

THE ANTI-MANICHAEAN *COMMONITORIUM* AND
THE *CAPITULA* OF THE MANICHAEAN
CONVERT PROSPERA:
A STUDY OF TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION AND A NEW
CRITICAL EDITION

I. INTRODUCTION

The present article focuses on the transmission of the *Commonitorium* (admonishment, letter of instruction) and the related *Capitula* (chapters, theses)¹. The *Commonitorium* is a fifth or sixth-century ecclesiastical text that contains guidelines on how to incorporate Manichaeans who want to renounce their former belief and join the Catholic Church. Included in the *Commonitorium* are nine anathemas that the repentant Manichaean is to pronounce. The *Capitula* appear to be an adaptation of the *Commonitorium* for a particular historical occasion: the reception of a formerly Manichaean woman named Prospera into the Catholic Church. The *Capitula* exclude the introductory and concluding material of the *Commonitorium* but incorporate the nine anathemas and add numerous others for a total of twenty-one anathemas, followed by a statement of Prospera herself. The *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula* are transmitted in twenty-five manuscripts (see

(1) This article is part of a broader project that deals with the debate between Augustine and the Manichaean Felix, which is recorded in Augustine's *Contra Felicem*. This project is funded by the FWO (Research Foundation Flanders; project title: *Manichaean and Christian? A contested religious identity in the debate between the Manichaean Felix and Augustine of Hippo*; project number: 62423). The present article has also benefitted from a research stay at the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, undertaken as part of a project which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program, grant agreement N° 101001991. An explicit word of thanks goes to Peter Riedlberger, who kindly invited me to Bamberg in January and February 2021. The anti-Manichaean collection has been recently studied by P. RIEDLBERGER in his article *A Critical Edition of FRG. Manich. renunt.* (Fragmenta quattuor ad Manichaeum renuntiandum pertinentia), *Including the Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus, and of AUG. epist. 79*, in *Eos*, 107, 2020, p. 153-186. For abbreviations of Augustine's writings, I follow the guidelines of the *Augustinus-Lexikon*. For CPL numbers, see E. DEKKERS, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, Steenbrugge, 1995.

the overview below). Of these twenty-five witnesses, nine contain a well-known collection of anti-Manichaean writings (with the *Commonitorium* and its nine anathemas)²; six of the twenty-five contain the *Capitula*. What follows in this first part of my study is (II) an overview of the manuscripts that contain either the *Commonitorium* or the *Capitula*, (III) a discussion of the textual transmission of the *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula*, (IV) an overview of previous editions of either text, and (V) a concluding section with some additional attention to the historical circumstances of the two works and some notes on the critical editions. The second part of the study contains the new editions of both the *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula*, with notes on several editorial choices whose rationale may not be evident from the critical apparatus alone.

II. OVERVIEW OF WITNESSES ; SIGLA

Listed below are all of the manuscripts of either the *Commonitorium* or the *Capitula*. For each manuscript, the list indicates siglum used, the current location of the manuscript, its earliest known provenance or origin (if available), and its date. The footnotes refer to catalogue descriptions of each manuscript's contents and to other literature. In addition, if the catalogue entries are incomplete, the footnotes offer a description of the manuscript's contents. For the sake of consistency, the sigla are assigned on the basis of the manuscript's current location/repository. In the remainder of the article, the sigla are used when referring to the manuscripts. The nine manuscripts that contain the aforementioned anti-Manichaean collection are *Bo*, *Bg*, *Do*¹, *Do*², *In*, *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vl*². The six manuscripts that contain the *Capitula*, with their twenty-one anathemas, are *Al*, *Be*², *Go*, *P*¹, *To*, and *Vl*¹.

Al Albi, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 2 (147); orig. Albi Cathedral, 9th century³.

(2) On this collection, see C. H. BEESON (ed.), *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai*, Leipzig, 1906, p. xxx-xxxvi; R. VANDER PLAETSE, C. BEUKERS (ed.), *De haeresibus*, in M. P. J. VAN DEN HOUT *et al.* (ed.), *De fide rerum inuisibilium; Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate; De catechizandis rudibus; Sermo ad catechumenos de symbolo; Sermo de disciplina christiana; De utilitate ieiunii; Sermo de excidio urbis Romae; De haeresibus* (CCSL 46), Turnhout, 1969, p. 263-358, esp. p. 266-267, and RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1.

(3) M. DESACHY, *Collection canonique d'Albi, 880-890*, in M. DESACHY (dir.), *Le scriptorium d'Albi. Les manuscrits de la cathédrale Sainte-Cécile (VI^e – XI^e siècle)* (Trésors écrits Albigeois II), Rodez, 2007, p. 32-34; B. BISCHOFF (†), *Katalog der festländischen*

- Be*¹ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, *Phill.* 1671; prov. Fleury, 9th century⁴.
- Be*² Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, *Phill.* 1745; prov. Lyon, 7th century⁵.
- Bo* Boulogne-sur-Mer, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 45; prov. Abbey of Saint-Vaast, Arras, 10th century⁶.
- Bg* Bruges, *Openbare bibliotheek*, 119; prov. Ter Doest Abbey, 13th century⁷.
- Bx* Brussels, *KBR Royal Library of Belgium*, II 1072; prov. Abbey of Aulne, Thuin, 12th century⁸.
- Ce* Cesena, *Biblioteca Malatestiana*, D. XXI. V; 15th century⁹.
- Do*¹ Douai, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 275; prov. Marchiennes Abbey, 9th-10th century¹⁰.

Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen), 4 vol., Wiesbaden, 1998-2017, vol. 1, p. 10; P. OURLIAC, *Le manuscrit toulousain de la collection d'Albi*, in *Revue de droit canonique*, 28, 1972, p. 223-238; F. MAASSEN, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, t. I, Graz, 1870, p. 592-603; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements publié sous les auspices du ministre de l'instruction publique* (= *CGM*) in-4°, t. I, Paris, 1849, p. 481-482.

(4) I. SCHILLER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, t. X.2. *Ostdeutschland und Berlin. Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 2009, p. 208-209; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 1, p. 85-86; V. ROSE, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, t. XII. *Verzeichnis der lateinischen Handschriften*, Berlin, 1893, p. 142-149; MAASSEN, cit. n. 3, p. 775-777 and p. 792-796.

(5) SCHILLER, cit. n. 4, p. 221; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 2, p. 80-81; J. KIRCHNER, *Beschreibende Verzeichnisse der Miniaturen-Handschriften der preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, t. I. *Die Philipps-Handschriften*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 1; ROSE, cit. n. 4, p. 167-171.

(6) *CGM* in-8°, t. IV, Paris, 1873, p. 601. BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 1, p. 142 dates the manuscript to the ninth century and mentions Saint-Bertin (in Saint-Omer) as the manuscript's place of origin.

(7) *Bibliotheek Biekorf Brugge, Ms. 119 – Liber confessionum sancti Augustini* (1 May 2017), online: <brugge.bibliotheek.be> (accessed on 24 June 2022); M. T. WIESER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, t. VIII.2. *Belgien, Luxemburg und Niederlande: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 2000, p. 34; A. DE POORTER, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, Gembloux-Paris, 1934, p. 154-156.

(8) D. HADAS, *Augustin d'Hippone, Commencement de commentaire sur l'épître aux Romains* (CSEL. Extra seriem), Berlin-Boston, 2019, p. 55-58; P.-M. HOMBERT, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Contra Arrianos opera* (CCSL 87A), Turnhout, 2009, p. 24-25; WIESER, cit. n. 7, p. 153; J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, t. II. *Patrologie*, Brussels, 1902, p. 146-147.

(9) M. OBERLEITNER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, t. I.2. *Italien: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 1970, p. 58-59.

(10) *CGM* in-8°, t. VI, Paris, 1878, p. 145-146; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 1, p. 223.

- Do*² *Douai, Bibliothèque municipale*, 280; prov. Anchin Abbey, Pecquen-court, 12th century¹¹.
- Go* *Gotha, Universitätsbibliothek, Membr. I 85*; orig. Alsace (Wissembourg?), prov. Murbach Abbey, 780-820¹².
- In* *Indianapolis, Lilly Library, Ricketts* 162; prov. Northern France, 12th century¹³.
- Co* *Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. Dom 80*; prov. Cologne, 9th century¹⁴.
- Ox* *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. misc. 133*; orig. Lorsch, prov. Eberbach, 9th century¹⁵.
- P*¹ *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1452*; orig. Vienne (?), prov. Le Puy Cathedral, 9th-10th century¹⁶.
- P*² *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1908*; prov. Saint-Martin, Tournai, early 13th century¹⁷.
- P*³ *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1918*; prov. Saint-Amand Abbey, 12th century¹⁸.
- P*⁴ *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 15301*; prov. Sorbonne, 13th century¹⁹.

(11) *CGM* in-8°, t. VI, cit. n. 10, p. 148-149.

(12) Earlier Latin Manuscripts, *Volume/Number: 8/1209* (17 May 2019); <elmss.nuigalway.ie/catalogue/1688> (accessed on 24 June 2022); BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 1, p. 297; R. SCHIPKE, *Die Maugérard-Handschriften der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha*, Gotha, 1972, p. 54-57.

(13) C. DE HAMEL, *Gilding the Lilly: A Hundred Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in the Lilly Library*, Bloomington, 2010, p. 34-35.

(14) R. KURZ, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, t. V.2. *Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 1979, p. 239-240; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 1, p. 394; G. GATTERMANN, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland: Erfassung mittelalterlicher Handschriften im rheinischen Landesteil von Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Wiesbaden, 1993, p. 617; P. JAFFÉ, W. WATTENBACH, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanæ Coloniensis codices manuscripti*, Berlin, 1874, p. 26-27.

(15) Bibliotheca Laureshamensis digital, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud. misc. 133* (2014); <bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de> (accessed on 24 June 2022); M. KAUTZ, *Bibliothek und Skriptorium des ehemaligen Klosters Lorsch: Katalog der erhaltenen Handschriften*, t. I. *Alba Iulia – Vat. Pal. lat. 202*, Wiesbaden, 2016, p. 356-365; F. RÖMER, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, t. V.2. *Großbritannien und Irland: Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Wien, 1972, p. 271; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 2, p. 374.

(16) P. LAUER, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, t. II. *N^{os} 1439-2692*, Paris, 1940, p. 7-8; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 3, p. 32-33; MAASSEN, cit. n. 3, p. 775-777 and 792-796.

(17) LAUER, cit. n. 16, p. 233-234; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 1, p. 162.

(18) LAUER, cit. n. 16, p. 238; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 1, p. 151-152.

(19) Archives et manuscrits (<archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr>), Latin 15301 (*s. d.*) (accessed on 24 June 2022); J.-P. BOUHOT, *Un recueil d'œuvres augustiniennes originaire de Pontigny et ses copies dérivées*, in *Scriptorium*, 38.2, 1984, p. 287-295, esp. p. 292-

P⁵ Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Latin 15302; prov. Sorbonne, 13th century²⁰.

P⁶ Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Latin 15666; prov. Sorbonne, 13th century²¹.

293; L. DELISLE, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Sorbonne, conservés à la bibliothèque impériale sous les numéros 15176-16718 du fonds latin*, Paris, 1870, p. 5.

(20) DELISLE, cit. n. 19, p. 5 (very incomplete description). The manuscript contains a table of contents (f. 1v), *c. ep. Man.* (f. 2r-10r; *retr.* f. 2r), *c. Adim.* (f. 10v-22r; *retr.* f. 10r-10v), *sol.* (f. 22v-32r; *retr.* f. 22r-22v), *disc. chr.* (f. 32r-39r), *an. et or.*, books 3 and 4 (f. 39r-49r; *retr.* f. 39r), *pecc. mer.* (f. 49v-74r; *retr.* f. 49r-49v), Ambrosiaster's *Quaestiones de ueteri et nouo testamento* (f. 74r-131v), a repetition of *qu. 97* of the previous work (f. 132r; *manifestum est aequalitatem hanc ... de ipso natus credatur*), Jerome's *Allercatio luciferiani et orthodoxi* (f. 132r-135r), Augustine's *ep. 93* (f. 135r-142v), *correct.* (*ep. 185*; f. 142v-149v; *retr.* f. 142v), *s. 9* (f. 150r-154v), *beata u.* (f. 155r-160r; *retr.* f. 155r), *c. Fort.* (f. 160v-165r; *retr.* f. 160v), *duab. an.* (f. 165v-169v), *Acad.* (f. 170r-185v), *ord.* (f. 186r-198r), *Gn. adu. Man.* (f. 199r-211r), *mor.* (f. 212r-230v), *c. mend.* (f. 230v-238v), *cura mort.* (f. 238v-243), *reg.* (f. 243r-244r), *s. 393* (f. 244v), *s. 351* (f. 245r-249r), *s. 46* (f. 249r-255v), *s. 47* (f. 255v-261r), *mend.* (f. 261r-268v; *retr.* f. 261r), *s. de corpore christi* (f. 268v-269r; *inc. Veritas ait caro mea*), *s. de duodecim abusionum gradibus* (f. 269r-271v; *inc. Primo si sine operibus*), *De conflictu uitiorum et uirtutum* (Ambrosius Autpertus; f. 271v-275r), *pat.* (f. 275r-278r), *util. cred.* (f. 279r-286r; *retr.* f. 278r-279r), *ep. 140* (f. 286r-297r; *retr.* f. 286r), *cat. rud.* (f. 297r-306v; *retr.* f. 297r), *an. quant.* (f. 307r-320r), *adult. coniug.* (f. 320r-328v; *retr.* f. 320r), *an. et or.*, books 1 and 2 (f. 328v-337v), *ep. 130* (f. 337v-341r), *ep. 147* (f. 341r-346v; *retr.* f. 341r), *f. et op.* (f. 347r-355r), the *Commonitorium* (f. 355r-355v), *perf. iust.* (f. 355v-361v).

(21) DELISLE, cit. n. 19, p. 49 (very incomplete description). The manuscript contains *op. mon.* (f. 1r-7r), a letter from Jerome to Augustine (possibly *ep. 134* [or *ep. 143*]; f. 7r-8r; *inc. Domino uere sanctorum omni affectione*), Augustine's *trin.* (f. 8r-62v; preceded by a letter from Augustine to Aurelius [ep. 174]: f. 8r-8v), *eccl. dogm.* (f. 62v-64r), *diu. qu.* (f. 64r-67v), *praed. sanct.* (f. 68r-73v), *f. et op.* (f. 73v-81v), *De duodecim abusionum gradibus* (f. 81v-84r; *inc. Primus gradus abusionis est si*), *util. cred.* (f. 84r-93v), *uera rel.* (f. 93v-104r), *nat. et gr.* (f. 104r-113v), *retr.* (f. 114r-129r), *Fides beati hieronimi ad damasum papam* (cf. Pelagius, *Libellus fidei*; f. 129r-129v; *inc. credimus in deum patrem omnipotentem cunctorum uisibilem*), *s. 9* (f. 129v), *ep. 221-224* (f. 130r-131v), *haer.* (f. 131v-135), fragments of Isidore (conceived as supplements to Augustine's *haer.*), possibly of the *Etymologiae* (f. 135v-137v; *inc. Haeresis graece ab electione*), *disc. chr.* (f. 137v-139r), *De conflictu uitiorum et uirtutum* (Ambrosius Autpertus; f. 139r-143v), *Quaestiones Orosii* (f. 143v-148v), *Ps-Vigilius Ad Felicianum* (f. 148v-152v), the *Hypomnesticon* (f. 152v-166v), *c. Adim.* (f. 167r-176v), *perf. iust.* (f. 176v-182r), *ep. 147* (f. 182r-183r), *ep. 130* (f. 183r-186r), *Capitula et liber contra pelagianos* (f. 186r-189r; *inc. Doctrinam quam sanctae memoriae augustinus episcopus contra pelagianos*), *adu. V haer.* (*Quod uult deus*; f. 189r-194r), *ep. 166* (f. 194r-197r), *s. 351* (f. 197r-200v), *s. 46* (f. 200v-205v), *s. 47* (f. 205v-210r), *pecc. mer.* (f. 210-236v), *Commonitorium* (f. 236v-237r), *Collatio ad semetipsum de trinitate* (f. 237r-238v; *inc. Cum me per uigil cura fecisset*), *Cyprianus ad Rogatianum et ceteros de obseruatione disciplinae* (f. 238v-239r), *c. Faust.* (f. 239r-304v), *Explanatio Ieronimi epistolae beati Pauli ad Titum* (f. 304r-320v), a letter of Jerome (probably *ep. 22*; f. 320v-323v;

- Pa* Paris, *Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal*, 351; orig. Chaalis Abbey, 12th century²².
- Pe* Philadelphia, *University of Pennsylvania, Kislak Center for Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Ms. Codex 708*; orig. Pontigny, 12th century²³.
- Ro* Rouen, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 470; orig. Saint-Saulve Abbey, Valenciennes, 12th century²⁴.
- To* Toulouse, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 364; orig. Albi Cathedral, end 6th / beginning 7th century²⁵.
- Vt* Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 574*; prov. Lorsch, 8th century²⁶.
- Vt* Vatican, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 562*; [orig. Nicolas Le Fèvre, Paris²⁷], 16th century²⁸.

