THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF AUGUSTINE'S *CONTRA FELICEM* TOWARDS A NEW CRITICAL EDITION

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Abstract

This article presents the first comprehensive examination of the manuscript transmission of Augustine's *Contra Felicem*. This work contains the report of a two-day debate, which took place on December 7 and 12, 404, between Augustine and a Manichaean teacher named Felix. After a brief overview of the extant manuscripts, their dating and provenance, the article analyses the relationships between these witnesses. This analysis shows that *Contra Felicem* was transmitted in two branches, the older one represented by a single, eleventh-century witness from Monte Cassino, the other one consisting of sixteen manuscripts. This latter branch originated in central France, and its oldest manuscripts date to the twelfth century. A stemma summarizes the conclusions regarding the direct transmission of *Contra Felicem*. Thereafter the article discusses the previous editions of the work, with special attention to the question of which manuscripts the editors consulted. The article concludes with a brief note on the text's indirect transmission, its circulation during the Middle Ages, and the *ratio edendi* of a future critical edition.

Keywords

Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, Textual Criticism, Manichaeism

1. Introduction[1]

On Wednesday, December 7, and Monday, December 12, in the year 404, Augustine of Hippo held a public debate with the Manichaean

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Felix.[2] The minutes of this debate are preserved as Augustine's *Contra Felicem* (*c. Fel.*).[3] The work's genre is of some interest: Augustine describes this work as the record of ecclesiastical *gesta*.[4] The text purportedly contains the words of both the bishop of Hippo and a Manichaean teacher in a debate that took place the two days mentioned above. During the debate, Augustine frequently has recourse to documentary evidence in order to strengthen his argument. On the

helpful remarks on earlier drafts of this article, and the two anonymous reviewers for their detailed reports. Additionally, a word of thanks goes out to Richard W. Bishop, who helped me with the English of this contribution.

[2] On *Contra Felicem* and its dating, see F. DECRET, 'Felicem Manichaeum (Contra -)', *Augustinus-Lexikon* 2 (Basel, 2002), col. 1256-1263. Throughout this article, references to the text of *Contra Felicem* indicate the page and line numbers of Zycha's edition [*CSEL*, 25/2] (Vienna-Leipzig, 1892) and sometimes also the book and paragraph numbers of the text. An adequate translation of *Contra Felicem* can be found in R. TESKE, *The Manichaean Debate* [*The Works of Saint Augustine*, I/19] (New York, 2006). Unless otherwise indicated, the present article's translations of *Contra Felicem* are my own. *Contra Felicem* itself specifies the dates on which the debate between Augustine and Felix took place. See in particular *c. Fel.* I,1: *Honorio Augusto sexies consule septimo idus Decembris* (801,3): "When Honorius was Emperor for the sixth time, on the seventh day before the Ides of December [i.e. on 7 December]"; *c. Fel.* I,20: *aut usque ad diem, qui est post dominicum, id est pridie idus Decembris* (826,4-5): "... or until the day after the Lord's day, that is, the day before the Ides of December [i.e., the day before 13 December]"; *c. Fel.* II,1: *pridie iduum Decembrium* (827,7): "... the day before the Ides of December". Throughout this publication, I use abbreviations for Augustine's writings as listed in the *Augustinus-Lexikon*.

[3] On the setting of *Contra Felicem* and its literary form as the minutes of a public debate, see E. IRICINSCHI, '*Tam pretiosi codices uestri*: Hebrew Scriptures and Persian Books in Augustine's Anti-Manichaean Writings', in: P. Townsend, M. Vidas, *Revelation, Literature and Community in Late Antiquity* (Tübingen, 2011), p. 154-176, in particular p. 162-164; P. RIEDLBERGER, 'A Critical Edition of FRG. Manich. renunt. (*Fragmenta quattuor ad Manichaeum renuntiandum pertinentia*), Including the *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*, and of AUG. epist. 79', *Eos* 107 (2020), p. 153-186. IRICINCHI argues that the minutes of the debate were written by two different scribes, each on one day of the debate. The text of the first day and book of *c. Fel.* contains additional details about the circumstances of the debate, describing how Augustine carries a codex and hands it over to Felix, who proceeds to read from it. See, for example, *c. Fel.* I,1 (801,10-16). Although it is true that the second day of the debate contains fewer such details, the differences between the reports of the two days may also reflect how Augustine adjusted his argumentation from the first day to the second: the first day contains more documentary argumentation, whereas the second contains more discursive argumentation.

[4] *Retr.* II,8, l. 6-7: *gesta sunt ecclesiastica, sed inter meos libros conputantur*; ed. A. MUTZENBECHER, *Augustinus, Retractationum libri II* [*CCSL*, 57] (Turnhout, 1984), p. 97. See also Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 16,4, l. 16-19: *Cum quodam etiam Felice* [...] *publice in Hipponiensi ecclesia notariis excipientibus disputauit populo adstante*; *Vita di Cipriano, vita di Ambrogio, vita di Agostino*, testo critico e commento a cura di A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN (Milan, 1975), p. 170.

first day of the debate, he cites evidence from different *codices*. He draws citations from Mani's *Epistula fundamenti*, the Gospel of John, the Acts of the Apostles, Paul's First Epistle to Timothy and the First Epistle to the Corinthians.[5] During the second day, Augustine cites from Mani's *Thesaurus* and from *Acts* authored by Leucius (the *Acts* of whom, i.e., the personal subject of these *Acts*, is left unspecified).[6] Augustine's *Contra Felicem* had a tangible influence on anti-Manichaean polemics in late antiquity. Segments of its argumentation – including the use of the aforementioned *Thesaurus* and *Acts* – are attested in the treatise *Aduersus Manichaeos* by Augustine's younger contemporary Evodius.[7] Possidius of Calama likewise consulted *Contra Felicem* in preparation of his biography of Augustine.[8] The text

[5] See *c. Fel.* I,1 (801,10-11): *Et cum Augustinus episcopus epistulam Manichaei, quam fundamenti appelllant, protulisset, dixit*; *c. Fel.* I,1 (801,16): *Et cum accepisset codicem Felix, legit*; *c. Fel.* I,3 (802,28): *Et cum accepisset codicem euangelii, recitauit*; *c. Fel.* I,3 (803,25-26): *Et cum reddidisset codicem euangelii, accepit actus apostolorum et dixit*; *c. Fel.* I,4 (804,6): *Et recitauit ex actibus apostolorum*; *c. Fel.* I,7 (808,23-24): *Et accepta epistula apostoli Pauli ad Timotheum legit*; *c. Fel.* I,11 (813,2): *Et cum diceret, ex apostolo legit*.

[6] J. VAN OORT, 'Augustine and the Manichaeans: Their Church, Books, and Impact', in: J. van Oort, *Mani and Augustine: Collected Essays on Mani, Manichaeism and Augustine* [*NHMS*, 97] (Leiden, 2020), p. 190-206, in particular p. 198, reports that Augustine cited Mani's *Thesaurus* "evidently from memory". Although the text of *Contra Felicem* does not indicate that Augustine cites from a codex here, it may be that Augustine did prepare his scriptural evidence for the second day of debate, and that, if Augustine cites the *Thesaurus* and Leucius' *Acts* from memory, he memorized these Manichaean passages in preparation for the debate. In any case, Augustine seems to cite accurately. Evodius, who would cite the same passages from Mani's *Thesaurus* and from Leucius' unspecified *Acts*, renders these citations in an almost identical form. That Evodius is able to provide details from the *Thesaurus* not given by Augustine suggests that he was citing from a text other than Augustine's *Contra Felicem* itself. See A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith, Against the Manichaeans: Critical Edition and Historical, Literary and Theological Study of the Treatise* Aduersus Manichaeos*, Attributed to Evodius of Uzalis* [*IPM*, 79] (Turnhout, 2020), p. 245. On Leucius, see J.K. COYLE, 'Biblical Pseudepigrapha among North African Manichaeans', in: S.G. Richter, C. Horton, K. Ohlhafer, *Mani in Dublin: Selected Papers from the Seventh International Conference of the International Association of Manichaean Studies in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 8-12 September 2009* [*NHMS*, 88] (Leiden, 2015), p. 71-100, esp. p. 83-84.

[7] See Evodius, *Aduersus Manichaeos* 5 (A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith*, p. 346). The critical edition of A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith* (p. 342-402) is identical to the preceding edition: A. VANSPAUWEN, 'The Anti-Manichaean Treatise *De fide contra Manichaeos*, Attributed to Evodius of Uzalis: Critical Edition and Translation', *Sacris Erudiri* 57 (2018), p. 7-116 (in particular p. 44-104).

[8] Possidius dedicated a passage from his *Vita Augustini* to the debate between Augustine and Felix. See Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 16,4, l. 16-23; ed. A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN, *Vite dei santi a cura di Christine Mohrmann* (Milan, 1975),

may also have influenced the so-called *Commonitorium*, a late fifth-century ecclesiastical document which prescribes how to reintegrate repentant Manichaeans into the Catholic Church.[9] The closing words of *Contra Felicem* – which contain anathemas pronounced by Augustine and the now-persuaded Felix – also circulated independently in a series of four anti-Manichaean anathemas.[10] Isidore of Seville was familiar with passages from *Contra Felicem*,[11] but otherwise the work was scarcely known during the Middle Ages. Its earliest preserved witness is from the eleventh century. Today only seventeen manuscripts of *Contra Felicem* are known to be extant.

In more recent times, the treatise and its reception have attracted little scholarly attention. Joseph Zycha, in his edition of multiple Augustinian anti-Manichaica, consulted four manuscripts (on this edition, see below). For his entry in the *Augustinus-Lexikon*, François Decret simply paraphrases the findings of Zycha, without including additional manuscripts mentioned in the series *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*.[12] In the three-volume *Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, the treatise does not even have its own lemma.[13] The present contribution fills these scholarly *lacunae* by analysing the textual transmission of *Contra Felicem* and by addressing several editorial challenges, in preparation of a new critical edition.[14]

p. 170. For his account, Possidius relies on information given by the text of *Contra Felicem*.

[9] See the discussion below, on the indirect transmission of *Contra Felicem*.

[10] See P. RIEDLBERGER, 'A Critical Edition of FRG. Manich. renunt.'.

[11] Once in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I,26 and once in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I,30. See also the discussion of the indirect transmission.

[12] At the time F. DECRET published his entry in the *Augustinus-Lexikon*, 'Felicem Manichaeum (Contra -)', the HÜWhA series had already produced volumes which furnished further information on Italian (1970; two manuscripts), British (1972; five manuscripts), and Belgian (2000; one manuscript) witnesses to the text of *Contra Felicem*, in addition to the four French witnesses (from Troyes and Paris) consulted by Zycha. Although Decret refers to the HÜWhA series' volumes 1,2, and 8, he does not add the relevant manuscripts to his discussion of the work's transmission. See F. DECRET, 'Felicem Manichaeum (Contra -)', col. 1256.

[13] K. POLLMANN & W. OTTEN, *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, 3 volumes (Oxford, 2013).

[14] Studies on *Contra Felicem*, though not on its transmission, include: F. DECRET, *Aspects du manichéisme dans l'Afrique romaine: Les controverses de Fortunatus, Faustus et Felix avec saint Augustin* (Paris, 1970); G.S. GASPARRO, 'The Disputation with Felix: Themes and Modalities of Augustine's Polemic', in: J.A. van den Berg et al., *'In Search of Truth': Augustine, Manichaeism and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty* [*NHMS*, 74] (Leiden, 2011), p. 519-544. See also the bibliography in F. DECRET, 'Felicem Manichaeum (Contra -)', col. 1263.

