matthean dependence. However, in addition to these lexical findings, the structure of the passage strongly suggests that Sedulius used a Matthean passage. Drawing on a source that would have had no verse separation, the opening lines, *cum... opes*, succinctly paraphrase the Matthean sentence spread over verses 4:7 and 4:8. Such faithfulness to the text is in accordance with the programme of ‘departing only very slightly from the heavenly scriptures’ that Sedulius outlines in his 1st prefatory letter to Macedonius.⁴⁰⁹ On the other hand, there is nothing in Sedulius’s text that replicates Luke 4:6 where the devil states that he has been granted the power and glory of the kingdoms and he gives them to whomever he chooses. Furthermore, Sedulius’s word order in vv. 188-9 is Matthean, beginning with *haec omnia* and concluding with *si me prostratus adores*, whereas in Luke the word order is reversed. If we accept a Matthean source for the passage, the only variant site that has survived Sedulius's paraphrasis is *prostratus*, a clearly African reading that is only found in **K**, Augustine, Eusebius of Emesa and the Latin Pseudo-Chrysostomus, with **I** reading *procidens* and the Vulgate *cadens*.⁴¹⁰

4:5-7. Third Temptation

PO 2,14, p.217, 10-15.

Tunc **assumpsit eum diabolus** in sanctam ciuitatem et statuit eum **supra pinnaculum** templi et **dixit ei**: si filius **Dei es**, **mitte te** deorsum, scriptum est enim **quia** angelis suis **mandauit de te et in manibus tollent** te [ne forte offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum]...

PO 2,14, p.217, 18 - p.218, 4

ecce dicens *si Filius Dei es*, ostendit hoc se nescire. cum quaerit dicens iterum angelis suis **mandauit de te**, confitetur hunc esse, quem cernit, sed ancipitis usus uarietate sermonis simulator ac dissimulator inuentus, mendax suis artibus adprobatur. nec solius fallaciae, sed etiam stultitiae domus est cor malignum. quid enim poterit ineptius

⁴⁰⁹ *Epistola Ad Macedonium I*, p.6, 4-5: paululum ab scripturis celsioribus uacans.

⁴¹⁰ **AU** ci 11,33; **I Jo** 2,14; rel 198; s **Dol** 14,8; **EUS-E** 15,11; **JO-N** 29.

repperiri quam ut illum crederet licet *alta sublimis templi fastigia* et *cacumen excelsi pinnaculi* saltu formidare praecipiti, qui ut planis uideretur in terris de summa caelorum arce descendit...

PO 2,14, p.218, 7-8

igitur deficientis audaciam sic eloquens perculit uox diuina: **scriptum est**: non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum.

PO 2,15, p.218, 13-17

Ait ergo lectionis instructio: tunc **reliquit eum diabolus**, et ecce **angeli accesserunt** et ministrabant ei. uidetur ut arbitror in hoc diaboli fugienti abscessu et ministerio consequenter angelico quandam paschalis gloriae declarare praecedentibus signis imaginem.

PC 2,201-19

Tunc adsumpsit eum sanctam sceleratus in urbem,

Et statuens alti supra fastigia templi:

Si natum genitore Deo tete adseris, inquit,

Inpiger e summo dilapsus labere tecto.

Nam scriptura docet de te mandasse Tonantem,

Angelicis subuectus eas ut tutior ulnis,

Ad lapidem ne forte pedem conlidere possis.

O quam caeca gerit nigro sub pectore corda

Mens tenebris obscura suis! hunc ardua templi

Culmina et erectae quamuis fastigia pinnae

Credidit in praeceps horrescere, maxima summi

Curuauit qui membra poli caelosque per omnes

Vectus in extremae descendit humillima terrae,

Inferiora petens et non excelsa relinquens.

Dixerat, et ualidi confossus cuspide uerbi,

Quod temptare suum Dominumque Deumque nequiret,

Victoris fugit ora gemens. tunc hoste repulso

Caelicolae adsistunt proceres coetusque micantes,

Angelici Christo famulantur rite ministri.

Sedulius's *PO* text contains an apparent Vulgate specific reading in *pinnaculum*, used by Jerome to translate τὸ πτερόγιον (**K**: *fastigium*; **I**: *pinna*), that is only found in VL11 VL15 VL35 and VL56 among mixed texts and in no unmixed Old Latin codex.⁴¹¹ The *PC* on the other hand contains *fastigia* at 2,202, although it worth noting that Sedulius's exegetical text in the *PO* contains variants of both *fastigia* and *pinnaculum*, just as his the parallel passage in the *PC* contains both *fastigia* and *pinnae*.

It is Moretti Pieri's opinion that *pinna*, and not *fastigium*, is the word found in Sedulius's biblical base text for the *PC* on the basis that it is unlikely that both *pinna* and *fastigium* were present together in Sedulius's text and thus of the two *pinna* is the likelier candidate.⁴¹² In turn, she explains the presence of *fastigium* at line 202 (but not the second occurrence at line 210) by referring to a suggestion by Mayr that *fastigium templi* is an allusion to *Aeneid*. 8.366, describing Evander's house as seen by Aeneas (*at angusti subter fastigia tecti / ingentem Aeneam duxit*).⁴¹³ This is very possible but a deliberate allusion would require us to understand an association between the Temple, the symbol of Jewish and Christian faith,⁴¹⁴ and the pantheon of Greco-Roman gods, represented by the home of Evander, the bringer of Greek divinities to Italy. Sedulius uses imitation of classical passages portraying Greco-Roman gods in the *PC*, but to portray Jesus as the conqueror or superior of these gods, not their heir or equal.⁴¹⁵

Furthermore, it should not be necessary to look for a classical allusion where Sedulius's text can be understood through the biblical base text. In Augustine's *De Vera Religione*, which follows the Lukan order like Sedulius, *fastigium* is also found as the translation of τὸ πτερόγιον.⁴¹⁶ It occurs also in the Bobiensis (VL1) in Matthew and the Palatinus (VL2) in the equivalent Lukan passage, as well as in Hilary.⁴¹⁷ It appears more than possible that *fastigia* could come from Sedulius's biblical text therefore, especially given the apparent link to Augustine's text. On the other hand, the word *pinna* was so widespread in its use in patristic commentaries, homilies and sermons on the

⁴¹¹ For details of Jerome's translation technique for τὸ πτερόγιον, see Burton (2000: 195).

⁴¹² Moretti Pieri (1969: 141).

⁴¹³ *ibid*, 140. Mayr (1916: 39).

⁴¹⁴ Maximus of Turin, *s.* 70,2: *super hanc ergo pinnae templi saluator stare dicitur, hoc est quasi in quodam templo fidei nostrae consistere, unde ait apostolus: 'Vos estis templum dei, et spiritus dei habitat in uobis'* (CCSL 23, 294). Also see Hilary, *In Matthaeum Commentarius*, 3,4; Arnobius, *Expositiunculae In Matthaeum*, 5.

⁴¹⁵ see especially van der Laan (1993).

⁴¹⁶ **AU** Rel 199.

⁴¹⁷ **HIL** Ps 138,6.

Temptations that it would be impossible for Sedulius not to have encountered the word in this context.⁴¹⁸

On the other hand, the remaining variant sites in the passage are generally closer to **I** witnesses than to **K**, both in the *PO* and the *PC*. *αὐτὸν* is translated as *eum* (**K**: *illum*) at *PO* 2,14, p.217, 10 at *PC* 2,201, while *assumpsit* is generally the reading found as the translation of *παραλαμβάνει* in all traditions, though the Stuttgart Vulgate prefers the perfect *adsumit*, a Vulgate specific reading found only in the codices Mediolanensis and Fuldensis among principal Vulgate witnesses.⁴¹⁹ Again with *supra* both the *PO* and the *PC* text agree with **I** witnesses and the Vulgate against **K**, which reads *super*, a reading that would make no metrical difference to Sedulius's verse. Thus in two out of four variants the *PC* text is closer to **I** witnesses than **K**, though it could be argued that these variants are minor.

In verse 4:6, Sedulius's *PO* text is mainly Vulgate but contains one Old Latin reading, *mandauit*, which stands for *ἐντελεῖται*, which is rendered by the future *mandabit* in the Vulgate. The origin of this reading is likely due to a spelling or pronunciation variant of *mandabit*, but it evidently had a certain staying power in the Latin tradition as it is found from the time of Tertullian and is even the reading in the majority of Vulgate witnesses including the Clementine Vulgate, with only the Mediolanensis and Alcuin's recension preserving *mandabit*.⁴²⁰ This variant is not restricted to the Matthew as *mandauit* is also found in the Roman Psalter of Psalm 90:11 but not in the best witnesses of the Gallican Psalter. It is probable that *mandauit* is also the reading behind the text of the *PC*, which preserves the perfect infinitive *mandasse* at line 205; however, one must also consider the possibility that Sedulius used the perfect infinitive as an alternative to the present infinitive.⁴²¹ For the other major readings in the passage it is apparent the *PC* and the *PO* are based on different texts. The *PO* preserves the

⁴¹⁸ The use of *pinna* at 210 could have been suggested by Psalm 17:11: *et ascendit super cherubin et uolauit uolauit super pinnas uentorum*. Sedulius interprets the second temptation using the previous verse *et inclinauit caelos et descendit*, both at line 211-12 in the *PC* *qui membra poli caelosque per omnes / Vectus in extremae descendit humillima terrae* and in the equivalent position in the *PO* 2,14, 4-5, p.218. Similarly, Ps. 103:3, *et ambulauit super pinnas uentorum*, is used by Maximus of Turin to interpret Jesus's placement on the top of the temple, *s.* 70,2 (CCSL 23, 293-4).

⁴¹⁹ Mediolanensis, Milano, Bibl. Ambros. C. 39 inf.

⁴²⁰ **TE** Pra 1,2.

⁴²¹ It is not immediately apparent what advantage would be gained by using the perfect infinitive over the present infinitive, given that they are metrically identical (in the syncopated perfect) and there does not appear to be any future force in the verb *docet* that would explain a perfect infinitive standing for a future perfect or future finite verb. See Howard (1890).

construction *et... tollent* as part of the devil's quote of Psalm 90:11, which is the reading found in the Vulgate and VL5 in accordance with the Greek text of Matthew (but not Psalm 90:11). The Old Latin tradition, found in **K, I** and Tertullian, which the *PC* text is clearly following with the use of *eas ut* at line 206, is the same as that found in the Roman and Gallican traditions of Psalm 90:11.⁴²² There are two other readings of potential significance; the omission of *de te* in **K** is not representative of the African tradition, with Tertullian reading *super te* and *de te* is found in Pseudo-Chrysostomus and all of Augustine's citations.⁴²³

Moretti Pieri saw in Sedulius's use of the word *tutior* at 2,206 evidence for dependence on the Lukan version of verse Lk. 4:10, *scriptum est enim quod angelis suis mandabit de te ut conseruent te*. The final part of this verse 'that the Angels keep Jesus safe' is absent from Matthew, as Luke keeps closer to Psalm 90:11. However, it is a common feature of patristic versions of this temptation, in addition to three codices, VL3 VL35 and VL48, to include this part of Psalm 90.⁴²⁴ Indeed, the other African text that preserves the Lukan order with a Matthean text, Pseudo-Chrysostomus's *De Lapsu Primi Hominis*, quotes from Psalm 90:11 in full:

*Leuauit eum similiter in pinnam templi, et ait ei: Mitte te deorsum, quia angelis suis mandauit de te, ut custodiant te in omnibus uis tuis: in manibus tollent te, ne quando offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum.*⁴²⁵

Augustine does not quote the line and we cannot tell whether his text similarly contained all of Psalm 90:11-2. However, if Sedulius is following this African tradition, it is possible that the source of *tutior* is not Luke but Psalm 90:11-2 itself. Such widespread use of this practice of inserting psalm 90 certainly weakens Moretti Pieri's argument with regards to the source of *tutior*. Finally, it is worth noting that Sedulius's text of the devil's quote of Psalm 90:11 has been omitted in the best manuscripts (**CPR**; in **F** it is included but clearly from the scribe's memory).

⁴²² **TE** Pra 1,2.

⁴²³ **TE** Pra 1,2; **AU** Ps 30 en s 1,10,17; Ps 90 s 2,3,6; s 2,6,5; s 2,7,33; s 81,4; s Dol 14,8; s Geu 28,4; I Jo 2,14; **JO-N** 29.

⁴²⁴ Other authors that preserve *ut custodiant te* in Matthean text are **AN** h Bel 22; **CHRY** V,1220; **HI** Ps h 20; **PS-HI** bre 90; **PS-VALs** mon; **VINC** com 26,1.

⁴²⁵ Pseudo-Chrysostomus Latinus, *De Lapsu Primi Hominis* (PLS 4, 793).

Sedulius's text of Jesus's response, the quotation of Deuteronomy 6:16, contains no significant variant sites and in accordance with the Lukan order the next verse is the final verse, Matthew 4:11. There are again few variants, but **K** and **VL7** have *discessit* in place of *reliquit*. Sedulius's *PO* text agrees with that found in **I** and the Vulgate. The *PC* text has no variants that could be used to distinguish its biblical base text.

Thus overall in Sedulius's text of the Temptations there are three places where Sedulius's *PO* text agrees with the reading found in the Vulgate against the European and African Old Latin traditions and five places in the *PC* where the text agrees with the European or African Old Latin tradition against the Vulgate. In addition, one of the above readings (*PC* 2,189) shows agreement with the Matthean text in the *PC* but in the *PO* Sedulius uses a Lukan quotation. This is not restricted to this reading alone; in fact, there is little evidence that Sedulius is following Luke at all during the second temptation in the *PC*.⁴²⁶ Thus two preliminary conclusions can be made concerning the biblical sources Sedulius used for the Temptations: first, he used a Vulgate source in the *PO* but an Old Latin source in the *PC* and second, the *PC* source was predominantly a Matthean text throughout but in a Lukan order.

Sedulius is certainly using a text that is close to the Vulgate in the *PO* for his Matthean citations of the Temptations. It is possible that this text is taken from a secondary source, such as Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, which contains a Vulgate text very similar to Sedulius's for the text of Matthew 4:1-4 and 4:11. If Sedulius were using such a text it would explain why he switched to Luke for the Second Temptation, if he did not have another Vulgate source of Matthew to hand. It would not however explain from where he took Matthew 4:5-7. It has also been shown that a tradition of the Temptations existed in North Africa and Italy in the 5th century that placed the Matthean text in a Lukan order. The Latin of Sedulius's *PC* text bears some similarities with the African tradition and is closer to Augustine's text in the *De Vera Religione* than the text found in **VL1**, which has a number of unique readings. Contextual and linguistic variants also suggest that Sedulius may have used a text belonging to this

⁴²⁶ The analysis of Mayr (1916: 39) assumed that Sedulius was following Luke for the Second Temptation in the *PC* as he did in the *PO*, but Moretti Pieri (1969: 136-7) found scant evidence of Lukan dependence in her subsequent analysis. Any analysis is complicated by the Matthean contamination of the Lukan passage in the Old Latin tradition and Sedulius's own classical allusions, e.g. the Ovidian allusion in *me tribuente feres* (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2,44-5: *quouis pete munus ut illud / me tribuente feres*).

tradition. In terms of exegesis, Sedulius's text is close to that found in homily five of the *Opus Imperfectum* and precisely because this homily preserves a Matthean order, there appears little reason that Sedulius would have altered the text sequence of the Temptations to fit his exegesis. It appears more likely that the tradition seen in the *Opus Imperfectum* also existed in Old Latin, in a Lukan order for the Temptations and that Sedulius used such a source, perhaps in the form of catechetical document on the Temptations, for the passage in the *PC*, before adapting the passage for the *PO* according to a Vulgate text.

5:34-35 & 11:29. Correct use of Oaths & The Light Burden and Easy Yoke.

PO 1,27, p.192, 2-14

audiamus ipsum quoque rerum omnium conditorem in euangeliis suis, sacrosancto sermone cuius esse memorarit hanc urbem: dico, inquit, uobis **non iurare omnino**, neque **per caelum, quia thronus Dei est**, neque **per terram, quia scabellum est pedum eius**, neque **per Hierusalem, quia ciuitas magni regis est**. tamquam si diceret mea, quod apertius dissimulauit exprimere ut humilitate sermonis culmen suae panderet maiestatis. ita enim cum doceret, ammonuit dicens: tollite iugum meum super uos et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde.

Both passages appear in conjunction as part of Sedulius's exegesis towards the end of the first book of the *PO*, concerning the glory of the City of God as compared with Rome, and neither passage is found in the *PC*. The passages are inserted immediately after a quote of Psalm 147, which in turn is used alongside Virgil's *Eclogue* 1,26 (*et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa uidendi? Libertas...*) to assert the superiority of the City of God over the City of Rome.

Matthew 5:34-5 is the first of five citations taken by Sedulius (including the Lord's Prayer) from Matthew's account of Jesus's Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5:1 - 7:29). There are few variants in the Latin tradition and the text found in the Vulgate and I witnesses are identical. However, there are several variants in the African tradition, some of which are also found in certain North East Italian patristic authors. ὁλως in

Matthew 5:34 is translated as *omnino* in the European traditions but as *in totum/toto* in **K**, Cyprian, Pelagius and the Latin Iraeneus.⁴²⁷ A second African reading is the translation of *ὅτι* by *quoniam* that is found in **K**, the African bishop Evodius and the Latin Iraeneus.⁴²⁸ A third African reading found in **K** and the majority of European manuscripts is the translation of *θρόνος* by *thronus*, which is found in **I** witnesses and the Vulgate in addition to **K**.⁴²⁹ The 'European' reading *sedes* is found in the Bezae (VL5) and the Claromontanus (VL12) and a number of patristic writers, in particular Hilary, the Pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum*, Augustine himself and Rufinus.⁴³⁰ Other variants are the translation of *μὴ ὀμόσαι* as *non iurabis* or as *ne iuretis* but both of these readings remain unusual, with the majority of patristic citations, such as the majority of Augustine's citations, the *Opus Imperfectum* and Chromatius conforming to the type found in the Vulgate and **I** witnesses, which is also Sedulius's text.⁴³¹

Matthew 11:29 follows immediately after 5:34-35 in Sedulius's *PO* text. It is not found in the *PC* and is considered here due to its use in conjunction with Matthew 5:34-5, although, as yet, I have found no comparable use of these two Matthean verses in the context of the City of God. The text is taken from Jesus's offer to all who hear Him to take on the yoke of submission to His Father's will found at the end of chapter eleven and is one of the most consistent and stable verses in the entire Gospel, it is also one of the most oft-quoted (cited over 40 times by Augustine alone!). The only variants are the translation of *πραῦς* by *mansuetus* rather than *mitis* in some patristic sources,⁴³² and the translation of *ὅτι* by *quoniam*, frequently found in Augustine and once in Hilary.⁴³³ All codices, as well as Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Ambrosiaster & the *Opus Imperfectum* quote the same text, as it is found in Sedulius.

⁴²⁷ **CY** te 3,12; **IR** 4,2,5; 4,31,1; **PEL** Mor B 1.

⁴²⁸ **EVO** fi 37; **IR** 4,2,5.

⁴²⁹ For the translation of *θρόνος* see von Soden (1909: 318).

⁴³⁰ **HIL** Mt 4,24; **AU** ad 10; s. 1,5; **PS-AU** spe 41; **RUF** pri 2,4,1; **EVO** fi 37; **AN** scrip 1,16.

⁴³¹ non iurabis: **HIL** mt 4,24; **AU** ad 10; **EVO** fi 37; ne.. iuretis: **VL12**; **PS-AU** Spe 41; **AN** scrip 1,16.

⁴³² **HIL** Ps 131,3; **HI** Za 2; **PS-AU** spe 5.

⁴³³ **HIL** Ps 118 nun 8; **AU** Au cf 7,14; ci 4,16; do 2,62; ep 26,5; 26,6; 127,5; fau 19,9; Ps 13,4,21; 93,15,54; 114,6,14; 142,6,13; s 24,4; 30,9; 50,11; 69,2; 70,1; 142,6; 164,6; 279,3; s dni 2,77; s dol 5,4; vg 28; vg 37.

6:9-13. Lord's Prayer

Sedulius's insertion of the Lord's Prayer is accompanied by an extensive exegesis, which is analysed by Schnurr in his work on the Lord's Prayer, briefly by Mayr in his thesis on Sedulius, and mentioned by Bock in his work on the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer.⁴³⁴ The origin of Sedulius's exegesis, to what extent he depended on secondary sources and the nature of those secondary sources are not directly relevant to his text of Matthew and shall not be discussed in detail here. However, the relationship with the secondary material is important if it looks as though Sedulius's biblical text for the Lord's Prayer and its exegesis has been copied directly from a secondary source. To this end it is worth noting the findings laid out in appendix three that show that the citations of I Corinthians 3:1-2 used in Sedulius's exegesis of the fourth petition contain two African **K** readings found nowhere else in Sedulius's text of the Epistles.

Furthermore, as seen above, Sedulius's citation of John 17:10, used as exegesis of the first petition is again an African form that he does not use elsewhere. Certain citations used in Sedulius's Lord's Prayer exegesis appear to be lifted from a secondary source, one that is at least partly African in origin. This ties in with the analysis of Mayr who identified several parallels with Augustine's works, often themselves dependent on Tertullian or Cyprian.⁴³⁵ In addition to these, Schnurr also identified further parallels in Sedulius's exegesis with Augustine, Tertullian and Cyprian, but also with non-African sources such as Ambrose, Chromatius and Jerome before concluding that Sedulius's exegesis provides a unique poetic presentation of largely commonplace material.⁴³⁶ Based on Schnurr's analysis, it appears that Sedulius's *Vorlage* for the Lord's Prayer episode is a hotchpot of different sources brought together either by Sedulius when writing the episode or already assembled as some sort of catechetical document or sermon for initiates. This must be borne in mind when analysing his Lord's Prayer text and the first aim of this study is to ascertain whether Sedulius inserted the Matthean text from memory or whether any use of the Gospel text can be identified. In reality, unless

⁴³⁴ Schnurr (1985: 184-199). Mayr (1916: 66-7). Bock (1911: 132-133).

⁴³⁵ In addition to those mentioned in above analysis of the citation of John 20:17, Mayr (1916: 66-7) notes six other parallels in the *PC* and Augustine at *PC* 2,262 and Augustine s. 56,8; 57,6; 58, 4; 59,5; *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,23 (cf. Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 4; Cyprian, *De Dominica Oratione*, 16; *PC* 2,265-6 and s. 58,5; *PC* 2,270-1 and s. 56,13; *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,39 (cf. Cyprian, *De Dominica Oratione*, 23); *PC* 2,273 and s. 56,17 (cf. Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 7; Cyprian, *d De Dominica Oratione*, 23; Hilary, *In Mattheum Commentarius*, 6,12); *PC* 2,277-8 and *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,28; *PC* 2,279 and *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,30.

⁴³⁶ Schurr (1985: 199): 'Im Vergleich mit der Tradition läßt sich wenig Inhaltliches anführen, was nicht schon aus anderen Erklärungen bekannt ist... Viel entscheidender und charakteristischer ist seine sprachliche Orientierung an der Schrift, die in dieser eigenen Form singular ist'.

Sedulius is using the Vulgate, which does not appear to be the case, the only difference between the oral text of the Lord's Prayer and the Gospel text is the presence of the first few introductory words from Matthew 6:9.

For the Lord's Prayer, an early Old Latin text of near complete status is found in **K**, supported by the text found in Tertullian's and Cyprian's treatises on Prayer. The codices of the European tradition are substantially augmented by the presence of several liturgical codices, in particular the Gallican Psalter (VL309) and the fragmentary 5th century Italian Constance Codex (VL175), as well as the citations taken from the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries, the Missale Mixtum, the Gothic Breviary, the Mozarabic Sacramentary, the Roman Responsory and the Ambrosian Missal.⁴³⁷ One unfortunate absence is caused by Hilary's decision not to concern his commentary with the Lord's Prayer, which has partly deprived us of his text type, but he does quote from the Lord's Prayer in other places. Nevertheless, thanks to the different liturgical and patristic sources we have a fairly clear picture of the regional variations in the Lord's Prayer text over Spain, Gaul, Africa, Rome, Milan and Aquileia in the 5th century.

Sedulius's text is the typical liturgical text, as found in the Gallican Psalter (VL309), the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, the Gothic Breviary and the Mozarabe Missal and, where extant the Constance fragments (VL175).⁴³⁸ It is also the commonest form used by patristic writers, who with the exception of Chromatius, Rufinus, Hilary, Cyprian and Tertullian generally preserve this text type. There is one famous Vulgate reading that is not found in Sedulius, the translation of *ἐπιούσιον* by *supersubstantialem*. As a result Sedulius's verse, which has *cotidianum*, is assigned to Luke 11:3 in Huemer's edition.⁴³⁹ This must be rejected; as the following analysis shows, Sedulius is following the liturgical form of the prayer based on Matthew and he includes no specifically Lukan element. Sedulius's version of the Lord's Prayer spans more than fifty lines in the *PC* and nine pages in Huemer's edition of the *PO*, due to the extensive exegesis that is included. Much of this exegesis does not directly relate to Sedulius's text type of Matthew and therefore only the Matthean lines and the text that relates directly to them have been reproduced below alongside the Vulgate verses of Matthew:

⁴³⁷ **S-Ge** V 1,36; **S-Gr** H 1,31; **M-M** 119A; 559A; **BREVIAR** Goth 49C; **S-Mo** 1166; **RES-R** 2238; **M-A** F.2.

⁴³⁸ **S-Ge** V 1,36; **S-Gr** H 1,31; **BREVIAR** Goth 49C; **M-M** 119A; 559A.

⁴³⁹ Huemer & Panagl (2007: 224).

PC 2,231-284	PO 2,16-17	Matthew 6:9-13 (Vulgate)
<p>v. 231-7. Quin etiam celerem cupiens conferre salutem Orandi praecepta dedit, iudexque benignus Indulgenda peti breuiter iubet, ut cito praestet, <i>Sic dicens: orate patrem,</i> baptismate nostrum, Iure suum; propriumque homini concessit honorem Et quod solus habet cunctos permisit habere. Qui dominum caeli patrem memoramus ...</p> <p>v. 244-5 <i>Sanctificetur</i> ubi Dominus, qui cuncta creando Sanctificat, nisi corde pio, nisi pectore casto</p>	<p>p.220, 3-6 <i>sic</i> orandum <i>ergo docuit</i> patrem, suum scilicet pro natura nostrum uero pro gratia, honorem proprium largitus hominibus, ut quod solus habet egregium cunctis donaret indultum: Pater noster qui es in caelis</p> <p>p.221, 21 Sanctificetur nomen tuum.</p>	<p>⁹sic ergo uos orabitur: Pater noster qui in caelis es sanctificetur nomen tuum</p>
<p>v. 249-50 <i>Adueniat regnum</i> iam iamque scilicet illud, Morte uacans et fine carens ...</p> <p>v. 255-6 Hoc iugibus uotis, hoc nocte dieque precemur, Illius <i>ut fiat caelo terraque</i> <i>uoluntas</i></p>	<p>p.222, 17 Adueniat regnum tuum</p> <p>p.223, 6 Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra</p>	<p>¹⁰ueniat regnum tuum fiat uoluntas tua sicut in caelo et in terra</p>
<p>v. 263 Annonam fidei speramus <i>pane</i> <i>diurno</i></p>	<p>p.224, 1 Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie</p>	<p>¹¹panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie</p>
<p>v. 269-70 <i>Debita</i> laxari qui <i>nobis</i> cuncta rogamus, <i>Nos</i> quoque laxemus;</p>	<p>p.227, 1-2 Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris</p>	<p>¹²et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimisimus debitoribus nostris</p>
<p>v. 279-84 Non quia nos Dominus, lucis uia, semita pacis,</p>	<p>p.229, 6 Et ne nos inducas in temptationem.</p>	<p>¹³et ne inducas nos in temptationem</p>

PC 2,231-284	PO 2,16-17	Matthew 6:9-13 (Vulgate)
<p><i>In laqueos temptantis agat, sed cum mala nostra</i></p> <p>Deserit, ire sinit. nam quisquis retia mundi</p> <p>Deliciosa sequens luxus et gaudia blandae</p> <p>Perditionis amat, Deus hunc, uirtutis amator,</p> <p>Linquit, et ingreditur qua se <i>temptatio ducit.</i></p>	<p>p.229, 17</p> <p>Sed libera nos a malo.</p>	<p>sed libera nos a malo</p>

The main variant that distinguishes the Latin traditions of this verse is the order in which *ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* is translated. Sedulius's reading *qui es in caelis* is widely attested from the time of Tertullian and is found in Cyprian, Hilary, Optatus and the rites of Spain, Gaul and Rome.⁴⁴⁰ The Vulgate and the Ambrosian rite on the other hand read *qui in caelis es*. However, this is by no means a Vulgate reading as this order is also found in VL12 VL13 VL18, the Ambrosian Missal, variants of Ambrose's *De Sacramentiis* and Rufinus's translation of Origen's *De Principiis* (as well as that preferred by Jerome in his commentary).⁴⁴¹ It is unclear however how widely adopted the Vulgate text was since even Augustine's *Speculum* that elsewhere follows the Vulgate prefers the word order *qui es in caelis*.⁴⁴²

A second variant found in Sedulius's *PO* text is in the introductory text, in the use of *ergo*. This is found in all the European traditions save VL3 that reads *autem*; the African tradition **K** represented by VL1 reads *itaque* as the translation of *οὕτως* which is found throughout the Greek tradition. The inclusion of this introductory text from Matthew 6:9 which appears to be present both in the *PO* and the *PC* is a very good indicator that Sedulius was citing a written source such as the Gospel or a commentary on the Lord's Prayer.⁴⁴³ The form *orare* is a variant in the Latin tradition, with **K**,

⁴⁴⁰ **TE** Pra 23; **CY** or 7; 9; **PS-CY** ab 7; **HIL** Mt 7,11; **OPT** Par 2,20; **BREVIAR** Goth 49C; **M-M** 119A; 559A; **S-Mo** 1166; **S-Ge** V 1,36; **S-Gr** H 1,31.

⁴⁴¹ **M-A** F.2; **AM** sa 5,22; **RUF** pri 2,4,1; **HI** Mt 1.

⁴⁴² **AU** spe 25.

⁴⁴³ Although the use of the Pater Noster in the Communion prayer does also include a brief introductory text, we would expect to see some form of *audemus dicere*, as is the case in Petrus Chrysologus's catechetical sermon on the Lord's Prayer (s. 70,1, CPL 227). For the introductory text in the Communion liturgy, see Guéranger (2004: 952).

Cyprian and VL13 reading (*ad*)*orate* and all other sources *orabitis*.⁴⁴⁴ It is therefore of interest to note that Sedulius's verse text reflects the introductory text found in Cyprian's commentary on the Lord's Prayer.⁴⁴⁵ Sedulius's use of *variatio* in the *PO* with the gerundive *orandum* renders it difficult to know whether his text had *orate* or *orabitis*. In other patristic texts, the Irish *Expositio Quattuor Euangeliorum* by Pseudo-Jerome preserves *sic ergo orate*, thus lending support to Sedulius's text which possibly combines the Cyprian *sic orate* with the Gospel *ergo*.⁴⁴⁶ Pseudo-Jerome's 7th-century text is frustratingly brief in its exegesis, all of which is strikingly similar to that found in Sedulius, as it very possibly witnesses the same text that Sedulius used.⁴⁴⁷ There are no other variant readings in the principal Latin traditions: *sanctificetur* is always found as a translation of *ἀγιασθήτω*, and the singular *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, which is found in the *Didache*, is not in the Latin tradition. Apart from *orate* there are no variant sites in Sedulius's *PC* text that could be used to identify Sedulius's *PC* tradition.

In the following verse, 6:10, the Latin tradition differs at three points: the translation of *ἐλθέτω*, the presence of *sicut* and the case of *terra*. Sedulius's reading *adueniat* is by far the most popular reading as a translation of *ἐλθέτω* and its popularity was such that it persistently found its way into several Vulgate witnesses and editions including the *Amiatinus*, the Autun Bible, Alcuin's recension, the Clementine Vulgate and Wordworth's edition.⁴⁴⁸ The remaining Vulgate witnesses and Augustine's *Speculum* read *ueniat*,⁴⁴⁹ a reading that is also found in the earliest African witnesses **K** and Tertullian,⁴⁵⁰ the Milanese liturgy, Ambrose, Chromatius and Peter Chrysologus.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁴ **CY** or 7.

⁴⁴⁵ Cyprian, *De Dominica Oratio*, 7: *Sic*, inquit, *orate*: PATER NOSTER QUI ES IN COELIS, SANCTIFICETUR NOMEN TUUM (CCSL 3A, 93).

⁴⁴⁶ **PS-HI** Ev 547D.

⁴⁴⁷ Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio Quattuor Evangeliorum* (PL 30, 547-8). Only in some of the examples given by Pseudo-Jerome does his exegesis differ from Sedulius. For example, he mentions the Flood, the Pillar of Salt and the drowning of Pharaoh's chariots in the Red Sea as Old Testament types for delinquent men who God punished, as part of the exegesis of the sixth petition (PL 30, 548B). Sedulius also warns about men who God leads into traps as they have ceased to obey divine warnings, *diuinis monitis non parentes* (*PO* 2,17, p.229, 8) or strive after the luxury of flattering perdition, *luxus blandae perditionis affectant* (*PO* 2,17, p.229, 10-11), but instead he alludes to the Narrow Path metaphor (Mt. 7:13-14). For the date and provenance of the text see Gryson et al. (2007: 552).

⁴⁴⁸ *Amiatinus* (Firenze, Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenz., *Amiatino* I); Autun Bible (Autun, Bibl. mun. 21 + Paris Bibl. Nat., n. acq. lat 1628).

⁴⁴⁹ **AU** spe 25.

⁴⁵⁰ **TE** or 5,1.

⁴⁵¹ **M-A** F.2; **AM** hel 80; sa 5;18; 5:23; **CHRO** Mt 28,3,1; s 40,2; **PET-C** s 67; 70.

The majority of other witnesses, including Cyprian, Hilary, Rufinus, the *Regula Magistri*, Jerome's commentaries and the other liturgical witnesses preserve *adueniat*.⁴⁵²

The second major variant is the use of *sicut*. A number of very early witnesses, such as **K**, Tertullian, Cyprian in the African tradition and Hilary, VL3, VL4 and VL6 in the European omit any rendering of *ὥς* in accordance with the 'Western text' **D05**.⁴⁵³ Apart from VL6, no witness of the 5th century or later contains this variant. Finally, two codices, VL3 and VL10, read *in terram* not *in terra*, but this variant is restricted to these sources alone. Sedulius's *PC* text with *adueniat* (v.249) and *ut* (v.256) appears to be based on the same text as found in the *PO*.

Verse 6:11 contains a translation difficulty in Latin famously discussed by Marius Victorinus in the *Aduersum Arium*, as well as Jerome in his commentaries on Matthew and the Epistle to Titus, and in Ambrose's *De Sacramentis* concerning the inadequacy of the Latin *panem quotidianum* to translate *ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον*.⁴⁵⁴ Marius Victorinus suggests *consubstantialem*, which he uses in his version of the Lord's prayer in his work against Arius;⁴⁵⁵ Ambrose and Jerome prefer *supersubstantialem*; but even Tertullian and Cyprian are at pains to point out that *quotidianum* should be understood *spiritaliter*.⁴⁵⁶ Nevertheless, only Jerome's Vulgate prefers *supersubstantialem* to *quotidianum* or *cotidianum*, which is found from the earliest sources of **K**, Tertullian and Cyprian right through the Old Latin tradition in all of the mixed-text witnesses and even in Vulgate witnesses such as the Cava Bible.⁴⁵⁷ Apart from Marius Victorinus, the Vulgate and those patristic witnesses that quote the Vulgate, such as Jerome and Augustine's *Speculum*, the only variants occur in the spelling of *quotidianum*, which have not been considered in this study.⁴⁵⁸ Sedulius's *PC* text, with *pane diurno* (v.263)

⁴⁵² **CY** or 7; 13; **HIL** Ps 119,18; Ps 134,22; **RUF** rm 2,74; 5,3; **REG** Mag Thema 141,90.99; **HI** Is h 1,2; Mt 1 Pel 3,15; **BREVIAR** Goth 49C; **M-M** 119A; 559A; **S-Ge** V 1,36; **S-Gr** H 1,31.

⁴⁵³ **TE** or 4,1; **CY** or 7; 14; ap AU Pel 4,25; te 3,19; **HIL** Ps 119,18; Ps 134,22; **AM** sa 5,18 (var).

⁴⁵⁴ Marius Victorinus, *Aduersum Arium*, 2,8. Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, 1 (ad loc); *Commentarius in Epistulam Ad Titum*, 2,14; Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, 5,24.

⁴⁵⁵ **MAR** Ar 1,59.

⁴⁵⁶ Tertullian, *De Oratone*, 6; Cyprian, *De Dominica Oratone*, 18. Cyprian also understands *quotidianum* literally, *simpliciter*.

⁴⁵⁷ **TE** or 6; **CY** or 7; 18. The reading is also found in the margins of the Sangallensis (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 1395 + Stadtbibl. sine num. (olim in 292) + St. Paul in Kärnten 25. 4. 21a + Zürich, Staatsarchiv A. G. 19, No. II + Zürich, Zentrabibl. C 43 + C 79 + Z XIV 5) as an addition in the Fuldensis (Fulda, Landesbibl., Bonifatianus 1) and the Sangemanensis, though this is partly Old Latin in Matthew.

⁴⁵⁸ **HI** Mt 1; Ps h 47; **AU** spe 25

makes it clear that he had *cotidianum* in mind when composing the *PC* as well as the *PO*.

The two principal variants of in the Latin tradition of Matthew 6:12 concern the translation of the two occurrences of ἀφήμι: first in translation of the imperative ἄφεσ by *remitte* (**K**, VL3 VL5 VL13 VL15) or *dimitte* (**V**, **I**) and second in the translation of the present ἀφίεμεν / ἀφίομεν found in the Byzantine, 'Western text' and Didache by *remittimus* (**K**, **I**) or *dimittimus* or the aorist ἀφήκαμεν found in the Alexandrian text by *dimisimus* (**V**). The oldest tradition is found in Tertullian's *De Oratione* and Cyprian's lemma text of the Lord's Prayer at the start of the *De Dominica Oratione*.⁴⁵⁹ Tertullian's text reads, (*docet*) *dimitti nobis debita nostra... quod remittere nos quoque profitemur debitoribus nostris*;⁴⁶⁰ from this it is apparent that Tertullian's base text has *dimitte* and *remittimus*, the text also found in Cyprian and **I** (VL4). This text is found nowhere else (except in a couple of variants) and by far the most common text is that found in Sedulius, which is that of the liturgical sources, nearly all the mixed texts (VL6 VL7 VL9 VL10 VL11 VL30) as well as the Amiatinus, the Fuldensis, the Cava Bible, Alcuin's recension and the Clementine Vulgate, which read *dimitte* and *dimittimus*.⁴⁶¹ The Vulgate text also contains *dimitte* as a translation of ἄφεσ, but the Vulgate in the Weber Stuttgart edition contains the perfect *dimisimus*, found in the Sangallensis, the Durmachensis and Harleianus, itself a literal translation of a variant found only in the Vaticanus (**B03**) and Sinaiticus (**S01**) of the aorist ἀφήκαμεν. In patristic works this text is found only in one other place, Cassian's *Conferences*, with even Augustine's *Speculum* reading *dimittimus*.⁴⁶² Almost all other 5th-century witnesses preserve the liturgical form, *dimitte... dimittimus*, which is dominant across all areas, save the North East of Italy where VL13 and Chromatius's text preserve *remitte* as a translation of ἄφεσ.⁴⁶³ Augustine, for example, quotes the verse in full eighty five times, every time the with the liturgical text. Thus a form that was one of several traditions in the 3rd and 4th centuries becomes the standard text across patristic works and codices in the 5th

⁴⁵⁹ **CY** or 7.

⁴⁶⁰ Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 7,1 (FC 76, 232).

⁴⁶¹ VLD has incorrect card for VL30, text has been transcribed directly from MS (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1587).

⁴⁶² **CAn** co 9,22,1-2; **AU** spe 25.

⁴⁶³ **CHRO** Mt 28,6,1; Mt 28,7,8 (var); Mt 59,5; [**CHRO**] s. 40,2. The text is perhaps also found in the Vercellensis (VL3), which reads *remitte* in the first part of the verse, but the second half of the verse is now illegible and even previous editors were unsure of the reading.

century. It should come as no surprise therefore that this is the form found in Sedulius's text.

The traditions of the final verse of the Lord's Prayer can be identified according to the translation of *μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς* and the inclusion or not of the doxology at the end of the verse. Sedulius's text reads *ne nos inducas*, which is again the form found in liturgical documents,⁴⁶⁴ **I** (VL3 VL4), the Brixianus (VL10), the Gallican Lectionary (VL32), the Sangallensis and Autun Bibles and the Clementine Vulgate as well as in Tertullian's *De Oratione* and the *De Fuga In Persecutione*.⁴⁶⁵ The Stuttgart Vulgate differs from this reading only in word order, placing the pronoun after the verb in accordance with the Greek tradition. This reading is also found in a number of Old Latin codices, including the Claromontanus (VL12) and the Monacensis (VL13) and a number of mixed texts (VL7 VL11 VL15). The African tradition outside of Tertullian preserves a totally different reading based on *patior* and the passive infinitive *induci*. Thus **K** reads *ne passus fueris induci nos*, which Cyprian has in some manuscripts as well as VL6 Quodvultdeus and Pseudo-Fulgentius.⁴⁶⁶ However, the majority of manuscripts of Cyprian read *ne patiaris nos induci*, though with some variation on word order.⁴⁶⁷ This reading is first found as a gloss in Tertullian's *De Oratione*,⁴⁶⁸ which Schnurr sees as evidence that Tertullian is quoting from memory or that the words of the Paternoster were not yet firmly established;⁴⁶⁹ in any case, Augustine mentions that the reading was in common use by his time,⁴⁷⁰ which is supported by readings in Arnobius, Verecundus, Pseudo-Chrysostomus Latinus and a couple of readings in Augustine himself.⁴⁷¹ It is not restricted to African writers, however, with the reading also found in the Gatianus (VL30) and in Ambrose's *De Sacramentis*.⁴⁷² Finally, an alternative reading is supplied by Augustine himself who nearly always uses *ne nos inferas* as his quoted form.⁴⁷³ Although Sedulius's exegesis on the sixth petition

⁴⁶⁴ **BREVIAR** Goth 49C; 490B; **M-M** 119A; 434B; 559B; **S-Ge** V 1,36; **S-Gr** H 1,31.

⁴⁶⁵ **TE** or 8,1; fu 2,5.

⁴⁶⁶ **CY** or 7(var); 25(var); **QU** pro 1,35; 1,43; tr 1,2; **PS-FU** s 70.

⁴⁶⁷ **CY** or 7; 25

⁴⁶⁸ Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 8,1: "Ne nos inducas in temptationem", id est, ne nos patiaris induci (FC 76, 234).

⁴⁶⁹ Schnurr (1985: 42-3).

⁴⁷⁰ Augustine, *De Sermonibus In Monte*, 2,30.

⁴⁷¹ **AR** Ps cnf 2,30; Ps 119; **VER** 4,3; **JO-N** 23 [=Pseudo-Chrysostomus Latinus, *Sermo* 23; CPL 915]; **AU** ep 177,4,5; s 352,7; ap **AR** cfl 4,10,9.

⁴⁷² **AM** sa 5,18; 5,29; 6,24.

⁴⁷³ **AU** s dni 2,15; 2,28; ench 81; 115; ep 130,21; 145,8; 157,5; 176,2; 177,4; 186,41; gr 26; Jo 52,9,14; 53,8,6; 5,8,14; 73,4,10; Jul 4,6; 5,15; Jul im 1,67; 1,90; 1,93; 1,104; 1,105; 1,106; 1,108; 2,227; 4,89; 5,15; na 62; 68; 80; pec 2,2, pel 1,27; perf 11(nos om); 21; 34; 40; 43; 44; pers 9; 12; 46; 62; 63; Ps

contains a strong allusion to the explanation of this petition in Augustine's *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, Sedulius's lack of use of *inferre* should not be considered as significant as Augustine uses *induci* in his body text.⁴⁷⁴

In the seventh petition, the second half of 6:13, there are few variants of note save the inclusion of the doxology and in some sources such as Hilary and Jerome a deliberate conflation with 1 Corinthians 10:13.⁴⁷⁵ Only Tertullian offers an alternative to *libera* as a translation of *ῥῶσαι* with *deuehe*, which is possibly his own free translation from the Greek as in the same line he use *deducas* as an alternative to *inducas* that he quotes elsewhere.⁴⁷⁶ The doxology which is found in the Byzantine text and the *Didache* is likewise found in a variety of forms in the Old Latin tradition, with the shorter form found in **K** and a longer form in VL7 VL10 and VL13. That Sedulius makes no reference to the doxology is not particularly significant as it is only cited by Arnobius (in the shorter form) and the *Opus Imperfectum* in the form found in the Brixianus (VL10). Nevertheless, given that Sedulius appears to be following a written version of Matthew 6:9-13, we can be certain that Sedulius's text did not include any form of the doxology.

In sum, Sedulius's text is clearly using the European, liturgical form of the Lord's Prayer, a form that had become common even in the Old Latin codices of Matthew by the 5th century. His text is sometimes at odds with the text types seen in his exegesis elsewhere in his study and it can be hypothesised that he was using some sort of catechetical text on the Lord's Prayer with the words of the Prayer adapted to the common local form. The use of such a text is suggested by two elements: the use of words alluding to the first part of Matthew 6:9 that are usually omitted in citations of the Lord's Prayer proper and in the inclusion, seen elsewhere, of biblical citations in a variety of different text types. Sedulius's text of Matthew 6:9-13 shows no particular regional variants as seen in texts used in Africa, Milan or in the North East of Italy; nor for that matter does Sedulius's text show any contact with the Vulgate.

89,4,8; Ps 105,36,50; Ps 118 s 13,3,21; 15,2,33; 26,2,11; s 56,18; 57,9; 57,10; 58,9; 58,11; s 58,12; 59,8; 152,2; 256,1; 304,2; 376,4; s Dol 30,11; 30,12; s fig; s Geu 33,3; uid 21.

⁴⁷⁴ As noted by Mayr (1916: 67), *PC* 2,277-8: non quia nos dominus... In laqueos temptantis agat, sed, cum mala nostra Deserit, ire sinit; Augustine, *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,30: non enim per se ipsum inducit Deus, sed induci patitur eum quem suo auxilio deseruerit (CCSL 35, 119).

⁴⁷⁵ **HIL** Ps 118 aleph 15; **HI** ez 14; Mt 4; Ps 124.

⁴⁷⁶ Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 86: Eo respondit clausula, interpretans quid sit: "ne nos deducas in temptationem"; hoc est enim "sed devehe nos a malo" (FC 76, 236).

6:34. Teaching about Care and Anxiety

PO 2,17, p.224, 15-19

hoc et nobis, si fides non deficiat se daturum euangelicis sermonibus compromisit
alloquens suos ita discipulos inter alia quae docebat: **nolite ergo solliciti esse
in crastinum**. crastinus enim **dies sollicitus erit sibi ipse**.

This is the first of two verses of Jesus's teaching taken from his Sermon on the Mount that are included by Sedulius as part of his exegesis on the Lord's Prayer. In both cases, the citations are found only in the *PO* and appear to be Old Latin. Matthew 6:34 is the final verse from chapter six of Matthew and is here included as part of the extensive exegesis on the 4th petition. Sedulius appears to follow an Old Latin European text type as found in VL41 and mixed text witnesses VL9 VL11 VL32 as well as several Vulgate witnesses.⁴⁷⁷ It is also found in several patristic sources such as the *Opus Imperfectum*, Augustine's *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* as well as his *Speculum*.⁴⁷⁸ Sedulius's text differs from the Vulgate in word order only, with the Vulgate preferring *esse solliciti* over **I** texts' *solliciti esse* and it differs from **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4) only in the inclusion of *ergo*. Nevertheless, the oldest witness to **I** is found in Hilary's *Commentary on Matthew* that, like Sedulius, contains *ergo* in agreement with the Greek traditions.⁴⁷⁹

The use of variants of *sollicitus esse* as a translation of *μεριμνᾶν* is characteristic of most European witnesses with African and North East Italian witness apparently preferring forms of *cogitare*. The oldest African translation, as found in **K** translates *Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε* as *nolite cogitare* and *μεριμνήσει ἑαυτῆς* as *cogitabit sibi* and a slightly revised form of this is used by Cyprian in his work *On Prayer*.⁴⁸⁰ Those witnesses from the North East of Italy that contain variants of *cogitare* as a translation for the different uses of *μεριμνᾶν* include VL10, VL12 and Chromatius, the text of which is closest to Cyprian,⁴⁸¹ as well as VL7 and the North Italian Pseudo-Augustinian *speculum* (with a

⁴⁷⁷ The Clementine edition, the Autun Bible, the Milan Gospels (Milano, Bibl. Ambros. C. 39 inf.) and the Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College 57 (A. IV. 5)).

⁴⁷⁸ **AN** Mt h 16; **AU** s dni 2,56; spe 25.

⁴⁷⁹ **HIL** Mt 5,13. The absence of *ergo* is found only in VL3 and VL4 amongst codices and is not supported by any Greek tradition.

⁴⁸⁰ **CY** or 19.

⁴⁸¹ **CHRO** Mt 28,5,2; 32,8. Notwithstanding occasional differences in word order and the replacement of *sibi* by *de/pro se*, as well as *de crastino* for *in crastinum*.

ne-clause in place of the *nolite*-clause.)⁴⁸² Despite his European text-type, Sedulius's use of the verse with the fourth petition has its roots in the African exegetical tradition. Tertullian first uses it in connection with the fourth petition, a use followed by Cyprian, Augustine, who uses it in the same place in his *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount*, and Jerome who includes it, in the African form, in his *Commentary on Matthew*.⁴⁸³ All of these sources contain the African form of Matthew with variants of *cogitare*; Sedulius has therefore either adapted the exegesis to the text that he knows or his source had already adapted the exegesis to the European text.⁴⁸⁴

7:16. Fruit of Healthy and Diseased Trees

PO 2,17, p.230, 2-6

actus namque fructus intellegi euangelica lectio declarauit, ubi Dominus uarias diuersorum mentes aperiens *ex suis* quemque *fructibus* id est ex operibus iussit *agnosci* dicens: **ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.**

This short citation is also taken from the Sermon on the Mount, specifically from Jesus's warning to his disciples about false prophets that come as wolves in sheep's clothing (Mt. 7:15-20) and is the shortest of Sedulius's Matthean citations. It is not found in the *PC* and is included in the *PO* as part of the exegesis on the Lord's Prayer, in this case, the final petition. Given its short length, it does not include any notable variants and the probability that such a citation has been made by Sedulius from memory, and with this the increased risk of trivial error, is increased.

⁴⁸² **PS-AU** spe 5.

⁴⁸³ Tertullian, *De Oratione*, 6,4: merito autem adiecit "da nobis hodie", ut qui praemiserat "nolite de crastino cogitare quid edatis" (FC 76, 232). Cyprian, *De Dominica Oratione*, 19; Augustine, *De Sermone In Monte*, 2,25. Augustine, like Sedulius uses the verse as part of a tripartite interpretation that is based on Origen's division of body, soul and spirit. First, Augustine describes daily bread as that which sustains life, *quae huius uitae necessitatem sustentant*; second, as the sacramental bread of Christ's body, *pro sacramento corporis christi*, and finally as spiritual food, *pro spirituali cibo*: Quarta petitio est, Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie. Panis cotidianus, aut pro his omnibus dictus est quae huius uitae necessitatem sustentant, de quo cum praeciperet, ait: Nolite cogitare de crastino (CCSL 35, 113-4). Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, 1: Alii simpliciter putant, secundum Apostoli sermonem dicentis: Habentes uictum et uestitum, his contenti sumus, de praesenti tantum cibo sanctos curam agere. Unde et in posterioribus sit praeceptum: Nolite cogitare de crastino (PL 26, 43).

⁴⁸⁴ Note however that Augustine does cite the European form of the text in a similar context, albeit not explicitly linked to the fourth petition at *De Sermone In Monte* 2,56.

Nevertheless, an Old Latin reading is found in Sedulius's *ex fructibus*, a reading that appears to be confirmed by the italicised paraphrased text introducing the citation. This reading is found only in **K** and VL6, codices that preserve a text not otherwise found in Sedulius's citations. However, among patristic citations, *ex fructibus* is commoner at all periods and in all areas than the reading found in the Vulgate and majority of European codices, *a fructibus*, which is restricted to Italian patristic works, Hilary and Jerome.⁴⁸⁵

7:23. The Sayers and Doers of the Will of God

PO 4,14, p.264, 17- p.265, 8.

haec est enim regula diuini iudicii uitam factis anteferre, non facta uitae praeponere. nam si meritum sancti cessauerit instituti, nihil habent momenti miracula, quae probantur et a malignis frequenter ostensa, quibus ille secretorum testis et arbiter gestorum se in retributione *dicturum* euangelicis ita *praedixit* eloquiis: **non noui uos, discedite a me, omnes qui operamini iniquitatem.** tales sub Aegyptia quondam Pharaonis aderant tyrannide duo sceleratae societatis artifices, qui Memphiticis uanitatibus confidentes Moysi caelestia nitebantur aemulari miracula, dolisque magicis fabricatas humanis uisibus aemularum opponebant imagines et figuras.

PC 4,164-171

Nam merito cessante bono miracula nil sunt,
 Quae faciunt plerumque mali, quibus arbiter orbis
'Nescio uos' dicturus erit, 'discedite cuncti
Artifices scelerum, rebus qui semper iniquis
Diuinum simulastis opus'. sic tempore Moysi
 Carminibus quidam uanae Memphitis in oris
 Signa dabant non sponte Dei, sed imagine falsa
 Visibus humanis magicas tribuere figuras.

Matthew 7:23 is Sedulius's final citation from Jesus's Sermon on the Mount. This verse on the Sayers and Doers of God's will is cited in chapter fourteen of book four of the

⁴⁸⁵ AN Mt h 19 (1/4); AU spe 25; CHRO Mt 35 (1/3); GR-M rg 6,16; HI Mt 1; HIL c Co 10; col 3,4; SIR 7,3. Several of these readings preserve the Vulgate text; certainly in the case of Augustine's *Speculum* and probably in Jerome's *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*.

PO and paraphrased in lines 4,166-8 in the *PC*. In both cases the text is appended as a warning on the Last Judgement (*PO* 4,14, p.264, 17: *haec est enim regula diuini iudicii*) as part of Sedulius's account of the Sending out of the 72 disciples (Luke 10:1-20).⁴⁸⁶

Huemer assigns the cited verse in the *PO* to Matthew 7:23,⁴⁸⁷ but Mayr, while recognising the presence of Matthean elements, assigns the paraphrased verse in the *PC* to Luke 13:27 on the basis of Sedulius's use of *nescio* (v. 166), a reading found in Luke where Vulgate Matthew prefers *numquam noui*.⁴⁸⁸ In addition, the Lukan verse also includes the word *omnes*, absent from Vulgate Matthew. *omnes* is found in the citation in the *PO* and paraphrased as *cuncti* at line 166 in the *PC*. Huemer and Mayr are primarily basing their analysis on the Vulgate, but van der Laan observes that in the Old Latin Sedulius's cited text is found in VL4 in Matthew.⁴⁸⁹ Taking consideration of Old Latin versions, van der Laan assigns the cited verse to Old Latin Matthew 7:23, while nevertheless accepting the presence of elements of Luke 13:27 such the use *omnes* and possibly *dicturum*.⁴⁹⁰ van der Laan also notes that *discedite a me omnes qui operamini iniquitatem* is found in the Gallican version of Psalm 6:9 and the presence of *omnes* in Sedulius's cited text could be due to contamination from this source.⁴⁹¹

Part of van der Laan's argument for assigning the verse to Matthew both in the *PO* and the *PC* is based on the context, which is that of an eschatological warning to Christians that leading a good life is more important than performing miracles.⁴⁹² This corresponds to the context of Matthew 7:22-3, where Jesus discusses the Last Judgement for the non-believing doers of miracles and those who have truly followed God's will. The non-believers are alluded to in the *PC* through the phrase *quae faciunt plerumque mali* (v. 165) and the *maligni* in the *PO* where the 'rule of divine judgement'

⁴⁸⁶ The phrase *regula diuini iudicii* perhaps mirrors Augustine, *Enarrationes In Psalmos*, 100,7: Ille non nouit aliquem? Sed quid est, «Non noui uos?» In regula mea non uos agnosco. Noui enim regulam iustitiae meae: non illi congruitis, declinastis ab illa, distorti estis (PL 37, 1288).