III. STEMMATOLOGICAL REMARKS

1. The main families

Among the twenty-five witnesses listed above, two groups of manuscripts are easy to discern. The first and oldest family (siglum α) contains a redaction of the *Commonitorium*. That redaction bears the title *Capitula sancti Augustini* and has twenty-one anathemas instead of the nine found in the other nineteen witnesses. In the manuscripts of family α , the *Capitula* appear alongside southern French ecclesiastical acts. For example, in *Be*², the *Capitula* are found after the acts of

inc. *Audi filia et uide et inclina aurem tuam et obliuiscere*), Jerome's *Contra Iouinianum* (f. 323v-348v), Jerome's *ep.* 125 (f. 348v-352r), *ep.* 122 (f. 352r), *ep.* 145 (f. 352r), *ep.* 54 (f. 352r-352v), *ep.* 79 (f. 352v), *ep.* 118 (f. 352v-353r), Ps-Jerome, *Epistula ad Oceanum de uita clericorum* (f. 353r), Jerome's *ep.* 84 or *ep.* 117 (f. 353v), *ep.* 77 (f. 353v), *ep.* 130 (f. 353v-354v).

(22) H. MARTIN, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l' Arsenal*, t. I, Paris, 1885, p. 219-220; BOUHOT, cit. n. 19, p. 290-291.

(23) Penn in Hand, *Ms. codex 708* (November 2009); <dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren> (accessed on 24 June 2022); BOUHOT, cit. n. 19, p. 289-290.

(24) H. OMONT, in *CGM in-8°*, t. I, Paris, 1886, p. 97.

(25) M.-P. LAFFITTE, M. DESACHY, *Collection canonique d'Albi, vers 600*, in DESACHY (dir.), *Le scriptorium*, cit. n. 3, p. 28-31; OURLIAC, cit. n. 3; MAASSEN, cit. n. 3, p. 592-603; *CGM in-8°*, t. VII, Paris, 1885, p. 203-213.

(26) C. M. GRAFINGER, *Staying Hither and Thither: Wanderings of Carolingian Manuscripts to and from the Vatican Library*, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, IX, 2002, p. 237-244; MAASSEN, cit. n. 3, p. 585-591; BISCHOFF, cit. n. 3, vol. 3, p. 414.

(27) RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1, p. 169-172.

(28) OBERLEITNER, cit. n. 9, p. 342.

the Council of Carpentras in November 527 and before the acts of the Council of Orange in July 529; in *Vt'*, they appear between the acts of the Council of Vaison in 529 and the acts of the Council of Auvergne in 535; in *Al* and *To*, the *Capitula* follow the acts of the third Council of Arles (549) and a letter from Pope Leo to Emperor Leo (*ep.* 60; August 458), and (in *Al*) the work appears before the Council of Orange of 529²⁹. The six manuscripts that contain the *Capitula* and make up family *α* are *Al*, *Be*², *Go*, *P'*, *To*, and *Vt'*. Most of these manuscripts originated in southern France.

A second family contains the aforementioned collection of anti-Manichaean writings. To this collection, the following works generally belong: Augustine's *De haeresibus*, prefaced by the correspondence between Augustine and Quodvultdeus (*ep.* 221-224), a series of four anathemas (by Augustine, Felix, Cresconius, and another Felix; title/incipit: *Augustinus episcopus ecclesiae catholicae*), Augustine's *ep.* 79, the *Commonitorium*, and a fragment from the *Acta Archelai*³⁰. The manuscripts of this family (siglum *γ*) are *Bo*, *Bg*, *Do*¹, *Do*², *In*, *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vt*². The majority of manuscripts from *γ* originated in (present-day) northern France and Belgium. The anti-Manichaean collection is preserved in its entirety in *Bg*, *Do*¹, *Do*², *P*², *P*³, and *Ro*. The manuscript *Bo* ends after the first line of the *Commonitorium*'s title (which forms the last line of *Bo*'s last leaf); the manuscript *In* lacks the fragment of the *Acta Archelai*; and *Vt*² contains neither *ep.* 221-224 nor *De haeresibus*. In addition, this family of manuscripts shares several typical readings in the *Commonitorium*³¹:

7 acceptauerit: suscepit; 58 aeternum: -o; 61 ab uno: a bono

For the remaining ten manuscripts, external criteria (composition, geographical circulation) do not, for the most part, indicate any particular kinship. One group of more recent manuscripts forms a notable exception. The manuscripts *Pa* (from Chaalis, France) and *Pe* (Pontigny) contain a nearly-identical collection of texts, and the same collection is preserved in a more fragmented form in the three

(29) See MAASSEN, cit. n. 3, p. 585-591 (for *Vt'*), p. 592-603 (for *Al* and *To*), p. 775-777 (for *Be*² and *P'*) and L. KÉRY, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, Washington, 1999, p. 5 and 43-44 for *P'* and *Be*², p. 49 for *Go* and *Vt'*, and p. 47 for *Al* and *To*.

(30) On the four anathemas and Augustine's *ep.* 79, see RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1. On the *Acta Archelai*, see the edition by BEESON, cit. n. 2.

(31) Numbers between brackets refer to the line number of the edition of the *Commonitorium* attached to this article.

Sorbonne manuscripts (P^4 , P^5 , P^6) and in Ce^{32} . Additionally, the contents of Ox are nearly identical to those of Co^{33} . Apart from external criteria, the occurrence of common errors implies the existence of two groups within these ten manuscripts, the one group consisting of Be^1 , Ce , Pa , P^4 , P^5 , P^6 , and Pe , the other of Bx , Co , and Ox . Some errors common to the first group are:

6 episcopo: *om.*; 10 manichaeus: *om.*; 13 disciplinam: auctoritatem

Errors common to Bx , Co , and Ox include:

3 secundum: per hanc; 7-9 det ... patiat: *om.*; 14 qui ... acceperint: *om.*

We shall refer to these two groups as β (Be^1 , Ce , Pa , P^4 , P^5 , P^6 , Ce) and δ (Bx , Co , Ox). Whether they are indeed two separate families or rather constitute a third branch or third family, invites detailed consideration. In several instances the two groups β and δ offer the same reading, either against α and γ , or, in the passages not shared by α , against γ . These instances are:

- (1) l. 3 haeresim $\beta \delta$: haeresim manicheorum γ
- (2) l. 11 talibus $\beta \delta$: talibus rebus γ
- (3) l. 80-81 spiritibus seductoribus doctrinis daemoniorum $\beta \delta$:
spiritibus seductoribus et doctrinis daemoniorum $\alpha \gamma$
- (4) l. 90 eorum $\beta \delta$: manicheorum γ
- (5) l. 94 appareat $\beta \delta$: appareant γ
- (6) l. 96 nec $\beta \delta$: ne γ

With the exception of (3), the readings common to β and δ disagree only with γ . In these cases, the agreement between the two groups against γ could very well point to an archetypal reading

(32) After Augustine's s. 215, Pa contains ss. 46 and 47, Ambrose's *De laude et exhortatione uiduitatis*, Augustine's c. *Prisc.* (including Orosius' query to Augustine), ep. 185, f. et op., *De dialectica*, a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Categoriae* that is attributed to Augustine, the *Commonitorium*, an *Epistula iohannis papae urbis romae de fide contra euticianistas*, the *Collatio beati augustini a se ipso ad semet ipsum de trinitate*, a list of books of the library of Pontigny (cf. Pe 's provenance), Jerome's *De epistola ad Titum*, Cyprian's *De obseruatione disciplinae ad rogationum*, and a list of books from Chaalis (Pa 's provenance). The manuscript Pe contains an identical collection, from Augustine's ss. 46 and 47 to the *Collatio de trinitate*. See BOUHOT, cit. n. 19, p. 290-293.

(33) The manuscript Co contains Augustine's ep. 132, 135, 137, 156, 157, 158, c. ep. *Pel.*, ep. 170, 191, 194, 214, gr. et lib. arb., *corrupt.*, Evodius' ep. ad *Valentinum*, Caecilius' ep. ad *episcopos Galliarum*, and the *Commonitorium*. The manuscript Ox has the same contents, except it is missing the first three *Epistulae* and has added en. *Ps.* 91-100 after the *Commonitorium*.

instead of to errors shared by β and δ . The third example above (3) concerns a biblical phrase (cf. 1 Tim 4:1). Here α and γ contain *et*, which is not present in the witnesses of β and δ . In this case, too, the reading of β and δ is likely archetypal, whereas *et* could be an addition, an error which originated independently in the two branches α and γ . The word *et* is often absent from this phrase among patristic authors (Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary, Novatianus), and in particular in Augustine's anti-Manichaean works *Contra Faustum* and *Contra Felicem*³⁴. On the other hand, the word *et* is present in the Vulgate rendering of this biblical passage³⁵, although the phrase also occurs with *et* among Augustine's writings (including the anti-Manichaean *Contra Faustum* and *Contra Secundinum*)³⁶. With regard to the variants (1), (2), and (4), a pattern recurs, in which γ offers clearer information than β and δ . The evidence for the existence of an earlier hyparchetype (the model of the two branches β and δ) is all in all rather slim. Instead, it is likely that these instances point to further secondary readings of γ . Thus, the two groups β and δ seem to constitute two separate families.

2. *The Commonitorium and the Capitula*

Another fundamental question must be dealt with before we treat each family in greater detail. That question concerns the relationship between the *Capitula* (with its twenty-one anathemas), preserved in family α , and the nine-anathema *Commonitorium* found in β , γ , and δ . In all likelihood, although the manuscripts of the *Capitula* are among the earliest manuscripts of any family, the *Capitula* constitute a new document, based on the *Commonitorium* as attested in the manuscripts of β , γ , and δ . An alternative hypothesis, namely, that the *Commonitorium* derives from the *Capitula*, seems less likely. One indication of their relationship can be found in their use of the consular dating system. The *Commonitorium* contains instructions concerning how the

(34) Augustine, *c. Faust.* XIV, 10; ed. J. ZYCHA, *S. Aureli Augustini de utilitate credendi, de duabus animabus, contra Fortunatum, contra Adimantum, contra epistulam fundamenti, contra Faustum* (CSEL 25.1), Pragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1891, p. 410, l. 24. Augustine, *c. Fel.* I, 7; ed. J. ZYCHA, *S. Aureli Augustini contra Felicem, de natura boni, epistula Secundini, contra Secundinum, accedunt Euodii de fide contra Manichaeos et commonitorium Augustini quod fertur* (CSEL 25.2), Pragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1892, p. 808, l. 23.

(35) H. J. FREDE (ed.), *Epistula ad Timotheum I (Vetus Latina XXV.1)*, Freiburg, 1978, p. 519-521.

(36) Augustine, *c. Faust.* XV, 10; ed. ZYCHA (CSEL 25.1), p. 437, l. 16. Augustine, *c. Sec.* 2; ed. ZYCHA (CSEL 25.2), p. 906, l. 13.

anathemas should be used. The repentant Manichaeans are to receive a letter from a bishop, a letter dated according to “day and consul”³⁷. Such a dating system situates the document under Roman legislation, that is, before Justinian abolished the practice of dating by consul in 534. The *Capitula* seem to go back to a historical instance when the anathemas of the *Commonitorium* were augmented and put into practice, for the document is signed by a former Manichaean named Prospera and dated to November 19 in the year in which Olybrius Junior was consul (526). If the *Commonitorium* drew inspiration from the *Capitula*, then the *Commonitorium* must have originated between 526 and 534. This scenario, however, is unconvincing. It would imply that the abjuration of a single Manichaean in 526 immediately (i.e., before 534) sparked the beginning of a new practice for receiving repentant Manichaeans into the Catholic Church. It is more likely that the *Commonitorium* came first and that its nine-anathema version represents the original form of this work.

If that is the case, then the *Commonitorium* (represented by β , γ , and δ) presents general guidelines on how Manichaeans were to be accepted into the Catholic community. The work consists of three major sections: an introduction with instructions, the list of nine anathemas, and an example of a model letter which the bishop would hand over to the converted Manichaeans. This letter would protect the former Manichaeans from accusations regarding their religious past. The *Capitula*, on the other hand, concentrate on the anathemas. The original nine anathemas are expanded to a total of twenty-one. Two of these anathemas in the *Capitula* (IV and V) were originally part of one anathema in the *Commonitorium* (IV); the *Capitula*'s anathemas X-XVII are new, and have been inserted in the original series (between VIII and IX of the *Commonitorium*); the *Commonitorium*'s anathema IX has also been split in two separate anathemas in the *Capitula*, numbered XVIII and XIX. The introductory section of the *Capitula* is kept to the absolute minimum, and the conclusion contains a first-person statement by the former Manichaean Prospera. The *Capitula* thus represents a redaction of the *Commonitorium* and shows that at least in this instance the guidelines of the *Commonitorium* were put into practice, with some adaptation.

Understanding the relationship between the *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula* is essential for our view of the relationship between the branch α and the branches β , γ , and δ . I am not inclined to view the transmission of the *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula* as bipartite (i.e., that families β , γ , and δ together form one branch of the

(37) *Commonitorium*, 1. 7: *det ei epistulam cum die et consule*; 1. 89: *quae scripta est die illo et consule illo*.

transmission and family α another). Previously, I argued that the *Capitula* (branch α) are a redaction of the *Commonitorium* (in the form attested by β , γ , and δ). In other words, the nine-anathema *Commonitorium* represents the archetype (Ω), and the *Capitula* a significantly altered version of that document. Nevertheless the texts of β , γ , and δ on the one hand and α on the other are still closely related, and for the portions of text they share the evidence from α can aid in reconstructing the text of Ω (as transmitted in β , γ , and δ); likewise, the evidence of β , γ , and δ can be instrumental for the reconstruction of the *Capitula* preserved in α .

A bipartite view of the stemma would imply that an original document has been preserved in two forms, yet was different from either the *Capitula* of α or the *Commonitorium* of β γ δ . The nature of this archetype would then be somewhat mysterious. It must have contained at least the anathemas common to the *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula* and perhaps some of the instructions regarding the dating and procedure for condemning Mani's teachings. This original document would then have resulted in, on the one hand, a documentary text, possibly expanded (for in this hypothesis, the twenty-one anathemas could be original, and the nine-anathema version could be an adjustment) and put to practice, as well as another text, which gives generic instructions and a possibly trimmed down series of anathemas. All in all, this "bipartite" hypothesis is neither convincing nor productive. It is instead most likely that the original document from which all branches derive is the *Commonitorium* itself as attested in β , γ , and δ . Neither is it necessary to presuppose a hyparchetype of this *Commonitorium* (a hypothetical intermediary model for the three branches β , γ , and δ), because that hyparchetype would imply the existence of errors in the *Commonitorium* common to β , γ , and δ , where the *Capitula* (α) preserve archetypal readings. There are certainly instances in which α disagrees with β , γ , and δ , but these cases are best explained as specific readings of the *Capitula* rather than as errors in the *Commonitorium* as transmitted by β , γ , and δ .

In what follows, the relationship between the manuscripts of each family is outlined. Since the critical apparatus reports the variant readings of all the manuscripts, including the *codices descripti*, the enumeration of common errors here is not exhaustive.

3. Family α

The oldest family of manuscripts consists of those that transmit the *Capitula*. In many regards, the *Capitula* differ from the *Commonitorium*. The *Capitula* have drastically different introductory and concluding

sections. In the section that the two works have in common, the enumeration of anathemas, α often diverges from the readings of β , γ , and δ . Examples of errors in α are (line numbers from the *Commonitorium*):

68 sine carne: *om.*; 70 ubi legitur: *om.*

Of the six manuscripts of α (Al , Be^2 , Go , P^l , To , and Vl^l), Be^2 is most likely an ancestor of P^l , and Vl^l of Go . The manuscripts Be^2 and P^l share many significant errors. Examples include (for subsequent discussions within α , references are to line numbers of the *Capitula*):

10 fieri: *om.*; 18 non: *om.*; 29 angoribus: langoribus Be^2 : languoribus P^l

The manuscript P^l has unique errors as well as the errors that are common to it and Be^2 . Unique errors of P^l include:

13 escas: -am; 56 promisit: promittit; 67 ac terrae: eterrae

There are several instances in which errors of Be^2 have not been preserved in P^l . These errors, however, are corruptions in spelling, which could have easily been corrected in P^l . Examples of such errors are:

15 polluta: pulluta; 76 diabolum: diabolulum; 85 sacrilegas: sacreligas

Similarly, Go and Vl^l have many common errors, with Go also containing several additional errors. Common errors of Vl^l and Go are, for example:

15 et^l: in; 25 ligata: legata; 28 ligatos: legatus; 30 partem: patrem

Although Vl^l also has some unique errors against the readings of Go , these errors are mostly errors in spelling, which could have been corrected by the scribe of Go (or of a now-lost intermediary manuscript). The errors of Vl^l not preserved in Go include:

9 pertinentibus: -tenentibus; 27 dederunt: -irunt; 51 uidete: -ite; 53 uidetis: -etes; 103 XIII: xlii

And although Go does not contain many additional errors, its later date than Vl^l and the presence of the few unique errors suggests that it is a copy of Vl^l . The unique errors of Go are:

52 habet: -ent; 61 resurrecturam: -a; 97 chartulam: cartolam

The two remaining manuscripts of family α , namely, Al and To , are closely related. Scholarly consensus holds that Al is a copy of To .