2. The Direct Transmission of *Contra Felicem*

a. Overview of the Manuscripts

Contra Felicem is transmitted in at least seventeen manuscripts, which date from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. The following list contains the known witnesses of *Contra Felicem* in more or less chronological order by century, indicating *siglum*, current repository, provenance (if known); and (approximate) date.[15]

Mc Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'abbazia, 15; orig. Monte Cassino, 11th century[16]

Ca^2 Cambridge, University Library, Add. 3576; orig. Pontigny, 1151-1160[17]

T^1 Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 40/2; orig. Clairvaux, 12th century[18]

[15] My approach is to assign *sigla* on the basis of the current repository, which results in a more transparent and consistent system. Conversely, the use of *sigla* in the most recent edition of *Contra Felicem* (Zycha, *CSEL*, 25/2) is internally inconsistent: Zycha uses one set of *sigla* in his preface and another set of *sigla* in the edition proper. For example, *P*^{1} is a Paris manuscript (from the Bibliothèque nationale de France) which was once part of the collection of Colbert. In his preface, Zycha uses the *siglum C* (*Colbertinus*) for this witness, but in his edition Zycha refers to the same manuscript as a *Parisinus*, using the *siglum R* (for the *r* in *Parisinus*?). With regard to the Troyes manuscripts from Clairvaux, Zycha uses the *sigla T* (*Trecensis*) and *R* (for the *r* in *Trecensis*?) for *T*^{1} and *T*^{2}, respectively, and uses *S* for *T*^{2} in his edition (for an *s* in *Trecensis*?).

[16] F. Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058-1105* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 80-82 and 350; M. Oberleitner, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band I/2: *Italien: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken* (Vienna, 1970), p. 37.

[17] J.S. Ringrose, *Summary Catalogue of the Additional Medieval Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library Acquired before 1940* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 122-123; F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band II/2: *Großbritannien und Irland: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken* (Vienna, 1972), p. 46-47.

[18] A. Vernet, J.-F. Genest & J.-P. Bouhot, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XIIe au XVIIIe siècle, II. Les manuscrits conservés. Première partie: Manuscrits bibliques, patristiques et théologiques* (Paris-Turnhout, 1997), p. 381-382; C. Samaran & R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, tome V: *Est de la France* (Paris, 1965), p. 449; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements, publié sous les auspices du ministère de l'instruction publique*, tome 2 (Paris, 1855), p. 33-35; K. Doyle, 'Early Cistercian Manuscripts from Clairvaux', in: L. Cleaver, A. Bovey & L. Donkin, *Illuminating the Middle Ages: Tributes to Prof. John Lowden from his Students, Friends and Colleagues* (Boston, 2020), p. 109-124, esp. p. 110-112 dates the collection of *T*^{1} prior to 1147 or 1153.

T[2] Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, 201; orig. Clairvaux, 12th century[19]

P[2] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2093; prov. Saint-Amand, end of 12th century[20]

So Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'agglomération, 11; prov. Clairmarais, 12th century[21]

Or Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 335; orig. Fleury, 12th-13th century[22]

P[3] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14295; prov. Saint-Victor, Paris, 13th century[23]

Ox[2] Oxford, Merton College, 14; prov. Wells, 13th-14th century[24]

P[1] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2083; prov. Avignon, 14th century[25]

P[4] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 15298; orig. Sorbonne, 14th century[26]

[19] A. Vernet, J.-F. Genest & J.-P. Bouhot, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux*, p. 410; *Catalogue général*, tome 2, p. 94. Vernet, Genest, and Bouhot date this manuscript to the thirteenth century. I have retained the dating from the *Catalogue général*, because the textual evidence of *T*[2] supports a dating before the thirteenth century, or at least before *P*[2] and *So*.

[20] Archives et manuscrits, 'Latin 2093', *sine dato*; https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc59986j; consulted on 22 March 2021; P. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins: Tome II (N*[os] *1439-2692)* (Paris, 1940), p. 317.

[21] S. Staats, *Le catalogue médiéval de l'abbaye cistercienne de Clairmarais et les manuscrits conservés* (Paris, 2016), p. 132-133; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements publié sous les auspices du ministre d'état*, tome 3 (Paris, 1861), p. 16.

[22] E. Pellegrin & J.-P. Bouhot, *Catalogue des manuscrits médiévaux de la bibliothèque municipale d'Orléans* (Paris, 2010), p. 481-482; M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum, 1989), p. 178-179; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Départements, tome 12: *Orléans* (Paris, 1889), p. 180-181.

[23] G. Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor: Catalogue établi sur la base du répertoire de Claude de Grandrue (1514)*, t. 2: *Texte* (Turnhout, 1999), p. 200-201; P.-M. Hombert, *Scripta Arriana latina 2* [*CCSL*, 87A] (Turnhout, 2009), p. 42-43.

[24] R.M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Merton College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2009), p. 18-21; F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* II/2, p. 300.

[25] Archives et manuscrits, 'Latin 2083', *sine dato*; https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc59978t; consulted on 22 March 2021; P. Lauer, *Catalogue général*, p. 311-312. The *Archives et manuscrits* webpage of the BnF offers access to a detailed description of the manuscript by François Avril, librarian at the BnF. The information I provide regarding provenance and dating is from Avril. The earlier catalogue of the BnF dated *P*[1] to the thirteenth century.

[26] P.-M. Hombert, *Scripta Arriana latina 2*, p. 44-45.

B Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, 1235-53; prov. Priory of Sint-Martensdaal, Leuven, 15th century[27]
Ca^{1} Cambridge, University Library, Ii.3.2 [1766]; 15th century[28]
Ce Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, D X 1; 1454[29]
L London, Lambeth Palace, 50; 1486[30]
Ox^{1} Oxford, Brasenose College, 12; 15th century[31]
Pa Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 350; prov. Saint-Victor, Paris, 15th century[32]

A brief note on the references to variant readings is in order here. Throughout this contribution, I refer to the most recent edition, which is Zycha's (*CSEL*, 25/2). References to this edition indicate page and line numbers, between parentheses. Very often Zycha followed the readings of *T*^{1} (or overlooked its errors). So, in the presentation of *T*^{1} and its relatives, sometimes I propose an archetypal reading which disagrees with Zycha (who followed *T*^{1}). In such cases, I underline what I believe to be the correct reading (against Zycha's).

b. Mc*, the Oldest Manuscript of* Contra Felicem

Mc, an eleventh-century manuscript in Beneventan script, is the oldest known manuscript of *Contra Felicem*. It has many unique readings, some of which appear to be errors. The manuscript also contains several blank spaces. The length of these spaces corresponds to the length of the missing text.[33] This suggests that, at some stage, *Mc*'s model

[27] J. Van Den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, tome 2: *Patrologie* (Brussels, 1902), p. 162-163; M.T. Wieser, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band VIII/2: *Belgien, Luxemburg und Niederlande: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken* (Vienna, 2000), p. 74-75.

[28] *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge: Edited for the Syndics of the University Press*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1858; repr. Munich, 1980), p. 402-403; F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* II/2, p. 34; P.-M. Hombert, *Scripta Arriana latina 2*, p. 27.

[29] M. Oberleitner, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* I/2, p. 56-57.

[30] M.R. James & C. Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, Part 1: *Nos. 1-97* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 68-71; F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* II/2, p. 206-207.

[31] F. Römer, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* II/2, p. 290.

[32] G. Ouy, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor*, t. 2, p. 217-218; P.-M. Hombert, *Scripta Arriana latina 2*, p. 47-48.

[33] For example, in *Mc*, p. 344, second column, line 29, there is a blank space of around fifteen characters in length. The text that is lost in this passage, *de quo uoluero* (811,20-21), would have neatly fitted here. The following line has a blank space of similar length, which corresponds to the length of the missing words *et docueris me* (811,21). F. Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, p. 201-202

did contain the missing text. *Mc* also lacks the ending of the treatise, due to a loss of leaves: the preserved text ends mid-sentence near the conclusion of *Contra Felicem*, at the bottom of p. 368 in *Mc*. The final words of that page are *quibus con-*, which correspond to Zycha's *quia concessisti* (851,28). Conversely, *Mc* frequently contains more text than the other manuscripts. For example, in its incipit *Gloriosissimo Honorio Augusto*, the word *gloriosissimo* is most likely an addition. In his *Retractationes*, Augustine cites the incipit of *Contra Felicem* as *Honorio Augusto*, without *gloriosissimo*.[34] Shortly after the incipit (and after indicating the date of the first debate), *Mc* also offers a description of the setting: *Gesta habita contra Felicem Manichaeum, praesente clero et plebe in ecclesia pacis Hipponensium regiorum*.[35] It is possible that at one point in the transmission of this work a scribe or rubricator added this material to the beginning of *Contra Felicem*, since the note does not supply information that cannot be found elsewhere in the work: the end of book I refers to the *gesta*; the entirety of *Contra Felicem* describes the debate of Augustine against the Manichaean Felix; the ending of book I states that the people were present during the debate (*coram populo – Mc*'s ablative absolute *praesente clero et plebe*, with its additional mention of the *clerus*, expands upon this note); and the beginning of book II situates the debate (at least its second day) in the church of Peace in Hippo.[36]

There are many instances where the text of *Mc* has additional sentences that are not attested by the other manuscripts. Some of these additions may well be readings of the archetype that are absent in the other manuscripts due to a *saut du même au même*, probably made in a common ancestor. All such instances are listed below (with reference to the text of Zycha). I underline the words or word forms which may point to a *saut du même au même*.

- quomodo sit missus (807,7)] <u>quomodo sit</u> promissus et <u>quando sit</u> missus[37]

and p. 322-323 (n. 500) states that these and similar blank spaces in several Monte Cassino manuscripts (including our *Mc*) point to defective exemplars.

[34] *Retr*. II,8, l. 13-14: *hoc opus sic incipit:* Honorio augusto VI consule VII idus Decembris; ed. A. MUTZENBECHER [*CCSL*, 57], p. 97.

[35] These words are added after *Decembris* (801,3).

[36] Cf. *his in ecclesia coram populo gestis subscripsi* (827,2) and *res sic agi coepit in ecclesia Pacis* (827,7). The *gesta* are mentioned a little earlier at the end of book I (826,22).

[37] In the text of *Mc*, the former phrase (*quomodo sit promissus*) refers to Jesus' promise in the previously cited Lk 24:36-49, whereas the latter (*quando sit missus*)

- ex parte prophetat. dixi (814,14-15)] ex parte prophetat, unde tibi uisum est quod fecerit locum Manichaeo uenturo post se. Egarum [*sic*] delectione ipsius apostoli ostendi unde hoc dixisset apostolus quid ex parte dixit
- coaeterna non sunt illi (823,1-2)] coaeterna sunt illi et ista terra de qua te interrogaui coaeterna est illi[38]
- non generauit deus (823,2)] non generauit deus, an meliora sunt quae generauit deus. Quam est ipsa terra[39]
- nos liberaret (825,7)] nos liberaret secundum Pauli dictum, Christus nos liberauit[40]
- AUG. dixit (826,27)] Augustinus dixit: Cum isto fratre Bonifatio. Felix dixit: Etiam. Augustinus dixit
- subsistunt (831,8)] subsistunt et deus non sunt
- remunerandis peccatoribus (831,16)] remunerandis bonis et damnandis peccatoribus
- hoc tantum sacrilegium (835,7)] hoc tantum nefas hoc tantum sacrilegium
- non potuit deus totum purgare? et quia non potuit (835,9-10)] non potuit deus totum purgare quod miscuit et ex his partibus suis quas purgare non potuit[41]

refers to Acts 1-2,11, in particular to its description of how the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles at Pentecost.

[38] See following note.