⁴⁸⁷ Huemer & Panagl (2007: 265).

⁴⁸⁸ Luke 13:27: et dicet uobis nescio uos unde sitis discedite a me omnes operarii iniquitatis. Mayr (1916: 47).

⁴⁸⁹ van der Laan (1990: 113).

⁴⁹⁰ *ibid*, 207. *dicturum* is a possible rendering of Luke's *et dicet uobis*. *dicam* (VL1 VL3 VL6 VL7 VL12), *iurabo* (VL4 VL13) and *confitebor* (V) are found as translations of *ὁμολογήσω* at Matthew 7:23.

⁴⁹¹ *ibid*, 113. This is also the reading in the Roman Psalter, to which Sedulius's Psalter is closest, see Appendix 4.

⁴⁹² *ibid*.

is also explicitly mentioned. As van der Laan correctly points out, no equivalent passage for this context can be found in Luke.⁴⁹³

The context in the *PO* and *PC* removes any doubt concerning Sedulius's source; it should be considered as Matthew 7:23 with the Lukan (or psalm) elements probably coming from contamination in the Old Latin tradition of Matthew. However, as so often, Sedulius's citation is possibly mediated via a secondary source. Drawing on Sedulius's reference to the 'magic tricks' performed by Pharaoh's magicians, van der Laan points to Jerome's mention of Pharaoh's dreams in his commentary of Matthew at 7:23, but of course the context (and the Pharaoh) are different.⁴⁹⁴ A source that offers striking parallels with Sedulius's text is John Cassian's *Conferences*. In the 15th *Conference* Cassian relates the teachings of the Egyptian monk abbot Nestoros on the threefold nature of spiritual gifts; the threefold system described by Abbot Nestoros distinguishes the miracles performed by the apostles, from the miracles performed by sinners and those performed through the contrivances of the demons.⁴⁹⁵ With regards to the second type of spiritual gifts, those performed by sinners, Cassian has Nestoros citing Matthew 7:22-3, and drawing on the example of false prophets in the third type of healing, without explicitly mentioning Pharaoh's magicians.⁴⁹⁶ Sedulius's passage reflects this threefold system, with the sending out of the 72 occupying the first part, the reference to Matthew 7:23 coinciding with Cassian's use of the verse, and Sedulius's reference to the attempts of Pharaoh's magicians to emulate the miracles of Moses reflecting Cassian's description of the 'man tied to sin' who is thought to be a holy man because of his miracles.

However, in addition to the fact that Cassian makes no explicit reference to the Pharaoh's magicians, he makes no reference in the description of the miracles performed by the apostles to the Sending out of the 72, rather citing Matthew 10:8 that treats the Sending out of the Twelve. Finally, Cassian's text of Matthew 7:23 appears to

⁴⁹³ *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ *ibid.*, 114. See Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, 1,991.

⁴⁹⁵ Cassian, *Conlationes*, 15,1.

⁴⁹⁶ Cassian's language in the third type of healing is very close to that found in Sedulius, in particular in the use of the verb *simulare*, also found in the *PC* at line 168 and *aemulatio*, found twice in the *PO* at p.265, 7-8. Cassian, *Conlationes*, 15,1: Tertius curationum modus etiam concludio daemonum ac factione simulatur, ut dum homo manifestis criminibus obligatus, propter admirationem signorum sanctus ac Dei famulus creditur, etiam uitiorum eius aemulatio suadeatur (CSEL 13, 427).

be Vulgate not Old Latin as found in Sedulius.⁴⁹⁷ These considerations rule out Cassian's text as a direct source for Sedulius. However, Cassian's work was an important source for many monastic rules, and one such rule, the Carolingian Rule of Solitaries attributed to Grimlaicus, adapts Cassian's 15th *Conference* for the penultimate article of the rule but cites the Sending out of the 72 alongside Matthew 7:23 as in Sedulius, as well as the Sending out of the 12 as in Cassian.⁴⁹⁸ It is possible therefore that Sedulius is drawing on an adaptation of Cassian's work that is found as part of a monastic rule that forms the basis for the Rule of Solitaries or that the reference to Luke 10 occurs independently in both works.⁴⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the citation of Luke 10 in the Rule of Solitaries shows that Cassian's text was adapted with the inclusion of complementary citations and this possibly also lies behind Sedulius's text.

As regards the version of Old Latin used by Sedulius in his citation in the *PO*, which appears to be the same as that which lies behind the text in the *PC*, the cited text displays clear variations between Latin versions. A number of these variations are apparently caused by contamination from Luke 13:27 and/or Psalm 6:9. The first variant site in Sedulius's cited text is the translation of *οὐδέποτε* by *non*, which is the reading found in the majority of **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL41 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL12 and VL13), whereas the Vulgate, **K** and the citations of Cyprian have the more literal *numquam*.⁵⁰⁰ The second major variant is *noui uos*; here again Sedulius's text reflects the translation of *ἐγνων ὑμᾶς* found in **I** witnesses, which is also found in the Vulgate, whereas **K** and the citations of Cyprian have *cognoui uos*.⁵⁰¹ A clear distinction between the African and European versions can be seen in the next variant reading, where the European codices reflect the Alexandrian/'Western'/Byzantine text type which contains the reading *ἀποχωρεῖτε*, which is rendered by the Latin *discedite*, whereas **K** and Cyprian have *recedite* which is probably a translation of *ἀναχωρεῖτε*, the reading found in the Codex Koridethi (**Θ038**) and the *f*^{d3} Ferrar group of manuscripts.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁷ Cassian, *Conlationes*, 15,1: et tunc confitebor illis quia numquam noui uos: Discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis (CSEL 13, 427).

⁴⁹⁸ Grimlaicus, *Regula Solitiorum*, 68 (PL 103, 661).

⁴⁹⁹ The third possibility, that the *Regula Solitiorum* includes Luke 10:20 due to the influence of Sedulius's work can probably be discounted as there are no allusions to Sedulius's passage in this chapter of the rule.

⁵⁰⁰ **CY** te 3,26 (WLMv); **CY** un 15; **PS-CY** reb 7.

⁵⁰¹ **CY** te 3,26 (WL); **CY** un 15; **PS-CY** reb 7.

⁵⁰² **CY** te 3,26; **CY** un 15; **PS-CY** al 10.

The final two variant readings concern parts of the text that are affected by contamination from other biblical sources especially in the Latin tradition but also in the Greek tradition. First, Sedulius's reading *omnes*, the ultimate origin of which is probably Luke 13:27 or more likely Psalm 6:9; this reading is found in the Greek tradition where *παντες* is inserted in the Regius (**L019**), the Koridethi (**Θ038**) the *f*³ group and minuscule 1424. In the Latin tradition of Matthew 7:23 only VL4 and VL30 contain the reading but it is also preserved in eighteen Matthean patristic citations.⁵⁰³ This suggests that the reading of *omnes* as found in VL4 and VL30 is far more widespread than the codices suggest and of these, Hilary and Ambrose among several others preserve an identical form to that found in Sedulius.⁵⁰⁴ Secondly, the reading *qui operamini iniquitatem* is found alongside *operarii iniquitatis* in the European tradition. The latter reading, although enjoying significant support amongst Old Latin codices (VL3 VL6 VL12 VL13 and VL41) and patristic citations, Ambrosiaster and Augustine in particular, is probably a contamination from Luke 13:27.⁵⁰⁵ Although several Old Latin witnesses of Luke also contain the reading *qui operamini iniquitatem* (VL10 VL14 VL17), the Greek tradition is clearly split between the first and third Gospels with *οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν* found in the former and *ἐργάται ἀδικίας* in the latter.⁵⁰⁶ For this reason *qui operamini iniquitatem* has been taken as the reading for **I**, despite it figuring in only one unmixed Old Latin codex, the Veronensis (VL4). In all but one of the variants found in the cited text Sedulius's text follows that found in **I**; the one reading that does not follow **I** is the use of *omnes* that is only found in VL4, but as seen above, this reading is nevertheless extremely popular in patristic citations and Sedulius's text can be considered a typical Italian Old Latin text. A final variant comes from the paraphrased text, both in the *PO* and the *PC*, in the reading *dicturum* at *PO* 4,14, p.265, 2 (and *dicturus* at v. 4,166 in the *PC*). van der Laan sees this as based on *dicam*, the translation of *ὁμολογήσω* found in **K**, **I** (VL3 VL6 VL7 VL12) and several principally

⁵⁰³ The presence of corresponding forms in Psalm 6:9 or Luke 13:27 complicates matters but even in those longer citations which are clearly Matthean, *omnes* is found in the following: **CY** un 15 (var); **PS-CY** Nov 8; **HIL** tri 9,65; **AM** Ps 1,57,2; Lc 7,29; **AU** ba 6,31; Ps 138,26,50; s 137,9; s 142,7; **PS-AU** Pal 2; s 5,7; s Mai 123,2; **PEL**:Ps-AU vit 13; **RUF** Gn 4,6; **QU** cant 9,3; **PHI** 34; **EUS-G** s 9,2; **GR-M** Jb 11,18; **IS** sent 1,29,7.

⁵⁰⁴ **AM** Lc 7,29; **HIL** tri 9,65; **PS-AU** s Mai 123,2; **EUS-G** s 9,2; **PHI** 34.

⁵⁰⁵ **CY** te 3,26 (AB); **EVA-A** 19; **AMst** 1 Cor 12,31; **AU** pet 2,125; q Si 2,1,9; un 10; un 15; **CHRY** cor 1,9.

⁵⁰⁶ Despite a number of variants in the Greek tradition of Luke 13:27 (most notably *ἀνομίας* in place of *ἀδικίας* in D05 and 1424) the use of *ἐργάται*, which lies behind the Latin *operarii*, is universal.

African citations.⁵⁰⁷ The Vulgate has *confitebor*, a Vulgate specific reading, while VL4, VL13, Hilary and the *Opus Imperfectum* have *iurabo*.⁵⁰⁸ Sedulius's reading therefore belongs to the most common Old Latin text-types, which supports the Old Latin hypothesis for Sedulius's text, but due to the lack of patristic citations for this part of the verse, it is difficult to say whether the reading is as widespread in Italy as it appears to be in African texts.

8:1-4. Jesus Cleanses a Leper

Sedulius's passage of the Cleansing of the Leper is the third miracle presented in books three of the *PO* and the *PC*, after the Miracle at Cana (John 2:1-11) and the Healing of the Royal Official's Son (John 4:46-54). Prefixed to the episode is a description of Jesus travelling through different cities (*diuersas urbes*) healing and exorcising (*depulsis.. uitiis.. sanabat*). Various New Testament episodes have been suggested as the model for this section of Sedulius's text. Van der Laan suggests Matthew 4:23 *et circumibat Iesus totam Galilaeam docens in synagogis eorum et praedicans euangelium regni et sanans languorem et omnem infirmitatem in populo*.⁵⁰⁹ As such, Mazzega sees Sedulius's six-word list at *PC* 3,23-4 (*urbes... castella*) as metonymy for Matthew's *totam Galilaeam*.⁵¹⁰ However, Mazzega also notes that this explanation is not without its problems as there is little or no reference to Matthew 4:24 *et abiit opinio eius in totam syriam et obtulerunt ei omnes male habentes uariis languoribus et tormentis comprehensos et qui daemona habebant et lunaticos et paralyticos et curauit eos*, but he counters by suggesting that Sedulius is combining the two verses in his paraphrase.⁵¹¹ The consequence of considering the first part of the passage as based on Matthew 4:23-4 is that the *PO* passage therefore jumps from Matthew 4 to Matthew 8 within the same sentence, a point that Mazzega also noticed.⁵¹²

It is clear that Sedulius considers the Healing of the Leper as continuous with itinerant healing and exorcizing found in the first part of the passage and it equally appears

⁵⁰⁷ van der Laan (1990: 114); **CY** te 3,26; **CY** un 15; **AU** pet 2,125; **Ps** 100,7,13; s 137,9 s dni 2,84; **PEL:PS-AU** vit 13; **RUF** Pa 5; pri 4,1,2; **QU** cant 9,3; **CHRY** cor 1,9; **PS-AM** s Se 3,2.

⁵⁰⁸ **HIL** tri 9,65; **AN** Mt h 29.

⁵⁰⁹ van der Laan (1990: xvii).

⁵¹⁰ Mazzega (1996: 84-5).

⁵¹¹ *ibid*, 83.

⁵¹² *ibid*, 86.

strange to place *cum repente... postulabat* immediately after *inde per diuersas urbes... sanabat*, if Sedulius is conscious that the entire Sermon on the Mount episode occurs between the two episodes.

Van der Laan and Mazzega's reading of the passage is based on the assumption that Sedulius is working directly from the individual Gospels themselves and in particular Matthew.⁵¹³ But close examination of the text reveals that this is far from certain. In the table below, Sedulius's *PO* text has been placed alongside the Old Latin (**I**) text for Matthew 8:1-3, Mark 1:39-42 and Luke 5:12-13:

<i>PO</i> 3,3 p.233, 12 - p.234, 8	Matthew 8:1-3 (I)	Mark 1:39-42 (I)	Luke 5:12-13 (I)
Inde per diuersas urbes et compita perque rura, uicos et castra salutiferos gressus accomodans, cuncta depulsis morborum uitiis membra sanabat	Et descendente eo de monte secutae sunt <i>turbae</i> multae	et erat praedicans in synagogis galileae itemque daemonia expellens	Et factum est cum esset in una <i>ciuitatum</i>
<i>cum repente</i> de medio stipantis <i>turbae</i> concilio <i>uaria leprosus infelicitate perfusus</i> et obsceno factus candore miserior <i>Dominum sic inquiring postulabat:</i> D o m i n e s i u i s p o t e s m e m u n d a r e	Et ecce <i>leprosus</i> quidam ueniens adorabat eum dicens <i>Domine si uis potes me mundare</i>	et uenit ad illum <i>leprosus</i> deprecans eum et dicens <i>si uis potes me mundare</i>	ecce uir <i>plenus lepra</i> et uidens Iesum et ipse procidens in faciem rogabat eum dicens <i>Domine si uis potes me mundare</i>
namque ut <i>eum Dominus sancta contigit manu dicens:</i> u o l o m u n d a r e , <i>confestim</i> bicolor	et extendens manum <i>tetigit</i> eum Iesus <i>dicens uolo mundare</i> , et <i>confestim</i> mundata est lepra eius	et iratus ⁵¹⁴ extendens manum suam et tangens eum dixit <i>uolo mundare</i> et statim discessit ab eo lepra	et extendens manum <i>tetigit</i> illum <i>dicens uolo mundare</i> et <i>confestim</i> lepra discessit ab illo

⁵¹³ see Introduction.

⁵¹⁴ *iratus* is the reading found in the majority of Old Latin manuscripts (VL3 VL5 VL8 VL14 =**D05**), but the Vulgate and VL10 have *misertus*, **AM** Lc 5,4 has *miseratus est*, VL6 and VL15 have *misertus est* and VL2 has *miser cordia actus*. This reading finds a possible parallel in Sedulius's *obsceno factus candore miserior*.

PO 3,3 p.233, 12 - p.234, 8	Matthew 8:1-3 (I)	Mark 1:39-42 (I)	Luke 5:12-13 (I)
aegritudo <i>discessit</i> ponensque maculosae cutis horrorem peregrina corpus caruit foeditate.			

PC 3,23-32

Inde salutiferis incedens gressibus urbes,
Oppida, rura, casas, uicos, castella peragrans,
Omnia depulsis sanabat corpora morbis.
Ecce autem mediae *clamans* ex agmine *turbae*
Leprosus *poscebat* opem uariosque per artus
Plus candore miser: *si uis, Domine, inquit, ab istis*
Me maculis mundare, potes. 'uolo' Christus ut inquit,
Confestim redit una cutis proprioque decore
Laeta peregrinam mutarunt membra figuram,
Inque suo magis est uix agnitus ille colore.

As can be seen, the only exclusively Matthean element in Sedulius's *PO* text is the phrase *secutae sunt turbae multae* from Matthew 8:1, that appears rendered by Sedulius's *stipantis turbae*. However, there are also a number of Lukan and Marcan features in Sedulius's text. For example, *uaria infelicitate perfusus* appears a rendering of Lukan *plenus lepra*, *postulabat* is a close rendering of the Lukan *rogabat*, and *confestim bicolor aegritudo discessit* is significantly closer to the Lukan *confestim lepra discessit ab illo* or the Marcan *statim discessit ab eo lepra* than the Matthean *confestim mundata est lepra eius*. Given these apparently Lukan and Marcan features, it is worth considering whether the phrase *inde per diuersas urbes... sanabat* is not simply a paraphrase of Mark 1:39 or an *amplificatio* of *cum esset in una ciuitatum* rather than a paraphrasis of Matthew 4:23-4.

Thus there is sufficient evidence to cast some doubt on the assumption that Sedulius's passage is based primarily on Matthew. The textual evidence suggests that it is based on Luke, Mark or some sort of combination of Matthew and Mark or Luke.⁵¹⁵ Rather than suppose Sedulius is following the Matthean sequence, it is worth considering whether his sequence order in book three reflects the liturgical sequence with which he was familiar. The position as the third episode used in book three corresponds with the use of Matthew 8:1-4 as a Gospel passage to be read on the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany; in addition, the Marcan and Lukan versions are also designated to be read around this time in the Capitulary of Würzburg, as the reading for the Wednesday after the 2nd Sunday after Epiphany and the Friday after the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany respectively.⁵¹⁶ Sedulius as the basis of his passage could well have used any one of these readings or all of them.

Given the uncertainty over the source for Sedulius's text, the readings have not been included in the statistics, but some observances can still be made. Sedulius's *turbæ*, possibly taken from Matthew 8:1, is again only different in the African **K** tradition that has *populi* as a translation of *οἱ ὄχλοι*. In the Latin tradition of both Luke and Matthew, *mundare* is found in all the Latin traditions save the African codices **K** (VL1) and **C** (VL2) that read *emundare*, but *mundare* is found in **C** (VL2) in the Marcan verse. However, in all the Synoptics, Sedulius's *si uis* is supported by all European traditions against the African traditions of **K** (VL1) and **C** (VL2), which all read *uolueris* as the translation of *θέλης*. Thus the African tradition can be ruled out in all three possible Gospel sources. Sedulius's *confestim* is widely found in Matthean sources, but not in VL1 or VL12; in Lukan and Marcan sources *confestim* is only found in some of the codices, and principally the Italian ones. In the former it is found in the Vulgate, VL4 VL5 VL8 VL10 VL11 VL13 VL14 and VL15; in the latter it is confined to VL8 and VL14. Thus the most that can be said about the Latin in Sedulius's source is that it is European, possibly Italian and that there are no clues as to whether he used an Old Latin or Vulgate source for this passage.

⁵¹⁵ Moretti Pieri does not examine the episode in her study, but the *diatessaron* witnesses do not appear to harmonise the episode in the same manner as Sedulius.

⁵¹⁶ Morin (1911).

8:23-27. The Calming of the Storm on Lake Galilee.

PO 3,6, p.235, 6 - p.236, 6

Sedulius's passage of Jesus's calming of the storm on Lake Galilee has received considerably scholarly attention for its use of classical sources.⁵¹⁷ It has however received less attention for its use of biblical passages with only Moretti Pieri examining the biblical sources in detail. Van der Laan considers Matthew the principal source for the passage,⁵¹⁸ though Mayr, Corsaro, Moretti Pieri and Mazzega have noticed Sedulius's use of elements taken from the Lukan and Marcan accounts.⁵¹⁹ Furthermore, the similarity between Sedulius's description of the storm and that found in Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam* has been noticed by Green.⁵²⁰ The single part of cited text in the *PO* passage is *Domine, libera nos, perimus*. This is clearly an Old Latin translation of *σῶσον (ἡμᾶς)* found in **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL12 VL13 VL41), with the Vulgate and **K** preserving the more literal *salua nos*. The equivalent reading found in the *PC*, *miserere citus, miserere, perimus / Auxilio succurre pio* provides no clear evidence of the tradition used.

The surrounding text found in the *PO* provides clues to the biblical source used, but interpreting these clues is far from simple. Moretti Pieri's study ostensibly focuses on the *PC* text but she admits how difficult Sedulius's classical allusions make tracing his biblical sources.⁵²¹ Thus she draws on the *PO* text, arguing that Sedulius is likely to be using the same source for both versions.⁵²² In one of the more compelling examples of evidence for Sedulius's use of a harmonized base text when composing his poem, Moretti Pieri identifies Sedulius's *PO* and *PC* passages as mainly Matthean but with three clear insertions from the other synoptic Gospels: in the *PC* lines 3,52-3, *pelagusque procellis / uertitur* suggest the use of Luke 8:23, *descendit procella uenti*, or

⁵¹⁷ In particular, see Ratkowitsch (1986); Mazzega 1996: 99-117).

⁵¹⁸ van der Laan (1990: xvii & 103).

⁵¹⁹ Mayr (1916: 41); Corsaro (1956: 90); Moretti Pieri (1969: 148-152); Mazzega (1996: 99).

⁵²⁰ Green (2006: 235).

⁵²¹ Moretti Pieri (1969: 184).

⁵²² *ibid.*, 151: 'in questo caso, però, riteniamo abbastanza significativo il fatto che la contaminazione tra le fonti avvenga nell'Opus per poter ammettere come assai probabile che già nel Carmen il Poeta abbia avuto presente anche Marco, ma, più fedele a quelle *leges poeseos* di cui parla lo Huemer che non al testo evangelico, lo ha poi elaborato in modo tale da non rendere più sicuramente identificabile la fonte originaria.'

Mark 4:36, *et facta est procella magna uenti*;⁵²³ at *PO* 3,6, p.253, 61-18, the words *Christus autem... modico ceruicali suffultus fluctuanti dormiens quiescebat in puppi* are a clear paraphrase of Mark 4:38, *et erat ipse in puppi supra ceruical dormiens*, the only Gospel that describes Jesus as sleeping on a pillow;⁵²⁴ finally, Jesus's order to the winds and sea to be quiet at *PO* 3,6, p.263, 4-5, *uentis imperat ut quiescerent et mari praecipit ut taceret*, are a harmonisation of Matthew 8:26, *imperauit uentis et mari* and Mark 4:39, *et dixit mari tace obmutesce*.⁵²⁵

Comparing it with the harmonized text found in the *Unum Ex Quattuor*, Moretti Pieri concludes that Sedulius used a harmonized source close to that found in this later Latin *diatessaron*.⁵²⁶ In the following table, the paraphrased biblical text from the *PO* has been placed alongside the findings of Moretti Pieri and the text of the *Unum Ex Quattuor* as found in the Codex Fuldensis:

<i>PO</i> 3,6, p.235, 6 - p.236, 6	Gospel sources ⁵²⁷	Fuldensis Ch. 53 ⁵²⁸
Dehinc litoreas harenosi callis oras obambulans <i>paruae lintris</i> <i>tabulata conscendit ac discipulis</i> <i>comitantibus</i>	Mt. 8:23 et ascendente eo in naucula secuti sunt eum discipuli eius Lk. 8:22 et ipse ascendit in nauculam et discipuli eius	et ascendente eo in naucula secuti sunt eum discipuli eius
cumque motu carbasi tumentis impulsa procul ueheretur a litore iam carina surgit <i>hiems inmitis et</i> <i>aspera</i>	Mt. 8:23 motus magnus factus est in mari Lk. 8:23 et descendit procella uenti in stagnum Mk. 4:36 et facta est procella magna uenti	et ecce motus magnus factus est in mari
totum mare funditus <i>procellis</i> exagitans ac puppim fluctu recedente submersam undis iterum tumentibus alleuabat ...	Mt. 8:23 ita ut naucula operiretur fluctibus Mk. 4:36 et fluctus mittebat in nauem ita ut impleretur nauis	ita ut naucula operiretur fluctibus

⁵²³ *ibid*, 149. The use of *procella* in the *PC* has been explained as an allusion to Vergil *Aeneid* 1,85. This argument loses some of its strength when it is considered that *procella* is also found in both Luke and Mark.

⁵²⁴ *ibid*, 151.

⁵²⁵ *ibid*, 151-2.

⁵²⁶ *ibid*, 207-9.

⁵²⁷ Based on the findings of Moretti Pieri (1969: 148-152) but concentrating only on the *PO*.

⁵²⁸ Ranke (1868: 57-8).

<i>PO</i> 3,6, p.235, 6 - p.236, 6	Gospel sources ⁵²⁷	Fuldensis Ch. 53 ⁵²⁸
Christus autem uerus gubernator ac prouidus modico <i>ceruicali</i> suffultus fluctuanti dormiens quiescebat <i>in puppi</i> , sopitus corpore, peruigil maiestate, quoniam secundum Dauiticam prophetiam: non dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit Israhelel (Ps. 120:4)	Mt. 8:24 ipse uero dormiebat Mk. 4:38 et erat ipse in puppi supra ceruical dormiens	ipse uero erat in puppi super ceruical dormiens
cumque discipulis una simul uoce clamantibus: Domine, libera nos, perimus	Mt. 8:25 et accesserunt et suscitauerunt eum dicentes Domine salua nos perimus	et accesserunt et suscitauerunt eum dicentes Domine salua nos quia perimus
<i>exurgit</i> suscitatus uentis imperat ut quiescerent, mari praecipit ut taceret,	Mt. 8:26 tunc surgens imperauit uentis et mari Mk. 4:39 et exsurgens comminatus est uento et dixit mari tace obmutesce	et dicit eis quid timidi estis modicae fidei tunc surgens imperauit uento et mari. Et dixit tace et obmutesce
subitoque ponti pariter et aetheris inopinata temperies praesentiae proditrix fit diuinae.	Mt. 8:26 / Mk. 4:39 et facta est tranquillitas magna Mt. 8:27 et uenti et mari et oboediunt ei Mk. 4:40 et uentus et mari et oboediunt ei	et facta est tranquillitas magna porro homines mirati sunt dicentes ad inuicem quis aut qualis est hic quia et uentis imperat et mare et oboediunt ei

PC 3,59-63

Ergo ubi pulsa quies cunctis lacrimantibus una

Voce simul '*miserere citus, miserere, perimus,*

Auxilio succurre pio', nil uota moratus,

Exurgens Dominus ualidis mitescere uentis

Imperat et dicto citius tumida aequora placat.

Sedulius's *PO* text thus appears to be based on a biblical text that is largely a harmonisation of the Matthean and Marcan accounts. In turn, this also appears to be the text found in the *Unum Ex Quattuor*. There are however a number of key differences that warrant explanation. First, as Mazzega notes, Sedulius's reference to a storm (*hiems*) is closer to the Marcan or Lukan accounts than that found in Matthew, which is

also found in the *Unum Ex Quattuor*.⁵²⁹ Although it is possible that the pre-Fuldensis version of the harmony on which the *Unum Ex Quattuor* is based contained a more specific reference to a storm and that Sedulius's text drew on this, it appears more fruitful to focus on the parallels between Sedulius's text and the Old Latin text and on the imagery used by Sedulius in his description of the storm given the lack of witnesses to this putative harmony. In addition to the use of *libera nos*, the reading of Matthew 8:25 found in VL4 VL7 and VL13 is explicit in mentioning the presence of the *discipuli* with the verb *accesserunt* or *suscitauerunt*, which appears closer to Sedulius's *discipulis clamantibus... suscitatus*. Regarding the other readings in the paraphrased text, Sedulius's text contains few readings that can be clearly identified. The readings *exurgit*, *suscitatus*, *Christus autem*, *imperat*, and *uentis* could all be indicative of a particular Matthean or Marcan tradition but given the apparent harmonisation in Sedulius's text, it is impossible to know which one. Among those readings that are unambiguous, the mention of the little bark, *paruae... lintris* excludes the reading *nauem* found in **K**. *Ceruicali* is clearly taken from *ceruical* at Mark 4:38 as found in the Vulgate, **D** (VL3) and **I** (VL5 VL6 VL8 VL10 VL12 VL17) against *puluinum*, the reading found in **C** (VL2) and VL4 VL13. Finally, the text *mari praecipit ut taceret* suggests the Vulgate text at Mark 4:39 that reads *dixit mari tace obmutesce*; the Old Latin traditions are diverse, but none contains a form of *tacere*.⁵³⁰ Sedulius's text appears to be a combination of Old Latin Matthew as found in **I** and Vulgate Mark; this mixture is not in itself surprising as Sedulius's text of Mark elsewhere contains several Vulgate readings, whereas his text of Matthew at many points is a witness to the **I** Old Latin tradition. The variants in his text point to the traditions one might expect if Sedulius had separate Gospels and was harmonising the accounts himself.

Another possibility is that Sedulius once again drew his text from a source such as a homily or lectionary lesson where the Matthean and Marcan text were already harmonised. In support of this is Sedulius's use of Psalm 120:4. Not only is it in a Gallican Psalter text-type that is preferred by Sedulius to the Roman Psalter text-type only here amongst his Psalm citations,⁵³¹ suggesting a secondary source, but this use of the verse is also paralleled in Chromatius, the Latin Pseudo-Origen and Bede and

⁵²⁹ Mazzega (1996: 99).

⁵³⁰ **I** (VL4 VL6 VL8 VL12): ommutesce; VL5 VL10 VL13 VL17: sile (c)ommutescere.

⁵³¹ See appendix 4, *ad loc*

alluded to in Didymus the Blind's work *De Trinitate*.⁵³² None of these sources contain the same text types as Sedulius both in the Gospel and Psalter text and can be excluded as direct sources. However, Chromatius's text in particular was used as homily on the 4th Sunday after Epiphany and appears to contain a harmonised Matthew-Mark text.⁵³³ It is therefore possible that both Sedulius's and Chromatius's texts are witnesses to an earlier Old Latin homily that circulated in Italy in the 4th/5th century that contained a harmonised Matthew-Mark text of the Calming of the Storm.⁵³⁴

9:27-31. The Two Blind Men in Galilee (and the Deaf-Mute)

PO 3,12-13, p.242, 4-19

Inde peracta recidiuae lucis operatione discedens duos conspicit uiros amissis luminibus sauciatos, talibus paene uocibus deprecantes: miserere nostri, fili Dauid. illam scilicet misericordiam postulabant, ut noctem remouens caligantem extinctis diem uultibus reformaret. quam tutum credere, quam sanum est in Deo studiose confidere!

....

His itaque uix dimissis alius morbis et triplicibus oblatus est inbecillis, qui uoce desertus, uacuatus auditu, per inania raptis usibus membra, plenus solo uidebatur esse daemonio. hunc uersis in contrarium causis Dominus ilico sic curauit, ut daemonio uacuasset eiecto, uoce pariter et auditu repleuisset infuso.

PC 3,143-157

Inde pedem referens duo conspicit ecce sequentes

Caecatos clamare uiros: fili inclite Dauid,

Decute nocturnas extinctis uultibus umbras

Et clarum largire diem. quam credere tutum,

Quam sanum est cognosse Deum!

⁵³² Chromatius, *Tractatus In Mattheum*, 42 (CCSL 9A, 399-404) = *Opus Imperfectum In Mattheum*, 23 (PG 56, 754-56). Pseudo-Origen, *Homilia In Mattheum*, 6 (GCS 41, 256-262) = PS-ORI Mt 3 = PS-BED h 54 (PL 94, 411-3; Paulus Diaconus 1,64) (CPL 674). Bede, *Homilia 34; In Euangelium Lucae*, 3,8; Didymus the Blind, *De Trinitate*, 3,21: ὁ μὴ ὑπνῶν μηδὲ νυστάζων, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσων Χριστιανοῦς (PG 39, 912).

⁵³³ Chromatius, *Tractatus In Mattheum*, 42,2: sed cum dormiente domino, saeuiente procella, usque ad periculum nauis uiolenti fluctus insurgerent, discipuli timore perculsi Dominum suscitant dicentes: domine libera nos perimus (CCSL 9A, 400). The description of the storm with the use of *procella* and description of the waves battering the ship is closer to Mark 4:37 than the relatively neutral Mt. 8:23.

⁵³⁴ Green (2006: 235) suggests chapters 40-42 of Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam* as a possible source for Sedulius in this passage but Ambrose makes no mention of Ps. 120 and, as Green notes, Sedulius's allegorical interpretation is different to that found in Ambrose.

...

*His ita dimissis alius producitur aeger,
Multiplici languore miser, qui uoce relictus,
Auditu uacuus, solo per inania membra
Daemone plenus erat. hunc protinus ordine sacro
Curauit uersis Deus in contraria causis,
Daemonio uacuans, auditu et uoce reformans.*

Huemer treats the biblical source as Matthew 20:29-34, the Healing of the Two Blind Men at Jericho, but Mayr, van der Laan and Mazzega treat the source as Matthew 9:27-31 with the former passage paraphrased at *PC* 4,31-39.⁵³⁵ There are a number of factors that support the view held by Mayr, van der Laan and Mazzega: first the episode order in book three, with this episode preceded by the healing of Jairus's Daughter (Mt. 9:18-26) at *PC* 3,103-42 and followed by the Healing of a Mute Demoniac (Mt. 9:32-34) at *PC* 3,152-7. It follows therefore that the source for *PC* 3,143-51 be Matthew 9:27-31. Secondly, the scene contains a couple of words that are specific to Matthew 9:27-31: *PC* 3,143-4 *sequentes / caecatos* appears a paraphrase of Matthew 9:27 *secuti sunt eum duo caeci*, whereas in Matthew 20 the blind men are sitting beside the road.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, *PC* 3,146-7 *quam credere tutum... sanum est* is based on Jesus's question to the blind men at Matthew 9:28 *creditis quia possum hoc facere uobis?*⁵³⁷ This is the only place in any of the versions of healing of blind men in the Synoptics where the verb *credere* is used and is thus another indicator that Sedulius's ultimate source is Matthew 9.

Considering the passage as a whole, the ultimate source for the passage is probably Old Latin **I**. This is based partly on the evidence from the subsequent passage, the Healing of the Mute Demoniac (Mt. 9:32-4), which is treated at chapter thirteen of book three in the *PO* and lines 3,152-7 in the *PC*, where the Mute Demoniac is described as a Deaf Mute according to a reading only found in **I** witnesses (VL3 VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL12 VL13) in the Latin tradition.⁵³⁸ These two passages are considered a single

⁵³⁵ Huemer et Panagl (2007: 242); Mayr (1916: 42); van der Laan (1990: xviii); Mazzega (1996: 151).

⁵³⁶ See Mazzega (1996:152).

⁵³⁷ See *ibid*, 155.

⁵³⁸ As noticed by Mayr (1916: 96); van der Laan (1990: 40. 205); Mazzega (1996: 158-9) and Springer (2013: 102, *ad loc*). Mazzega in particular treats the reading at length drawing on the comments of Jerome on the Greek tradition as found in the *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei* 9,33.

episode in some Old Latin sources, such as the Old Latin chapter headings for the *Unum Ex Quattuor* and in the Gospel book of St. Kilian.⁵³⁹ There is no reason to suggest that Sedulius treats them separately; on the contrary, given Sedulius's use of *itaque* at line 14, a word used nowhere else in the *PO* to introduce a new chapter as it does here, there is reason to treat the two miracles as a single passage. As for the cited text, the four words found in the *PO* give little away as the same words are found spoken by the blind men in all the major strands, **K**, **I** and the Vulgate. However, four codices, VL3 VL7 VL10 VL12, have *nobis* rather than *nostris*.⁵⁴⁰ Paradoxically, two of these codices, VL7 and VL12, do contain an unusual reading that is found in Sedulius and these two codices alone, that of the description of the blind men as *deprecantes*. Forms of *deprecantes* are found both in the *PO* and the *PC* and in verse 9:28 of Matthew in VL7 and VL12 the two blind men are described as 'approaching Jesus while praying' (*accesserunt ad eum depraecantes* (VL12: *rogantes*).⁵⁴¹ There is no equivalent for this reading in the Greek tradition and it is possible that such a reading is common to these three sources only by coincidence; however, the possibility that vocabulary from a prayer or another part of the liturgy has crept into the text of VL12 VL7 as well as Sedulius's source should not be discounted.

Other readings in the passage rule out the African tradition **K** as a possible source: Sedulius's use of the present participle seen in *inde... discedens* at line four of the *PO* passage and *inde... pedem referens* at verse 3,143 in the *PC* is supported by the reading *transeunte inde* in **I** and Vulgate against *cum praeteriret inde* as found in **K**. As mentioned above, the description of the Mute demoniac as a Deaf-Mute is a reading specific to **I**. In particular, this reading is only found in VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL10 VL12 VL13 VL30 VL34 and VL175. There are two other readings specific to **I** witnesses and the Vulgate in this passage; the first is Sedulius's *his... dimissis*, found both in the *PO* at line 14 and in the *PC* at verse 3,152. This can be traced to *egressis... illis* found in **I** witnesses and the Vulgate, whereas **K** reads *cum exissent illi*; the second is Sedulius's use of *eiecto* at line 18 of the *PO* 3,13; this is found in **I/V** at Matthew 9:33, *et eiecto daemonio*, whereas **K** reads *et cum exclusum esset daemonium*. The use

⁵³⁹ The Old Latin chapter heading in the *Unum Ex Quattuor* reads as follows: CAPUT LXI. Duos caecos curavit, et daemonium surdum mutum eiecit (Ranke, 1868: 23). For the Gospel Book of St. Kilian (Würzburg M.p.th.q.Ia.) see Salmon (1944: cxxiii).

⁵⁴⁰ Although *miserere* + gen is a perhaps more classical form than *miserere* + dat, there is no evidence for Sedulius preferring classical forms for the biblical citations in the *PO*.

⁵⁴¹ *PO* 3,12, p.242, 5-6: talibus paene uocibus deprecantes; *PC* 3,148-9: caeca precantum / Lumina.

of *daemonium* itself, twice in the *PO* at line 16 and again at line 18 and once in the *PC* at verse 3,157 is itself indicative of an Old Latin base text, as the Vulgate and mixed witnesses prefer *daemone*, although Sedulius does use *daemone* at verse 3,155, though this is probably not significant. None of the other biblical readings in italics provide variants that might provide indicators of the tradition of Sedulius's source. Equally however, there is nothing in the text found in the *PO* or the *PC* that indicates that they could come from different sources. In sum, Sedulius's source is European I/V and if we consider the source the same as that used in the Healing of the Deaf-Mute episode then it is certainly Old Latin I, close to VL4/VL13 with perhaps certain readings stemming from liturgical adaptations of the passage.

10:5-8. The Mission and the Message of the Twelve

PO 3,14, p.243, 1-10

Nec cunctatus *duodecim* quoque *discipulis* tantundem tradere potestatis *iubet* eos omnia posse perficere, quae uideant se fecisse, totisque uirtutibus opulentos mittit *ad ouium indaginem perditarum, domus scilicet Israhel*, quia necdum *per omnes* iugiter *gentes* huius nominis disperserat dignitatem. euntes **ergo**, sic ammonet inter alia quae iubebat, praedicate dicentes: **quia adpropinquauit** regnum caelorum. infirmos **curate**, **mortuos suscite**, leprosos **mundate**, **daemonia eicite**; gratis accepistis, gratis date.

PC 3,158-165

Nec minus interea proprios *iubet* omnia posse
Discipulos totisque simul uirtutibus implens:
Ite, ait, et tristes morborum excludite pestes,
Sed domus Israhel (quia necdum nomine *gentes*
 Auxerat hoc omnes), *caelorum dicite regnum,*
Daemoniis auferte locum, depellite lepram
Functaque subductae reuocate cadauera uitae:
Sumpsistis gratis, cunctis inpendite gratis.

Mazzega and van der Laan give the biblical source for this passage as Matthew 10:1-11, with no use of material from the parallel synoptic passages.⁵⁴² However, only four verses of Matthew feature in detail, Matthew 10:5-8; the first two of these are paraphrased and the second two are cited verbatim in the *PO*. The rest of the passage is devoted to exegesis including allusions to the Good Shepherd Metaphor found in John 10:11-16 (*PO* 3,14, p. 243, 10-14; *PC* 3,166-69), the Four Rivers of Eden found in Genesis 2:10-14 (*PO* 3,14, p. 243, 14 - p.244, 3; *PC* 3,170-75) and in the *PO* alone 1 Corinthians 4:1-7 and Psalm 70:15-16 (*PO* 3,14, p.344, 3-17). The *PC* does contain five verses, 176-182, relating to Psalm 70:15-16, but these are thought to be an interpolation from the *PO*.⁵⁴³ The combination of Epistle and Gospel reading together with an apparent antiphon taken from Psalm 70 suggests that Sedulius's source is again connected to the liturgy.⁵⁴⁴ However, there is no obvious feast day mass for this combination of readings: Matthew 10:5-8 is found as a pericope in the *Liber Commicus* for the *Caput Anni*, alongside I Corinthians 10:14-11:2 and Jeremiah 10:1-10.⁵⁴⁵ The Good Shepherd pericope is used for the 2nd Sunday after Easter (Good Shepherd Sunday) but alongside a reading from the Epistle of Peter as early as the Roman Capitulary of Würzburg.⁵⁴⁶ Far more encouraging evidence is found in the commentary tradition, in particular the commentary of Fortunatianus. This contains exegesis similar to that found in Sedulius drawing on the significance of the twelve apostles and the twelve fountains of water in Exodus, without mentioning the four rivers of Eden as found in Sedulius.⁵⁴⁷ However, as part of the same exegesis Fortunatianus links the Sending out of the Twelve directly to the Good Shepherd metaphor: *ecce ego mitto uos sicut oues in medio luporum et cetera, quia ipse est pastor ouium et magister ut in alio testatur Ego sum pastor bonus pastor bonus animam suam ponit pro ouibus suis.*⁵⁴⁸ This is reused in one of the Arian sermons found in the Verona collection for the

⁵⁴² Mazzega (1996: 161); van der Laan (1990: xviii. 103).

⁵⁴³ Mazzega (1996: 171-2).

⁵⁴⁴ Recent evidence for Roman system of liturgical readings suggests that there was an Epistle and Gospel reading alone at Rome, even in quite early periods; see Vogel et al. (1986: 304, n.70).

⁵⁴⁵ Pérez de Urbel & González Ruiz-Zorrilla (1950: 42-3).

⁵⁴⁶ Morin (1911: 56).

⁵⁴⁷ Exodus 15:27; Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarii in Euangelia*, 51. Fortunatianus does however explain the four rivers of Eden as the four Gospels at length in the prologue to his commentary, see *Commentarii in Euangelia*, 1: Quattuor ergo futura euangelia olim in figuris ostensum est. Denique in Genesi scriptura declarat: Fons autem procedit ex Eden inrigare paradysum et inde diuiditur in quattuor initia. Fons ergo iste est dominus noster Iesus Christus, de quo exeunt quattuor flumina, id est quattuor euangelia, sicut dicit Iohannis euangelista: Flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae (f. 4r-4v, 55-60).

⁵⁴⁸ Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarii in Euangelia*, 54 (f. 42r).

Natalis Martyrum, where the Sending of the Twelve pericope is used as the reading,⁵⁴⁹ and it is possible that Sedulius's text is likewise culled from a commentary, such as Fortunatianus's, for use as a reading at Mass alongside the Corinthians text, which is a later addition.

Sedulius's Matthean text in the *PO* can be split into the citation and the paraphrased material. The variant readings found in the cited text are consistent with those found in the Old Latin **I** tradition. There are several differences between the African and European traditions for the cited text: *ἐγείρετε* is translated as *suscitate* in **I** witnesses and the Vulgate, but *excitate* in **K** and *ἐκβάλλετε* is translated as *eicite* in **I** witnesses and the Vulgate but *expellite* in **K** and Cyprian.⁵⁵⁰ The only difference in the Vulgate text and **I** witnesses is in the translation of *δαίμονια* at Matthew 10:8. In the former, it is translated as *daemones* but in the later (VL4 VL5 VL6 VL7 VL10VL12 VL13 VL45 VL56) and Sedulius it is rendered as *daemonia*. This is good evidence that Sedulius's source was based on the tradition found in **I** witnesses, not the Vulgate, though *daemones* does not appear to be a distinctly Vulgate reading as it is found in pre-Vulgate sources such as Hilary, Ambrose and an anonymous translation of Athanasius's life of Antony.⁵⁵¹ A curiosity of Sedulius's text is the reading *ergo* as a translation of *δε* in place of *autem*, which is unattested elsewhere in codices and patristic citations on the VLD. However, Sedulius appears to use *ergo* as a connector to introduce the citation and its significance can therefore be dismissed.

Sedulius's paraphrased text contains two further clues to the character of his source text. The phrase *mittit (eos) ad ouium indaginem perditarum* in lines 3-4 on page 243 is a paraphrase of Matthew 10:6 *ite ad oues perditas*, the reading found in **K** and **I** (VL3 VL5 VL6 VL9 VL12 VL13) but not VL4, the Vulgate and several mixed witnesses (VL7 VL10 VL11 VL15) that read *ite ad oues quae perierunt*. The other variant reading is found in Sedulius's text in lines 4-5, *quia necdum per omnes iugiter gentes*, with *gentes* seemingly based on the translation of *τὰ ἔθνε* in Matthew 10:5 as *gentes* as found in **I** and the Vulgate, as opposed to the African *nationes* as found in **K**.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 4-5: sicut in presenti audiuius: Ecce ego mitto uos sicut oues in medio luporum... Ibant isti ut oues... inter persecutorum turbas uelut luporum, nec perire poterant qui secum caelestem agnum habebant. Pastor ille bonus semper non deserit suos (CCSL 87, 84).

⁵⁵⁰ **CY** sent 37.

⁵⁵¹ **AM** Lc 6,103; **ATH** ant 83; **HIL** Mt 10,4.

⁵⁵² See von Soden (1909: 235); Bergren (1991: 188).

12:9-14. The Withered Hand Restored

PO 3,15, p.244, 18 - p.245, 8.

Synagogam deinde Dominus cum fuisset *ingressus*, cernit inualidum stupore dimensi corporis mancum, membris seminecem sauciatis, totum nec uiuere nec obire, cuius *arentem dextram* pigri torporis glacies amputarat, desperatis usibus iam positam. tunc imperioso potenter auxilio palmam neruis cessantibus alienam in calorem sanguinis uenarum motibus animari non arte praestitit, sed *iubendo concessit dicens: extende manum tuam, et extendit manum suam, et restituta est ei sicut et altera.* uere Dei munus istud est singulare, quod incessanter exercet qui humanae saluti nihil adimit et semper uniuersa *restituit*.

PC 3,182-8

Exin conspicuam synagogae *ingressus* in aulam,
Aspicit inualidum, dimenso corpore mancum,
Seminecem membris, non totum uiuere, cuius
Arida torpentem damnarat *dextera* partem;
Imperioque medens gelidam recalescere palmam
Praecipit et reduci diuino more saluti,
Sicut semper agit, nil tollit et omnia reddit.

For van der Laan the source of the episode is Matthew 12:9-14, which is supported by the episode order, as it is the first miracle performed after the Mission of the Twelve (Matthew 10).⁵⁵³ The passage is found in all three Synoptics and commentators have noticed elements of all three synoptic accounts (in Mark 3:1-12 and Luke 6:6-11) in Sedulius's passage.⁵⁵⁴ It is one of the episodes thought by Moretti Pieri to be based on a harmonized source, primarily due to the inclusion of the Lukan detail that Jesus has healed the man's *right* hand.⁵⁵⁵ However, Moretti Pieri admits that this alone is not proof that the source is harmonised and elsewhere in her analysis points to the use of *ingredi* rather than *uenire* to describe Jesus's entrance into the synagogue and Sedulius's use of the relative clause *cuius* (3,184) that reflects the Lukan *manus eius* (Matthew and

⁵⁵³ van der Laan (1990: xviii. 91. 116).

⁵⁵⁴ Mazzega (1996: 173) notices the similarity in Sedulius's *synagogae ingressus in aulam* (PC 3,182) to Mark 3:1, *et introiuit iterum synagogam*.

⁵⁵⁵ Moretti Pieri (1969: 175).

Mark prefer *habens manum*),⁵⁵⁶ details which are also found in the *PO*. There is probably no need to explain the presence of *dextera* by Sedulius's use of a *diatessaron*. Homilies on the passage that circulated during Sedulius's time, such as Maximus of Turin's *Sermon* 43 also include the detail as well as other details found in Sedulius's text.⁵⁵⁷

Mazzega has already noticed some similarities between Sedulius's passage and that of the first chapter of Maximus of Turin's sermon.⁵⁵⁸ In addition to the mention of the man's right hand, both texts prefer the word *ingressus* to describe Jesus's entrance into the synagogue. Both describe Jesus's restoring through his 'command' and the power of the Word, contrasting this with doctor's healing through medicine; in Maximus this is described lucidly with the phrase *non adpositis... sucis... medicaminibus conligatis, sed uerbo iubens*.⁵⁵⁹ In Sedulius it is echoed in the *PO* with the phrase *palmam... animari non arte praestitit, sed iubendo concessit*. The *arte* referred to by Sedulius is the *ars medicinalis* that is described in more detail in Maximus's homily.⁵⁶⁰ Furthermore, both texts continue this imagery with detailed description of the physiology of the hand being restored. Maximus describes the 'sap pouring itself into the veins of the dry right hand' at Jesus's command, whereas in Sedulius's text the hand becomes animated 'by the movements of veins caused by the warmth of blood'.⁵⁶¹ This shared 'divine doctor' *topos* in addition to the similar language found in both texts points to a shared tradition between the two texts.

It is not possible that Sedulius's text is directly dependent on Maximus's; the latter contains no biblical citations found in Sedulius's text. However, both are possibly dependent on an earlier homily or commentary. Mazzega has also noticed parallels with certain elements of Sedulius's passage in Hilary, Peter Chrysologus and John Chrysostom;⁵⁶² in particular, Sedulius's (and Maximus's) description of Jesus's curing through the word is found in Hilary's Commentary on Matthew, which points to a

⁵⁵⁶ Moretti Pieri (1969: 174-5. 221).

⁵⁵⁷ Maximus of Turin, *s.* 43; also see Caesarius of Arles, *s.* Et 9 (Étaix, 1989).

⁵⁵⁸ Mazzega (1996: 177).

⁵⁵⁹ Maximus of Turin, *s.* 43, 1 (CCSL 23, 174); cf. *s.* 43, 1: *et id uerbi imperio restituit, quod in principio factura operationis instituit* (CCSL 23, 174)

⁵⁶⁰ Mazzega (1996: 177): 'Der dichter nutzt vielleicht einen medizinischen Terminus'.

⁵⁶¹ Maximus of Turin, *s.* 43, 1: *Verbo igitur iubet, ut arenti dexterae uenarum sese sucus infunderet* (CCSL 23, 174).

⁵⁶² In particular in Chrysologus, *s.* 32,3; Chrysostom, *Homily* 40,1; Hilary, *In Matthaeum Commentarius*, 12,7. See Mazzega (1996: 174. 177).

possible earlier use by Origen.⁵⁶³ Nevertheless, even with the current sources available, there is sufficient evidence to refute Moretti Pieri's suggestion that Sedulius used a *diatessaron* source for the passage. The harmonisation present in the homiletic tradition, with which Sedulius clearly has some sort of contact, is sufficient to explain the harmonised elements found in his text.

With regards to the citation found in Sedulius's passage, it is clearly Matthean and Old Latin. Only in Matthew and, in particular, Old Latin versions of Matthew, is *manum suam* employed both after *extende* and *extendit*. In the Matthean codices, the African **K** tradition, European **I** and the Vulgate traditions can be clearly differentiated and Sedulius's text agrees with **I** at nearly all the variant sites. The major variant sites are the repetition of *manum suam* after both after *extende* and *extendit*, the translation of *ἀπεκατεστάθη*, the inclusion of a word rendering *ύγιης* and the translation of *ώς ή άλλη*. The repetition of *manum suam* is not found in Greek and is only found in VL3 VL4 VL6 VL7 VL8 and VL12, witnesses to **I**. In patristic works, only Arnobius includes this reading; it is not found in the *Opus Imperfectum*.⁵⁶⁴ **K**, the Vulgate and most of the mixed witnesses as well as VL5 and VL13 omit the second *manum suam*, as per the Greek. The European traditions translate *ἀπεκατεστάθη* as *restituta est*, whereas **K**, VL9 and VL10 have *facta est* and *ύγιης* as *sana*. *ύγιης* is omitted in **I** witnesses with a dative object of the person found instead, a tradition not supported by the Greek, but it is translated literally as *sana* in **K**, VL10 and VL13 and *salba* in VL5. The Vulgate lies midway between these two traditions preferring the dative *sanitati* (Vulgate-specific reading). Finally, certain Old Latin witnesses (VL3 VL8 VL9) translate *ώς ή άλλη* as *sicut et altera*, a reading also found in Sedulius; **I** (VL4, VL13), the Vulgate and mixed codices translate the phrase literally as *sicut altera*, a reading found in three Sedulian manuscripts (**BFv**), VL5 has *sicut alia* and VL12 has *sicut et alia*. Given the marked difference in **I** from the Greek tradition, a difference the Jerome's revision attempts to remove, it can be said with confidence that Sedulius's text at this point is based on the Old Latin **I** tradition and in particular to the version preserved in VL3 and VL8.

Patristic citations are scarce, but Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum* preserves the Vulgate text, as does Jerome's *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, while

⁵⁶³ Hilary, *In Matthaeum Commentarius*, 12,7; see Mazzega (1996: 177).

⁵⁶⁴ **AR** exp 16

fragments of the *Opus Imperfectum* preserve a text that is most similar to that found in I witnesses. Finally, it is not possible to tell from the *PC* text whether Sedulius was using a different text type to that found in the *PO*, although the phrase *reduci... saluti* as found in the *PC* is perhaps closer to the Vulgate *restituta est sanitati* than the Old Latin *restituta est ei* that is found in the *PO*. This reading alone however is hardly conclusive.

17:1-8. Transfiguration.

PO 3,24, p.250, 1-15 & 17 - p.251, 7

tribus namque discipulis secum testibus *in excelsa montis abductis* speciem suae gloriae *transfiguratus* ostendit et *uelut igneus solis radiauit aspectus, niuis candorem uestibus imitatus*. cur uero diuinae maiestatis splendidissimam claritatem, quam nullius aspectus potest acies intueri, *solis et niuium figurae* uisibili prudentissimus *euangelista* contulerit, ratio manifestior edocebit. nihil est in hoc mundo siquidem *sole* clarius, *niue candidius*, et ob hoc illud specimen summae diuinitati ratus est conferendum, quia nihil ultra mortalibus oculis probatur esse concessum. in tantum namque Domini fulgor ille praecipuus et solem superabat et niues, ut solem quidem niuesque conspicerere facile cuilibet obtutus subpeditet, Christum uero propriae lucis claritate fulgentem cum nequirent apostoli cernere, *pronis in terram uultibus concidissent*. ... ad quem tales prophetae uisi sunt conuenisse, quorum alter adhuc uiuaci senio perfruatur, alterius finalis luminis metam nullus humanae sortis cursus excedat, sidereiue sermonis oraculo caelitus prorogato, cum dicit: **hic est Filius meus dilectus**, in quo **bene conplacui**, uerbo docuit Christum uox paterna progenitum.

PC 3,273-292.

Nec tamen humano quamuis in corpore Christum,
Matris ab occasu mortalia membra gerentem,
Clam fuit esse Deum, quia non absconditur umquam
Vrbs in monte sedens, modio nec subditur ardens
Lychnus, anhelantem sed spargens altius ignem
Cunctis lumen agit radians nam testibus amplo
Discipulis fulgore tribus uelut igneus ardor
Solis, in aetheriam uersus *splendore figuram*,
Vicerat ore diem, *uestemque* tuentibus ipsam

Candida forma niuis Domini de tegmine fulsit.
 O meritum sublime trium, quibus illa uidere
 Contigit in mundo quae non sunt credita mundo!
 Quid quod et *Heliam et clarum uidere Moysen?*

....

Sidereoque sono '*meus est hic Filius*' aiens
 Ostendit uerbo genitum uox patria Christum.