A scribal note in *Al* confirms its origins as a copy of *T \bar{o}* ³⁸. However, this cannot be the case for *T \bar{o}* in its current state. The manuscript *T \bar{o}* has several lacunae. The *Capitula*, the last writing of manuscript *T \bar{o}* , are missing their conclusion, undoubtedly due to a loss of leaves. *Al* was thus copied from an earlier version of *T \bar{o}* that was still complete. For this reason, I attribute the common errors of *Al* and *T \bar{o}* to a hyparchetype (ε). This hyparchetype is most likely identical to the original, complete version of *T \bar{o}* . The errors common to *T \bar{o}* and *Al* are many. Examples are:

8 bello: -um; 9 naturam: -ae; 9 teneri: -ere; 13 animalibus: animalibus; 15 in²: et; 19 quae: qui

Additionally, *Al* contains many unique errors, such as:

3 sint: sunt; 14 atque: at; 21 masculi: -um; 26 ei: et

The following list contains several errors of *T \bar{o}* . Note that some of these errors could be seen as simple errors in spelling (cf. the previous discussion of *Be²* and *Vt^t*):

12 ligatam: legatam; 13 per escas: perscas; 25 generasset: generas sit

To reiterate, from the six witnesses of *a*, three pairs can be distinguished: *P^t* is likely a copy of *Be²*, *Go* is probably a copy of *Vt^t*, and *Al* is almost certainly a copy of *T \bar{o}* , although it preserves the text more fully than in *T \bar{o}* (cf. hyparchetype ε , which can be identified with the original state of manuscript *T \bar{o}*). These three pairs of manuscripts are quite well known in scholarship, as they represent three different canonical collections: *Be²* and *P^t* contain the *Collectio Lugdunensis*, named after the provenance of *Be²* (Lyon); *Al* and *T \bar{o}* contain the *Collectio Albigensis*, named after the provenance of both manuscripts, but of *T \bar{o}* in particular (Albi); and *Go* and *Vt^t* contain the *Collectio Laureshamensis*, after the provenance of *Vt^t* (Lorsch)³⁹.

Additionally, the manuscripts *Al*, *Go*, *T \bar{o}* , and *Vt^t* have some errors in common against the seemingly correct readings of *Be²* and *P^t*. It should be noted, though, that these common errors are often the result of variations in spelling, such as the confusion between *i* and *e*, or between *u* and *o*, or the possible misreading of an abbreviation (*patrem* versus *partem*) or an abbreviation marker or tilde (*creata* versus

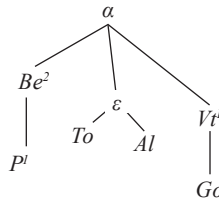
(38) See DESACHY, cit. n. 3; C. H. TURNER, *Chapters in the History of Latin Manuscripts: II. A Group of MSS of Canons at Toulouse, Albi, and Paris*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 2, 1901, p. 266-273. See also the bibliographical references under *Al* and *T \bar{o}* in the previous section.

(39) See the references in MAASSEN, cit. n. 3, and KÉRY, cit. n. 29.

creatam, from *creatā* or *creatā*). The critical apparatus of the *Capitula* contains multiple instances of similar spelling errors. In other words, it may well be that these readings common to *Al*, *Go*, *To*, and *Vt^l* point to errors in the hyparchetype of *a* instead of pointing to the existence of a separate hyparchetype, a common ancestor of these four witnesses. If that is the case, then the following instances simply indicate where *Be²* and *P^l* differ from a corrupt hyparchetype. Where *Be²* and *P^l* contain archetypal readings, such readings can be explained as corrections of erroneous spelling in *a*:

7 partem: patrem; 22 fetus: -os; 38 gentis: -es; 64 caelestes: -is; 71 creatam⁴⁰: -a

These examples of errors common to *Al*, *Go*, *To*, and *Vt^l*, against the correct readings of *Be²* and *P^l* do not necessitate the existence of a common ancestor of the four former manuscripts. Thus the transmission of *a* should be seen as tripartite: one branch consists of *Be²* and *P^l*, one of *Al* and *To*, and the third of *Go* and *Vt^l*. The kinship between these manuscripts can be visualized as follows:



4. Family β

The remaining three families, β, γ, and δ, all contain the *Commonitorium*, with its nine anathemas, introduction, and concluding section that discusses how these anathemas should be put into practice. Family β consists of *Be^l*, *Ce*, *Pa*, *P^l*, *P⁵*, *P⁶*, and *Pe*. This family is characterized by following errors⁴¹:

6 episcopo: *om.*; 10 manichaeus: *om.*; 35 ut: *om.*; 95 si non fuerint baptizati: *om.*

Within family β, a distinction can be made between *Be^l* on the one hand and the remaining manuscripts (*Ce*, *Pa*, *P^l*, *P⁵*, *P⁶*, and *Pe*) on

(40) Note that *To* contains the *Capitula* up until line 69. The following variant is thus only preserved in *Al*, *Go*, and *Vt^l*.

(41) Line numbers refer to the edition of the *Commonitorium sancti Augustini*.

the other. In many instances, these latter six manuscripts agree in error where *Be'* has the archetypal reading. Examples of errors common to the group of six witnesses are:

3 cum: *om.*; 5 eorum: *om.*; 9 de: *om.*; 10 indicii: -ii

On the other hand, *Be'* also contains unique errors. These errors imply that none of the six descend from *Be'*. Hence *Be'* represents one of the two branches of β , the other branch being represented by the aforementioned six manuscripts. Examples of unique errors of *Be'* are:

12 quacumque: quocumque; 14 episcopo: -is; 20 probatos: -us

Among the six manuscripts, *Pe* stands out. There is no error in *Pe* that is not also preserved in *Ce*, *Pa*, *P^t*, *P^s*, and *P⁶*. It is also likely that *Ce*, *P^t*, *P^s*, and *P⁶* derive, in turn, from *Pa*. Examining the composition of these manuscripts may complement the limited textual evidence at our disposal. As mentioned before, *Pa* and *Pe* have a very similar composition, and both date to the twelfth century⁴². The manuscript *Pa* also contains several works not found in *Pe*. For example, *Pa* has added a sermon of Augustine before the collection it shares with *Pe* and contains a catalogue of books preserved at the library of Pontigny (*Pe*'s provenance) after the final work common to *Pa* and *Pe*. After this catalogue, *Pa* contains several treatises not found in *Pe*, after which *Pa* concludes with a catalogue of writings from Chaalis (*Pa*'s provenance). Of the texts *Pa* added to the collection of *Pe*, Jerome's commentary on the Epistle to Titus and Cyprian's *Ad Rogatianum de obseruatione disciplinae* can also be found in *P^t* and *P⁶*. The manuscript *P^t* also has the catalogue of Pontigny. To add to this external evidence, the text of *Pa* also suggests that it derives from *Pe*. So, *Pe* has no errors which are not also preserved in *Pa*, and *Pa* contains two errors that are present in *Ce*, *P^t*, *P^s*, and *P⁶* too. These two errors are:

59 horribili: et horribili; 72 qui: quia

The manuscripts *P^t*, *P^s*, *P⁶*, and *Ce* in turn derive from *Pa*. There are no errors of *Pa* which are not also preserved in these four manuscripts. Of these four manuscripts, *P⁶* was likely an ancestor of *Ce*, whereas *P^t*, *P^s*, and *P⁶* each represent a different branch copied from *Pa*. The manuscript *P^t* has the following unique errors:

7 eumque: eamque *Pa*: eam que *P^t*; 37 subueniri: -ire

(42) See n. 32.

The following list contains some of P^3 's unique errors:

3 anathematizauerint: -erunt; 48-49 habentes in se colligatam: *om.*;
53-54 et ... tenebrarum: *om.*; 55 eis: his

Finally, P^6 and Ce have many erroneous readings in common. The manuscript Ce , which dates to the fifteenth century, is likely a (distant) copy of P^6 , and has many additional unique mistakes⁴³. Some examples of errors common to P^6 and Ce are:

32 coinquinabilem: inquinabilem; 38 ista: *om.*; 52 pulchras: *om.*;
55 substantia: substantia dei

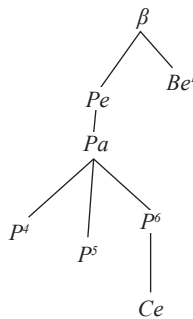
It should be mentioned, however, that P^6 does have two errors that are not present in Ce . In these cases, it is possible that the scribe of Ce (or a now-lost intermediary manuscript) corrected these errors. These unique errors of P^6 not present in Ce are:

52 opponit: opponitur; 79 sacrilegas: saclegas

Unique errors of Ce are, *inter alia*:

4 libellumque: bellumque; 16 audientiam: autem audientiam; 19 periculo: -um; 24 diuersis: diuersis temporibus

In sum, family β can be represented as follows:



5. Family δ

Family δ is the smallest family of manuscripts of the *Commonitorium*, and the relationship between its three witnesses (Bx , Co , Ox) is rather straightforward. The following errors characterize this family:

(43) On the ties between Cesena and Sorbonne, see HOMBERT, cit. n. 8, p. 342.

7-9 det ... patiatu: *om.*; 14 qui ... acceperint: *om.*; 15 uicinis: *om.*;
44 et² ... concubuisset: *om.*; 52 uirtutes suas: *om.*

Within this family, the ties between *Co* and *Ox* are immediately apparent. There are many instances in which the two witnesses agree in error against the archetypal reading found in *Bx*. Examples of such errors of *Co* and *Ox* are:

4 libellumque: libellum quae; 4 dederit: -erint; 30-31 colligatam: conligatum

Additionally, *Bx* contains several unique errors. Such errors imply that δ consists of two branches, with *Bx* representing one, and *Co* and *Ox* the other. Examples of unique errors of *Bx* are:

42 creatum: -am; 46 ei: eis; 62 et uero: ueroque

Textual evidence indicates that *Ox* is likely a copy of *Co*. Apart from their common errors (see above), *Ox* contains many additional mistakes, whereas unique errors in *Co* are scarce, and mostly constitute spelling errors or errors that a subsequent scribe could have easily corrected on his own. Some unique errors of *Ox* are:

10 manichaeus: -is; 18 paenitentiae: sapientiae; 73 neget: negat;
82 forma: -ae

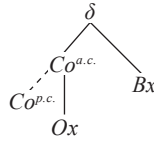
The unique errors of *Co* are:

78 manichaeus: mannichaeus; 88 praeteriti: pra&eri

Interestingly, *Co* contains various corrections. In these instances, *Ox* corresponds to the readings of *Co ante correctionem* more often than it corresponds to the corrections of *Co*. Examples of such readings, where *Ox* corresponds to *Co^{a.c.}*, are:

51 diuersoria: qui uersoria *Co^{a.c.}* *Ox*: qui diuersoria *Co^{b.c.}*; 54 quos *Co^{b.c.}*:
-as *Co^{a.c.}* *Ox*; 57 partem *Co^{b.c.}*: patrem *Co^{a.c.}* *Ox*; 62 datam *Co^{b.c.}*: -um *Co^{a.c.}*
Ox; 78 qui *Co^{b.c.}*: quia *Co^{a.c.}* *Ox*; 94 superstitione caruisse *Co^{b.c.}*: supersti-
tione necaruisse *Co^{a.c.}* *Ox*

These examples suggest that *Ox* is an early copy of *Co*, and that (most of) *Co*'s corrections were applied at a later date. The relationships between the three manuscripts of δ can therefore be represented as follows:



6. Family γ

Our overview of textual witnesses ends with the collection of anti-Manichaean treatises briefly mentioned in the introduction. This collection consists of Augustine's *De haeresibus* (preceded by the epistolary correspondence between Quodvultdeus and Augustine, in which Quodvultdeus asks Augustine to write a catalogue of heresies), four anti-Manichaean anathemas, Augustine's *ep.* 79, the *Commonitorium*, and a fragment of the *Acta Archelai*. Manuscripts of this family are *Bo*, *Bg*, *Do*¹, *Do*², *In*, *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vt*². The collection has been preserved in its entirety in *Bg*, *Do*¹, *Do*², *P*², *P*³, and *Ro*. Manuscript *Bo* ends with the collection, and has part of the title of the *Commonitorium* in the final line of its final folio. While it is possible that the text would have continued as per the other manuscripts in this family, certainty eludes us because the remainder of *Bo*'s text is seemingly lost⁴⁴. The manuscript *In* does not contain the entire collection either. After the *Commonitorium*, that manuscript continues with a letter from Pope Innocent to Aurelius of Carthage and Augustine⁴⁵. In *Vt*², the anti-Manichaean collection begins with the four anathemas. Augustine's *De haeresibus* has thus been omitted. This family of manuscripts is characterized by the following errors:

7 acceptauerit: suscepit; 20 cognouerit: -erunt; 67 resurrexisse: reuixisse; 94 appareat: -ant; 96 nec: ne

Since *Bo* lacks two significant writings of the anti-Manichaean collection (and thus much comparative evidence), it may be best to consider its relationship to the other manuscripts last. When referring to other texts of the collection in the following discussion, the abbreviations *an.* (for the four anathemas; inc. *Augustinus episcopus*), *ep.* (for



(44) In another instance, *Bo* has lost a leaf too. Before f. 86, one leaf seems to be missing: f. 85v ends on *inuenitur docere* (*haer.* LXXXVIII, 40-41), whereas f. 86r begins with *esse mittendum* (*haer.*, epil. 64). References to *haer.* are from VANDER PLAETSE, BEUKERS, cit. n. 2.

(45) Inc. *Acceptissimi mihi germani* (*ep.* 184 among Augustine's letters).

Augustine's *ep.* 79), and *act.* (fragment of the *Acta Archelai*) are used⁴⁶. Unless specified, line numbers refer to the *Commonitorium* (*comm.*). A first distinction can be made between *Do*¹ and the other seven manuscripts. *Do*¹ is the oldest extant manuscript of the family, and the only tenth-century manuscript which still contains the entirety of the anti-Manichaean collection. Nevertheless *Do*¹ also contains several individual errors. These are, for the *Commonitorium*:

45 illa: ea; 87-88 temporis praeteriti: *inu.*; 92 dandae sunt: *inu.*

All other manuscripts (*Bg*, *Do*², *In*, *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vt*²) have a number of errors in common. These errors suggest a closer relationship between these seven witnesses⁴⁷:

19 acceperint: -erunt; 84 sicut: ut

Of these witnesses, the manuscript *In* likely represents an isolated branch. It contains some individual errors and does not contain some errors that are common to *Bg*, *Do*², *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vt*². Individual errors of *In* include:

7 die et consule: dicet consule; 20 episcopus: -is⁴⁸

Since it also lacks the fragment of the *Acta Archelai*, the manuscript *In* cannot have been a model for any of the remaining manuscripts of family γ . Those remaining manuscripts have the following errors in common:

an., 1 augustinus: item augustinus; *ep.* 16 soluere: solue (*Do*^{2*p.c.*}); *comm.*, 20 episcopus: -is *Do*¹ *In*: -i

These errors suggest that the seven manuscripts *Bg*, *Do*², *In*, *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vt*² derive from a now lost intermediary exemplar (ζ). From this exemplar, two branches originated: one represented by *In* and one represented by *Bg*, *Do*², *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vt*². Of these six manuscripts, *Vt*² is likely a copy of *Ro*; the manuscript *P*³ also appears to have been the model for two subsequent manuscripts, namely, *P*²

(46) References to *an.* and *ep.* indicate the line numbers from the editions in RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1. References to the *Acta Archelai* indicate page and line number in the edition of BEESON, cit. n. 2.

(47) When discussing the evidence of *B₀*, we will return to the errors of this group.

(48) Note, however, that here *Do*¹, like *In*, reads *episcopis* (as perhaps *Do*² does too *ante correctionem*), whereas the remaining manuscripts of γ read *episcopi* (including *Do*²). Maybe *episcopis* is the hyparchetypal reading of γ here.

and *Bg*. The latter manuscript, *Bg*, probably derives from *P*², which was dependent on *P*³.

