

This is a post-print version of the article appeared in *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes* 69 (2023). Small changes may have been further introduced during the proofreading process.

The Earliest Transmission of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Book I*

The reference edition of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (henceforth *ciu.*), published by Bernhard Dombart and revised by Alfons Kalb in 1928-1929, is based on a stemmatical analysis of the first two books out of 22¹. Even though Dombart was actually able to find and isolate many of the most reliable witnesses, his stemma and text still leave room for improvement. In fact, he did not set a clear distinction between original and secondary readings during the *recensio* phase and he carried out the *constitutio textus* relying on unclear and inconsistent criteria. Moreover, he merely produced a rough sketch of the lower levels of the stemma, leaving the history of the transmission of *ciu. de facto* unexplored. This last topic has also been the object of a very restricted number of studies since the publication of his century-old edition. In the 1980s Michael Gorman published an updated list of manuscript witnesses dated before the 12th century² and Alain Stoclet examined the earliest dissemination, based on material features of the extant copies and on hints provided by medieval library catalogues³. More recently, Emanuela Colombi published a study of the editorial arrangements of pre-10th century manuscripts and the distribution of their paratexts⁴, pursuing a line of enquiry initiated by Guglielmo Cavallo⁵. In 2019, the transmission of four sets of *tabulae capitulorum* and of five sets of marginal annotations were examined respectively by Colombi and Jesse Keskiaho⁶.

An interdepartmental research project currently carried out at KU Leuven is aimed at offering a global and up-to-date overview of the manuscript transmission of *ciu.*, which poses several challenges to the philologists, such as: precocious and pervasive contamination - fostered by the circulation in multiple-volume editions and concurrent editorial arrangements -, potentially authorial/synchronic variants, and a very broad *testimoniale*⁷. As a first approach to this intricate tradition, a chronological selection has been combined with a randomized textual sampling. In particular, five non-consecutive books out of 22 (namely, books I, VI, XIII, XVIII and XXII) have been selected for collations against 41 late-antique and early medieval witnesses, i.e. all known copies dated to the

* Research for this paper has been carried out within the KU Leuven C-1 project «*Magnum opus et arduum*»: *Towards a History of the Reception of Augustine's «De civitate Dei»*, coordinated by Gert Partoens, Anthony Dupont, and Andrea Aldo Robiglio. I wish to thank Julia Aguilar Miquel, Paolo Chiesa, Rossana Guglielmetti, and Gert Partoens for their remarks on an earlier version of this paper.

1. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. B. Dombart - A. Kalb, Leipzig, 1928-1929⁴.

2. M. GORMAN, «A Survey of the Oldest Manuscripts of Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei*», *Journal of Theological Studies*, 33, 1982, p. 398-410 [repr. in ID., *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of Saint Augustine* (Millennio Medievale 27. Reprints 2), Firenze, 2001, p. 178-190]; ID., «The Manuscript Traditions of St. Augustine's Major Works», in *Atti del Congresso internazionale su S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della conversione* (Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum 24), ed. V. Grossi, Roma, 1987, p. 381-412 [repr. in ID., *The Manuscript Traditions* cit., p. 315-346].

3. A. STOCLET, «Le *De civitate Dei* de saint Augustin. Sa diffusion avant 900 d'après les caractères externes des manuscrits antérieurs à cette date et les catalogues contemporains», *Recherches Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 19, 1984, p. 185-209.

4. E. COLOMBI, «Assetto librario ed elementi paratestuali nei manoscritti tardoantichi e carolingi del *De civitate Dei* di Agostino: alcune riflessioni», *Segno e Testo*, 11, 2013, p. 183-272.

5. G. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti materiali della trasmissione dei testi patristici nella tarda antichità: libri, scritture, contesti», in *La trasmissione dei testi patristici latini: problemi e prospettive. Atti del Colloquio internazionale (Roma, 26-28 ottobre 2009)* (Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 60), ed. E. Colombi, Turnhout, 2012, p. 51-73.

6. E. COLOMBI, «Titoli e capitoli nella trasmissione del *De civitate Dei* di Agostino», in *Diagnostica testuale: le «tabulae capitulorum»* (Te.Tra. Studies 1), ed. L. Castaldi - V. Mattaloni, Firenze, 2019, p. 61-106; J. KESKIAHO, «Copied Marginal Annotations and the Early History of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*», *Augustiniana*, 69, 2019, p. 277-298.