[39] The readings of 823,1-2 and 823,2 are part of a quite complex argument of Augustine (cf. Zycha's edition, 823,1-4). The argument seems best preserved in *Mc*, which reads (interpunction and spelling modernized): *Si quae genuit deus coaeterna sunt illi, et ista terra de qua te interrogaui coaeterna est illi, melior est terra illa quam non generauit deus? An meliora sunt quae generauit deus quam est ipsa terra ubi habitant omnia quae generauit deus, quam terram dicis ab eo non generatam?* As indicated above, the other manuscripts have omitted two phrases due to a *saut du même au même*. With these two phrases left out, the argument would read as follows: *Si quae genuit deus coaeterna sunt illi, melior est terra illa quam non generauit deus, quam est ipsa terra ubi habitant omnia quae generauit deus, quam terram dicis ab eo non generatam?* This reading, however, is not attested in any manuscript. Instead, all manuscripts except for *Mc* also lack the phrase *quam est ipsa terra*. This phrase was possibly omitted early in a common ancestor because the phrase is redundant and confusing, and omitting the phrase results in a clear argument again. Additionally, with the exception of *Or*, Ca^1, and *L*, all other manuscripts have also added *non* (see Zycha's reading *coaeterna non sunt* in 823,1). This addition would solve a possible problem in Augustine's argumentation: without *non*, Augustine states God's creation (*quae genuit deus*) is coeternal to God. This description presents the Manichaean views in an ironic manner. The addition of *non*, conversely, would correct this statement to orthodox doctrine (that creation is not coeternal to God).

[40] In this case, it cannot be excluded that *Mc* has incorporated a gloss (*secundum Pauli dictum,* Christus nos liberauit [Gal 3:13]) into the main text.

[41] An omission due to *saut du même au même* would result in the following text: *non potuit deus totum purgare. non potuit*. However, all the manuscripts except *Mc*

- quo tendit (843,2)] quo tetendit uel quo tendit
- Non dixi; sed dixi, quia ex deo est (847,2)] non dixi quia ex deo non est, sed quia ex deo est[42]
- ex deo est. ergo si ex deo est (847,8-9)] ex deo est. Augustinus dixit: Plane facta ex deo est et data homini ex deo est et in homine facta ex deo est. Felix dixit: Ergo si ex deo est[43]

This rather large amount of cases where *Mc* has preserved text lost in all the other witnesses, points to a hyparchetype shared by all the other manuscripts. It is therefore logical to conclude that *Mc* derives from one (Italian?) branch of the transmission, and that all the other manuscripts derive from a separate (French) branch and depend on a common ancestor *β*. In spite of its unique stemmatical position, the manuscript *Mc* should, however, be used with prudence. There are not only the already mentioned lacunae (mostly corresponding to blank spaces) and omissions, but many of its unique readings are easily classified as simple errors, adjustments to syntax, or biblical normalisations.

Let us now turn to the different groups of manuscripts that can be discerned within those depending on *β*.

c. Family γ

The first group consists of T^1, P^3, Ox^2, P^1, *Ce*, *L*, Ox^1, and *Pa*. It is characterized by the following errors:

tu (*ante* lege 801,15)] *om.*; sublatus (804,26)] subleuatus (eleuatus *Ce*); ex (de 805,18)] de; illorum (eorum 806,20)] eorum; quomodo

read *et quia* before the second instance of *non potuit*. This addition gives a new syntactic purpose to the otherwise isolated phrase *non potuit* (cf. Zycha, 835,9-11).

[42] The omission due to a *saut du même au même* would have resulted in the following reading (placed in the larger context of Augustine's argument, cf. Zycha 847,2-3): *Non dixi quia ex deo est, tamquam a deo facta, non tamquam de deo nata*. However, this phrasing does not appear in any manuscript. Instead, all manuscripts (other than *Mc*) read *sed dixi* after *non dixi*. This addition seems to solve a problem in the text just cited. According to that reading Augustine would contradict his own reasoning in two ways. First, he would respond *non dixi quia ex deo est* to Felix's objection *dixisti de anima quia ex deo non est* (847,1). In other words, this reading would mean Augustine agrees with what Felix says, which is clearly not the case. Second, this reading would also disagree with the content of Augustine's thinking. Instead of stating that the soul is made but not begotten by God (see, for example, 847,7; 849,7-10), Augustine would now claim the opposite. In order to solve these problems it appears that the common ancestor of all manuscripts except *Mc* had added *sed dixi*.

[43] An omission due to *saut du même au même* would result in Felix saying, mid-sentence, *Felix dixit*. It seems therefore logical that the phrase *Felix dixit* was also omitted by all manuscripts except *Mc*.

(806,22)] prout; et (de[3] 807,16)] de; autem (enim 814,23)] enim; et (818,20)] aut (ut $T^{1a.c.}$); dixit ita (825,1)] dixisti ita (dixita $T^{1a.c.}$); in naue (834,27)] ignaue (in uane *L*)

Manuscript T^1 is the oldest and, generally speaking, the most reliable of this family. Yet this manuscript also contains unique errors, which are not preserved by other manuscripts of this group. Additionally, the other manuscripts of γ have many errors in common that are not attested in T^1. Therefore, γ consists of two branches, one represented by the manuscript T^1, and the other represented by the manuscripts P^3, Ox^2, P^1, *Ce*, *L*, Ox^1, and *Pa*. The following list presents the individual errors of T^1. Where I believe the reading of the archetype differs from Zycha (who often follows T^1), I underline the archetypal reading that I propose:

qui et (806,19)] quique; quia (quod 808,25)] quod; epistula (811,5)] enim epistula; autem (ante 815,15)] ante; uides (uide 816,22)] uide; est (833,16)] *om.*; quam (quam non 838,28)] quam non; deus (deus est 844,10-11)] deus est

Additionally, T^1 is the only manuscript in which a citation from 1 Tim 4:1-6 (808,25-809,6) is repeated in extensive form (809,20-810,2), whereas all other manuscripts read, from *quia* (809,20) onwards: *et cetera quae supra sunt*. The uniformity of that phrase suggests an archetypal origin; therefore, T^1 must have added the citation here. Conversely, common errors of P^3, Ox^2, P^1, *Ce*, *L*, Ox^1, and *Pa* are:

sanctum (803,27)] secundum; apostolorum (807,25)] *om.*; et[3] (811,11)] quod; ego (812,20)] ergo; uaniloquiis (830,25)] inaniloquiis (in uaniloquiis *Ce*); tibi (*ante* probo 831,19)] *om.*; mundatur (845,3)] peccatum mundatur; non (845,9)] nunc (*om. L*)

It seems unlikely that one extant manuscript was the ancestor of all the other witnesses of the group P^3, Ox^2, P^1, *Ce*, *L*, Ox^1, and *Pa*. It is more likely that these manuscripts depend on a now-lost witness (hyparchetype δ). As we will see, all manuscripts of this group belong to one of three branches within this family. A first subgroup consists of P^3, P^1, *Ce*, and *Pa*. These witnesses have, among others, the following errors in common:

Iesu (801,17)] *om.*; deinde (801,19)] et deinde; sancti (805,14)] *om.*; et (806,6)] *om.*; ego (818,7)] *om.*; probo (818,10)] *om.*; motio (823,28)] commotio

P^3 is the oldest of this group and is most likely the ancestor of P^1, *Ce*, and *Pa*. It has no errors in addition to those it shares with P^1, *Ce*, and

Pa, with the exception of the following ones, which could have easily been corrected by any later copyist:

> sic (803,18)] P^1 *Ce*, si P^3 *Pa*; leges (813,16)] legis; et globo ligauit ... potuit purgare (836,6-7)] *ditt.* P^3; factam (847,12)] *Ce*, facta P^3 P^1 *Pa*

In these few cases (the above list is exhaustive), the nature of the errors (grammatical errors, biblical citations) sufficiently clarifies why P^1, *Ce*, or *Pa* did not retain the errant reading of P^3. There are no additional errors common to the three witnesses P^1, *Ce*, and *Pa* that are not also preserved in P^3, with one exception.[44] In other words, there is no reason to suppose a common ancestor for the three manuscripts, which would derive from P^3. Many errors, however, are shared by P^1 and *Ce*. These common errors, in addition to various unique errors in both manuscripts, suggest that P^1 and *Ce* derive from a now-lost ancestor (ε) dependent on P^3. The manuscript *Pa*, on the other hand, is a later copy of P^3 (both P^3 and *Pa* come from Saint-Victor in Paris), with many additional errors. Errors common to P^1 and *Ce* include, for instance:

> Iudaea et Samaria (804,24-25)] Samaria et Iudaea; sibi (805,18)] suum; et (806,19)] *om.*; illius (808,3)] ipsius; si (811,4)] *om.*; fuisse (811,23)] non fuisse

Individual errors of P^1 are:

> autem (803,9)] *om.*; et (803,21)] in; accepit (803,25)] *om.*; die (804,8)] diem; etc.

Errors unique to *Ce* are:

> uiuo (801,18)] uno; quoniam (802,19)] quando; hic (803,10)] *om.*; etc.

Finally, the following list contains several individual errors of *Pa*:

> turbati (803,4)] perturbati; respicientes (804,29)] suspicientes; Iacobus et Andreas (805,5-6)] *om.*; ad inuicem (806,27-28)] *om.*; etc.

The remaining manuscripts of δ, namely Ox^2, *L*, and Ox^1, have some errors in common, which are not attested in P^3 and its descendants. Therefore, it may be plausible that Ox^2, *L*, and Ox^1 have a common ancestor, from which they drew these common errors. These errors are:[45]

> [1] et (*ante* finem 807,18)] *om.*; [2] aut^2 ... mala^2 (832,3-4)] *om.*; [3] ostentatio (833,14)] ostendatam Ox^2 Ox^1; [4] ad^2 (833,28)] *om.*;

[44] Dicit (839,17)] dixit P^1 *Ce Pa*.

[45] Note that in its current form Ox^1 is missing two leaves. There are two parallel sets of folium numbers in that manuscript. Whereas the most recent numbering goes from f. 75 to f. 76, the older set numbers the two folia as 88 and 91 respectively, thus

[5] tamen (837,30)] tm̄ [tantum?]; [6] sanctum et iustum (841,12)] iustum et sanctum; [7] non (843,30)] non est; [8] dicit (849,30)] dixit; [9] quidem (851,22)] quid est

This list of errors is exhaustive: for the manuscripts Ox^2, *L*, Ox^1, there appear to be nine common errors not shared with P^3. This rate of occurrences is quite low. In many cases, moreover, these readings could actually be readings that were already present in δ, in which case the supposedly correct readings of P^3 would be the result of a secondary evolution. In the case of reading [1], the omission of *et* may have been typical for family γ (T^1 also omits *et*, whereas *Mc* and the other two groups do read *et* here), while the conjunction could have been reintroduced in P^3. For readings [4], [6], [7], and possibly [8], the occurrence of the same variants in other branches could indicate that here Ox^2, *L*, and Ox^1 contain the archetypal reading, or that different branches introduced the same error independently. In the case of reading [2], which occurs uniquely in Ox^2, *L*, and Ox^1, the error could be incidental, because it omits a biblical phrase very similar to the immediately preceding one (*aut eligere quae bona sunt, et esse arbor bona*; 832,3). So, while it is not a true *saut du même au même*, it does concern an omission of the very similar phrase *aut eligere quae mala sunt, et esse arbor mala*. Alternatively, P^3 might have been able to supply the biblical phrase based on the preceding close parallel (if we suppose that the omission of the phrase characterized δ prior to P^3). Reading [3] is also a blatant error, to the extent that *L* was able to make the appropriate correction (on the relationship between *L* and Ox^2, see below). Here the error could perhaps be typical for δ, in which case P^3 also corrected it. Finally, both [5] and [9] seem to have their origin in a misreading of an abbreviation that may have characterized hyparchetype δ. With regard to [5], the manuscripts of δ frequently offer the abbreviation *tm̄* (*tantum*, most likely) where one would expect *tamen*.[46] In the case of [9], both the correct reading *quidem* as well as the error *quid est* may originate from a model that read *quidē*.[47] All in all, it is unnecessary to posit the existence of a separate ancestor responsible for the errors common to Ox^2, *L*, and

indicating that the original f. 89 and 90 are missing. Evidence from 821,8 [ab ipso]–830,9 [inimicum fecit] is thus unavailable for this overview of the errors common to Ox^2, *L*, and Ox^1.