The sixteenth-century manuscript *Vt*² appears to be a very faithful copy of *Ro*. It shares with *Ro* a number of errors, and contains a few additional errors not found in *Ro*. The manuscript *Vt*² has even imitated the manner in which corrections were made in *Ro* itself; at other times, it has retained words which the scribe(s) of *Ro* intended to delete. Examples are:

67 mortem: carnem *del.*: mortem; 80 seductoribus: sapi *del.*: seductori-
bus; 93 in: laicis in *Ro*^{a.c.} *Vt*²

An individual error of *Vt*², in the *Commonitorium*, is:

72 deum: dominum

What follows are several errors common to *Bg*, *P*², and *P*³:

12 quacumque: qualibet; 54 principibus tenebrarum: *inu.*

There is only one unique error of *P*³ that has not been preserved in either *P*² or *Bg*. That error is the omission of *episcopus* in the title of the anathemas (*an.* 1). In this case, it is quite possible that the scribe(s) of *P*² added this term in order to complete the description of Augustine (cf. *Augustinus catholicae ecclesiae* as opposed to *Augustinus episcopus catholicae ecclesiae*). Additionally, *P*² and *Bg* have many additional errors in common, particularly in the fragment of the *Acta Archelai*:

act., 92,6 cum suis: *P*² *Bg*: *inu.* *Do*¹ *Do*² *Ro* *Vt*² *P*³; *act.*, 92,7 eius: *om.*;
act., 93,7 ipse: *om.*

The manuscript *P*² does not contain any error that is not also preserved in *Bg*, whereas *Bg* does contain numerous additional errors. The following examples are from the *Commonitorium*:

8 superiore: -i; 28 duas: duas esse; 31 facit: fecit

When considering the kinship of manuscripts *Bg*, *Do*², *P*², *P*³, *Ro*, and *Vt*², it is thus important to examine the relationship between *Do*², *P*³, and *Ro* in particular. In this regard, it should be noted that sometimes *Do*² appears to have the (hyp)archetypal reading of γ *ante correctionem*, but an error in common with *Ro* and *P*³ in its state *post correctionem*. Examples are:

ep., 16 soluere: solue *Do*^{2p.c.}; *comm.*, 20 episcopus: -is *Do*¹ *In* *Do*^{2a.c.};
-i *Do*^{2p.c.}; 89 putauerint: -erit *Do*¹ *In* *Do*^{2a.c.}

These readings suggest that *R_o* and *P^β* derive from *D_o²* *post correctionem*. In addition, there are no errors in *D_o^{2p.c.}* that are not also preserved in *R_o* and *P^β*. Since *B_g*, *P²*, *P^β*, *R_o*, and *V^{t2}* seem to be direct or indirect copies of *D_o²*, it is possible to consider the precise position of the final manuscript of family γ , namely *B_o*, by examining its relationship to *D_o^l*, *D_o²*, and *In*. Although *B_o* contains many unique errors, it also has some archetypal readings in common with *D_o^l*, where *D_o²* and *In* contain new errors:

haer., epil. 66 orationibus: orationibus uestris *D_o²* *In*; *post adiuuetis*: gloria indiuiduae trinitatis *D_o²* *In*; *an.*, 1 augustinus: item augustinus *D_o²*: ego augustinus *In*

Textual evidence suggests that *B_o* represents one of three branches of γ , with *D_o^l* representing a second branch, and the remaining manuscripts (hyparchetype ζ) a third. Manuscripts *D_o^l* and *B_o* each contain unique errors, that is, errors not preserved in other manuscripts. Examples of such individual errors are, for *D_o^l*:

haer., praef. 44 baptizet: -ent; 86 quibusdam: *om.*; *an.*, 12 blasphemias: blasfeminas; 17 esse: *om.*

One individual error of *B_o* is:

haer., praef. 27 tuae caritati: *B_o*, *inu.* *D_o^l* *D_o²* *In*⁴⁹

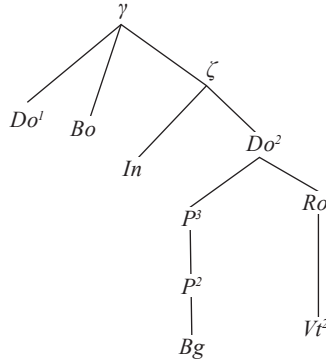
Finally, it is necessary to consider several readings shared by *In* and *B_o*. These readings are, for the anathemas and Augustine's *ep.* 79:

an., 20 caesariam: -a; lucillam filiam suam: -a -a -a; 21 victorinam hispanam: -a -a; *ep.*, 15 cancrum: cancer

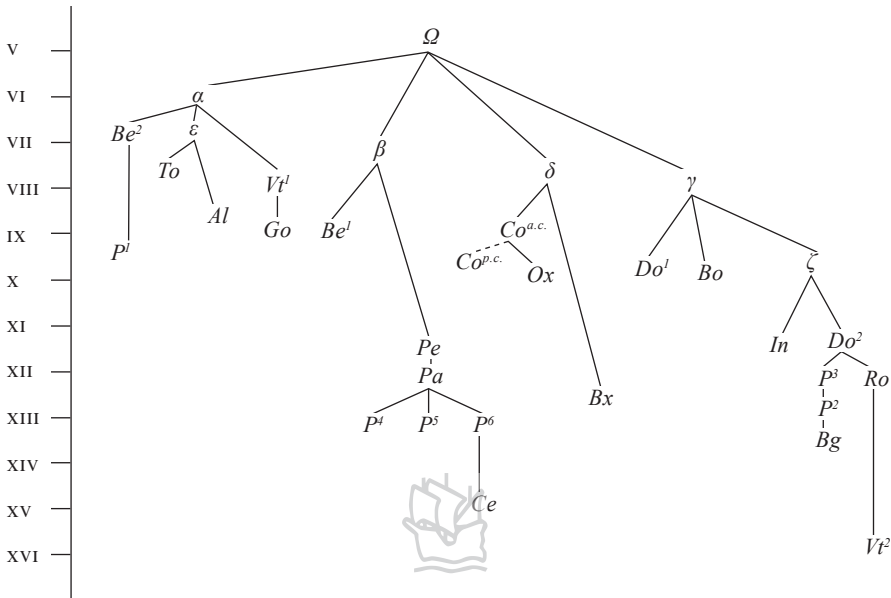
Although such errors could suggest kinship, we have previously argued that *In* and *B_o* cannot be sibling manuscripts, since *In* also shares several errors with *D_o²* (cf. hyparchetype ζ). If direct kinship between *In* and *B_o* is impossible, perhaps the occurrence of these errors here may point to archetypal errors on the one hand and to Vulgate readings on the other hand. First, the nominatives in the anathema document (*Caesaria*; *Lucilla filia sua*; *Victorina Hispana*) could perhaps indicate that the nominative was the (erroneous) reading of γ . On this hypothesis, both *D_o^l* and *D_o²* adjusted these

(49) Here *D_o^l*, *D_o²*, and *In* most likely transmit the hyparchetypal reading of γ , with *B_o* incidentally containing an archetypal reading, errant vis-à-vis its hyparchetype.

readings to the syntactically correct accusative case. The reading *cancer* (*ep.*, 15) corresponds to the Vulgate version of the scriptural text. Here the error might have occurred coincidentally in both *In* and *Bo*, whereas γ would have had the non-Vulgate accusative *can-crum*. To summarize, family γ can be visualized as follows:



Incorporating the four families of witnesses into one overview results in the following representation (with approximate dating):



IV. PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THE *COMMONITORIVM*

The different texts of the anti-Manichaean collection preserved in γ have known quite a divergent reception in scholarship. This disparity is also reflected in their respective editions. Since this article does not aim to offer a reconstruction of the textual transmission of Augustine's *De haeresibus*, the four anathemas, Augustine's *ep.* 79, or the *Acta Archelai*, previous editions of these writings will not be considered here⁵⁰. The discussion will therefore limit itself to the *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula*.

1. *The Commonitorium*

The *Commonitorium* was first published in a reprint of the Leuven theologians' edition of Augustine's sermons (1586)⁵¹. This Paris reprint supplements the Leuven edition of Augustine's sermons (tenth volume) with several additional sermons and other texts. The editor claims he found these sermons in a manuscript from the library of the Grande Chartreuse near Grenoble. However, he does not specify whether this now-lost Chartreuse manuscript is also the source for the other additional texts of this edition, or whether their source is another (and if so, Carthusian) manuscript⁵². The text of the Paris reprint of the Leuven edition has similarities to the group of manuscripts *Ce*, *Pa*, *P^t*, *P^s*, *P⁶*, and *Pe*⁵³. In the Leuven edition, the *Commonitorium* is immediately followed by a pseudo-Augustinian *Collatio trinitatis a se ipso ad semetipsum*. This treatise also immediately follows the *Commonitorium* in *P⁶*, *Ce*, and (with an epistle of Pope John against

(50) For Augustine's *De haeresibus*, see VANDER PLAETSE, BEUKERS, cit. n. 2; for the four anti-Manichaean anathemas and Augustine's *ep.* 79, see RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1, esp. p. 165-167; for the *Acta Archelai*, see BEESON, cit. n. 2.

(51) *D. Aurelii Augustini hipponensis episcopi, operum tomus X. continens sermones ad populum et clerum: Vetustissimorum exemplarium subsidio per theologos louanienses emendatus, & multorum sermonum accessione auctus. Cum appendice eiusdem tomi, quae est aliorum auctorum*, Paris, 1586, appendix, p. 377-378.

(52) *D. Aurelii Augustini*, cit. n. 51, p. 2. The added sermons of this edition have been identified as a separate collection, also attested in a manuscript from the Carthusian house of St. Michael in Mainz. See C. LAMBOT, *Le catalogue de Possidius et la collection carthusienne de sermons de saint Augustin*, in *Revue bénédictine*, 60, 1950, p. 3-7 and F. DOLBEAU, *Le sermonnaire augustinien de Mayence (Mainz, Stadtbibliothek I 9): Analyse et histoire*, in *Revue bénédictine*, 106, 1996, p. 5-52.

(53) If the source of these texts would also be a Chartreuse manuscript, then this now-lost manuscript most likely corresponds to the Chartreuse manuscript described in P. FOURNIER, *La bibliothèque de la Grande-Chartreuse au moyen-âge*, in *Bulletin de l'Académie delphinale*, 4th s., 1, 1886, p. 305-386 (here p. 347-348).

the Eutychians interspersed between the *Commonitorium* and the treatise) *Pa*, *P^t*, and *Pe*. The editor of the Leuven edition presumes that the *Commonitorium* was authored by a bishop of Rome, most likely Celestine or Leo, rather than Augustine (under whose name the *Commonitorium* is transmitted).

A subsequent edition of the *Commonitorium* was prepared by Baronius (or Baronio), in the appendix to the fifth volume of his *Annales ecclesiastici* (1602)⁵⁴. In that fifth volume, he first reproduced the anathema of Felix from the end of *Contra Felicem*. His text of that anathema was based on the Leuven theologians' edition of *Contra Felicem*⁵⁵. In the appendix, he also added the latter two anathemas (of Cresconius and another Felix) from the collection of four. He considered these latter two anathemas to be part of a larger abjuration by Augustine's interlocutor Felix⁵⁶. Baronius suppressed the name Cresconius (to C.) so that the anathema of the second Felix (the fourth anathema of the series) would be read in continuity with the anathema of Augustine's Felix. For his edition of these anathemas, and of the *Commonitorium*, Baronius used a reproduction of a *codex Geruasianus*. This reproduction was provided to him by Nicolas Le Fèvre (Nicolaus Faber). The *codex Geruasianus* can be identified with *Ro*, originally from Saint-Saulve near Valenciennes, and which once belonged to the Collège de Maître Gervais in Paris. The transcript by Le Fèvre can most likely be identified with *Vt*²⁵⁷.

Almost a century later, the Maurists edited the text, including it in an appendix to the eighth volume of Augustine's collected works (1688)⁵⁸. That volume contains the polemical works of Augustine against the Manichaeans, the Priscillianists, and the Arians. The Maurists consulted not only the copy of the work they found in the library of Christina of Sweden (*Vt*) but also the 1586 reprint of

(54) C. BARONIUS, *Annales ecclesiastici, auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano ex congreg. oratorii S.R.E. presbytero card.*, Tomus quintus, editio nouissima, Antverpiae, 1602, appendix, p. 5-7.

(55) C. BARONIUS, *Annales ecclesiastici, auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano congregationis oratorii presbytero*, Tomus quintus, Antverpiae, 1596, p. 222.

(56) BARONIUS, cit. n. 54, p. 5. See also RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1, p. 171-172.

(57) See BEESON, cit. n. 2, p. xxxiii, and especially RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1, p. 167-172.

(58) *Sancti Aurelii Augustini hipponensis operum tomus octauus, continens opuscula polemica, aduersus haereses, Manichaeorum, Priscillianistarum, et Arrianorum, post louaniensium theologorum recognitionem correctam denuo ad manuscriptos codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, etc. nec non ad editiones antiquiores et castigatioris, opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti, e congregatione S. Mauri*, Parisiis, 1688, appendix, col. 35-38.

the Leuven edition, Baronius' edition, and Sirmond's edition of the *Capitula* (see below).

The most recent critical edition of the *Commonitorium* was prepared by Josephus Zycha in the CSEL series, in a volume of Augustinian anti-Manichaean writings (CSEL 25.2, 1892). For his edition, Zycha consulted (our sigla) *Co*, *Do*¹, *Ox*, *P*², *P*³, *P*⁵, as well as the Maurist edition⁵⁹. Zycha seems to have had a predilection for *Co* and *Ox*. In many cases, when these two manuscripts are in agreement, Zycha preferred their readings. Although Zycha admits that the two belong to the same group of manuscripts⁶⁰, he does not draw the conclusion that *Ox* is a copy of *Co*, or that their agreements, if from the same class of witnesses, point to common errors rather than archetype readings. The apparatus of the present, new edition allows for a comparison with the four previous editors (Leuven, Baronius, Maurists and Zycha).

2. *The Capitula*

The *Capitula sancti Augustini* are a distinct redaction of the original *Commonitorium*. Thus far, the only edition of this work based on an examination of a manuscript source is the 1629 *editio princeps* of Jacques Sirmond, S.J.⁶¹. Sirmond included the *Capitula* in his *Concilia antiqua Galliae*, an edition of early French Church councils. Since he encountered the *Capitula* in a manuscript of French councils, his inclusion of that text in this publication makes sense. Sirmond states that he found the text of the *Capitula* in a codex from the church of Lyon. Additionally, he refers to the Leuven edition of the *Commonitorium*. His Lyon codex is undoubtedly the seventh-century manuscript *Be*². Sirmond's edition contains several readings typical of *Be*². One particularly interesting error concerns the name of the converted Manichaean. While Sirmond (with *Be*²) gives the name *Prosper*, other manuscripts of the *Capitula* transmit the female name *Prospera*. Additionally, one can discern a gap after *Be*²'s *prosper*, where originally another letter was written. It is not too far fetched to believe *Be*² originally had the name *Prospera* as well, but that the final letter was later deleted. Because Sirmond's edition was so influential,

(59) Zycha uses the following sigla and order of manuscripts: *C* (*Coloniensis*) = *Co*; *B* (*Laudensis*) = *Ox*; *S* (*Sorbonicus*) = *P*³; *P* (*Parisinus*) = *P*²; *T* (*Tellerianus nunc Parisinus*) = *P*⁵; *D* (*Dauensis*) = *Do*¹.

(60) ZYCHA, CSEL 25.2, p. LXXVI-LXXVII.

(61) J. SIRMOND, *Concilia antiqua Galliae tres in tomos ordine digesta*, t. I, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1629, p. 209-211.

the *Capitula* are often better known as ‘Prosper’s anathemas’⁶². If one must attribute the work to the converted Manichaean, however, it would be better attributed to Prospera. Earlier, we argued that the *Capitula* are likely an application of the general guidelines provided in the *Commonitorium*. If that is the case, then it is striking to see that for the one known example of the *Commonitorium* being used in practice, the convert was a woman. This document is thus a valuable indication that the early-sixth-century religious world was not exclusively a man’s world.

Subsequent editions of the *Capitula* are not as significant as Sirmond’s edition, since these editions are not based on additional manuscript evidence from family *a*. Philippe Labbe (1671) reprinted Sirmond’s edition, which he supplemented with the four anathemas, *ep.* 79, and the introduction and conclusion of the nine-anathema *Commonitorium*⁶³. Labbe consulted the *codex Geruasianus* for his edition, as well as the Leuven edition of the *Commonitorium*. Labbe’s description of the Gervais codex corresponds to the features of *Ro*⁶⁴. As mentioned before, Baronius’ edition is based on Le Fèvre’s reproduction of the same Gervais codex. That reproduction is either identical to *Vt*², or, like *Vt*², a copy of the anti-Manichaean collection of *Ro*, given to him by Le Fèvre.

Finally, Adam published the *Capitula* in his collection *Texte zum Manichäismus* (1969²)⁶⁵. This edition is methodologically unsound, since it reprints Sirmond’s edition of the *Capitula*, but sometimes alters that text based on Zycha’s edition of the *Commonitorium*.

V. CONCLUSION :

DATE, LOCALIZATION, AND EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula* are extant in twenty-five witnesses, which can be divided in four families. One of these families contains an adjusted version of the *Commonitorium*, titled *Capitula sancti Augustini*, in which the *Commonitorium*’s guidelines for how the anathemas could be used to receive a repentant Manichaean into

(62) See, for example, S. N. C. LIEU, *An Early Byzantine Formula for the Renunciation of Manichaeism: The Capita VI contra Manichaeos of <Zacharias of Mytilene>*, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 26, 1983, p. 152-218 (here p. 155); A. ADAM, *Texte zum Manichäismus*, Berlin, 1969, p. 90.

(63) P. LABBE, *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta*, vol. 4. *Ab anno CCC-CLI. ad annum DXXXV*, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1671, col. 1658-1663.

(64) See n. 57.

(65) ADAM, cit. n. 62, p. 90-92.

the Catholic Church were put into practice. This adjusted version is signed by a former Manichaean woman named Prospera and is dated 'by day and consul' to 19 November 526 (the consulate of Olybrius Junior). The presence of this document among the acts of Church councils in Southern France suggests that this abjuration of Manichaeism took place in the Ostrogothic Kingdom (which included the towns of Arles, Carpentras, Orange, and Vaison) or, less likely, in the Kingdom of the Burgundians (with Lyon as its capital). The original *Commonitorium* was likely composed during or after the anti-Manichaean campaigns of Pope Leo I. It was perhaps an attempt to facilitate the anti-Manichaean ambitions of Pope Leo I. In a letter written in January 444, Leo describes how he detected and attempted to convert Manichaeans at Rome. The terminology of Leo is reminiscent of the *Commonitorium*⁶⁶. Louis Ellies Dupin argued in his *Nova bibliotheca* that the *Commonitorium* originated at a North African Church council⁶⁷. This African hypothesis, however, requires a very early date for the *Commonitorium*. Since the document stipulates a dating by Roman consul, it must have originated under Roman rule, and would thus, if African, have been composed before Vandal rule in North Africa (435-534).