7. According to my last census, the number of complete and partial witnesses (of at least one entire book) of *ciu.* amounts to ca. 430 copies (fragments and indirect tradition excluded). For a synthesis on the challenges posed by *ciu.*'s transmission, see M. GIANI, «The Transmission of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. A Starting Point for Further Research», *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 66, 2020, p. 93-138.

end of the 9th century, plus a 10th-century one⁸. The transmission of each book will be examined in a separate article (books I, VI, XVIII by myself; and books XIII and XXII by Julia Aguilar Miquel), as the peculiar way in which *ciu.* was published and transmitted caused stemmatical relations to change according to the book in question⁹.

In the present article, I shall share the first conclusions that can be drawn from the complete collation of book I, hoping to lay more scientific foundations for the establishment of the text. I will proceed in three phases: first, I will provide a brief description of the MSS. included in my *corpus*; second, I will demonstrate the stemmatical configuration of the lower levels of the stemma; and lastly, I will discuss the main issues related with the upper levels.

I. - LIST OF PARTIAL AND COMPLETE WITNESSES TO *CIU.* I

The following list registers the essential codicological data for each witness (shelfmark, date, origin, provenance - if controversial, I will indicate the source I have relied on¹⁰) and their textual (e. g. *lacunae*, texts other than *ciu.*), paratextual (*tabulae capitulorum*, copied sets of annotations, *accessus*, extract from *retr.*¹¹), and - whenever bibliography on the subject is available - paleographical features¹². The section dealing with book I gathers data on its correctors, its chapter division and readers' notes. Here and elsewhere, readings from the MSS. are reproduced according to the following system, where *X* stands for the MS.'s *siglum*: *X^{a.c.}* = reading *ante correctionem* (emended by the same scribe or by a later revisor); *X^{p.c.}* = reading *post correctionem* (uncertain whether first-hand correction or by another scribe); *X^l* = correction by the main hand; *X²* = correction by the first reviewer in chronological order; *X³* = correction by the second reviewer in chronological order etc. All along the article, when quoting the text of *ciu.*, I will refer to Dombart-Kalb's *editio Teubneriana*¹³, mentioning the volume, page and line of the quoted excerpt. In the following descriptions, when citing the text of a MS., I have normalized the orthography, recording only major discrepancies between the handwritten text and the printed edition.

Au Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, S 15 (16), s. IX^{4/4}, orig. region of Autun, prov. Autun cathedral¹⁴.

Content: ff. 1v-126v: *ciu.* books I-IX + incipit of book X; ff. 127-128: fragment of the polyptych of Autun's church (mid-13th c.), bound together with *ciu.* when the book was restored in the 15th century.

Paratexts: content summary at the beginning of the work (f. 1v; *In hoc codice continentur sancti Augustini contra paganos civitatis...*, see *infra*).

Book I: covers ff. 1v-17r. Almost all corrections were made by the main hand; a few coeval *marginalia* and several later *Nota*-signs. No chapter division.

β Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 134, s. IX^{2/3} (Bischoff), s. X-XI restorations, orig. Central or Western France, prov. Fleury; former owners: Pierre Daniel (1531-1604) [Homburger]; Jacques Bongars (1554-1612)¹⁵.

8. The inclusion of a 10th century copy (Madrid, RAH 29, here *Ma*) is due both to the bibliographic tradition that dated it back to the 9th century (see *infra*, note @), and because it is geographically eccentric compared to the rest of the tradition and, therefore, it may be a witness of a peripheral branch of the stemma (according to the principle of "aree laterali" developed by G. PASQUALI, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze, 1952², p. XVII-XVIII).

9. That each book should be analyzed separately from the others was already clear to Bernhard Dombart (AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XIII) and by Alfons Kalb (A. KALB, «Zum Text der *Civitas Dei* Augustins», *Bayerische Blätter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen*, 63, 1927, p. 159-165, here p. 161). Also, it is worth stressing that complete copies are relatively rare in the early medieval tradition and unattested before the year 800: most manuscripts transmit only a portion of *ciu.* This implies that stemmata will change anyway from book to book, because the *testimoniale* changes accordingly.