[46] See, for example, the case of tamen (838,16)] tm̄ [tantum] Ox^2 P^1 P^3 *Pa*, tn̄ [tamen] *L Ce*, tamen Ox^1.

[47] Ox^2, for example, reads *quid ē* in this instance.

Ox[1]. The following paragraph further discusses the relationship between these three witnesses.

Manuscript *L* derives from *Ox*[2]. It contains almost all the errors of *Ox*[2] and introduces many additional ones. Moreover, a number of errors in *L* appear to have their origin in a misreading of abbreviations or diacritical markers in *Ox*[2].[48] Additionally, *Ox*[2] and *L* share a unique chapter-numbering scheme in both books of *Contra Felicem* (book I is divided into 24 chapters, book II into 28 chapters).[49] In the few cases that *L* has a correct reading against *Ox*[2], often the nature of the error (a grammatical one) clarifies why *L* has the correct reading.[50] To conclude, because of its age and the series of individual errors it contains, *Ox*[1] cannot be an ancestor of *Ox*[2] and *L*.[51]

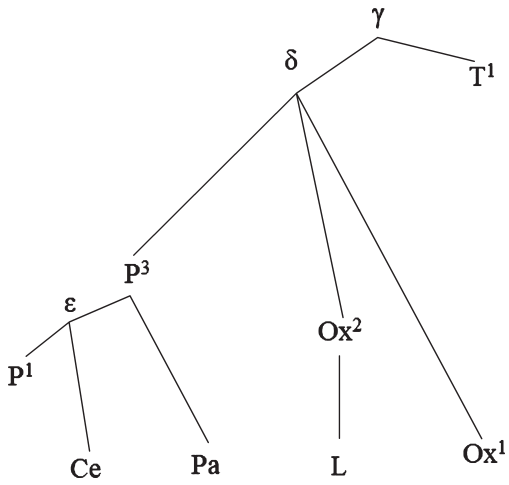
[48] For example, *Ox*[2] abbreviates *oportet* (805,13) as *o;*. This abbreviation may have been misread as *s;*, resulting in *L*'s reading *sed*. Other errors of *L* point to a misreading of *Ox*[2]'s deletion dots. For example, *L* has *non est* where *Ox*[2] has *n̰ est* (est[2] 824,20); *L* likewise has *aut* where *Ox*[2] has *a̰ut* (ut 824,15). The question of whether *L* was copied from *Ox*[2] before these deletion marks were inserted into *Ox*[2] must be answered in the negative, since some errors of *L* do seem to have built upon misinterpreted deletion dots in *Ox*[2], such as is the case with *dicis ita* (828,18). There, *Ox*[2] has *dicit̰is te* (deletion dots under *ti*, to correct *dicitis* to *dicis*). *L* misread these markers and has *dicite* instead, also deleting the final *s* of the marked word *dicitis* and combining the two words *dici te* into one word. *Ox*[2] also applied accents to the letter *i*, often in instances where juxtaposition with *n* or *u* could have caused confusion. A misreading of such accents could also explain some unique errors of *L*. For example, where *Ox*[2] has *índucat* (812,6), the accent might have been misread as an abbreviation marker for *m̀ducat*, resulting in *L*'s reading *manducat*. Similarly, *L*'s error *miscuerint* (iniciunt 835,4) could also point to a misreading of *Ox*[2]. Here, *Ox*[2] has *ínícíūt*, with an accent on each letter *i*, an abbreviation marker on the letter *u*, and possibly the letter *s*, *sup. l.* above the *c* (the script is somewhat unclear). If a scribe disregarded the first two accents, interpreted the rather ambiguous character as a supralinear *s*, interpreted the third accent as an abbreviation marker for *-er-*, and subsequently read not *iū* but *uī*, then the resulting reading would be *L*'s *miscuerint* instead of *iniciunt*. For the sake of comparison: *Ox*[1] has *misciunt* here, and *P*[3] has *miscuerit*. The archetypal reading, which must have been present in γ as well, is *iniciunt* (γ's oldest witness *T*[1] has *iniciunt* too). So, it is possible that δ added a supralinear letter *s* to this word in order to form the stem *misc-*. The suffix *–iunt*, nonsensical for this word form, then still reflects the archetypal reading (cf. *iniciunt*). *P*[3] may then have adjusted this word form to the grammatically correct *miscuerit* (*P*[3] uses the abbreviation *u̓ī* for *-ueri-*). If the hypothesis that δ read *mi*^{s}*ciūt* is correct, then in this instance *Ox*[2] and *Ox*[1] have better preserved the reading of δ (and in the case of *Ox*[2], perhaps the orthography too).

[49] This numbering scheme does not coincide with the numbering of chapters used in the editions of *c. Fel.* The modern numbering of chapters was introduced by J. Amerbach in the *editio princeps*.

[50] E.g., apostolorum (807,29)] *L*, -o *Ox*[2]; esse (813,24] *L*, est *Ox*[2] .

[51] Unique errors of *Ox*[1] include: agnoui (801,27)] *om.*; Christo (802,10)] *om.*; tu probare (802,19)] *tr.*; si ... Manichaei (802,22-23)] *om.*

The relationships between the witnesses depending on γ can thus be represented as follows:



d. Ca^2 *and Its Descendants*

A second major group of witnesses consists of *Ca*^{2}, *T*^{2}, *P*^{2}, *P*^{4}, *So*, and *B*. It is characterized by the following errors:

> mittam (803,23)] mitto; et tu (818,18)] *om.*; deus (821,1)] *om.*

The manuscript *Ca*^{2} is likely the ancestor of the others. There are only three instances in which *Ca*^{2} contains an error that the other manuscripts have not retained. In each of these cases, the errors of *Ca*^{2} are obvious and could easily be corrected by a subsequent copyist:

> deductor (805,15)] deducto *Ca*$^{2p.c.}$; mundo (834,10)] mundi; poterat (845,25)] peterat

The five manuscripts depending on *Ca*^{2} (*T*^{2}, *P*^{2}, *P*^{4}, *So*, and *B*) have a number of errors in common:

> permanebit (801,24)] manebit; si (815,17)] et si; me (816,12)] *om.*; dixit (820,2)] dixerit; et (851,30)] *om.*

Furthermore, *T*^{2} seems to be an ancestor of *P*^{2}, *P*^{4}, *So*, and *B*: it has only a very small number of unique errors where *P*^{2}, *P*^{4}, *So*, and *B* have an archetypal reading. These errors of *T*^{2} are overall quite

obvious: they concern two errors in spelling, an omission of *dixit* introducing Augustine's response (which could have easily been supplied by a later copyist), and one morphological form which a later scribe would have been able to correct:

> dixit (801,15)] *om.*; unanimes (805,8)] unianimes;[52] euacuaui (813,9)] eua-ui; accipe (824,1)] -ere

P^2, P^4, *So*, and *B* also have their own common errors, which indicate further dependence on an hyparchetype η:

> ex (804,6)] in; Manichaeus... fide fuit (810,12-13)] *om.*; ei (825,3)] enim; patientiam (840,26)] paenitentiam; sibi (841,15)] *om.*

Of the four witnesses depending on η, the manuscripts P^2, P^4, and *So* have several additional common errors, while *B* has many individual ones. Thus, it seems likely that from η the transmission splits in two branches, *B* vs. P^2, P^4, and *So*.

> Common errors of P^2, P^4, and *So*: est eius (832,29)] *tr.*; apostolus dicit (834,4)] *tr.*; nulla carne (838,27)] *tr.*; et eius (840,4)] *om.*
>
> Individual errors of *B*: sanctum (802,11)] *om.*; tu (807,8)] *om.*; fuit (810,13)] non; per spiritum sanctum (812,9)] *om.*

P^2 has two individual errors, which could have easily been corrected independently (both are part of the very common phrase *Augustinus dixit*):

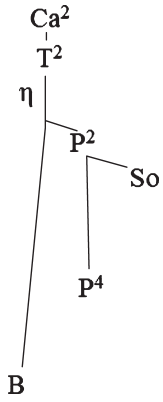
> AUG. (818,13)] Austinus; dixit (824,1)] dixi

P^4 and *So* each contain individual errors in addition to the ones they have in common with P^2.

> Examples of individual errors of P^4: sunt (803,13)] *om.*; quoadusque (803,24)] quousque; spiritu (808,2)] spiritu sancto; abiciendum (809,3)] accipiendum abiciendum; designauit (810,9)] *om.*; ut (810,18)] *om.*
>
> Examples of individual errors of *So*: legi sequentia (808,3)] *tr.*; Christus (812,9)] *om.*; posui (816,24)] proposui; ergo ambo (816,30)] *tr.*; iterum (829,8)] uerum; est (829,31)] *om.*

[52] The reading *unianimes* is also attested in Ca^2. The common occurrence of this error in both Ca^2 and T^2 probably means that T^2 retained the unusual spelling of Ca^2, a word form which was corrected in later manuscripts of this group.

In sum, the relationship between the manuscripts depending on Ca^2 can be visualized as follows:



e. Or *and* Ca^1

Manuscripts *Or* and Ca^1 represent a separate branch of the transmission of *Contra Felicem*. They have many significant errors in common, the most relevant of which are the following:

> uides (801,12)] uidetis; mendax (808,9)] *om.*; et me (808,13)] *om.*; fide (810,13)] *om.*

To these common errors, Ca^1 adds a large number of individual errors. Examples are:

> te (801,7)] *om.*; appellant (801,11)] -auit; apostolus (802,6)] *om.*; illos (802,16)] eos; tunc (802,22)] *om.*

There are, conversely, several instances in which Ca^1 does contain a correct reading where *Or* has an error. Such errors, however, do not necessarily demonstrate that Ca^1 is independent from *Or* or that it derives from an ancestor of *Or* which did not contain *Or*'s unique errors. What follows is a list of all the errors uniquely attested by *Or*. Most of these errors are very obvious (spelling errors, dittographies, words at odds with the surrounding syntactical context), and an attentive or creative scribe could have easily corrected them or supplied a sounder reading:

> enim eum (802,2)] eum *Or*, enim Ca^1; innectis (816,15)] inuectis; ne (816,15)] nec; permitto (816,18)] permuto; istam omnem (817,10)] istam in omnem *Or*, omnem istam Ca^1; numquid (818,6)] non quid; sit (819,10)] sic; introduxerint (820,3)] -unt; possint (820,12)] -unt;

coaeterna (820,14)] -am; ad (820,23)] a; an[1] (821,22)] hanc; sua (824,25)] -am; aut (825,2)] au; ut quid (825,9)] ut qui; nolle respondere (825,12)] *tr.*; dicas (825,26)] discas; quid (826,8)] qui; elegisti (826,27)] -istis; tergiuersationem (827,27)] ter iugi uersationem; cogitasti (828,1)] exgo excogitasti *Or*, excogitasti *Ca*^{1}; constat (828,19)] con constat; probata (828,27)] -atas; sacrilegum (828,31)] -ium; fingitis (829,9)] fugitis *Or*, uos fingitis *Ca*^{1}; si (829,9)] sini Si; Christo (829,22)] xpc; saeculo (829,23)] scdo; in orientem (829,24)] morientem; aeternam felicitatem (831,12)] -am facilitatem *Or*, -itatem felicitatis *Ca*^{1}; mala[2] (832,4)] bona; figmenta (833,14)] finementa; seductionem (833,17)] sedutionem; polluendam (834,1)] -a; eum (834,9)] illum; ad (836,16)] a; iusta (836,18)] iuxta; se sanandos (837,8-9)] sesa sanandos; noceri (838,30)] *om.*; tenebamur (839,3)] -atur; polluendam (841,25)] polluentem; conuicta (842,30)] coniuncta; Qui (843,24)] quod; eam (844,27)] eam-eam; unde nos (845,21)] *tr.*; hinc (846,10)] hin; creatura (846,19)] -am; facere (848,29)] facile; A (850,20)] F A; in (852,10)] *om.*