The most extensive study of the *Commonitorium*'s dating has been recently conducted by Raúl Villegas Marín⁶⁸. Villegas Marín situates the *Commonitorium* in the Ostrogothic Kingdom of Theodoric the Great, sometime under the papacies of Gelasius, Symmachus, and Hormisdas (492-523). The *Commonitorium*, he further argues, builds upon a model issued by Leo during his anti-Manichaean campaign. The Ostrogothic Kingdom at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century was in line with previous Christian emperors and the Church in its concern for the conversion of (crypto-)Manichae-

(66) Leo, *ep.* 7: *et ut damnarent Manichaeum cum praedicationibus et disciplinis suis publica in Ecclesia professione, et manus suae subscriptione, compulimus*; PL 54, Paris, 1846, col. 620-621. See LIEU, *cit.* n. 62, p. 155 and especially G. H. SCHIPPER, J. VAN OORT (ed.), *St. Leo the Great, Sermons and Letters against the Manichaeans: Selected Fragments* (Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum, Series Latina 1), Turnhout, 2000, p. 2. For a more detailed discussion concerning the origins of the *Commonitorium* and the *Capitula*, see also R. VILLEGAS MARÍN, *Abjuring Manichaeism in Ostrogothic Rome and Provence: The Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum Manicheis and the Prosperi anathematismi*, in M. VINZENT (ed.), *Studia Patristica XCVII: Papers presented at the Seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2015*, Leuven, 2017, p. 159-168, and the discussion below.

(67) L. E. DUPIN, *Nova bibliotheca auctorum ecclesiasticorum, eorum vitae historiam, operum catalogum, criticam, et chronologiam complectens*, t. III, Paris, 1693, p. 467.

(68) VILLEGAS MARÍN, *cit.* n. 66. As I cannot summarize all details of Villegas Marín's analysis here, the interested reader is urged to consult the article itself.

ans. This concern is emphasized by the adaptation of the *Commonitorium* in the work known to us as the *Capitula* (526). Less convincing in the study of Villegas Marín, however, are the references to Prosper of Aquitaine in relation to the *Commonitorium*. It is true that Prosper's name is sometimes linked to the *Commonitorium* (see above, on Sirmond's edition). Villegas Marín takes this attribution to Prosper as the starting point of a tentative hypothesis. The hypothesis claims that Prosper of Aquitaine produced an anti-Manichaean compilation that was subsequently issued by Leo. This compilation (excerpts from Augustine's anti-Manichaica) of anathemas was later incorporated into the *Commonitorium*. The *Capitula*, then, according to Villegas Marín's hypothesis, are an adaptation of the list of anathemas by Prosper (and attributed to him!), supplemented with a *libellus* of a former Manichaean "whose name was not Prosper"⁶⁹. A subsequent copyist presumably joined the two documents and assigned the *libellus* instead of the anathemas to Prosper. This Prosperian hypothesis must be dismissed. The only possible link between Prosper of Aquitaine and the *Commonitorium* is the *Capitula*⁷⁰. Yet as we have seen, the name Prosper in this document is due to an error in the Lyon codex that Sirmond consulted for the *editio princeps* of this text: instead of the feminine Prospera, the Lyon codex (*Be*²) reads the masculine Prosper (possibly even *post correctionem*, having deleted an original *a* at the end of the name)⁷¹. Consequently there is no basis for consider-

(69) VILLEGAS MARÍN, cit. n. 66, p. 167.

(70) J. DELMULLE, *Establishing an Authentic List of Prosper's Works*, in M. VINZENT (ed.), *Studia Patristica LXIX: Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2011*, Leuven, 2013, p. 213-232 (here p. 224) rightly states that the Prosper of the *Capitula* cannot be identified with Prosper of Aquitaine. Nevertheless, VILLEGAS MARÍN, cit. n. 66, p. 160, n. 7, cites Delmulle yet still takes Prosperian authorship of the *Commonitorium* in some form for granted.

(71) More remarkable hypotheses concerning Prosper and the anathemas of the *Commonitorium* have been formulated by F. CHATILLON, *Notes complémentaires*, in *Revue du Moyen Age latin*, 10, 1954, p. 204-208. Chatillon's notes seem to be intended as a humorous, essayistic reflection on scholarship. For example, Chatillon (p. 204-205) mocks Prosper Alfarc's inconsistent use of the phrase 'un certain'. The title for Chatillon's first note ("Un certain Prosper") alludes to Alfarc's language, to Alfarc's own name (Prosper), and to the anathemas attributed to Prosper. One of Chatillon's striking claims is that 'Prosper' may be not a name at all but rather an adjective, and thus a description of how the Manichaean viewed himself, as a prosperous convert. This hypothesis anticipates the hypothesis of Judith and Samuel Lieu, who state that 'Felix' (of the fourth anathema in the series of four anathemas discussed earlier) is likewise not a name but a description of the happy state of the former Manichaean. See J. M. LIEU, S. N. C. LIEU, *'Felix Conversus ex Manichaeis': A Case of Mistaken Identity*, in *Journal of Theological*

ing the name as the point of departure for a hypothesis regarding the authorship of either the *Commonitorium* or the *Capitula*.

With regard to the following editions, a brief note on the apparatus is in order. Each edition contains three apparatuses. The first apparatus is an apparatus of witnesses. Not all the manuscripts or editions contain the entirety of the texts edited here. Instead of indicating lacunae or larger omissions in the critical apparatus, the apparatus of witnesses offers more transparency. A second apparatus is a biblical apparatus, which lists all biblical citations and allusions, as far as they can be discerned. Third, the edition has a negative critical apparatus, which reports all the variant readings attested in the manuscripts, including the *codices descripti*, and in the previous editions. This procedure enables the reader to better assess the relationships between all textual sources and editions. In the main text of the editions, the spelling, punctuation, and use of capital letters have been modernized.

A final note needs to be added with regard to the two editions presented here. Although I have incorporated the manuscripts of α (the *Capitula*) within the overarching stemma of the (nine-anathema) *Commonitorium*, a separate edition of the *Capitula* is provided. This choice results in a double edition: an edition of the *Commonitorium* that also refers to the readings of α , and an edition of the *Capitula* that also refers to families β , γ , and δ . The only exhaustive apparatus for all twenty-five witnesses is found in the edition of the *Commonitorium*. The apparatus of the *Capitula* is selective: since this edition represents the text of hyparchetype α , the references to individual errors in β , γ , or δ are not exhaustive. Note, however, that references to readings of α in the edition of the *Commonitorium* are complete.

Studies, n.s. 32, 1981, p. 173-176. This hypothesis has been addressed and refuted by, among others, F. DECRET, *Du bon usage du mensonge et du parjure: Manichéens et Priscillianistes face à la persécution dans l'Empire chrétien (IV^e-V^e siècles)*, in *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque*, t. IV. *Religion*, Besançon, 1990, p. 141-149 (here p. 144, n. 21); J. VAN OORT, *Manichaean Women in a Pseudo-Augustinian Testimony: An Analysis of the North African Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 71, 2017, p. 85-94 (here p. 89); and most thoroughly and recently by RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1, p. 180.

Incipit Commonitorium sancti Augustini quomodo sit agendum cum manichaeis qui confitentur et quos paenitet huius nefandi erroris. Cum anathematizauerint eandem haeresim secundum formam infra scriptam libellumque dederit unusquisque eorum confessionis et paenitentiae suae atque anathematis eorum, petens in ecclesia uel catechumeni uel paenitentis locum, si libellus eius episcopo placuerit eumque acceptauerit, det ei epistolam cum die et consule, ut nullam de superiore tempore molestiam, uel de publicis legibus uel de disciplina ecclesiastica, patiat. Et post ipsum diem si aliquibus indiciis manichaeus apparuerit, sentiat iustitiae seueritatem, quae talibus adhibenda est, id est, ut ab eius consortio, uel amicitia uel

1/23 Commonitorium – est] *om. a* **2/97** manichaeis – deserant] *om. Bo*
7/9 det – patiat] *om. δ*

1/3 Incipit Commonitorium – erroris] **Incipit commonitorium beati augustini ad uniuersam ecclesiam destinatum sub qua cautela manichei si conuersi fuerint suscipi debeant.** Cum manichei qui confitentur et quos penitet huius nefandissimi erroris *β Lov.-P(uar. lect.: commonitorium Be^l, COMMONITORIM Lov.-P, distinatum Be^l, cautella Be^l, debeat .i. P⁶, debeant primum Ce, quomodo ergo cum Be^l, manicheis Be^l, confitentur Pa), Incipit commonitorium sancti augustini quomodo sit agendum cum manicheis. Qui confitentur prauitatem huius nefandi erroris *δ Zycha(uar. lect.: incipit om. Bx Zycha, commonitorium Co^{a.c.} Ox, nefraudi Co^{a.c.} Ox), Commonitorium sancti augustini episcopi ecclesie catholice quomodo sit agendum cum manicheis qui conuertuntur et quos penitet huius nefandi erroris γ Bar(uar. lect.: commonitorium Bg^{a.c.}, catholice ecclesie Do^l, manicheis ... erroris om. Bo, /erroris /nefandi In, nefandissimi Do^l), Commonitorium (uulgo S. AUGUSTINI EPISCOPI Ecclesiae Catholicae) quomodo sit agendum cum Manichaeis qui conuertuntur. Cum Manichaei, qui confitentur et quod poenitet huius nefandissimi erroris Maur. **3** Cum] *om. Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur.* anathematizauerint] anathemizauerint *Be^la.c.*, -izauerunt *P⁵*, anathemauerint *Co Ox In Do^{2a.c.} Vt^{2p.c.} Maur. Zycha* haeresim] -em *Co^{a.c.} Ox*, haeresim manicheorum *γ Bar.* secundum] per hanc *δ Zycha* **4** libellumque] bellumque *Ce*, libellum quae *Co^{a.c.} Ox* dederit] -int *Co Ox* **5** eorum] *om. Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P*, eis *δ Zycha* petens] potens *Lov.-P* **6** si] sed *Vt^{2a.c.}* episcopo] *om. β Lov.-P* **7** eumque] *Bx γ Bar. Maur. Zycha*, eam que *Be^l P^l*, eamque *Pe Pa P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P*, eum que *Co Ox* acceptauerit] *P⁶ Ce δ Zycha*, attemptauerit *Be^l Pe Pa P^l P⁵ Lov.-P*, susceperit *γ Bar. Maur.* [det] d; *P⁶*, debet *Ce* die – consule] consule et die *β Lov.-P*, dicet consule *In [uide adnotationes]* **8** nullam] neque *β Lov.-P Maur.* superiore] -i *Bg* molestiam] aliquam molestiam *β Lov.-P Maur. [uide adnotationes]* de²] *om. Be^l Lov.-P Maur.* **9** de] *om. Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur.* aliquibus] -id *β Lov.-P* **10** indiciis] -ii *Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P* manichaeus] *om. β Lov.-P*, -is *Ox* sentiat] seciat *Do^{2a.c.}* seueritatem] ueritatem *Bx^{a.c.}* **11** talibus] talibus rebus *γ Bar.***

quacumque societate, christiani se abstineant secundum apostolicam disciplinam.

15 Commendentur autem qui epistulas ab episcopo acceperint religiosi
catholicis uicinis uel cohabitatoribus suis, siue clericis siue laicis, per
quorum erga se curam frequentent audientiam sermonis dei, et quo-
rum testimonio possint innotescere. Nec facile admittantur ad bap-
tismum si catechumeni sint, nec ad reconciliationem si paenitentiae
20 locum acceperint, nisi periculo mortis urgente uel si eos aliquanto
tempore probatos esse cognouerit episcopus per eorum testimonium
quibus fuerint commendati.

Forma ergo secundum quam debent hanc haeresim qui corriguntur,
anathematizare, ista est.

15 I. Qui credit duas esse naturas diuersis principiis existentes, unam
bonam, quod est deus, alteram malam, quam non creauit deus,
habentem principes suos et mala sua quae non creauit deus, ana-
thema sit.

30 II. Qui credit duas naturas bellum inter se gessisse, et partem naturae
dei in eodem bello principibus tenebrarum et omnibus gentibus ad
malam naturam pertinentibus fuisse permixtam, et ab eis teneri col-

14 qui – acceperint] *om. δ Ζϋcha* **14/15** religiosi – clericis] *om. P⁶ Ce*
26 habentem – deus] *in marg. D^{o2}, om. α δ, del. Ζϋcha*

12 quacumque] quocumque *Be^l*, qualibet *P³ P² Bg* abstineant] abstene-
ant *Be^l* **13** disciplinam] auctoritatem *β Lov.-P* **14** Commendentur] -etur *δ*
episcopo] -is *Be^l* acceperint] receperint *D^{o2a.c.}* **15** uicinis] *om. δ* cohabita-
toribus] cohabitatoribus *Bx* **16** se curam] *Co^{p.c.} γ Bar. Maur. Ζϋcha*, securam *Be^l*
Co^{a.c.} Ox Bx, se securam *Pe Pa P^l(securam in marg.) P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P* frequentent]
-er *β Lov.-P* audientiam] autem audientiam *Ce*, ad audientiam *D^{o1p.c.} In D^{o2} Ro*
Vt² P³ P² Bg Bar. Maur. sermonis dei] “dei “sermonis *Bx* **17** admittantur]
-a *Co^{a.c.}*, -ant *Co^{p.c.}*, -am *Ox*, -i *Bx* **18** sint] *Be^l δ Lov.-P Bar. Ζϋcha*, sunt *Pe Pa*
P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce γ Maur. nec] non *Bg^{a.c.}* paenitentiae] sapientiae *Ox* **19** acceperint]
δ D^{o1} Ζϋcha, acciperint *Be^l*, -erunt *Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce In D^{o2} Ro Vt² P³ P² Bg*
Lov.-P Bar. Maur. [uide adnotationes] periculo] -um *Ce* urgente] urgente
Be^l Co^{a.c.} Ox Ζϋcha eos] quis *Be^l*, quos *Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P* **20** probatos]
-us *Be^l* cognouerit] -erunt *γ Bar.* episcopus] -is *D^{o1} In D^{o2a.c.}(ut uidetur)*,
-i *D^{o2p.c.} Ro Vt² P³ P² Bg Bar.* **22** Forma] -am *Ro^{a.c.} Vt² Bar.* haeresim]
-em *Co^{a.c.} Ox* **23** anathematizare] -tizari *Be^l*, anathemare *Co Ox In D^{o2} Ro*
Vt² Maur. Ζϋcha ista] haec *Ζϋcha* **24** duas esse] *inu. δ Ζϋcha* natu-
ras] naturas ingenitas *α* diuersis] -iss *P^{la.c.}*, diuersis temporibus *Ce* unam]
hunam *P^{la.c.}*, tes (*del.*) unam *P^l* **25** deus] deus sibi inuicem aduersantes *α*
28 duas] duas esse *Bg* partem] patrem *To Al Vt^l Go* **29** bello] -um *To Al*
principibus] principibus *Al Vt^{la.c.}* gentibus] generibus *Co Ox Ζϋcha*, ageneribus *Bx*
30 naturam] -ae *To Al* pertinentibus] pertenenibus *Vt^l* permixtam] perm-
istam *Bx^{a.c.}* teneri] -iri *Be^{2a.c.}*, -ere *To Al*, tenebris *β Lov.-P* colligatam] -a *Be^l*,
-um *Co^{a.c.} Ox*

ligatam, oppressam, inquinatam, per quod et credi facit dei naturam esse mutabilem et coinquinabilem, anathema sit.

III. Qui credit partem dei ligatam et inquinatam teneri in daemonibus et in omnibus animalibus fruticumque generibus, et per escas
 35 manichaeorum electorum solui atque purgari ut credatur pars dei polluta teneri in cucumeribus et melonibus et radiculis et porris et quibuscumque uilissimis herbulis, et ei subueniri, cum ab electis manichaeorum ista comeduntur, anathema sit.