10. If they have only been discussed by Bernhard Bischoff and by an old MSS. catalogue, I tacitly rely on Bischoff.

11. Unless otherwise specified, they were written by the same hand who wrote the main text.

12. I will use the following abbreviations: *ICL* = D. SCHALLER - E. KÖNSGEN, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum. Bibliographisches Repertorium für die lateinische Dichtung der Antike und des früheren Mittelalters*, Göttingen, 1977; *BISCHOFF I-III* = B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts: (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, ed. B. Ebersperger, voll. I-III, Wiesbaden, 1998-2014; *CLA* = E. A. LOWE, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, voll. I-XII, Oxford, 1934-1972; *HÜWA* = *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, voll. I-XI, Wien, 1969-2010; *BStK* = R. BERGMANN - S. STRICKER ET AL., *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, voll. I-V, Berlin, 2005.

13. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit.

14. BISCHOFF I 153; *Catalogue des manuscrits d'Autun: Bibliothèque municipale et Société Eduenne*, ed. C. Maître, Turnhout, 2004, p. 76-78 (description by G. Lanoë).

15. BISCHOFF I 540; *HÜWA* IX/2, p. 62; H. HAGEN, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium (Bibliotheca Bongarsiana)*, Bern, 1874, p. 182-183; O. HOMBURGER, *Die illustrierten Handschriften der Burgerbibliothek Bern: die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen*

Content: *ciu.* books I-XXII, lacunal. A late 10th or early 11th-century hand filled several *lacunae* by adding current ff. 83-92 (*ciu.* XIII 11 - XIV 13 [I 570, 24-25 *mortuus est u littera* - II 34, 3 *quod ei si placeat*]), 125-129 (*ciu.* XVIII 21-39 [II 283, 8-9 *...tentus imperio primus* - II 315, 12-13 *praeuenisse sapientiam*]) and 130-131 (*ciu.* XX 1-6 [II 405, 14 *De die ultimi [ultimo β] iudicii* - II 416, 2-3 *et filio habere uitam in semetipso*]). The last lines of f. 92r and the whole 92v are blank. On f. 129r the text breaks off at *ciu.* XVIII 39 (II 315, 12-13 *praeuenisse sapientiam*), f. 129v is blank, and on f. 130r book XX begins (thus, book XIX is completely missing). On f. 135v the text breaks off at *ciu.* XX 18 (II 447, 32 *pro eo mundo qui diluio*), ff. 136-137 are blank. The text resumes on f. 138r, with *ciu.* XX 23 (II 463, 26-27 *ego Daniel in habitudine*). Originally two volumes copied at the same time in the same *scriptorium* and afterwards bound together (books I-XI; XII-XXII), as suggested by the quire numbering starting again on f. 82v. On f. 1r an excerpt from Julianus Pomerius's *De uita contemplativa* III 31, 6; on f. 2r the carmen *Efficitur* was transcribed by a 10th/11th-c. hand¹⁶, contemporary to the one who added the carmen *De circulo* on f. 162v¹⁷.

Script and hands: the script is a Caroline minuscule from several differently trained hands; on f. 69v: [H]c liber Arcanbandi sacerdos scripsit peccator (9th-10th-c. hand); on f. 161r: *Remigius sacerdos peccator* (9th-10th c.); f. 161v *V(u)arnerius* (11th c.).

Early history: the MS. was already in Fleury in the 9th century, according to Otto Homburger and Marco Mostert (cfr. *ex libris* on f. 161v, dated to the 11th c. by Bischoff).

Paratexts: *ciu.* is preceded by *retr.* II 43. Version B of the *tabula capitulorum* for book XVIII alone is placed immediately before its beginning; the so-called 'series-D' annotations run along books XX-XXII¹⁸.

Book I: covers ff. 3v-9r. Occasional variants in the margins often preceded by *al.* and corrections to the main text (the quality of the reproduction does not allow me to understand whether they are first-hand or not). The division of the text into 38 chapters is inconsistent with the articulation proposed by *tabulae A*.