The Transfiguration is paraphrased in full in both the *PC* and the *PO*, with a short citation of God's words to the disciples in both works. As elsewhere in Sedulius for synoptic passages, words that appear to be significant indicators of a tradition in one Gospel can be common in another. Thus variants of *candidus* found both in the *PC* at line 3,382 and the *PO* at p.250, 8 are potentially indicative of Sedulius's use of **I** as it is the reading preserved in VL4 VL8 and VL9 alone at Matthew 17:2: *uestimenta... facta sunt candida*, with the other witnesses reading *alba*. However, *candida* is found in all witnesses bar VL4 and VL6 in the parallel passage at Mark 9:2, which is possibly where Sedulius took the word, and it on aesthetical grounds it is even more probable that *candidus* was used in place of *albus* as it signals a brilliant white.⁵⁶⁵ Yet there is evidence that the Matthean passage at least formed the base for Sedulius's text in the *PO*.⁵⁶⁶ The citation in the *PO* is probably Matthean, as shown by *dilectus* and *in quo bene complacui*; while three witnesses, VL10 VL13 and VL15 at Mark 9:7 and five, VL4 VL5 VL10 VL8 VL13 at Luke 9:35 preserve *dilectus*, no witnesses in either Mark or Luke preserve *in quo bene complacui*. There is the possibility of course that Sedulius's citation does not come from the Gospels at all, but from the Second Epistle of Peter 1:17, which like Sedulius omits *ipsum audite* but prefers (in the Vulgate at least) *mihi conplacui* to Sedulius's *bene conplacui: accipiens enim a Deo Patre honorem et gloriam uoce delapsa ad eum huiuscemodi a magnifica gloria hic est Filius meus dilectus in quo mihi conplacui*. In addition, Sedulius's mention of Jesus's *gloria* (*speciem suae gloriae transfiguratus ostendit*) is perhaps taken from II Peter 1:17, but a more likely source is via a homily or commentary. However, there are two Matthew specific features in the *PO*, the detail that Jesus's face shone like the sun (Mt. 17:2) and that the disciples fell to the ground upon hearing God's voice (Mt. 17:6). These

⁵⁶⁵ See for example, Servius's comment on Virgil's *Georgics*; Seruius, ad Verg. G, 3,82.

⁵⁶⁶ See van der Laan (1990: xviii. 84. 103). Mazzega (1996: 231) considers the *Vorlage* for the *PC* Matthean with elements of Luke.

features, in addition to the fact that Sedulius mentions that he is citing from one Gospel (*prudentissimus euangelista contulerit*),⁵⁶⁷ strongly suggest that Matthew is the main source, in the *PO* at least.

However, there are, as ever, other factors to consider, not least Sedulius's use of secondary sources. Mazzega has noted the similarity between Sedulius's text and aspects of the commentaries of Hilary on Matthew and of Ambrose on Luke.⁵⁶⁸ In particular, Sedulius's description of the brightness of Jesus's divine majesty at *PO* 3,24, p. 250, 5 'which no-one's gaze could observe' appears to draw on Ambrose's phrase that 'if the corporeal gaze of the observing eye cannot bear the sun's rays, then how could the corruptible nature of men's limbs bear God's glory?', with Sedulius and Ambrose employing the same words for gaze, *acies*.⁵⁶⁹ Elsewhere, there is a similarity in Sedulius's description of how the apostles 'see' Moyses and Elijah at *PO* 3,24, p.250, 18, *corporalibus ignotus aspectibus oculis interioribus cognouerunt* and Augustine's *Sermon* 78, on the Transfiguration, which describes the transfiguration as the appearance of Jesus as 'the sun to the eyes of the heart'.⁵⁷⁰ This sermon, together with Chromatius's *Tractatus* 54A are two sources that have not been considered in Mazzega's commentary and which provide several parallels with Sedulius's text. Chromatius's text contains much of the same language found in the opening of Sedulius's passage, referring to Jesus revealing to the disciples that he was God through 'the appearance of his divine majesty', and how the disciples although 'affirmed in their faith' were unable to 'bear the appearance of his divine brightness'.⁵⁷¹ *claritas, diuina maiestas* and *aspectus* in particular are all words not found in the Gospel account that Sedulius also uses for a similar explanation of the passage. In addition, Chromatius's passage like Sedulius's includes reference to Revelation 1. It is unlikely that Chromatius's passage is Sedulius's direct source however, as the former contains no reference to Revelation 1:8 or Matthew 5:14-15, which are both important elements of Sedulius's text.

⁵⁶⁷ *PO* 3,24, p.250, 6-7.

⁵⁶⁸ Mazzega (1996: 236-7. 239-40).

⁵⁶⁹ Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, 7,17: nam si solis radium e regione oculorum contuentium corporea nequit acies sustinere, quomodo dei gloriam humanorum ferret corruptela membrorum?

⁵⁷⁰ Augustinus, *s.* 78,2 : Quod est iste sol oculis carnis, hoc ille oculis cordis: et quod iste carnibus, hoc ille cordibus (PL 38 490).

⁵⁷¹ Chromatius, *Tractatus in Mattheum*, 54A, 2: nam populo Deum se operibus ostendebat, discipulis uero etiam aspectu diuinae maiestatis. infirmi adhuc et carnales populorum oculi ferre non poterant, cum etiam discipuli ipsi per fidem iam comprobati ferre non ualuerint diuinae ipsius claritatis aspectum (CCSL 9A, 628).

Furthermore, Chromatius's Matthean citations contain *uestimenta ... alba* as a translation of τὰ ἱμάτια ... λευκά,⁵⁷² whereas Sedulius appears to use *uestimenta... candida*, both in the *PO* and the *PC*.⁵⁷³ Despite these differences, the number of parallels with secondary sources is sufficient to support at least some dependence on a shared homiletic tradition, which in turn reduces the likelihood that Sedulius's text is taken directly from a single Gospel source.

This notwithstanding, Sedulius's cited text is of an Old Latin European version of the Transfiguration text popular in Italy in the 5th century. Concerning the section quoted by Sedulius, there appear broadly to be two Old Latin traditions: the African tradition, found in the citations by Tertullian and Cyprian, can be recognised through the translation of εὐδόκησα as *bene sensi*; a similar reading is found in VL2, where it is translated as *mihi sensi*.⁵⁷⁴ The majority of European patristic citations translate εὐδόκησα as *conplacui* or *conplacuit*, often with the addition of *mihi* or *bene* or both. Some of the earliest European patristic citations such as by Hilary and Ambrose and VL5 VL7 VL9 have εὐδόκησα translated simply as *conplacui*, without either *mihi* or *bene*.⁵⁷⁵ This version is also popular in a number of so-called Arian texts.⁵⁷⁶ The majority of European Old Latin codices have *mihi bene conplacui* as the translation of εὐδόκησα (VL3 VL6 VL8 (~*bene mihi c.*)), but VL4 and VL13 as well as the Vulgate prefer *mihi bene conplacuit*. Sedulius's citation conforms to a sub-text type particularly prominent in 5th-century North Italian authors, where εὐδόκησα is translated as *bene conplacui*. North Italian writers to use this form include Chromatius, Gaudentius of Brescia, Maximus of Turin and Rufinus,⁵⁷⁷ but the reading is found much earlier in 4th-century writers such as Firmicus of Sicily, Faustinus of Rome and in Hilary's *De Trinitate*.⁵⁷⁸ Despite the frequency with which *bene conplacui* is found in patristic authors, the sole codex to preserve the text is VL27, although VL14 probably preserves the text but the text is lacunate after *bene*.

⁵⁷² Although note that Chromatius uses the term *candor*, like Sedulius when describing the clothing at 54A, 10: Denique, ut sciamus hanc niuis candorem ad diuinitatis gloriam pertinere... (CCSL 9A, 634).

⁵⁷³ Chromatius, *Tractatus In Mattheum*, 54A, 1-3. 10.

⁵⁷⁴ **TE** Pra 23; **CY** te 1,10.

⁵⁷⁵ **AM** fi 2,127; Lc 2,95; Ps 45,2,2(B); **HIL** Ps 138,6; tri 6,24, 6,27.

⁵⁷⁶ **AN** Mt h 4; **AN** Ver h 17,4; **ORI** Mt 12,42.

⁵⁷⁷ **CHRO** Mt 54A,5; **GAU** s 19,9 **MAX** co 13; s 8; **RUF** Nm 7,2; sy 4.

⁵⁷⁸ **FAUn** Ar 2,3; **FIR** Con 2,13; **HIL** tri 2,23; 2,8; 9,19.

Some of the paraphrased text has been discussed above in terms of its Matthean, Lukan or Marcan character. In the context of Sedulius's use of secondary material, even more than the cited text, the paraphrased text must be used with caution as an indicator of Sedulius's biblical source. However, three readings can be included as being unambiguous. First, Sedulius's use of *in excelsa montis* (*PO* 3,24, p.250, 2) must derive ultimately from *in montem excelsum*, a reading found as a translation of εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν in all the Matthean **I** witnesses (except VL9) and the Vulgate, whereas VL9 and the African **C** (VL2) have *in montem altum* (~*in altum montem* VL9). Second, Sedulius's use of *transfiguratus* (*PO* 3,24, p.250, 2) depends on the translation of μεταμορφώθη as found in **I** and Vulgate witnesses but not **C**, which prefers *confortatus*. Finally, Sedulius does not use the adjective *albus* once to describe Jesus's clothes during the transfiguration, preferring instead variants of *candor/candidus*.⁵⁷⁹ Only three Matthean witness to **I** prefer *candida* to *alba* as a translation of λευκὰ to describe Jesus's clothes at Matthew 17:2, VL4 VL8 and VL9.⁵⁸⁰ The readings found in the *PC* by and large match those of the *PO*. Sedulius's report of the words of God the Father, *meus est hic filius*, contains no variant readings; neither the word *transfiguratus* (for metrical reasons), nor mention of the mountain are found in the *PC*; on the other hand, the adjective used to describe the colour of Jesus's clothes is again *candidus* at line 3,282. The word *fulsit* is used at line 3,282 to describe the shining of Jesus's clothes and this finds a near equivalent in Matthew 17:2 in *fulgebat* as found in VL2 and *effulsit* in VL5 and VL9, but in each of these cases the Matthean context is not the shining of Jesus's clothes but his face (*resplenduit facies eius sicut sol*). The verb used by Sedulius in place of *resplenduit* is *radiare* in both the *PC* and the *PO*, a variant not found in any Matthean source. Therefore, despite certain issues caused by Sedulius's apparent use of secondary material, at the very least an African source for the passage in the *PO* and *PC* can be ruled out and it appears that the underlying source for the Matthean readings is once again **I**-type text.

⁵⁷⁹ *PO* 3,24, p.250, 3-4: niuis candorem uestibus imitatus; *PO* 3,24, p.250, 8: niue candidus.

⁵⁸⁰ Both readings are found in VL27.

19:23-6 The Difficulty for a Rich Man to Enter Heaven

PO 4,2, p.256, 6-16

namque belua *camelus* immensa sicut *foramen acus* exiguum pro tanti corporis mole non potest *transmeare*, sic opulentus *diues* et tumidus nequiret *ad regna caelestia* tenuem angusti callis *introire* per portam, nisi rerum prouidus gubernator, qui totum lege continet nec tenetur ipse sub lege, quem nulla umquam facies aspicit, sed ipse cuncta semper intendit, motos hac condicione discipulos talibus fouisset alloquiis consolator: **apud homines** hoc impossibile est, apud **Deum autem** omnia **possibilia** sunt; non omnibus quippe diuitibus patrimonium sui census est oneri, sed qui propriae malus est rector ubertatis.

PC 4,9-18

Namque *foramen acus* sicut penetrare *camelus*
Membrorum pro mole nequit, sic *diues* opima
Fertilitate tumens tenuem non posset *adire*
Caelestis regni ducentem ad limina callem,
Ni genitor rerum, qui mundum lege coeracet
Et nulla sub lege manet, cui condere uelle est
Quem frons nulla uidet, sed totum conspicit ipse
'*Hoc impossibile est homini*' dixisset, '*at alto*
Possibile est ius omne Deo', multisque molestum
Diuitibus tandem faceret mitescere censum.

The passage is one of the few parables included in a substantial form in the *PC* and *PO*, that of the Parable of the Camel and the Eye of the Needle. This parable, about the rich magistrate who asks Jesus what he needs to do in order to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, is found in all three synoptic Gospels, at Mark 10:17-27 and Luke 18:18-27, in addition to Matthew. Sedulius's citation of Matthew 19:26 is one of a number of biblical sources used by Sedulius in the opening to book four, including Isaiah 40:4 and Matthew 6:20.⁵⁸¹ Van der Laan's analysis of the passage in the *PC* treats the source for the citation of Jesus's words concerning God's omnipotence as Matthean and although

⁵⁸¹ van der Laan (1990: 10-11).

all three synoptic accounts include a version of the words, the form found in Sedulius is principally restricted to Matthean codices.⁵⁸²

This, in addition to the fact that only Matthew has Jesus healing prior to the account of the Rich magistrate at 19:2 and follows the account with the Healing of Two Blind Men (Mt. 21:14, Luke and Mark follow it with the Healing of Bartimaeus) strongly suggests that Matthew is Sedulius's ultimate source.

Sedulius omits the start of the account concerning the rich man's questions to Jesus as well as Jesus's responses. However, the second part of the account including the parable of the camel and the eye of the needle is closely paraphrased with verse 19:26 cited in full in the *PO*. There are very few variants between the different synoptic accounts but the exact text of Sedulius's *PO* citation is only found in Matthean codices and in VL4 among Marcan codices. The Lukan witness commence with *quae impossibilia (sunt) apud homines*, and most of the Marcan witnesses omit *hoc* and prefer *apud deum (autem) possibile* to *apud deum autem omnia possibilia sunt*. The single exception is VL4 that follows the Matthean text. Among Matthean codices there are only minor variants between codices: **C** prefers *apud dominum* to *apud deum*, whereas minor variants can be found in VL3 VL5 VL12 VL13 and VL16. By and large the citation cannot provide us with clues to the character of Sedulius's source.

The paraphrased material in the *PO* is of greater use however. The reading *foramen acus* at *PO* 4,2, p.256, 6-7 is taken from the reading of **I** and Vulgate reading of Matthew 19:24, which translates *διὰ τρυπήματος ῥαφίδος* as *per foramen acus* rather than **C** where it is translated as *per cauerna acus*. Variants of *cauerna* are also the readings found in the African tradition of the corresponding synoptic passages, as found in **K** at Mark 10:25 and in **C** at Luke 18:25. The European reading of *foramen* is also found in the *PC* at 4,9, suggesting that both works depend on a European source. With this in mind, one can probably disregard Sedulius's use of the African reading *introire* at *PO* 4,2, p.256, 9, which is found as a translation for *εἰσελθεῖν* in the African traditions for all the synoptic sources, **C**, VL5 and VL10 at Matthew 19:24, **C** in Luke 18:25 and **K** in Mark 10:25 rather than *intrare* the reading generally preferred in **I** and the Vulgate. With the remaining readings providing no clear variants that can be used to trace the tradition of Sedulius's source text, *introire* is the only reading in the passage

⁵⁸² *ibid*, xviii. 11. 18.

that could be classed as African and it seems best to treat the passage in both the *PC* and the *PO* as based primarily on a European tradition of Matthew.

21:18-22. Cursing of the Fig Tree

PO 4,4-5, p.257, 20 - p.258, 1-11.

Hinc sacra templi post moenia rursus obambulans caecis dedit aspectum, claudis reformauit incessum. post haec nobilium monumenta uirtutum, *Dauiticam deserens ciuitatem*, uenerat in loca *Bethaniae*, dieque remeans subsequente ad eius urbis denuo tecta pergebat. *figus haud procul a semita conexas frondium uelamentis umbrosa*, cuius in robore cum nullum penitus pomum *Dominus carnaliter esuriens inuenisset*, inhumanos arboris ramos non maledicto sauciat, sed praecepto condemnat increpans sic in eam: **numquam ex te fructus nascatur in sempiternum.** *confestimque ficulnea* sucis uiduata subtractis, *infecunda* protinus et deformis comarum posita dignitate *peraruit*.

PC 4,40-51

Hinc repetita sacri gradiens per moenia templi
Lumina caecatis dedit et uestigia claudis.
Talia *dauiticam* post facta *reliquerat urbem*
Bethaniae uicina petens, *eademque reuersus*
Clarescente die properabat uisere *tecta*.
Ecce autem mediis adstans sublimis in aruis
Frondea ficus erat, cuius in robore nullum
Repperit esuriens lustrato stipite pomum;
Arboreisque comis *'iam nunc ex germine uestro*
Nullus', ait, *'fructus reliquum generetur in aeuum'*.
Confestim uiduata suis *ficulnea* sucis
Aruit et siccis permansit mortua ramis.

The Cursing of the Fig Tree is found in Matthew 21 and Mark 11. It is placed after the Healing of the Two Blind men and it is the last episode in the series of miracles drawn from Matthew before the passion book five.⁵⁸³ Sedulius's *PO* text includes significant

⁵⁸³ van der Laan (1990: xviii).

exegesis and references to Psalm 91 and Matthew 7:19 to underline the importance of Christian productivity,⁵⁸⁴ while he also makes reference in his exegesis to Mark's comment that the fig tree was not in the fruiting season (Mk. 11:13). Van der Laan considers the text solely Matthean.⁵⁸⁵ There are several readings that support this: first, there is the inclusion of Matthew 21:14, where Jesus heals the blind and lame in the Temple of Jerusalem, a feature omitted from Mark, in the passage immediately prior to the Cursing of the Fig Tree. Other Matthean features found in the *PO* include the mention that Jesus left Jerusalem,⁵⁸⁶ was then returning to Jerusalem when he saw the fig tree,⁵⁸⁷ and that the fig tree was close to the road.⁵⁸⁸ The Marcan account only mentions that Jesus left for Bethany, then departed Bethany and crucially that Jesus saw the fig tree from afar.⁵⁸⁹ Another specifically Matthean feature found in the *PC* alone is the mention that it was dawn when Jesus made the return journey.⁵⁹⁰ Finally, concerning the arefaction of the fig tree, Sedulius mentions that it happened immediately, rather than by the following day as found in Mark.⁵⁹¹ The passages, both in the *PC* and the *PO*, have a sufficient number of Matthean features for us to conclude with certainty that the source was Matthew. However, it is less clear on what version of Matthew Sedulius's passage draws.

The cited material provides little assistance; Jesus's words as quoted by Sedulius are exactly the same in all the major traditions of Matthew. Only VL5 and VL30 offer variants; the former has *iam non ex te fructus erit in aeternum* in place of *numquam ex te fructus nascatur in sempiternum* while the latter reads *nascetur* rather than *nascatur*, a variant also found in several of the inferior Sedulian manuscripts (**HBfv**). The paraphrased material on the other hand contains several variant readings. Sedulius's reading *reuersus* in the *PC* at line 43, and *remeans* in the *PO* 4,5, p.258, 3, to indicate Jesus's return to Jerusalem are closer to the variant *reuertens* found principally in the

⁵⁸⁴ *ibid*, 37.

⁵⁸⁵ *ibid*, 33.

⁵⁸⁶ *PC* 4,42: *dauiticam... reliquerat urbem*; *PO* 4,5, p.258, 2: *Dauiticam deserens ciuitatem*. This is probably taken from Matthew 21:17, *et relictis illis abiit foras extra ciuitatem in Bethaniam*.

⁵⁸⁷ *PC* 4,43-4: *eademque reuersus... tecta*; *PO* 4,5, p.258, 3-4: *remeans... ad eius urbis denuo tecta*. Mt. 21:18: *reuertens in ciuitatem*.

⁵⁸⁸ *PO* 4,5, p.258, 4: *ficus haud procul a semita*. Mt. 21:19: *uidens fici arborem unam secus uiam*.

⁵⁸⁹ Mk. 11:11: *exiuit in Bethania*; Mk. 11:12: *et alia die cum exirent a Bethania*; Mk. 11:13: *uidisset a longe ficum*.

⁵⁹⁰ *PC* 4,44: *Clarescente die*. Mt. 21:18: *mane autem reuertens in ciuitatem esuriit*. The *PO* only mentions that it was the following day, *die... subsequente* (*PO* 4,5, p.258, 3), a reading that could be taken from *et alia die* (Matthew or Mark 11:12). See van der Laan (1990: 34).

⁵⁹¹ *PC* 4,50-1: *Confestim... ficulnea... aruit*; *PO* 4,5, p.258, 9-10: *confestimque ficulnea... peraruit*. Mt. 21:19: *arefacta est continuo ficulnea*.

Vulgate and mixed witnesses of Matthew 21:18 than *transiens* found in **I**.⁵⁹² Two codices, VL5 and VL12 translate *ἐξήρᾶνθη* as *aruit* rather than *arefacta est* found in the other codices, which could lie behind Sedulius's *ficulnea... aruit* in the *PC* or *ficulnea... peraruit* in the *PO*.⁵⁹³ However, *aruit* is found in all the Matthean codices to describe the fig tree in the following verse at Matthew 21:20, reducing somewhat the significance of this reading. *ficulnea* itself is not found in VL5 that prefers *ficus* as the translation for *ἡ συκῆ* at Matthew 21:19. The paraphrased readings are therefore inconclusive: there is limited evidence for the text being based on a Vulgate source, but the passage as a whole shows few variants and there is little to separate **I** from the Vulgate. Sedulius's text reflects this; it displays differences from VL3 and VL5, in particular in the cited material but otherwise could be based on **I**, the Vulgate or even **C**.

25:34. The Son of Man Comes in Glory to Judge Nations

PO 5,36, p.301, 114-20

hoc animal namque mitissimum pro simplicitate naturae iustis est comparatum, quos, cum uenerit in maiestate sua rex omnium, taliter a dexteris adstantes, sicut ipse docuit, alloquetur: uenite, benedicti **Patris mei, possidete regnum paratum uobis a constitutione mundi**, et cetera. ingressuros igitur iustos in regnum consequenter illi commendat, cui clauis se daturum eiusdem regni promiserat.

Matthew 25:34 is included by Sedulius as a stand-alone quote as part of the exegesis for the discussion between Jesus and Peter at Lake Galilee after Jesus's resurrection (John 21:15-23). The citation is found at this point only in the *PO* but the verse is partly paraphrased at *PC* 4,23-30 and again in the *PO* at 4,2, p.257,4ss. The words quoted by Sedulius possibly stem from a liturgical usage: the text cited by Sedulius is used as an antiphon on the Monday after the First Sunday in Lent, as the first introit for Easter Wednesday in the Liber Antiphonarius, as it is still found in the Tridentine mass, while

⁵⁹² Mixed codices with *reuertens* are VL7 VL9 VL10 VL11; VL13 alone among usual **I** witnesses also contains the reading.

⁵⁹³ *PC* 4,50-1; *PO* 4,5, p.258, 9-10.

John 21:1-14 is used as the Gospel reading at the same mass, and is found in this position in the Capitulary of Würzburg.⁵⁹⁴

Sedulius's cited text is nearly identical to the text found in **I** and the Vulgate but contains the word order *regnum paratum uobis* rather than *paratum uobis regnum* found in **V/I**. This is possibly an error of memory or a transmission error. Although the verse is used widely in the liturgy, Sedulius's text form is closer to that found in the codices rather than the mainly Old Latin forms found in the liturgy.⁵⁹⁵ Sedulius's text, with this unusual word order, is found in the Latin mixed text witness VL10, the commentary of Fortunatianus of Aquileia, and once in Bede.⁵⁹⁶ Leaving word-order to the side, Sedulius's text corresponds to a tradition principally found in Italian sources, (VL3) VL4 and VL12 amongst codices and Ambrose, Rufinus and the *Opus Imperfectum* amongst pre-Vulgate patristics.⁵⁹⁷

The codical evidence only hints at the variation in patristic citations of the verse. The form found in VL8 and VL14 with *praeparatum* in place of *paratum* is widely found in Hilary as well as Prosper of Aquitaine and Jerome.⁵⁹⁸ VL2 is lacking, thus we are dependent on the citations of Cyprian for an idea of **C**.⁵⁹⁹ The form found in Cyprian with *percipite* rendering *κληρονομήσατε, τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῶν βασιλείαν* translated as *regnum quod uobis paratum est* and *ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου* as *ab origine* is very common in patristics from the time of Cyprian, especially in African sources, used more than 30 times by Augustine alone.⁶⁰⁰ Amongst European sources it is confined to one reading in Lucifer of Cagliari, the North Italian commentary on the Nicene Symbol, Chrysologus's sermons, Cassiodorus's Psalm commentary and Caesar of Arles.⁶⁰¹ A variant of this form, with *ab initio mundi* as found in VL35, is also popular with Augustine who only uses the **V/I** text-type in those works that use a Vulgate text, such

⁵⁹⁴ Liber Antiphonarius, *Feria Quarta Post Dominicam Quartam* (PL 78, 679). Morin (1911). Marbach (1907: 406)

⁵⁹⁵ **RES-R** (2032) has the form found in VL8; Marbach's (1907: 406) catalogue of the Roman forms are closest to **C** or include the unusual formula *ab initio saeculi*, also found once in Augustine (**AU** s 56,6).

⁵⁹⁶ Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarii in Euangelia*, 118 (f. 78v). **BED** Prv 2.

⁵⁹⁷ **AM** vid 48; **RUF** Bas 10,4; **AN** Mt h 54.

⁵⁹⁸ **HIL** Ps 51,3; 58,9; 118 nun 9; 140,4; tri 9,25; **PROS** vin 16; **HI** ep 96,6; Is 8; Gal 3.

⁵⁹⁹ The variants from Cyprian are included in the appendix but are not included in statistics.

⁶⁰⁰ **CY** op 23; or 13; te 2,30; 3,1; ze 15; **OPT** par 5,7; **AU** jo 14,8,25; Ps 35,5,22; 48 s 2,4,61; 49,11,48; 63,19,4; 64,2,21; 79,13,43; 85,21,2; 90 s 1,10 (x3); 95,15,26; 98,8,5; 111,5,4; 113 s 1,9,9; 120,11,20; 121,9,52; 129,10,22; Ps 141,4,18; 145,20,2; s 56,7; 58,3; 86,4; 389,5; s dol 22,6; s Lam 18,3; s Mor 13,5; **QU** pro 4,30; **AR** Ps 102.

⁶⁰¹ **LUC** par 19; **AN** sy; **PET-C** s 9; 41; 70; 82; 144; **CAr** Ps 38; 91; 95; 111; 118; **CAE** s 17,2; 110,3; 139,7; 152,3; 164,4; 186,4; 222,6.

as the *Speculum* and City of God.⁶⁰² The majority of patristics, almost too numerous to cite, use a mixed form that lies somewhere between the **V/I** and **C** text-types.

Sedulius's use of the codical form is significant on two levels: it is a good indicator that his text came from Italy and it also suggests that he was citing directly from a Gospel, not using a secondary source or a liturgical form.

27:15-26. Jesus is condemned and the people choose Barabbas

PO 5,11, p.283, 22 - p.284, 6

Heu quam triste falcis acumen est, quae messem Iudaicae posteritatis abscidit! nam qui necem Domini postulantes in se suosque filios eius sanguinem professi sunt permanere, dicentes furialiter et clamantes: sanguis **huius super nos et super filios nostros**, omnem fructum sui germinis damnauerunt, donec ab eis haec macula illius aqua spiritaliter abluatur, cuius in eis cruor letaliter dominatur adpersus.

The citation of Matthew 27:25 concerns the words uttered by the crowd calling for the pardon of Barabbas and the death of Jesus in response to Pilate's washing his hands of the crime (Mt. 27:24). In the *PC*, there is no mention of the crowd's words, only a lament made by the poet constrained within a single line *heu falx torua patrum, segitem caesura nepotum*.⁶⁰³ Both episodes, in the *PC* and *PO*, are followed by a vituperative attack on Pilate, but in the *PO* alone Sedulius includes a substantial polemic aimed at the Jews in particular. As Deerberg remarks the core idea of the Jews perpetuating harm upon their offspring by asking for Jesus's death can be found in Origen's *Commentary on Matthew*.⁶⁰⁴ The words uttered by the crowd are often quoted in Latin patristic works in an anti-Jewish context without the remaining part of Matthew 27:25 from the time of Tertullian.⁶⁰⁵ Examples in similar contexts to Sedulius can be found in Chromatius and Fortunatianus.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰² **AU** jo 25,2,22; par 3,19; pec 3,6; Ps s 1,10,28; Ps s 3,9,15; Ps 36 s 3,14,9; 44,24,6; 44,27,30; 109,15,21; s 18,4; 75,9; s Den 24,4; sy 12. Cf. **AU** ci 20,5; spe 25.

⁶⁰³ *PC* 5,156. See Deerberg (2011: 272-3).

⁶⁰⁴ *ibid*, 273. Origen, *Commentarius in Matthaëum (fragmenta) II*, 124: Propterea sanguis Iesu non solum super eos factus est, qui tunc fuerunt, uerum etiam super omnes generationes Iudaeorum post sequentes usque ad consummationem (GCS 38, 260).

⁶⁰⁵ Tertullian, *Aduersus Iudaeos*, 8.

⁶⁰⁶ Chromatius, *s.* 9,4: quo <uocabulo> nunc itaque Iudaei uiperarum progenies appellati sunt, quia matrem suam synagogam, impietatis suae merito, perimerunt. quid de matre dico? Nec filiis propriis pepercerunt, cum dixerunt 'sanguis huius super nos et super filios nostros'(CCSL 9A, 41). Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarii in Euangelia*, 3: Populus igitur terrenus durae ceruicis quid aliud poterat profiteri nisi regem terrenum spreto aeterno caelestique rege filio dei, cuius beneficii semper extitit

Concerning Sedulius's cited text, there is very little difference between the different traditions. From the fourth century onwards, the only difference found between the different traditions is found in the translation of *αὐτοῦ*. **I** and the Vulgate both have *eius*. The Sedulian variant *huius* is very common in patristic citations, but only found in four codices VL5 VL14 VL35 and VL10 plus the *Liber Commicus* VL56. Amongst patristic citations *huius* is found particularly in early African citations such as Tertullian's *Aduersus Iudaeos*, the Pseudo-Cyprianic *Testimonium Aduersus Iudaeos* and Optatus's *Contra Donatistas* but by the 4th century this specific citation is also found in Italy, as seen by the citation in Fortunatianus.⁶⁰⁷ By Sedulius's time, in the 5th century, the citation is widespread in Africa and Europe and is used by Augustine, Arnobius, Peter Chrysologus, Maximus of Turin, Chromatius and Cassiodorus to name but a few.⁶⁰⁸

The surrounding paraphrased text provides few further clues. In the full verse, the Vulgate text type is identifiable by the translation of *πᾶς ὁ λαός* by *universus populus*, while **I** has *uniuersa turba* and VL5 and the *Liber Commicus* (VL56) *omnis populus*. However, no equivalent word for *ὁ λαός* can be found in Sedulius's text, which suggests that the citation has been added in the *PO* in the manner that it is found in much secondary literature, i.e. as a sententious remark that reflects on the guilt of the Jews, rather than as part of a full paraphrase of the passage. Further support for this is given by the episode order, with the remark of the crowd placed before Pilate's hand washing, whereas Matthew's account places the hand washing at 27:24, before the comment of the crowd at 27:25. As such, this citation is only of moderate value as evidence in evaluating the Latin tradition of Sedulius's hypothesised Passion harmony, which has been shown elsewhere to be partially Vulgate.⁶⁰⁹

ingratus? Qui et in ultima necessitate sua dixerunt: Sanguis huius super nos et super filios nostros. Meritis suis dignam ipsi sententiam dederunt, ut sanguinis filii dei effusi tam diu rei habeantur, donec fuerint conuersi (f. 17r, 500-505).

⁶⁰⁷ **TE** Jud 8; **PS-CY** Jud 37; **OPT** Par 7,1.

⁶⁰⁸ **AR** Ps 16; **AU** Ps 58 s 1,5,7; Ps 63,8,19; Ps 108,20,4; s 234,3; s Gue 10,1; **PS-AU** s Cai I, 31,2; s Mai 28,3; **AN** h Arm 4; **QU** Pro 1,42; **PAU-M** 7; **PET-C** s Ol 12; **MAX** s 3; s Mu 33,6; s Mu 99,2; **M-M**; **CHRO** s 9,4; **CAr** Ps 16,44; Ps 58,63,6; 108,18.

⁶⁰⁹ See citations of Luke 23:39, p.253; I Cor 15:55, app. 3. See also Matthew 26:34, p.79; John 12:27 (p.76) for possible uses of Vulgate text in book five of PC.

28:16-20. The Great Commission

PO 5,37 p.301,21 - p.302,7

Inde monitis eos beatis erudiens et pacificae roborans traditione doctrinae per omnes imperat terras religiosae fidei praecepta dispergere sacrique *baptismatis unicam trinitatem cunctis gentibus* praerogare, sic inquires ac decernens: data est mihi omnis potestas **in caelo et in terra. euntes nunc** docete omnes gentes, baptizantes **eas** in nomine Patris et **Filii** et Spiritus Sancti, docentes eos **seruare omnia, quaecumque mandaui** uobis, et cetera.

PC 5,416-21

Inde sequenda docens, Pacem omnes, inquit, habete,
Pacem ferte meam, pacem portate quietam,
Pacem per populos monitis dispergite sanctis,
Et mundum uacuate malis: *gentesque* uocari
Finibus e cunctis, latus qua tenditur orbis,
Iussis **mando** meis, *omnesque* in fonte lauari.

Matthew's version of the Great Commission forms the basis of the penultimate chapter of books five. The episode is found in all the synoptic Gospels, but none of the features from Mark 16:15-6 or Luke 24:44-9 are found in Sedulius's account. The cited text in the *PO* is taken entirely from the final words uttered by Jesus to the disciples that form the closing verses of Matthew. In the *PC* the text is paraphrased but the word *mando* (v. 421) is Matthew specific, while *gentes* (v. 419) and *omnes* (v. 421) are only found in Matthew 28:16 and Luke 24:47. This suggests that Sedulius's source for the *PC* is Matthew as it is for the *PO*.⁶¹⁰

The cited text is found in patristic works as early as Tertullian in the Latin tradition and a clear difference can be seen in the African and European versions.⁶¹¹ The first of the three verses, 28:18, is very stable in all traditions with the text paraphrased in

⁶¹⁰ As van der Laan (1990: xviii).

⁶¹¹ **TE** Pra 16; Fu 2,5; ba 13,3; hae 20,3.

Tertullian's *Adversus Praxean* largely the same as that found in the Vulgate.⁶¹² The reading in **C**, the omission of *potestas*, is probably a scribal error, as all of Cyprian's citations in addition to the two Tertullian sources read *potestas* as a translation of *ἐξουσία*. As a result, the only variants in the codical tradition are found in VL5, which has the plural *in caelis* (*ἐν οὐρανοῖς* in **D05**) and *super terram* (for *ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*) where the other codices have *in caelo* and *in terra*.

The following verse, 28:19, displays significant variations between versions according to region and period, although this is not apparent from looking at the Old Latin codices. The African text type is fully represented by a citation in Tertullian's work *On Baptism*, ten Cyprian citations, two Pseudo-Cyprian citations and two by Optatus in addition to the reading found in the Palatinus.⁶¹³ The African and European text types can be readily distinguished through the translation of *πορευθέντες* and *βαπτίζοντες* with additional variations between the text types over the translation of *οὖν* and *αὐτοῦς*. The majority of African citations and **C** have *ite* where *euntes* is confined to principally to European codices and citations.⁶¹⁴ Concerning the translation of *βαπτίζοντες*, early African witnesses such as Tertullian and Cyprian^(6/10) and Pseudo-Cyprian (*De Rebaptismate*) as well as Augustine (*De Baptismo*) translate it with the variants of *tinguere*, while later witnesses of all regions and times prefer the more literal transliteration *baptizare*.⁶¹⁵

Sedulius's text follows the European tradition with *euntes* and *baptizantes* but contains a very significant Italian feature in the use of *nunc* where nearly all the Greek codices have *οὖν*. This is a feature of **I** alone and appears to be an error that entered the Italian tradition. The Vulgate has corrected the text to *ergo*, a reading also found in VL6 VL8 and VL13, but only **D05** in the Greek tradition preserves *vuv* as a possible origin for

⁶¹² Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean*, 16: cui data est omnis potestas a patre in caelis et in terra (CSEL 47, 256).

⁶¹³ **TE** ba 13,3; hae 20,3; **CY** ep 28,2; ep 63; ep 73; sent 7; 10; 29; 37; sent ap Au ba 6; te 2,26; **PS-CY** Nov 3; reb 7; **OPT** Par 5,3; 5,5.

⁶¹⁴ For *ite* in African citations see **TE** ba 13,3; **CY** ep 28,2; ep 63; ep 73; sent 7; 10; 29; 37; sent ap Au ba 6; te 2,26; reb 7; **OPT** Par 5,3; 5,5; **AU** ba 1,15; 6,85; ci 13,24; Cae 2; **FAU** 5,5; Jo 6,9,3; 6,9,5; 9,8,37; Ps 103 s 3,2,50; tri 15,46; **QU** pro 1,14; 3,33; **CE** 15; **Fend** ep 5,4; **FU** ar 8; 10,8; ep 17,21; fab 15,5; 28,3; 34,33; tri 2,1; 11,3. *ite* is found in some European citations, notably Ambrose (**AM** fi 1,8; 5,116; inst 65; jac 1,9; sa 2,10; sp 1,73; 2,71; 3,148) and Rufinus (**RUF** Rm 5,2; 8,5). *euntes* is found in African citations only in texts that use a Vulgate version of Matthew such as Augustine's later writings the *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and the *Contra Maximinum* (**AU** ev 3,79; max 2,16,2). On the other hand *euntes* is found in many pre-Vulgate European citations such as Hilary (**HIL** Ar 14; Ps 2,30; 65,12; tri 2,1), Faustinus (**FAUn** Ar 48), Marius Victorinus (**MAR** Ar 4,18), and Filastrius of Brescia (**FIL** 112,5).

⁶¹⁵ **TE** ba 13,3; **CY** ep 28,2; ep 63; ep 73; sent 7 (ms 421); 37; te 2,26 (BL); **PS-CY** reb 7; **AU** ba 1,15.

nunc but this is a possible back translation from the Latin tradition.⁶¹⁶ *ὄβν* is found in the Vaticanus (**B03**), while the Sinaiticus (**S01**) and Alexandrinus (**A02**) omit a reading altogether. The table below reveals the distribution of *nunc*, *ergo* and *ergo nunc* in the codices and patristic citations found on the Vetus Latina database:

NUNC	ERGO NUNC	ERGO
<p>D05</p> <p>VL3 VL4 VL5 VL12 VL15</p> <p>VL16</p> <p>HIL Ps 2,30; 65,12; tri 2,1</p> <p>MAR Ar 4,18</p> <p>PS-AU spe 2, 3</p> <p>COL in 1,2</p> <p>PS-PRIS</p> <p>PS-VIG tri 12,4</p> <p>PS-FIR con 2,3</p>	<p>VL30</p> <p>Faustinus of Rome (FAUn Ar 48)</p> <p>Patrick (PAT cf 40)</p>	<p>B03</p> <p>Vulgate</p> <p>VL2 VL8 VL13 VL6 VL7 VL9</p> <p>VL10 VL11 VL35 VL56</p> <p>FIR err 24,8</p> <p>ZE 1,37,7</p> <p>Pseudo-Ambrose <i>De Spiritu Sancto</i> (PS-AM sp 4,3)</p> <p>Jerome (HI Mt 4)</p> <p>Prosper of Aquitaine (PROS Gall 1,8)</p> <p>Missale Mozarabe (M-M)</p> <p>Bede (BED ct 5; esr 2; Gn 2, h 2,8, tab 1)</p> <p>Boniface ([BON] 25)</p>

VL3, VL4, VL12 and VL16 are all Italian 4/5th-century codices, with VL3 dating to the second half of the 4th century. The Italian origin of *nunc* is also apparent in the patristic citations: it first appears almost simultaneously in the Marius Victorinus's *Adversus Arium* and Hilary's *De Trinitate* both written around 360.⁶¹⁷ *nunc* is also found in two citations in Hilary's later work on the Psalms.⁶¹⁸ At a slightly later time, *nunc* is found in the citations of the verse in the early 5th-century anonymous North Italian Pseudo-Augustine *Speculum* and in a variety of obscure patristic sources, Pseudo-Priscillian, book twelve of the *De Trinitate* variously attributed to Eusebius, Vigilius of Thapsus and Athanasius and the anonymous 5th-century *Consultationes Zacchaei Et Apollonii*

⁶¹⁶ See Burton (2000: 22) for a summary of the problems with the Greek text in the Codex Bezae.

⁶¹⁷ **MAR** Ar 4,18; **HIL** tri 2,1. See Gryson et al. (2007: 559. 641).

⁶¹⁸ **HIL** Ps 2,30; Ps 65,12.

(CPL 103).⁶¹⁹ In addition, the reading is found in a series of Columbanus's sermons probably given in Milan in the 7th century.⁶²⁰ *ergo* is found in a couple of Italian sources, in particular the Sicilian writer Firmicus Maternus and Zeno of Verona amongst certain pre-Vulgate sources.⁶²¹

Therefore, in the second half of the 4th century, the reading appears in Italy, as evidenced by VL3, VL4 and its presence in writers such as Marius Victorinus and the *Speculum*. The remaining slightly obscure patristic sources do not distract from what is a fundamentally Italian reading that is not found in a single confirmed African source. The presence of *nunc* in Sedulius is therefore a strong indicator of an Italian origin for his text. A second unusual reading is found in Sedulius, the feminine pronoun *eas* agreeing with *gentes* where the majority of sources have a masculine pronoun that renders the Greek *αὐτοὺς*. *eas* is found in **CPR**, the better manuscripts of the *PO*, and is an Old Latin reading found in the Italian VL16, the Palatinus (VL2), the Bezae (VL5) and is the dominant form in the oldest citations, such as Tertullian and Cyprian, although often as a variant in the latter.⁶²² In 4th and 5th-century citations, the reading finds an even distribution across the Latin speaking world with particular concentrations in North Italy and North Africa.⁶²³

Considering the final verse cited by Sedulius, Matthew 28:20, Sedulius's text is that found in nearly all the European codices from the Vercellensis and is already in use by Marius Victorinus by the middle of the 4th century as well as being the text found in the Vulgate.⁶²⁴ On the other hand the African text, as represented by citations of Cyprian and VL2, differs in the translation of *τηρεῖν* as *obseruare* and *ἐνετειλάμην* as *praecepi*, where *seruare* and *mandauit* are found in European tradition.⁶²⁵ *obseruare* for *τηρεῖν*, as

⁶¹⁹ **PS-AU** spe 2; 3; **PS-VIG** tri 12,4; **PS-FIR** con 2,3. The Pseudo-Vigilius of Thapsus *De Trinitate*, once ascribed by Morin (1898) to the 4th-century Eusebius of Vercelli, is thought to be 4th/5th century but of unknown origin (CPL 105). The 4th/5th-century trinitarian work, *De Trinitate Fidei Catholicae* (**PS-PRIS**) is by an unknown follower of Priscillian, possibly Spanish (CPL 788). Gryson et al. (2007: 490-1) list *Consultationes Zacchaei Et Apollonii* as probably Gallic.

⁶²⁰ **COL** in 1,2. See Gryson et al. (2007: 416).

⁶²¹ **FIR** err 24,8; **ZE** 1,37,7. The citation in Firmicus is identical to that found in Cyprian which may be a source.

⁶²² **TE** ba 13,3; **CY** ep 28,2(var); 63(var); 73 (var); sent 7 (var); sent 29; sent 37.

⁶²³ **HIL** Ps 2,30; **AN** Wil 7; **AM** Jac 1,9; **JOS** 7,1; **HI** Is 1; **HI** Mt 4(var); **HES** 6; **AU** ba 6,85; **PS-AU** s 1,7,3; **PS-ATH** Sy; **MAX** s 51; **COL** In 1,2(var); **PAC** ep 3,11,2; **PS-VIG** Tri 12,4(var); **BED** ct 5.

⁶²⁴ **MAR** Ar 4,18.

⁶²⁵ This early African text type has a limited diffusion; it is not found in Augustine's citations, but is found in Pseudo-Pelagius (**PS-PEL** Casp 3,10,10), Arnobius (**AR** Ps 104), Zeno of Verona (**ZE** 1,37,7)

found in two Sedulian manuscripts, is an African reading that is generally found alongside *praecepi*.⁶²⁶ The only time it is found alongside *mandau* is in St Patrick's confessions or as in Sedulius as a minor variant to *seruare* in Hilary and the anonymous homilies in the Verona collection.⁶²⁷ Given the strong Italian character of Sedulius's other citations, the reading in **B** can be safely dismissed. As mentioned above, the use of *mando* in the *PC* suggests that Sedulius was using the same text type in the *PC* and the *PO*.

Overall, Sedulius's *PO* text is identical to that found in the Northern Italian VL16 for the codices and among the patristic citations it is closest to the text found in Hilary's citations in his work on the Psalms, one witness of Columbanus's Milan sermons and one witness of the 12th book of the aforementioned anonymous *De Trinitate* attributed to Vigilius.⁶²⁸ With *eos* in place of *eas* at Matthew 28:19, as in the *PO* manuscripts **HFBv**, Sedulius's text is the same as that found in VL3, VL4, VL12 VL15, and the text quoted by Marius Victorinus.⁶²⁹ Sedulius's text shows no evidence of being a witness to the Vulgate tradition at all for this citation and, given that it appears as part of the narrative text, it is strong evidence for his use of an Italian Old Latin text of Matthew for at least part of the *PO*.

Ephanius Scholasticus (**EP-SC** ct 64), Firmicus Maternus (**FIR** err 24,8) and the much later Claudius of Turin (**CLAU-T** gen 1).

⁶²⁶ e.g. **CY** ep 28,2; ep 63; te 2,26; **FIR** err 24,8.

⁶²⁷ **PAT** cf 40; **HIL** tri 2,1(var); **AN** Ver 3,2.

⁶²⁸ **HIL** Ps 2,30; **COL** In 1,2(var); **PS-VIG** tri 12,4(var).

⁶²⁹ **MAR** Ar 4,18.

Conclusion

If we first consider Sedulius's text of Matthew in the *PO*, the above analysis of Matthew's text has shown the advantages and the limitations of the quantitative method. Relying on proximity coefficients alone, we would conclude that Sedulius's text is closest to the Vulgate with a score of 88% compared to 76% in **I**. However, this figure is largely due to the large quantity of Vulgate text cited by Sedulius in book two of the *PO*. Yet if Sedulius's work had been transmitted to us without book two, we would conclude without hesitation that Sedulius was following an Old Latin text closest to that preserved by the **I** tradition. Indeed, take away the readings from Matthew 2:1-16, 3:16-17 and 4:1-11 and Sedulius's text proximity coefficient to the Vulgate would drop to 79% and rise to 88% for **I**.

Sedulius's text of Matthew therefore clearly encompasses two natures, a Vulgate and an Old Latin one, as can be seen in some mixed texts. However, unlike mixed texts, Sedulius's text of Matthew is not basically Old Latin with a Vulgate overlay (though it is never pure Vulgate), but strongly Vulgate then strongly Old Latin. This is confirmed by a glance at the Vulgate and Old Latin readings found in Sedulius's text; all of the Vulgate readings are found in the same three passages of Nativity, Baptism and Temptations. If Sedulius's base text were a mixed text we would expect to see some sort of distribution of Vulgate readings outside of this cluster, yet there are none to be found. The scribal correction of an Old Latin text against a Vulgate exemplar typically results in a spread of Vulgate readings over a large number of verses, usually with some decrease in Vulgate nature as the text progresses, as can be seen in VL9, VL7 or manuscripts **P** and **F** of Chromatius's Tractates. However, this is clearly not the case with Sedulius's text: we are presented with several blocks of Vulgate text of surprising purity in chapters 4-15 of book two, followed by an Old Latin text in the rest of the book with no continuity between the two text types. Therefore, if a mixed-text hypothesis is maintained, it must be a the kind of 'block mixture' seen in in some chapters of Mark in VL19A or for the Adulterous Woman pericope in VL14 where a second manuscript has been used to replace text missing in the original codex.⁶³⁰

There is some evidence that the source of Sedulius's Vulgate text in the Visitation of Magi scene at least is direct from Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*. The

⁶³⁰ Houghton (2016: 68).

proximity of the two texts is 95%, and both texts crucially preserve the relatively rare Old Latin reading *regressi sunt* where the Vulgate reads *reuersi sunt* at Matthew 2:12. In the other Vulgate episodes, the concordance between Sedulius's text and that found in the *De Consensu* is reduced, but only slightly. Outside of these episodes, Sedulius's biblical text appears to come from the Old Latin I Group, and in particular it is closest to VL4, to which it has a proximity coefficient of 89% (with the Nativity, Baptism and Temptations excluded). A number of unambiguous Old Latin readings can be found, for example the repetition of *manum suam* at Matthew 12:13 and mention that the demoniac of 9:32-34 was a deaf-mute.

There is certainly some evidence for Sedulius's use of different sources for the *PC* and the *PO*, but this is restricted to the Visitation of the Magi, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Baptism and the Temptations episodes. In this latter passage it appears as though Sedulius is using a different Gospel for parts of the passage in the *PO* to the ones found in the *PC*, as can also be seen in his citations of Peter's Denial in book five. The *PC* text of the Temptations is partly harmonised but in general Matthean, not composed from Luke and Matthew as in the *PO*. Old Latin readings can be found in the other three episodes in the *PC* where Vulgate readings are found in the *PO* and these cannot be explained through metrical considerations.

In the rest of the *PC*, from what can be ascertained from the paraphrased text, there is no reason to believe that Sedulius used a different textual source to that found in the *PO*, an Old Latin version of Matthew belonging to the I group. Whether Sedulius had an entire Gospel text to hand or relied on a collection of pericope readings or homilies that were used in services is unclear. However, there is a noticeable homogeneity to Sedulius's text of Matthew throughout the Miracle passages, which suggests if anything the use of single continuous Gospel at some stage in his text's development (it could be that all the pericopes were drawn from the same source of course). One episode where this is noticeably not the case is the Transfiguration passage, which contains a cited passage in an unusual text that does not find a parallel in the codices; it is however found in numerous Italian patristic sources. Other such episodes where Sedulius's use of a secondary source is strongly suggested are the Massacre of the Innocents, Baptism and Temptations passages in the *PC*, and the Mission and the Message of the Twelve in both *PO* and *PC*. In addition, the nature of Epistle/Psalm citations in two episodes, the Lord's Prayer and the Calming of the Storm is out of character with the text types found

elsewhere and this suggests that some citations have been lifted from a secondary source. However, in the case of the Lord's Prayer episode, the text used for the prayer is not coherent with the African character of some of the citations found in the exegesis, which suggests that the Matthean text at least was typical of Sedulius's surroundings.

The Temptations episode is very unusual and contains motifs and readings, especially in the *PC*, that are found in African sources, and in particular Augustine's *De Vera Religione* and the Latin Pseudo-John Chrysostomos's *De Lapsu Primi Hominis*, though the overall text in the *PC* appears mainly **I**. The *De Lapsu* is just one of a number of texts close to Sedulius's text, with the Homily on the Massacre of the Innocents as found in the Luxeuil lectionary and the Latin Origen of the Calming of the Storm being two others, that enjoys a certain popularity in later lectionaries and homiliaries as a reading associated with a particular feast and there is some evidence throughout that at least some of Sedulius's episodes and sources have been chosen for their association with a particular feast. This is also evident to a certain extent in Sedulius's organisation of the episodes of the Calming of the Storm and the Cleansing of the Leper, which in addition to the Wedding at Cana and the Curing of a Royal Official's Son in John follow the order laid out in consecutive weeks in some early Gallican and North Italian lectionaries.

Chapter 3. Sedulius's Text of Mark

Background

Sedulius makes use of specifically Marcan citations the least out of the Synoptic Gospels and of the three Synoptics, Sedulius's text of Mark is also the most difficult to analyse, given that many Marcan episodes are also found in Matthew. Van der Laan records only four episodes in the *PC* that Sedulius bases on Mark.⁶³¹ These form part of the sequence of Jesus's Miracles in book four of the *PC*: the Exorcism of the Demoniac at Capernaum (Mk. 1:21-6), the Healing of Various Sick and Possessed around Capernaum (Mk. 1:32-4), the Healing of a Deaf and Dumb Man (Mk. 7:31-7) and the Healing of a Blind man by spitting (Mk. 8:22-6). All of these miracles are narrated in succession between line 82 and 108 in book four of the *PC*, possibly connected by geography rather than temporality, since all take place in towns around the Sea of Galilee. All four episodes are paraphrased at greater length in the *PO*, in chapters 8-10 (p.260, 10 - p.262, 1), but of these only one episode provides a citation, that of Mark 1:24-25 from the Exorcism of the Demoniac at Capernaum. Despite this, Haelewyck accepts parts of one of these paraphrased passages as a secondary witness to the Old Latin tradition.⁶³²

A couple of the passages considered Marcan by Huemer are arguably as close if not closer to Matthew or Luke. For example, the Healing of the Paralytic Man, which is found in lines 86-102 in book three of the *PC* and chapter eight of the *PO*, is considered Marcan by Huemer but Matthean by van der Laan and Mazzega.⁶³³ The passage has elements of all three Synoptics but the citation is closest to Mark and has been analysed as such below. In addition, there is a quote of Mark 2:27, Jesus's defence of his disciples' corn picking on the Sabbath, at line 183-4 of book four of the *PC*, (*PO* 4,15, p.266, 2-4) as support for Jesus's healing of the man with dropsy on the Sabbath (Lk. 14:1-13). Elsewhere in the *PO* at 3.9, p.239, 13-20, Huemer attributes Jairus's supplication to Jesus to Mark 5:23 rather than Matthew 9:18, despite the fact that

⁶³¹ van der Laan (1990: xviii).

⁶³² *PO* 4,8, p.261, 2: multaue daemonia uerbo suae potestatis exclusa loqui penitus non sinebat; cf. Haelewyck (2013-4: 156)

⁶³³ Huemer & Panagl (2007: 238); van der Laan (1990: xviii); Mazzega (1996: 125ff).

Sedulius describes the daughter as dead in accordance with Matthew's account rather than dying as per Mark's account.⁶³⁴ In the same vein, the miracle of the Curing of Blind Bartimaeus *PC* 4,210-17, is treated in Huemer's edition and by Green as taken from Luke, when in fact Mark appears an equally plausible source.⁶³⁵

The Latin Tradition of Mark

For the first two Marcan episodes paraphrased by Sedulius, including the citation, the *PO* text can be compared with that found in Haelewyck's VL edition text of Mark, that as of early 2015 covered from Mark 1 - 4:15.⁶³⁶ Haelewyck outlines this edition's text types as follows: an Early Old Latin text, **K**, based on the readings from VL1 supplemented by the readings of Cyprian and Pseudo-Cyprian; a revised (principally against the Caesarean text) Latin text **C** transmitted through the readings taken from VL2; an early European text, **D**, based on the readings found in VL3 and VL16, the St Gall fragments; an Italian Old Latin text type, **I**, from the second half of the 4th century, based on the agreements between VL4 and VL8 and/or VL17 that displays affinities with the Alexandrian Greek text; text type **J** based on VL4 when it disagrees with the other Old Latin manuscripts, and **A** based on the unique readings found in Augustine.⁶³⁷ Of the witnesses for **I**, Haelewyck selects VL4 VL5 VL6 VL8 VL10 VL13 VL14 VL15 VL17 VL19 and VL19A; of these VL4 VL5 VL8 VL14 and VL17 are only very rarely contaminated by the Vulgate, if at all; VL10 and VL13 display greater contamination; VL6 is an unusual text with African, European and Vulgate elements.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁴ *PO* 3,9, p.239, 14-5: unicam habeo uel magis habui filiam.

⁶³⁵ Green (2006: 182).

⁶³⁶ Haelewyck (2013-4).

⁶³⁷ *ibid.*, 111.

⁶³⁸ *ibid.*

Analysis of Variant Readings

3.1 Vulgate readings

No Vulgate readings in cited text

3.2 Different from Vulgate

1. Mk. 1:25 ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ = exi de homine] + spiritus immunde (=D05 W032)
SED (PO 4,8, p.260, 17) C (VL2) VL6 VL8 VL13 VL14
2. Mk. 1:34 ἐξέβαλεν = eiciebat] exclusiva (=exclusit?) SED (PO 4,8, p.261, 3)
3. Mk. 2:27 τὸ σάββατον = sabbatum] sabbata SED (PO 4,15, p.266, 3)
4. Mk. 2:27 ἐγένετο = factum est] [procreata est] SED (PO 4,15, p.266, 4)

3.3 Number of agreements / Total variant sites

	V	C(VL2)	D(VL3)	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL13	VL14	VL15	I
1:24-5	0.86	1.00		0.71	0.71	0.71	0.71	0.57	0.71	1.00	0.71	0.71
1:34	0.75	0.75	0.50	0.00	0.75	0.50	0.75	0.75	0.75	1.00	0.75	0.25
2:11	1.00	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.67	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
2:27	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.50	0.00	0.50	0.00
Overall	0.78	0.80	0.50	0.86	0.67	0.60	0.60	0.67	0.72	0.83	0.72	0.60

Although there is limited value in quantifying the results due to the limited number of readings, it is fair to say on the basis of the variant sites that Sedulius's text only has a limited proximity to I. Despite the fact that no Vulgate reading is found in the cited text, it should also be noted that only one variant site prefers an identifiable Old Latin tradition over the text found in the Vulgate. Of the non-Vulgate readings, the inclusion of *spiritus immunde*, is an undeniable Old Latin reading. The other three non-Vulgate readings are not found in any other source but are accepted as probable Old Latin readings by Haelewyck in his edition of Mark.⁶³⁹ Two of these three are found in Sedulius's citation of Mark 2:27, which appears to stem from an unusual Latin version of a Byzantine/Caesarean text type not found elsewhere in Latin in the witnesses that we have from the 5th century or earlier.