Moreover, some of *Ca*^{1}'s errors could have their origin in the misreading of an abbreviation in *Or*.[53] The relation between *Or* and *Ca*^{1}, therefore, is most likely that of ancestor and (possibly distant) descendant:



f. Concluding Notes on the Direct Transmission

In the previous paragraphs, we have argued that the transmission of *Contra Felicem* can be divided in two branches, one represented by the individual manuscript *Mc*, and one by the hyparchetype *β*. On this hyparchetype depend, in turn, two manuscripts (*Ca*^{2} and *Or*) and their descendants, and

[53] For example, *Or* has the abbreviation *apłatus* (apostolatus 806,12). This abbreviation has been resolved to *apellatus* in *Ca*^{1}. It may be, however, that the abbreviation *apłatus* was already in *β* (the ancestor of all extant manuscripts except *Mc*), since the same abbreviation is also present in *T*^{1}, *Ox*^{1}, *P*^{3}, and *Ca*^{2}, and since manuscripts from other branches also have *apellatus* (from *apłatus*), such as *Ox*^{2}. Another abbreviation which could have led to an error in *Ca*^{1} is *Or*'s ⁊ (etiam 814,2). The supralinear stroke adjusts ⁊ (*et*) to ⁊̄ (*etiam*). This marker was perhaps overlooked by a subsequent copyist, resulting in *Ca*^{1}'s reading *et*. For *aequalis est* (823,7), *Or* has the abbreviation *eq̊łē*. *Ca*^{1}'s error *aequalem* could be the result of misreading the symbol ł in particular. A copyist may have missed the abbreviation marker in the letter *l* and interpreted the abbreviation *ē* as part of the preceding word (suffix *-em*), and not as a separate word *est*. Sometimes *Ca*^{1} shares the wrong word order with *Or*, even though the latter has markers which correct the word order. For example, at 806,26 (*suo sermone*) *Or* has *sérmone śuo*. *Ca*^{1} overlooked the applied corrections to word order and has *sermone suo*.

the family γ, of which T^1 is the oldest and most reliable witness. The main manuscripts for the establishment of a critical edition are, by consequence, *Mc* and three manuscripts depending on β: Ca^2, *Or*, and T^1.

It may be important to reconsider the relationships between these four witnesses in order to determine whether any two of these four manuscripts would be more closely related to each other (because they would derive from a now-lost common ancestor). Since *Mc* represents a separate branch of the tradition, such a closer relationship can only exist between two of the three manuscripts of β. Thus, there has to be a significant amount of non-polygenetic common errors between two manuscripts of β against the archetypal reading of *Mc* and the third witness of β. What follows are three lists of variant readings. Each list contains all instances in which two manuscripts of these four have a reading in common against the other two.[54] Note that this overview does not indicate in which instances which pair has the archetypal reading against an erroneous reading of the other pair, but simply presents the readings of one pair against the other.

(1) *Mc Or* against Ca^2 T^1:

aestimabant (803,3)] Ca^2 T^1, existimabant *Mc Or*; pedes (803,6)] Ca^2 T^1, pedes meos *Mc Or*; se (804,10)] Ca^2 T^1, se ipsum *Mc Or*; et (808,13)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; sint (812,10)] Ca^2 T^1, sunt *Mc Or*; introducit (812,18)] Ca^2 T^1, -et *Mc Or*; essetis (815,26)] Ca^2 T^1, estis *Mc Or*; Christi Iesu (817,22)] Ca^2 T^1, *tr. Mc Or*; tunc^2 ... introduxerint (820,3-4)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; possint (820,12)] Ca^2 T^1, -unt *Mc Or*; aut ... pater^2 (822,17)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; non (823,1)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; incolis (824,29)] *Mc Or*, in oculis Ca^2 T^1; fateris (828,15)] Ca^2 T^1, -earis *Mc Or*; uelis tibi (828,21)] Ca^2 T^1, *tr. Mc Or*; Christi (830,12)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; confinxit (831,25)] Ca^2 T^1, -fixit *Mc Or*; facerent (832,13)] T^1 Ca^2, -et *Mc Or*; sed ... peccator^2 (833,19)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; erat (833,20)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; sancti (834,10)] $Mc^{p.c.}$ Ca^2 T^1, -is $Mc^{a.c.}$ *Or*; iniciunt (835,4)] Ca^2 T^1, inhiant *Mc*, iniciant *Or*; et (836,19)] Ca^2 T^1, *om. Mc Or*; liberauit (839,15)] Ca^2 T^1, redemit *Mc Or*; nocere poterat (841,24)] Ca^2 T^1, *tr. Mc Or*

(2) *Mc* Ca^2 against *Or* T^1:

uero unam (824,16)] *Or* T^1, *tr. Mc* Ca^2 δ; dixit (830,17)] *Mc* Ca^2, dicit *Or* T^1; quid^2 (830,17)] *Mc* Ca^2, quod *Or* T^1; adparet (843,6-7)] *Or* T^1, paret *Mc* Ca^2 δ; unicum filium (848,30)] *Or* T^1, *tr. Mc* Ca^2 δ

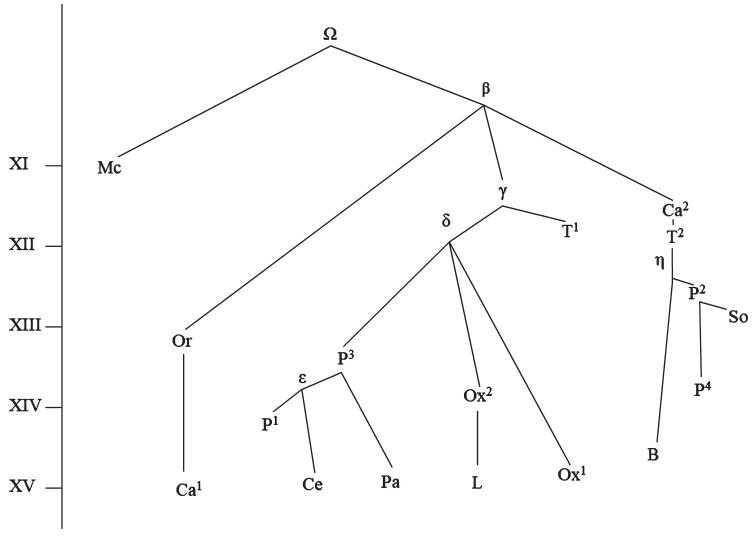
[54] Unless specified, readings of T^1 agree with the other witnesses of γ (hyparchetype δ, consisting of Ox^2 Ox^1 P^3).

(3) *Mc* T^1 against *Or* Ca^2:

> in (804,20)] *Mc* T^1, *om. Or* Ca^2; uidistis eum (805,1)] *Mc* T^1, *tr. Or* Ca^2; spiritum sanctum (807,7)] $Mc^{a.c.}$ T^1 Ox^2 P^3, -us -us $Mc^{p.c.}$, *tr. Or* Ca^2 Ox^1; Iesu Christi (809,6)] *Mc* T^1; *tr. Or* (/ihu /xpi) Ca^2; fornicatio (809,17)] *Mc* T^1, -onis *Or* Ca^2; quae (813,9)] *Mc* T^1, ea quae *Or* Ca^2; adparet (815,10)] *Or* Ca^2, -eat *Mc* T^1; super (820,11)] *Mc* T^1, supra *Or* Ca^2; ergo (824,22)] *Mc* T^1, hoc ergo *Or* Ca^2 δ; quietem (830,29)] $Mc^{a.c.}$ T^1 Ox^2 P^3, -am $Mc^{p.c.}$ *Or* Ca^2 Ox^1; ad (833,28)] *Mc* T^1 P^3, *om. Or* Ca^2 Ox^2 Ox^1; nos cum uirtute dei (839,14)] *Mc* T^1, cum uirtute dei nos *Or* Ca^2; sanctum et iustum (841,12)] *Mc* T^1 P^3, iustum et sanctum *Or* Ca^2 Ox^2 Ox^1; eam (845,32)] *Mc* T^1, illam *Or* Ca^2 δ; misericordiam (846,16)] *Mc* T^1, -ae *Or* Ca^2 δ

In my judgment, this material does not convincingly demonstrate that any pairing of manuscripts depending on β (Ca^2 T^1, *Or* T^1, or *Or* Ca^2) has enough significant common errors to assume a closer relationship. In many cases, the context in which the differing readings occur, points to polygenetic errors, such as adjustments of biblical citations to the Vulgate, syntactical simplifications, or minor grammatical modifications.

To conclude, the results presented until this point lead to the following stemma (with approximate dating):



A last matter that may warrant attention is the relationship between T^2 and hyparchetype δ in family γ. In many instances, T^2 and its

descendants (but not Ca^2) share an error with δ. I omit from this list errors that are obviously polygenetic:[55]

> ipsius (819,8)] illius; accipe (824,1)] -ere; isti qui (qui^2 830,1)] qui; et Paulus (Paulus 830,5)] Paulus; rationalem (831,9)] -abilem; sanitatem (835,29)] salutem; peccamus (836,22)] -auimus; misit filium suum (837,26-27)] filium suum misit; idem apostolus (841,11)] *tr.*; esse ex (ex 846,9)] ex; de (847,3)] a; facta (847,7)] -a est; de (ex 851,24)] ex; confirmem te (852,6)] *tr.*

Some of these instances could be incidental. The grammatical context may have caused an independent occurrence of the same errors. Nevertheless, such an explanation does not account for all the common errors, while their amount is rather high. These readings thus suggest that contamination took place in (a predecessor of) T^2 or in (a predecessor of) δ. In view of the arguments that were used above to determine the relation between Ca^2 and T^2, the former alternative is highly improbable (unless one presupposes a contamination that has only introduced errors or corrections of easily correctible mistakes). Anyway, the hypothesis of contamination seems to be strengthened by a look at the place of origin of several of the manuscripts involved. Both T^1 and T^2 were copied in Clairvaux. T^1 derives from a now-lost model (cf. hyparchetype γ), while T^2 is a copy of Ca^2, a manuscript originally from Pontigny, relatively close to Clairvaux. Hyparchetype δ is another descendant of γ, and it (or a predecessor) could have also been copied from γ in Clairvaux. It thus seems highly probable that the errors common to δ and T^2 are due to contamination that took place in Clairvaux or at least in a cistercian milieu.[56]

[55] E.g., numerum (806,12)] -o; Parthi (806,29)] Parthi et.

[56] An alternative explanation has been proposed for another Augustinian work with a similar transmission history. P.-M. HOMBERT, *Scripta Arriana latina 2*, p. 350-353 argues, for the text of Augustine's *conl. Max.* and *c. Max.*, that a Clairvaux manuscript (in his case Troyes, bm 40/9), descends from a contaminated, now-lost witness, which had a Pontigny manuscript and a Grenoble manuscript (Grenoble, bm 195) as its model. It is difficult to assess the value of this hypothesis for the transmission of *c. Fel.* The Pontigny manuscript of *conl. Max.* and *c. Max.* does not survive. For *c. Fel.*, we do have a Pontigny manuscript (Ca^2), but the Grenoble manuscript appears to be lost. On the contents of this Grenoble manuscript, see P. FOURNIER, 'La bibliothèque de la Grande-Chartreuse au moyen-âge', *Bulletin de l'Académie delphinale*, 4th series, tome 1 (1886), p. 305-386, esp. p. 348.