Bo Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale, 94 (84), s. IX^{3/3}, orig. Reims area¹⁹.

Content: *ciu.* books I-XI 9 (the text breaks off at *ciu.* I 472, 7 *quod numquam peregrinata*).

Book I: covers ff. 1r-15v. The main hand or one (or more) contemporary reader(s) - the quality of the reproduction does not allow to be more precise - sporadically correct(s) the text, add(s) several signs (*Nota*, cross, *trigon* - the last one used to mark corrupt passages) and annotations, focused both on content and textual criticism. According to Warren Pezé, the annotator of *Bo* is a follower of Gottschalk of Orbais²⁰. No chapter division.

Bs Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, G.III.3, s. IX^{3/3} (Gavinelli), orig. Northern Italy (Brescia [Gavinelli]), prov. Brescia cathedral²¹.

Content: *ciu.* books I-XXII.

Script and hands: two Caroline hands copied the main text (A: ff. 1r-80v, 95r-227v, a hand active also on Brescia, Bibl. Queriniana, G III 2; B: ff. 81r-94v [Gavinelli]); a coeval or slightly later hand corrects the text against another exemplar (*Bs*²); the text on f. 228r (*ciu.* XXII 30 [II 634, 16 *quod in ira eius*] to the end of the work) is added by a 13th-century gothic hand. Several readers' notes. A 15th-c. hand adds *marginalia*, chapter division and occasionally corrects the text (*Bs*³). Drawings by the jurist and intellectual Albertanus of Brescia († post 1253).

Handschriften, Bern, 1962, p. 94-95; M. MOSTERT, *The Library of Fleury. A Provisional List of Manuscripts*, Hilversum, 1989, p. 58-59; Bern online catalogue <http://katalog.burgerbib.ch/detail.aspx?ID=129220>.

16. *Tractatuli, excerpta et fragmenta de musica s. XI et XII* (ARTEM. Atelier de Recherche sur les textes médiévaux 14), ed. C. Meyer - S. Nishimagi, Turnhout, 2011, p. 40.

17. ICL 2319; *Carmina medii aevi maximam partem inedita ex bibliothecis Helveticis collecta*, ed. H. Hagen, Bern, 1877, p. 146.

18. Reference studies concerning the distribution and classification of *tabulae capitulorum* and copied marginal annotations are, respectively, COLOMBI, «Titoli e capitoli» cit. and KESKIAHO, «Copied Marginal Annotations» cit.

19. BISCHOFF I 675; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. IV: *Bourges. Manuscrits 1-400*, ed. H. Omont, Paris, 1886, p. 21. F. 130 is missing from the IRHT microfilm, therefore I could not read the text from *ciu.* IX 23 (I 398, 8-9 *laborandum est*) until X 1 (I 401, 19 *puritate casti*).

20. W. PEZE, «Débat doctrinal et genre littéraire à l'époque carolingienne: les opuscules théologiques de Gottschalk d'Orbais», *Revue d'Histoire des Religions*, 2017/1, p. 25-72 (<http://journals.openedition.org/rhr/8653>).

21. BISCHOFF I 684; *HÜWA* I/2, p. 35; S. GAVINELLI, «Tradizioni testuali carolingie fra Brescia, Vercelli e San Gallo: il *De civitate Dei* di s. Agostino», in *L'antico e le moderne carte. Studi in memoria di G. Billanovich*, ed. A. Manfredi - C. M. Monti, Roma-Padova, 2007, p. 263-284, here p. 269-270; E. FERRAGLIO, *Manoscritti della Biblioteca Queriniana, sec. V-XIV*, Brescia, 2010, p. 115-116 (<https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-manoscritti/-/manus-search/cnmd/241115?>).

Paratexts: version *B* of the *tabula capitulorum* at the beginning of book XVIII.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-10r. Several corrections, annotations and *Nota*-signs by readers from 9th/10th to the 15th century (see section *Script and hands*). No coeval chapter division.