⁶³⁹ Haelewyck (2013-14: 193)

Despite these four readings, Sedulius's text matches the Vulgate in fourteen out of eighteen variant sites, giving an 78% proximity coefficient. Therefore, it seems fair also to qualify Sedulius's text as generally Vulgate with the occasional Old Latin reading. However, there appears to be a certain lack of homogeneity in Sedulius's Marcan text suggesting that he could have drawn on a range of different sources for the episodes used, whether individual pericopes or his own knowledge of sermons and homilies. Certainly, the words used to introduce Mark 2:27 suggest that Sedulius is unsure of the quote's origin and it appears likely that this text came from a secondary source.

Commentary

1:21-6. Exorcism of the Demoniac at Capernaum

PO 4,8, p.260, 10 - 19

Ad urbem quoque Capharnaum nomine Dominus cum uenisset inque plurimo synagogae concilio caelestis populos edoceret, subito per humanae uocis ministerium corporale nequissimus ille diabolus talem *fremuit in clamorem*: quid nobis et tibi **Iesu** Nazarene? **uenisti** perdere nos? **scio qui sis**, sanctus Dei. moxque Domino *minaciter dicente* perterritus atque deiectus: obmutesce et exi **de homine**, **spiritus immunde**, magno *reboans* cum mugitu, quo diuino se fateretur imperio uerberatum, reliquit humana praecordia fugiens in auras non uidendus obscuras.

PC 4,82-89

Iamque Capharneae synagogam intrauerat urbis
Rite docens populos. quem cum uidisset iniquus
Humano sub corde latens, *clamore* proteruo
Spiritus infremuit 'quid nobis et tibi?' dicens,
*'Perdere nos heu **Christe**, uenis? scio denique qui sis,*
Et sanctum cognosco Dei' nec plura locutus
Imperio terrente tacet hominemque reliquit
Pulsus et in uacuas fugiens euanuit auras.

The first of the four consecutive miracle scenes is the only one to contain a citation. Sedulius's cited text in the *PO* appears an African Old Latin text type, or a Mixed text type. The Vulgate contains a specific reading in the omission of *spiritus immunde* according to the Alexandrian and Byzantine traditions. This reading is not found in Sedulius who follows the Old Latin tradition that includes *spiritus immunde* following the 'Western'/Caesarean tradition as seen in the Bezae (**D05**), the Washingtonianus (**W032**), the codex Koridethi (**Θ038**) and minuscule 565.⁶⁴⁰ Apart from this Old Latin reading, the rest of Sedulius's text is identical to the Vulgate. In particular, the omission

⁶⁴⁰ See also van der Laan (1990: 67).

of *te* after *scio*, is listed by Haelewyck as a correction by Jerome, one of the few stylistic corrections that is not supported by the Greek tradition;⁶⁴¹ it is not however an exclusively Vulgate reading, as it is found also in unmixed codices VL2 and VL5 as well as the pre-Vulgate patristic citations of Tertullian and Hilary.⁶⁴²

Although Sedulius's *PO* text is identical to that found in VL2 within the cited text, the paraphrased framing text reveals variants that suggest that this connection is purely coincidental. Thus the use of *minaciter* at *PO* 4,8, p.260, 15, is surely based on the verb *comminatus est* found in **I** (VL5 VL6 VL8 VL14) and the Vulgate; **C** has *corripuit* and VL4 VL10 VL13 have *imperavit*. Likewise, the present participle *dicente* suggests the variant *dicens* found in **I** VL5 VL6 VL8 VL14 rather than **C**'s *dixit* also found in VL4 and VL6 (=W032). Finally, the participle *reboans* is perhaps a rephrasing of *exclamans* or *clamans* found in VL8, VL10 and **I** (VL4 VL5 VL13 VL14) and the Vulgate, rather than *exclamauit* found in **C** and VL6. Sedulius's text is elsewhere different to VL4. In addition to the above readings, the tense of *fremuit* at line 13 in chapter 4,8 of the *PO* is contrary to the imperfect *clamabat* (*cet. vers. (ex)clamauit*) found in VL4.

As far as can be ascertained from the text found in the *PC*, where the biblical source has been substantially modified to allow an extensive Virgilian allusion, the same version underlies both works.⁶⁴³ Most significantly, *scio denique qui sis* at line 4,86 of the *PC* does not include any rendering of *te*, according to the Vulgate/**C** text. Sedulius does not cite Jesus's response and it is therefore not possible to see if he includes any rendering of *spiritus immunde*. Van der Laan remarks that the variants *populos* and *intrauerat* are exclusive to VL6 (Mk. 1:22 VL6: *populum* || V VL2 VL5 VL8 VL10 VL14: *eos*; VL3 VL4 VL13: *illos*; *om.* **B03 A02**; *ἀντους* **D05 Θ038**) and **C/D** (Mk. 1:21 VL2 VL3: *intrauit* || V VL4 VL5 VL8 VL10 VL13 VL14 VL19: *ingressus*; VL6 *ingrediens*; GK: *εἰσελθὼν*) respectively.⁶⁴⁴ As van der Laan remarks however, *populus* is typical of the liturgical language used to describe the 'people of God',⁶⁴⁵ while the use of *synogagam* without the preposition '*in*' is apparently a Vulgate reading, found only in VL15 outside Vulgate witnesses.⁶⁴⁶ Thus the variant readings in the *PC* give a somewhat mixed

⁶⁴¹ Haelewyck (2013-4: 110).

⁶⁴² **TE** Pra 26; **HIL** Ps 67,59,6.

⁶⁴³ For the allusion to *Aeneid* 4,276-8, see van der Laan (1990: 68).

⁶⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 63-4.

⁶⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 64.

⁶⁴⁶ Haelewyck (2013-4: 143).

message but there is nothing to detract from the picture of generally Vulgate text underlying the episode in both the *PC* and the *PO*, albeit one that shows some evidence of Old Latin readings.

1:32-34. Healing of Various Sick and Possessed around Capernaum

PO 4,8, p.261,1-4

Similiter Dominus *multis* diuerse *languentibus* et *uariarum* cladis calamitate *uexatis* opem praestitit salutarem **multaque daemonia uerbo suae potestatis exclusa** loqui penitus **non sinebat** fidem maiestatis aetheriae tali dedignatus teste uulgari.

PC 4,90-2

Sic etiam *uariis* finem *languoribus* esse
Fecit et *exclusos* semper reticere coegit
Daemonas ac talem prohibet se pandere testem.

Of the second episode, the curing of various demoniacs, a short passage found in books four of Sedulius's works, Haelewyck considers only *multa... sinebat* as taken from the Gospel text.⁶⁴⁷ This selection nonetheless contains four variant sites in the *PO*, the description of 'Jesus casting out many demons through the power of his word', which is found in all traditions save **J** (VL4), the use of the relative clause *qui daemonia habebant* found in VL8 and VL5 (=D05) that forms the basis of **I**, whereas the other traditions and Sedulius have *multa daemonia* (=B03 A02) and the translation of ἐξέβαλεν and ἤφιεν. For the latter two, Sedulius has *exclusa* and *sinebat*. Variants of *excludere* are not found in any of the codices, with the Vulgate and Old Latin codices preferring *ieicit/ieiebat*.⁶⁴⁸ However, combinations of *daemonia/daemonium/diabolium* with *excludere* are found in Tertullian, Cyprian; Lactantius and Hilary.⁶⁴⁹ Both Haelewyck and van der Laan accept Sedulius's reading, with the latter taking the reading both in the *PC* and the *PO* as evidence that Sedulius may have had a possible African reading *exclusit* in his text. Sedulius's reading *sinebat*

⁶⁴⁷ Haelewyck (2013-4: 156)

⁶⁴⁸ van der Laan (1990: 70 & 206); Haelewyck (2013-14: 154).

⁶⁴⁹ **TE** id 11,24; **CY** te 3,26; ep 69,19; **LAC** div 4,27,2; **HIL** Mt 12,22.

is found in the Vulgate, C and VL5 VL8 VL10 VL13 VL14 and VL15 but Haelewyck takes the reading found in VL3 and VL4, *patiebatur* as the basis for I. Outside of the 'cited' text, Sedulius's text appears to contain a Vulgate specific reading in *uariarum cladis calamitate uexatis*, which finds a parallel in *curauit multos qui uexabantur uariis languoribus* in the Vulgate alone; the Old Latin codices have (*male habentes*) *uariis languoribus/infirmatibus*. It is possible that Sedulius chose *uexatis* in order to place a trochee after a cretic to create *cursus planus* rhythm in his text, which reduces the significance of this reading. However, even if *uexabantur* was not in his source text, it appears likely that he was aware of the Vulgate reading. Despite the use of *exclusa*, Sedulius's passage is closest to the Vulgate and C.

2:1-12. Jesus Heals a Paralytic Man

PO 3,8, p.238, 5 - p.239, 7:

Hinc Dominus nauigio rursus famulante subuectus natalis soli fines intrauit, ubi quia creator omnium nasci se uoluit, illius regionis oppidum suam patriam nuncupauit. tunc ad eum quattuor uiri ceruices lecto suppositi quendam detulere languentem, uix adhuc hominem, iam cadauer... dicit ergo iacenti tunc misero, sed felici protinus adfuturo: **surge, tolle** grabatum tuum et **uade in domum tuam**. nec moratus ille parere iussis adsurgit, ex inbecilli ualidus, ex desperato confisus, ex moriente uicturus, tollensque lectulum in quo iacebat immobilis et ipsius arentis ligni robore factus aridior, suis tandem plantis incedens alienis se gaudet caruisse uestigiis grataeque mutua redhibitione mercedis uectorem proprium humeris famulantibus mox reuexit.

PC 3,86-102.

Hinc alias Dominus pelago dilatus in oras,

Intrauit natale solum, quo corpore nasci

Se uoluit patriamque sibi pater ipse dicauit.

Ecce aderant uiuum portantes iamque cadauer

Bis bina ceruice uiri lectoque cubantem

Vix hominem...

Hunc ubi uirtutum Dominus conspexit egentem

Robore, peccatis primum mundauit ademptis,

Quae generant augmenta malis miseroque iacenti:

Surge, ait, **et** proprium scapulis **adtolle grabatum**,

*Inque tuam discede domum. nil iussa moratus,
 Cui fuerat concessa salus, uestigia linquens
 Tandem aliena suis laetatur uadere plantis
 Vectoremque suum grata mercede reuexit.*

The Old Latin tradition for this pericope that is found in all three Synoptics is complex, which in turn complicates analysis of Sedulius's passages in the *PC* and the *PO*. The citation found in the *PO* is assigned to Mark 2:11 in Huemer's edition, presumably on the basis of the work *grabatum*, which is found in Mark's account, whereas the Vulgate Matthew has *lectum*.⁶⁵⁰ However, *grabatum* is also found in the VL3 and VL12 of Old Latin Matthew and VL5 VL6 and VL14 in Old Latin Luke and other elements of the passage suggest one or both of these Gospels as Sedulius's source. For Mazzega, the passage is principally Matthean and both he and Moretti Pieri note Sedulius's dependence on Matthew 9:1 at the start the passage in the *PC* where Sedulius writes *Dominus pelago dilatus* and *intrauit natale solum* details that are only mentioned in Matthew of the Synoptics.⁶⁵¹ Given the placement of the episode in a consecutive series of Matthean miracle episodes from lines 26-157 in book three of the *PC* (*PO* 3,3-13), it appears likely that the episode in the *PC* at least is taken mainly from Matthew.

Moretti Pieri concentrated on the harmonised elements of the text, for example, Sedulius's description of 'men carrying a living corpse on four necks' which she saw as a combination of Luke 5:18, *et ecce uiri portantes* and Mark 2:3, *ferentes paralyticum qui a quattuor portabatur*, with the mention of four men exclusive to Mark. Moretti notes the difficulty in assigning as source, as Huemer appears to, on the use of the word *grabatum*, given its distribution in the Old Latin Synoptics, but does see in Sedulius's *nil iussa moratus* an allusion to the sudden recovery on the paralytic man only mentioned in Luke and Mark.⁶⁵² Finally in Sedulius's *uectorem suum... reuexit* she notes that the description of the paralytic man carrying his bed is absent from Matthew.⁶⁵³ This harmonisation led Moretti Pieri to suggest Tatian's Diatessaron as Sedulius's

⁶⁵⁰ Huemer & Panagl (2007: 238).

⁶⁵¹ *PC* 3,86-7; cf. *PO* 3,8, p.238, 5-6. Moretti Pieri (1969: 157-8); Mazzega (1996: 125-6). Mt. 9:1: *transfretauit et uenit in ciuitatem suam*. Sedulius apparently misunderstands Matthew's oblique reference to Capharnaum as referring to Nazareth or Bethlehem. See Arévalo (1794: 246); Corsaro (1956: 25); Moretti Pieri (1969: 157, n.2).

⁶⁵² *ibid*, 161.

⁶⁵³ *ibid*.

source for the passage and of the two witnesses to Tatian's work, the Fuldensis was found to preserve a closer text to that found in Sedulius.⁶⁵⁴

In addition to these findings, Sedulius use of *et* joining *surge* and *adtolle* in line 98 of the *PC* should perhaps be considered significant. It suggests that Sedulius's base text had the Old Latin reading *surge et tolle*, found in VL1 VL3 VL9 and VL12 in Matthew (=D05), in VL3 VL4 VL5 and VL14 in Luke (=G) and VL5 and VL6 in Mark (=A02). However, of these witnesses only the two Marcan witnesses, VL14 in Luke and VL3 and VL12 in Matthew also contain the reading *grabatum*. Given that VL3 and VL12 preserve harmonised texts in Matthew for this episode, the indication that Sedulius's text shares a key reading with them could be evidence for his use of a harmonised source.⁶⁵⁵ However, the text preserved in Moretti Pieri's *diatessaron* witnesses comes to us through at least one stage of translation and it is not possible to say whether either text witnesses such a reading. As such, and given the fact that the poetic text of the *PC* renders identification of his exact source Gospel uncertain in all but two of Moretti Pieri's readings, we are incapable of stating whether Sedulius's passage is related to Tatian's Diatessaron based on this comparison. Two Old Latin texts that are comparable to Sedulius's text are the Gospel text used as one of the episodes in Quodvultdeus's first sermon on the Symbol and Fortunatianus's Commentary, the latter of which enjoyed a separate tradition as a homily in addition to the main commentary.⁶⁵⁶ Both texts appear to be harmonised to some extent; the former contains an Old Latin text of Mark 2:5-12 with the occasional Lukan and Matthean reading, whereas the latter is an Old Latin version of Matthew 9:1-6 with several Lukan and Marcan readings.⁶⁵⁷ Both texts contain the same text as cited by Sedulius in the *PO*, that is, *surge tolle...domum tuam*, without *et* between *surge* and *tolle* as in the *PC*. Fortunatianus's text does harmonise Matthew 9:3 with Mark 2:7/Luke 5:21 as seen in VL3/VL12, but does not mention four men carrying the paralytic man, whilst this verse is not included as part of

⁶⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 212-3.

⁶⁵⁵ Both VL3 and VL12 complete Matthew 9:3 after *hic blasphemat* so that it matches Mark 2:7/Luke 5:21, *quis potest dimittere/remittere peccata nisi unus Deus?*

⁶⁵⁶ Quodvultdeus, *Sermo de Symbolo* 1, 10. Haelewyck (2013-4: 94. 170) considers the text an Old Latin witness for the C strand of the Marcan account. Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarium In Evangelia*, 41 (f. 35r - 35v, 1225-1252). For the tradition of the text as a homily once attributed to Hilary, published by Mai (NPB I, 477 – 490), see Dorfbauer (2013).

⁶⁵⁷ For example, *Fili, inquit, confide, quoniam remissa sunt tibi peccata tua* is taken from Mt. 9:2 not Mark 2:5, while *Quid cogitatis nequam in cordibus uestris? Quid est amplius dicere, Dimissa sunt tibi peccata; aut dicere, Surge et ambula?* is closer to Mt. 9:4-5 or Luke 5:22-3 (VL11) than Mk. 2:8-9 (*Sermo de Symbolo* 1, 10; PL 40, 634).

Quodvultdeus's text. There are some problems therefore to accepting either text as a direct source to Sedulius, though the presence of the same text as found in Sedulius in an Old Latin witness of Matthew is perhaps sufficient evidence to consider Sedulius's citation as well as his passage as Matthean in the future.

The *PO* cited text, which is identical to the *V/I* tradition in Mark 2:11, also has a striking difference to the *PC* in the description of the paralytic man's bed. The text in the *PC uectoremque suum... reuexit* (v. 102) is arguably closest to the Marcan *tulit grabatum* found in *I* (VL4 VL13) and Quodvultdeus (+*suum*) whereas the *PO* text contains the reading *tollensque lectulum in quo iacebat* that is almost identical to the reading found only in Luke at 5:25, *tulit lectum in quo iacebat* (VL4 VL14).⁶⁵⁸ Sedulius has perhaps used *lectulum* as a variant for *grabatum*, drawn on a secondary source such as Fortunatianus (where both *grabatum* and *lectum* are found) or introduced the citation in the *PO* from a different source to that used in the paraphrased text.⁶⁵⁹

2:27. Working on the Sabbath

PO 4,15, p.266, 1-4

nec enim hominem propter sabbatum Deus instituit, sicut *in alio euangelii sancti capitulo* suis Dominus ipse uerbis edocuit, sed sabbata propter hominem procreauit.

PC 4,181-4

Non tulit hanc speciem mundi Pater, et sua transit
Sabbata non curans, hominem curare paratus
Quem uoluit magis esse suum: *nam sabbata propter*
Condita sunt hominem, non est homo sabbata propter.

This one quote outside of the miracle narrative deserves particular attention, used as part of Sedulius's exegesis on the Healing of the Man with Dropsy on the Sabbath (Lk. 14:1-13). It is a 'Western non-interpolation', that is, it does not exist in the Greek

⁶⁵⁸ Quodvultdeus, *Sermo de Symbolo* 1, 10 (PL 40, 634).

⁶⁵⁹ Fortunatianus of Aquileia, *Commentarium In Evangelia*, 41: (f. 35r - 35v, 1225-1252).

'Western tradition'.⁶⁶⁰ Although this reading does exist in VL4, all the other unmixed Old Latin sources omit the text and therefore it initially appears unlikely that Sedulius is using an Old Latin source. However, as Haelewyck has noted, Sedulius's text contains some significant differences from the Vulgate: first the use of the neuter plural *sabbata*, a Semitism;⁶⁶¹ second the use of *procreauit*, which Haelewyck sees as a possible rendering of *ἐκτίσθη*, a Caesarean reading found in the Washingtonianus (**W032**), the Faber Group, minuscule 700 as well as the Syriac tradition.⁶⁶² Furthermore, it appears in the *PC* that *et* has been omitted between the two halves of the saying, an Old Latin reading found in VL4 VL10 VL13 and VL15 in accordance with the Byzantine text (A02), whereas the Vulgate text includes *et* as a rendering of *καὶ* found in the Alexandrian text (B03). Since the *PO* text contains *sed*, it is difficult to know whether this conjunction stands for *et* or is simply added by Sedulius out of necessity given the structure of his sentence. Sedulius's Latin text therefore is unusual in that it appears to depend on a Caesarean/Byzantine tradition that is not found elsewhere in Latin codical or patristic sources. There is the possibility that Sedulius has translated directly from the Greek, but as there is little other evidence for his doing so elsewhere, it seems more probable that he is using a tradition that is now lost.

Sedulius's use of *euangelium* in the framing text is also worth noting. Sedulius generally prefers *euangelista* when referring to one of the Gospels,⁶⁶³ reserving *euangelium* in the plural for all the Gospels.⁶⁶⁴ The other only time Sedulius uses *euangelio* is for three Vulgate citations of John in book two of the *PO*.⁶⁶⁵ Furthermore, this use of *capitulum* is surprising. It is used twice elsewhere, in book two to introduce the following verses of Matthew, in this case the Visitation of the Magi, after the Nativity scene.⁶⁶⁶ Also in book two it is used with less precision to introduce a quote from John 20:17.⁶⁶⁷ The precise text of that quote is not found in any codical source and appears from memory or from a secondary source;⁶⁶⁸ the language used to frame this quote does not suggest

⁶⁶⁰ Taylor (1952: 218).

⁶⁶¹ van der Laan (1990: 120).

⁶⁶² Haelewyck (2013-4: 193).

⁶⁶³ *Iohannes euangelista*: *PO* 5,22, p.291, 22; *PO* 5,38, p.303, 11; [*Matthaeus*] *euangelista*: *PO* 3,24, p.250, 6; *Marcus euangelista*: *PO* 4,5, p.258, 14-15; [*Lucae*] *euangelistae*. *assertio*: *PO* 2,6, p.201, 19; [*Lucas*] *euangelista* *PO* 2,12, p.211, 16.

⁶⁶⁴ *PO* 1,27, p.192, 3; *PO* 2,17, p.220, 14.

⁶⁶⁵ *PO* 2,8, p.208, 19; *PO* 2,8, p.207, 12; *PO* 2,17, p.222, 7.

⁶⁶⁶ *PO* 2,8, p.205, 16: *Euangelicum ergo sequens ait ita capitulum.*

⁶⁶⁷ *PO* 2,17, p.220, 15-16: *in illo tamen euidenter Dominus Iesus ipse capitulo... docuit.*

⁶⁶⁸ See *supra ad loc.*

that Sedulius is citing directly from the Gospel. Indeed, given Sedulius's precision in identifying his Gospel source elsewhere, the vagueness of the words 'in another chapter of the Gospel', placed as exegesis to a Lukan passage could even suggest that he is unsure which book this quote comes from.

The combination of Sedulius's text type here and the general vague framing he uses to introduce the citation mark it out as different to the Marcan text used elsewhere. The origin of his text, and indeed the use of Mark 2:27 as exegesis of Luke 14:1, is for the time being, unknown.

Conclusion

Given Sedulius's limited use of Mark, we are largely restricted to making a few slightly superficial comments about his text. He appears to have used a mainly Vulgate source for at least two of the Marcan episodes in the *PO*. However, there is one very clear Old Latin reading, *spiritus immunde*, that means that Sedulius's source cannot be considered solely Vulgate, but is likely to be some sort of mixed text, in the manner of VL6, VL10 or VL13. There is the possibility that Sedulius drew on different sources for the *PC* and the *PO*. The *PC* does not contain the Old Latin *spiritus immunde*, although this may be because the words cannot be placed in that order in hexameter. However, there are also one or two Old Latin readings found in the *PC* that are not found in the *PO*, such as the use of *surge et adtolle* in the *PC* citation of Mark 2:9. In sum, with such a small field of readings, it is dangerous to draw firm conclusions. However, Sedulius's text contains both Vulgate readings and Old Latin readings and appears to comprise at least two different traditions. It can be described as a mixed text though this may be the result of Sedulius's combining of different sources when composing the *PC* and the *PO*.

Chapter 4. Sedulius's text of Luke

Background

The third Gospel is used extensively by Sedulius, second only to Matthew, principally as a source for Jesus's miracles. In addition, citations are also taken from Luke for the Annunciation to the Shepherds (2:13-14), for one temptation in his depiction of the Temptations of Jesus (4:5-9), for the opening of Jesus's Baptism (3:23), for the Superscription on the Cross, the Good Thief episode at the Crucifixion (23:39-43) and in two very short citations, one at the Nativity (1:78) and one in connection with his exegesis on the Coin in the Fish's Mouth (6:30). The miracle passages containing citations taken from Luke are the following:

PO 4,7, p.259, 13 - p.260, 9. Woman Anointing Jesus (Luke 7:36-50)

PO 4,12, p.263, 1-10. Dead Man at Nain (Luke 7:11-17)

PO 4,14, p.264, 4 - 17. Sending out of the Seventy-Two (Luke 10:2-20)

PO 4,16, p.266, 8 - p.267, 4. Ten Lepers (Luke 17:11-19).

Apart from Sedulius's use of Luke 1:78 and 6:30, the length of the citations suggests that he was citing directly from a textual source.

The Latin Tradition of Luke

Burton, in his discussion of the Lukan manuscript tradition, is quick to admit its complexity.⁶⁶⁹ Whereas the Vulgate text type can be easily distinguished from that of the Old Latin both in Matthew and Mark, though to a lesser extent, in Luke, as John, it closely resembles some strands of the Old Latin. The assigning of codices to text types is thus a delicate matter. Nevertheless, following the findings of Burton's *Übersetzungsfarbe* analysis, some clear groups can be distinguished.⁶⁷⁰ **C**, a partly African text-type is represented by the codex Palatinus (VL2). **I**, an European Group is represented by VL4 VL8 VL13 VL14 VL17 and VL21 and an older European Group, **D**

⁶⁶⁹ Burton (2000: 56).

⁶⁷⁰ *ibid.* 57. Burton proposes the groups without assigning letters to them. Therefore, the standard lettering system employed in the *Vetus Latina Edition* has been adopted. For the *Übersetzungsfarbe* method, see Burton (2013: 186-90).

is represented primarily by VL3, the codex Vercellensis, with variant readings provided by VL5, the codex Bezae.⁶⁷¹ Burton regards these codices as a ‘sub-group’ within the European tradition that, despite being ‘Africanized’ in parts, often preserve a more typically European reading than the tradition represented by **I**. In the translation of ἡ παραβολή in Luke, Burton found an indicator of the three-way division within the Old Latin Lukan tradition. The Lukan text of VL5 joins that of VL3 as always translating ἡ παραβολή by the Latin *parabola*, a typically European variant;⁶⁷² the codex Palatinus, the most African of all the Lukan codices is consistent in always choosing the African variant *similitudo*. Finally, a central European group of codices, to which Burton assigns the codices VL4 VL6 VL8 VL10 VL11 VL13 VL14 VL15 VL17 and VL21, appear to stem from a common exemplar and are roughly split in their selection of *parabola* or *similitudo*.⁶⁷³

Of these, the oldest are VL4 and VL8, the Veronensis and Corbiensis II, dated to the 5th century.⁶⁷⁴ Fischer proposed that these two and fragments of the 5th-century VL17, the Vindobonensis, are the key witnesses to a 4th-century North Italian text type close to that used throughout the Gospels by Ambrose and, in Luke alone, Lucifer.⁶⁷⁵ The agreement between these texts forms the basis for Group **I**. Unfortunately, VL17 is only available for Luke 10:6-23:10, while VL8 is missing from 9:48-10:20. As a result, Group **I** is sometimes made from agreements between VL4 and VL13 or VL14. Given the complexity of the Latin tradition, **I** in Luke, as in Matthew, should not be considered an authoritative reconstructed text type. Instead, it is meant to represent the most common Old Latin European tradition and is taken primarily from the readings found in the Corbiensis II (VL8) as the Veronensis offers several unusual readings in Luke as it does in Mark.⁶⁷⁶ The five principal witnesses to **I** (VL4 VL8 VL13 VL14 VL17) are all written between the 5th and 7th centuries and are unmixed codices, that is almost entirely free from revisions against the Vulgate tradition; the remaining Old Latin codices VL6

⁶⁷¹ *ibid*, 57. As elsewhere, Bezae is an eclectic text, often representing a literal translation of the Greek half of the codex **D05**. See the Latin Tradition of Matthew, *supra*.

⁶⁷² Of the two words commonly used in the Latin Gospels to translate ἡ παραβολή, *parabola* and *similitudo*, the latter is rare in the European traditions of Mark and Matthew, that show a preference for translation rather than simple appropriation of technical terms. See Burton (2000: 48).

⁶⁷³ *ibid*, 56.

⁶⁷⁴ Gryson et al. (2007: 24. 31).

⁶⁷⁵ Fischer (1987: 55).

⁶⁷⁶ E.g. Lk. 2:13 cum angelo (*om.*); 3:23 uidebatur et dicebatur; 4:6 cui uoluerō; 4:7 omnia tua haec; 7:15 matri eius; 7:50 te saluum; 10:19 et ecce dedi; 10:20 spiritus maligni, etc. For the **J** text type based on VL4 in Mark, see Haelewyck (2013: 111).

and VL11, as well as those considered Vulgate witnesses by Fischer (VL10, VL15, VL30, VL35),⁶⁷⁷ have been treated as witnesses to the Vulgate except when they contain readings that agree with an Old Latin tradition against all the other Vulgate witnesses. Concerning the witnesses considered, mixed codices VL27 VL32 VL51 and VL56 have not been included in the final analysis. These codices are included on the Vetus Latina database, but preserve no significant readings that cannot be found in the other Latin traditions for Sedulius's citations.

In addition to the manuscript tradition, the Old Latin Lukan tradition is partly preserved in the lemma text of Ambrose's *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, which is similar to I and, where extant, the anonymous Arian commentary on Luke. Furthermore, Jerome's translation of Origen's homilies on Luke gives us a Latin version for Caesarean text type and for the citations examined, a text type that is close to VL5, probably reflecting Origen's Greek text rather than Jerome's use of the 'Western text'.

⁶⁷⁷ Fischer (1987: 56-7).

Analysis of Variant Readings

There are four occurrences of Vulgate readings in the passages cited by Sedulius, two of which are found in Sedulius's cited text:

4.1 Vulgate readings found in Sedulius

1. 3:23 ὡς ἐνομιζέτο = ut putabatur] SED (*PO* 2,12, p.211, 17) VL15 VL30 || sicut putabatur VL2; quod putabatur VL6 VL8 VL11 VL14; (sic)ut existamabatur VL3 VL10; ut uidebatur VL5; quod uidebatur; quod uidebatur et dicetur VL4
2. 4:6 ἀντὶ τοῦ = ei] SED (*PO* 2,14, p.216, 13) VL10 VL15 VL35 || ad illum VL2 VL3 VL4 VL6 VL8 (ad *om.* VL8) VL13 VL30; ad eum VL5; illi VL11 VL14
3. 4:7 ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ = coram me] SED (*PO* 2,14, p.216, 17) VL6 VL15 || in conspectu meo VL2 VL5; ante me VL3 VL4 VL8 VL13; me VL10 VL11 VL14 VL30 VL35

On the other hand, there are 15 Old Latin readings found in Sedulius citations of Luke, 14 of which are supported by readings found in the Old Latin manuscripts.

4.2 Different from Vulgate

Agrees with I, D & C

1. 2:14 ἐν ἀνθρώποις = in hominibus] in *om.* SED (*PO* 2,6, p.201, 25) V(var), C (VL2), D (VL3), I (VL4 VL6 VL8 VL10 VL11 VL13 VL26 VL30)
2. 10:20 ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς = in caelis] in caelo SED (*PO* 4,14, p.264, 16) C (VL2), D (VL3), I (VL4 VL6 VL10 VL11 VL13 VL14 VL17)

Agrees with I & C

3. 23:42 μνήσθητί μου = memento mei] memor esto mei SED (*PO* 5,18, p.289, 7) C (VL2), I (VL4 VL6 VL8 VL11 VL13 VL14)
4. 10:20 ὑποτάσσεται = subiciuntur] subiecti sunt SED (*PO* 4,14, p.264, 16) I (VL4 VL6 VL11 VL13 VL14 VL17); subiecta sunt C (VL2)

Agrees with D & C

5. 10:19 ἐπάνω = supra] super SED (*PO* 4,14, p.264, 13) C (VL2), D (VL3 VL5), VL6 VL10 VL13 VL17 VL30

Agrees with I

6. 6:30 δε (A02 D05) = autem] *om.* SED (PO 3,26, p.252, 17) I (VL4 VL8 VL11 VL14 VL15) (=B03)

Agrees with D

7. 7:15 αὐτὸν = illum] eum SED (PO 3,12, p.263, 10) D (VL3 VL5), VL6 VL14
8. 17:13 ἐπιστάτα = praeceptor] magister SED (PO 4,16, p.266, 13) D (VL3 VL5), VL14 VL44
9. 23:42 Ἰησοῦ, μνήσθητί μου (B03) (μνήσθητί μου Κύριε A02) = domine memento mei] Κύριε *om.* SED (PO 5,18, p.289, 7) D (VL3 VL5) (=D05)

Agrees with C

10. 3:23 ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα (A02 B03) (ὡς ἐτῶν λ' ἀρχόμενος D05) = incipiens quasi annorum triginta] incipiens *om.* SED (PO 2,12, p.211, 17) C (VL2), VL10
11. 10:20 ὅτι = quod] quoniam SED (PO 4,14, p.264, 16) C (VL2), VL6 VL14

Agrees with other Old Latin

12. 10:19 δέδωκα ὑμῖν (B03) = dedi uobis] do uobis SED (PO 4,14, p.264, 12) VL5 VL6 (=A02 D05)
13. 10:19 ἀδικήσῃ (B03) (ἀδικήσῃ A02 D05) = nocebit] nocebunt SED (PO 4,14, p.264, 15) VL14
14. 23:39 σῶσον σεαυτὸν = saluum fac temet ipsum] saluum te fac SED (PO 5,18, p.288, 22) VL14 VL6 VL30

Agrees with no codex/possible error

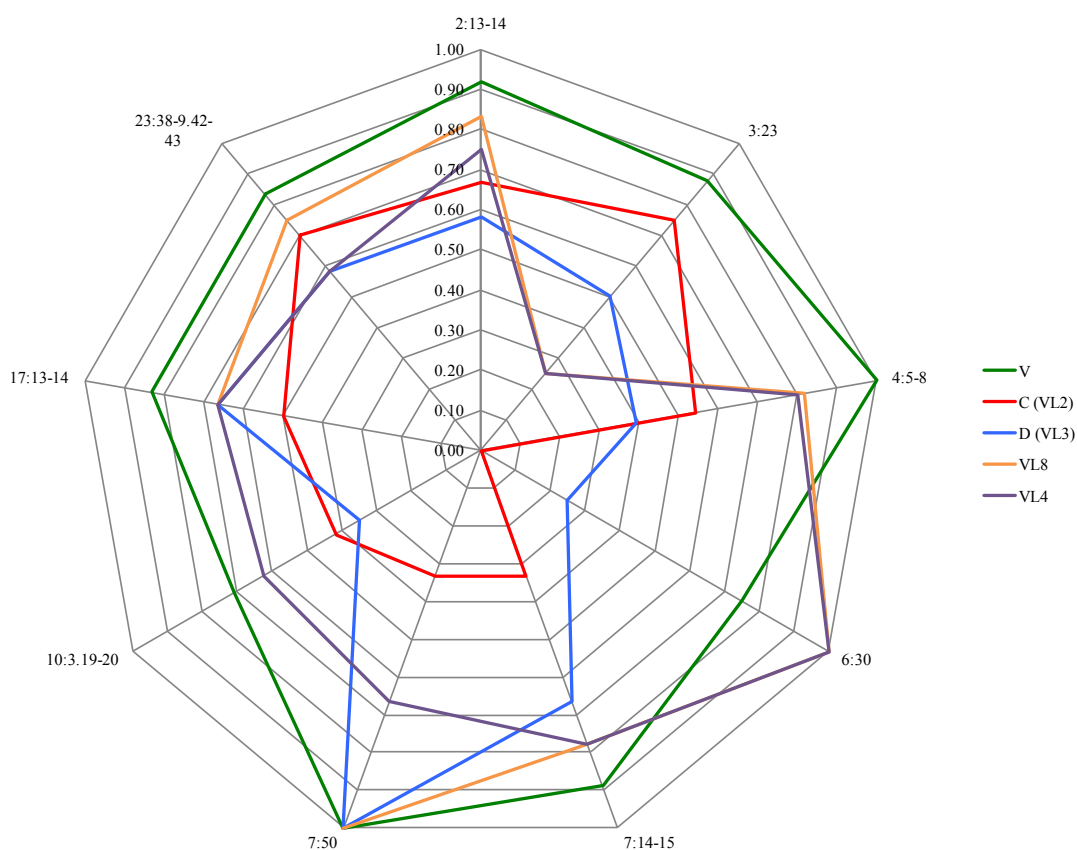
15. 10:20 ἐν τούτῳ = in hoc] *om.* SED (PO 4,14, p.264, 15)

Sedulius's text of Luke repeats the pattern seen in Matthew and John with the Vulgate readings restricted to book two of the *PO* where two are found in the Temptations episode and one in the Baptism episode. The 14 paralleled Old Latin readings are evenly distributed across the different traditions with a much higher proportion of **D** (VL3) and **C** readings than in Sedulius's text of the other Gospels.

4.3 Number of agreements / Total variant sites

	V	I Group	C (VL2)	D (VL3)	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
2:13-14	0,92	0,92	0,67	0,58	0,75	0,42	0,67	0,83	0,92	0,83	0,83	0,83	0,92	0,83	
3:23	0,88	0,38	0,75	0,50	0,25	0,25	0,38	0,25	0,63	0,50	0,38	0,63	0,88	0,63	
4:5-8	1,00	0,82	0,55	0,39	0,80	0,52	0,77	0,82	0,85	0,82	0,79	0,61	1,00	0,91	0,70
6:30	0,75	1,00	0,00	0,25	1,00	0,50	0,50	1,00	0,75	1,00		0,75	1,00	0,75	0,75
7:14-15	0,89	0,89	0,33	0,67	0,78	0,67	0,78	0,78	0,67	0,89	0,78	1,00	0,89	0,78	0,89
7:50	1,00	1,00	0,33	1,00	0,67	1,00	0,67	1,00	1,00	0,67	1,00	0,67	1,00	1,00	1,00
10:3.19-20	0,71	0,75	0,42	0,35	0,63	0,54	0,75		0,63	0,54	0,75	0,75	0,67	0,63	
17:13-14	0,83	0,67	0,50	0,67	0,67	0,67	0,50	0,67	0,67	0,50	0,67	0,67	0,83	0,83	
23:38-9.42-43	0,83	0,75	0,70	0,58	0,58	0,20	0,67	0,75	0,83	0,60	0,75	0,75	0,83	0,92	
Σ + readings	97	87	56	53	74	54	74	67	85	77	80	75	97	89	37
Σ variant sites	111	111	109	110	108	109	108	88	111	109	107	105	111	111	49
Overall	0,87	0,78	0,51	0,48	0,69	0,50	0,69	0,76	0,77	0,71	0,75	0,71	0,87	0,80	0,76

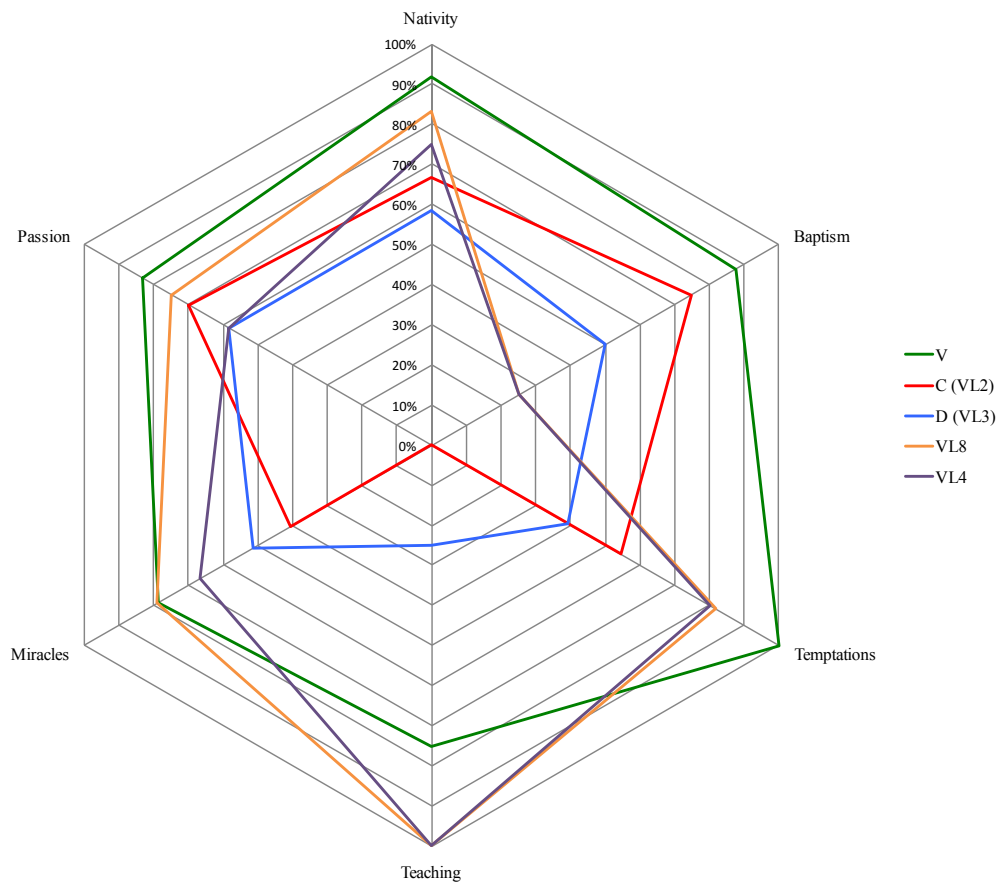
4.4 Proximity coefficient of Sedulius's text to VL2, VL3, VL4, VL8 and Vulgate



4.5 Number of Agreements / total variant sites for principal traditions according to placement in PO

	V	C (VL2)	D (VL3)	VL4	VL8
Nativity	0.92	0.67	0.58	0.75	0.83
Baptism	0.88	0.75	0.50	0.25	0.25
Temptatio	1.00	0.55	0.39	0.80	0.82
Teaching	0.75	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
Miracles	0.79	0.40	0.51	0.67	0.79
Passion	0.83	0.70	0.58	0.58	0.75
Average	0.87	0.51	0.48	0.69	0.76

4.6 Proximity coefficient of Sedulius's text to VL2, VL3, VL4, VL8 and Vulgate according to placement in PO



According to table 4.3, Sedulius's text is closest to the Vulgate with a proximity coefficient of 87%. This figure is once again distorted by the very close proximity of Sedulius's text to the Vulgate in the Nativity, Baptism and Temptations episodes, as shown by table 4.5.

Despite the relatively high number of Old Latin readings found in **C** (VL2) and **D** (VL3), tables 4.3 and 4.5 show how Sedulius's text is closest to VL8 of the Old Latin traditions. The close figure for the Teaching episodes should be treated with reserve, as there is only one episode for comparison. Graph 4.6 clearly shows the dominance of Sedulius use of Vulgate tradition in the blocks of text used in book two. However, unlike in the other Gospels, Sedulius's text remains as close to the Vulgate as to VL8 in the other sections. This possibly reflects the relative lack of revision made by Jerome to the Old Latin text for his version of the third Gospel.

Commentary

1:78. Zachary's Song

PO 2,7 p.203, 18 - 20

conuenienter scripturarum sanctioni concordans Christi natiuitas ab oriente fulgebat, quia implet quod Zachariae designat oratio: *uisitauit nos oriens ex alto.*

This short citation taken from part of Zachary's song at Luke 1:78 is included as a short citation in the *PO* alone, between the long citation of Matthew 2:1-8 that starts chapter seven of book two and a short citation taken from Psalm 18:6. The text cited by Sedulius contains no variant sites across all traditions, patristic citations included, save minor differences in spelling of *uisitauit* and *oriens* and has not therefore been included in the analysis of Sedulius's text of Luke.

2:13-14. The Gloria

PO 2,6, p.201, 14 - p.202, 1

igitur ut euangelicus sermo testatur, ita pronuntians: **et subito facta est cum angelo multitudo militiae caelestis laudantium** Deum et **dicentium: gloria in altissimis** Deo et **in terra pax** hominibus **bonae uoluntatis**. ostendit Euangelistae fidelis assertio, de cuius ageretur hic regno, quando *caelestis militiae multitudo Deum laudat* in Christo, ut licet humana fuerit pro matris condicione creatio, deitatis tamen una communio Patrem cognosci demonstrat in Filio. dicebant ergo: gloria **in altissimis** Deo. utique *in altissimis gloria* Dei permansit, unde Christus ueniens non recessit. et **in terra pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis**.

PC 2,70-2

Tunc prius ignaris pastoribus ille creatus
Enituit, quia pastor erat, gregibusque refulsit
Agnus et angelicus cecinit miracula coetus.

Sedulius includes the Lukan text of the moment the Angels appear before the Shepherds as part of the Nativity passage in book two of both the *PC* and the *PO*. The *PC* covers the moment with a very short paraphrase of Luke 2:13-14, but much more space is devoted to the episode in the *PO*. Sedulius repeats the two major variants, *multitudo militiae caelestis* and *gloria in altissimis Deo* in his exegesis on the passage, thus providing strong evidence that the cited text reliably represents Sedulius's text.

Sedulius's text is identical to the Vulgate save in the omission of *in* before *hominibus*, a variant that is nevertheless found in the Clementine Vulgate, the Cava Bible and Alcuin's recension. The first major variant between the traditions is in the translation of *σπατιᾶς*; this is translated as *exercitus* in the Old Latin traditions but as *militiae* in the Vulgate and VL5. There is some variation also in the translation of *οὐρανίου*, with codices VL2 and VL4 as well as some 4th-century patristic works preferring *caelestium*,⁶⁷⁸ whereas the remaining witnesses and the Vulgate read *caelestis*.

The second major variant is in the following verse and is the translation of *ἐν ὑψίστοις*, which is rendered by *in excelsis* in the mixed text codices VL10 VL11 VL15 VL30 and the unmixed Old Latin VL3, VL14 and VL13 while also being the preferred reading in liturgical sources such as the Stowe Missal, the Gallican Missal and the Roman Responsoy.⁶⁷⁹ The use of *in altissimis* as found in Sedulius is typical of the manuscript tradition, as found in the Old Latin European tradition represented by VL2, VL4, VL8 as well as the Vulgate. The popularity of the reading *in excelsis* is possibly due to the Latin hymn *Gloria in excelsis*, a translation of the Greater Doxology, which is traditionally assigned to Hilary.⁶⁸⁰ Hilary's own versions of the verse offers alternative translations of *ἐν ὑψίστοις*; in his work on the Trinity it is translated as *in caelis*; but in one of the hymns attributed to him *in excelsis* is found.⁶⁸¹ However, *in excelsis* is found in the oldest Latin witness VL3 as well as a 4th-century witness, Pseudo-Marius Victorinus's *De Physicis* 21. The use of the Gloria at Christmas is today seen in the Gregorian chant *hodie Christus natus est*, found as an antiphon in the Vigil of Christmas in the earliest complete antiphonary we possess, the Antiphonary of

⁶⁷⁸ VL2; VL3; VL4; AM Lc 2,51; PS-MAR Phy 21.

⁶⁷⁹ M-GO 17; 18; M-ST; RES-R 2836; 2946.

⁶⁸⁰ Honorius of Autun, *Gemma Animae*, 1,87: Gloria in excelsis Deo, quod angelicus chorus in primis cecinit, sed Hilarius episcopus Pictaviensis ab illo loco Laudamus te, usque in finem composuit (PL 172, 572).

⁶⁸¹ HIL tri 2,27; hy A 3,11.

Compiègne.⁶⁸² Here it is sung alongside Psalm 18 and 44, the two Psalms used in Sedulius's account of the Nativity.⁶⁸³ This is an indication that Sedulius's use of Luke 2:13-14 is prompted by the liturgical use of the Gloria at Christmas but, if this is the case, it is surprising that, just as in his similar use of John 1:14, Sedulius is not using the liturgical form. Given the presence of *in altissimis* in Sedulius's text, it suggests that he was quoting directly from the Gospel of Luke or from a secondary source such as a commentary or homily rather than inserting the passage from his own knowledge of the liturgy. Over the two verses Sedulius's text is in nearly all respects identical to the Vulgate.

3:23. Jesus's age at Baptism

PO 2,12, p.211, 14 - p.212, 1

Nec post longam temporum moram (quaenam potest esse temporibus, quae uolucris cursu fugacia nondum ueniunt, iam recedunt) ut euangelista significat, **ipse Iesus erat quasi annorum triginta, ut putabatur filius Ioseph.** praeclare nimis utrumque uerbum *quasi* et *putabatur* diuinitati seruauit; sicut enim *quasi triginta uidebatur annorum*, cum sit aeternus, *ita Ioseph filius putabatur*, cum sit ex uirgine procreatus.

PC 2,139 - 142

Nec mora (quas etenim uoluitans per tempora mundus
 Nouit habere moras?) usus maiore iuuenta,
Sex quasi lustra gerens placidam Iordanis ad undam
 Venit ut acciperet hoc, quod dare uenerat ipse.

Luke 3:23, taken from Luke's account of the genealogy, is included in Sedulius's account of the Baptism of Jesus at chapter twelve in the *PO* and lines 139-174 in book two of the *PC*. This verse of Luke, which is the only Gospel to mention Jesus's age at the Baptism, is the only use of the third Gospel in a passage that is elsewhere mainly

⁶⁸² Liber Responsalis, *In Vigilia Natalis Domini*, ad Vesperas (PL78, 733-4). Lemarié (1956: 67) sees the Gloria as the starting point of the entire Christmas liturgy: 'Lorsque les bergers eurent constaté de leurs yeux la réalité de ce qui leur avait été annoncé par l'ange, "ils s'en retournèrent, nous dit saint Luc, glorifiant et louant Dieu" ; ils inauguraient ainsi en quelque sorte la louange au Christ Seigneur dans le mystère de sa venue parmi les siens'.

⁶⁸³ *ibid.* See John 1:14, *supra ad loc.*

based on the Matthean account of the Baptism (Mt. 3:13-17) with the insertion of John 1:29. The displacement of Jesus's age from the end of the passage in Luke's account to the beginning of the passage in Sedulius's text together with the insertion of John 1:29 in the baptism passage prompted Moretti Pieri to compare Sedulius's text in the *PC* with two witnesses of Tatian's Diatessaron, the *Unum Ex Quattuor* in the codex Fuldensis and the Arabic Diatessaron.⁶⁸⁴ Moretti Pieri's comparison underlined the striking similarity between Sedulius's passage and Ciasca's version of the Arabic Diatessaron, with both passages containing Luke 3:23 in precisely the same position, albeit placed within an overarching Matthean structure. The relevant passage of the *PC* is laid out beside the *Unum Ex Quattuor* and Arabic Diatessaron text here below:

<i>PC</i> 2,139-142	Fuldensis ch. 14 ⁶⁸⁵	Arabic Diatessaron ch. 4 ⁶⁸⁶
Nec mora ... (Lc 3.23)sex quasi lustra gerens (Mt. 3.13)placidam Iordanis ad undam uenit ut acciperet hoc, quod dare uenerat ipse.	(Mt. 3.13)Tunc uenit ihesus in galilaea in iordanen ad iohannen ut baptizaretur ab eo (Lc 3.23)Et ipse ihesus erat incipiens quasi annorum XXX ut putabatur filius ioseph	(Mt. 3.13)Alors Jésus vint de la Galilée au Jourdain vers Jean pour être baptisé par lui (Lc 3.23)Et Jésus était comme ayant trente ans. Et il était estimé comme le fils de Joseph.

The remainder of the baptism passage has been analysed in the discussion of Matthew 3:16-17 and John 1:29, but the position of Luke here above justifies Moretti Pieri's comparison. However, while the origin of this harmonisation could be Tatian's Diatessaron, and indeed Ephrem's commentary appears to support this,⁶⁸⁷ by Sedulius's day, in the 5th century, a similar use of Luke 3:23 immediately before Matthew 3:16-17 can be found in homilies in the Latin West, such as in the sermon on Epiphany as found in the anonymous Verona collection, which also includes John 1:29.⁶⁸⁸ Indeed, while there is no suggestion that Sedulius's text depends on this Epiphany sermon, the presence of a similar biblical text in a near contemporary should encourage a wider consideration of possible source texts for Sedulius than the current *status quo*, i.e.

⁶⁸⁴ Moretti Pieri (1969: 142-7).

⁶⁸⁵ Ranke (1868: 40).

⁶⁸⁶ Marmardji (1935: 35-7)

⁶⁸⁷ Ephrem, *Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*, 4,1a (McCarthy, 83). Both the Armenian and the Syriac version of Ephrem's commentary start the baptism passage with a lemma taken from Luke 3:23.

⁶⁸⁸ [Maximinus], *De Sollemnitatibus*, 4-5 (CCSL 87, 54).

directly from the Gospels (as Mayr, van der Laan, Mazzega, Green) or from a Latin version of Tatian's Diatessaron (as Moretti Pieri). Instead, Sedulius possibly used a harmonised passage designed for reading at Mass on the Epiphany, such as that found in the Luxeuil lectionary, which harmonises Luke 3:23, Matthew 3:13-17 and John 2:1-11, as his base text for the passage.⁶⁸⁹

The Latin of Sedulius's citations at the baptism also points away from the use of an Old Latin *diatessaron*. Like the other citations in the baptism passage, Sedulius's Latin is very close to the Vulgate, differing in only one variant reading and this appears to be the case both in the *PC* and the *PO*. The text is heavily paraphrased in the *PC*, but it appears to be from the same source, based on the shared usage of *quasi* over *fere*.⁶⁹⁰ The use of *quasi* is one of four major (and three minor) variants that distinguish the different traditions; the others being the presence of a word translating ἀρχόμενος; the translation of ὡς ἐνομιζέτο, and the inclusion of *esse* alongside *filius*. Sedulius's text follows the Vulgate in three of the major variants and all of the minor variant sites. The first of these is in the use of *quasi*, which is found as a translation of ὡσεὶ (**BO3 A02**) or ὡς (**D05**) only in the Vulgate, **C**, VL5 and VL14 in the Old Latin whereas **D** (VL3), **I** witnesses (VL4 VL8 VL13) and some mixed text witnesses (VL6 VL10 VL11) prefer *fere*. However, any argument for the source of Sedulius's text based on his use as *quasi* must take into account that the variant *fere* could not be used in Sedulius's exegesis, as of the two words only *quasi* can be used to question whether Luke is reporting that Jesus had an age *at all* rather than had *an exact age*. It is therefore possible that text that provides the variant *quasi* was taken by Sedulius from the same source as the exegesis that follows the passage. For the moment, however, no such possible source has been found. Until such a source proves to the contrary, we can deduce that Sedulius's exegesis was probably suggested by the variants found in the biblical text.

⁶⁸⁹ Luxeuil Lectionary, *Xviii In Epiphania Ad Missa*. See Salmon (1944: 59-60). The lectionary's harmonised passage, as well as including the Wedding of Cana episode from John that is not found in Sedulius's text, places Luke 3:23 after Matthew 3:13-17 not before it as in Sedulius, Maximinus and Tatian's diatessaron.

⁶⁹⁰ Sedulius uses *quasi* only this once in the whole of the *PC*; see Wacht (1993: 158). However, *fere* is not found at all in the *PC*. There is perhaps a slight metrical advantage in using *quasi* in addition to its suitability for Sedulius's exegesis as it forms a *pyrrhic* disyllable that can be placed after a word ending in a long syllable rather than *fere* that forms a *iamb* that must be placed after one that ends in a single short syllable.

Sedulius also omits *esse* with *filius*, a reading found in the Vulgate witnesses and VL14. **D** (VL3) also omits *esse* but places *filius* before the translation of *ὡς ἐνομιζετο*, while **I** (VL4 VL8 VL13) and VL5 VL6 VL11 VL30 read *filius esse*. The insertion of *esse* either stems from the present participle phrase *ὄν υἱός Ἰωσήφ* found in the Byzantine and Alexandrian text types, or the reading found in the Bezae (**D05**) (*ἐνομιζετο*) *εἶναι υἱός Ἰωσήφ*, though this is possibly a back translation from the Latin in the Bezae. Amongst Patristic witnesses, only Ambrosiaster and the *De Concordia Matthaei et Lucae in Genealogia Christi* among pre-Vulgate sources omit *esse* suggesting that such a reading was in circulation in Rome in the 4th century, but rare nonetheless.⁶⁹¹ Amongst witnesses to **I**, both Rufinus and Ambrose include *esse*.⁶⁹²

The third and fourth major variants are the translation of *ὡς ἐνομιζετο* and the omission of *ἀρχόμενος*. The former is translated differently in all the major traditions: in **C** as *sicut putabatur*, in **D** (VL3) and VL10 as *ut existimabatur*, in **I** (VL8), VL6 and VL11 as *quod putabatur*, in VL4 as *quod uidebatur et dicebatur*, which VL13 (*quod uidebatur*) and VL5 (*ut uidebatur*) are close to, and finally in the Vulgate as *ut putabatur*, which is also Sedulius's text. This is probably a Vulgate reading as the only possible pre-Vulgate work that contains the readings is the anonymous *De Concordia Matthaei et Lucae*.⁶⁹³ The last reading found in Sedulius is not found in the Vulgate, which is the omission of *incipiens*. This is not found in the Greek tradition with all text types preserving *ἀρχόμενος* in one position or another. However, amongst Latin versions of Luke, only **C** and VL10, like Sedulius, omit any translation of the word, a reading that is not found in any other patristic witnesses.⁶⁹⁴ This reading is the only place where Sedulius's text does not follow the Vulgate, which like at 2:13-14 is very close to the Vulgate with a single Old Latin reading.