3. Previous Editions of *Contra Felicem*

a. Amerbach

In 1506, Johann Amerbach published the first edition of Augustine's *opera omnia* in Basel. The composition of the *opera omnia* follows the outline of Augustine's *Retractationes*, so that *Contra Felicem* is in the fourth volume of Amerbach's edition (*Am.*),[57] which contains the first writings of Augustine after his ordination as bishop of Hippo. Amerbach does not provide any notes on the manuscripts he consulted for his edition, so reconstructing his manuscript sources is a matter of conjecture. That Amerbach's edition often contains unique readings, unattested in any extant manuscript, further complicates the reconstruction of his sources.[58] Amerbach frequently adjusted the word order of *Contra Felicem*.[59] Some of his unique readings have been preserved in later editions (in some cases even in Zycha's edition).[60] When parallels exist between Amerbach and extant manuscripts, his readings usually correspond to *B*, Ca^{1}, and less frequently to *Pa* and *Ce*.[61] Some of these common errors could be fortuitous, and it remains possible that Amerbach consulted witnesses that are now lost.

b. Erasmus

In his edition of Augustine's *opera omnia*, Erasmus included *Contra Felicem* in the sixth volume, which contains Augustine's *polemica*, in particular against Jews, Manichaeans, Priscillanists, Origenists, Arians, and Jovinian.[62] This edition was published at the printing offices of Johann

[57] J. Amerbach, *Quarta pars librorum diui Aurelii Augustini quos iam episcopus edidit* (Basel, 1506).

[58] E.g., idus Decembris (801,3)] -uum -ium; Ego (801,8)] *om.*; est (804,12)] sit; baptizari (804,17)] -are.

[59] E.g., inter apostolos aliquando legimus (802,2-3)] aliquando inter apostolos legimus; apostoli Iohannis (804,1)] *tr.*; apostolis ipsis (807,22)] *tr.*

[60] E.g., ego prior (802,25)] prior ipse; te uideo (810,6)] *tr. Mss*; eorum (810,9)] eo *Mss*.

[61] The following list contains all the instances in which *Am.* agrees with only *B*, Ca^{1}, *Pa*, or *Ce*: Iohannes, Iacobus et (805,5-6)] *om. Pa*; tu (807,8)] *om. B*; possum ea dicere (812,20)] possum dicere ea *Pa*; uideas modo (813,13)] *tr.* Ca^{1}; iam (815,15)] *om. Ce*; ipsis (815,20)] eis *B*; ueritatem[2] (815,29)] *om.* Ca^{1}; uestras animas (819,15)] *tr.* Ca^{1} *Pa*; aut[1] (820,12)] *om.* Ca^{1}; bellauit (830,19)] pugnauit *B*; omnibus (831,15)] hominibus *B*; perduci (843,3)] *om. B*; iam (843,3)] *om. B*; de (847,17)] ex $Mc^{a.c.}$ *B*; ipsas (852,23)] -os Ca^{1}.

[62] D. Erasmus, *Sextus tomus operum diui Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, continens* τὰ πολεμικὰ*, hoc est, decertationes aduersus haereses praecipue*

Froben in Basel (1528). Erasmus does not specify manuscript sources. The revisions of Erasmus' text (*Er.*) compared to *Am.* give the impression that the Dutch humanist did not consult any manuscript at all for his edition of *Contra Felicem*. When his text differs from that of Amerbach, it often offers either corrections of obvious errors or conjectural readings unattested in any extant manuscript.[63] Some of these conjectures were preserved in later editions.[64] Erasmus also titled the work *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo*, whereas Amerbach had *Contra Felicem Manichaeum* (a title attested in the manuscripts and confirmed by Augustine's *Retractationes*). Some later publications, including the editions of the Leuven theologians and the Maurists, retained Erasmus' title.[65]

c. Leuven Theologians

Some fifty years after Erasmus' edition, the Leuven theologians under supervision of Johannes Molanus prepared a revised, 'Catholic' edition of Augustine's *opera omnia*. This was published by the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin in 1576.[66] The Leuven theologians generally followed Erasmus' edition in its composition (*Contra Felicem* is published in the sixth volume, as part of Augustine's *polemica*) and titles (in this case, *De actis cum Felice Manichaeo*). An innovation of this edition (*Lov.*) is that its editors, in an appendix, provide an overview of the witnesses consulted for their revision, and a very concise discussion of textual variants. For their edition of *Contra Felicem*, the Leuven theologians note that they drew from three manuscripts, namely, *Martinense*, *Chart*[*usiense*], and [*collegii*] *Theologorum*. These manuscripts were copies from the Priory of Saint Martin in Leuven, from a Carthusian house most likely in Leuven, and from the Faculty of Theology in Leuven.[67] Of these three witnesses, only the

Iudaeorum, Manichaeorum, Priscillianistarum, Origenistarum, Arianorum, et Iouiniani (Basel, 1528).

[63] E.g., Iohannes, Iacobus et (805-6)] *Er.*, *om. Am.* [biblical citation]; quales (808,22)] *Er.*, -is *Am.*; audiat (815,2)] *Er.*, adeat *Am.*; unde[1] (845,21)] *Er.*, enim *Am.*

[64] E.g., accensis (835,5)] *Er.*, -i *Am. Mss*; lex (837,7)] *Er.*, *om. Am. Mss*; naturam (838,23)] *Er.*, -a *Am. Mss*.

[65] On the correct title, see also the brief note by F. DECRET, 'Felicem Manichaeum (Contra -)', col. 1256.

[66] *Tomus VI. operum D. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi, continens* τὰ πολεμικὰ*: Hoc est, decertationes aduersus haereses, praecipue Iudaeorum, Manichaeorum, Priscillianistarum, Origenistarum, Arrianorum, et Iouiniani: Nunc multis in locis summo studio emendatus, per theologos Louanienses* (Antwerp, 1576).

[67] On Carthusian manuscripts consulted by the Leuven theologians, see also J.K. COYLE, 'Augustine's Two Treatises *De moribus*: Remarks on Their Textual

first (*B*) can be securely identified. Unfortunately, the Leuven theologians do not specify when a manuscript exhibits a unique reading. For *Contra Felicem*, they cite in their appendix only instances in which the three manuscripts agree against the edition of Erasmus.[68] The Leuven theologians generally consulted manuscripts from what is now Belgium and northern France. Of the extant witnesses, P^2 (Saint-Amand), *So* (Clairmarais), and *B* (Leuven) [see also hyparchetype η] can be situated in this region. On occasion, however, the Leuven edition disagrees with the aforementioned manuscripts of Belgium and northern France that belong to η. Examples are:

> in (804,20)] *Mc* Ca^1 γ *Lov*., *om. Or* Ca^2 *Er*.;[69] iret (804,27)] -ent Ca^1 *Lov*.; respicientes (804,29)] aspicientes *Or Lov*.; dixit (820,2)] -erit T^2 *Am. Er*.; ei (825,3)] enim P^1 *Ce B* P^2 P^4 *So Am. Er*.; habent (832,5)] -eant P^3 *Lov*.; patris mei (837,18)] *Or* P^3 *Lov*., *om. Mc* Ca^2 T^1 Ox^2 Ox^1 *Am. Er*.; maledicto (839,15)] *Or* P^3 *Lov*., submaledicto *Mc* Ca^2 T^1 Ox^2 Ox^1 *Am. Er*.; sibi (841,15)] *om.* η *Am. Er*.; dicit (843,16)] *dixit* P^1 *Ce Lov*.; conprehensam (844,20)] esse conprehensam δ *Lov*

Many of these instances are harmonisations of the biblical text in accordance with the Vulgate or variant readings that may have originated from the syntactical context. It is impossible to identify the two now-lost Leuven manuscripts with any of the extant manuscripts of unknown provenance (for example, Ca^1), but these readings do seem to imply that at least one of the Leuven witnesses was an exemplar from outside the branch η.

d. Maurists

More than a century after the Leuven theologians, the Maurists in Paris revised Augustine's collected works (*Maur*.).[70] Their new edition of

History', in: A. Zumkeller, *Signum pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer zum 60. Geburtstag* [*Cassiciacum*, 40] (Würzburg, 1989), p. 75-90, in particular p. 86; L. CEYSSENS, 'Le « Saint Augustin » du xvii siècle: L'édition de Louvain (1577)', *Dix-septième siècle* 34 (1982), p. 103-120, in particular p. 108-109; A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith*, p. 65.

[68] E.g. on sexies (801,3)] septies *Am. Er*.; *Lov*., p. 379: "3. sexies".

[69] Unless specified, readings of *Or* are also those of Ca^1. Likewise, readings of Ca^2 correspond to T^2 and its descendants P^2 P^4 *So B*. Readings of T^2 also correspond to those of its descendants, unless specified.

[70] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis operum tomus octauus, continens opuscula polemica, aduersus haereses, Manichaeorum, Priscillianistarum, et Arrianorum, post Louaniensium theologorum recognitionem correcta denuo ad manuscriptos codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, etc. nec non ad editiones antiquiores et castigatiores, opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti, e congregatione S. Mauri* (Paris, 1688).

Augustine's *opera omnia* was a monumental publication and for some of Augustine's writings it remains the best, most recent, or most thoroughly prepared edition available. *Contra Felicem* is included in the eighth volume of Augustine's writings, a volume dedicated to polemical *opuscula* against Manichaeans, Priscillianists, and Arians. Like the Leuven theologians, the Maurists give, in appendix, an overview of the manuscripts they consulted: a *Victorinus* (P^3 or *Pa*), a *Floriacensis* (*Or*), and a *Casalensis* (from Chezal-Benoît, presently lost?).[71] Geographically, Chezal-Benoît is located the closest to the provenance of the extant manuscript *Or* (Fleury, near Orléans). However, the textual evidence does not allow a more secure identification of the lost manuscript's relationship to extant witnesses.[72] At most, it is possible that the lost manuscript was related to *Or*.

For *Contra Felicem* the Maurists rarely specify where they discovered a particular reading. For example, where Zycha (conjecturally) has *audientium* (805,11), the Maurists note that the manuscripts (plural!) have *discentium* (their reading of choice).[73] For this word, the manuscripts as I have collated them have the following variants:

> fratrum *Mc*, discentium *Or* $Ca^{2a.c.}$, dicentium $Ca^{2p.c.}$ T^2 P^2 P^4 *So* T^1 Ox^2 Ox^1 P^3 P^1 *Ce Pa*, docentium Ca^1, *om. L B*

Of all the Maurist witnesses that we can securely identify, only *Or* has the reading *discentium* (which may indeed be archetypal). Later the Maurists indicate that the manuscripts lack the word *apostolorum* (807,25).[74] In this case, however, only the manuscripts of γ (in other words, their *Victorinus*) have omitted the word. *Or*, on the other hand, does have *apostolorum* here. In a note on the name *Leutio* (833,12; a variation of Leucius), the Maurists indicate that multiple books from Saint-Victor (*in Victorinis codicibus*) have the variation *Leuitio*. Both

[71] *Maur.*, col. 1006: *Emendauimus ad MSS. Victorinum, Floriacensem, Casalensem, ad uarias lectiones trium Belgicorum, & ad editiones Am. Er. & Lov.*

[72] According to M.M. GORMAN, 'The Manuscript Tradition of Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*', *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 47 (2001), p. 301-311, in particular p. 305, the Maurists' *Casalensis* copy of Augustine's *Gn. adu. Man.* is presently lost. The *Biblissima* website also lists extant books (manuscripts and incunabula) from the abbey of Chezal-Benoît. The manuscripts listed do not include a witness to the text of *Contra Felicem*. See Biblissima, 'Bibliothèque de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Chezal-Benoît', *sine dato*; https://portail.biblissima.fr/fr/ark:/43093/coldata0e8d044fa771b3fa066abf1142c038d85ebe6142; consulted on 22 March 2021.