IV. Qui credit hominem primum (qui est appellatus Adam) non a deo
 40 factum, sed a principibus tenebrarum genitum, ut pars dei, quae in eorum membris captiua tenebatur, copiosius et abundantius in terra teneretur, et isto modo creatum, cum masculi et feminae principes tenebrarum concubuissent, et fetus suos maiori principi tenebrarum dedissent, et ille omnes comedisset, et cum sua coniuge concubuisset,
 45 atque ita ex illa Adam generasset, ligans in illo magnam partem dei,

39 qui² – Adam] *om. α* **44** et² – concubuisset] *om. δ*

31 per] *om. Pe Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur.* credi] -it *α* facit] fieri *To Al Vt^l Go, uac. Be², om. P^t, fecit Bg* dei naturam] naturam *α Be^l, inu. Pe Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur.* **32** coinquinabilem] inquinabilem *P⁶ Ce* sit] *sup. l. Be²* **33** partem] patrem *P^{a.c.}* ligatam] legatam *To, -a Be^l inquinatam] -a Be^l teneri] -iri Be^{2a.c.}* in] et (*del.*) in *Vt^l daemonibus] holeribus Co Ox^{a.c.} Bx, horeribus Ox^{a.c.}* **34** animalibus] animabus *To Al* fruticumque] *Vt^l δ Do^l Vt² Bg Bar. Maur. Zycha,* fructuumque *Be² P^t Pe Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce Lov.-P,* quibuscumque *To Al,* fruticumque *Go In Do² Ro P³ P²,* frutificumque *Be^l et²] ut Pe Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce Lov.-P* per escas] percas *To* escas] -am *P^t* **35** atque] adque *P^{a.c.},* at *Al* purgari] -aturi *To, -atori Al* ut] *om. β Lov.-P* pars] pras *P^{a.c.}* **36** polluta] pulluta *Be² Ox P^{a.c.}, -am Lov.-P* teneri] -iri *Be^{2a.c.}, om. Pe Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce* cucumeribus] cocomeribus *Be^{2a.c.},* cocumeribus *To Al Vt^l Go Be^l,* cucumeribus *Co^{a.c.} Ox* et¹] in *Be² P^t Vt^l Go, q; Ce* et²] in *Vt^l Go* radiculis] -olis *Be^{2a.c.},* radicibus *δ Zycha* **37** quibuscumque] *α δ Do^l Zycha,* quibusque *β In Do² Ro Vt² P³ P² Bg Lov.-P Bar. Maur.* herbulis] erbulis *Be² P^t Al,* herbolis *Vt^l Go, erbis Be^l, herbis Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce Pe Lov.-P* ei] *α δ In Lov.-P Maur. Zycha,* eis *β Do^l Do² Ro Vt² P³ P² Bg Bar. [wide adnotationes]* subueniri] -ire *To Al Vt^l Go Be^l P^t* electis] elictis *Be^{2a.c.},* helectis *Bx* **38** manichaeorum] manicheorum *Be²,* maniceorum *P^{a.c.}* ista] ista eduntur (*del.*) ista *P^t, om. P⁶ Ce* comeduntur] eduntur *α* **39** non] *om. Be² P^t* **40** principibus] princibus *Al Vt^l,* principi *Do^la.c.* tenebrarum] -orum *Ox* quae] qui *To Al* **41/42** copiosius – teneretur] *in marg. Ox* **41** terra] eo *α* **42** teneretur] -eatur *δ Zycha* et¹] anathema sit. (V) qui credit *α* et isto] eo *Be² P^t Vt^l Go,* in eo *To Al* creatum] -am *Bx* cum] hominem quod *α* masculi] -um *Al* **43** concubuissent] -isse *Lov.-P* et] *om. To Al* fetus] -os *To Al Vt^l Go Be^l* maiori] miore *Be^{2a.c.}, sup. l. Do²,* -is *P^{a.c.}* **44** cum] *om. Ce* sua] sues *Ce(s² sup. l.)* **45** atque] adque *P^{a.c.}* illa] ea *Do^l* Adam] atlanten quem blasphemant patrem adae *α* generasset] generas sit *To* in] *om. To Al* dei] *sup. l. Do²*

quae ligata fuerat in omnibus fetibus principum tenebrarum, quos ei manducandos dederunt, anathema sit.

V. Qui credit principes tenebrarum ligatos esse in caelo, habentes in se colligatam in angustiis atque angoribus uitalem substantiam, hoc est partem dei, et eo modo liberari de membris eorum, cum beatus pater, qui lucidas naues habet diuersoria et habitacula, id est solem et lunam, uirtutes suas transfiguratur in feminas pulchras quas opponit concupiscendas masculis principibus tenebrarum, et in masculos pulchros quos opponit concupiscendos feminis principibus tenebrarum, ut per ipsam concupiscentiam soluat ex eis uitalis substantia, id est pars dei, et ex eorum membris liberata purgetur, anathema sit.

VI. Qui credit partem dei, quae de commixtione gentis tenebrarum non potuerit liberari atque purgari, damnari eam, et in aeternum affigi horribili globo, in quo globo includitur gens tenebrarum, anathema sit.

46 ligata] legata *Vl^t Go* fetibus] partibus *Al^{a.c.}* principum] -ium *Be^{l.a.c.}* ei] et *Al*, eis *Pa P^t P^s Pe Bx* **47** manducandos] manducando candos *Al*, -o *Be^l* dederunt] -irunt *Vl^t* **48** tenebrarum] esse (*del.*) tenebrarum *P²* ligatos] legatus *Vl^t Go*, legatos *Be^l* caelo] caelo uelut in sphaera *a(uar. lect.: ueluti Tō, spera Al)* **48/49** habentes - colligatam] *om. P⁵* **49** colligatam] conlegatam *Be^{2.a.c.}* in] in uerbo *Be^l*, *om. Pe Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce Lov.-P* angustiis] uac. oppressam inquinatam uac. angustiis *P^t* angoribus] languoribus *Be² P^t*, in angoribus *Tō Al* **50** partem] patrem *Vl^t Go* et] in *Tō Al* liberari] liberi *Tō Al*, -are *Vl^t Go* membris] tenebris *a(uar. lect.: tebris Al^{a.c.}, nebris Vl^{t.a.c.})* beatus] deus *Ce* **51** diuersoria] -aria *Be^l*, quiuersoria *Co^{a.c.} Ox*, qui diuersoria *Co^{b.c.}*, qui uersoria *Bx* **52** uirtutes suas] *om. δ* pulchras] pulcras *Be^{2.a.c.} P^t P⁵ Maur.*, pulcras *Al*, *om. P⁵ Ce* quas] qua uel quam *Be^{2.a.c.}* opponit] -itur *P⁶(ut uideatur)*, -at *Źycha* **53** concupiscendas] concupiscendas *Vl^{t.a.c.}* concupiscendas masculis] "masculis "concupiscendas *Do²* principibus] principum *a(-ium Be^{2.a.c.})* et] ut per ipsam (*del.*) et *P^t* **53/54** et - tenebrarum] *om. P⁵* **53** pulchros] pulcros *Be^{2.a.c.} Al Maur.* **54** quos] quas *Co^{a.c.} Ox* concupiscendos] -as *P⁶(ut uidetur)*, concupiscendos *Do^{2.a.c.}* principibus] principum *a* principibus tenebrarum] *inu. P³ P² Bg* **55** ut] et *a*, *om. Be^l* soluat] saluator *Tō Al*, saluatur *Be^l* eis] his *P⁵* uitalis] solis (*del.*) uitalis *Ro* substantia] substantia dei *P⁶ Ce* **56** pars] pras *P^{a.c.}* liberata] libera *a* purgetur] porregitur *Tō*, porregitur *Al* **57** partem] patrem *P^{a.c.} Vl^t Go Co^{a.c.} Ox* quae] quae est *P^{5.a.c.}* commixtione] admixtione *a* gentis] -es *Tō Al Vl^t Go* tenebrarum] tenebrarum *Źycha* **58** potuerit] -uit *Ce* liberari] -are *Be^l* eam] *om. Pe Pa P^t P^s P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur. Źycha* aeternum] -o *γ Bar.* **59** affigi] *Be² P^t Al Vl^t Go Pe^{b.c.} Pa P^t P⁵ Lov.-P Maur. Źycha*, affigi *Tō Be^l δ*, affligi *Pe^{a.c.} P⁶ Ce γ Bar.* [*uide adnotationes*] horribili] orribili *Be^{2.a.c.} Go*, orribili *Vl^t*, et horribili *Pa P^t P⁵ P⁶ Ce* in - globo] *om. Vl^t Go Be^l*, ubi *Pe Pa P^t P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur.* quo] eo uel co *Al*

VII. Qui credit legem quae data est per Moysen non esse ab uno et uero deo datam, nec spiritu dei boni et ueri locutos prophetas qui fuerunt in populo Israel et in canone scripturarum diuinarum habentur apud catholicam ecclesiam, anathema sit.

- 65 VIII. Qui credit non habuisse ueram carnem filium dei dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, neque natum esse de uirgine Maria, neque ueram mortem fuisse perpeſsum et a mortuis resurrexisse, sed tantummodo spiritum fuisse sine carne, sic autem apparere uoluisset, ut et caro putaretur quae non erat, atque hoc modo contradicit Euangelio,
70 ubi legitur domino ipso dicente: *Videte manus meas et pedes meos: palpate et uidete, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me uidetis habere.* Qui ergo sic confitetur Christum deum ut uerum et integrum etiam hominem neget, anathema sit.

70/71 Videte – habere] Lk 24,39

61 per] *sup. l. Co* ab – 68 uno] *To Al Vt^l Go β δ Lov.-P Zycha*, a bono *Be² P^l γ Bar. Maur.* **62** et uero] ueroque *Bx* datam] -a *Be^l*, -um *Co^{a.c.} Ox* nec] et *α(sup.l. P^l)*, dec *Zycha* spiritu] -um *β Lov.-P* dei boni] *inu. δ Zycha* ueri] uiri *To Al* locutos] -us *Be^{2a.c.} To Al Vt^l Go*, -um *β Lov.-P* prophetas] per -am *Be^l*, per -as *Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P* **63** qui] quae *Be^l* canone] -em *Be² To Al Vt^l Go*, -es *P^l Be^l* scripturarum diuinarum] *inu. Vt^l Go Be^l Co Ox Zycha*, diuitiarum scripturarum *Bx* **64** catholicam ecclesiam] *inu. Al* **65/66** dominum – Iesum] *δ γ Bar. Zycha*, dominum iesum *To Al Vt^l Go β Lov.-P Maur.*, iesum *Be² P^l* **66** neque] nec *Bar.* natum] ex semine dauid natum *α(dauit Al)* uirgine] uirgine *Be^{2a.c.}* uirgine Maria] *inu. δ Zycha* **67** ueram] uerum corpus habuisse nec ueram *α* mortem] carnem (*del.*) mortem *Ro Vt²*, carne mortem *Bar.* resurrexisse] reuixisse *γ Bar.* tantummodo] tantummodo *P^l*, -um *Vt^l Go^{h.c.}*, -am *Go^{a.c.}* **68** spiritum] -u *To Be^l* sine carne] *om. α Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P*, in carne *Be^l* sic] sat *P^{6a.c.}*, si *Co^{a.c.} Ox*, se *Bx* apparere] in carne apparere *α(carnem P^{la.c.})* **69** et] *om. To Al Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur.* quae] qui *P⁵* atque] qui *Co Bx*, quae *Ox* contradicit] contra se dicit *Be²(se sup. l.)* **70** ubi legitur] *om. α* ipso dicente] ad -um -em *To Al* Videte] uidete *Vt^l* meos] meos di *P^{la.c.}*, -as *Ro^{a.c.}* **71** uidete] uidite *Be^{2a.c.} To Vt^l* ossa] -am *P^{la.c.}*, et ossa *Go^{a.c.}* ossa – carnem] carnem et ossa *Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce γ Bar.* habet] -ent *Go* uidetis] uidites *To*, uidetes *Vt^l* **72** Qui] quia *Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce* sic] sicut *Bx* Christum] *om. δ Zycha* deum] dominum *Vt^l Go Pe^{a.c.} Vt² Bar.* ut] et *Be^l*, *sup. l. P^l*, ut nec *Ce* ut – integrum] uerum ut integrum *Be² P^l To Al*, uerum et integrum *Vt^l Go* etiam] ut (*del.*) etiam *P^l* **73** neget] -it *Vt^l Go*, -at *Be^l Ox* sit] *om. Al*

75 IX. Qui credit Manen siue Manichaeum, qui supra scripta omnia
 quae anathemate et damnatione sunt digna praedicauit et docuit
 spiritum sanctum habuisse paracletum, cum ea omnia docere non
 potuit spiritus ueritatis sed spiritus falsitatis, anathema sit.

Et praecipue ipse Manes siue Manichaeus qui omnes supra scriptas
 80 impietates et alias sacrilegas damnabiles fabulas docuit et conscripsit
 et credendas miseris persuasit, intendens spiritibus seductoribus, doc-
 trinis daemoniorum mendaciloquorum.

Item forma epistulae, quam dat episcopus conuersis, ista est.

85 Quoniam te manichaeorum auditorem paenitet fuisse, sicut ipse
 confessus es anathema dicens blasphemis et impiissimae atque

74/81 IX – mendaciloquorum] *om. Tō* **82/97** Item – deserant] *om. α*

80/81 intendens – mendaciloquorum] Cf. 1 Tim. 4,1

74 Manen] *Vt^l Go Be^l γ Ζϋcha*, manem *Be² P^l Co^{b.c.} Bar. Maur.*, manens *Al*, manin
Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Ox Bx Lov.-P, manim *Co^{a.c.}* siue] sicut *Al* **75** damnatione] -i
Be^l digna] et digna *Al*, dicta digna *Ro^{a.c.} Vt^{2a.c.} Bar.* et docuit] *om. Be² P^l*
76 spiritum] &c spm *Al^{b.c.}* paracletum] paralitum *Be^{2a.c.}*, paraclitum *Be^{2p.c.} P^{la.c.}*
Al Vt^l Pe P⁵ Ce Bx Vt² P³ P² Bg Bar. Maur., paraclitum *Be^l Co Ox Do^l In Do² Ro*
77 potuit] -uerit *δ Lov.-P Maur. Ζϋcha* sed] spiritus sed *P⁶ Ce* falsitatis] fal-
 sitatis spiritus *Ce* **78** Et – Manichaeus] anathema etiam ipsi mane uel mani-
 cheo *α(uar. lect.:* enim [del.] etiam [del.] etiam *Vt^l*, mani *Be^{2p.c.} P^l*, manicheis *Al*) Manes]
 -is *Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Co^{a.c.} Ox* Manichaeus] -os *Be^l*, manichaeus *Co* qui]
 quia *Co^{a.c.} Ox Bx* omnes] -is *Be^{2a.c.}* supra scriptas] supra dictas *α*, spiritus *β*
Lov.-P **79** impietates] -is *Vt^l Go β Lov.-P* et] ex *Al* sacrilegas] sacre-
 ligas *Be²*, saclegas *P⁶* damnabiles] *Be^l*, et damnabiles *α Vt² Bar.*, damnabilesque
Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce Lov.-P Maur., ac damnabiles *Do^l In Do² Ro P³ P² Bg, om. δ Ζϋcha*
 [uide adnotationes] **80** credendas] -endat *Bx^{a.c.}* miseris] -iis *Ro* persuasit]
 persuadere conatus est *α* spiritibus] spiritalibus *Al* seductoribus] seduc-
 tobus *Be^{2a.c.}*, seductoriis *Al*, seductoris *Vt^l*, seductoriis *Go*, sapi (del.) seductoribus *Ro*
Vt² doctrinis] *β δ Lov.-P*, et doctrinis *α*(doctrinam *Al*) *γ Bar. Maur. Ζϋcha* [uide
 adnotationes] **81** daemoniorum] demonum *Al* mendaciloquorum] *Bx Do^l*
In^{b.c.} Do² Ro Vt² P³ P² Bg Lov.-P Bar. Maur. Ζϋcha, et mendaciloquorum *Be² P^l Vt^l*
Go, et mendacii locorum *Al*, mendacilocorum *Be^l*, mendaciloquorum *Pa^{a.c.}*, men-
 daciloquorum *Pe Pa^{b.c.} P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce*, mendacii loquiorum *Co*, mendacii loquorum
Ox, mendaciloquorum *In^{a.c.}* **82** forma] -ae *Co^{a.c.} Ox* **82/83** quam – est] *γ Bar.*
Maur. Ζϋcha, quam dat episcopus ista est *δ*, de quodam episcopo ipsius sectae
Be^l Lov.-P, de quodam episcopo ipsius *Pe Pa P^l P⁵ P⁶ Ce* **84** te – auditorem]
 manicheorum auditorem te *Bx* manichaeorum] -i *Be^l* paenitet] penite *P^{5a.c.}*,
 te paenitet *Co Ox* sicut] ut *In Do² Ro Vt² P³ P² Bg Bar.*

immundissimae haeresi eorum, ex qua te non nisi fides catholica saluum fecit, habebis hanc epistulam aduersus eos qui tibi temporis praeteriti errorem, quantum ad istam nefariam pertinet sectam, obiciendum putauerint, quae scripta est die illo et consule illo.

- 90 Electis uero eorum qui se conuerti dicunt ad catholicam fidem, etiamsi et ipsi secundum superiorem formam eandem haeresim anathematizauerint, non facile dandae sunt litterae, sed cum dei seruis esse debebunt, siue clericis siue in monasterio uel xenodochio, donec appareat penitus ipsa superstitione caruisse, et tunc uel baptizentur, si non fuerint baptizati, uel reconcilientur, si paenitentiae
95 locum acceperint, nec acceptis cito litteris loca, in quibus fuerant commendati, deserant.