Bx Bruxelles, KBR (*olim* Bibliothèque Royale «Albert Ier»), 9641 (1145), s. VIII-IX, orig. Northern France (possibly area of Corbie)²²

Content: *ciu.* books I-XXII, acephalous and lacunal. The external bifolium of the first quire is missing, therefore the MS. starts with *ciu. praef.* (I 4, 7 *postulat et facultas datur*) and lacks *ciu.* I 20-24 (I 35, 4 *Illis igitur deliramentis* - I 39, 27 *hostes uictos more*)²³; other *lacunae* occurring between ff. 132-133 and ff. 281-282 caused the loss of *ciu.* XIII 24 - XIV 5 (I 594, 22 *quo est trinitas* - II 11, 28 *soliis carnis*) and *ciu.* XXII 24-28 (II 614, 32 *...modo decorem habeant* - II 624, 24 *manifestatio eius intel.*). Instead, the jump from f. 90 to f. 100 is due to an error in the foliation.

Script and hands: early Caroline minuscule in different stages of perfection by several hands, one of which recalls the Maudramme type (according to Lowe), with insular influence in abbreviations.

Paratexts: *tabulae capitulorum A* for books XVII-XXII at the beginning of book XVII. ‘Series-A’ annotations to books I-X and ‘series-B’ annotations to books XIX-XXII.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-9r; corrections made either by the same hand responsible for the main text or by a very close one. The beginning of each paragraph (according to the articulation of *tabulae A*) is marked by a cross (sometimes erased) or a *P*-shaped sign with a horizontal stroke, which were apparently added not long after the main text was copied.

Ca Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 350, s. IX^{2/3}, orig. Cambrai, prov. Cambrai cathedral²⁴.

Content: *ciu.* books I-XIII.

Script and hands: written by several Caroline hands. At least one 12th-century hand (*Ca*²) corrects the main text; a later one (14th century), possibly belonging to the circle of Pierre d’Ailly (Bischoff), adds comments, summaries, *maniculae*, and paragraph numbering. 13th-century (?) grotesque drawings decorate the margins (e. g. ff. 56r, 102r, 115v).

Paratexts: *Gassia*-series annotations to books I-X, sometimes equipped with brackets, *anchorae*, Carolingian and post-Carolingian *Nota*-signs.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-19v. No coeval chapter division.

† **Ch** Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 155 (64), s. IX^{3/4}, orig. France, prov. Saint-Père de Chartres²⁵.

Content: books I-XII. Manuscript destroyed in 1944. Only a photographic reproduction survives of ff. 1v-2r, from the *intitulatio* of the work until *ciu.* I 1 (I 4, 14 *tantis exardes...*)²⁶.

Pl Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pl. 12.21, s. IX^{3/4} (Bischoff), restored around 1100, orig. Tours (Bischoff); former owner: Francesco Sasseti (1421-1490)²⁷.

Content: ff. 1r-293r: *ciu.* books I-XXII; f. 293v: Lanfranc of Canterbury’s (†1089) notes on *ciu.* (partial copy: parr. A-B, until l. 25) added, according to Margaret Gibson, by a 11th-c. hand²⁸.

Paratexts: *ciu.*’s text is preceded by *retr.* II 43; book XVI is introduced by version *A* of the corresponding *tabula* and book XVIII by version *B*; ‘series-C’ annotations to books XVI-XVII.

22. *CLA X* 1545; BISCHOFF I 734; *HÜWA VIII/2*, p. 118; J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. II, Bruxelles, 1902, p. 175-176, nr. 1145.

23. F. 1r is barely legible; collations have been carried out from f. 1v, starting with *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 10 *parcit quia opportunius*) onwards. In light of this, and of the textual inversion that I will discuss next, I did not take into account the text that runs from the beginning of the work until *ciu.* I 1 (I 5, 7 *illud uero quod*); and from *ciu.* I 8 (I 13, 13 *etiam in his distribuendis*) to *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 10 *male agentibus*).

24. BISCHOFF I 783; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. XVII: *Cambrai, ms. 1-1398*, ed. A. Molinier, Paris, 1891, p. 129.

25. BISCHOFF I 898 (the manuscript is not marked as lost); *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. XI: *Chartres, ms. 1-1796*, ed. H. Omont, Paris, 1890, p. 81.