The readings found in Sedulius's exegesis corroborate those found in his citation: *quasi* and *putabatur* are repeated in the exegesis (p.211, 18) and although he does use the

⁶⁹¹ **AMst** q 56,3; **PS-AM** conc. The short work titled the *De Concordia Matthaei et Lucae in Genealogia Christi* was previously thought to be by Ambrosiaster, but now cautiously attributed to Isacus Iudaeus, a 4th-century Roman writer. See Dekkers (2008: 55). The text was discovered by Gillotius and is published only in the PL.

⁶⁹² **AM** Lc 3,1; **RUF** Eus 1,7,10.

⁶⁹³ Pseudo-Ambrose, *De Concordia Matthaei et Lucae* (CPL 177, PL17, 1014).

⁶⁹⁴ *ἀρχόμενος* is translated as *incipiens* before Jesus's age in **I** and the Vulgate, and after his age following the 'Western text' in **D** (VL3 VL5).

word *uidebatur* (p.211, 19), the variant found in VL4, this appears to be out of *variatio*, as he reuses *putabatur* later in the sentence (p.211, 20).

4:5-9. The Temptation of Wordly Possessions

PO 2, 14, p.216, 13 - 217, 4

et duxit illum diabolus et ostendit illi omnia regna orbis terrae in momento temporis et ait ei: tibi dabo potestatem hanc uniuersam et gloriam illorum, quia mihi tradita sunt, et cui uolo do illa. tu ergo si adoraueris coram me, erunt tua omnia. quid mirum, si peruersa locutus est miser, qui ne rectas uias incederet serpentis torti sumpsit effigiem *regni* fragilis et caduci Christum aestimans cupiditate contingi, qui ualidum potius et aeternum suis uenerat conlaturus? aut ille diuitias dignaretur saeculares acquirere, qui docere uenerat ut perirent, monstrumque caelo deiectum *adoraret*, cui thronus est caelum, terra subpedaneum, mundus omnis obsequium, quem nullus audet aspicere et cunctae submissis uocibus laudant super sidera potestates. at iterum Dominus eum tali responsione confundit dicens: **scriptum est: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis et illi soli seruias.**

As Sedulius's version of the Temptations is mainly based on Matthew, much of the general analysis of the passage is treated in the section on Matthew. However, concerning Sedulius's use of Luke in the Temptations in the *PO*, a number of points are worth reiterating. First, only one of the three temptations, that of the devil's offer of worldly goods to Jesus, is taken from Luke, with the two other temptations taken from Matthew. Second, the Matthean and Lukan passages are arranged in a Lukan order, which is unattested in the codical tradition. Finally, Sedulius's text in the *PC*, although in the Lukan order, shows no signs of being taken from Luke; on the contrary, the presence of *montana* (v. 2,187) and the shortened structure of the devil's words, (v. 2,188-9) resemble the Matthean passage and for this reason the passage in the *PC* has been analysed along with the rest of the passage in the chapter on Matthew.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁵ *PC* 2,187: Cum Domino montana petit; *PC* 2,188-9: haec omnia, dicens, / Me tribuente feres, si me prostratus adores.

The cited Lukan text found in the *PO* is wholly Vulgate. It contains two Vulgate readings, in Sedulius's citation of 4:6 and 4:7 plus a number of other readings that are found only in the Vulgate and the Bezae (VL5). At 4:5 Sedulius's text is identical to the Vulgate and VL4. There are five major variants between the traditions for this verse, but the text in **D** (VL3) is unfortunately partly irrelevant as it repeats, with minor variants, the text of Luke 4:9, perhaps due to an error of parablepsis causing dittography after the homeoteleuton of *adduxit*; this error is found nowhere else. The first major variant is the inclusion of *diabolus*, a reading omitted in the Greek 'Western text type' (*as ó διάβολος*) preserved in the Bezae (**D05**) and minuscule 700 as well as **C** and VL5 in the Latin tradition. The second is the omission of any rendering of *εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν*, itself an interpolation from Matthew 4:8 that is widely found in the Greek and Old Latin traditions, with the 'Western text' (**D05**) also including the reinforcing particle *λίαν*, variously rendered as *nimis* (VL11) or *ualde* (VL5 VL35). The text found in **I** varies with VL8 preserving *in montem altum*, VL13 *in montem excelsum* and VL14, which is followed by Hilary and Ambrose, rendering the interpolation by *in montem altissimum*.⁶⁹⁶ **C** has *supra montem*, possibly a Latin rendering of *εἰς ὄρος*, the text found in **W032**. The Alexandrian text omits this interpolation and is followed by the Vulgate and VL4.

The remaining three variants are the translation of *ἀναγαγών*, which is rendered by *duxit* in the Vulgate and **I** (VL4 VL8 VL13 VL14), by *imposuit* in **C**, *adduxit* in **D** (VL3) and *assumens* in VL5; the translation of *τῆς οἰκουμένης*, rendered by *orbis terrae* in the Vulgate, **I** and **C**,⁶⁹⁷ *orbis terrarum* in **D** (VL3), while VL5 VL10 and VL35 have the reading *mundi* a rendering of the 'Western' reading found in **D05** *του κοσμου*. Finally, *ἐν στιγμή χρόνου* is translated by *in pu(n)cto temporis* in **C** while all the other traditions have *in momento temporis*. Sedulius's text follows the Vulgate with the inclusion of *diabolus*, the omission of any mention of the devil taking Jesus onto the mountain, *duxit*, *orbis terrae* and *in momento temporis*.

The following verse shows no variation in the Greek tradition and outside of **C**, which contains some characteristic African readings such as the translation of *τὴν δόξαν* by

⁶⁹⁶ **HIL** Ps 2,42; **AM** Lc 4,27.

⁶⁹⁷ Though note the reading in **W032**, *της γης*, that possibly lies behind *orbis terrae*.

claritatem and **D** (VL3) the Latin tradition is also relatively consistent.⁶⁹⁸ Two readings that do distinguish **I** witnesses from the Vulgate are the translation of ἀπτῶ, which is translated as *ei* in the Vulgate but as (*ad*) *illum* in all the Old Latin traditions (VL4 VL6 VL8 VL13 VL14 VL30), and the omission of *diabolus*, which has no support from the Greek tradition but is found in the Vulgate and VL4. The first of these readings should probably be considered a Vulgate reading as is not found outside of the mixed codices, nor in any pre-Hieronymian patristic sources. In patristic works the verse is frequently flattened, as it is also in VL6,⁶⁹⁹ with *tibi dabo potestatem... quia* replaced by *omnia haec*, but Hilary, Ambrose and the Anonymous commentary on Luke all preserve the text found in **I**.⁷⁰⁰ Sedulius's citation however is once again identical to that found in the Vulgate.

Sedulius's citation of 4:7 once again matches the Vulgate and contains the Vulgate reading *coram me* as a translation of ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ. This is one of two major readings in this verse, the shortest of the passages, which is translated as *ante me* in **D** (VL3) and **I** witnesses (VL4 VL8 VL13) as *in conspectu meo* in **C** and VL5 and simply as *me* in VL14 and several mixed texts (VL10 VL11 VL30 VL35). The second significant reading in the verse is the insertion of *prostratus/procidens* before *adoraueris*. This is presumably another interpolation from Matthew, this time verse 4:9, that is not found in the Greek but is found in all the Old Latin codices with the exception of VL5.⁷⁰¹ It is also absent from the Vulgate that Sedulius, once again, appears to be citing. As the reading is found in VL5, it cannot be termed a Vulgate reading in the truest sense, but since Sedulius shows no contact with VL5 the sharing of this reading with the Vulgate is significant.

In the final verse cited by Sedulius, only the second half of the verse, Jesus's quote of Deuteronomy 6:13, is cited in the *PO*, which shows very few variants between the different strands of Latin text. Sedulius follows the text found in **C**, **I** witnesses and the Vulgate. Only **D** (VL3) and VL14 offer a significant variant in reversing the word order according to the Byzantine word order (*προσκυνήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου*). Although not directly cited by Sedulius, it is perhaps significant that Sedulius contains

⁶⁹⁸ For *claritas* as an African rendering of ἡ δοξα, where European texts have *gloria*, see von Soden (1909: 325); Bergren (1991: 188).

⁶⁹⁹ e.g. **AMst** Rm 1,32; **GAU** s 18,23; **IR** 5,22,2.

⁷⁰⁰ **HIL** Ps 2,42; **AM** Ps 36,46,2; **AN** Lc 4,6.

⁷⁰¹ Although not found in the Greek codical tradition, it is found in Iraeneus (**IR** 5,21,2).

no rendering in his paraphrased text of *ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου σατανᾶ*, a further interpolation taken from Matthew 4:10, that is found in some form in **C**, most of the witnesses of **I** (VL4 VL12 VL13) and VL11 but not in **D** (VL3 VL5), VL8 or the Vulgate.

In sum, Sedulius's cited text for the Temptations is more 'Vulgate' than anywhere else in either of his twin works. Of the 33 variant sites in the cited text, all 33 match the reading found in the Vulgate, which is a remarkable statistic. Such a text is out of character with the other Vulgate texts used in the *PO* and even with the other Vulgate passages of Luke, which include some Old Latin variants. For this reason, one may reasonably question whether the text found in the *PO* is Sedulius's original text. There is nothing in the exegesis that follows Sedulius's cited text that confirms any of the Vulgate or even Lukan variants.⁷⁰² Indeed, were this a commentary lemma, serious question marks might be placed over the veracity of the text, but given that Sedulius's text appears fully integrated into the passage as a whole, and, crucially, is found in all the manuscripts, it appears reasonable to accept the text as the one Sedulius cited. However, the counterbalance to this argument is that Jerome's revisions of the Old Latin text of Luke in this pericope are relatively minor. Indeed, the two Vulgate-specific readings are concern preposition and pronoun usage, hardly striking evidence of a different text type. Thus Jerome's revision is perhaps better viewed as one stage within the European Latin tradition rather than a separate recension of the Latin tradition. The fact that Sedulius's text entirely agrees with Jerome's revision is still significant, though perhaps not of the cardinal significance it would have been at a point where Jerome's revision is vastly different to the Old Latin tradition.

6:30. Love your enemies.

PO 3,26, p.252, 11-18

quantum hoc nihilominus facto suae nos Christus imitatores esse uoluit doctrinae, qui cum rennuere posset indignam huius praebitionis iniuriam (utpote cui nihil erat sociale cum plebe, nisi ut salutaribus cunctos beneficiis adiuuaret), maluit superfluum munus exsoluere, quam *petenti cuilibet* aliquid abnegare, ut iustitiae conditor et magister, qui dixit: **o m n i p e t e n t i t e t r i b u e**, primus instituta suae legis impleret.

⁷⁰² *monstrumque caelo deiectum adoraret* (p.216, 23) is closer, if anything to the text at Mt. 4:9, *adoraueris me*, than the Lukan *adoraueris coram me*.

This part verse, the shortest citation of Luke in the *PO*, is taken from Jesus's Sermon on the Plain in Luke (6:20-49). It is included as part of Sedulius's exegesis on the Paying of the Tribute Money (Mt. 17:24-7), and for Mazzega Sedulius's prose exegesis underlines the missionary purpose of the passage and plays an important role in explaining the presentation of the Jesus's miracles as *salutaria beneficia*.⁷⁰³ Despite this, the citation is not found in the *PC* and it seems that Sedulius used the opportunity of the prose work to make explicit something only hinted at in the verse work. Given the short nature of the citation, one might expect few or no variant sites, but the opposite is true with three variant sites found that distinguish the different traditions.

Sedulius's text is the same as that found in **I** witnesses, but only differs in a minor way from the Vulgate. **I** witnesses appear to follow the Alexandrian text type in the omission of *δὲ*, against **C**, **D** (VL3 VL5) and the Vulgate that read *autem*. However, it is worth asking whether Sedulius would have included *autem* in his citation in any case as it would not fit well with the rest of his sentence. Of more significance is Sedulius's use of *petenti*; this is found in Latin as a translation of *τῷ αἰτοῦντί* from the time of Tertullian and in **I** (VL4 VL8), VL5 and the Vulgate, but not in **D** (VL3) and VL14 that read *poscenti*.⁷⁰⁴ Unusually, given the reading in Tertullian, **C** (VL2) contains a different reading, *qui petit*. A clear distinction between **I** and the Vulgate and the other Latin traditions is seen in the translation of *δίδον* that is translated as *tribue* in **I** witnesses (VL4 VL8 VL14) and the Vulgate but as *da* in **C**, **D** (VL3 VL5) and VL6. This appears to be an African reading as all of Tertullian's citations use forms of *dare*, but it is a reading that enjoyed considerable popularity in patristics and is found in Augustine, Rufinus, once in Jerome, the North Italian *Opus Imperfectum* and Cassian.⁷⁰⁵ Augustine generally prefers *da*, except once in the *Quaestiones* where *tribue* is found and once in the *Speculum* where the Vulgate text is used.⁷⁰⁶ In addition to Sedulius, Cassiodorus, Gregory and Jerome also prefer the reading found in **I** witnesses and the

⁷⁰³ Mazzega (1996: 255).

⁷⁰⁴ **TE** fu 13,1; 13,3; 18,1; marc 4,16; mon 11,2. *poscenti* is found only once in patristics in Augustine's *De Diversis Quaestiones*, an early work (**AU** q 59,2). See Houghton (2008: 140).

⁷⁰⁵ **AU** Ps 102,12,9; 102,13,5; 102,13,7; 103 s 3,10,22; 146,17,24; s 359,3; **RUF** reg 185; **HI** Pel 2,11; **AN** Mt h 31; **CAN** Hib 42,4.

⁷⁰⁶ **AU** q 59,2; Spe 27.

Vulgate, *tribue*.⁷⁰⁷ Sedulius's text is clearly **V/I**, but solely on the strength of the omission of *autem*, it is not possible to say which.

7:11-17. Resuscitation of Dead Man at Nain

The resuscitation of the Dead Man at Nain is the second Lukan miracle described by Sedulius in a series of seven Lukan miracles found in succession in the fourth book of the *PO* and the *PC*.⁷⁰⁸ The passage is specific to Luke and Sedulius paraphrases verses 7:11-14a and quotes 7:14b-15. Although most of the passage is either paraphrased or cited verbatim, there are unfortunately few clear-cut variants due to Sedulius's use of *abbreviatio*, *amplificatio* and *interpretatio* as well as the odd classical reference such as the Virgilian *triste ministerium* from Misenus's funeral in book six of the *Aeneid*.⁷⁰⁹ The text from the *PC* and the *PO* which contains the biblical text has been placed below alongside the text of VL8 from Luke.

<i>PC</i> 4,125-136	<i>PO</i> 4,12, p.263, 1-10	Luke 7:11-15 (VL8)
v.125-7 <i>ibat</i> in urbem / <i>Quae</i> sit <i>dicta</i> <i>Naim</i> populo uallatus opimo / Et grege <i>discipulum</i>	urbem, <i>quae Naim dicitur</i> , properabat intrare <i>discipulis Dominus</i> <i>populisque</i> uallatus	7:11 <i>ibat</i> in ciuitatem <i>quae uocatur Nain</i> et ibant cum illo <i>discipuli</i> eius et <i>turba copiosa</i>
v.127-31 miserum cum comminus <i>ecce</i> / Conspicit <i>ecferri</i> iuuenem gelidumque cadauer, Pluribus exsequiis ... cuius sors inuida <i>matrem</i> Iamdudum <i>uiduam</i> gemina <i>uiduauerat</i> urna	cum repente iuuenis aspicit cadauer <i>effferri</i> uanis exequiarum muneribus... cuius <i>matrem</i> secundo sors inuida pridem marito, nunc filio geminae <i>uiduauerat</i> urnae miseria	7:12 et <i>ecce efferebatur defunctus</i> filius unicus <i>matris</i> suae et haec <i>uidua</i> erat; et turba multa cum illa
v.132 Nec remorata diu pietas	nihilque remorata pietas	7:13a Quam cum uideret Dominus misericordia motus
v.133 <i>tactoque</i> feretro	feretroque manu redemptionis <i>attacto</i>	7:14a et accessit et <i>tetigit</i> locum (loculum VL4 <i>cet</i>)
v.134 'Surge' <i>ait</i> 'o <i>iuuenis</i> '	<i>dixit Dominus</i> ad <i>defunctum</i> " <i>a dolens, tibi dico, surge</i> "	7:14c et <i>ait Iesus adulescens adulescens</i> tibi dico surge

⁷⁰⁷ CAR cpl 6; Ps 40,2, 103,14; HI ecl 11,3; 11,4, ep 54,12, GR-M past 3,20.

⁷⁰⁸ van der Laan (1990: xviii).

⁷⁰⁹ van der Laan (1990: 91-2) provides a detailed analysis of the application of Sedulius's poetic technique to this passage. For *triste ministerium*, see *Aeneid* 6,224.

v.135-6 <i>Mortuus adsurgit, residensque loquensque reuixit / Atque comes genetricis abit</i>	<i>et resedit qui erat mortuus et coepit loqui, et dedit eum matri suae</i>	7:15 Et <i>resedit</i> qui erat mortuus et coepit loqui. et <i>dedit illum matri suae.</i>
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The end of the passage, verses 136-141 in the *PC* and lines 10-17 on page 263 in the *PO*, describe the crowd after the resuscitation and include Sedulius's explanation for the miracle; while these lines briefly touch on the crowd's reaction as seen in Luke 7:16, they include no useable variant sites and have not been included in the analysis. Starting with the analysis of Sedulius's cited material in the *PO*, his text is clearly European with *adolescens* a European variant found in **D** (VL3), **I** (VL4 VL8 VL13 VL14) and the Vulgate but not **C** and VL5 that preserve the African variant *iuuenis* as a translation of *νεανίσκος*.⁷¹⁰ Some European sources, such as **D** (VL3 VL5) and VL8 repeat *adulescens/iuuenis*, a variant not found in Sedulius.⁷¹¹ At first sight, the *PC* appears to follow a different text type, based on the reading *iuuenis* found at line 134. However, *adulescens* is somewhat cumbersome as a poetic word, not once found in the *PC*, and *iuuenis* would no doubt have been preferred by Sedulius purely on aesthetic grounds.⁷¹²

In the quote of Luke 7:15, Sedulius's *resedit* is a variant found in **I**, VL5 and the Vulgate as a translation of the reading found in the Byzantine and 'Western' text types, *ἀνεκάθισεν*, whereas **D** (VL3) has *consedit* and **C** with *sed* follows the Alexandrian reading found in the Vaticanus (**B03**), *ἐκάθισεν*.⁷¹³ The reading in VL6, *surrexit et sed*, is a witness to an unusual reading that possibly has its roots in the liturgy and is also found in the Roman Responsory, the Irish Pseudo-Jerome's *Breviarium In Psalmos*, Abidias of Gaul and once in Augustine.⁷¹⁴ This reading perhaps lies behind *adsurgit* found in the *PC* at line 135, but for this to be the case there would have to be strong evidence that Sedulius is using a different source in the *PO* to the *PC*, which is not the case.

⁷¹⁰ For *iuuenis* as an African reading, see von Soden (1909: 330); Bergren (1991 :191). In addition to VL2, the reading is found in Augustine (**AU** cf 6,1; Ps 97,1,16; s 128,14; s dni 1,35; s Mai 125,2), Commodian (**COM** ap 644), Pseudo-Fulgentius (**PS-FU** s 6) and the Latin Irenaeus (**IR** 5,13,1).

⁷¹¹ This is also found in **D05**, possibly a back translation as it is not found in any other Greek manuscript.

⁷¹² *iuuenis* is found in the *PO* at p.263, 10, but this is again probably due to *variatio*.

⁷¹³ *sed* is a reading found only in African texts, Augustine (**AU** ps 97,1,17, s Mai 125,2) and the Latin Irenaeus (**IR** 5,13,1).

⁷¹⁴ **AU** s 98,4; **RES-R** 1224; **ABD** 1,16; **PS-HI** bre 34.

The other two significant variants are *dedit*, which is absent from **C**, but found in **D** (VL3 VL5) **I** and the Vulgate, although VL6 and VL10 have *redidit* a variant also found in all of Augustine's citations of the verse.⁷¹⁵ The final variant is the only time Sedulius's text agrees with **D** (VL3) against **I** (VL4 VL8 VL13) and the Vulgate with the **C** again showing no reading. The reading *eum* as a translation of *αὐτόν* is also found in VL6 and VL14 whereas the remaining **I** witnesses and the Vulgate read *illum*. The use of *eum* as the pronoun is only found elsewhere in the Latin Irenaeus.⁷¹⁶

The paraphrased material confirms the findings of the cited material, *viz* that Sedulius's text is either **I** or Vulgate, but, as so often, provides conflicting evidence as to which strand his text is closest to. Obvious differences are found in the name of the town *Naim*, which is the name found in **D**, **I** and the Vulgate, but **C** and VL11 read *Capharnaum*.⁷¹⁷ Another European reading found in Sedulius is *discipuli* (*PC* 4,127; *PO* 4,12, p.263, 2), which is found in **D**, **I**, and the Vulgate at 7:11, whereas **C** preserves the frequent African translation of *μαθηταί*, *discentes*.⁷¹⁸ The remaining variants are less clear cut: Sedulius's use of *dominus* at line 2 in the *PO*, which finds support in the variant *Iesus* added to the text of Luke 7:11 in **D** (VL3) VL14 and VL15 is certainly coincidental.⁷¹⁹ Likewise, the use of *Dominus* at line 8 in the *PO* that is supported by the reading *ait Iesus* at 7:14 in VL6 VL8 VL10 VL11 VL14 and VL15 is required in the text as the grammatical subject of *dixit is pietas*, which although acceptable in the *PC* as part of Sedulius's personification of *pietas*, is rather odd in prose. More certain is the reading of *efferrī* found both in the *PO* and the *PC*, which is taken from the reading *efferebatur* found in **D** (VL3), **I** and the Vulgate rather than *ferebatur* found in **C**, VL5 VL13 and VL35 or *deferebatur* as in VL11. Likewise, Sedulius's use of the word *defunctum* at line 8 in the *PO* is probably taken from *defunctus* at Luke 7:12, which is found in **I** and the Vulgate, whereas **C**, **D** (VL3 VL5), VL14 and VL35 preserve *mortuus/mortuum* and VL6 omits any translation of *τεθνηκώς*.

Finally, there are also two minor variants that could be significant but which are unlikely given that Sedulius's other variants have been consistently **I**/Vulgate. First

⁷¹⁵ **AU** Ps 97,1,17; s 98,4; s Mai 125,2.

⁷¹⁶ **IR** 5,13,1.

⁷¹⁷ Spelling variations, even for proper nouns, have not been taken into account in this study; however, *naim* is found in VL4 VL10 VL15 and the Vulgate, while VL3 VL5 VL8 VL13 and VL14 have *nain*.

⁷¹⁸ For *discens* as a translation of *μαθητής* see von Soden (1909: 336); Bergren (1991: 185).

⁷¹⁹ It is hard to see how Sedulius could omit *Dominus* at this point in his text.

among these are the use of *dicitur* in the phrase *quae Naim dicitur* in line two of the *PO*. *dicitur* is a variant found in VL5, which preserves a text that Sedulius's has little in common with; however, the variant is also found in the Roman Responsory as part of an antiphon for mass on the Thursday in the 4th week in Lent, which suggests it is more widespread than the codical evidence suggests.⁷²⁰ The other reading is *dixit* (*dominus*) at line 8; this variant is supported by C, VL5 and VL6, with the other traditions and the *PC* reading *ait*. This however is probably due to Sedulius's preference, partly borne out of metrical and rhythmical requirements, with *dixit* nearly always preferred to *ait* to introduce Jesus's direct speech.⁷²¹

The findings from the paraphrased text do not substantially alter the picture formed from Sedulius's cited text in the *PO*. First, there is little evidence for Sedulius's use of a different text in the *PC* and the *PO* that cannot be explained through Sedulius's wish to conform to poetic conventions. Second, Sedulius's text is clearly European, and clearly I or Vulgate, but there is no evidence that could favour one over the other.

7:36-50. Jesus Anointed by a Sinful Woman

PO 4,7, p.259, 13 - p.260, 9

Praeterea dum *Pharisaei cuiuspiam postulantis* propria Dominus sublimaret humilitate conuiuium, aderat properanter ingressa *peccatrix mulier* et famosa, quae multis delictorum uulneribus sauciata, uitam gerebat obscenam. Dominique corruens prouoluta uestigiis nec *fletu proluere* nec *crinibus detergere* nec *pretioso quiescebat unguento pedes osculans inrigare...* uerbis indulgentiam talibus relaxaret dicens: **f i d e s t u a t e s a l u a m f e c i t : u a d e i n p a c e .** o quantum miseris opitulatur infirmis illud confessione detegere, quod absconditum fit letale! nutrit sua namque uulnera qui celarit et stimulo doloris insertam medico nudare negligit plagam. ecce nunc femina diuturni contagio morbi polluta parui gemitus afflictione purgatur suique gurgite *fletus* abluitur et *lacrimis perfusa capillis extersa* discedit munda quae uenerat sordidata.

⁷²⁰ RES-R 3157.

⁷²¹ *dixit* or *dicens* is used 31 times to introduce Jesus's direct speech compared to thrice only for *ait*. *dixit*: *PO* 2,8 p.208, 23; 2,8, p.209, 1; 2,13, p.214, 2; 2,13, p.214, 7 (*dixisse*); 3,26 p.252, 17; 4,14, p.264, 12; 4,16, p.266, 15; 4,21 p.271, 10; 5,4, p.277, 12; 5,38, p.302, 20. *dicens*: *PO* 2,8, p.206, 9 & 22; 2,14, p.217, 4; 2,17, p.222, 11; 2,17, p.230, 5; 3,3, p.234, 4; 3,8, p.238, 17; 3,14, p.243, 10; 3,15, p.245, 4; 4,7, p.260, 2; 4,8, p.260, 15; 5,18, p.289, 10. *ait*: *PO* 2,17, p.220, 18; 2,17, p.221, 2; 5,22, p.291, 23.

PC 4,64-81

Post Dominus *Pharisaea* petens conuiuia cenae
Orantis dapibus sese inperituit amici.

Tunc mulier quam fama nocens et plurima uitae

Mordebant delicta suae, clementia supplex

Conruit amplexens uestigia, quaeque profusis

Inrigat incumbens *lacrimis*, et *crine soluto*

Nec *tergere* sacras nec cessat *lambere* plantas

Vnguento flagrante fouens, sententia donec

Lata Dei...

'Vade, fides, mulier, tua te saluauit ab omni'

Dixisset 'quodcumque mali gessisse uideris

Vtere pace mea.' Magna est medicina fateri

Quod nocet abscondi, quoniam sua uulnera nutrit

Qui tegit et plagam trepidat nudare medenti.

En polluta diu, modicum purgata recessit

Per gemitum propriique lauans in gurgite fletus,

Munda suis lacrimis redit et detersa capillis.

The Anointing of Jesus is recounted in all four Gospels, but only Luke includes the words cited by Sedulius in the *PO* and the *PC*, 'Your faith has saved you; go in peace'.

This citation is an undeniable link to the Lukan passage but surprisingly, Sedulius places this episode before the Miraculous Catch of Fish (Lk. 5:1-11) and the

Resuscitation of Dead Man at Nain (7:11-17) in disharmony with the Lukan order.⁷²²

Mayr explains this anomaly by suggesting that Sedulius is at pains to maintain a certain geographical cogency to his poem.⁷²³ Sedulius therefore places this pericope, which is

recorded as taking place in Bethany in the other three Gospels, after The Cursing of the

Fig Tree (in Bethany) and before Jesus's departure into Galilee for the Exorcism of a

Possessed Man (Mk. 1:21-8).⁷²⁴ However, as van der Laan points out, the Lukan

account does not mention Bethany or Jerusalem, so van der Laan proposes the

alternative that Sedulius was simply following the Matthean account of episode, in

accordance with the Matthean order at the start of book four and decided to include

⁷²² van der Laan (1990: xviii).

⁷²³ Mayr (1916: 20).

⁷²⁴ Sedulius mentions that the Fig Tree episode takes place at Bethany at *PC* 4,44.

elements of the Lukan account as the latter is the only account that mentions the 'miracle' of forgiveness of the Sinful Woman.⁷²⁵ Van der Laan also notes that Sedulius's use of *amici* at line 65 in the *PC* can only come from John 12:1-8, by way of extrapolation given that Jesus's friends Mary, Martha and Lazarus are named at the meal in John alone.⁷²⁶ This, van der Laan suggests, is down to Sedulius confusing Simon the Pharisee with Simon the Leper and assuming that the latter is a friend based on the association with Lazarus; thus Sedulius uses Matthew from *PC* 3,23 up to the present episode, which is the last in this Matthean sequence, before moving on to the miracle episodes found in Mark alone. However, as van der Laan admits, this theory is more than a little undermined by the fact that the preceding episode to this one is apparently the Healing of the Mute Demoniac (Lk. 11:14).⁷²⁷ To these observations by van der Laan, another Matthean/Marcian/Johannine element can be seen in the mention that the perfume was expensive (*pretioso... unguento*; p.359, 18), a detail not mentioned in the Lukan account.

While it is possible that Sedulius, as van der Laan suggests, was following Matthew and decided to introduce Lukan elements, the possibility that Sedulius's *source* contained a certain level of harmonisation should not be discounted. As such it is surprising that Moretti Pieri did not analyse this passage for its similarities with the witnesses to Tatian's Diatessaron in her study on Sedulius.⁷²⁸ The *Unum Ex Quattuor* does combine all four episodes into one chapter but places the episode after the resurrection of Lazarus at chapter 139 according to the Johannine/Matthean chronology, whereas Sedulius places the episode long before the resurrection of Lazarus according to the Lukan chronology.⁷²⁹ This makes it unlikely that Sedulius was following a source based on Tatian's Diatessaron for this episode.

Another avenue is that Sedulius is taking his lead from a commentary; Fortunatianus's commentary does not treat the episode, Hilary's commentary does not mention the Lukan episode, while Jerome's on Matthew and Ambrose's on Luke are at pains to

⁷²⁵ van der Laan (1990: 45-6).

⁷²⁶ *ibid.*, 46. Lazarus is mentioned as Jesus's friend at Jn. 11:6 and by Sedulius at *PC* 4,278.

⁷²⁷ *ibid.*

⁷²⁸ Moretti Pieri (1969: 180-1).

⁷²⁹ Ranke (1868: 124).

separate the two events.⁷³⁰ However, as van der Laan points out, the differences between the four versions were scrutinised by Augustine in *De Consensu Evangelistarum*,⁷³¹ who identifies the Lukan passage as a separate miracle from the one described in the other Gospels which he identified with the episode mentioned by John at 11:2.⁷³² If Sedulius followed Augustine, it would explain why he described Jesus's host as a *friend*, as John's connection of Mary the sister of Lazarus with the sinful women places her, and by extension the host, in Jesus's circle of friends, but it would not explain why elements of the second episode, such as the description of the perfume as expensive, would be used by Sedulius for this, the first episode.

Instead, other elements in the passage suggest that Sedulius may not be drawing solely on the biblical text but one overlaid with secondary exegesis. The figure of Jesus as the Divine Physician curing the sinful woman's wounds that features in the account of the episode both in the *PC* (4,76-78) and the *PO* (4,8, p.260, 3-9: *o quantum... sordidata*) is, as van der Laan notices, already used by Augustine in connection with this episode in his *Tractates on John*,⁷³³ to this, we can add a passage in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* where in very similar terms the sinful woman is described as a wounded woman who bursts in to seek the help of the doctor.⁷³⁴ These two examples show how the metaphor was well established in Augustine's readings of Luke 7:36-50, but the following example from the Verona Collection of Anonymous Arian homilies also shows that the Physician metaphor was associated with this passage in the homily tradition.⁷³⁵

O Piaetas inaestimabilis! Reddidit pro fletu laetitiam et egrotantem in malis suis curat medicus iste caelestis, ut ubi fuerat desperatio delictorum fieret securitas gaudiorum. Ait adhuc: *Fides tua te saluam fecit, uade in pace*

⁷³⁰ Hilary, *In Mattheum Commentarius*, 29,1-2; Jerome, *Commentarii In Euangelium Matthaei*, 26,7; Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii Secundum Lucam*, 6,14.

⁷³¹ van der Laan (1990: 46). Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, 2,79,154.

⁷³² Augustine, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, 2,79,154: Maria autem erat quae unxit Dominum unguento, et extersit pedes eius capillis suis, cuius frater Lazarus infirmabatur (Ioan. XI, 1, 2). Hoc dicens iohannes adtestatur lucae, qui hoc in domo pharisaei cuiusdam Simonis factum esse narravit. iam itaque hoc Maria fecerat. quod autem in bethania rursus fecit, aliud est, quod ad lucae narrationem non pertinet, sed pariter narratur a tribus, iohanne scilicet, mattheo et marco (CSEL 43, 261).

⁷³³ van der Laan (1990: 57). Augustine, *Tractatus in Iohannem*, 7,19.

⁷³⁴ Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 125, 5: Irrupit in domum quo non erat inuitata; sed uulnera habebat, et illuc uenerat ubi medicus recumbebat. Ille autem qui inuitauerat medicum, sanus sibi uidebatur; propterea non curabatur (PL 37, 1661).

⁷³⁵ [Maximinus], *De Lectionibus Sanctorum Evangeliorum*, 15,3 (CCSL 87, 29).

Although this passage contains the Divine Physician metaphor, it does not contain any of the harmonisation found in Sedulius; nevertheless, it opens the door to the possibility that Sedulius owes his use of the metaphor not directly to Augustine but through an intermediary such as a homiletic text or commentary and that this text is also responsible for the harmonisation found in Sedulius's passage.

Given the evidence that this passage is in some way harmonised, either by Sedulius or in his source, we must tread extremely carefully around the paraphrased text. Fortunately, the cited text is taken from one Gospel and found only in that Gospel. The words cited by Sedulius are taken from the final verse of the passage in Luke's narration and are Jesus's closing words to the sinful woman. The text is remarkably stable from the time of Tertullian to Sedulius's day: nearly all the sources contain the text as found in Sedulius, mostly with variations only in word order. One exception is the translation of *σέσωκέν σε*, which is rendered as *saluauit* in **C** and VL6. However, this reading is not found elsewhere in patristic works; in fact as early as Tertullian and Pseudo-Cyprian this is translated as *te saluam fecit*, which provide a more realistic African text type.⁷³⁶ For this reason, the use of *saluauit* in the *PC* is probably not significant; it is a reading employed three times by Sedulius in the *PC*, whereas the less elegant *saluum* or *saluam facere* is never used by Sedulius.⁷³⁷ Other than *saluauit*, the *PC* reveals no other readings found in **C**, that omits part of Luke 3:37, where reference is made to the sinful woman's drying of Jesus's feet with her hair (v.69-70 *et crine soluto / nec tergere sacras... cessat... plantas*). The only other variants are minor; VL4 has *saluum* rather than *saluam* and VL14 and VL11 have *in pacem* for *in pace*, a reading that possibly follows *εἰς εἰρήνην* found in the codex Bezae (**D05**).

Given the paucity of variant sites in the cited text, the paraphrasis would normally provide important clues to Sedulius's source. However, due to the possibility of harmonisation, only those readings that are specific to Luke have been analysed. Thus a reading such as *detergere* found in the *PO* at p.259, 18, is possible evidence of Sedulius's use of VL10 that reads *detergebat* against *tergebat* in the Vulgate, **C** and **I** and *extergebat* in **D** (VL3) as translations for *ἐξέμασεν* (**B03**) and *extersit* (VL5) and

⁷³⁶ **TE** Marc 4,18; **PS-CY** Reb 18.

⁷³⁷ Wacht (1993: 174).

tersit (VL14 VL35) for ἐξέμαζεν (A02 D05), but *extersa* found at p.260, 9 has not been considered as, in addition to Luke 7:37 in VL5, *extersit* is also found at John 11:2 and 12:3 in the majority of Vulgate and Old Latin codices. Two other readings that are specific to Luke are Sedulius's use of *fletu* at p.259, 17 in the *PO*, which suggests the presence of *flens* in his base text, a reading only found in **C**, **D** (VL3), VL6 and VL10 and *inrigare* at p.259, 19, which suggests the presence of *irrigabat* found in **D** (VL3) against *rigabat* in **I** witnesses, *lauabat* in **C** and *coepit rigare* in the Vulgate. Of the equivalent readings in the *PC*, the only reading that is different is *tergere* at verse 4,70, but this is possibly for metrical reasons as the three long syllables of *detergere* are rather cumbersome and *detersa* is in any case found at 4,81. It should also be noted that Sedulius regularly uses compound forms of the verb in the *PO* even when his source text can be shown to have used a non-compound form.⁷³⁸ Furthermore, with both *inrigare* and *detergere*, the compound form found in the *PO* could be used to increase the length of the *cursus* in the tricolonic sentence.⁷³⁹ Therefore, Sedulius's use of *detergere*, and for that matter *inrigare*, should not be taken as evidence of his link to the tradition preserved in VL10 or VL3 or as evidence for his use of a different source in the *PO* and *PC*.

In sum, Sedulius's citation in the *PO* gives little away, and although the surrounding text suggests the use of an Old Latin text type similar to **D** (VL3) or VL10, the significant variants are probably due to metrical and rhythmical choices rather than reflections of Sedulius's base text.

10:1-20. The Seventy-Two Disciples

PO 4,14, p.264, 4 - 17.

Tunc ne copiosae messis germen uberrimum rari cultoris opera deficiente langueret, *alios quoque duos et septuaginta discipulos* mente simplices, puritate fulgentes, qui numero meritoque conspicui libra digni sint aurea nuncupari, *uelut insontes agnos* et mites ad asperas hominum mentes *quasi lupos inter iubet ire raptores*. talibus eos uerbis

⁷³⁸See, for example, Sedulius's citation of John 10:17 where he uses *deponere* in his paraphrased text despite quoting *ponere* from his source of John, *PO* 5,22, p.291, 18-19: animam protinus suam sancto de corpore uolens ipse deposuit.

⁷³⁹*PO* 4,7, p.259, 17-19: *flétu proliere ... crinibus detérgere ... ósculans inrigáre*. Each cola finishes with a *clausula* that increases by a single unaccented syllable. For the identification of *clausulae* within the cola of the period see Hagendahl (1937: 107s).

hortatur, et alloquens: **ite**, ecce **ego** mitto uos, **sicut agnos inter
lupos**. rursusque reuersis alacribus, quod eis etiam *daemones subiacerent*, dixit haec
ammonens: **ecce do uobis** potestatem **calcandi super serpentes** et
scorpiones et **supra** omnem **uirtutem** inimici, **et nihil uobis**
nocebunt. **uerumtamen nolite gaudere**, **quia spiritus** uobis
subiecti sunt. gaudete autem, **quoniam** nomina uestra scripta
sunt **in caelo**.

PC 4,150-62

Neue redundantem cumulato germine messem
Exiguus Dominus sineret languere colonis,
Discipulosque alios, quorum mens conscia recti
Puraque simplicitas numero meritoque refulgens
Aurea libra fuit, **uelut agnos praecipit inter
Sanguineos properare lupos** 'adsumite' dicens
'Iura potestatis, nullum metuatis ut hostem;
Vipereasque minas et scorpion atque inimicae
Omnia uirtutis sensu calcate fidei:
Nulla meis famulis feritas aduersa **nocebit**
Nec tantum hoc **gaudete**, uiri, **quod spiritus** ater
Subiaceat uobis, quantum *quod nomina uestra*
Scribat in aeterno **caelestis** littera libro'.

Sedulius's text of the Sending out of the 72 is found in the middle of books four of the *PO* and the *PC* as the fourth of seven consecutive episodes drawn from the third Gospel.⁷⁴⁰ Three verses of Luke are cited, the moment that Jesus sends out the 72 at 10:3, and his response at 10:19-20 to them after they return at 10:18. In addition, Luke 10:1 is partly paraphrased in the *PO* and *PC*. The verses of Luke are followed by a citation of Matthew 7:23, which has been analysed in chapter two, but in addition van der Laan identifies elements of Matthew 10:1 in this passage, e.g. the use of the word *discipuli/μαθηται* to describe the 72, which is not found in Luke but in Matthew 10 to describe the sending out of the twelve.⁷⁴¹ However, as has already been seen in the

⁷⁴⁰ van der Laan (1990: xviii).

⁷⁴¹ *ibid*, 105.

analysis of Matthew 7:23, the Matthean verse is used as exegesis of the Sending out of the Twelve in Cassian's 15th *Conference*; a passage that later monastic rules also draw on, in conjunction with the sending out of the 72, as a warning to monks on miracles.⁷⁴² Sedulius may be bearing witness to this tradition, which would explain his use of 7:23 as well as the elements pertaining to Matthew 10:1 in this passage.

Sedulius's Lukan text appears to be the same in the *PC* and the *PO*, with little evidence of difference between the Lukan text in Sedulius's two works. Luke 10:1 is not cited in the *PO*, but this verse includes important variants that are paraphrased by Sedulius, in particular the exact number of disciples sent out by Jesus. The number seventy-two is mentioned in the *PO*, but no number is given directly in the *PC*. As van der Laan mentions, this is not due to the metrical impossibilities posed by *septuaginta duo* as Prudentius circumvents the problem by using *septenos decies... et duo* in the *Apotheosis*.⁷⁴³ However, Springer suggests that Sedulius's *aurea libra* in line 154 represents the Constantine *solidus*, which equated to 72 gold coins, which would be a good indicator that Sedulius used the same text for the *PC* and *PO* versions of the episode.⁷⁴⁴ The number 72, apparently based on the reading found in the 'Western' (**D05**) and Alexandrian text types is found in **C**, **D** (VL3 VL5) and the Vulgate against 70 as found in the majority of **I** witnesses (VL4 VL10 VL13 VL14) that follow the Byzantine text type. Of these **I** witnesses, the reading in VL4, appears corrected from LXXII to LXX and the reading in VL14 is unclear,⁷⁴⁵ but 70 is the reading found in a number of Old Latin patristic witnesses to **I**, in particular Ambrosiaster, Ambrose, the 5th-century *De XLII Mansionibus Filiorum Israel* by Pseudo-Ambrose, the *Opus Imperfectum*, and Maximus of Turin.⁷⁴⁶ The fact that witnesses from the later γ recension of Ambrosiaster's *Commentarius In Pauli Epistulam Ad Romanos* as well as VL4 were 'corrected' to the Byzantine reading 70 suggests that reading was common in 4th/5th-century Italy before the Vulgate re-established the reading 72.⁷⁴⁷ It also suggests that Sedulius's text was either old, belonging to **C** or **D** or in some way witnessed the Vulgate tradition.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴² Cassian, *Conlationes*, 15,1: Grimlaicus, *Regula Solitariorum*, 68 (PL 103, 661-2).

⁷⁴³ van der Laan (1990: 105). Prudentius, *Apotheosis*, 1004-5.

⁷⁴⁴ Springer (2013: 134). Note, however, that van der Laan (1990: 107) prefers 'scale' as a translation of *libra*.

⁷⁴⁵ MJA (1972: 116).

⁷⁴⁶ **AM** Lc 7,44; **PS-AM** man 42,6; **AMst** Rm 8,30 (var); **AN** Mt h 3; **MAX** s Mu 68,4.

⁷⁴⁷ Mss. FG¹MBYWA of the γ recension. See Vogels (1966: 293).

⁷⁴⁸ Although given the number of Old Latin readings in this passage, at most as a 'mixed text'.

The main variant for the Latin tradition of Luke 10:3 is the translation of *ἐν μέσῳ λύκων*; Sedulius's reading in the *PO*, *inter lupos*, is found in the cited text in the surrounding contextual material (p. 264, 9, *quasi lupos inter... raptores*), and in the *PC* (v.154, *inter / sanguineos...lupos*). This reading is found in the Vulgate and later Old Latin witnesses such as VL13 and VL14. There is little doubt that this is *not* a distinctly Vulgate reading however, as it is also found in Ambrose's lemma text in his commentary on Luke and again in his *de Ioseph*.⁷⁴⁹ The other Old Latin traditions have *in medio luporum*, the reading that is also found at Matthew 10:16 in most codices and is a more literal translation of the Greek. Other minor variants are the translation of *ὥς*: in **I**, VL5 and the Vulgate this is translated as *sicut*, whereas **D** (VL3) has *tamquam* and **C** *quomodo*. Again there seems little doubt that *sicut* was in Sedulius's text both for the *PO* citation and the *PC*, as the latter uses *uelut*, which is also found in the *PO* paraphrase, and this is closest to *sicut* as found in citation. *ego* is a translation of a reading found in the 'Western' (**D05**) and Byzantine tradition (**C04** \mathfrak{M}). It is found in **I**, VL5 and the Vulgate but absent from **C**, **D** (VL3), VL11 and VL14. It is absent also from **R** and **I** among the *PO* codices and it is difficult to see how this could stem from a correction or even an error. It is more likely that such a correction went the other way, to bring the text in line with the Vulgate, in which case Sedulius's text would be closer still to VL14. Against this however is the reading in **C**, usually the most reliable manuscript, that contains *ego*.

In the citation of 10:19, Sedulius continues the narrative from Jesus's words to the returning 72 disciples. Jesus's words are quoted in the *PO* and closely paraphrased in the *PC*. As at 10:3, the readings found in the *PC* support those found in *PO*. Van der Laan's reserved suggestion that *uipereas minas* is evidence of contact with *calcandi super uiperas*, as found in **VL3** alone, can probably be dismissed.⁷⁵⁰ *Vipereus*, as van der Laan notes in the body of his commentary,⁷⁵¹ is a Virgilian neologism to replace the un-metrical *uiperinus*. As an epic word it recalls the depiction of Discord (*Discordia demens / uipereum crinem uittis innexa cruentis*),⁷⁵² as well as Ovid's depiction of

⁷⁴⁹ **AM** Lc 7,44; Jos 15.

⁷⁵⁰ van der Laan (1990: 109, 207).

⁷⁵¹ *ibid*, 109. See also Hagendahl (1921: 40-41).

⁷⁵² Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6,280-1.

Medusa's snaky hair,⁷⁵³ or as a noun in conjunction with *minae*, which is found alongside *uipereus* in Sedulius's text, the two words call to mind the portrait of the Shepherd discovering the snake under a stone in book three of the *Georgics*:⁷⁵⁴

saepe sub immotis praesepibus aut mala tactu
uipera delituit caelumque exterrita fugit,
... Cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor,
tollentemque *minas* et sibila colla tumentem
deice

The distance between the two words may be several lines, but Sedulius's context is very persuasive; the allusion serves to transfer the words uttered by Virgil's narrator to the shepherd to the warning from the Good Shepherd sending out his disciples, a powerful example of contrast imitation.⁷⁵⁵ Rather than as an indicator of use of **D** (VL3), we should understand *uipereas minas* according to van der Laan's initial comment, as a poetic amplification of *serpentes*.⁷⁵⁶ Furthermore, the only time that Sedulius uses *serpens* in the *PC* is reserved specifically for the devil (*PC* 2,226).⁷⁵⁷

Sedulius's *PO* cited text contains two significant readings, the use of *do* in the present as against *dedi*, (which is found in **R**, with *do in marg.*)⁷⁵⁸ and the plural *nocebunt* as opposed to the singular *nocebit*. The plural *nocebunt* is found only in VL14, whereas the reading found in the *PC*, *nocebit*, is found in **D**, **I** and the Vulgate, with **C** preferring *noceuit*, a variant only on phonetic grounds. However, this is not necessarily evidence of the use of different text types; it is possible that Sedulius's biblical text has been adapted to accommodate the use of *nulla feritas* as the subject in the *PC*. The dative in the *PC* *meis famulis* corresponds to the dative *uobis* found in the *PO*.

The variant *do*, found in VL5, VL6 and Pseudo-Cyprian's *Ad Novatianum*, is a reading that can only come from *δίδομι* found in the 'Western' (**D05**), Caesarean (**Ⲡ45**), and

⁷⁵³ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4,615.

⁷⁵⁴ Virgil, *Georgics*, 3,416-22.

⁷⁵⁵ There are a number of studies into contrast imitation in Sedulius. In particular see van der Laan (1993).

⁷⁵⁶ van der Laan (1990: 109).

⁷⁵⁷ Macht (1993: 180).

⁷⁵⁸ This appears to be another case of correction according to Vulgate text in **R**.

Byzantine (**A02**) traditions whereas *dedi*, found in the remaining Latin traditions stems from the Alexandrian (**B03**) *δέδωκα. δίδωμι* has a long history in the Greek tradition; it is found as far back as the 2nd century, as attested by its presence (as *do*) in the Latin Irenaeus; it is also found in the Latin translations of Origen,⁷⁵⁹ and has a manuscript tradition that dates to the early 3rd century in the Chester Beatty I Papyrus.⁷⁶⁰ However, in the Latin tradition it is a rare reading, only found outside the Latin Irenaeus and Rufinus's and Jerome's translations of Origen in Pseudo-Cyprians *Ad Novatianum*.⁷⁶¹

The possibility that Sedulius's text comes from the citation of the Latin Origen or Irenaeus can be discounted: Origen in his homily on Luke uses it in conjunction with Psalm 90:13 (91:13) as part of his exegesis on the third temptation of Christ;⁷⁶² in Origen's 12th homily on numbers, the verse is used as part of his interpretation of Sihon's attack on Israel (Nm. 21:23), as proof that the enemies of God can be defeated only if His law is followed;⁷⁶³ in Irenaeus, the verse is cited out of its Lukan context as evidence that Jesus has given man the tools to combat apostasy.⁷⁶⁴ This applies also for Pseudo-Cyprian's *Ad Novatianum*, which uses the verse again in conjunction with Psalm 90:13 as exegesis for Zephaniah 3:1-2.⁷⁶⁵ Sedulius makes no allusions to any of the subject matters found in these three citations.

If we accept Koch's findings that the *Ad Novatianum* is probably a text from the 'school' of Cyprian,⁷⁶⁶ therefore making it an African text of the second part of the 3rd century, then *do* could appear an African reading. However, this is not supported by other African readings as *dedi* is found universally in Tyconius's *Commentarium in Apocalypsim*, Arnobius's *Commentarium in Psalmos*, Quodvultdeus's *Liber Promissionum*, Marius Mercator, and Pseudo-Vigilius's *Contra Varimadum*.⁷⁶⁷ Furthermore, although he does not quote the text, a close paraphrase found in Cyprian's

⁷⁵⁹ Rufinus, *Origenis In Librum Numeri Homiliae* 28, 12,4; Jerome, *Origenis in Lucam Homiliae* 39, 31,4; Irenaeus, *Adversus Haeres*, 5,24,4. On Origen's Caesarean text, see Metzger (1992: 311).

⁷⁶⁰ Aland & Aland (1987: 48).

⁷⁶¹ **PS-CY** Nov 6.

⁷⁶² Jerome, *Origenis In Lucam Homiliae* 39, 31,4.

⁷⁶³ Rufinus, *Origenis In Librum Numeri Homiliae* 28, 12,4.

⁷⁶⁴ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haeres*, 5,24,4.

⁷⁶⁵ Pseudo-Cyprian, *Ad Nouatianum*, 5-6.

⁷⁶⁶ Koch (1926: 420).

⁷⁶⁷ **TY** Apc 3,1; **AR** Ps 8; **QU** Pro 4,5; **MAR-M** in *CO* 1,5; **PS-VIG** Var 3,1,14.

69th letter suggests that his text had *dedi*.⁷⁶⁸ Indeed, Pseudo-Cyprian's text contains a number of unusual readings, such as reversed word order that sees *omnem uirtutem inimici* placed before *serpentes et scorpiones*, and the use of *non* instead of *nihil* as a translation of *οὐδὲν*; of these only the latter is paralleled elsewhere in the *Liber Promissionum*, but whether this can be classed an African reading on the basis of its presence in two texts whose authorship has long been in question is open to debate. Furthermore, other readings that are associated with the African patristic tradition are not found in Pseudo-Cyprian; for example, *scorpions* as a translation of *σκορπίων* as found in Tertullian, Cyprian, Marius Mercator and Pseudo-Vigilius.⁷⁶⁹ Therefore, rather than 'African', Pseudo-Cyprian's text should be considered early and unusual and perhaps a direct translation from the Greek that does not form part of any established Latin tradition.

If an African origin for *do* can probably be ruled out, the European tradition offers few clues: the text found in **D** (VL3) is both lacunate and unusual, with *uiperas*, only found elsewhere in a translation of the verse paraphrased in Eusebius of Emesa.⁷⁷⁰

Meanwhile, another reading, *uiam* for *uirtutem*, is unique to VL3. Unfortunately the beginning of the verse is illegible and there is no reading for *do/dedi*, although based on the size of the lacuna Gasquet conjectures *dedi*.⁷⁷¹ A better source for the earliest European text is Lucifer, who quotes the text found in **I** in the *De Non Parcendo In Deum Delinquentibus*:⁷⁷²

*ecce dedi uobis potestatem calcandi super serpentes et scorpiones et supra
omnem uirtutem inimici, et nihil uos nocebit*

This is also largely the text found in Sedulius, but in addition to the reading of *do* in place of *dedi*, Sedulius's text has *nihil uobis nocebunt*. The first variant *do* is also found in the Colbertinus (**VL6**), which in all other respects has the text of **I**, but the latter variant is not found elsewhere in the manuscript tradition, but VL14 has *nihil uos*

⁷⁶⁸ Cyprian, *Epistulae*, 69,15: qui scorpium et serpentes appellantur, et tamen per nos data a domino potestate calcantur (CCSL 3C, 494)

⁷⁶⁹ **TE** Marc 4,24; **CY** ep 69,15; **MAR-M** in *CO* 1,5; **PS-VIG** Var 3,1,14.

⁷⁷⁰ **EUS-E** h 20,15.

⁷⁷¹ Gasquet (1914: 69).

⁷⁷² Lucifer, *De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus*, 18.

nocebunt. However, it is found in Ambrose's *lemma* text and as a variant in numerous other sources, most notably a sermon of Maximus of Turin, the *Liber Promissionum*, Jerome's translation of Origen's 31st homily on Luke and Philippus Presbyter's *In Historiam Iob Commentariorum Libri Tres*.⁷⁷³ In later sources the reading is found in Beatus of Liebana's *Commentaria In Apocalypsin* and it is also found in Pseudo-Gregory's *In Librum Primum Regum Expositio*, now thought to be a South Italian 12th century work.⁷⁷⁴ Such a spread of readings makes it difficult to draw conclusions on the origin of this reading, but the most secure and earliest instance is in Ambrose and given that it is also found in some Maximus of Turin witnesses, it does not seem unreasonable to class the variant as 'North Italian'. Sedulius's text for 10:19 can be best summarised as European with similarities to the Colbertinus (VL6), the Usserianus (VL14) and Ambrose's text of Luke. These similarities to the Colbertinus and Usserianus are again found in 10:20.

Sedulius's citation of 10:20 provides clear evidence that Sedulius followed an Old Latin text, a point noted by van der Laan in his commentary.⁷⁷⁵ There appear to be two traditions, a codical tradition and perhaps an oral tradition that is found in the patristics. The European codical tradition is based on the Alexandrian and Byzantine text with reading *τὰ πνεύματα* translated as *spiritus*, *χαίrete δὲ* as *gaudete autem* and the inclusion of *πλὴν*, translated as *uerumtamen*. Sedulius follows a form of this text. The majority of the patristic sources follow a very different text however, suggesting that an oral tradition was firmly in place for the verse. This 'oral' version is considerably flattened, generally translating *χαίrete δὲ* as *sed gaudete* or *gaudete potius* with the inclusion of the translation of the 'Western' reading *δαιμονία*, also found in Caesarean witnesses the Faber group (*f*¹) and minuscule 565, which is only found in the codex Palatinus (VL2), the Bezae (VL5) and the Brixianus (VL10). This seemingly African reading (on the basis of its presence in **C**) is also found in Italian writers such as Ambrosiaster, Ambrose and Peter Chrysologus.⁷⁷⁶ In addition to Sedulius, only Augustine in the

⁷⁷³ **AM** Lc 7,58; **MAX** s MU 37,5; **QU** pro 4,5; **HI** Lc 31,4; **PHI** Commentarius in Iob, 40.