95 si¹ – baptizati] *om. β Lov.-P*

86 immundissimae] mundissimae *P^{6a.c.}*, impmundissime *Ro^{a.c.}* haeresi eorum] hereseorum *Be¹ Do¹ In Do² Ro Vt² P³ P²* catholica] chatholica *Ro^{a.c.}* **87** fecit] facit *β Lov.-P Maur.* habebis] -etis *Bx* hanc] hac *Do^{2a.c.}* **87/88** temporis praeteriti] *inu. Do¹* **88** praeteriti] praeteri *Co* quantum] quandam *Lov.-P* istam] i (*del.*) istam *P⁵* nefariam] necessariam *P^{3a.c.}* sectam] -um *Be¹*, setam *P^{4a.c.}* **89** obiciendum] -am *Ce* putauerint] -erit *Be¹ Do¹ In Do^{2a.c.}*, -erunt *Lov.-P* die] de *P^{6a.c.} Co Ox P^{2a.c.}* et] *om. β Lov.-P* illo²] illo.exp¹ *Be¹* **90** eorum] manicheorum *γ Bar.* **91** etiamsi] si *β Lov.-P* et] *sup. l. Do¹* **92** anathematizauerint] *Be¹ Pe Pa P⁴ P⁶ Ce Bx Do^{2p.c.} P³ P² Bg Lov.-P Bar.*, anathema sit *P^{5a.c.}*, -tizauerunt *P^{3p.c.}*, anathemauerint *Co Ox Do¹ In Do^{2a.c.} Ro Vt² Maur.* *Zycha* [*uide adnotationes*] dandae sunt] *inu. Do¹* litterae] littente *Ox* **92/93** dei seruis] *inu. Bg* **93** clericis] cleris *Bx* in] laicis in *Ro^{a.c.} Vt² Bar. Maur. Zycha, om. δ* uel] siue *Ce* xenodochio] in cenodochio *Ce* **94** donec] *sup. l. Be¹* appareat] *β δ Lov.-P Zycha, -ant γ Bar. Maur.* superstitione caruisse] superficie ne caruisse *P⁵*, superstio necaruisse *Co^{a.c.} Ox* **95** fuerint] *γ Bar. Maur. Zycha, -erant δ* **96** nec] *β δ Lov.-P Maur. Zycha, ne γ Bar.* acceptis cito] accepti scito *Co^{a.c.} Ox* litteris] *om. P⁶ Ce* **96/97** in – deserant] mutent et per eandem scriptam incautisse in se quaerendi sunt si quos nouerunt ut et ipsi sanari possint et sic suscipiantur *δ Zycha (uar lect.: mittent Bx, et¹ sup. l. Bx, scripturam Bx, in cautis se Ox, incantisise Bx, incautis Zycha)* **97** deserant] deserant *Ce; post* deserant: explicit *Be¹ Pe Pa P⁴ Lov.-P*, explicit commonitorium beati augustini ad uniuersam ecclesiam destinatum sub qua cautela manichei si conuersi fuerint suscipi debeant *P⁵*, explicit commonitorium *P⁶ Ce*, commonitorium beati augustini de heresi manicheorum sub execratione anathematis explicit *γ Bar. (uar. lect.: commentarium P³ P² Bg, execratio ne In*

Incipiunt capitula sancti Augustini quae debeant publica uoce relegere et manu propria subscribere in quibus suspicio est quod manichaei sint.

- I. Qui credit duas esse naturas ingenitas diuersis principiis existentes,
 5 unam bonam, quod est deus, alteram malam, quam non creauit deus,
 sibi inuicem aduersantes, anathema sit.
- II. Qui credit duas naturas bellum inter se gessisse, et partem natu-
 rae dei in eodem bello principibus tenebrarum et omnibus gentibus
 10 colligatam, oppressam, inquinatam, per quod et credit fieri naturam
 esse mutabilem et coinquinabilem, anathema sit.
- III. Qui credit partem dei ligatam et inquinatam teneri in daemoni-
 bus et in omnibus animalibus fruticumque generibus et per escas
 manichaeorum electorum solui atque purgari ut credatur pars dei
 15 polluta teneri in cucumeribus, in melonibus et radiculis et porris et
 quibuscumque uilissimis herbulis, et ei subuenire, cum ab electis
 manichaeorum ista eduntur, anathema sit.

1/3 Incipiunt – sint] *om.* β δ γ

1 Incipiunt] incipit *Be^{2a.c.} P^{1a.c.}*, Prosperi ex manichaeo conuersi pristinos manichaeorum errores detestantis anathematismi et fidei catholicae professio nunc primum edita ex codice ecclesiae lugdunensis *Sirm.* Augustini] augostini *Be^{2a.c.}* 2 relegere] religere *P^{1a.c.}* 3 manichaei] manecei *Be^{2a.c.}* sint] sunt *Al* 4 ingenitas] *om.* β δ γ 5 unam] hunam *P^{1a.c.}* 6 sibi – aduersantes] habentem principes suos et mala sua quae non creauit deus β γ , *om.* δ 7 partem] *Be² P¹ β δ γ* , patrem *To Al Vt¹ Go* 8 bello] -um *To Al* principibus] principibus *Al Vt^{1a.c.}* 9 naturam] -ae *To Al* pertinentibus] pertenentibus *Vt¹* teneri] -iri *Be^{2a.c.}*, -ere *To Al*, tenebris β 10 per] *om.* *Pe Pa P⁴ P⁵ P⁶ Ce* credit] *a*, -i β δ γ *Sirm.* fieri] *To Al Vt¹ Go*, *om.* *Be²(5-6 litt. uac.) P¹*, facit β δ γ *Sirm.* naturam] naturam dei β , dei naturam δ γ *Sirm.* 11 sit] *sup. l.* *Be²* 12 partem] patrem *P^{1a.c.}* ligatam] legatam *To* teneri] -iri *Be^{2a.c.}* in] et (*del.*) in *Vt¹* 13 animalibus] animabus *To Al* fruticumque] *Vt¹ δ Do¹ Vt² Bg*, fructuumque *Be² P¹ Pe Pa P⁴ P⁵ P⁶ Ce Sirm.*, quibuscumque *To Al*, fructicumque *Go In Do² Ro P³ P²*, fructificumque *Be¹* [*uide adnotationes*] et²] ut *Pe Pa P⁴ P⁵ P⁶ Ce* per escas] per -am *P¹*, perscas *To* 14 atque] adque *P^{1a.c.}*, at *Al* purgari] -atori *To Al* ut] *om.* *Pe Pa P⁴ P⁵ P⁶ Ce* pars] pras *P^{1a.c.}* 15 polluta] pulluta *Be² Ox* teneri] -iri *Be^{2a.c.}*, *om.* *Pe Pa P⁴ P⁵ P⁶ Ce* cucumeribus] cocumeribus *Be^{2a.c.}*, cocumeribus *To Al Vt¹ Go Be¹*, cuccumeribus *Co^{a.c.} Ox* in²] et *To Al β (q; Ce) δ γ* et¹] in *Vt¹ Go* radiculis] -olis *Be^{2a.c.}*, radicibus δ 16 quibuscumque] quibusque β *Do² Ro Vt² P³ P² Bg* herbulis] erbulis *Be² P¹ Vt¹*, -olis *Go*, herbis β (erbis *Be¹*) ei] eis β γ (ei *In*) subuenire] *To Al Vt¹ Go Be¹ P¹*, -iri *Be² P¹ Pe Pa P⁵ P⁶ Ce δ γ Sirm.* electis] elictis *Be^{2a.c.}* 17 manichaeorum] manacheorum *Be^{2a.c.}*, maniceorum *P^{1a.c.}* ista] ista eduntur (*del.*) ista *To* eduntur] comeduntur β δ γ

- IV. Qui credit hominem primum non a deo factum, sed a principibus tenebrarum genitum, ut pars dei, quae in eorum membris captiua tenebatur, copiosius et abundantius in eo teneretur, anathema sit.
- 20 V. Qui credit eo modo creatum hominem, quod masculi et feminae principes tenebrarum concubuissent et fetus suos maiori principi tenebrarum dedissent, et ille omnes comedisset et cum sua coniuge concubuisset atque ita ex illa Atlantem quem blasphemant patrem
- 25 Adae generasset, ligans in illo magnam partem dei, quae ligata fuerat in omnibus fetibus principum tenebrarum, quos ei manducandos dederunt, anathema sit.
- VI. Qui credit principes tenebrarum ligatos esse in caelo uelut in sphaera, habentes in se colligatam in angustiis atque angoribus uitalem substantiam, hoc est partem dei, et eo modo liberari de tenebris eorum, cum beatus pater, qui lucidas naues habet diuersoria et habitacula, id est solem et lunam, uirtutes suas transfiguratur in feminas pulchras quas opponit concupiscendas masculis principum tenebrarum, et in masculos pulchros quos opponit concupiscendos
- 30 feminis principum tenebrarum, et per ipsam concupiscentiam soluitur ex eis uitalis substantia, id est pars dei, et ex eorum membris libera purgetur, anathema sit.

18 primum] primum qui est appellatus adam $\beta \delta \gamma$ non] *om.* $Be^2 P^1$ principibus] principibus $Al V^t$, principi $Do^{1a.c.}$ **19** quae] qui $To Al$ **20** eo] terra $\beta \delta \gamma$ teneretur] -eatur δ **20/21** anathema – credit] et $\beta \delta \gamma$ **21** eo] in eo $To Al$, isto $\beta \delta \gamma$ hominem quod] cum $\beta \delta \gamma$ masculi] -um Al **22** et] *om.* $To Al$ fetus] $Be^2 P^1 \beta \delta \gamma Sirm.$, fetos $To Al V^t Go$ maiori] miori $Be^{2a.c.}$ **23/24** et² – concubuisset] *om.* δ **24** atque] adque $P^{1a.c.}$ Atlantem] atlantem $Be^2 Al V^t Go$, adlantem P^1 **24/25** Atlantem – Adae] adam $\beta \delta \gamma$ **25** generasset] generas sit To in] *om.* $To Al$ ligata] legata $V^t Go$ **26** fetibus] partibus $Al^{a.c.}$ ei] et Al , eis $Pe Pa P^4 P^5 Bx$ manducandos] manducando candos Al , manducando Be^1 **27** dederunt] -irunt V^t **28** ligatos] legatus $V^t Go$, legatos Be^1 uelut] ueluti To **28/29** uelut – sphaera] *om.* $\beta \delta \gamma$ **29** sphaera] sfera $Be^2 P^{1a.c.}$ To , sphaera $P^{1p.c.}$ $V^t Go$, sphaera Al colligatam] conlegatam $Be^{2a.c.}$ in²] in uerbo Be^1 , *om.* $Pe Pa P^4 P^5 P^6 Ce$ angoribus] $V^t Go$ $\beta \delta \gamma Sirm.$, langoribus Be^2 , languoribus P^1 , in anguribus $To Al$ **30** partem] patrem $V^t Go$ et] in $To Al$ liberari] $Be^2 P^1 \beta \delta \gamma Sirm.$, liberi $To Al$, -are $V^t Go$ tenebris] tebris $Al^{a.c.}$, nebris $V^{1a.c.}$, membris $\beta \delta \gamma Sirm.$ **31** diuersoria] diuersaria Be^1 , quiuersoria $Co^{a.c.}$ Ox , qui diuersoria $Co^{p.c.}$, qui uersoria Bx **33** pulchras] pulcras $Be^{2a.c.}$ $P^4 P^5$, pulcrhas Al , *om.* $P^6 Ce$ quas] -a uel -am $Be^{2a.c.}$ concupiscendas] concup piscendas $V^{1a.c.}$ **33/34** masculis – concupiscendos] in *margin.* P^1 **33** principum] -ium $Be^{2a.c.}$, -ibus $\beta \delta \gamma$ **34** pulchros] pulcros $Be^{2a.c.}$ Al **35** principum] -ibus β (*om.* P^5) $\delta \gamma$ et] ut β (*om.* Be^1) $\delta \gamma$ soluatur] saluator $To Al$, saluatur Be^1 **36** pars] pras $P^{1a.c.}$ **37** libera] -ata $\beta \delta \gamma Sirm.$ purgetur] porregitur To , porrigitur Al

VII. Qui credit partem dei, quae de admixtione gentis tenebrarum non potuerit liberari atque purgari, damnari eam et in aeternum affigi horribili globo, in quo globo includitur gens tenebrarum, anathema sit.

VIII. Qui credit legem quae data est per Moysen non esse ab uno et uero deo datam, et spiritu dei boni et ueri locutos prophetas qui fuerunt in populo Israel, et in canonem scripturarum diuinarum habentur apud catholicam ecclesiam, anathema sit.

IX. Qui credit non habuisse ueram carnem filium dei dominum Iesum Christum neque ex semine Dauid natum esse de uirgine Maria neque uerum corpus habuisse nec ueram mortem fuisse perpeſsum, et a mortuis resurrexisse, sed tantummodo spiritum fuisse, sic autem in carne apparere uoluisset ut et caro putaretur quae non erat, atque hoc modo contradicit Euangelio, domino ipso dicente: *Videte manus meas et pedes meos: palpate et uidete, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me uidetis habere.* Qui ergo sic confitetur Christum deum uerum ut integrum etiam hominem neget, anathema sit.

51/53 Videte – habere] Lk 24,39

38 partem] patrem *P^{la.c.} Vt^l Go Co^{a.c.} Ox* admixtione] commixtione β δ gentis] *Be² P^l β δ γ Sirm.*, -es *To Al Vt^l Go* 39 eam] *om. Pe Pa P^t P^o P^o Ce* aeternum] -o γ 40 affigi] *Be² P^l Al Vt^l Go P^{h.c.} Pa P^t P^o Sirm.*, affici *To Be^l δ* , affligi *Pe^{a.c.} P^o Ce γ* in – globo²] *om. Vt^l Go Be^l*, ubi *Pe Pa P^t P^o P^o Ce* quo] eo uel co *Al* 42 ab uno] *To Al Vt^l Go β δ* , a bono *Be² P^l γ Sirm.* 43 et²] *sup. l. P^l*, nec β δ γ spiritu] -us *Be^l*, -um *Pe Pa P^t P^o P^o Ce* dei boni] *inu. δ* ueri] uiri *To Al* locutos] *Be^{2p.c.} P^l δ γ Sirm.*, -us *Be^{2a.c.} To Al Vt^l Go*, -um β [*uide adnotationes*] prophetas] per prophetas β 44 canonem] canone β (canones *Be^l*) δ γ *Sirm.* scripturarum diuinarum] *inu. Vt^l Go Be^l δ* 45 catholicam] catholicam *P^{la.c.}* catholicam ecclesiam] *inu. Al* 46 dominum] *To Al Vt^l Go β* , *om. Be² P^l Sirm.*, dominum nostrum δ γ 47 ex – Dauid] *om. β δ γ* Dauid] dauit *Al* uirgine] uergine *Be^{2a.c.}* uirgine Maria] *inu. δ* 48 uerum – nec] *om. β δ γ* mortem] carnem mortem *Ro Vt^l*, carne mortem *Sirm.* 49 resurrexisse] reuixisse γ tantummodo] tantummodo *P^l*, -um *Vt^l Go^{h.c.}*, -am *Go^{a.c.}* spiritum] spiritu *To Be^l* fuisse] *a Pe Pa P^t P^o P^o Ce Sirm.*, fuisse in carne *Be^l*, fuisse sine carne δ γ 50 in carne] *om. β δ γ* carne] -em *P^{la.c.}* et] *om. To Al Pe Pa P^t P^o P^o Ce* atque] qui *Co Bx*, quae *Ox* 51 hoc] oc *P^{la.c.}* contradicit] contra se dicit *Be²* (se *sup. l.*) domino] ubi legitur domino β δ γ ipso dicente] ad -um -em *To Al* Videte] uidite *Vt^l* 52 meos] meos di *P^{la.c.}* uidete] uidite *Be^{2a.c.} To Vt^l* ossa] -am *P^{la.c.}*, et ossa *Go^{a.c.}* ossa – carnem] carnem et ossa *Pe Pa P^t P^o P^o Ce γ* habet] -ent *Go* 53 uidetis] uidites *To*, uidetes *Vt^l* Qui] quia *Pe Pa P^t P^o P^o* deum] dominum *Vt^l Go Pe^{a.c.} Vt^l* 53/54 uerum – integrum] uerum et integrum *Vt^l Go*, ut uerum et integrum β (et uerum et integrum *Be^l*) δ γ 54 neget] -it *Vt^l Go*, -at *Be^l Ox* sit] *om. Al*

- 55 X. Quicumque aduentum spiritus paraclēti, quem dominus in Euangelio promisit esse uenturum in apostolis, post ascensionem domini in die Pentecostes non statim credit impletum sed post multos annos in Mane uel in Adimanto discipulo eius uenisse credit, anathema sit.
- 60 XI. Quicumque carnem hanc quam gestamus, id est corpora humana, resurrecturam negat, anathema sit.
- XII. Qui animas humanas transfundi iterum in aliis corporibus uel animalibus credit, anathema sit.
- XIII. Quicumque solem et lunam naues esse caelestes dicit ad animas uel dei substantiam transferendam, et honorem eis uel luci isti uisibili aliquid diuinitatis ascribit, et non sicut reliquam creaturam ad ministerium humanum a domino caeli ac terrae conditam, anathema sit.
- 65 XIV. Qui credit omnem carnem quadrupedum, serpentium, uolatilium et natatiliū, uel omnia quae in mundo sunt, non a deo uero creatam, sed a principibus tenebrarum, anathema sit.
- XV. Qui symbolum uel orationem manichaeorum non detestans sed uenerans, aut recordari aut ore proferre uoluerit, anathema sit.
- XVI. Qui credit animas humanas ex substantia dei esse et corpora humana a principe tenebrarum uel facta uel fieri, anathema sit.
- 75 XVII. Qui credit diabolū non esse a deo factum angelum bonum et propria uoluntate per superbiam lapsum factum esse diabolū eundemque asserit non esse inter reliquos angelos a deo creatum, sed semper coaeternum deo fuisse, anathema sit.