26. See <https://www.manuscrits-de-chartres.fr/fr/manuscrits/chartres-bm-ms-155>

27. BISCHOFF I 1218; *HÜWA I/2*, p. 69 (s. XII); A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae sub auspiciis Petri Leopoldi...*, vol. I, Florentiae, 1774, col. 25; *Umanesimo e Padri della Chiesa: manoscritti e incunaboli di testi patristici da Francesco Petrarca al primo Cinquecento*, ed. S. Gentile, s.l., 1997, p. 308-312, n. 79 (description by A. R. Fantoni, s. XI-XII); *Gli umanisti e Agostino: codici in mostra. Catalogo della Mostra, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 13 dicembre 2001-17 marzo 2002*, ed. D. Coppini - M. Regoliosi, Firenze, 2001, p. 236 (description by F. Crivello - M. Regoliosi, s. X).

28. See M. GIBSON, «Lanfranc’s Notes on Patristic Texts», *Journal of Theological Studies*, 23, 1952, p. 435-450, critical text on p. 439-442.

Book I: covers ff. 2v-15r. A coeval hand (possibly the same scribe who wrote the main text) adds variant readings in the margins or *supra lineam*. A later Caroline hand (11th-12th c.) adds marginal annotations and variants, usually *supra lineam* in lighter ink (Pl^2); coeval chapter division and numbering, corresponding to the articulation of *tabulae A*, with several *lacunae* and shifts.

Ko København, Kongelige Bibliothek, Thott 49 fol., s. IX^{3/3}, orig. Lyon, prov. Sainte-Marie d'Arthous (?); former owner: Otto Thott († 1785)²⁹.

Content: ff. 1r-180r: *ciu.* books I-XII; f. 180v, catalogue of the books donated by *Guillelmus de Euaonio* to *P. de Arthona*, s. XIV (s. XII/XIII according to Bischoff)³⁰.

Script and hands: written by several Caroline hands. According to Bischoff, signs added by Florus or his school (such as the Ω -sign on f. 7r).

Book I: covers ff. 2r-15r, chapter division in the form of paragraph signs, discontinuous and inconsistent with *tabulae A*. Corrections from the main scribe only; variously shaped *Nota*-signs.

K Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 75, s. IX^{1/4}, orig. Saint-Amand (Bischoff)³¹.

Content: *ciu.* books I-X.

Early history: according to some scholars, the MS. was commissioned by bishop Hildebald of Köln (787-818) or offered to him by Arno of Salzburg. Yet, it is not mentioned in the Cologne inventory of 833³². More likely, it was accessioned into the library collection after this date³³.

Script and hands: according to Diane Anderson, written by five Caroline hands (A: ff. 1v-44v [quires i-vi], B: ff. 45r-92v [vii-xii], C: ff. 93r-142v [xiii-xviii], D: ff. 143r-145v and E: ff. 145v-206v [xix-xxvi]); corrections and variant readings by at least two (groups of) hands: K^2 , a 9th-century Saint-Amand hand, who occasionally employs Tironian notes and mentions the reviewer *Rohingus* and the scribe *Hlo[tarius?]*, and K^3 , a later corrector (11th c.)³⁴.

Paratexts: *Gassia*-series annotations to books I-X added by K^2 , sometimes equipped with *anchora superior* and *Nota*-signs (e. g. ff. 109r, 117r).

Book I: covers ff. 2r-24v. No coeval chapter division.

Le Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. lat. fol. 6, s. IX^{med.-3/4}, orig. France; former owners: Gerhard Vossius (1577-1649), Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660)³⁵.

Content: *ciu.* books I-XXII.

29. BISCHOFF I 2003; *HÜWA* III, p. 242-243; E. JØRGENSEN, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Regiae Hafniensis*, København, 1926, p. 19.

30. Cfr. A. BONDEILLE-SOUCHIER, *Bibliothèques de l'Ordre de Prémontré dans la France d'ancien régime*, vol. II: *Editions des inventaires* (CNRS-IRHT. Documents, études et répertoires 58, 2), Paris, 2006, p. 35-36. As duly noted by the author, *Arthona* may just be the place of origin of *P.*, and the MS. was not necessarily owned by the monastery.