[73] *Maur.*, col. 473. Zycha (critical apparatus for audientium 805,11) notes: audientium *scripsi*.

[74] *Maur.*, col. 475.

extant manuscripts from Saint-Victor, *P*[3] and *Pa*, indeed read *Leuitio* here. So, contrary to what they indicate at the end of their volume where they use the singular *Victorinum*, the Maurists consulted both *P*[3] and *Pa*. With regard to the title of *Contra Felicem*, the Maurists have retained the title first proposed by Erasmus (*De actis cum Felice Manichaeo*), even though it is likely that none of their witnesses had this title.[75] In their preface to the work, they refer to the work as the [*subsequentes*] *disputationes contra Felicem*, a description that corresponds more closely to their manuscript witnesses than the title of Erasmus does.

e. Zycha

In 1891 and 1892, Zycha published volume 25 in the CSEL series in two parts. This volume was dedicated to a number of Augustinian anti-Manichaean treatises, which follow a chronological order: part 1 contains *De utilitate credendi*, *De duabus animabus*, *Contra Fortunatum*, *Contra Adimantum*, *Contra epistulam fundamenti*, and *Contra Faustum*; part 2 contains *Contra Felicem*, *De natura boni¸ Secundini Manichaei ad Augustinum epistula*, *Contra Secundinum*, Evodius' *Aduersus Manichaeos* (titled *De fide contra Manichaeos* in this volume), and the so-called *Commonitorium*. For *Contra Felicem*, Zycha consulted four witnesses, namely, *T*[1], *T*[2], *P*[1], and *P*[2] (my *sigla*). In addition, Zycha refers to Amerbach's edition in his apparatus. Overall, Zycha believed that the Troyes manuscripts constituted one group, whereas the Paris witnesses formed another group. In his preface, Zycha states his belief that the Troyes manuscripts surpass the Paris exemplars in quality of text.

Zycha's edition of *Contra Felicem* is marred by striking inconsistencies. For example, as previously noted, in his preface Zycha uses *sigla* that differ from the *sigla* used in his edition.[76] Zycha's note on the relationship between his four witnesses is also erroneous. He believed his Troyes exemplars belonged to a single (superior) group, whereas his Paris witnesses formed another (inferior) group.

[75] *Or*: *Incipit liber Aurelii Augustini episcopi contra Felicem Manichaeum*; *P*[3]: *Incipit primus liber Augustini contra Felicem Manichaeum*; *Pa*: no title, but the closing formula reads *Explicit liber contra Felicem Manicheum*.

[76] Cf. Zycha, p. 800 and p. LIIII-LV. In his preface, Zycha uses the *sigla T*, *R*, *P*, and *C* to refer to *T*[1], *T*[2], *P*[2], and *P*[1], respectively. In his edition, he employs the *sigla T*, *S*, *P*, and *R* for the same four witnesses. In the critical apparatus, Zycha generally follows the order *TSPR*, but also often has *PS* or *TPS*, or *PSR* (and even *TPSR*), seemingly placing evidence of *S* later than would be expected from his list of *sigla*.

My discussion of the direct transmission has resulted in a different assessment of the relationship between these witnesses. Textual evidence demonstrates that T^1 and P^1 belong to one family (γ), and that T^2 and P^2 belong to another (the family of Ca^2 and its descendants). Although Zycha's impression that the Troyes exemplars are generally of better quality – T^1 belongs to an earlier branch of γ, and T^2 is a reliable manuscript of the Ca^2 group, with P^2 deriving from it – is correct, that impression does not mean that the Troyes exemplars belong to one group, and the Paris manuscripts to another. In this regard, another flaw of Zycha's edition becomes apparent, and that is its very inconsistent assessment of textual variants. If our reconstruction of the textual transmission of *Contra Felicem* is correct, then Zycha's critical apparatus should contain numerous instances in which either *T R* (our T^1 and P^1) or *S P* (our T^2 and P^2) have a significant common error. Conversely, evidence in which *T* and *S* agree against *P R* (or vice versa) could confirm Zycha's view. In such cases I would argue that *T* and *S* are simply correct, while *P R* fortuitously contain the same error. The following list contains readings, according to Zycha's apparatus (from the first ten pages of his edition), in which one pair of witnesses contains a significant error:

(1) Common errors of *S P*, according to Zycha: lege (801,15)] tu lege; permanebit (801,24)] manebit; ego prior (802,25)] *tr.*; autem haec (802,29)] *tr.*; inhabitant (807,1)] habitabant *S P*, habitant *R*

(2) Common errors of *P R*, according to Zycha: mitto (802,11)] -am; igitur (805,17)] ergo; numerum (806,12)] -o; de fine (807,16)] et fine; natus in mundo (808,18)] in mundo natus; quod (808,20)] quid; te uideo (810,6)] *tr.*; eorum (810,9)] eo; apostolo Paulo (810,24-25)] *tr.*

(3) Common error of *S R*, according to Zycha: deinde (801,19)] et deinde

The lists above demonstrate Zycha's predilection for *T*: evidence of *T* is rarely cited in Zycha's negative apparatus. For the evidence of (1), which confirms the findings of this study, Zycha correctly reports the readings, but he gives an erroneous assessment of which pair of manuscripts is mistaken (*T R* or *S P*). In these instances, Zycha always favours *T*. His judgment is sometimes correct (*permanebit*, *ego prior*, and possibly *inhabitant* are archetypal), but it is just as often wrong (*lege* and *autem haec* are errors of γ). Some errors typical of γ have been completely overlooked: instead of *sublatus* (804,26), γ, including *T* (our T^1), has *subleuatus*; instead of *quomodo* (806,22), γ has *prout*. In both cases, Zycha's apparatus does not mention the presence of these errors.

With regard to the evidence of (2), which would tend to confirm Zycha's findings, his apparatus is correct only once: *P* and *R* have the incorrect *ergo* against the archetypal *igitur*, present in *T* and *S*. In all other instances, Zycha's apparatus is wrong or incomplete: *mitto* (802,11) is only attested in P^3 and its descendants, so it is only present in Zycha's *R* (our P^1). The reading *numero* (806,12) is also attested in T^2 (Zycha's *S*). For *et fine* (807,16), Zycha cites the wrong witnesses: his preferred reading *de fine* is typical of family γ (his *T R*), yet his apparatus implies that *T S* have *de fine*, and he explicitly states that his *P R* have *et fine* (in fact, it is his *S P* that have, correctly, *et fine*). In all other instances in the list (2), Zycha's apparatus is blatantly wrong: all his manuscripts have the readings *in mundo natus* (808,18), *quid* (808,20), *uideo te* (810,6), *eo* (810,9), and *Paulo apostolo* (810,24-25). Likewise, the supposedly common error of *S* and *R* (*et deinde* in 801,19) is in fact an error of P^3 and its descendants – P^1 (Zycha's *R*), *Ce* and *Pa* – but not of T^2 (Zycha's *S*). Numerous instances in which Zycha's apparatus is wrong can be added to this overview, but the evidence discussed here suffices to make the point. To conclude, Zycha's edition most often follows T^1 (his *T*), but his critical apparatus is inaccurate, and he often overlooked instances in which T^1 disagrees with his text of choice (which he drew either from Amerbach's edition or from his other manuscripts).

4. Concluding Notes

a. Indirect Transmission

From the overview of manuscripts that opened this study of *Contra Felicem*'s textual transmission, it will be apparent that its extant copies were written at a rather late date: one eleventh-century manuscript from Monte Cassino and three French manuscripts from, at the earliest, the twelfth century (namely, *Or*, T^1, and Ca^2) are the oldest direct witnesses to the text of *Contra Felicem*. Yet the text was certainly appreciated in Late Antiquity and in the early Middle Ages. Augustine's friend and contemporary Evodius consulted *Contra Felicem* in preparation for his own anti-Manichaean treatise *Aduersus Manichaeos*. Although Evodius does not cite directly from *Contra Felicem*, many of its arguments recur in Evodius' work. The clearest similarities between the two writings are their citation of Manichaean texts. On the second day of the debate, Augustine cites from the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 12:33), Mani's *Thesaurus*, and the unspecified *Acts*

authored by Leucius. In chapter 5 of *Aduersus Manichaeos*, Evodius cites the exact same passages.[77] Elsewhere, Evodius again cites from Manichaean writings. Here too there are parallels between Evodius' citations and the citations of *Contra Felicem*.[78] *Aduersus Manichaeos* thus represents the earliest text which draws from *Contra Felicem*. Somewhat similarly, there are also parallel citations of Mani's writings among Augustine's anti-Manichaica, most notably in his *Contra epistulam fundamenti* and his *De natura boni*.[79] However, one must exercise some caution when comparing the citations from *Contra Felicem*, *Contra epistulam fundamenti*, *De natura boni*, and *Aduersus Manichaeos*: the Manichaean writings may have already circulated in differing versions in antiquity, and an author could modify his citations.[80] Nevertheless, a comparison between *Contra Felicem* and parallel citations of Manichaean writings seems to confirm the readings of *Mc* against the manuscripts of β.[81]

A later fifth-century anti-Manichaean document, the *Commonitorium*, may have also been influenced by Augustine's *Contra Felicem*.[82] The document's reference to Lk 24:39 and 1 Tim 4:1 are potentially inspired by Augustine's use of this biblical material on the first day of debate.[83] Additionally, a group of manuscripts containing the *Commonitorium* also contain a mostly anti-Manichaean collection of texts: Augustine's *De haeresibus* (preceded by the epistolary

[77] Evodius, *adu. Man.* 5; ed. A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith*, p. 344-346.

[78] In chapter 11 of *adu. Man.* (ed. A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith*, p. 352), Evodius cites from two passages of Mani's *Epistula fundamenti*. These passages are also cited in *c. Fel.* I,17 (820,10-12) and *c. Fel.* I,19 (824,23-29).

[79] For an overview of all the Latin fragments of Mani's *Epistula fundamenti* and *Thesaurus* in the writings of Augustine and Evodius, see M. STEIN, *Manichaica Latina 2: Manichaei epistula fundamenti* [*Papyrologica Coloniensia*, 27/2] (Paderborn, 2002); M. STEIN, *Manichaica Latina 4: Manichaei Thesaurus* [*Papyrologica Coloniensia*, 27/4] (Paderborn, 2016).

[80] See, in this regard, M. STEIN, *Manichaica Latina 2*, p. 82-84.

[81] The following list contains the instances in which the reading of *Mc*, Augustine's *De natura boni* (*N*), *Contra Secundinum* (*S*), and Evodius' *Aduersus Manichaeos* (*E*) contrasts with the textual variant attested in *Or*, γ, and Ca^2: quod (824,26)] *Or* γ Ca^2, aliquod *Mc N S E*; nec quidem (833,15)] *Or* γ Ca^2, nequidem *Mc E*; factus (833,16)] *Or* γ Ca^2, effectus *Mc E*. For the first reading, see *nat. b.* 42; ed. J. Zycha [*CSEL*, 25/2], p. 877, l. 23; *c. Sec.* 20; ed. J. Zycha [*CSEL*, 25/2], p. 935, l. 25; Evodius, *adu. Man.* 11, l. 6; ed. A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith*, p. 352. For the second and third reading, see Evodius, *adu. Man.* 5, l. 7-9; ed. A. VANSPAUWEN, *In Defence of Faith*, p. 346.

[82] The edition can be found in J. Zycha's volume 25/2 in the *CSEL* series, p. 977-982.