⁷⁷⁴ **BEA** Apc 2, pr 7,28. **GR-M** Rg 3,160 (CPL 1719). For the authenticity of Gregory's commentary on the book of Kings, which Adalbert de Vogüé felt was written by Pierre Divinacello, a 12th-century monk from Cava, see Gryson et al. (2007: 519).

⁷⁷⁵ van der Laan (1990: 112).

⁷⁷⁶ **AMst** I Cor 12,31; **AM** Ps 48,19,1; **PET-C** s 161.

Speculum and the lemma text from Bede's Commentary on Luke cite the codical form.⁷⁷⁷

The Vulgate text contains a reading that is not found in the Old Latin codices, *subiciuntur* as a translation of *ὑποτάσσεται*. Sedulius follows the Old Latin in the reading *subiecti sunt*. Van der Laan considers that the *PC* text also follows the Old Latin rather than the Vulgate in the words *spiritus ater / subiaceat uobis* as *subiaceat* represents the result of the action rather than the process and is thus semantically closer to the Old Latin.⁷⁷⁸ Another reading that is not Vulgate specific but very rare in Old Latin sources is *in caelis*. **C**, **D** (VL3) and **I** witnesses all read *in caelo*, a reading that is not supported by any Greek tradition. VL5 and the Vulgate preserve the plural in accordance with all the Greek traditions, but this reading finds little support in pre-Hieronymian authors, save a number of Latin translations of Greek texts.⁷⁷⁹ To all intents and purposes, Sedulius's reading *in caelo* can be considered Old Latin as it is by far the dominant Old Latin reading in the codices and in pre-Hieronymian patristics. In addition to *in caelo* and *subiecti sunt*, Sedulius's text also has *quoniam* as a translation of *ὅτι*, a reading found in **C**, the Colbertinus (VL6), and Usserianus (VL14).

Elsewhere in the *PC* text there is nothing to suggest that Sedulius used a different base text than that found in his *PO* citation, save the omission of *in hoc*, which is found as *nec tantum hoc gaudete* in the *PC*. The omission of *in hoc* is not unusual among patristic witnesses, but it is surprising that Sedulius's *PC* text includes it but the *PO* text omits it.⁷⁸⁰ As we have seen, Sedulius's *PO* citations shows very little signs of flattening, thus the omission of *in hoc* is possible due to a transmission error.⁷⁸¹

Sedulius's *in aeterno caelestis... libro* is an allusion to the book of life from Revelation 3:5,⁷⁸² but there is little reason to think that Sedulius's text was conflated with the verse,

⁷⁷⁷ **AU** spe 27; **BED** Lc 3.

⁷⁷⁸ van der Laan (1990: 111): 'met *subiaceat* geeft S het resultaat aan van de vertreding semantisch sluit de woordkeus van de dichter derhalve meer aan bij VL *subiecti sunt* dan bij Vg *subiciuntur*.'

⁷⁷⁹ **CHRY** cor 1,9; **EVA-A** 17; **ANI** h 25. Zingerle's 1891 edition of Hilary's Commentary on the Psalms preserves *in caelis* at Ps. 68,24, but this has been rejected in favour of *in caelo* in Doignon's 1997 CCSL edition (CCSL 61, 311).

⁷⁸⁰ For examples of this omission, see **AM** Ps 48,19,1; **PET-C** s 161; **CAr** Ps 146,4; **CAn** Co 15,6,3; 17,25,18; **CHRY** cor 1,9; **EVA-A** 17; **ATH** Ant 24; **ANI** h 25; **MUT** 18.

⁷⁸¹ Intro, p.23.

⁷⁸² van der Laan (1990: 112).

as is found in Filastrius and Rufinus's translation of Origen's commentary on Romans.⁷⁸³

17:11-16. Ten Lepers

PO 4,16, p.266, 8 - p.267, 4

Cumque Dominus Hierosolymam petens per Samariam et Galilaeam *Hierichumque* transiret, *quoddam castrum clementer ingressus est. quem procul ut decem* miseri uidere *leprosi*, maculosa corporis obscenitate foedissimi, quos discolor sparsa uultibus poena turpi fecerat deformitate portenta, simul *una uoce clamauere* flebiliter: **Iesu magister**, miserere **nostri**. tunc singularis illa potentia, quae numquam pietate fit uacua, respondit miseranter ac *dixit: ite ostendite uos sacerdotibus*. subitoque *dum* properant fugit omnis ex eorum membris iniquitas et mutuis se uisibus intuentes alterna pariter *mundatione* gaudebant, quod in nullo quicquam ex horrenda uarietate remanserat. *ex quibus unus* tamquam decimas pro omnibus percepti muneris *oblaturus grata* festinatione *regrediens* ante Dominum se *prostrauit in faciem*. magna uiri fides magnaue prudentia, qui sub unius qualitatis effectu geminae luit deuotionis officium: fides quod ab hoc se *mundatum* credidit quem rogauit, prudentia quod *sacerdotibus* se iussus ostendere Iesum maluit adorare.

PC 4,189-205

Coeperat interea Dominus Galilaea per arua
Transgrediens sancto *quoddam* pede tangere *castrum*.
Hunc *procul* ut uidere decem maculosa gerentes
Leprosi portenta uiri, quos corpore foedo
Discolor obscenis turpabat poena figuris,
Praeceptor, miserere, potes namque omnia, *Iesu*
Clamantes dixere simul: tunc flexa potestas,
Quae numquam pietate uacat, clementior inquit:
Ite, sacerdotum conspectibus ora *referte*.
Cumque uiam peterent, subito *mundata* uicissim
Mirantur sua membra uiri uariumque tuentes
Esse nihil sese pariter speculantur et omnes

⁷⁸³ FIL 149,7; RUF Rm 9,15.

Explorant proprias alterno lumine formas.
Ex quibus ut *grates ageret* pro munere tanto,
Vix unus reduci *conuersus* tramite planta
Sternitur ad terram Dominum uirtutis adorans.
Atque sacerdoti uero sua protulit ora.

In the *PO*, Sedulius paraphrases all five lines found in Luke, adhering closely to the biblical text and citing verbatim the words of the ten lepers as well as Jesus's response. Although the cited text contains several readings that are close to those found in the Vulgate, Sedulius is clearly following an Old Latin text type as evidenced by his inclusion of Jericho as one of the places visited by Jesus. This reading is found in the Greek tradition only in the 11th-century Colbertinus 4705 minuscule (**28**) and it is widely found in all Old Latin traditions, **C**, **D** (VL3) and **I**, but Jerome's revision has removed it from his Vulgate text.⁷⁸⁴ The words of the ten lepers '*Iesu(s) magister, miserere nostri*' are only found in the Usserianus (VL14) and partly in the Rosenthal fragment (VL44).⁷⁸⁵ Vulgate and **C** (VL2) have *Iesu(m) praeceptor, misere nostri*, whereas **I** has *Iesu(s) praeceptor miserere nobis* and **D** (VL3 VL5) has *Iesu magister miserere nobis*. Sedulius's text is almost identical to the Irish group VL14, VL44, which lies midway between **D** and **C**/Vulgate; in translating *ἐπιστάτα* as *magister* (as **D**) but using the genitive pronoun *nostri* as in **C** and the Vulgate not the dative as in **D** and **I** as translation of Greek *ἡμᾶς*. Sedulius's text therefore departs slightly from **I** at this point and shows some similarities with VL14.

For Luke 10:16, Sedulius only cites four words, which are consistent across most traditions from Tertullian to the Vulgate.⁷⁸⁶ There is one major variant site in the translation of *πορευθέντες*, which is translated as *ite* in **C**, **I** and the Vulgate but as *euntes* in **D** (VL3) and VL10. A further minor variant is the inclusion of *et* connecting *ite* and *ostendite* that is found in VL5 VL14 and VL21. Sedulius's text agrees with the Vulgate and **C**/**I**. The reading of *ite* at verse 197 in the *PC* again suggests that the text is the same in both *PC* and *PO*.

⁷⁸⁴ See van der Laan (1990: 125 & 210).

⁷⁸⁵ The end of the line is missing in the Rosenthal fragment; it is not possible to say whether it read *nobis* or *nostri*.

⁷⁸⁶ **TE** Marc 4,35.

The readings found in the paraphrased text appear to confirm that Sedulius's text has a basic **I** character with some similarities with VL14 and VL6. For Luke 17:12, there is little of significance in Sedulius's reading *ingressus est* at p.266, 10, even though it is the reading found in **I** witnesses VL6 VL8 VL11 and VL17 out of a great many different readings in the Latin tradition as a translation of *εἰσερχομένον αὐτοῦ*.⁷⁸⁷ This is because the reading is in the *clausula* and only *ingressus est* or *ingrediens* (VL3) could produce the dicretic feet as well as the accentual rhythm that Sedulius regularly uses.⁷⁸⁸

The reading *quoddam castrum* (p.266, 9) and also in the *PC* at line 190 suggests Sedulius had either the Vulgate *quoddam castellum* in his text the reading found as the translation of *εἰς τινα κώμην* or *in quoddam castellum* the reading found in **I** (VL8 VL14 VL17).⁷⁸⁹ **C** and VL5 read *in quendam castellum*, **D** (VL3) has *in quendam uicum* and VL4, VL13 and VL21 have the ablative *in quodam castello*.

For Luke 17:13, the reading *clamauere* (p.266, 13) is surprising as only **C** and VL5 include the word *clamauerunt* as part of the translation of *ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ* that is found in the 'Western text' alone (**D05**). The other Greek traditions have *ἤραν φωνήν*, generally rendered by *leuauerunt uocem* in the Latin. This reading is out of character for Sedulius's text type and is probably used to obtain the correct rhythm and cadence in the *clausula*.⁷⁹⁰ The absence of *uoce magna* suggests that the reading is probably coincidental, perhaps suggested by *clamantes* in verse 195 in the *PC*. Three further readings taken from 17:14-15 confirm that Sedulius's text has very little else in common with the African tradition of **C**. In his paraphrase of 17:14 (p.266, 18), Sedulius's *mundatione* is significantly closer to *mundati sunt* of **I** and the Vulgate than *emundati sunt* in **D** (VL3) and VL14 or particularly *purgati sunt* of **C**. Sedulius's *regrediens* (p.266, 21) is closer to *regressus est* found in **V/I** at 17:15 than *reuersus est* found in **D** (VL3 VL5), VL10 and VL21 or *rediuit* in **C**. Again in the paraphrase of 17:15 (p.267,

⁷⁸⁷ **C** (VL2): introiret; **D** (VL3): ingrediens; VL5: introeunte eo; VL4 VL13: ingrediente ei; VL14: introiuit; VL21: intrans; Vulgate: cum ingrederetur (Vulgate specific).

⁷⁸⁸ For the Sedulius's use of dicretics in *clausulae* see Candel (1904: 44-45. 149). For its use more generally in Late Antique authors as well as the dominance of this quantity of accented syllables in rhythmic prose, see Hagendahl (1937: 13. 18).

⁷⁸⁹ The readings *in quodam castellum* (VL17) and *in quondam castellum* (VL8) only differ due to corruption caused by the probable expansion of an abbreviation, but both clearly support the accusative *castellum* against *castello* in the other traditions.

⁷⁹⁰ dicretic with *cursus tardus* rhythm.

3), *se mundatum credidit* is closer to *ut uidit quia mundatus est (vel sim.)* in the Vulgate, VL4 VL5 VL14 and VL44 than *ut uidit quia sanatus est* in **I** (VL6 VL8 VL17), *cum uidisset (ut uidit VL13) quia sanus est* in **D** (VL3) VL13 or **C**'s *uidit quia curatus est* found in VL2 and VL21.

Sedulius's *PC* text contains a couple of readings that suggests the use of a different text type. *Praeceptor* at line 194 agrees with the Vulgate and **I** against *magister* found in **C** and **D**. However, Sedulius's use of *praeceptor* is probably due to metrical constraints as although *magister* does fit in hexameter, Sedulius restricts the six uses of it in the *PC* to the last word of the line.⁷⁹¹ Elsewhere *transgrediens* at line 190 is closer to *ingrediente* in VL4/VL13 or *ingrediens* in VL2 than the **I** reading *ingressus est*. Perhaps Sedulius's desire to use the prefix *trans-* swayed him in the choice of the present participle for he uses *ingressus* twice elsewhere in the *PC*.⁷⁹² The other variant readings are the same as in the *PO*: we have already mentioned *quoddam castrum* at verse 190 and *ite* at 197. In addition, *mundata* at 198 is the **I** or Vulgate reading, like *mundatione* seen above, but *conuersus* at verse 203 is arguably closer to *reuersus est* found in **D** at 17:15 than *regressus* found in **I** and the Vulgate. There is therefore some room for doubt as to whether Sedulius used the same text in the *PO* and the *PC*, but nothing definitive and van der Laan sees the text quoted in the *PO* as the text that Sedulius probably had before him when composing the *PC*.⁷⁹³

In sum, analysis of Sedulius's text for this episode is rendered difficult by the complicated and fractured tradition preserved in the codices of Old Latin Luke, a picture that the narrow collection of patristic citations do little to shed light on. However, it appears that Sedulius's text is in general closest to that found in **I** as represented by VL8/VL17 with some readings from VL14. The 83% proximity of Sedulius's cited text to the Vulgate should be disregarded as evidence for his use of a Vulgate text as no Vulgate specific readings are found in Sedulius's text.

⁷⁹¹ Wacht (1993: 107). *Praeceptor* by comparison is found only twice; *ibid*, 150.

⁷⁹² *ibid*, 92.

⁷⁹³ van der Laan (1990: 125): 'In OP 266.13 citeert S., niet door metrische beperkingen gebonden, de tekst die geacht mag worden de letterlijke te zijn van de bijbelvertaling die hij onder ogen had.'

23:38. The Superscription on the Cross

PO 5,17 p.286, 17, 17 - 23.

Titulus quoque trina linguarum significatione conscriptus, habens Hebraicis, Graecis litteris ac Latinis: hic est rex Iudaeorum, supra Dominum legebatur *adpositus*. quae sit etiam huius ratio sacramenti, absurdum non uidetur inquiri... cur ergo *tribus linguis hic titulus legebatur adscriptus*...

PC 5,196-99

Scribitur et titulus: Hic est rex Iudaeorum

Quo nihil a deitate uacet; nam caelitus actum

Hoc *Hebraea* refert, hoc *Graeca Latinaque lingua*;

Hoc docet una fides unum ter dicere regem.

The Superscription on the Cross is an episode found as part of Jesus's Passion in all four Gospels at Matthew 27:37, Mark 15:26, Luke 23:38 and John 19:19. Sedulius's text contains a number of features found in John or Mark and Luke, but the words *hic est rex Iudaeorum* and the mention of three different languages which both feature in the *PC* and the *PO* are found in Luke alone. There are a number of variations in Luke 23:38, both in the Greek and the Latin traditions and Sedulius appears to be following generally the tradition preserved by VL4 VL13 and the Vulgate but his text also shows features found in VL6 and VL14.

Although Springer ascribes Sedulius's mention of the three languages to John 19:20,⁷⁹⁴ the mention of three languages is also found, perhaps due to interpolation from John, in the Byzantine, 'Western' and Caesarean Greek traditions of Luke.⁷⁹⁵ In turn all of these traditions are represented in the Old Latin tradition, with the Vulgate agreeing with the Byzantine text against the Alexandrian.

A possible explanation for the use of the Lukan text is, as Springer points out, that the Lukan text fits a hexameter half-line,⁷⁹⁶ whereas the Johannine *Iesus Nazarenus rex*

⁷⁹⁴ Springer (2013: 177).

⁷⁹⁵ Metzger & Ehrman (2005: 262).

⁷⁹⁶ *ibid.*

Iudaeorum is a little trickier to fit into verse. On the other hand, the same text is found in the *PO* where Sedulius is not constrained by metre; in general Sedulius cites his *PO* biblical text closely even if it is very different to his *PC* biblical text.⁷⁹⁷ However, other elements in the *PC* suggest that Sedulius was using a mainly Johannine source, for example Sedulius's text at 5,196 that reads *scribitur et titulus* (5,196) is semantically far closer to the Johannine text *scripsit autem et titulum Pilatus* than anything found in the Lukan tradition where the closest parallel is found in VL10, *erat autem et titulus scriptus*.⁷⁹⁸ Secondly, Sedulius's description of the languages as *hoc Hebraea refert hoc Graeca Latinaque lingua* is closer to the Johannine text that mentions languages,⁷⁹⁹ than the Lukan formula that mentions alphabets, which by contrast is found in the *PO* text at p.286, 18: *habens Hebraicis, Graecis litteris ac Latinis*.⁸⁰⁰ Thus, it seems reasonable to follow Springer's suggestion that Sedulius's *PC* base text was mainly Johannine and that he adopted the Lukan formula due to metrical constraint. A notable feature however of the *PO* text is the presence of Lukan and Johannine elements; thus in addition to mentioning *litteris* (p.286, 18), Sedulius also mentions the 'threefold meaning of the tongues' in the previous line; likewise while the phrase *supra Dominum* recalls Luke which reads *superscriptio inscripta super illum*; *adpositus* recalls John 19:19, *posuit super crucem* or Matthew 27:37, *inposuerunt super caput* and *legebatur* recalls only John 19:20, *hunc ergo titulum multi legerunt Iudaeorum*.

These features suggest that Sedulius's source is based on the text of John and Luke at least. It is possible that Sedulius was following a harmonised source for the *PC* but was following principally Luke in *PO* as shown by the episode order in the *PO*. As noted by Springer, the Superscription pericope is placed according to the Johannine order in the *PC* with the Superscription on the Cross (Jn. 19:19) followed by Soldiers' Division of Jesus's Clothes by Lot (Jn. 19:23-4) then the Good Thief pericope (Lk. 23:39-43). The *PO* on the other hand follows a Lukan order with the Division of Jesus's Clothes (Lk. 23:34) placed before the Superscription on the Cross (Lk. 23:38) and the Good Thief pericope (Lk. 23:39ff).⁸⁰¹ Yet despite its Johannine order, Sedulius's *PC* and *PO* texts

⁷⁹⁷ eg. at Peter's Denial, *PO* 5, 1, p.273, 8 where Sedulius uses a Johannine text in the *PO* but a Matthean text type in the *PC*; again at The Coming of Jesus's hour, *PO* 5, 5, p.277, 12, where the Johannine text type in the *PO* is different that used in the *PC*.

⁷⁹⁸ VL14 has *erat autem titulus scriptus*, but lacking the 'et' it cannot be a direct witness to Sedulius's text.

⁷⁹⁹ John 19:20: ... *erat scriptum hebraice graece et latine*.

⁸⁰⁰ Luke 23:38: *erat autem et superscriptio inscripta super illum litteris graecis et latinis et hebraicis*.

⁸⁰¹ The difference in order between the two works has been noticed also by Springer (2013: 177).

display elements from both the Synoptic sources and John: Sedulius follows the Johannine account of the division of Jesus's clothes as seen by the inclusion of Jesus's seamless undergarment (John 19:23-4); mention that the Superscription was written in three languages (*PC* 5,199) is found at Luke 23:38 and John 19:20, while the account of the *good* thief is found only in Luke. These elements are also found in the *PO*, either because Sedulius used the same source or because he strove to maintain a certain continuity with his verse work.

It has already been demonstrated that Sedulius was using different source texts for his citation of Peter's Denial at chapter five in the *PO* and verse 79-81 in the *PC*.⁸⁰² There a different Gospel was cited, possibly due to Sedulius's use of a harmonised text in the *PC* but separate Gospels in the *PO*. Here also in the Superscription episode where the order appears different, it is possible that a switch from a harmonised source to the use of a single Gospel lies behind the change in episode order. The use of a passion harmony for book five has already been suggested by Mayr without specifying a possible text.⁸⁰³ A number of passion harmonies are still extant, especially in the Eastern tradition, but in the Latin tradition the two oldest are the found in 6th-century Fuldensis in the form of the *Unum Ex Quattuor* and the Merovingian Luxeuil Lectionary.⁸⁰⁴ However, neither of these preserves the same sequence as Sedulius with the Superscription placed after the division of Jesus's clothes by lot according to the Johannine order.⁸⁰⁵ Two harmonies that do preserve a Johannine order close to that found in Sedulius's *PC* text are those found in the Liber Commicus and the Mozarabe *Missale Mixtum*.

The comparison of Sedulius's text found in the *PC* and the *PO* with the two harmony texts can be found in the Appendix 2. However, despite the similarity in episode order, both passages are less than perfect as potential witnesses to Sedulius's source text: first the Liber Commicus passion harmony is preserved only in two 11th-century

⁸⁰² See John 13:38, *supra*.

⁸⁰³ Mayr (1916: 54).

⁸⁰⁴ For a comparison of some of the diatessaronic passion harmonies see Weigelt (1969). Sedulius's text has little in common with most of the *diatessaron* harmonies but is closest to the Passion Harmony found in the Persian Diatessaron.

⁸⁰⁵ The Luxeuil lectionary places the Matthean verse (Mt. 27:35) before the Subscription, but the Johannine account (Jn. 19:19-22) after the episode. The Fuldensis places both after. The *PC* places both before.

manuscripts,⁸⁰⁶ while the *Missale Mixtum* passion harmony is found in the 16th-century edition composed by Ximénez de Cisneros using the rite used in the Mozarabe churches of Toledo as preserved in several 9th and 10th-century manuscripts.⁸⁰⁷ Second, both texts show at least one change from Sedulius's order: the *Liber Commicus* harmony places Jesus's Crucifixion after the Superscription and Jesus's clothes episodes not before as in Sedulius, whereas the *Missale Mixtum* harmony does not include the wine mixed with gall episode. Finally, there are more differences in the variant readings between Sedulius's text and those found in the two harmonies than similarities: both quote John 19:20, not Luke 23:38, while the Lukan text of 23:39-34 in the *Liber Commicus* is identical to the Vulgate and that in the *Missale Mixtum* is largely identical to **I**, whereas Sedulius's text lies somewhere in between. Despite these differences the two harmonies do at least show that Passion harmonies in the Johannine order did exist and in the case of the *Missale Mixtum*, in an Old Latin version, a fact in itself that suggests the harmony draws on sources of some antiquity perhaps even before Sedulius's time. The use of a harmonised base text would explain the change in order found between Sedulius's two works, since on switching from a harmonised source to separate Gospels Sedulius chose to follow the synoptic order in accordance with the bulk of the textual content, which is Lukan. Thus *PO* chapters 12-15 in book five are taken from Matthew 27:27-34, chapter 16 is taken from John 19:23-24 and chapters 17 and 18 are taken from Luke 23:38-43.

For the Lukan citation found in the *PO*, there is only one variant site, following Fischer's analysis of the verse.⁸⁰⁸ This is the construction and the word order of *hic est Rex Iudaeorum*, which varies according to the underlying Greek tradition. Sedulius's text, which is found in the Vulgate, most of the mixed text witnesses (VL10 VL15 VL30), the Veronensis (VL4) and the Monacensis (VL13), is Byzantine in origin. The Vercellensis (VL3) is the sole representative of the Alexandrian text type (**B03**), that omits any representation of *ἐστὶν*, while the other Old Latin manuscripts, the African Palatinus (VL2), the Bezae (VL5), **I** witnesses the Corbiensis II (VL8) and the

⁸⁰⁶ *Liber Commicus* de Paris (Paris, Bib. Nat. N.A. lat. 2171, s. XI); *Liber Commicus* de Madrid (Madrid, R.A.Hist., 22, s. XI).

⁸⁰⁷ The *Missale Mixtum* as found in PL 85 is a compilation of a number of 9-11th century manuscripts drawn from Toledo which contain the Mozarabe Antiphonarium, the *Liber Commicus* and *Liber Missarum*, see Ayuso (1953: 460). Ayuso singles out two manuscripts of prime importance as sources for the *Liber Missarum*, the 9th century Toledo, *Bib. Cap.* 35,4 and the 10th-11th century Toledo, *Bib. Cap.* 35,5.

⁸⁰⁸ Fischer (1990: 452).

Usserianus (VL14) reverse the word order, as found in the 'Western text' (**D05**). VL11 and VL6 have unusual texts, the former including *Jesus*, which brings the text into line with Matthew 27:37, a reading also found in the *f*¹ Faber group in the Greek tradition, whereas the Colbertinus (VL6) omits both *hic* and *est*.

While the cited text appears to belong to **V/I**, the paraphrased text contains a number of readings that appear to be the result of conflation between Sedulius's *PC* source and his *PO* source but which are also found in some Lukan manuscripts. For example, the inclusion of *titulus quoque* (*PO* 5,17 p.286, 17, 17) could indicate that Sedulius is following a text similar to that found in VL10 or VL14, as we have seen above with the parallel reading in the *PC*; on the other hand, Sedulius could just be transferring the reading from his *PC* text or its source text into the prose, as appears the case with *trina linguarum significatione* (*PO* 5,17 p.286, 17, 17), an allusion to *lingua* at 5,199 in the *PC* that is not found in any Lukan source. Nevertheless, the phrase *Hebraicis, Graecis litteris ac Latinis* is clearly Lukan, and while Sedulius's paraphrasis means we cannot say for sure which Old Latin version of the phrase he is using, we can be sure that it is not **D** (VL3), which omits the words in line with the Alexandrian text (**B03**).

23:39-23:43. Good Thief Pericope

PO 5,18 p.288, 17 - p.289, 14

unus enim, a quo ferocis atrocitas instituti nec in mortis discrimine declinauit, saeuus Dominum lacerabat iniuriis, dictis mordacibus execrandis... ita loquebatur inludens: **si tu es Christus, saluum te fac et nos.** *alius* uero spe meliore modestior, qui, dum suae parcat linguae, pepercit et poenae, supplicibus Dominum uerbis alloquitur... nam postquam socium, qui iam desociari meruerat, *iusti* sermonis *inreptione redarguit* suaeque culpam proteruitatis agnouit, Dominum sic precatur: **memor esto mei cum ueneris in regnum tuum.** quem pius ilico Dominus... allocutus est dicens: **amen dico tibi**, hodie mecum eris in **paradiso** ut enim latronis animos iam beati mortis formidine uacualet, non tantum inquit *hodie mecum eris*, ne sepulturam putaretur edicere, sed adiecit in *paradiso*...

PC 5,213-222

Unus enim, quem uita ferox nec morte reliquit,
In Dominum scelerata mouens conuicia, dictis
Mordebat propriis

...

Alter, adorato per uerba precantia Christo,
Saucia deiectus flectebat lumina, tantum
Lumina, nam geminas arcebant uulnera palmas.
Quem Dominus...
Colligit errantem, secumque abducere gaudet
In campos, *paradise*, tuos...

For the last Lukan episode cited in the *PO*, Sedulius paraphrases the entire Good Thief pericope, from 23:39-43 with part citations of the dialogue between Jesus and the two robbers at 23:39 and 23:42-3. 23:40-41 are the only verses not cited at all but they are paraphrased at *PO* 5,18, p.289, 5-7. The pericope is used also in the *PC* but it is entirely paraphrased and is it not possible to trace the text type.

For the Lukan verses, some manuscripts in the Old Latin tradition suffer from interpolation from the parallel passages in the other synoptic Gospels: the Rehdigeranus (VL11) contains the text from Matthew 27:40 at Luke 23:39, while the Lukan text of the Missale Mozarabe is conflated with *qui cum eo crucifixi erant* from Mark 15:32. Sedulius's text does not contain any readings that would suggest such a conflation existed in his base text, save the reading *iusti sermonis increpatione redarguit* that is a paraphrase of Luke 23:40, *respondens autem alter increpabat illum dicens neque tu times Deum quod in eadem damnatione es*; the reading *increpatione* is presumably taken from *increpabat* found in the majority of sources, Old Latin and Vulgate, but the Usserianus, which frequently has readings that are also found in Sedulius's text has *arguebat*, which in turn is very close to Sedulius's *redarguit*. No source contains a similar conflation, but there is the possibility that Sedulius's text is caused by the conflation of readings found in the *PC*, which as in the Inscription verse above appears to be following a harmonised source, and the *PO*, which appears to be based on a subgroup of **I** that displays occasional VL14 readings.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁹ see Luke 23:38 & John 13:38 *supra*.

The Old Latin traditions are clearly defined in the words of the blasphemous robber: VL2 and VL5 apparently follow the 'Western text' (**D05**), omitting the words of the blasphemous robber altogether. The majority of Old Latin traditions, **D** (VL3), **I** (VL4 VL8 VL14) as well as VL6 follow the Alexandrian (**B03**) tradition evidenced by the reading *nonne tu es Christus* as a rendering of *οὐχι σὸ εἶ ὁ χριστός*. Sedulius follows the text found in VL13, the majority of mixed codices (VL10 VL15 VL30) and the Vulgate which has the reading *si tu es Christus* in line with the Byzantine (**A02**) reading *εἰ σὸ εἶ ὁ χριστός*. In the second half of the blasphemous robber's words to Jesus, Sedulius's text translates *σῶσον σεαυτὸν* as *saluum fac te*. This is an unusual reading shared with VL6 VL14 VL30 and perhaps influenced by Matthew 27:40. The other main traditions are *libera te* found in **D** (VL3) VL8 and Augustine,⁸¹⁰ *salua temetipsum* found in **I** (VL4 VL13) and *saluum fac temetipsum* found in the Vulgate.

From this data alone one could argue that Sedulius text is closest to the Vulgate, but, as in previous passages, all of Sedulius's readings are found in the Old Latin tradition, whether codical or in the patristics. While *si* as a translation for *εἰ* is found in only one unmixed Old Latin codex, it does obtain support as an Old Latin reading from Augustine's Old Latin text found in his *Enarratio* on Psalm 68, and three of his sermons.⁸¹¹

In the following verse cited by Sedulius, 23:42, VL4 and VL13 agree with Byzantine tradition in the placement of *Κύριε* after *μνήσθητί μου* and the dative *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ*. On other hand, the text found in **C**, **I** (VL8 VL14) and the Vulgate appears to follow the Alexandrian tradition (**B03**) which prefers the accusative *εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν* and has the reading *Ἰησοῦ* not *Κύριε* but places it before *μνήσθητί μου*. Sedulius's *PO* text omits any inclusion of *Domine* in his citation. Although this is a reading found in **D** (VL3) and the Latin Origen,⁸¹² it is more likely that Sedulius omitted *domine* as he already uses it in the introduction to the quote (*dominum sic precatur....*).

Sedulius's text contains a clear Old Latin reading in the preference for *memor esto mei* over *memento mei* as a translation for *μνήσθητί μου*. *memor esto mei* is found in all **I** Group witnesses as well as **C**, VL6 and VL11, while the Vulgate and **D** (VL3) prefer

⁸¹⁰ **AU** Ps 68 s 1,9,30; s 232,6; 327,2; 238 (19,12).

⁸¹¹ **AU** Ps 68 s 1,9,30; s 232,6; 327,2; 238 (19,12).

⁸¹² **ORI** ser 133.

memento mei.⁸¹³ The **I** Group reading also lies behind the reading found in Ambrose, *rogabat ut memor sui esset*.⁸¹⁴ Ambrose is our earliest witness to this reading and it appears to be Italian from the end of the 4th century and it is only once found in African texts, in the possibly African Pseudo-Ambrose's *De Paenitentia*.⁸¹⁵

23:43, the final cited verse by Sedulius is almost identical in all patristic citations. The only variations in the Old Latin codices are the inclusion of *quia* after *dico tibi* in VL4 (*quod* in VL6), which is supported by Hilary's *De Trinitate*,⁸¹⁶ and the addition of *patris* after *paradiso* found in **C**, VL11 and VL14. VL5 as in previous verses contains a quite different text with *animequior esto*, a translation of *θάρασει* found in **D05**. Sedulius's text therefore agrees with that found in all the major traditions, **C**, **D**, **I** and the Vulgate.

Of Sedulius's paraphrased text, only his rendering of 23:40 provides any variant sites. Both *alius* (p.288, 22) and *redarguit* (p.289, 6) are variant readings, the former is found in **D** (VL3) VL5 VL6 VL14 and VL56 against *alter* found in **C**, **I** and the Vulgate; the latter as mentioned above is found only in VL14 against *increpabat* in **C**, **I** and the Vulgate, *obiurgabat* found in **D** (VL3) and *corripiebat* in VL6, but Sedulius's text also has *increpatione*, with reduces the significance of this reading.

In sum, Sedulius's text for the Good Thief pericope in the *PO* is Old Latin, though it does not display a strong affinity with any of the main traditions. It is best described as an Old Latin sub-group of **I**, with occasional unusual readings that are sometimes paralleled by VL14 or VL6; of the **I** Group Codices, Sedulius's text is closest to the Corbiensis II (VL8) and the Usserianus (VL14). It shares a number of readings in common with the Vulgate, but no Vulgate specific readings, a consequence more of the Vulgate's proximity to **I** witnesses in this episode than of any contact there may have been between Sedulius's text and the Vulgate; including the Superscription episode, Sedulius's text is closest to the Gatianus (VL30) with a surprising 92% proximity coefficient, but with 75% proximity to VL8 and the 83% to the Vulgate.

⁸¹³ The Bezae (VL5) has *memento me*.

⁸¹⁴ **AU** Luc 10,121.

⁸¹⁵ **PS-AU** pae 11.

⁸¹⁶ **HIL** tri 10,60

Conclusion

While Sedulius's text of Luke is more difficult to pin down than his text of John or Matthew, there are nevertheless some very clear patterns that can be observed. Overall, the proximity coefficient to the Vulgate of 87% should not be ignored but must be tempered by two considerations. First, there are far fewer Vulgate-specific readings in the verses of Luke cited by Sedulius than in those of Matthew or John. Indeed, when Vulgate-specific readings are considered, only one passage, that of the Temptations, is undoubtedly Vulgate, with an exact concordance to Sedulius's text. In addition, however, the readings *militiae* at 2:13 and *ut putabatur* at 3:23 in the Gloria and Baptism passages, are scarcely found outside of the Vulgate and can be considered persuasive evidence that Sedulius was following a Vulgate source for his Lukan citations in the Nativity, Baptism in addition to the Temptations. This concurs with the evidence for the Matthean and Johannine citations of these passages and suggests that Sedulius composed these passages from a largely Vulgate source. Unlike in Matthew, Sedulius's text in the *PC* for these passages is too heavily paraphrased to allow judgements to be formed on the tradition of his source text on the basis of his readings; on the other hand, the combination of verses used by Sedulius in the *PC* provides evidence that Sedulius used a harmonised version of the baptism passage as his source for the *PC* at least.

One passage that certainly has been rewritten with a different source is Sedulius's *PO* version of the Temptations passage. As mentioned in this chapter and according to the analysis on Matthew, Sedulius's *PO* Lukan text bears no particular resemblance to the paraphrased text in the *PC* and it is doubtful that Sedulius's source for the *PC* was formed of two Matthean extracts sandwiching one Lukan extract in a Lukan order. Instead, it is more likely that Sedulius's *PC* source was a Matthean text in a Lukan order that was particularly suitable as a source for the imagery and exegesis used by Sedulius in the *PC*. When he came to write the chapter in the *PO*, it appears he took the opportunity to cite from a more recent version of the text. In Matthew, there is the possibility that Sedulius drew at least partly on Augustine's lemma text found in the *De Consensu Evangelistarum* but this source does not preserve the Lukan text so cannot be the source for the *PO* text here.

With the Temptations, Baptism and Gloria citations put to one side, Sedulius's text has a proximity coefficient of 81% to both the Corbiensis II (VL8) and the Vulgate compared with 76% and 87% with these episodes included. This is a better reflection of the general character of Sedulius's text, which, with thirteen Old Latin readings that are not found in any Vulgate manuscript in the citations alone, can be described as generally Old Latin. The Old Latin character of Sedulius's text is even more apparent when paraphrased material is taken into account. Although some of the readings are ambiguous, others, such as the mention of Jericho at the Healing of the Ten Lepers, provide clear evidence for the use of an Old Latin source. Of the Old Latin traditions, Sedulius's text is clearly closest to VL8, with 76% excluding the three aforementioned episodes, whereas this figure falls to 52% in relation to **D** (VL3) and 47% in relation to **C** (VL2).

This does not tell the whole story, however, and there are a number of variations within Sedulius's Old Latin text as shown by the fact that these thirteen readings are evenly spread across the different Lukan Old Latin traditions. Most of the miracle episodes are closest in text type to **I**, but throughout his text there are occasional variants that are only found in VL14 or VL6. In the Passion episodes, Sedulius's text of Luke is different again, displaying much greater affinity with the Vulgate than in the miracle episodes and is closest to VL30, though with elements that are found in VL6, VL13 and VL14.

The common readings with VL14 and VL6 are a curious characteristic of Sedulius's Lukan text. These may point to a connection between Sedulius's Lukan text and what may be loosely termed the Gallic-Irish texts VL6 VL14 (and where present VL44). However, it is also possible that the shared readings reflect a common influence from a secondary source such as a liturgical version of the text, as is possibly the case at Luke 7:15 where the reading *surrexit*, which is found in VL6 alone, is also found in the Roman Responsory. Such a possibility can only be corroborated by a full comparison of Sedulius's text with the extant liturgical texts.

Finally, it has been shown that the citations taken from Luke 23 are placed in a Johannine order in the *PC*, a fact that appears to suggest that Sedulius was not using the single Gospel of Luke as a source in his verse work. As a result, Sedulius's text was compared with extant passion harmonies and it was shown that two Hispanic Latin

harmonies follow a Johannine order that are possibly witnesses to a much older tradition that Sedulius's text witnesses.

If correct, this would require us to accept at least three different versions of Luke used by Sedulius: the first, his *PO* and *PC* base text, used for the composition of Caesar's tribute exegesis, Dead man at Naim, the 72 disciples, the Anointing of Jesus and the Ten Lepers pericopes, is basically a subgroup of **I**, but with a number of unusual readings that are found sometimes only in VL14, sometimes in VL6. For the Temptations episode, and probably the Baptism and Nativity episodes as well, Sedulius used a Vulgate text. Thirdly, according to episode order during the Passion account and the fact that Sedulius has switched from a mainly Johannine source in the *PC* to an apparently Lukan source in the *PO* when re-writing the Superscription episode, there appears considerable support for the hypothesis that Sedulius used a Passion harmony as his base text for the Passion scene in the *PC*. As in the episodes from the other Gospels taken from the passion, this text appears to be far closer to the Vulgate than the text used for the miracle passages.

Final Conclusion

The findings within books have been summarised at the conclusion of each chapter. This final conclusion summarises the findings across books according to the layout of the *PC* and *PO* as a whole as well as discussing what these findings reveal about that layout.

Sedulius's *PO* Gospel text can clearly be divided into two main forms: a Vulgate form and an Old Latin form. The Vulgate form is concentrated around the passages in Book two of the *PO*; thus, Sedulius's citations of Luke 2:13-14 3:23, 4:6-8, Matthew 2:1-16, 4:1-16, John 1:14, 1:29, 4:22-3, 5:22-3, 8:58 and 10:16 are all clearly Vulgate passages containing Vulgate readings and with a proximity coefficient of around 90% or more to the Weber Stuttgart Vulgate text. If Sedulius's text were compared to Alcuin's recension or to the Clementine Vulgate, this figure would be even higher. We can conclude therefore that these passages were all carefully copied from a Vulgate text; what is less clear is what sort of text it was. Just as we have said in the earlier chapter on Matthew that it seems unlikely that Sedulius is using a mixed text in the form of an Old Latin base with a Vulgate overlay due to the clustered concentration of Vulgate readings all around the very start of the book alone, so it is even more unlikely that such a phenomenon, that is a block mixed text with Vulgate clusters found in the early chapters of the book alone, could be repeated also in the other Gospels.

Therefore, it seems far more likely that the character of Sedulius's text in the early chapters of Matthew, Luke and John is due to the context in which the citations are found. The most striking aspect of Sedulius's text of Matthew, Luke and John is that the Vulgate passages are all located in the same place, book two. This gives some weight to Moretti Pieri's theory that Sedulius came upon a Vulgate source at a later time, but not, as she claimed between writing the *PC* and the *PO*, rather at some point during the composition of the *PO* itself.⁸¹⁷ Indeed, we could hypothesise that Sedulius wrote book two of the *PO* last of all and used a newly-procured Vulgate text to write it.

⁸¹⁷ Moretti Pieri (1969: 131-3).

However, the Old Latin/Vulgate - *PC/PO* dichotomy does not hold up to close scrutiny, as van der Laan has already pointed out. The *PO* is certainly not entirely Vulgate and the *PC* text is not entirely Old Latin as Moretti Pieri claims: Matthew 2:1-8, John 1:29, John 12:27-8 in the *PC* are written in a text that is closer to the Vulgate than Old Latin and in the case of John 12:27-8, the citation is re-written with an Old Latin text in the *PO*.

What is more, the citations in the *PO* are not consistent across each Gospel, even the Old Latin ones: The Old Latin citations of Matthew are most consistent and are generally closest to VL4, but a far greater variety can be seen in Sedulius's *PO* text of the other Gospels. His text of John is closest to VL14, a key witness of Group **1**, when it is not following the Vulgate, but John 17:10 is closer to Group **2A/2B**; Luke is again generally closest to VL8, but the Good Thief Pericope (Luke 23:39-43) lies midway between the Vulgate and **I** witnesses. Finally, the episodes taken from Mark contain both Vulgate and Old Latin readings.

Thus neither Sedulius's *PC* text nor his *PO* text is as clear or homogenous as first appears. However, while there is lack of consistency within Gospels, there is a clear consistency across Gospels that are used for the same episode. For example, Luke 2:13-14, Matthew 2:1-8, John 1:14, 1:29 are all a pure version of the Vulgate text that are used in the Nativity chapters 4-7 in book two. Likewise, in a Vulgate text are the readings in chapter eight of book two of the *PO*, which contains Matthew 2:9-11, John 4:22-3, 5:22-3, 10:16 and 8:58 and chapters 12-13 containing Luke 3:23, John 1:29 and Matthew 3:16-17 as well as the Temptations in chapters 14-15 which combines Matthew 4:1-7, 12 with Luke 4:5-7.

Elsewhere, the Lord's Prayer episode in Book two, chapter 17 contains African readings, some of the only ones in Sedulius's corpus, at John 17:10, I Cor. 3,1-2 and Matthew 7:16. In the *PC*, the paraphrased citations of John 12:27-8 (*PC* 5,6-10) Matthew 26:34 (*PC* 5,79-81) and I Cor. 15:15 (*PC* 5,276-7) all show evidence of Vulgate or near-Vulgate readings. Finally, the miracle scenes in books three and four of the *PC* and *PO* are all generally speaking taken from a Gospel text that is close to the **I** tradition and, as seen in the appendices, the Roman Psalter for Psalm citations and an Epistle source close to Rufinus citations, with notable exceptions, such as the one use of

the Gallican Psalter text in the quote of Psalm 120:4 as part of the Calming of the Storm episode.

What can explain these groupings of similar text types? First, it is unlikely to be exclusively by design. It is perhaps understandable, according to a modern perspective, that Sedulius might choose a Vulgate text over an Old Latin text when inserting quotes in place of paraphrased verse material in his composition of the *PO*. However, one has to ask whether we believe that Sedulius really recognised a particular text as being better, in the way that Augustine famously did with the '*Itala*.' The apparent Vulgate readings of John 12:27-8 and Matthew 26:34 in the *PC* are re-written in prose using an Old Latin Group 1 version of John in the *PO*. Thus he either saw the text of VL14 as better than the Vulgate or this choice of text was forced on him in some way out of circumstances. Furthermore, on more than one occasion, both in the *PC* and the *PO*, it appears that Sedulius has used a Vulgate reading because it fits the metre or rhythm of his text better than the Old Latin variant (in particular in the the Nativity section in the *PC* and the Healing of Various Sick around Capernaum in the *PO*). We must therefore reject the notion that Sedulius saw a particular biblical text as better when composing his works. Rather it appears that he 'harvested' verses or readings from different sources according to the requirements of his text.

This brings us on to another characteristic of Sedulius's twin works, the apparent use of different sources for the same episodes in the *PC* and the *PO*. At its most extreme, Sedulius appears to have used a different Gospels for parts of the *PO* version of the Temptations to that used in the *PC*, with all three Temptations apparently taken from Matthew in a Lukan order in the *PC* but with the second Temptation drawn from Luke in the *PO*. Another clear example of Sedulius swapping Gospel texts can be seen in his citation of Matthew 26:34 in the *PC* at 5,79-81, which is replaced by John 13:38 in the *PO*. Other less obvious examples are the replacement of apparent harmonised episodes in the *PC*, such as the Baptism scene at 2,157-74 with separate Gospel citations in the *PO* in chapters 2,13-14. Also in this category are certain episodes in the Passion, such as the Superscription episode, where Sedulius appears to change the order in the *PO* from Johannine to that of the Synoptics.

In addition to these, there are at least five *PC* episodes that Sedulius has apparently re-written with a different text type of the same Gospel for the *PO*. First is the Visitation

of the Magi/Massacre of the Innocents passage (*PO* 2,9-10), which is of the **I-type** in the *PC* but Vulgate in the *PO*. Second is the Baptism scene (*PO* 2,12-13) that is perhaps an African text type in the *PC*, but a Vulgate text type in the *PO*. Next is the Temptations (*PO* 14-15), where the Old Latin **I** (with African contamination) has been rewritten with a Vulgate text in the *PO*. Fourth, John 12:27-8 is similar to **2B**/Vulgate in the *PC* but to Old Latin VL14 in the *PO*. Finally, the citations in the Passion episode as a whole appear to have been rewritten in the *PO* from separate Gospels based on an Old Latin **I**, whereas they appear composed from a Vulgate harmonised-source in the *PC*.

At the centre of this lies the question of how Sedulius composed the *PC* and the *PO*. As outlined in the introduction, Mayr suggested that Sedulius composed the *PC* using Ammonian sections or Eusebian Canon tables to arrange his material in books two to four, but a Passion Harmony for book five.⁸¹⁸ Moretti Pieri went further than this, suggesting that all of books two, three and five had been composed using a Latin *diatessaron* as a base text.⁸¹⁹ Van der Laan on the other hand proposed that Sedulius inserted the miracles from Matthew in their Gospel order from *PC* 3,23 through to *PC* 4,81, before switching to the Marcan then Lukan miracles.⁸²⁰ Van der Laan is generally correct in his analysis that the miracles from *PC* 3,23 to the end of book four are inserted in the order they occur. However, in addition to the problem with Luke 11:14, another issue is that the Matthean character of many of the miracle episodes has been taken for granted, when in fact, in some episodes, such as the Cleansing of the Leper, our analysis has shown that the passage is as close if not closer to Mark 1:37 as it is to Matthew 8:1-4.

There is however another method that Sedulius could have used for composing his works that for some reason has been overlooked. This study has above all revealed that Sedulius used texts drawn from a variety of different sources organised into a single narrative. It is unlikely that any single document could preserve such a variety of texts and therefore the first conclusion is that Sedulius probably used a variety of different documents as his Gospel sources.

⁸¹⁸ Mayr (1916: 53-4).

⁸¹⁹ Moretti Pieri (1969: 133).

⁸²⁰ van der Laan (1990: 45-6).

But in asserting this conclusion, it is necessary to relate this to what we know about Gospel texts of this period. The image of a variety of different sources organised along a single narrative fits neatly with our knowledge of some of the later liturgical books that we possess, namely the Spanish lectionary known as the *Liber Commicus* or the Luxeuil lectionary. However, the earliest lectionaries that are still extant are simply capitularies or pericope markings in Gospel books, such as the Trier Evangeliary, the Gospel book of St. Kilian, or the Capitulary of Würzburg. The use of such a resource would not account for the different text types found in Sedulius's works since they are essentially modified single Gospels. This notwithstanding, the first mention of some sort of 'lectionary' can be found in Gennadius's addition to Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* under the entry for Bishop Honoratus of Marseille who is said to have 'composed many writings in the style of homilies for use of his readers, especially for support in the understanding of the faith and the defeat of the perversity of heresy'.⁸²¹ It seems unlikely that a book aimed at personal or community devotional use, such as that suggested by Gennadius's entry on Honoratus would contain homilies alone; for such an arrangement would require devotees to constantly refer to a Gospel book, which would be quite unwieldy. Instead, such a collection of homilies was probably interspersed with biblical material relevant to the feast or event that the homily covers and might have even contained a Passion harmony like that apparently used by Sedulius. Even if such a book did not exist as a homogenous single entity, we can easily suppose that Sedulius created such a collection of homilies, commentary exegesis and biblical citations, perhaps quite extensive ones, as a draft book for the creation of his twin works.

It is possible that this source arranged the homilies and pericopes around the liturgical year, as was certainly the case in later homiliaries such as the antique homiliary that served as a base for Alanus of Farfa.⁸²² This would certainly explain Sedulius's order of material in book two and the start of book three that finds close parallels with the order of readings from Christmas until Easter in some early capitularies such as the Trier Evangeliary, the Gospel book of St. Kilian, the North Italian Gospel Book of Milan, and in places the Capitulary of Würzburg.

⁸²¹ Gennadius, *De Viris Illustribus*, 100: in homiliarium modum ad utilitatem legentium multa conponit, maximeque ad colendam fidei rationem et reuincendam haereticorum peruersitatem (Texte und Untersuchungen XIV, 1, 94).

⁸²² Grégoire (1966: 2).

If Sedulius's source was a single book used by him for private meditation or within the religious community that he describes in the letters to Macedonius, the *PC* would be an ideal companion to such a devotional book, fulfilling the aspirations laid out in his prefatory letter to 'secure each person more willingly as followers of God.'⁸²³ A homiliary of sorts appears a more likely source than a commentary at the current time. The recent re-discovery of Fortunatianus's Gospel Commentary, which covers all four Gospels (though concentrating on Matthew) provides an example of another potential source text that combines Gospel citations with Psalm and Epistle material and exegesis. Although the discovery of this text came to my attention too late to conduct a full comparative study with Sedulius's works, initial comparison at the episodes covered in this study reveals that Fortunatianus and Sedulius in general had very different text types (with the exception of Mark 2:7/Matthew 9:6), not to mention that Sedulius treats episodes omitted in Fortunatianus and often uses different exegesis. Fortunatianus's text does however display similar harmonisation to that found in Sedulius's text in parts (e.g. Curing of the Paralytic Man episode). It is possible that both texts witness a similar base text or that Sedulius's had some contact with the commentary, either the chapter headings to help arrange his text or perhaps a homily that draws on Fortunatianus's text. It is perhaps significant that the one time Sedulius's cited text is identical to that found in Fortunatianus is for a pericope that enjoyed a separate tradition as a free-standing homily.⁸²⁴

The comparison of Sedulius's text with secondary literature has revealed several homilies, in particular from the anonymous Verona Collection, that contain parallels with Sedulius's harmonisation and citation of biblical sources. Sedulius's dependence on secondary sources such as homilies is sufficient to explain the majority of harmonisation observed by Moretti Pieri and indeed is probably sufficient to explain all of Sedulius's citations in the miracle episodes, which are of a shortened form of the type used by homilists. However, very few examples were found that shared the same exegesis, harmonisation and text types as that found in Sedulius. While it may be that further research will reveal homilies that provide perfect matches for Sedulius's text, it is also possible that the homilies and Sedulius's text share a tradition to some sort of

⁸²³ *Epistola Ad Macedonium* I, p.5, 12-13.

⁸²⁴ See Mark 2:1-12 *supra*.

early Old Latin text that displays some level of harmonisation of the sort seen in several of the 4th-century sources that we have examined, such as VL3 and Fortunatianus.

While the use of an early homiliary appears a possible explanation for Sedulius's text, given the diversity of Sedulius's text types and the presence of numerous parallels with existing homilies, the use of at least one version of a full Gospel book must be considered likely. First, just as the diversity of Sedulius's text types suggests a plurality of sources, so the constant use of one text type of John close to VL14 and Matthew close to VL4 in books 3-5 of the *PO* is also of significance. The evidence of Mark and Luke, while less clear than that of Matthew and John, nevertheless suggests the use of homogenous text types. If Sedulius maintained the same approach to composing the *PO* as he used in the *PC*, we would expect to see a similar range of different text types in the citations in the *PO* as seen in the paraphrased passages in the *PC*. That this is not the case suggests that the Old Latin citations in the *PO* have been taken from a single source. It is not possible to tell for sure whether these citations were taken directly from a written text or from memory, but the lack of flattening in Sedulius's citations suggests that the bulk were taken with care from a textual source.

As we have also seen, Sedulius generally uses the same exegesis in the *PO* as the *PC*, and indeed harmonisation is often more evident in the *PO* paraphrased text than it is in the *PC* equivalent (e.g. in the Calming of the Storm episode, the Healing of the Paralytic man and the Baptism episode). In the Baptism episode in particular, the *PO* offers a direct allusion to the use of *kenosis* from Philippians 2:6-7 where it is lacking in the *PC*. This use of *kenosis* links Sedulius's *PO* text to the exegesis found in sermon 52 of Augustine, the biblical text of which is partly harmonised and is very close to that found in Sedulius's *PC* text. On the other hand, the biblical text of the Baptism citation in the *PO* is very different and is taken from a Vulgate-type text. This suggests a change in approach in the *PO*. For although it appears that Sedulius has largely used the same biblical material in the *PO* as in the *PC*, which we believe to be partly based on a collection of homilies, he has supplemented this with biblical citations that appear to be taken from two sources, an Old Latin book of the Gospels in books 3-5 and a largely Vulgate version of the Gospels in book 2. The Old Latin character of the Gospel book used for books 3-5 probably rules out the use of Canon tables as suggested by

Mayr for the composition of the *PC* or the *PO*, as Canon tables are virtually inexistent in Old Latin Gospel books.⁸²⁵

Second, given the Vulgate character of Sedulius's book two in the *PO*, we may consider that this was written at a later time, as the greater quantity of exegetical material, especially in chapter eight, might suggest, and that by this time Sedulius had acquired a Vulgate Gospel Book. This point should not be pushed too far however. First, there is nothing that prevents Sedulius from editing out chapter eight of the final version of the *PC* rather than adding it in to the *PO*. Moreover, there is evidence of Sedulius being aware of the Vulgate version of the Gospels throughout the *PC*. It is possible that Sedulius changed his source for his Gospel citations from an Old Latin book to a Vulgate book. However, given Sedulius's likely composition method, there is nothing that prevents the biblical material used for his citations in the *PO* from already being laid out as part of the hypothetical draft work on which the both the *PC* and *PO* were based. In this case, there is no way of knowing which citations were 'laid out' first. Further investigation of Sedulius's exegesis and in particular his use of Augustine may provide some clues to the dating of book two of the *PO*, but it is unlikely that we shall ever know for sure the chronology of the *PO* and *PC* composition.

An alternate source for the Vulgate material in the *PO* is suggested by Sedulius's apparent use of Augustine's *Tractatus In Iohannem* and *De Consensu Evangelistarum*. Sedulius's text is at times identical to the text found in these two sources and even when it departs from Augustine's text type, it is not in an unexpected manner for the use of texts that were copied and transmitted across different parts of the Mediterranean at that time. Given the weight of authority associated with Augustine and the likely quick distribution of his works, the use of the extensive Gospel citations in Augustine could have been a more convenient and effective way for writers of this period to obtain an authoritative Gospel text for use in the composition of works like the *PO*.

What are the consequence of Sedulius's use of the Vulgate for our understanding of Vulgate dissemination in the 5th century? Sedulius's use of both Vulgate and Old Latin variants in the *PC* and the *PO* suggest that Jerome's revision of the Gospel co-existed alongside other Latin traditions without enjoying a special distinction as a superior

⁸²⁵ McGurk (1961: 8).

biblical text. Without knowing whether the book two of the *PO* was composed after the other books, we cannot say whether there was an evolution in Sedulius's appreciation of the Vulgate over other Latin traditions. However, even if this were the case, it is clear that this did not extend as far as the Lord's Prayer, that remains distinctly Old Latin amongst a mass of Vulgate citations.