55/79 X – sit] *om.* βδγ **69/104** XIV – consule] *om.* *To* **76/79** Qui – sit] *transp. post XVIII* [qui credit manen ... falsitatis anathema sit] *Vl^l Go*

55/56 aduentum ... in apostolis] Cf. Jn 16,7 **56/57** post ... impletum] Cf. Ac 2,1-4

55 spiritus] spiritus sancti *Al* paraclēti] paracliti *Be² P^{a.c.} Al Vl^l*, paraclēti *P^lp.c. To Go* **56** promisit] -ittit *P^l Sirm.* apostolis] -os *Sirm.* **57** Pentecostes] *Sirm.*, -en α statim] *om.* *Vl^l Go* post] *om.* *Al* **58** Adimanto] *Be²p.c. P^l Sirm.*, adam anto *Be²a.c.*, adamanto *To*, admanto *Al*, adaemanto *Vl^l Go* discipulo eius] discipulos *To Al* **61** resurrecturam] -a *To Al Go* **63** animalibus] in animalibus *To Al* **64** caelestes] -is *To Al Vl^l Go* **65** transferendam] -a *To*, transferenda *Al* luci] -e *To Al* **66** aliquid] aliquid *P^l Al* ascribit] -et *Vl^l Go* **67** ac terrae] eterrae *P^l* conditam] -a *Vl^l Go* **69** quadrupedum] quatripedum *Al*, quadrupedem *Vl^l Go* **70** natatiliū] natalium *Al^{o.c.}* omnia] -ium *Sirm.* mundo] mondo *Be²a.c.* **71** creatam] -a *Al Vl^l Go* a] per *Al* **72** symbolum] simbulum *Be²a.c.*, simbulum *Al* detestans] -ant *Al* **73** aut ore] auctore *P^la.c.*, auctore *Al* **74** humanas] humas *Be²a.c.* **75** humana] umana *P^la.c.* **76** credit diabolū] credit diabolū *Be²a.c.* *Vl^lp.c.*, credit diabolo *Al*, crediabolū *Vl^la.c.* **77** superbiam] -a *Al* diabolū] diabolū *Be²a.c.* **78** reliquos] relicos *Al* angelos] -us *Be²a.c.* **79** deo] -um *Al*

- 80 XVIII. Qui credit Manen siue Manichaeum, qui supra scripta omnia
 quae anathemate et damnatione sunt digna praedicauit et docuit,
 spiritum sanctum habuisse paracletum, cum ea omnia docere non
 potuit spiritus ueritatis sed spiritus falsitatis, anathema sit.
 XIX. Anathema etiam ipsi Mani uel Manichaeo, qui omnes supra
 85 dictas impietates et alias sacrilegas et damnabiles fabulas docuit et
 conscripsit et credendas miseris persuadere conatus est, intendens
 spiritibus seductoribus et doctrinis daemoniorum et mendaciloquo-
 rum.
 XX. Anathema Adimanto et omnibus discipulis ac sectatoribus eius,
 90 et, sicut iam dictum est, qui in eum spiritum paracletum uenisse
 credit, anathema sit.
 XXI. Omnibus etiam supradictae peruersitatis auctoribus et doc-
 trinae uel legi eorum uel omnibus secretis et catholicae fidei con-
 trariis orationibus ac sacrilegiis eorum et cunctis scripturis eorum
 95 quae extra canonem habentur ecclesiae, quas fides recta non recipit,
 anathema sit.

89/104 XX – consule] *om.* β δ γ

86/87 intendens – mendaciloquorum] Cf. 1 Tim. 4,1

80 Manen] *Vt* *Go* *Be*¹ γ, manem *Be*² *P*¹ *Co*^{β.c.} *Sirm.*, manens *Al*, manin *Pe* *Pa* *P*¹ *P*⁵ *P*⁶ *Ce* *Co*^{a.c.} *Ox* *Bx* siue] sicut *Al* **81** digna] et digna *Al*, dicta (*del.*)
 digna *Ro* *Vt*² et docuit] *om.* *Be*² *P*¹ *Sirm.* **82** spiritum] &c spiritum *Al*^{n.c.}
 paracletum] paralitum *Be*^{2a.c.}, paraclitum *Be*^{2p.c.} *Pla.c.* *Al* *Vt*¹ *Pe* *P*⁵ *Ce* *Bx* *Vt*² *P*³ *P*²
Bg *Sirm.*, paraclitum *Be*¹ *Co* *Ox* *Do*¹ *In* *Do*² *Ro* **84** Anathema – Manichaeo]
 et praecipue ipse manes uel manichaeus β δ γ etiam] enim (*del.*) etiam
*Vt*¹ Mani] mane *Be*^{2a.c.} *Al* *Vt*¹ *Go* Manichaeo] -is *Al* qui] quia δ(*Co*^{a.c.})
 omnes] -is *Be*^{2a.c.} **84/85** supra dictas] spiritus β, supra scriptas δ γ **85** impi-
 etates] -is *Vt*¹ *Go* β et¹] ex *Al* sacrilegas] sacrelegas *Be*², saclegas *P*⁶ *Ce*, et
 damnabiles] α *Vt*² *Sirm.*, damnabiles *Be*¹, damnabilesque *Pe* *Pa* *P*¹ *P*⁵ *P*⁶ *Ce*, *om.*
 δ, ac damnabiles *Do*¹ *In* *Do*² *Ro* *P*³ *P*² *Bg* **86** persuadere – est] persuasit β δ
 γ **87** spiritibus] spiritalibus *Al* seductoribus] *Be*^{2p.c.} *P*¹ β δ *Do*¹ *In* *Do*² *P*³
*P*² *Bg* *Sirm.*, seductobus *Be*^{2a.c.}, seductoriis *Al*, seductoriis *Vt*¹ *Go*, sapi (*del.*) seduc-
 toribus *Ro* *Vt*² et¹] α γ, *om.* β δ doctrinis daemoniorum] -am demonum *Al*
 et²] *om.* β δ γ mendaciloquorum] mendacii locorum *Al*, mendacilocorum
*Be*¹, mandaciloquiorum *Pa*^{a.c.}, mendaciloquiorum *Pe* *Pa*^{β.c.} *P*¹ *P*⁵ *P*⁶ *Ce*, mendacii
 loquiorum *Co*, mendacii loquorum *Ox*, mendaloquorum *In*^{a.c.}; [*post* mendaciloquo-
 rum] anathema sit *Al* *Go* β δ γ **89** discipulis] -olis *Vt*¹ *Go* ac] hac *Vt*¹ *Go*
90 paracletum] paraclitum *Be*² *Al* *Sirm.*, paraclitum *Vt*¹ **92** Omnibus] in omni-
 bus *Al* **92/93** et – omnibus] *in marg.* *Be*² **94** orationibus] horationibus *P*^{1a.c.}
 sacrilegiis] sacrelegiis *Be*² **95** extra] citra *Sirm.* canonem] -e *Al* quas]
om. *Al* recipit] -epit *Vt*¹ *Go*, suscipit *Sirm.*

In Christi nomine ego Prospera hanc chartulam anathematis manichaeorum relegi et anathema dicens omnibus supra scriptis erroribus manu propria subscripsi et repudiatis omnibus eorum impietatibus fide plenissima doctrinis eorum et traditionibus anathema dixi et dico et me quaecumque ecclesia catholica confitetur credere et sequi in omnibus sub testificatione diuina polliceor atque promitto.

100

Not. sub die XIII kalendas decembris Olybrio Iuniore uiro clarissimo consule.

97 In] abiuratio et professio prosperi. in *Sirm.* Prospera] prosper *Be*^{2p.c.} *P*^l *Sirm.* chartulam] cartulam *Be*² *P*^l *Al* *Vt*^{1a.c.}, carthulam *Vt*^{1p.c.}, cartolam *Go* anathematis] anatematis *P*^l *Al* manichaeorum] manacheorum *Be*², manaecheorum *P*^l **98** relegi] -igi *Be*^{2a.c.} *P*^l^{a.c.} anathema] -am *Be*^{2a.c.} *Vt*^l *Go*, anatema *P*^l^{a.c.} *Al* **99** et] etiam *Vt*^l *Go* **99/100** impietatibus – et^l] *om.* *Al* **100** anathema] -am *Be*^{2a.c.} *Vt*^l *Go*, anatema *P*^l *Al* **101** catholica] catolica *P*^l **102** polliceor] pulliceor *Be*² **103** Not] not. *Be*² *P*^l *Vt*^l *Go* *Sirm.*, nota *Al* XIII] xlii *Vt*^l Olybrio] olibrio *Be*² *Vt*^l *Go*, olirio *Al* **103/104** Olybrio – 115 consule] *om.* *P*^l **104** consule] [*post* consule] finit *Vt*^l *Go*

NOTES

Commonitorium

2 *nefandi*] Manuscript evidence presents a dilemma: half of the branches (β and Do^l of γ) present the superlative *nefandissimi*, the other half (δ and all other manuscripts of γ) have *nefandi*. I have chosen for *nefandi*, because I surmise the adjustment to *nefandissimi* may have occurred more naturally for a scribe rather than that in different branches the superlative *nefandissimi* would have been weakened to the positive *nefandi*. Both expressions (*nefandi erroris* and *nefandissimi erroris*) are attested in Augustine's writings⁷².

7 *die et consule*] Manuscript evidence presents us with a dilemma here: both α and δ do not contain this sentence, so the evidence of β (*consule et die*) is in conflict with that of γ (*die et consule*). One could argue in favour of the reading of β here (*consule et die*), because it could be the *lectio difficilior*. The same phrase is reiterated at the end of the document, where all branches have *die et consule*. The argument would then hold that the scribes of γ could have more easily adjusted *consule et die* to *die et consule* in order to harmonize it with the phrase found at the end of the document. Although there may be merit to this argument, I have chosen for the reading *die et consule*, precisely because it harmonizes not only with the end of the document, but also with the dating system in use in α . Both phrases *die et consule* and *consule et die* are attested in other sources, though perhaps *die et consule* best reflects legal sources⁷³.

8 *nullam ... molestiam*] Like in the previous case, evidence of β (*neque ... aliquam molestiam*) is in conflict with γ (*nullam ... molestiam*). I have chosen for the reading of γ . It seems to be more elegant Latin, with the word group *nullam ... molestiam* neatly surrounding its complements. Conversely, β 's phrasing *ut neque* seems somewhat crude, as there seems to be no other term or word group with which *neque* would connect.

18-19 *sint ... acceperint*] A large amount of witnesses have the indicative *sunt* and *acceperunt*. However, the subjunctive seems preferable. It certainly is the more likely reading in the case of *acceperint*: there, all witnesses of δ have the subjunctive, as well as the oldest manuscripts of β (Be^l) and γ (Do^l). The evidence for *sint* is somewhat less secure (Do^l has the abbreviation *st* for *sunt*). For the sake of parallelism, and because δ and Be^l are generally

(72) E.g. Augustine, *c. Fel.* II, 22, ed. ZYCHA, CSEL 25.2, p. 852, l. 16: *sed nefandi erroris*; Augustine, *nat. b.* 47, *ibid.*, p. 886, l. 23: *huius tam nefandi erroris*; Augustine, *nat. b.* 44, *ibid.*, p. 881, l. 10: *hoc genus nefandissimi erroris*.

(73) See, for example, *Codex theodosianus* I, 1, 1 (ed. T. MOMMSEN, P. M. MEYER, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, Berolini, 1905, p. 27, l. 1-3): *Si qua posthac edicta siue constitutiones sine die et consule fuerint deprehensae, auctoritate careant*.

among the more conservative witnesses of the *Commonitorium*, the subjunctive *sint* is preferred here too.

37 *ei*] Two families of the transmission seem to disagree with the other two: α and δ have *ei* here, β and γ (with the exception of *In*) have *eis*. The singular *ei* seems grammatically more correct. At the end of the sentence, the pronoun *ista* (plural) refers to the fruits and vegetables, therefore it would be expected that a different pronoun *ei* (or *eis*) would refer to another noun or set of nouns, and that appears to be *pars dei* (singular). In his anti-Manichaean writings, Augustine often mocks the Manichaean myth, in which (a part of) God would require external help. In this context Augustine almost always connects the verb *subuenire*-i to a dative singular (often God)⁷⁴.

59 *affigi*] Manuscript evidence is divided in favour of three different readings: *affigi* (be adjoined to), *affici* (be affected with), or *affligi* (be struck). The first reading is generally preferred by manuscripts of α β , the second by δ (and notably by *Be'* of β too) and the third by γ . For two main reasons, I have chosen for *affigi* here. In terms of the genesis of the different variants, it is most plausible that both *affici* and *affligi* would have originated from *affigi*. Perhaps one could argue that *affici* concerns a mere variation of spelling of *affigi* (*c* and *g* are, both in spelling and phonetically, quite similar to each other and occasionally interchangeable) which happens to have repercussions on content. So, even if one would argue that *affici* would be the archetypal reading (since it is attested by family δ and witnesses from two other branches), then it is still very likely that *affigi* is meant anyway. Because, secondly, in terms of content, the *Commonitorium* reiterates a recurring argument in Augustinian anti-Manichaean polemics. This argument entails that, in Manichaean eschatology, evil particles would be collected and confined to a clod or globular mass (*globus*). As some sort of cover of this mass, as a means of ensuring the darkness cannot break through to the kingdom of light again, some particles of light are positioned around this globe. Both Augustine and his contemporary Evodius employ, in this context, the verb *configo*⁷⁵.

(74) Cf. Augustine, *c. Faust.* II, 5, ed. ZYCHA, CSEL 25.1, n. 34, p. 258, l. 18-19: *ut uobis cibos adferant, quo possit ligato in eis Christo subueniri*; Augustine, *c. Faust.* VI, 4, *ibid.*, p. 288, l. 27-29: *quomodo eis inest uita, cui purgandae atque recreandae manducando atque ructando uos adseritis subuenire?*; Augustine, *nat. b.* 43, ed. ZYCHA, CSEL 25.2, p. 880, l. 13-14: *hoc quam nefas sit dicere naturae dei natura dei sic subueniri qui uidet, anathemet.*

(75) Cf. Augustine, *c. Faust.* VIII, 2, ed. ZYCHA, CSEL 25.1, p. 307, l. 14-15: *globo tenebrarum aeterna poena configeretur*; Augustine, *c. Fel.* II, 22, ed. ZYCHA, CSEL 25.2, p. 852, l. 25-26: *reliquias ipsius suae partis configat in aeternum globo tenebrarum*; Augustine, *nat. b.* 42, *ibid.*, p. 878, l. 4-5: *quas in globo tenebrarum in aeternum configit*; Evodius, *adu. Man.* 5, ed. 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* (Instrumenta Patristica et

79 *damnabiles*] Although this reading is only attested in one manuscript (*Be*¹), I believe it is archetypal. Most other manuscripts have a connector that conjoins the adjective *sacrilegas* to *damnabiles*: *α* has *et*, the other manuscripts of *β* have the enclitical *-que*, and the manuscripts of *γ* (with the exception of *Vt*²) have *ac*. The manuscripts of *δ* do not contain the adjective *damnabiles*, so their evidence does not help here. The lack of a connector seems to be archetypal, because if the archetype would have a connector in the first place, I do not see why this one connector would not be universally attested in each branch of the transmission. As it stands, it is more likely that a (different) connector was introduced in each branch independently rather than that one original connector (for which we have no good reason to prefer one over the other) was corrupted in the other branches.

80-81 *seductoribus doctrinis*] Two pairs of families oppose each other: one pair, *β* and *δ*, have *seductoribus doctrinis*, the other pair, *α* and *γ*, interspersed the connector *et* between the two words. The passage is a paraphrase of 1 Tim 4:1. Families *α* and *γ* conform to the Vulgate reading here, which has *et* as well. In the *Vetus latina*, both variants of the phrase (with or without *et*) exists⁷⁶. The reading without *et* must be preferred here, as the addition of it is logical and could have occurred independently in two branches, whereas the reverse scenario would be more extraordinary: that scribes of two different families would have omitted a connector that makes perfect grammatical sense and coincides with the Vulgate.

92 *anathematizauerint*] Many witnesses have *anathemauerint* instead (*Co* and *Ox* of *δ*, and most early witnesses of *γ*). Manuscript evidence thus offers a dilemma: *β* and one branch of *δ* have *anathematizauerint*, *γ* and the other branch of *δ* have *anathemauerint*. The first option may perhaps be preferable here, because in its opening words, the *Commonitorium* more convincingly reads (3) *anathematizauerint* too⁷⁷.

Capitula

13 *fruticumque*] Of the three branches of the *Capitula*, one has *fruticumque* (*Vt*¹, adjusted to *fruticumque* in *Go*), another has *fructuumque* (*Be*², retained in *P*), and a third has *quibuscumque* (*To* and *Al*). I have chosen in favour of the reading *fruticumque*, as the suffix *-cumque* is attested in two of the three branches, and is also attested in family *δ* and in the oldest manuscript of *γ*.

Mediaevalia 79), Turnhout, 2020, p. 346, l. 25-26: *configentur in praedicto horribili globo*.

(76) FREDE, cit. n. 35, p. 519-521.

(77) On this topic, see also RIEDLBERGER, cit. n. 1, p. 163-164.

43 *locutos*] Although two of three branches have *-us* instead of *-os*, the reading *-os* is grammatically correct, and in some other cases the manuscripts do have *o* where we expect *u* and vice versa (see also the textual variants 22 *fetus*/*fētos* or 28 *ligatos*/*legatus*).

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