[83] Compare *comm.* [*CSEL*, 25/2], p. 981, l. 20-25 with *c. Fel.* I,3 (803,5-8) and *comm*, p. 982, l. 2-3 with *c. Fel.* I,7 (808,24-27).

correspondence of Quodvultdeus and Augustine, namely *ep*. 221-224), a series of four anti-Manichaean abjuration formulae, Augustine's *ep*. 79 (addressed to an unspecified Manichaean presbyter), the *Commonitorium*, and a fragment of the *Acta Archelai*.[84] The first of the two anti-Manichaean abjuration formulae are the renunciations of Mani by Augustine and Felix at the end of *Contra Felicem*. These renunciations are the closing words of the debate. The oldest manuscripts of this anti-Manichaean collection date to the tenth century. A new critical edition of *Contra Felicem* must also take the evidence of these *fragmenta* into consideration, although it must also be admitted that the text of the *fragmenta* is likely of inferior quality.[85]

Isidore of Seville, in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* draws from Augustine's *Contra Felicem* on two occasions.[86]

In the fourteenth century, Bartholomew of Urbino incorporated material from *Contra Felicem* into his *Milleloquium*. Bartholomew's citations do not indicate that he knew a textual witness other than the presently extant manuscripts. His citations seem to derive from a particular group within δ, namely that formed by P^3 and its later copies P^1, *Ce*, and *Pa* (though Bartholomew most likely predates the latter two witnesses).[87] For that reason, Bartholomew's *Milleloquium* is of less interest to reconstructing the text of the archetype.

b. The Manuscripts of Contra Felicem: Composition and Circulation

In this section, I would like to discuss the textual transmission of *Contra Felicem* with more attention to geographical circulation and the composition of the manuscripts. We have argued that the text of

[84] On the collection, see C.H. BEESON, *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai* [*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, 16] (Leipzig, 1906), p. XXX-XXXVI. The fragment of the *Acta Archelai* ranges from that edition's chapter LXII (*isti non est*; ed. C.H. BEESON, p. 90, l. 11) to LXVI (*dari iussit*; p. 95, l. 20).

[85] See P. Riedlberger, 'A Critical Edition of FRG. Manich. renunt.'.

[86] Isidorus, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I,26, l. 14-22 paraphrases *c. Fel.* II,9; ed. C.M. LAWSON [*CCSL*, 113] (Turnhout, 1989), p. 29-30. Isidorus, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I,30, l. 19-24 paraphrases *c. Fel.* II,11; ed. C.M. LAWSON [*CCSL*, 113], p. 33.

[87] For the text of Bartholomew of Urbino's *Milleloquium*, I have compared the text of the 1555 *editio princeps* (*D. Aurelii Augustini milleloquium ueritatis, a f. Bartholomaeo de urbino Digestum* [Lyons, 1555]) with that of the fourteenth-century Toulouse manuscripts 170-173. Examples from the lemmas *Arbitrium* and *Lux* may indicate the proximity of Bartholomew's text (*Barth.*) to that of P^3 and its descendants: mala ipsa (832,4-5)] *tr.* δ *Barth.*; habent (832,5)] -eant P^3 P^1 *Ce Pa Barth.*; ipse (834,12)] *om. Mc* P^3 P^1 *Ce Pa Barth.*; potest ad eam accedere (834,13-14)] Ca^1 Ox^1 P^3 P^1 *Ce Pa Barth.*, ad eam potest accedere *Mc Or* T^1 Ca^2, potest accedere ad eam Ox^2 *L.*

Contra Felicem was transmitted in two branches, one represented by *Mc* and one by all other manuscripts (hyparchetype *β*). This bipartite representation, however, takes into account only the extant manuscript witnesses, and is therefore necessarily partial. On the one hand, it is quite certain that *β* represents a French branch, with its earliest representatives copied mostly in central France (Fleury for *Or*, Clairvaux for T^1 and T^2, Pontigny for Ca^2, and a now-lost Grenoble manuscript). Its earliest extant witnesses date to the twelfth century, so perhaps the branch itself originated at quite a late date. The manuscript *Mc* is the sole witness to an Italian circulation of *Contra Felicem* (the Cesena manuscript *Ce* derives from the French branch, as it is a descendant of P^3 from Saint-Victor in Paris). Other once-extant branches of *Contra Felicem*'s transmission have now gone extinct or were perhaps predecessors of the extant Italian and French branches. For example, Evodius' and Possidius' use of *Contra Felicem* testifies to a fifth-century North African circulation of the text. If one accepts that the *Commonitorium* makes use of *Contra Felicem*, then this text must have circulated in Italy in the fifth (or, at the latest, in the early sixth) century.[88] Isidore of Seville testifies to the presence of the text in seventh-century Spain. The bipartite presentation of *Contra Felicem*'s transmission cannot take in consideration the branches for which no extant manuscripts exist. When *Mc* coincides with a reading from Evodius, that coincidence does not mean that the two testimonies belong to the same branch of the transmission. Rather, these instances likely point to an error of the French branch of the transmission (*β*).

The composition of the extant manuscripts is quite diverse. In *Mc*, the text of *Contra Felicem* follows Augustine's *Contra Faustum*. This composition may point to an anti-Manichaean collection, or a

[88] So far there are no studies dedicated to the *Commonitorium*, but scholars generally accept that the document mirrors a concern on the part of the church in Italy with regard to refugees from the Vandal invasion of North Africa, including many Manichaeans. A first response to this new influx of Manichaeans into Italy was Leo Magnus' *ep*. 7 (444 CE). See also S.N.C. Lieu, 'An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism: The *Capita VII Contra Manichaeos* of <Zacharias of Mytilene>', in: S.N.C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in Mesopotamia and the Roman East* [*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 118] (Leiden, 1999), p. 203-305, in particular p. 207; G.H. Schipper & J. van Oort, *Sancti Leonis magni Romani pontificis sermones et epistulae: Fragmenta selecta* [*CFM Series Latina*, 1] (Turnhout, 2000), p. 1. R. Villegas Marín, 'Abjuring Manichaeism in Ostrogothic Rome and Provence: The *Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum Manicheis* and the *Prosperi anathematismi*', in: M. Vinzent, *Studia Patristica XCVII: Papers presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2015* (Leuven, 2017), p. 159-168 situates the origins of the *Commonitorium* in the Ostrogothic kingdom under Theodoric the Great.

collection of Augustinian writings which follows the outline of Augustine's *Retractationes* (in which *c. Fel.* immediately follows *c. Faust.*). For the French branch of the transmission, the situation is somewhat different. In T^1, the text of *Contra Felicem* belongs to an ambitious compilation of Augustine's *opera omnia* prepared in Clairvaux (today Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, mss. 40.1-10). In Fleury's *Or*, *Contra Felicem* is part of a miscellany volume, which also includes the Passion of Ursula, a saint from Cologne, and writings of Anselm. In Pontigny's Ca^2, *Contra Felicem* opens the manuscript. It is followed by Augustine's *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali*, *De gratia noui testamenti* (*ep.* 140), Gennadius' *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, Cassiodorus' *De anima*, and the *Decretum Gelasianum*. The Augustinian part of this codex (*c. Fel.*, *gr. et pecc. or.* and *ep.* 140) is preserved in T^2, where it follows several other writings of Augustine. Some uniformity can also be observed in three manuscripts depending on δ: Ox^2, P^3, and Ox^1. These three large volumes of Augustinian writings include *Contra Felicem* in what seems to be a subcollection which consists of *Ad Simplicianum libri duo*, *Aduersus Iudaeos*, *Contra Priscillianistas*, *Contra Felicem*, *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* and *Adnotationes in Iob*. This nucleus is preserved in this form in Ox^2; the manuscript Ox^1 has this collection in the same order, but does not contain *adn. Iob*. The manuscript P^3, on the other hand, does have the six aforementioned writings, but in a slightly modified order.[89] The evidence of δ and Ca^2 suggests that in the French branch of the transmission, *Contra Felicem* was transmitted together with *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* (which follows *Contra Felicem*). A now-lost Grenoble manuscript, which may have been an early exemplar of the same β branch, also had these two writings together.[90] The transmission of *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* has not yet been extensively studied, so further research on this topic may offer more information on the transmission of *Contra Felicem* and its French hyparchetype.[91]

The twelfth century was pivotal for the transmission of *Contra Felicem*. In a brief period of time, copies of the text were made in Grenoble (a now-lost manuscript), in Clairvaux (T^1), and in Pontigny (Ca^2). The same common ancestor of these witnesses (β) was later the

[89] Namely, *Simpl.*, *c. Prisc.*, *c. Fel.*, *adn. Iob*, *adu. Iud.*, and *gr. et pecc. or.*

[90] See P. FOURNIER, 'La bibliothèque de la Grande-Chartreuse au moyen-âge', p. 348 (cf. n. 56).

[91] On the transmission of *gr. et pecc. or.*, see M. LAMBERIGTS, 'De gratia Christi et de peccato originali', in: K. Pollmann & W. Otten, *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, p. 318-319. The most recent edition of *gr. et pecc. or.* was prepared by C.F. URBA & J. ZYCHA [*CSEL*, 42] (Prague-Vienna-Leipzig, 1902).

model for (an ancestor of) a preserved manuscript from Fleury (*Or*). The Pontigny text itself became a model (directly or indirectly) for another Clairvaux manuscript (T^2), which in turn, through an intermediary manuscript (hyparchetype η) was transmitted in the direction of northern France and present-day Belgium (P^2, prov. Saint-Amand; *So*, prov. Clairmarais; *B*, prov. Leuven). Note that for Ca^2 and its descendants most of the extant manuscripts were copied in the second half of the twelfth century: Ca^2 dates to 1151-1160,[92] and from it descended, in succession, the text of the twelfth-century manuscripts T^2, η, P^2, and *So*. A predecessor of T^1 (cf. γ) was copied elsewhere in France: hyparchetype δ. One descendent of this hyparchetype remained in France (P^3, prov. Saint-Victor in Paris), but its text also made its way to England (Ox^2, prov. Wells). As to the other British manuscripts of δ (Ox^1 and *L*), their provenance is unknown, but an English origin may be plausible. For example, *L* is likely a copy (or distant descendant) of Ox^2.

c. Editorial Principles

The extant transmission of *Contra Felicem* can be divided into two branches, one represented by manuscript *Mc* and the other by manuscripts *Or*, Ca^2 and family γ. Family γ in turn consists of manuscript T^1 and the hyparchetype δ, which has Ox^2, Ox^1 and P^3 as its oldest witnesses. All the other manuscripts of *Contra Felicem* are *codices descripti* deriving from *Or*, Ca^2, Ox^2, and P^3. Strictly speaking, therefore, a future edition of *Contra Felicem* need only consider the text of seven manuscripts: *Mc*, *Or*, Ca^2, T^1, Ox^2, Ox^1, and P^3. Nevertheless, it could be useful to add the evidence of T^2 to the critical apparatus, and this for two reasons. The first is a historical one: manuscript T^2 played a pivotal role in the transmission of *Contra Felicem*, linking one of its oldest and most reliable manuscripts (Ca^2) and a group of influential later manuscripts (P^2, P^4, *So*, and *B*). Some of these later manuscripts (or their now-lost relatives) were consulted by the earliest editors of *Contra Felicem*. A second reason is that, as addressed before, contamination may have occurred between δ and T^2. The inclusion of evidence of T^2 aids the evaluation of the readings of δ.

Of the four extant branches (*Mc*, *Or*, Ca^2, and γ), I have argued that the latter three derive from one hyparchetype (β), since the oldest manuscript *Mc* has retained archetypal readings that are absent in the other branches and sometimes coincides with important indirect

[92] J.S. RINGROSE, *Summary Catalogue*, p. 122-123.

witnesses of *Contra Felicem* (most notably Evodius' *Aduersus Manichaeos*). In practice, however, a future critical edition will often prioritize the agreement between *Or*, *Ca*^{2} and γ over an individual reading of *Mc*, as generally speaking *Mc* is not a very conservative manuscript. A unique reading of *Mc* will be prefered mainly in cases where it has a convincingly correct reading (such as when it preserves text the others have lost due to a *saut du même au même*, or when its readings are paralleled in the indirect transmission).

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