More generally, it was asked in the introduction whether the unique style and format of book two of the *PO* might be because it was in an unfinished state when Asterius 'discovered' Sedulius's works. Although this study cannot rule this out, the change in biblical source from Old Latin to Vulgate that occurs in book two suggests that it represents a different approach to the biblical text, not an incomplete form of a composition made at the same time as the rest of the work. The analysis of Sedulius's biblical text provides few concrete answers as to why Sedulius may have adopted a different approach in book two, apart from the simple answer that his approach changed with time. However, as has been noted in the Nativity episodes in particular, the quantity of Matthean text cited corresponds closely with the amount of text found in later lectionaries. If these were based on typical Gospel readings at Christmas, the feast of the Holy Innocents or the Epiphany, it is possible that Sedulius aimed to recreate in the *PO* the festive setting of these passages by citing them as if they were lessons.

As well as a composition order that reflects the liturgical year at points, the arrangement of Gospel, Psalm and Epistle material has frequently been found to reflect liturgical practices, especially in the Nativity and Epiphany sections. While it seems clear that Sedulius used his knowledge of lessons and antiphons at these feasts to compose his works, it is very surprising to see that he does not once use a liturgical type text, but in every case uses a Vulgate text for his citations, in particular at John 1:14, 1:29, Luke 2:13-14 and Matthew 3:16-17, where we might expect to see a text as it is preserved in liturgical sources. Many of these readings are in a noticeably Vulgate text and the liturgical context of the citations should not obscure the fact that Sedulius's citations are very different to those found in the liturgy as antiphons, hymns and prayers; for example, Sedulius's use of Luke 2:13-14 is nothing like the *Gloria*, and his use of John 1:29 is nothing like the *Agnus*. Here, we are unfortunately hampered both by our incomplete knowledge of Late Antique liturgical texts and precise knowledge of the date and place of Sedulius's literary activities to draw conclusions his likely liturgical texts but it can be concluded that they either contained a biblical Gospel text that was

very close to the Vulgate text or that, if they were different, Sedulius chose not to use them for his citations.

We are now in a position to return to some of the assertions made by Sedulian scholars that were discussed in the introduction.

First, van der Laan's four statements have been shown to be true, namely that Sedulius uses different sources as his Gospel text in the *PC* and in the *PO*, that Old Latin and Vulgate readings can be found in both the *PC* and the *PO*, that the *PC* text does not depend in general on the Vulgate and finally that Sedulius has no preference for the Vulgate in the *PO*. However, it is now possible to go much further than this and state that:

- a. The *PO* and *PC* were largely composed using the same sources, which for the most part are based on Old Latin biblical texts.
- b. Sedulius's citations of the synoptic Gospels in books three and four of the *PC* and *PO* are closest to the European Old Latin tradition exemplified by VL4 in Matthew and VL8 in Luke.
- c. Sedulius's citations of John in the *PO* are extremely close to VL14 in books four and five and similarly close to the Vulgate in book two. This is not reflected in the *PC* where the majority of these citations find no equivalent.
- d. Parts of the *PC* were composed with knowledge of Vulgate if not direct use of the text; parts of the *PO* were composed with direct use of a Vulgate text that spans Matthew, Luke and John, and probably Mark.
- e. Sedulius's direct use of the Vulgate appears to reflect a different approach to the biblical text and is principally restricted to book two in the *PO*.

In addition, Mayr proposed that Sedulius composed book five of the *PC* using a Passion harmony. This has been shown to be very possible, not least due to the different texts found in the *PO* and the *PC* in books five. If it were the case, Sedulius probably used a Johannine - Matthean harmony similar to that found in *Missale Mixtum*.

Moretti Pieri's findings that the text of the *PC* is largely harmonised have been shown to be partly true but it has been shown that other sources for Sedulius's harmonised text existed apart from a hypothesised Gospel Harmony. Finally, the possibility that Sedulius drew on the liturgy as a biblical source, a possibility proposed by Springer as

well as Deerberg has neither been proven or disproven. Although there is certain clear evidence of Sedulius organising his biblical material to reflect the use of texts and the order of episodes found in and around the major Christian feasts, Sedulius's biblical citations, with the exception of the Lord's Prayer, show little to no evidence of being drawn from the liturgical versions of the Gospel text as we know it today.

Abbreviations

CA	Clavis Apocryphorum
CBL	Collectanea biblica latina
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (1954-). Turnholt, Brepols.
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CPL	Clavis Patrum Latinorum
CPPM	Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (1866-). Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna, Hoelder- Pichler-Tempsky
GCS	Die Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
FC	Fontes Christianae
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
MJA	Matzkow, Jülicher & Aland (1970-6) <i>Itala: das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung nach den Handschriften</i> . Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co.
NA28	Nestle-Aland <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> 28 th Edition
NPB	Nova Patrum Bibliotheca
OrChr	Oriens Christianus
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latinorum
PLS	Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum
RB	Révue bénédictine
SC	Sources chrétiennes
VLD	Vetus Latina Database Online

Key to Old Latin Manuscripts

Gospel Manuscripts:

- VL1 (Xk): Bobiensis s. IV/V, Torino, Bibl. Nazionale G.VII.15 (1163)
MJA (1972) (Mt.)
- VL2 (Xe): Palatinus s. V, Trento, Castel del Buonconsiglio s.n.
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL3 (Xa): Vercellensis s. IV, Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare s. n.
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL4 (Xb): Veronensis s. V (ex.), Verona, Bibl. Capitolare cod. VI (6);
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL5 (Xd): Codex Bezae s. IV, Cambridge, University Libr. Nn.2.41;
Parker & Houghton (2012) (Mt.) (Lk.)
Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL6 (Xc): Colbertinus s. XII/XIII, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 254 (Colb. 4051)
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL7 (Pg): Sangermanensis s. IX, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11553
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL8 (Xf): Corbiensis II s. V, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 17725 (Corb. 195)
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL9 (Xo): Corbiensis I s. VIII (in.), Leningrad, Öffentliche Bibl. O.v.I.3.
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL9A (Ec): Fossatensis s. VIII, St Petersburg, Russia National Libr. F.v.I.8
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL10 (Jg): Brixianus s. VI, Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana s.n.
MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL11 (XI): Rehdigeranus s. VIII (in.), Berlin, Stiftung Preuss. Kulturbesitz
Staatsbibl. Depot Breslau 5 (R 169);
MJA (1972) - Mt; MJA (1976) (Lk.)
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL11A (Bw): Würzburg Codex M s. VIII(ex.), Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek:
M.p.th.f.67
Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL12 (Xh): Claromontanus s. V (ex.), Vaticano, Bibl. Apost. Vatic. lat. 7223

- VL13 (Xq): MJA (1972) (Mt.)
 Monacensis s. VI/VII München, Bayerische Staats-bibl. CLM 6224
 MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
 Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL14 (Xr): Usserianus I s. VII (in.), Dublin, Trinity College 55 (A. IV. 15)
 MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
 Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL15 (Ea): Aureus Holmiensis s. VIII, Kungliga Biblioteket Stockholm, A 135;
 MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
 Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL16 (Xn): Sangallensis s. V, St Gallen Stiftsbibl. 1394, p. 50-89 and 172, p. 256
 and Vadiana 70 Chur, Rhätisches Museum
 MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
 Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL17 (Xi): Vindobonensis s. V(ex.), Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale lat. 3 (già Vind.
 1235)
 MJA (1972) (Mt.); MJA (1976) (Lk.)
 Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL18 (Xw): Fragmenta Stuttgartensia s. VII, Württembergische Landesbibliothek
 Stuttgart, aus dem Einband von H.B. XIV 15.
 MJA (1972) (Mt.)
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL19 (Xt): Fragmenta Bernensia s. V, Bern. Burgerbibl. 611 fol. 143-4
 Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
- VL19A (Ee): Durham, Cathedral Libr. A. II. 10 + C. III 13 + C. III. 20
 Haelewyck (2013-) (Mk.)
- VL20: Fragmentum Sangallense s. VIII, St Gallen Stiftsbibl. 1395 p. 430-433
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
- VL21: s. V (ex.), Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana M.12 sup. Appendix
 MJA (1976)
- VL26: Fragmentum Carinthianum s. VII, Kärnten, Benediktinerabtei St.
 Paul 25. 3. 19
 MJA (1976) (Lk.)
- VL30 (Bt): Gatianus s. IX (in.), Paris, Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat 1587
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
 Heer, J. M. (1910). *Evangelium Gatianum*. Freiburg, Herder. (Mt.)
 (Lk.)
- VL32 (Gw): Wolfenbüttel Palimpsest s. VI (in.). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-
 Bibl. Weissenburg 76. Dold (1936) (Mt.)
- VL35 (Hm): Book of Mulling s. VIII (ex.), Dublin, Trinity College 60 (A. I. 15)
 Burton et al. (2011-) (Jn.)
 Lawlor (1897) (Mt.) (Lk.)
- VL41 (Xu): Veronensis II s. VIII (in.), Verona, Bibl. Capitolare VII (7)
 Vogels (1952) (Mt.)
- VL44: Fragmentum Rosenthal s. VIII (ex.), Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard
 University, Houghton Libr. Ms Typ 620
 MJA (1976) (Lk.)

- VL45: Fragmentum Monacense s. V, München, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm 29270/1
MJA (1972) (Mt.)
- VL48 (Hs): s. VIII (ex.), St Gallen Stiftsbibl. 51
Fischer (1989) (Mt.)
- VL56 (Ws): Comes Silensis s. XI, Paris Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 2171
Morin (1896) (Mt.) (Lk.)
- VL175: s. V, Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibl. 895 +
Donaueschingen, Hofbibl. B. I. 3 + Fulda, Landesbibl. Aa 1a + Sankt
Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibl. s. n. + Stuttgart, Württembergische
Landesbibl. fragm. 100.
Dold (1923) (Mt.)
- VL309: s. IX (ex.), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl. 13. Aug. 4°
Lehmann (1885) (Mt.)

Epistle Manuscripts

- VL61 (Hd): Book of Armagh s. IX (in.), Dublin, Trinity College 52
Gwynn (1913)
- VL64: Fragmenta Frisingensia s. VI (ex.), München, Bayerische Staatsbibl.
Clm 6436
Ziegler (1876)
- VL65: Harleianus s. IX (in.), London, British Libr. Harley 1772
Buchanan (1912)
- VL75: Claromontanus s. V, Paris, Bibl. Nat. gr. 107 + 107A + 107B
Tischendorf (1852)
- VL77: Boernerianus s. IX, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl. A. 145b
Matthäi (1791)
- VL78: Augiensis s. IX, Cambridge, Trinity College B. 17. 1
Schrivener (1859)
- VL86: s. IX, Monza, Bibl. Capitolare i-2/9
Frede (1964).
- VL89: s. VIII (ex.), Budapest, Ungarisches Nationalmuseum Clmae 1
Frede (1974).
- Γ^A: s. X, Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana E. 53 inf.
Transcribed from Digital Edition
- Γ^C: s. XI (in.), Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana B. 48 sup.
Transcribed from Digital Edition

Psalter Manuscripts & Editions

- VL136: Casinensis s. XII, Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 557 A
Amelli (1912)
- VL300 (α): Veronensis s. IX, Verona, Bibl. Capitolare I (1)
Weber (1953)
- VL301 (κ): Augiensis prior s. VI, Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl. Aug. CCLIII
Weber (1953)
- VL302 (λ): Augiensis alter s. VII (in.), Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibl. Aug.
CCLIII
Weber (1953)
- VL303 (γ): S. Germani s. VI, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 11947
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- VL304 (β): Sangallensis 912 s. VI, St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 912
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- VL306 (ζ): S. Zenonis s. VII (ex.), Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana
Vatic. lat. 5359
Weber (1953)
- VL325 (δ): Corbeiensis s. VIII, St Petersburg, Rossijskaja Nacionalnaja Bibl. F.
v. I. 5
Weber (1953).
- VL333 (ε): Coislinianus s. VII, Paris, Bibl. Nat. Coislin 186
- VL396 (π): Palatinus s. VIII, Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana
Vatic. lat. 187
- VL421 (η): Lugdunensis s. VI (in.), Lyon, Bibl. de la Ville 425 (351) + Paris,
Bibl. Nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1585
Weber (1953)
- GA:** Gallicanum. Weber & Gryson (2007)
- RO:** Romanum. Weber (1953)
- MO:** Mozarabicum. Ayuso Marazuela (1962)
- ME:** Mediolanum. Weber (1953)
- HE:** Psalterium Iuxta Hebraeos. Weber & Gryson (2007)

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Appendix 1: Variant site results

1.1 John


		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
1:14	factum est	x	x		x		/	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	facta est			x		x	/		/			/										
	habitauit	x	x	x		x	/	x	/	x	x	/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	inhabitauit				x		/		/			/	x									
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
1:29	qui tollit ☩	x	x	x			/	x						x		x						
	+ ecce <i>praem.</i>	(x)			x	x	/		x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	tollit ☩	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x		
	tollet						/							x								
	tulit						/												x			
	tullit						/															x
	peccatum ☩	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x			x		x			x	x	x	x
	peccata (=W032)	(x)		x			/						x		x		x	x				
	peccatam						/					x										
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
4:22	adoratis ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	adoramus								/										x			
	quod ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x
	quem																			x		
	<i>om.</i>																		x			

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
	nescitis	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	non scitis			x																	
	nos ☞	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x				
	nos autem			x												x		x	x	x	x
	quia	x	x				x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quoniam			x	x	x		x	x												
	qui									x											
	ex iud(a)eis ☞	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ex iudaea					x															
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
4:23	sed ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	+ et																		x		
	uenit ☞	x	x			x	x		x		x			x			x	x			
	ueniet			x	x			x		x		x	x		x	x			x	x	x
	quando	x	x	x						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	cum				x	x	x	x	x												
	ueri	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x		
	uiri(i)								/				x					x			
	ueni								/											x	
	om.								/												x
	adoratores ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ et								/	x											
	adorabunt ☞	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	adorauerunt						x					x									

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
	patrem Ⲫ	x	x		x	x		x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	patri						x		/													
	patre			x					/													
	ueritate	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	in ueritate				/				/						x							
	ueritatem				/				/	x												
	nam et	x	x		/			x	/	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	et enim			x	/	x	x		/													
	nam				/				/					x	x							
	quaeret Ⲫ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		
	+ eos								/										x			
	+ et eos								/													x
	qui adorent eum Ⲫ	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x				
	qui adorant eum											x							x			x
	qui se adorent			x																		
	adorantes eum						x															
	qui oderent eum																			x		
	eum Ⲫ	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ in spiritu (=W032 ^b)				x	x																
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
4:50	uade Ⲫ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
	di(s)cende																	x				
	om.																					x

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
	filius tuus uiuuit ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	uidit filius tuus												x								
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
5:22	iudicium omne ☩	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	
	iudicium omnem				x	x											x				
	omne iudicium													x				x			x
	dedit filio ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	filio dedit								x								x				
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
5:23	honorificat ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	honorificat							x		x											
	honorificent																			x	
	honorent																				x
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
8:58	amen amen dico uobis ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	amen dico uobis										x										
	om.												x								
	uobis ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	+ et															x					

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
	antequam ⚡	x	x										x	x		x		x	x	x	x
	ante			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x		x				
	fieret (=B03 A02)	x	x											x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	esset												x								
	om. (=D05)			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x						
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
10:16	et alias ⚡	x	x	x		x	x	/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ sed <i>praem.</i> (=D05 p66)							/	x												
	+ autem (=D05 p66)						x														
	+ quidam				x																
	oues ⚡	x	x			x	x	/	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ouiculas			x	x			/		x											
	hoc ouili ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	atrio hoc						x	/													
	ex hoc ouili ⚡	x	x			x		/					x	x	x	x	x				
	de hoc ouili <i>vel sim.</i>			x	x		x	/	x	x	x							x	x	x	x
	hoc ouili							/				x									
	illas	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ipsas						x	/													
	oportet ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ ad me							/					x		x						

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
	adducere	x	x			x	x	/	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	perducere			x	x			/	/													
	et... audient (=B03 D05)	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ut... audiant (=A02)				x			/				x										
	uocem meam	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	uocis meae						x	/														
	fiet (=A02)	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x				x				x	x	x		
	fiat	(x)						/				x										
	fient (=B03 D05)						x	/					x			x						x
	fit							/						x		x						
	erit							/			x											
	unum ouile	x	x					/	/				x	x				x	x	x	x	x
	unus grex					x	x	/	/	x	x	x			x	x	x					
	una grex			x	x			/	/													
	et unus pastor	x	(x)	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	et om. 		x				x	/														
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
10:17	propter hoc	x					x	/	x													
	propterea		x	x	x	x		/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quod	x						/	x													
	quoniam			x	x		x	/			x											
	quia		x			x		/		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x
	qui							/												x		

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
	pono animam meam ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	~ animam mean pono							/		x	x										
	animam meam ⚡	x	x			x	x	/	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	animam meam pro ouibus				x			/			x										
	animam pro ouibus meis			x				/													
	et iterum	x	(x)					/			x										
	ut iterum ⚡		x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	accipiam	x					x	/	x			x						x			
	sum(m)am ⚡		x	x	x	x		/		x	x		x	x		x	x		x	x	x
	adsumam							/							x						
	eam	x	x		x		x	/	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	illam			x		x		/			x				x						
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
10:18	nemo	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ et praem.							/			x										
	tollit	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x		x	x		x		x
	tollet							/				x			x						
	tulit (=B03 ⚡45)							/												x	
	tullit							/										x			
	sed... me(ipso) (B03 A02)	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	om. (=D05)						x	/				x									

	SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
me	x						/													
me ipso ☞		x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
memetipso				x			/													
habeo ☞	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
+ autem <i>praem.</i>				x			/													
ponendi	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ponere						x	/													
eam ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
animam meam							/								x					
<i>om.</i>							/	x												
iterum ☞	x	x		x	x	x	/	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>om.</i>			x				/		x											
accipiendi	x						/				x									
sumendi		x	x	x	x		/	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
tollendi							/			x										
tollere ☞						x	/													
hoc ☞	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
+ enim				x			/	/												
mandatum	x	x	x	x		x	/	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
praeceptum					x		/		x	x					x					
a patre	x			x	x	x	/	x	x											
a patre meo ☞		x	x				/			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
10:30	ego ☩	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	+ et praem.			x				/											x		
	+ enim							/				x									
	pater	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ meus (=W032)			x				/													
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
11:43	prodi foras	x				x		/	x												
	ueni foras		x	x	x		x	/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
12:27	pater salua me ☩	x	(x)				x	/	x			x		x		x					
	pater saluifica me		x			x		/					x					x	x		x
	pater libera me			x	x			/		x	x										
	pater saluum me fac							/							x		x				
	pater salui fac me							/												x	
								/													
	salua me <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> ☩	x	x	x	x		x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ pater					x		/													
								/													
	de ista hora	x		x				/	x			x									
	ex hora hac ☩		x					/					x								x
	ex hac hora					x		/		x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	de hanc hora (!)				x			/													
	de hora hac						x	/													

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
	sed... clarificabo (12:28) <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
	<i>om.</i>							/											x			
	propter hoc	x					x	/	x											/		
	propterea		x			x		/				x	x	x	x	x	x			/	x	x
	ideo			x	x			/		x	x									/		
	propter							/										x		/		
	in ista(m) horam	x						/	x											/		
	in horam istam					x		/												/		
	in horam hanc ☞		x				x	/				x	x	x	x	x		x		/	x	x
	in hanc horam			x	x			/		x	x									/		
	in hora hac							/									x			/		
	in hac hora		(x)					/												/		
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
12:28	pater ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x
	<i>om.</i>							/				x								/		
	honorifica	x			x			/	x											/		
	clarifica		x			x		/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x
	glorifica		(x)				x	/												/		
	glorificetur			x				/												/		
	nomen tuum	x	(x)	x	x			/	x	x	x	x				x		x		/		
	~ tuum nomen ¹ (=B03 A02)		x			x	x	/					x	x	x		x			/	x	

¹ VL47: clarificatum nomen

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
	filium tuum (=L019)							/											/		x
	uenit autem	x			x			/	x										/		
	uenit ergo (=B03 A02)		x	x		x		/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
	in gloria quam habebam apud te antequam mundus fieret facta est (=Jn. 17:5) (=D05)						x	/											/		
	de caelo ☉	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
	de caelis				x			/											/		
	de caelo <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> (=B03 A02)	x	x			x		/	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x	x
	+ dicens (=D05)			x	x		x	/			x						x		/		
	honorificau	x		x	x			/	x										/		
	clarificau		x			x		/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
	glorificau						x	/											/		
	honorificabo	x		x	x			/	x			/							/		
	clarificabo		x			x		/		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
	glorificabo						x	/				/							/		
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
13:38	amen amen ☉	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	amen			x								/							/		

	SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
quoniam	x					x		x		x	/									
om. ⊗		x	x	x	x		x		x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
non... donec	x	x			x			x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
non prius... donec				x							/									
non... usquequo						x					/									
non... antequam							x				/									
priusquam			x								/									
hodie	x							x			/									
om. ⊗		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
cantabit gallus	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
~ gallus cantabit ⊗			x	x		x					/									
cantabit (=D05)	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x			x	x	x			x
cantauit									x		/	x		x						
cantet (=B03 A02)			x								/									
cogitabit											/		x ₂						x	
tu	x			x	x			x	x		/									
om.		x	x			x	x			x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
ter me ...	x	(x)	x				x	x		x	/			x			x		x	x
me ter ...		x		x	x				x		/	x	x		x	x		x		
... me ter ⊗						x					/									

² co2-3tabit

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
	abneges (=A02)	x			x				x								x				
	neges (=B03 D05)		x			x		x		x	x		x	x		x		x	x	x	
	negabis			x											x						x
	negauis						x														
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48
14:5	domine	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ domine			x																	
	<i>om.</i>													x							
	nescimus	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	non scimus			x																	
	quo	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ubi								x												
	uadis	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	eas			x																	
	quomodo (=B03)	x			x	x			x												
	+ et <i>praem.</i> (=A02 D05)		x	x			x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quomodo	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	unde							x													
	possumus uiam nosse	x							x									x			
	pos(s)umus uiam scire (=A02)		x					x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x				x
	possimus uiam scire																		x	x	

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
	uiam nouimus (=D05)			x			x															
	nouimus uiam (=B03)				x																	
	uiam scimus					x																
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
14:6	sum	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	
	<i>om.</i>																	x				
	uia	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
	uita																		x			
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
14:11	ego in patre et pater in me	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	~pater in me et ego in patre						x															
	patre	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
	patrem ³									x			x									
	<i>om.</i>																x					
	in me Ⓞ	x			x	x	x	x		x						x						
	+ est	(x)	x	x					x		x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x	
	<i>om.</i>														x							
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
17:10	clarificatus sum	x	x	x		x				x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	glorificatus sum															x						

³ *in patrem* also found at 14:10 in VL4.

		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
	honorificatus sum				x			x	x													
	glorificasti me (=D05)						x															
	in eis	x	x			x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	in illis			x	x																	
	in ipsis							x														
		SED	V	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL13	VL14	VL8	VL6	VL11	VL11A	VL7	VL9A	VL10	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL47	VL48	
20:17	uado	x																				
	ascendo		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	patrem	x	x	x		x	x				x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ ad praem.				x			x	x	x												

1.2 Matthew

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:1	cum ergo natus esset Iesus	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	et cum I. natus esset				x									/				
	I. autem nato ⑥								x					/				
														/				
	in bethleem <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> ⑥	x	x		x				x			x	x	/		x	x	x
	+ ciuitatem			x			x	x			x			/	x			
	+ ciuitate					x				x				/				
														/				
	iudae	x	(x)									x		/				
	iuda		(x)											/		x	x	
	iudaeae ⑥		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x			x
														/				
	hierosolimam <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x									x	x	/				x
	in hierosolimam <i>vel sim.</i>									x				/			x	
	in hierosolima <i>vel sim.</i> ⑥			x			x	x	x		x			/	x			
	hierosolima <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i>				x	x								/		x		
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:2	stellam eius ⑥	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	eius stellam								x					/				
	stellam illius						x							/				
														/				
	oriente ⑥	x	x		/				x	x				/	x	x	x	
	orientem			x	/	x	x	x			x	x	x	/				x
														/				
	adorare eum	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	adorare ei ⑥				/				x					/				

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:3	audiens ⚡	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	cum audisset				x									/				
	herodes rex	x	x		x	x		x			x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	~ rex herodes <i>vel sim.</i> ⚡			x			x		x	x				/				
	omnis (=B03 C04)	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	tota				x									/				
	om. (=D05)								x					/				
	cum illo	x	x	x			x				x	x	x	/	x	x		
	cum eo				x			x		x				/			x	x
	cum ipso					x			x					/				
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:4	[constructio] congregans... sciscitabatur <i>vel sim.</i> ⚡	x	x						x					/		x	x	x
	conuocatis... quaesit				x									/				
	congregans... et interrogauit											x		/				
	congregauit... et interrogauit <i>vel sim.</i>			x		x	x	x		x	x		x	/	x			
	congregans	x	x						x			x		/		x	x	
	congregati													/				x
	congregauit			x		x	x	x		x	x		x	/	x			
	conuocatis				x									/				
	principes	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	om.				x									/				

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	populi ⑥	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	plebis				x									/				
	sciscitabatur ⑥	x	x											/		x	x	x
	interrogabat								x					/				
	quaesit				x									/				
	interrogauit			x		x	x	x		x	x	x		/	x			
	requisiuit												x	/				
	ab eis (=B03 C04)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	om. (=D05)								x					/				
	nasceretur ⑥	x	x				x					x	x	/		x	x	x
	nascitur			x	x	x		x	x	x	x			/	x			
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:5	at illi	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	illi autem				x									/				
	qui autem								x					/				
	dixerunt	x		x		x		x		x				/	x		x	
	+ ei ⑥		x		x		x		x		x	x	x	/		x		x
	in bethleem ⑥	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	+ ciuitatem						x							/				
	Iudae	x	(x)								x	x		/				
	Iudaeae ⑥		x	x	x	x		x	x	x			x	/	x			x
	Iudaea						x							/				
	Iuda													/		x	x	
	scriptum est ⑥	x	x		x	x			x		x	x	x	/		x	x	x
	dictum est			x			x	x		x				/	x			
	per prophetam ⑥	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x		x

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	per Eseiam prophetam dicentem					x											x	
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:6	terra 𐤄	x	x									x				x	x	x
	om.			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x			
	Iuda (=B03 C04)	x	x													x	x	x
	Iudaeorum											x						
	Iudaeae (=D05)			x	x	x		x	x	x	x				x			
	Iudae												x					
	Iudaea						x											
	nequaquam 𐤄	x	x													x	x	
	numquid		(x)									x						x
	non			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x			
	minima es 𐤄	x	x		x				x			x				x	x	x
	~es minima			x		x	x	x		x	x		x		x			
	in principibus 𐤄	x	x									x					x	x
	inter principes			x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x			
	inter principibus															x		
	in ducibus				x													
	Iuda 𐤄	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	Iudaeae				x													
	exiet 𐤄	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x
	exiit											x						
	prodibit				x													
	dux 𐤄	x	x					x	x	x		x				x		x
	ducator				x													

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	princeps			x			x						x	/	x			
	principes										x			/				
	rex					x								/			x	
	qui regat	x	(x)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x	x	x	x
	qui reget ⚡	(x)	x									x		/				
	qui rector es				x									/				
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:7	clam	x	x											/		x	x	x
	occulte			x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x			
	latenter				x									/				
	uocatis magis... didicit <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x									x		/		x		x
	uocauit magos... et exquisiuit <i>vel sim.</i>			x	x	x	x	x		x	x			/	x		x	
	uocans magos... exquisiuit ⚡								x				x	/				
	uocatis <i>vel sim.</i> ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	+ ad se						x			x				/				
	didicit	x	x											/		x	x	
	exquisiuit			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x			x
	didicit <i>vel sim.</i>	x			x				x					/				
	+ diligenter <i>praem.</i>		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	[<i>constructio & ordo verborum</i>] stellae quae apparuit <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x		x								x	/		x	x	x

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	quando (ap)paruit... stella			x		x	x			x	x		x	/	x			
	stellae quando apparuit							x						/				
	apparentis stellae 6								x					/				
	apparuit	x	x	x	/	/	x	x	/		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	
	appuerat				x	/	/	/	/					/				x
	paruit				/	/	/	/	/	x				/				
	eis	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	om. 6				x				x					/				
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:8	mittens 6	x	x						x			x		/			x	x
	misit			x		x	x	x		x	x		x	/	x	x		
	cum mitteret				x									/				
	eos	x							x		x		x	/	x			
	illos	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		/		x	x	x
	in bethlem 6	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	bethlem				x									/				
	dixit 6	x	x		x				x			x		/				x
	dicit													/			x	
	dicens			x		x	x	x		x	x		x	/	x	x		
	dixit vel sim. 6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	+ eis								x					/				
	ite et interrogate vel sim.	x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x		/		x	x	x
	euntes								x				x	/				

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	interrogate <i>vel sim.</i> ⑥													/				
	ite, interrogate <i>vel sim.</i>			x		x								/	x			
	interrogate	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x
	quaerite				x									/				
	requirite												x	/				
	de puero ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x		x
	+ hoc													/			x	
	et cum	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	cum autem ⑥								x					/				
	inueneritis ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x			x
	+ eum													/		x	x	
	renuntiate ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	
	nuntiate													/				x
	et ego ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x
	ego							x						/	x			
	ueniens adorem ⑥	x	x		x				x				x	/		x		x
	ueniam et adorem			x		x	x	x		x	x			/	x		x	
	eum	x	x	x		x	x	x			x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	illum				x					x				/				
	ei ⑥								x					/				
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:9	qui	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	qui autem ⑥								x					/				

	SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
illi autem				x									/				
cum audissent	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
ubi audierunt				x									/				
audientes ⑥								x					/				
stella ⑥	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x
stellam						x	x						/	x			
uiderant	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x
uiderunt				x						x			/				
uiderat								x					/				
in oriente ⑥	x	x		x				x	x				/	x	x	x	
in orientem			x		x	x	x			x	x	x	/				x
antecedebat	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
praecedebat ⑥								x					/				
praeibat				x									/				
usque dum	x	x	x		/	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
denique				x	/								/				
donec					/			x					/				
ueniens staret ⑥	x	x			/						x		/		x	x	x
uenit et stetit			x	x	/	x		x	x	x		x	/	x			
ueniens stetit							x						/				
supra ⑥	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x
super				x									/	x			
ubi erat puer ⑥	x	x			/		x				x	x	/		x	x	x
puerum			x	x	/	x		x	x	x			/	x			

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:10	uidentes 𐤅	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	cum uidissent				x									/				
	gaudio magno ualde	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	gaudium magnum nimis 𐤅				x									/				
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:11	inrantes	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	cum introissent				x									/				
	uenientes 𐤅								x					/				
	domum	x	x		x							x		/		x		x
	in domum 𐤅			x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x		x	
	inuenerunt	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x		/		x	x	x
	uiderunt 𐤅					x			x				x	/	x			
	uiderent				x									/				
	puerum	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	infantem				x									/				
	matre eius	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x		x	x
	matre sua								x					/		x		
	procidentes	x	x	x			x			x		x	x	/	x		x	x
	cadentes 𐤅								x					/				
	procedentes					x		x			x			/		x		
	prostrati				x									/				
	eum	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	illum				x									/				
	ei								x					/				
														/				

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	apertis thesauris suis	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	aperientes thesauros suos ⚡								x					/				
	aperunt thesauros suos				x									/				
														/				
	munera	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	dona				x									/				
														/				
	tus <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x
	+ <i>et praem.</i> ⚡				x				x					/	x			
														/				
	myrram ⚡	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	
	myrra <i>vel sim.</i>					x								/				x
														/				
2:12	responso accepto	x	x									x		/		x	x	
	responsum acceptum													/				x
	reponso moniti				x									/				
	admoniti			x		x	x	x		x	x		x	/	x			
	moniti ⚡								x					/				
														/				
	in somnis	x	x	x	x	x	/	x		x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x
	per somnum ⚡						/		x					/				
	per somnium						/					x		/				
														/				
	ne redirent	x	x	x		x	/	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	non reuerti ⚡				x		/		x					/				
														/				
	per aliam uiam ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	/	x			x
	+ <i>et praem.</i>									x				/				
	+ <i>sed praem.</i>							x						/		x	x	

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	regressi sunt	x		x		x	x											
	reuersi sunt ⑥		x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	regionem suam ⑥	x	x		x				x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x
	~suam regionem			x		x	x	x			x							
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
2:16	uidens ⑥	x	x						x			x	x	x		x	x	x
	ut uidit			x		x	x	x		x	x				x			
	cum uidisset				x													
	quoniam	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x			x	x	x	x
	quod												x	x				
	quia								x									
	quo																	
	inlusus esset	x	x		x							x		x		x	x	x
	inlusus est ⑥									x								
	delusus esset							x					x					
	delusus est			x		x	x		x	x					x			
	a magis ⑥	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	magis				x													
	iratus est ⑥	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	indignatus est				x													
	ualde	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x
	nimis				x													
	uehementer												x		x			
	[constructio] mittens... occidit vel sim. ⑥	x	x						x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	misit... interfecit				x													

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	misit... et occidit			x		x	x	x		x								
	occidit	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	interfecit				x				x									
	pueros	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	infantes										x							
	erant	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	fuerunt				x													
	in Bethleem <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> 6	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Bethlem				x													
	finibus	x	x		x		x		x			x	x	x		x	x	x
	regionibus			x		x		x		x	x				x			

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL32	VL35	VL48
3.16	baptizatus ...	x	x		/									x						
	baptizatus... Iesus 6		(x)		/							x	x			x	x		x	
	baptizatus... dominus Iesus				/													x		
	baptizatus est Iesus				/				x											
	cum baptizatus esset Iesus				/										x					
	baptizato Iesu			x	/	x	x	x		x	x									x
	autem (=B03 C04)	x	x		/					x		x		x		x	x	x	x	
	et... (=W032 M)			x	/	x	x	x	x		x		x		x					
	om.				/															x

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL32	VL35	VL48
	[<i>ordo verborum</i>] confestim ascendit <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> (=B03)	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	~ ascendit confestim <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> (= C04)				/				x						x					
	confestim ⑥	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	mox				/				x											
	ascendit ⑥	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	descendit				/														x	
	aperti sunt caeli (ei <i>om.</i>) (=B03)	x			/													x	x	x
	aperti sunt ei caeli (=C04)	(x)	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
	Dei ⑥	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	domini				/									x						
	<i>om.</i>				/					x										
	descendentem (=B03 C04)	x	x		/							x	x			x		x		x
	+ de caelo (=D05)			x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		x		x	
	sicut columbam	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quasi c.				/															x
	uenientem (=B03)	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ <i>et praem.</i> (=C04 D05)		(x)		/				x				x	x						

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL32	VL35	VL48
	super se	x	x		/							x		x		x	x	x	x	
	super eum (=B03 C04)				/				x				x							x
	in ipsum (=D05)			x	/	x	x	x		x	x				x					
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL32	VL35	VL48
3:17	et ecce 𐀀	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	ecce (<i>om. et</i>)				/														x	
	uox de caelis <i>vel sim.</i> 𐀀	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	+ audita est				/										x					
	de caelis (=B03 C04 D05)	x	x	x	/	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	de caelo (=W032)				/		x								x					
	dicens (=B03, C04)	x	x		/			x		x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x
	dicens ad eum (=D05)			x	/	x	x		x						x					
	ad eum dicens				/						x									
	<i>om.</i>				/									x						
	hic est (=B03, C04)	x	x	x	/		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	tu es (D05)				/	x			x											
	dilectus 𐀀	x	x	x	/	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	dilectissimus				/			x		x										
	mihi conplacui (bene <i>om.</i>)	x	x		/							x		x		x	x	x		

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL32	VL35	VL48	
	mihi bene conplacui	(3)			/												(3)				
	bene conplacui (mihi <i>om.</i>) <i>vel sim.</i>			x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x				x	x	
	conplacui	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	placui				/				x		x										
	conplacuit		(x)		/																
	conplacui 6	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x		
	+ ipsum audite				/						x		x								
	hunc audite				/																x

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56	
4:1	Tunc 6	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	in illo tempore				/																x
	Iesus ductus est <i>vel sim.</i> (=B03 D05)	x	x	x	/	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	~ductus est Iesus (=C04)				/			x													
	Iesus 6	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	dominus noster Iesus Christus				/																x
	ductus est	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	delatus est				/				x												

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
	in desertum ⚡	x	x	x	/		x		x	x		x		x		x	x	x		x
	in deserto				/	x		x			x		x		x				x	
	a spiritu	x			/				x	x								x	x	x
	ab spiritu		x	x	/	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x				x
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
4:2	cum ieiunasset	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	iaiuans ⚡								x											
	quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	dies XXXX et XXXX noctes ⚡								x											
	postea	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	postera								x											
	nouissime autem																		x	
	esuriit ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x			x
	esuriuit													x						
	esurit																	x	x	
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
4:3	accedens...	x	x									x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	accessit...			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x					
	ad eum (=C04, D05)	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
	ad illum				x															
	<i>om.</i> (=B03)		x									x		x		x				x
	temptator ⑥	x	x	x		x	x	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	ille qui temptat				x															
	qui temptabat								x											
	diabolus														x					
	temptator diabolus									x										
	ei (= B03 D05)	x	x						x				x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	illi			x		x	x	x		x	x									
	<i>om.</i> (=C04)				x							x							x	
	si filius Dei es	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	si filius es Dei ⑥								x											
	dic ut lapides isti ⑥	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	dic <i>om.</i>				x															
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
4:4	scriptum est ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
	+ enim																x	x		
	non ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	quia non																x			
	[<i>ordo verborum</i>] in solo pane <i>vel</i>	x	(x)			x										x				

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
	<i>sim.</i>																			
	in pane solo <i>vel sim.</i> ☞		x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	tantum in pane									x										
	solo ☞	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	tantum						x			x	x									
	uiuit	x	(x)		x			x						x		x	x		x	x
	uiuet ☞		x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x			x		
	sed in omni uerbo quod procedit de ore dei <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> ☞	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	<i>om.</i>				x															
	[<i>ordo</i> <i>verborum</i>] quod procedit de ore Dei <i>vel</i> <i>sim.</i> (=B03 C04)	x	x									x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	quod p. de ore									x										
	dei (=D05)			x			x	x	x		x								x	
	quod procedit	x	x							x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x
	procedenti (=B03 C04)														x					
	de ore	x	x							x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x
	ex ore														x					

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
4:5	assumpsit	x	(x)	x	x	/	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	adsumit ⑥		x			/								x						
	suscepit					/			x											
	eum	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	illum				x	/														
	diabolus ⑥	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	zabolus					/													x	
	supra	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	super ⑥		(x)		x															
	pinnaculum ⑥	x	x											x		x	x	x		x
	pinnam			x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x					
	pinnas																		x	
	fastigium				x															
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
4:6	dixit (=W032)	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	dicit (=B03, C04, D05)				x				x											
	ait					x														
	ei si	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	illi si (illis VL1)				x	x														
	Dei es (=O038)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	es Dei (=B03 C04 D05)								x			x								
	mitte te	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x

	SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
(mittite te VL15)																			
mitte te ipsum ⚡												x							
quia	x	x		x	x						x	x	x		x	x	x		x
quod			x			x	x		x					x					
qui								x											
quoniam										x								x	
mandauit	x	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
mandabit ⚡		x									x								x
de te ⚡	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
te (om. de)									x										
om.					x														
et ⚡	x	x						x					x		x	x			
ut			x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x		x					x
ut custodiant te et					x														
ut c. te in omnibus uiiis tuis et																		x	
ut c. te in o. uiiis tuis																			x
in manibus	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
manibus																	x		
in manus									x										
super manus				x															
et... tollent te ⚡	x	x						x					x		x	x	x		x
ut... tollant te			x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x					
ut... te tollant				x															
portabant te																			x

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
4:7	scriptum est ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	+ enim																		x	
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56
4:11	reliquit eum	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	relinquit eum											x								
	recessit ab eo														x					
	discessit ab eo										x									
	dimisit eum								x											
	discessit				x															
	diabolus ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x
	zabolus																		x	
	<i>om.</i>															x		x		
	[<i>ordo verborum</i>] angeli acceserunt et <i>vel sim.</i> ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x
	ascenderunt angeli et													x						
	angeli (acceserunt et <i>om.</i>)																		x	
	acceserunt ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
	ascenderunt													x						

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30
5:34	non iurare ⚔	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	ne... iuretis														x		
	omnino	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	in totum				x												
	per caelum	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	in caelum ⚔			x					x								
	quia	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quoniam				x												
	thronus ⚔	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	sedes(-is)								x						x		
	dei est	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	est dei								x				x				
		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30
5:35	per terram	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	in terram ⚔				x				x								
	quia ¹	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quoniam				x												
	scabellum	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	scamillum														x		
	subpedaneum ⚔				x				x								
	eius	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ipsius								x								
	per hierusalem <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	in Hierusolima ⚔				x				x								
	quia ²	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30
	quoniam				x												
	magni regis est	x															x
	~est magni regis Ϝ		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	

		SED	V	I	VL1	CY	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL18	VL30	VL32	VL175	VL309
6:9	qui es in caelis	x	(x)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x				x		x			x
	qui in caelis es		x									x		x	x	x		x		x	x	
	qui hic in caelis				x																	
		SED <th>V</th> <th>I</th> <th>VL1</th> <th>CY</th> <th>VL3</th> <th>VL4</th> <th>VL41</th> <th>VL6</th> <th>VL7</th> <th>VL9</th> <th>VL10</th> <th>VL11</th> <th>VL12</th> <th>VL13</th> <th>VL15</th> <th>VL18</th> <th>VL30</th> <th>VL32</th> <th>VL175</th> <th>VL309</th>	V	I	VL1	CY	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL18	VL30	VL32	VL175	VL309
6:10	adueniat	x	(x)	x		x	x	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	ueniat Ϝ		x		x						x	x		x						x		
	sicut (= B03 Ϟ)	x	x						x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	om. (= D05)			x	x	x	x	x		x												
	in terra Ϝ	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	in terram						x						x									
		SED	V	I	VL1	CY	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL18	VL30	VL32	VL175	VL309
6:11	cotidianum	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	supersubstantialem		x																			

		SED	V	I	VL1	CY	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL18	VL30	VL32	VL175	VL309		
6:12	dimitte	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x			x	x	
	remitte				x	x	x								x	x	x							
	debita nostra ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x			x	x
	debita et peccata nostra														x									
	dimitimus	x	x						x	x	x		x	x								x	x	
	demittemus											x												
	remittimus			x	x	x		x							x									
		SED	V	I	VL1	CY	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL18	VL30	VL32	VL175	VL309		
6:13	[ordo verborum] ne nos inducas vel sim.	x	(x)	x		x	x	x	x	x			x							x	x		x	
	~ne inducas nos vel sim. ⚡		x		x						x			x	x	x	x							
	ne inducas (nos om.)											x												
	ne... inducas	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x		x	
	ne patiaris... induci					x													x					
	ne passus fueris induci vel sim.				x					x														

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL32
6:34	nolite...	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ne... ⑥									x							
	ergo	x	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	itaque				x												
	om.			x		x	x										
	[ordo verborum] solliciti esse <i>vel sim.</i>	x	(x)	x	/	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	x	/		x	x
	esse solliciti		x		/					/		/		/	x		
	solliciti esse <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
	cogitare				x							x		x			
	cogitaueritis ⑥									x							
	in crastinum ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x
	de crastino													x			
	de crastinum									x							
	crastinus enim dies	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	crastinus enim (dies om.)				x												
	[ordo verborum] sollicitus erit sibi ipse <i>vel sim.</i> ⑥	x	x	x		/	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x
	ipse cogitabit sibi				x	/											
	ipse sibi cogitabit <i>vel sim.</i>					/				x				x			
	de se ipse cogitavit					/						x					
	sibi ipse (=B03)	x	x	x	x	/	x	x			x		x	x	x		x
	sibi ipsi (=M)					/			x							x	
	pro se					/				x							
	de se ipse					/						x					

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL15	VL30	VL32
	sollicitus erit 6	x	x	x			x	x			x		x		x	x	x
	sollicitus est								x								
	cogitabit				x					x							
	cogitavit											x		x			

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
7:16	ex fructibus	x			x				x									
	a fructibus 6		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	fructibus 6	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ ergo							x										
	cognoscetis 6	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	cognoscitis				x													

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30
7:23	non	x		x		x	x	x	x	x				x	x		
	numquam 6		x		x						x	x	x			x	x
	[ordo verborum] noui uos vel sim. 6	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	uos noui vel sim.				x				x								
	noui	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	cognoui				x												
	discedite (=B03 C04)	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	recidite (=0038)				x												
	omnes (=0038)	x						x									x
	om. (=B03 C04)		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30
	qui operamini iniquitatem	x	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x			x	x
	operarii iniquitatis					x		x	x					x	x		

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL41	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL35	VL48	VL56	
8:25	libera nos perimus	x		x		x	x	x	x	x		/			x	x					
	salua nos perimus Ⓞ		x		x						x	/	x			x	x		x	x	
	salua nos quia perimus											/						x			

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30	
9:27	miserere nostri				x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x	x	x
	miserere nobis							x				x		x				

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL45	VL56
10:7	ergo	x																/	
	autem		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x
	<i>om.</i>															x			
	quia	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x
	quoniam				x			x	x					x				x	
	adpropinquauit Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	+ enim																x		

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL45	VL56
10:8	infirmos curate Ϟ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	infirmos uisitate								x										
	mortuos suscite (=B03 C04 D05)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x
	om. (=Ⲙ)											x						x	
	mundate	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	purgate							x											
	καὶ om. (=B03, C04)	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	et (=D05)				x														
	daemonia	x		x	x	/	x	x	x ⁴	x		x		x	x			x	x
	daemones		x		/	/				x		x				x	x		
	eicite	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	expellite				x														

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
12:13	extende	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	exporrige											x							
	manum suam	x		x		x	x	x		x	x				x				
	om. Ϟ		x		x				x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	restituta est	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
	facta est				x			/				x	x						
	[constructio] restituta est ei vel sim.	x		x		x	x	/		x					x				

⁴ MJA reading in contradiction with Belsheim (1888).

		SED	V	I	VL1	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL15	VL30	VL56
	restituta est (ei <i>om.</i>)	(s)									x	x							
	restituta est sanitati 6		x											x			x	x	x
	restituta est sana <i>vel sim.</i>				x				x				x			x			
	sicut et	x				x		x				x			x				
	et <i>om.</i> 6	(s)	x	x	x		x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x
	altera	x	x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	alia 6							/	x						x				

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL56
17:5	dilectus	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x		x	x	/	x	/	x	/	x
	dilectissimus				x					x					/	/	/	/	/	
	carissimus											x			/	/	/	/	/	
	bene conplacui	x													/	/	/	/	/	
	mihi bene conplacui		(s)	x		x		x		x				x	/	/	/	x	/	
	mihi bene conplacuit		x				x						x		/	x	/	/	/	x
	conplacuit										x				/	/	/	/	/	
	conplacui								x			x			/	/	/	/	/	
	mihi sensi				x										/	/	/	/	/	

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL16	VL30
19:26	apud homines 6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x
	apud hominibus								x								/			

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL16	VL30
	apud homines <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x
	+ quidem														x	x				
	Deum ☩	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Dominum				x															
	autem	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	uero					x													x	

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	
21:19	numquam (=B03)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
	iam non (= C04 D05)								x											
	nascatur	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	
	nascetur																			x
	erit								x											
	in sempiternum	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x			x	
	in aeternum ☩					x			x				x							
	in perpetuum																			x

		SED	V	I	CY	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
25:34	benedicti Patris mei ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x
	b. patres mei													x	x			x		
	possidete	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	+ hereditate <i>praem.</i>								x											
	percipite				x															x

		SED	V	I	CY	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
	[<i>constructio & ordo verborum</i>] regnum paratum uobis	x											x							
	~paratum u. r. ⑥		x	x		x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x		
	praeparatum est u. r.								x											
	r. quod u. paratum est <i>vel sim.</i>				x					x									x	x
	regnum	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	+ caelorum															x				
	paratum ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x		x	x		x		
	praeparatum							x	x	x				x			x		x	x
	a constitutione(m)	x	x	x		x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ab origine				x				x	x		x								
	ab initio																			x
	mundi	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ huius <i>praem.</i>				/					x										

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL16	VL30	VL35	VL56
27:25	sanguis huius	x			/				x				x				x		/		x	x
	sanguis eius		x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x		x	/	x		

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL16	VL30	VL35	VL56
28:18	caelo (=A02 B03)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	-is (=D05)								x													
	in terra	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	super terram								x													
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL16	VL30	VL35	VL56
28:19	euntes (=A02 B03)	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ite (=D05)				x				x													
	nunc (=D05)	x		x		x	x		x						x			x	x			
	ergo (=B03)		x		x			x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x				x	x
	ergo nunc																			x		
	baptizantes eas	x			x														x			
	b. eos		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	spiritus sancti	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	~s. sp. ⑥							x	x													
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL8	VL5	VL6	VL7	VL9	VL10	VL11	VL12	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL16	VL30	VL35	VL56
28:20	seruare ⑥	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
	obseruare				x															x		
	quaecumque ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quanta								x													
	mandauī	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	praecepi				x																	

1.3 Mark

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL13	VL14	VL15
1:24	Iesu ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	/	x
	Iesus						x		x			/	
	uenisti ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	+ huc							x					
	scio	x	x		x		x	x				/	x
	+ te ⚡			x		x			x	x	x	/	
	qui	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	
	quis	(x)	(x)									/	
	quia		(x)									/	x
	quod		(x)									/	
	sis	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x
	es										x	/	
	scis		(x)									/	
	om.	(x)										/	
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL13	VL14	VL15
1:25	de homine (=B03 A02 D05)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x
	ab homine (=O038)							x					
	ab eo (=L019)									x			
	spiritus immune (=D05)	x			x			x	x		x	x	
	spirite immune			x		x	x						
	om. (=B03 A02)		x							x			x

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL19	VL19A
2:11	[<i>constructio</i>] surge, tolle <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	/	x	/	/	/
	surge et tolle (=A02)		(x)					x	x				/		/	/	/
	uade	x	x	x		x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	/	/
	duc te				x	/									/	/	/
	in domum tuum	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	/	/
	domui tuae				x										/	/	/

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL13	VL14	VL15
1:34	et daemonia multa eiciebat <i>vel sim.</i> 6	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	/	x
	<i>om.</i>						x						/	
	multaque daemonia (=et daemonia multa) (=B03 A02)	x	x		x	x	/		x		x	x	/	x
	et qui multa daemonia habebant						/	x					/	
	et qui daemonia habebant (=D05)			x			/			x			/	
	exclusa (=exclusit?)	x					/						/	
	eiciebat		x	x		x	/	x		x	x	x	/	x
	eiecit				x		/						/	
	eiciet						/		x				/	
	non sinebat	x	x		x			x		x	x	x	x	x
	non patiebatur			x		x	x							
	nec permittebat								x					

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL19	VL19A
2:27	sabbatum propter hominem factum est et non homo propter sabbatum <i>vel sim.</i> (=B03 A02)	x	x				x				x	x		x			
	<i>om.</i> (=D05) (=Lk.6:5)			x	x	x		x	x	x			x		x	x	x
	sabbata	x		/	/	/		/	/	/			/		/	/	/
	sabbatum		x	/	/	/		/	/	/	x	x	/	x	/	/	/
	sabbatus			/	/	/	x	/	/	/			/		/	/	/
	hominem	x	x	/	/	/	x	/	/	/	x	x	/	x	/	/	/
	homines		(x)	/	/	/		/	/	/			/		/	/	/
	[procreata est] ⁵	x		/	/	/		/	/	/			/		/	/	/
	factum est		x	/	/	/		/	/	/	x	x	/	x	/	/	/
	factus est			/	/	/	x	/	/	/			/		/	/	/

⁵ See Haelewyck (2013-: 193).

1.4 Luke

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL26	VL30	VL35
2:13	et ⚡	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	autem				x													
	subito	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	continuo							x										
	cum angelo ⚡	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
	cum angelis																x	
	cum illis					x												
	<i>om.</i>						x									x		
	multitudo ⚡	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	+ angelorum					x												
	militiae	x	x					x			x				x		x	
	exercitus			x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x		
	caelestis (=A02)	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	caelestium				x		x											
	caeli (=B03 D05)							x										
	laudentium ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	laudentes							x	x									
	et dicentium ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	et dicentes								x									
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL26	VL30	VL35
2:14	in altissimis deo ⚡	x	x	x	x		x		x	x						x		
	in excelsis d.					x					x	x	x	x	x		x	
	in altis d.							x										

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL26	VL30	VL35
	in terra pax	x	x	x			x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	~ pax in terra				x				x									
	super terra(m) pax ⑥					x		x										
	hominibus	x	(x)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	+ in <i>praem.</i> ⑥		x					x										
	bonae uoluntatis ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	uoluntatis									x								
	consolationis							x										

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
3:23	et ipse (=A02 B03)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	autem (=D05)							x									
	Iesus erat	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	
	erat... I. (=D05)							x									
	erat I. (=A02 B03)									x							
	ἀρχόμενος <i>om.</i>	x			x						x						
	incipiens... triginta (=A02 B03)		x	x			x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
	XXX incipiens (=D05)					x		x									
	quasi	x	x		x			x						x	x	x	
	fere			x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x				
	annorum triginta (=A02 B03)	x	x		x						x	x	x		x		
	annorum XXX (=D05)			x		x	x	x	x	x				x		x	

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
	ut ⚡	x	x			x		x							x	x	
	sicut				x						x						
	quod			x			x		x	x		x	x				
	qui													x			
	putabatur ⚡	x	x	x	x				x	x		x		x	x	x	
	ex(is)timabatur					x					x						
	uidebatur							x					x				
	uidebatur et dicebatur						x										
	filius (=B03 A02)	x	x		x	x					x			x	x		
	+ esse <i>praem.</i> (=D05)			x			x	x	x	x		x	x			x	

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
4:5	et ⚡	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	<i>om.</i>					x											
	duxit	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	adduxit ⚡					x											
	adsumens							x									
	imposuit				x												
	illum	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	eum					x		x									
	illum <i>vel sim.</i> ⚡	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x	x		x	x	
	+ iterum								x		x			x			x
	+ secundo				x												
	diabolus (=A02)	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	<i>om.</i> (=B03 D05)				x	x		x									

	SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
duxit illum diabolus <i>vel sim.</i> (=B03)	x	x				x								x	x	
+ supra montem (=W032)				x												
+ in montem altum ualde (=D05)							x									
+ in m. altissimum (=A02)		(x)	x					x					x			
+ in m. altum (=A02)									x							
+ in m. excelsum (=A02)		(x)								x		x				
+ in m. e. ualde (=D05)																x
+ in e. m. nimis (=D05)											x					
+ Hierusalem et statuit eum supra pinnam templi					x											
et	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x
<i>om.</i> 6							x									
illi	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	
ei																x
orbis terrae (=A02 B03)	x	x	x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
orbis terrarum					x											
mundi (=D05)							x			x						x
in momento temporis	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
in puncto temporis 6				x												

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
4.6	ait	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
	dixit				x	x		x						x			
	ei	x	x								x				x		x
	ad illum (ad <i>om.</i> VL8)		(x)	x	x	x	x		x	x			x			x	
	illi											x		x			
	ad eum							x									
	ὁ διάβολος <i>om.</i>	x	x				x				x				x	x	x
	diabolus ⑥			x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x			
	tibi dabo... illorum <i>vel sim.</i> ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	<i>om.</i>								x								
	potestatem hanc uniuersam ⑥	x	x	x			x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	p. istorum omnium				x				/								
	p. hanc omnem (~h. p. o.VL5)					x		x	/								
	gloriam	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	claritatem				x				/								
	illorum ⑥	x	x	x	x		x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	ipsorum					x			/								x
	eorum							x	/								
	quia	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quoniam					x											
	haec omnia								x								
	tradita sunt	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	tradita est					x		x									

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
	cui	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	cuicumque 𐌸					x											
	uolo 𐌸	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		
	uoluerō						/							x		x	x
	do 𐌸	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	dabo						/							x			
	illa	x	x	x	x		/		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	illam 𐌸					x	/	x						x			
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
4:7	ergo 𐌸	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	uero								x	x							
	adoraueris 𐌸	x	x					x	x						x	x	x
	+ prostratus <i>praem.</i>				x												
	+ procidens <i>praem.</i>		(x)	x		x	x			x	x	x	x				
	+ procedens <i>praem.</i>													x			
	coram me 𐌸	x	x						x						x		
	in conspectu meo				x			x									
	ante me			x		x	x			x			x				
	me										x	x		x		x	x
	erunt	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	erit 𐌸				x												
	erint					x											
	tua omnia 𐌸	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	tua omnes				x												
	omnia tua haec						x										

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
4:8	scriptum est (=B03 D05)	x	x			x		x	x	x	x				x	x	x
	+ uade post me satanas <i>praem.</i> (=A02)			x			x							x			
	+ uade retro satanas				x												
	+ uade retro me satana(s) <i>praem.</i> (=A02)											x	x				
	scriptum est 6	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	
	+ enim						x						x				x
	dominum deum tuum adorabis (=B03 D05)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	~ diliges dom dm tuum (= A02)					x								x			
	illi soli 6	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	ipsi soli					x		x									
	illi (soli <i>om.</i>)																x
	seruies 6	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	deseruies							x									

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
6:30	δè <i>om.</i> (=B03)	x		x			x			x		x	/	x	x		
	autem (=A02, D05)		x		x	x		x	x		x		/			x	x
													/				
	petenti (potenti VL8) (=B03)	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x
	qui petit (=A02)				x								/				

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
	D05)																
	poscenti					x								x			
	te ⚡	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	<i>om.</i>				x												
	tribue	x	x	x			x			x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	da ⚡				x	x		x	x								

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
7:14	adolescens ⚡	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	adulescenti															x	
	iuvenis				x			x									
	adulescens <i>vel sim.</i> (=A02 B03)	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x		x	x	x
	+ adolescens (=D05)					x				x							
	+ iuvenis (=D05)							x									
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
7:15	resedit (=A02 D05)	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	sedit (=B03)				x												
	consedit					x											
	surrexit et sedit								x								
	resedit <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x
	+ protinus										x						
	qui erat mortuus	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ille mortuus				x												
	mortuus ⚡					x		x									

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
	dedit 6	x	x	x		x	x	x		x		x	x	/	x	x	x
	redidit								x		x			/			
	<i>om.</i>				x									/			
	eum	x				x		x	x					x			
	illum		x	x			x			x	x	x	x		x	x	
	<i>om.</i>				x												x
	matri	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ad matrem				x												
	matri suae <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	matri eius						x						x				

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30	VL35
7:50	te saluam fecit	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	te saluauit				x				x								
	te saluum fecit						x										
	uade	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ambula				x												
	in pace (=D05)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x
	in pacem (=A02 B03)											x		x			

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL30	VL35
10:3	ite 6	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
	<i>om.</i>					x				/						/		
	ego (=D05)	x	x	x			x	x	x	/	x		x		x	/	x	x
	<i>om.</i> (=A02 B03)				x	x				/		x		x		/		

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL30	VL35
	sicut ⑥	x	x	x			x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
	tamquam					x				/						/		
	quomodo				x					/						/		
	quemadmodum								x	/						/		
	agnos ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/			x	x	x	/	x	x
	oues									/	x	x				/		
	inter lupos	x	x							/			x	x	x	/	x	x
	in medio luporum ⑥			x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x				/		
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL30	VL35
10:19	ecce ⑥	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x			x		x	x	x
	+ et <i>praem.</i>						x			/		x	x		x			
	do uobis (=A02 D05)	x				/		x	x	/								
	dedi uobis (=B03)	(x)	x	x	x	/	x			/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	calcandi ⑥	x	x	x		x	x		x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ut calcetis				x			x		/								
	super	x			x	x		x	x	/	x		x			x	x	
	supra ⑥	(x)	x	x			x			/		x		x	x			x
	serpentes	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	uiperas					x				/								
	scorpiones	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ super <i>praem.</i>				x					/								
	supra	x	x	x			x			/	x		x		x	x		x
	super ⑥	(x)			x	x		x	x	/			x				x	
	<i>om.</i>									/		x						

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL30	VL35
	omnem uirtut(em) inimici ☞	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	omnem uiam inimici					x				/								
	et ☞	x	x	x			x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	om.				x	x				/								
	uobis	x	x							/	x				x			x
	uos ☞			x	x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x	x		x	x	
	nocebunt	x								/				x				
	nocebit (=A02 B03)		x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	noceuit				x					/								
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL30	VL35
10:20	uerumtamen	x	x	x			x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	uerum				x	x				/								
	uerumtamen	x								/								
	+ in hoc ☞		x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ in isto				x					/								
	nolite gaudere	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
	gaudete									/							x	
	quia	x	x	x			x		x	/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	quod					x				/	x							
	quoniam				x			x		/								
	spiritus (=A02 B03)	x	x	x		x			x	/		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ maligni						x			/								
	daemonia(m) (=D05)				x			x		/	x							

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL30	VL35
	subiecti sunt <i>vel sim.</i>	x		x	x		x		x	/		x	x	x		x		
	subdita sunt							x		/	x							
	subiciuntur ¶		x							/					x		x	x
	obaudiunt					x				/								
										/								
	quoniam	x			x				x	/				x				
	quia					x		x		/								
	quod		x	x			x			/	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
										/								
	in caelo	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		
	in caelis ¶		x					x							x		x	x

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL21	VL30	VL44
17:13	Iesu ¶	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		x	x	/
	Iesum				x														/
	Iesus											x		x		x			/
	magister	x				x		x						x					x
	praeceptor ¶		x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
	nostri	x	x		x						x			x	x			x	/
	nobis			x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x		/
17:14	ite	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/
	euntes ¶					x					x								/
	ostendite ¶	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	/
	+ et <i>praem.</i>				x			x						x			x		/

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL17	VL21	VL30	VL44
	sacerdotibus 6	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	sacerdoti								x										

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30
23:38	hic est rex Iudearum (=A02)	x	x	x						x			x			x
	hic est Iesus rex Iudearum (=f ^d)											x				
	rex Iudearum hic (=B03)					x										
	rex Iudearum hic est (=D05)				x			x		x				x		
	rex Iudaeorum (=Mk. 15:26)										x					
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30
23:39	si tu es christus... et nos <i>vel sim.</i> (=A02)	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	<i>om.</i> (=D05)				x			x								
	qui destruebas templum... et descende de cruce (Mt. 27:40)											x				
	si tu es (=A02 B03)	x	x		/			/	x		x	/	x		x	x
	nonne tu es (=B03)			x	/	x	x	/		x		/		x		
	saluum te fac	x			/			/	x			/		x		x
	saluum fac temetipsum (=A02 B03)		x		/			/			x	/			x	
	salua temetipsum			x	/		x	/				/	x			
	libera te				/	x		/		x		/				

		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30
23:42	memor esto mei <i>vel sim.</i> (=D05)	x				x		x								
	+ domine <i>praem.</i> (=B03)				x				x	x		x				
	+ domine (=A02)		x	x			x				x		x	x	x	x
	memor esto mei	x		x	x		x		x	x		x	x	x		
	memento mei ⑥		x			x		x			x				x	x
	cum ueneris	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	quando uenies						x						x			
	in die aduentus tui (=D05)							x								
	in regnum tuum (=B03)	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	in regno tuo (=A02)					x	x						x			
	<i>om.</i> (=D05)							x								
		SED	V	I	VL2	VL3	VL4	VL5	VL6	VL8	VL10	VL11	VL13	VL14	VL15	VL30
23:43	amen (=A02, B03)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	animequior esto (=D05)							x								
	dico tibi (=A02 B03)	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	+ quia						x									
	+ quod								x							
	<i>om.</i> (=D05)							x								
	in paradiso ⑥	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
	in paradisum											x				
	in paradiso <i>vel sim.</i>	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x
	+ patris				x							x		x		

Appendix 2: Comparison of Passion Episode in the *PC*, *PO* and the *Liber Commicus*

<i>PC</i> 5,113-294	<i>PO</i> 5,10-24	Missale Mixtum ⁶	<i>Liber Commicus</i> – <i>Passio Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi Secundum Matheum</i> ⁷
113-117 Jesus brought before Pilate Mt. 27:1-2	10, p.281, 6-12 Jesus brought before Pilate Mt. 27:1-2	Jesus brought before Pilate Mt. 27:1-2	Jesus brought before Pilate Mt. 27:1-2
117-138 Judas's Suicide Mt. 27:3-5	10, p.281, 12 - p.283, 4 Judas's Suicide Mt. 27:3-5 Ps. 13,5 Ps. 6,6	Judas's Suicide Mt. 27:3-10	Judas's Suicide Mt. 27:3-10
139-163 Pilate's Court & Barabbas Mt. 27:11-26	11, p.283, 5 - p.284, 15 Pilate's Court & Barabbas Mt. 27:11-26	Pilate's Court Mt. 27:11 Jn. 18:37	Pilate's Court Mt. 27:11 Jn. 18:34-37a Jn. 18:28-32 Jn. 19:6b-12a Mt. 27:12-14
164-175 Mockery of Jesus Mt. 27:27-29.31	12, p.284, 16- 13, p.285, 6 Mockery of Jesus Mt. 27:27-29.31	Mockery of Jesus Mt. 27:27-31 Jn. 19:2	Mockery of Jesus Mt. 27:27-31 [Mt. 27:32; Simon Cyrene; Lk. 23:26-31 Blessed are the childless women] [Lk. 23:33; Mk. 15:22 Taken to Golgotha]
177-181 Wine with gall Mt. 27:34	14, p. 285, 7-11 Wine with gall Mt. 27:34		Wine with gall Mt. 27:34 Ps. 69:21 Lk. 23:34
183-195 Crucifixion Mt. 27:38? [The symbolism of the cross]	15, p.285, 12 - 286, 7 Crucifixion Mt. 27:38? [The symbolism of the cross]	Crucifixion Jn. 19:18b	
196-199 Pilate's Inscription Jn. 19:19 Lk. 23:48 Jn. 19:20	16, p.286 ,8 - 16 Clothes divided by lot Mt. 27:35b Jn. 19:23-4	Pilate's Inscription Jn. 19:19-22	Pilate's Inscription Jn. 19:19-22

⁶ *Missale Mixtum* (PL 85, 425-427).

⁷ Perez de Urbel and Ruiz-Zorilla (1950: 345-352).

200-201 Clothes divided by lot Mt. 27:35b Jn. 19:23-4	17, p.286, 17 - p.288, 3 Pilate's Inscription Jn. 19:19 Lk. 23:48	Clothes divided by lot Jn. 19:23-4 [Mk. 15:29-30 Passers by insult Jesus]	Clothes divided by lot Jn. 19:23-4 Mt. 27:36 Crucifixion Mt. 27:38 [Mt. 27:39-43 Passers by insult Jesus]
203-231 Conversation with two robbers Mt. 27:38b Lk. 23:39-42	18, p.288, 4 - p.290, 8 Conversation with two robbers Lk. 23:39-42	Conversation with two robbers Lk. 23:39-42	Conversation with two robbers Lk. 23:39-42
232-251 Darkness, Eclipse & Earthquake Mt. 27:45/Lc. 23:44 Lk. 23:45a Mt. 27:51	19-20, p.290, 9 - 291, 6 Darkness, Eclipse & Earthquake Mt. 27:45/Lk. 23:44 Lk. 23:45a Mt. 27:51	Darkness Mt. 27:45	Darkness Mt. 27:45/Lk. 27:44
252-260 Vinegar on sponge Jn. 19:28 Mk. 15:36/Mt. 27:48	21, p.291, 6 - 17 Vinegar on sponge Jn. 19:28 Mt. 27:48	Vinegar on sponge Mt. 27:46-8 Ps. 69:21 Jn. 19:30b	Vinegar on sponge Mt. 27:46-9
261-284 Death of Jesus, Resurrection of saints/veil of temple Mt. 27:50/Jn. 19:30/Lk. 23:46 Mt. 27:52 Mt. 27:51 I Cor. 15:15	22, p.291, 18 - 23, p.293, 4 Death of Jesus, Resurrection of saints/veil of temple Mt. 27:50 Mt. 27:52 Mt. 27:51 I Cor. 15:15	Death of Jesus, Resurrection of saints/veil of temple Lk. 23:46 Mt. 27:51-2 [Mt. 27:23-4 Centurion believes]	Death of Jesus Resurrection of saints/veil of temple Mt. 27:50 Lk. 23:46 Mt. 27:51-2 [Mt. 27:23-4 Centurion believes]
284-294 Soldier pierces Jesus's side Jn. 19:34	24, p.293, 5 - 20 Soldier pierces Jesus's side Jn. 19:34	Soldier pierces Jesus's side Jn. 19:31-5	Soldier pierces Jesus's side Jn. 19:31-4

Appendix 3: Data from Analysis of Sedulius's Pauline Epistle Citations

3.1 Variant Readings

Rm		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	Mst	(A)	RUF	86	Γ ^A	61	PEL (B)	HI
7:18	uelle Ⲅ	x	x	x	x	x	x	/		x	x		x		x	x
	uoluntas faciendi							/	x			x				
	uoluntas benefaciendi							/						x		
	perficere	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	operari Ⲅ							/								x
	ut faciam							/								x
	non inuenio	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	non adiacet						x	/								
	non						x	/								

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
1:25	quia	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/	/	/	/	x	x		/
	quoniam						(x)	/		/	/	/	/	/			x	/
	quod stultum est	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/	/	/	/	x	x		/
	stultum Ⲅ						(x)	/		/	/	/	/	x				/
	fatuum							/		/	/	/	/				x	/
	hominibus Ⲅ	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	/	/	/	/	x	x	x	x	/
	quam homines						x	/		/	/	/	/					/
	inbellice	x						/		/	/	/	/					/

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
	infirmum ⚡		x	x		x		/	x	/	/	/	/	x		x	x	/
	quod infirmum est				x		x	/		/	/	/	/		x	x		/
	hominibus ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	/	/	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	quam homines						x	/		/	/	/						/
I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AM spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
1:27	quae stulta sunt	x	x	x	x	x		x		x		/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	stulta ⚡						x		x		x	/						/
	huius mundi	x						x				/	x	x			(x)	/
	mundi ⚡		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/			x	x	x	/
	deus ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	<i>om.</i>								x			/			(x)			/
	confundat ¹ ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	confunderet						(x)				x	/						/
	et... confundat ² ⚡	x	x	x		2	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	<i>om.</i> (hapl.)	(x)			x	x					(x)	/		(x)			(x)	/
	infirmi ⚡	x	x	x		2	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	quae infirma sunt								(x)	(x)		/					(x)	/
	abiecta						(x)					/						/
	deus ⚡	x	x			2	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	do			x								/						/
	<i>om.</i>							x		(x)		/						/

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
	confundat ² G	x	x	x		2	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	confunderet						(x)					/						/
	fortia G	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x		x	x	/
	sapientia fortia (sapientia <i>exp.</i>)											/			x			/
	fortiora			x								/						/
	<i>om.</i>						x					/						/
I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AM spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
1:28	ignobilia (mundi <i>om.</i>)	x						x	x		x	/		/				/
	ignobilia mundi G	(x)	x		x		x					/						/
	ignobilia huius mundi			x		x						/	x		x	x	x	/
	contemptibilia mundi	x								x	x	/						/
	contemptibilia huius mundi											/		x				/
	contemptibilia G	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			/	x		x	x	x	/
	deus G	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	<i>om.</i>							x	(x)			/						/
	et (\mathcal{N}^2 B C ³ D ¹ L P Ψ)	x	x				x			x	x	/	x		x	x	x	/
	<i>om.</i>			x	x	x		x	x			/		x				/
	quae non sunt	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		/	x	x			x	/
	ea quae non sunt		(x)				x				x	/			x	x		/

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
	tamquam quae sunt	x					x					/						/
	tamquam ea quae sunt						(x)					/						/
	tamquam quae sint	(x)					x					/						/
	tamquam sint						(x)					/						/
	om. ⊗		x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	ea quae sunt	x	x	x	x	x			x	x		/	x		x		x	/
	quae sunt						x	x			x	/		x		x		/
	destrueret	x	x	x		x			x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	destruet				x				(x)			/						/
	euacuentur						(x)					/						/
	euacuet ⊗						x					/						/
	destituat							x				/						/

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
3:1	et ego ⊗	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	x	x	x	
	et ego quidem							/			/	/		/				x
	ego							/	(x)		/	/		/				
	uobis loqui	x	x				x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/				x
	loqui uobis ⊗			x	x	x		/			/	/		/			x	
	uobis ... loqui							/			/	/		/	x			
	quasi ¹	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	x	x		x
	ut							/			/	/		/			x	
	sicut							/			/	/		/			x	
	quasi ²	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	x	x		x
	sicut							/			/	/		/			x	

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
	infantibus ⚡	x						/				/		/				x
	paruolis			x	x	x		/	x		/	/		/		x		
	paruulis		x				x	/		x	/	/	x	/	x		x	
I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AM spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
3:2	lac ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	(x)
	lacte							/		(x)		/		x				x
	uobis	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	(x)
	uos ⚡				x			/				/		x				x
	potum dedi	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	(x)
	potai ⚡				x			/				/		x				x
	et <i>om.</i>	x	x				x	/	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x
	et			x	x	x		/	(x)			/						
	cibum ⚡	x						/		(x)	(x)	/					(x)	(x)
	cibo							/				/						x
	solidum cibum							/				/					x	
	escam ⚡		x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x		
	esca							/			(x)	/		(x)				
	nondum ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x		x
	necdum							/				/					x	(x)

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
3:16	an nescitis	x						/		x	/	/						
	nescitis ☞		x	x	x	x	x	/	x		/	/	x	x	x	x	x	x
	templum dei estis ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x		x	x	x	x
	uos estis templum dei							/			/	/					(x)	
	templum dei uobis estis							/			/	/		x				(x)
	Spiritus Dei	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x		x	x	x	x
	spiritus sanctus	(x)						/			/	/		x			(x)	

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
4:1	sic	x	x	x	x	x	x	/		/	/	/	x	/			x	/
	sic enim							/		/	/	/		/	x			/
	ita							/	x	/	/	/		/		x		/
	ut	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	/	/	/	x	/	x	x		/
	quasi						x	/		/	/	/		/			x	/
	mysteriorum ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/	/	x	/	x	x	x	/
	ministeriorum	(x)						/	(x)	/	/	/		/		(x)		/
	sacramentorum							/		/	/	/		/			(x)	/
I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
4:2	hinc	x						/		/	/	/		/				
	hic ☞	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/	/	x	/	x	x	x	x
	iam ☞	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/	/	x	/	x	x	x	

	ceterum				x															
	quoque																			x
I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K		
4:7	autem Ⲙ	x	x	x	x	x			x	x			x	x	x					
	enim						x										x	x		
	ait(!)															x				
	om.																(x)			
	quodsi	x		x		x			(x)							x		(x)		
	si autem Ⲙ		x		x		x		x	x			x	x	x		x	x		
	accepisti ¹ Ⲙ	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x			
	acceperis																		x	
	καὶ om.	x	x	x		x			x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	et Ⲙ				x		x													
I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K		
5:6	modicum Ⲙ	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x			
	pusillum							x												
	fermenti	x					x			(x)										
	fermentum Ⲙ		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x			
	corrumpit	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x			
	fermentat Ⲙ							x												

I Cor		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K	
15:55	uictoria Ⲙ	x	x	x	x	x	(x)			x	x		x	x			(x)		
	contentio						x		x						x	x	x	x	

	stimulus Ⓞ	x	x	x										x					x	
	aculeus					x	x	x		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
	[<i>ordo verborum</i>] uictoria... stimulus <i>vel sim.</i> (=S01 B03 C04)	x	x				x	x							x	x			x	
	stimulus... uictoria <i>vel sim.</i> (=D05)				x	x		(x)		x	x	x		x				x		x

		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	MAR	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K	
Gal	5:14	diligēs Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x		x	x						x	x	x	x	
		diligis		(x)										x						
		tamquam	x			x	x	x												x
		sicut		x	x				x	x				x		x	x	x		
		te ipsum Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				x		x	x	x		
		te																		x

		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	MAR	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K	
Phil	2:7	semetipsum Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x		
		se																		x
		exinaniuit Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x		
		inaniuit																		x
		euacuauit						(x)			(x)								x	

	et	x								x	x	/	/						
	om. ⚡		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	/	x	x	x	x	x	x
												/	/						
	formam ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	/	x	x	x	x	x	x
	personam						(x)			(x)		/	/						
	imaginem									(x)		/	/						
												/	/						
	suscepit	x									x	/	/						
	suscipiens									(x)		/	/						
	sumpsit									x		/	/						
	accipiens ⚡		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	/	x	x	x	x	x	x

1 Tim		SED	V	75	77	89	AU/64	PS-AU spe	AMst	MAR	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^Λ	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI	K
6:10	malorum ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	/	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x
	uitiorum									/	/			/	(x)				
										/	/			/					
	auaritia	x					x		x	/	/		x	/	x			x	
	cupiditas		x	x	x	x		x		/	/	x		/		x	x		x

3.2 Analysis of Variant Readings

Agrees with Vulgate against both D and I

1. I Cor 1:28 τὰ μὴ ὄντα = et quae non sunt] SED 61 64 65 78 Γ^{AC}; **AMst** 1 Cor 1,28 (Var); **AU**; **CHRO**; **HI**; **PEL(B)**; **RUF** || - **X (TE)**; **D** (75 77 89), **I (AMst)**; **AM**; **PS-AU** spe; καὶ **κ² B C³ D¹ L P Ψ**)
2. I Cor 15:55 [*ordo verborum*] νικος... κεντρον = uictoria... stimulus] SED 61 65; **AM**; **AU**; **HI** **κ*** B C || stimulus... uictoria *vel sim.* **K (CY)**; **D** (75 77 89); **I (AMst)**; **CHRO**; **PEL(B)**; **RUF**; **κ² A^c D F G K L P Ψ**)

Different to Vulgate

VL = K + D + I

1. I Cor 3:1 ὡς = tamquam] quasi SED 61 64 75 77 78 89; **CY** te 3,3; ze 13; **AMst** 1 Cor 3,1; **AU** ba 3,19; jo; **PEL** 1 Cor 3,1 (Var); **AN** Mt h 38; 51

I/J Text Type

2. I Cor 1:27 τοῦ κόσμου = mundi] huius mundi SED Γ^A; **AM** fi, Ps (Var); **AU** s 51; **PS-AU** spe; **CAr** Ps, HI Gal
3. I Cor 1:28 τοῦ κόσμου = mundi] *om.* SED **AU** Ps 118 s 28,4,13; Ps 149,14,22; **CHRO** Mt. 16,1; **PS-AU** spe 75 (Var); **AN** Mt. h 37;
4. I Cor 1:28 τὰ ἐξουθενημένα = contemptibilia] + mundi SED **AU** Ps 140,21,32; **AN** Mt. h 37; **CHRO** Mt. 16,1; **RUF** Rm 4,5; cf. **AM** 118 Ps 3,41,1 + huius mundi
5. I Cor 3:16 Οὐκ οἴδατε = nescitis] an nescitis SED **RUF** Rm 9,1
6. Phil 2:7 ἐκένωσεν = exinaniuit] + et SED **MAR** Ar 1,21; 4,30. 31. 30; Phil; **AM** fi 5,108; Jb; **RUF** Ct 1; pri 3; Rm 5,2; 10; 7,9; 8; **AR** Ps 115; **A-SS** Sebastianus, Constatius 5; **HOR**; **FU** Fab 33 1/2; fi 11; **IS** fi 1,3:= **Ⓞ**^{JP}
7. Phil 2:7 λαβών = accipiens] suscepit SED **MAR** Phil 1/10; **RUF** Rm 5,2; **PS-AU** s Cai 11,23; **AR** Ps 115; **A-SS** Sebastianus; **PS-AU** s 193

8. I Tm 6:10 γὰρ = enim] *om.* SED 64 H^B 76 51; **AMst** 1 tm (Var); **PS-AU** spe (β); **AU** s 14; 25A; 177,1; ep 130 (Var); **JO-N** 6; **REG** Mag; **FEol**; **SED-S** 1 Tm^{txt} (Var); in initio: **POL** (Var); **AMst** Col; **AM** PS1; **ZE**; **HI** ep 22; 125 > **PS-HI** h; **JR** 2,18; **AU** mor; Fo; q 36 (Var); s 50,13 (Var); 177,2; Gn li > **JUL-T** ant^{com}. **SED-S** 1 Tm^{com}; **EVO**; **AP-Apc**; **PAU**; **LAU** pae; **PET-C** s 29; **CAn** in 7,6; 12; **VAL**; **EUS-E**; **SALV**; **JUL-P**; **CAE** s 71; 87; 120; 182; **PS-CAE** s ET^{txt}; **EUS-G** h 29 > **PS-URB**; **PS-BAS** cons; **PHY** B; **HES** 7; **CAr** Ps; **PAE** Vin; **GR-M** Jb 15; 20; past > **TA** sent 2; **COL**; **IS**; **JUL-T** ant^{txt}; **TA** sent 4; **PAE** Big; **A-SS** Elig; **DEF**; **PIR** (Var); **BED** Egb; **AM-A** Apc 2; cup
9. I Tm 6:10 ἡ φιλαργυρία = cupiditas] auaritia SED 86 64 FM(ex avatia) X(abaritia) *clm* 9545^{txt}; **POL**; **CY** te (Var); **PS-CY** sng; **HIL** PS 61,1; cf **PRIS** can; KA A > cf AN Conc; **AMst**; **AM** > **PS-CAL**; **GR-I**; **ZE**; **HI** ep 22 > **AST**; 125 > **PS-HI** h; Pach; Os; Pel; Jr; **LAU** el, pae^{txt}; cf **PEL** 1 Tm 6,9; [**PEL**] Casp; **MAX** s Mu 18^{com} > **CAE** s 71^{com}; cf 66; **PAU-N** 1/2; **AU** lib^{txt}; s 14; 25A; 50; cf 51; 53A; 58; 61; 77A^{txt}; 85; 177; ep 130; ps 188^{txt}; 136; 1 Jo; Gn li^{txt} > **JUL-T** ant^{com}; **SED-S** 1 Tm^{com}; tri; Jul; ci; [**AU**] s 391; cf **PAU-M**; **THR**^{txt} (Var); **PRAE**; **PET-C**; **AR**; cf **QU** gr, pro 5; **LEO** s 45; cf 60^{txt}; 74; **VAL** é/9; **ORIE**; **EUS-E**^{com}; **REG** Mag; **JUL-P** 2; cf **CAE** s 34^{com}; **PS-CAE** s ET^{com}; cf **PS-BAS** cons^{com}, adMt.^{txt} (Var); **DION-E**; **HES** 6; 7; cf **CAr** var; **MUT**^{txt}; cf **GR-M** Jb 14^{com}. 20^{com}, past 3; **THr** I.; **HYM** ant 50; **CO-Tol** 4,33; **PS-HI** ep 12; cf **PS-AM** sac; **OPTn**^{txt}; cf [**MAX**] h 37. 42, **CHRY** III, 974, **POE** Mer 105 1/4; **AN** Wil; cf **ALD**?; **BED** Egb^{com}; cf **AM-A** or B; **SED-S** 1 Tm.^{txt}; **PS-AU** s 290.

I/A Text Type

10. I Cor 1:28 τὰ μὴ ὄντα = quae non sunt] + tamquam quae sunt SED **AU** Jo 7,17,12; Ps 65,4,8(x2); Ps 86,8,19; Ps 140,21,32; cf 64 tamquam quae sint: - ⑥
11. I Cor 5:6 μικρὰ ζύμη = modicum fermentum] modicum fermenti SED **AU** ep 211,3; par 2,42; par 3,5; un 24; **FEnd** ep 6; **RUF** Jos 7,4 (Var)

D text type

12. I Cor 4:7 εἰ δὲ = si autem] quodsi SED 65 75 89; **CY** te 3,4 (Var); **AMst** 1 Cor 4,7 (Var); **PEL** 1 Cor 4,7; **PAU-N** ep 40,10; **CAn** co 3,16,4; in 12,10,1; Prae 3,10; **FU** prae 1,45; tri 10,1;

K Text type

13. I Cor 3:1 νηπίοις = paruulis] infantibus SED **CY** te 3,3; ze 13; cf Or Mt. 13,28
infantes.

14. I Cor 3:2 βρῶμα = escam] cibum SED **CY** ze 13 (Var); **AU** Ps 8,10,49; 8,5,4;
RUF Ps 8

K/D Text type

15. Gal 5:14 ὡς = sicut] tamquam SED 77 89; **CY** ep 13,5; te 3,3; **TE** Marc 5,4; **AU**
ep 196,16; Gal 44,1; gr 34; Ps 31 en 2,5,8; s 125,10; s 269,3; s 351,8; PRIM 2;

Unknown Origin/possible errors:

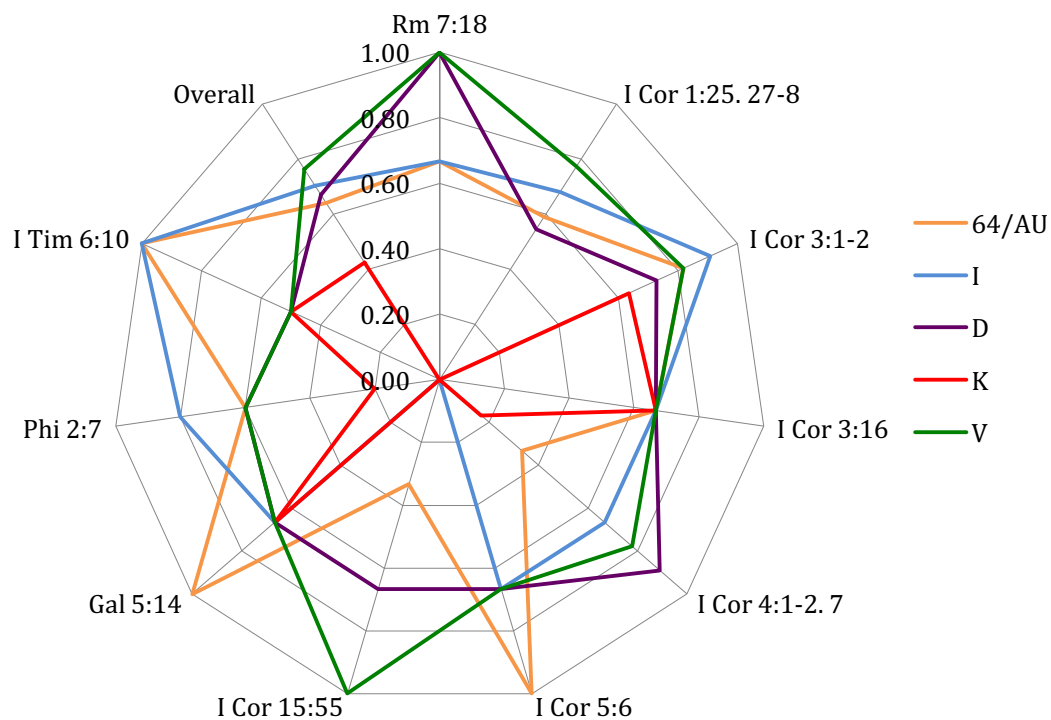
16. I Cor 1:25 τὸ ἀσθενὲς = quod infirmum est] inbecille SED

17. I Cor 4:2 ὧδε = hic] hinc SED

Number of Agreements / Total Variant Sites

	V	I	D	K	75	77	89	64/AU	Ps-AM spe	AMst	RUF	CHRO	86	Γ ^A	AM	61	PEL (B)	HI
Rm 7:18	1.00	0.67	1.00	/	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	/	0.67	1.00	/	0.67	1.00	/	0.67	1.00	0.67
I Cor 1:25. 27-8	0.77	0.68	0.55	/	0.64	0.50	0.55	0.59	0.59	0.68	0.82	0.65	/	0.78	0.70	0.73	0.68	0.73
I Cor 3:1-2	0.82	0.91	0.73	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.82	/	0.82	0.82	0.83	/	0.82	0.83	0.73	0.73	0.55
I Cor 3:16	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	/	0.67	1.00	/	/	0.67	0.00	0.67	0.67	0.67
I Cor 4:1-2. 7	0.78	0.67	0.89	0.17	0.89	0.67	0.89	0.33	/	0.67	0.75	/	/	0.78	0.75	0.67	0.67	0.56
I Cor 5:6	0.67	0.67	0.67	/	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.67	/	/	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67
I Cor 15:55	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.00	0.67	0.33	0.67	0.33	/	0.00	0.67	0.33	/	0.67	0.33	0.33	0.00	0.67
Gal 5:14	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.67	1.00	/	0.67	/	/	/	0.33	/	0.67	0.67	0.67
Phi 2:7	0.60	0.80	0.60	0.20	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60	1.00	/	/	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.60
I Tim 6:10	0.50	1.00	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	1.00	0.50	1.00	/	0.50	1.00	/	1.00	0.50	0.50	1.00
∑ + readings	49	45	43	14	44	39	42	41	14	43	41	7	4	43	30	43	42	42
∑ variant sites	64	64	64	33	64	64	64	64	27	64	49	28	5	58	46	64	64	64
Overall	0.77	0.70	0.67	0.42	0.69	0.61	0.66	0.64	0.52	0.67	0.84	0.64	0.80	0.74	0.65	0.67	0.66	0.66

Proximity coefficient to D, I, V, K and AU



Appendix 4: Data from analysis of Sedulius's Psalm citations

4.1 Variant Readings

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
1:1	consilio ⚡	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x
	consilium				x									/				x
	pestilentiae	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	
	derisorum						x							/				
	pestilentium ⚡													/				x
	pestium													/				x
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
1:2	uoluntas eius ⚡	x	x				x	x	x					/				x
	fuit uoluntas eius	(x)		x	x	x				x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
1:4	pro(i)icit ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x				/	x	x	/	/
	proiecit			(x)				x						/			/	/
	proiciet			(x)							x	x	x	/			/	/
	a facie terrae ⚡	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	a facie eius terrae							x						/			/	/
	<i>om.</i>						x							/			/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
2:7	genui	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	(x)
	generaui													/			/	x

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
2:8	postula ⚡	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	(x)	x	/	(x)
	pete				x	x								/			/	(x)
	posce													/	x		/	x
	a me ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		/	x	x	/	x
	me ⁸								x				x	/			/	
	de me													/			/	(x)
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
6:6	in inferno ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	x	x		
	in infernum				(x)							/		/			x	(x)
	apud inferos											/		/				x
	autem ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	/	x	x	x	x
	<i>om.</i>						x					/		/				(x)
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
13:5	illic	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	ibi						x							/	/	/	/	/
	<i>om.</i>							x						/	/	/	/	/
	trepidauerunt ⚡	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	timebunt						x							/	/	/	/	/
	timuerunt							x						/	/	/	/	/
	timore (=B03 A02)	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	timorem (=S01)	(x)		(x)							x				/	/	/	/
	formidine						x							/	/	/	/	/

⁸ Capelle (1913: 89) sees the omission of 'a' in VL300 as a *'faute de copiste'*. The presence of the same reading in VL325 however requires its inclusion as a variant in this list.

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
	ubi non erat timor ☞	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	om.						x	x							/		/	/
17:10	et ¹ ☞	x	(x)	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	/	/
	om.		x	(x)			x					/					/	/
	caelos (=S02 ²)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	/					/	/
	caelum (=B03 A02 S01)								x	x		/	x	x	x	x	/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
18:6	in sole ☞	x	x	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	x	/	x	/	x
	in solem									x					/		/	
	soli						x	x							/		/	
	tabernaculum suum ☞	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	x
	tabernaculum in eis						x	x							/		/	
	uelut	x													/		/	x
	sicut							x							/		/	
	tamquam		x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	x
	quasi						x								/		/	
	procedens	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	/	(x)
	procedit									x					/		/	(x)
	egrediens ☞														/		/	x
	de thalamo	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	x
	e thalamo ☞				(x)	x									/		/	

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
24:7	delicta ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	peccatorum						x					/						/
	iuuentutis ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/
	adulescentiae						x					/						/
	μou ¹ om.	x		x	x				x		x	/					x	/
	meae ⚡	(x)	x	(x)		x	x	x		x		/	x	x	x	x		/
	ignorantiae (=B03 A02 S01 ^{a.c.})	x		x	x				x	x	x	/	x	x		x	x	/
	ignorantias (=S01*)		x	(x)		x						/						/
	scelerum						x					/						/
	paruitatis							x				/						/
	om.											/		x				/
	μou ² om. (=B03 S01*)	x										/	x		x			/
	meae (=A02 S01 ^{a.c.})	(x)		x	x			x	x	x	x	/		x		x	x	/
	meas		x	(x)		x						/						/
	meorum						x					/						/
	domine	x		(x)								/		x				/
	deus	(x)										/						/
	om. ⚡		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x		x	x	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
26:12	mentita est iniquitas sibi ⚡	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	mentita est iniquitas						x								/		/	/

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
	apertum mendacium						x								/		/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
28:3	super aquas multas	x													/		/	/
	super aquas		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
40:10	qui edebat	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	qui manducat						x								/		/	/
															/		/	/
	panes meos 𐀓	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	panem meum						x								/		/	/
															/		/	/
	ampliauit	x		x	x				x	x		x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	adampliauit					x					x				/		/	/
	leuauit						x	x							/		/	/
	magnificauit 𐀓		x												/		/	/
															/		/	/
	aduersum	x		x	x	x				x		x			/		/	/
	aduersus			(x)										(x)	/		/	/
	contra						x	x							/		/	/
	super 𐀓		x						x		x		x	x	/	x	/	/
															/		/	/
	subplantationem	x	x	x	x	x				x		x	x	x	/		/	/
	plantam 𐀓						x								/		/	/
	calcaneum							x	x		x				/	x	/	/

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
44:3	speciosus forma ⚡	x	x	x	x	x						x	x	x	/	x	/	(x)
	decore pulchior es						x	x	x						/		/	
	decorus specie														/		/	x
	pulcherrimus						x								/		/	
	prae filiis ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	/	x	/	(x)
	ultra filios							x							/		/	
	super filios														/		/	x
	prater filios														/		/	
	filiis						x								/		/	
	diffusa est	x	x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	/	x	/	(x)
	effusa est ⚡						x	x							/		/	x
	in labiis tuis ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	/	x	/	x
	in labiis meis							x							/		/	
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
70:15	quia	x		x	x	x	x	x		x					/	/	/	/
	qui	(x)													/	/	/	/
	quoniam		x	(x)					x		x	x	x		/	x	/	/
	negotiationem	x				x									/	/	/	/
	negotiationes (=B03)	(x)		x	x				x	x	x	x	x		/	x	/	/
	litteraturam		x												/	/	/	/
	litteraturas (=S01)						x								/	/	/	/
	litteras tuas							x							/	/	/	/

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
70:16	introibo	x	x	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	intrabo									x				/	/		/	/
	introeam							x						/	/		/	/
	ingrediar						x							/	/		/	/
	potentiam	x	x										x	/	/	x	/	/
	potentia (tua) ⚡				x					x				/	/		/	/
	potentias	(x)	(x)	x		x			x		x	x		/	/		/	/
	uirtutibus							x						/	/		/	/
	fortitudine						x							/	/		/	/
	domini ⚡	x	x	x	x	x			x		x	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	domine			(x)						x				/	/		/	/
	domini dei						x							/	/		/	/
	domini dei mei							x						/	/		/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
77:18	deum ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	altissimum							x			/			/	/		/	/
	ut peterent	x	x	x	x	x				x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	petentes						x		/	/	/			/	/		/	/
	petere							x	/	/	/			/	/		/	/
	escas ⚡	x	x	x	(x)	x			/	x	/		x	/	/	x	/	/
	escam				x			x	/	/	/	x		/	/		/	/
	cibum						x	/	/	/	/			/	/		/	/
	animabus suis	x	x	x	x	x			/	/	/	x		/	/	x	/	/
	animis suis	(x)						x	/	x	/		x	/	/		/	/
	animae suae						x	/	/	/	/			/	/		/	/

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
77:19	male locuti sunt	x	x	x	x	x					/	x	x	/	/	/	/	/
	loquentes contra						x				/			/	/	/	/	/
	dextraxerunt							x	x	x	/			/	/	x	/	/
	de deo	x	x	x	x	x				x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	de deo suo							x			/			/	/	/	/	/
	deo $\text{\textcircled{G}}$								x		/			/	/	/	/	/
	dominum						x				/			/	/	/	/	/
	et ²	x	(x)	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x		/	/	x	/	/
	om.	(x)	x	(x)			x				/		x	/	/	/	/	/
	numquid	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	ne							x			/			/	/	/	/	/
	poterit	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	poterat	(x)									/			/	/	/	/	/
	potest									x	/			/	/	/	/	/
	deus	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	altissimus							x			/			/	/	/	/	/
	parare	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	praeparare									x	/			/	/	/	/	/
	ponere						x				/			/	/	/	/	/
	mensam	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/		x	/	/	x	/	/
	mensa								x		/	x		/	/	/	/	/
	in deserto	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	in solitudine						x				/			/	/	/	/	/

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
91:13	sicut ¹	x								x	/			/	/			/
	ut		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	/	/	x	x	/
	florebit	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		/	x		/	/	x		/
	floriet							x		x	/		x	/	/		x	/
	et	x		x	x		x			x	/	x		/	/		x	/
	om. ⊗		x	(x)		x		x	x		/		x	/	/	x		/
	sicut ²	x	(x)	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x		/	/		x	/
	ut		x					x			/		x	/	/			/
	uelut										/			/	/	x		/
	quae in libano est ⊗	x							x	x	/		x	/	/		x	/
	quae est in libano				x	x					/			/	/			/
	in libano				(x)		x	x			/			/	/	x		/
	libani		x	x	(x)						/	x		/	/			/
	multiplicabitur ⊗	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	x	/
	abundans							x			/			/	/			/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
104:15	nolite tangere (=S01 A02)	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x		/
	ne tangerent (=B03)							x			/			/	/			/
	prophetis meis ⊗	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x		/	/	x		/
	prophetas meos	(x)		(x)	(x)					x	/		x	/	/			/

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
	nolite malignari	x	x	x	x	x				x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	nolite malignare (=A02)			(x)							/			/	/		/	/
	nolite maligne agere							x			/			/	/		/	/
	nolite adfligere						x				/			/	/		/	/
	ne malignetis (=B03 S01)							x			/			/	/		/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K ⁹
112:7	suscitans	x	x	x		x	x			x	/	x	x	/	/		/	/
	qui suscitatur				x						/			/	/		/	x
	resuscitans							x			/			/	/		/	/
	qui erigit								x		/			/	/	x	/	/
	inopem	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	mendicum										/			/	/		/	x
	a terra	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	de terra						x	x			/			/	/		/	x
	de stercore	x	x	x	(x)	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	x
	a stercore				x			x			/			/	/		/	/
	ab stercore				(x)						/			/	/		/	/
	erigens ☞	x	x	x	(x)	x				x	/	x	x	/	/		/	/
	erigit				(x)						/			/	/		/	/
	exaltans							x			/			/	/		/	/
	exaltat				x				x		/			/	/	x	/	x
	elevat						x				/			/	/		/	/

⁹ African text provided by the citations found in TE Marc 4,14, supported in turn by readings in AU, VL300, PROM, MO, AM and VL136.

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
112:8	collocet eum	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	
	eum sedere faciat						x	x			/			/	/		/	x
	cum principibus ¹ Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	x
	principali							x			/			/	/		/	
	μετὰ ἀρχόντων ² om.	x									/			/	/		/	x
	cum principibus Ⓞ	(x)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
113:3	uidit Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	/	x	/	/
	uidet			(x)	(x)						/			/	/		/	/
	uidebit										/			x	/	/	/	/
	fugit Ⓞ	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	fugit				(x)				x		/			/	/		/	/
	conuersus est	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	reuersus est	(x)									/			/	/		/	/
	retrorsum	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	/	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	retro				x				x		/			/	/		/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
113:5	quid est (=S01*)	x		x	x	x				x	/	x	x	/	/		/	/
	quid est tibi (=S01 ^{c.a.} A02)		x	(x)	(x)				x		/			x	/	x	/	/
	quid tibi est						x				/			/	/		/	/
	quid tibi							x			/			/	/		/	/

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
	quia	x					x				/				/		/	/
	quod	(x)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	et tu ④	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	om.						x	x			/				/		/	/
	quia ² ④	x	x		(x)		x	x			/			x	/	x	/	/
	quare			x	x	x				x	/	x	x		/		/	/
	om.								x		/				/		/	/
	retrorsum	x	x	x	(x)	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	/	x	/	/
	retro				x			x			/				/		/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K ¹⁰
118:103	dulcia ④	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/	x
	dulce						x				/						/	
	dulciora										/						/	(x)
	faucibus meis	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/	
	faucibus										/						/	x
	gutturi meo						x				/						/	
	eloquia (tua)	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	/	x	x	x	x		/	x
	eloquium (tuum)						x				/						/	
	uerba (tua)								x		/					x	/	x
	domine ④	x		(x)							/						/	
	om.		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/	x
	mel	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/	(x)
	mella										/						/	x

¹⁰ Text provided by TE Scorp 1; TE Marc. 4.17; PROM 2,21

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
	et fauum (=S01*)	x		x	x	x			x	x	/	x	x	x		x	/	
	et fauos										/						/	x
	om. (=A02 S01 ^{c.a.})		x				x	x			/				x		/	
	ori meo ⚡	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x		x	/	x
	in ore meo							x			/			x			/	
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K ¹¹
118:105	pedibus meis ⚡	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	pedi meo						x				/						/	
	uerbum tuum	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	sermo tuus							x			/						/	
	domine (=1219)	x		x	x	x			x		/	x	x				x	
	om. (=A02 S01)		x				x	x		x	/			x	x	x		x
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
120:4	dormitabit ⚡	x	x	(x)	(x)	x	x				/		x	x	x	x	/	/
	dormitauit	(x)		x	x			x	x	x	/	x					/	/
	dormiet (=A02)	x	x	(x)			x				/						/	/
	obdormiet (=S01)			x	x	x			x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/	/
	somnum capit							x			/						/	/
	qui custodit	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	/	/

¹¹ Text provided by TE Scorp 1; TE Marc. 4.17; PROM 2,21

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
	qui custodiet	(x)																
	custodiens							x										
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K ¹²
125:5	qui seminant... metent	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x
	qui seminat... metet													x				
	in gaudio	x		x	x	x			x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x
	in exultatione ☩		x				x							x				x
	in uotis							x										
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
125:6	euntes ☩	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	(x)
	ambulantes																	x
	qui ambulans						x											
	ibant ☩	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	(x)
	ibat						x											
	ambulabant																	x
	ambulant																	(x)
	flebant ☩	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	(x)
	flebat						x											
	plorabant																	x
	mittentes (=S01 ^{c.a.})	x	(x)	x	x	x			x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x
	portantes (=A02)		x											x				

¹² Text provided by TE Scorp 1; TE Marc. 4.17; PROM 2,21

	SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
portans ad seminandum						x				/							
segregans							x			/							
semina sua ☩	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	/	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
semina							x			/							
sementem						x				/							
uenientes ☩	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
ueniens						x				/					/		
autem ☩	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
om.						x				/					/		
uenient ☩	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
ueniet						x				/					/		
in exultatione ☩	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		/	x	x	x	x	/	x	x
cum exultatione		(x)	(x)	(x)						/					/		
in exaltationem									x	/					/		(x)
in laude							x			/					/		
portantes	x	x	x	x	x				x	/	x	x	x	x	/	x	(x)
portans						x				/					/		
tollentes ☩								x		/					/		x
ferentes							x			/					/		
manipulos suos	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x	x	x	x	/	x	(x)
gremia sua ☩								x		/					/		x

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
146:2	aedificans 𐀀	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	aedificabit						x				/			/			/	/
	dominus	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x		/	x	x	/	/
	om.										/		x	/			/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K ¹³
147:12	lauda 𐀀	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	/	x	x	/	x		/	/
	collauda										/			/		x	/	/
	dominum 𐀀	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	cum dominum							x			/			/			/	/
	lauda 𐀀	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	collauda				x						/			/			/	/
	cane						x				/			/			/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
147:13	quoniam	x	x	x	x			x	x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	quia					x	x				/			/			/	/
	confortauit	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	/	x	x	/	x		/	/
	confortabit				(x)						/			/			/	/
	confirmauit 𐀀								x		/			/		x	/	/
	ser(r)as	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	/	x		/	/
	uectes						x				/			/		x	/	/
	filios tuos 𐀀	x		x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	filiis tuis	(x)	x	(x)	(x)		x				/			/			/	/

¹³ Text provided by TE Scorp 1; TE Marc. 4.17; PROM 2,21

		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
	in te 𐌲	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	in medio tui						x				/			/			/	/
		SED	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K ¹⁴
147:14	qui posuit 𐌲	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	qui ponit					x					/			/			/	/
	constituens							x			/			/			/	/
											/			/			/	/
	fines tuos 𐌲	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	finibus tuis							x			/			/			/	/
	terminum tuum						x				/			/			/	/
											/			/			/	/
	pacem 𐌲	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		/	x	x	/	x	x	/	/
	in pacem									x	/			/			/	/

¹⁴ Text provided by TE Scorp 1; TE Marc. 4.17; PROM 2,21

4.2 Analysis of Variant Readings

Agrees with Gallican against Roman Psalter (RO) Mozarabic Psalter (MO) Ambrosian Psalter (ME) (Vulgate readings)

1. 1:2 ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίου τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ = sed in lege domini uoluntas eius
GA VL136 VL300 **TE CY** || sed in lege domini fuit uoluntas eius **RO MO ME** VL303
VL304 VL306 VL325 VL396 **CY HIL AU PS-AU** Spe
2. 70:15 ἐν δυναστείᾳ = in potentiam **GA** VL325 **AU** || in potentia **MO** VL302 VL303
; in potentias **RO ME** VL300 VL304 VL305 VL306 VL333
3. 113:5 ὅτι = quia **GA** VL136 VL421 **AU** || quare **RO MO ME** VL303 VL306 VL325
4. 120:4 ὑπνώσει = dormiet **GA** || obdormiet (=S01) **RO MO ME** VL300 VL303
VL306 VL325 **AU HIL**

Agrees with Gallican and MO/ME against RO

5. 120:4 νυστάξει = dormitabit **RO** (var) **MO** (var) **ME** VL325 VL421 **HIL AU** ||
dormitauit **RO MO** VL300 VL303 VL306

Different to Gallican Psalter

Agrees with K

1. 18:6 ὡς νυμφίος = tamquam sponsus] uelut sponsus **CY**

Agrees with RO (+MO/ME)

2. 17:10 καὶ ἔκλινεν = inclinauit] et inclinauit **RO MO ME** VL136 VL300 VL303
VL304 VL325 VL421 **HIL AU**
3. 24:7 ἀμαρτίας νεότητός μου = delicta iuventutis meae] meae *om.* **RO MO** VL300
VL304 VL333 **PS-AU** spe
4. 24:7 (τας) ἀγνοίας μου = ignoratias meas] ignorantiae (=B03 S01*) VL325; + meae
RO MO VL136 VL300 VL303 VL304 VL421 **AU PS-AU**

5. 40:10 ἐμεγάλυνεν = magnificauit] ampliauit **RO MO** VL300 VL301 VL302 VL303
VL306 VL325 VL333 VL421 **AU**; adampiauit **ME** VL304
6. 40:10 ἐπ' ἐμὲ = super me] aduersum me **RO MO ME** VL303 VL306 VL333
7. 70:15 ὅτι = quoniam] quia **RO MO ME** VL136 VL302 VL303 VL333
8. 77:19 καὶ εἶπαν = dixerunt] et dixerunt **RO MO ME** VL136 VL300 VL303 VL306
9. 91:13 ὡσεὶ κέδρος = sicut cedrus] et *praem* **RO MO** VL303 VL305 VL306 **PS-AU**
10. 91:13 ὡσεὶ = ut] sicut **RO MO ME** VL300 VL303 VL305 VL306
11. 113:5 τί σοι ἐστὶν θάλασσα = quid est tibi mare] tibi *om.* (=S01) **RO MO ME**
VL303 VL306 VL325
12. 118:103 ὑπὲρ μέλι = super mel] + et fauum (=S01) **RO MO ME** VL300 VL303
VL305 VL306 VL325 VL421 **AU**
13. 118:105 ὁ λόγος σου = uerbum tuum] + domine (=1219) **RO MO ME** VL300
VL306 VL325 **PS-AU** spe
14. 125:5 ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει = in exultatione] in gaudio **RO MO ME** VL300 VL303 VL306
VL325 **CY HIL AU PS-AU** spe
15. 125:6 αἴροντες = portantes] mittentes (=S01) **RO MO ME** VL300 VL303 VL306
VL325 **CY HIL AU PS-AU** spe
16. 147:13 εὐλόγησεν τοὺς υἱοὺς = benedixit filiis tuis] b. filios tuos **RO MO ME**
VL136 VL300 VL303 VL306 VL325 **HIL AU**

Agrees with ME alone

17. 70:15 γραμματείας = litteraturam] negotiationem **ME**; negotiones (=B03) **RO MO**
VL300 VL302 VL303 VL304 VL305 VL306 VL325 **AU**

Agrees with Hebrew Psalter (HE) alone

18. 113:5 ὅτι ἔφυγες = quod fugisti] quia fugisti **HE**

Agrees with other Old Latin Psalter

19. 91:13 ὡς = ut] sicut VL303
20. 91:13 ἡ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ = in libano] quae in libano est VL303 VL325 **PS-AU** Spe **M-R**

Agrees with Liturgical source

21. 24:7 ἀγνοίας μου = ignoratias meas] μου *om.* (=B03 S01*) VL325 **ANT-M M-M**

ORA Ps

22. 24:7 μὴ μνησθῆς = ne memineris] + domine **RO (BCD) HIL ANT-M M-M RES-R**

23. 28:3 ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων = super aquas] + multas **M-St**

24. 118:103 τὰ λόγια σου = eloquia tua] + domine **RO (HSBCDR) ANT-I ANT-**

M RES-R

25. 112:8 μετὰ ἀρχόντων = cum principibus] *om.* **TE RES-R**

No tradition - possible error

26. 50:19 τεταπεινωμένην = humilatum] contribulatum **SED**

27. 50:19 ὁ θεός = Deus] dominus **SED**

28. 50:19 οὐκ ἐξουθενώσει = non spernet] non relinquet **SED**

Number of agreements / Total Variant sites

	GA	RO	MO	ME	HE	136 (cas)	300 (α)	303 (γ)	304 (β)	306 (ζ)	325 (δ)	421 (η)	HIL	Augustine	Ps-AU Spe	K
1:1-3	1.00	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.60	0.60	1.00	0.80	0.60	0.60	0.60	/	0.80	0.80	0.67	0.67
2:7-8	1.00	1.00	0.67	0.67	1.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	/	0.67	1.00	/	0.33
6:6	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	/	1.00	/	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.50
13:5	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	/	1.00	/	/
17:10	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	/	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	/	/
18:6	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.60	0.40	0.40	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.80	/	0.80	/	0.80
24:7	0.33	0.67	0.67	0.33	0.00	0.33	0.67	0.50	0.67	/	0.67	0.50	0.67	0.50	0.67	/
26:12	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	/	1.00	/	/
28:3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	/	0.00	/	/
40:10	0.60	1.00	1.00	0.80	0.00	0.40	0.60	1.00	0.40	1.00	0.80	0.60	/	0.60	/	/
44:3	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	/	1.00	1.00	1.00	/	1.00	/	0.25
70:15-6	0.60	0.60	0.60	0.80	0.20	0.20	0.40	0.20	0.40	0.40	0.60	/	/	0.60	/	/
77:18-9	0.92	1.00	0.92	1.00	0.38	0.38	0.70	0.69	/	0.85	0.85	/	/	0.92	/	/
91:13	0.33	0.67	0.67	0.50	0.67	0.00	0.67	0.83	/	0.67	0.33	/	/	0.33	0.67	/
104:15	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.67	0.33	0.67	1.00	/	1.00	1.00	/	/	1.00	/	/
112:7-8	0.88	0.88	0.50	0.88	0.50	0.13	0.63	0.88	/	0.88	0.88	/	/	0.63	/	0.38
113:3.5	0.78	0.78	0.56	0.78	0.78	0.56	0.44	0.78	/	0.78	0.78	0.67	/	0.78	/	/
118:103.5	0.70	0.90	0.90	0.90	0.30	0.50	0.80	0.80	/	0.90	0.90	0.80	0.60	0.70	1.00	0.50
120:4	1.00	0.33	0.33	0.67	1.00	0.00	0.33	0.33	/	0.33	0.67	0.67	0.67	0.67	/	/
125:5-6	0.85	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.23	0.62	0.85	0.92	/	1.00	0.92	0.85	0.92	1.00	1.00	0.62
146:2.12-14	0.92	1.00	0.92	0.83	0.42	0.75	0.92	0.92	/	1.00	0.92	/	1.00	0.75	/	/
Σ+ readings	96	105	97	99	48	53	82	93	26	93	97	47	45	86	27	25
Σ variant sites	120	120	120	120	120	120	117	120	39	110	120	63	56	114	33	48
Overall	0.79	0.88	0.81	0.83	0.40	0.44	0.70	0.78	0.67	0.85	0.80	0.75	0.80	0.75	0.82	0.52

Proximity coefficient to GA, RO and ME