31. BISCHOFF I 1901; *HÜWA* V/2, p. 238; B. BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, vol. II, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 106-107; H. FINGER - M. RIETHMÜLLER ET AL., *Handschriftencensus Rheinland. Erfassung mittelalterlicher Handschriften im rheinischen Landesteil von Nordrhein-Westfalen mit einem Inventar* (Schriften der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf 18), Wiesbaden, 1993, vol. I, p. 613, n. 1034; *The Medieval Manuscripts of the Cologne Cathedral Library*. Volume I: *MSS. 1-100*, ed. D. W. Anderson - J. Black, s.l., 1997² (unpublished, available online <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/projekte/CEEC/texts/Anderson/Anderson.html>); *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter - Die Kölner Dombibliothek*, ed. J. M. Plotzek - U. Surmann, München, 1998, p. 80-83 (description by A. von Euw); *Credo. Christianisierung Europas im Mittelalter II Katalog*, ed. C. Stiegemann - M. Kroker - W. Walter, Petersberg, 2013, p. 112-113 (description by H. Horst).

32. The identification made by A. DECKER, «Die Hildboldische Manuskriptensammlung des Kölner Domes», in *Festschrift der drei und vierzigsten. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schülmannen dargeboten von den höheren Lehranstalten Kölns*, Bonn, 1895, p. 232-233 is incorrect, as demonstrated by G. FRENKEN, «Zu dem Kataloge der Dombibliothek von 833», in *Kölnische Bibliotheksgeschichte im Umriß*, ed. K. Löffler, Köln, 1923, p. 53-54, here p. 53.

33. M. GIANI, «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350: A 'Mobile' Exemplar and Its *codex descriptus*», in *Augustine's «De Civitate Dei»: Political Content, Textual Transmission, and Early Medieval Reception*, ed. M. Giani - G. Partoens - A. Dupont, Leiden-Boston, 2023 [forthc.].

34. GIANI, «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit. K^2 's Tironian annotations are published by M. HELLMANN, «Qualitätsmanagement in der karolingischen Schreibwerkstatt. Neue Erkenntnisse zu den Kölner Tironiana», in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek. Fünftes Symposium der Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln zu den Dom-Manuskripten (30. November bis 1. Dezember 2012)* (Libelli Rhenani. Schriften der Erzbischöflichen Diözesan- und Dombibliothek zur rheinischen Kirchen- und Landesgeschichte sowie zur Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte 51), ed. H. Finger - H. Horst, Köln, 2014, p. 145-165.

35. BISCHOFF II 2184; *HÜWA* VIII/2, p. 266; K. A. DE MEYER, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, vol. I: *Codices in folio*, Leiden, 1973, p. 10-11.

Script and hands: the text is written in Caroline minuscule by several hands, and has been annotated and corrected by coeval and later scribes, from the 12th to the 17th century. On ff. 32r, 78r, 81r, 89r a certain *Stabilis levita* is mentioned, on f. 248v a certain *Petrus presbyter*.

Paratexts: retr. II 43 at the beginning of the work, version *A* of the *tabulae* before book XVI and version *B* before book XVIII.

Book I: covers ff. 2r-12r; coeval chapter division and numbering, corresponding to the articulation of *tabulae A*, with several *lacunae* and shifts. Tironian notes on ff. 6r and 9r.

L Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, 19, s. IX^{3/4} (Pomaro), orig. Lucca³⁶.

Content: ff. 1ra-300va: *ciu.* books I-XXII; f. 300va: stichometric note³⁷; ff. 300vb-301vb ps. Clemens I papa, *Epistula ad Iacobum*, lacking the end due to the loss of f. 302.

Script and hands: pre-Caroline minuscule by about 20 different hands.

Paratexts: content summary at the beginning (inc. *In hoc codice continentur sancti Augustini contra paganos civitatis...*, see infra). Version *A* of the *tabulae capitulorum* for books XIX-XXII at the beginning of book XIX; ‘series-A’ annotations to books I-X.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-15v; starting from f. 9r, a later chapter division in the form of paragraph signs according to *tabulae A* appears. At least one later hand corrects the text, adds marginal annotations (cfr. f. 10v) and sometimes traces over the original text.

l Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 606, s. IX^{2/4}, orig. Lyon cathedral³⁸.

Content: *ciu.* books I-XIV, with *lacunae*. The external bifolium of the first quire is missing, a situation that caused the loss of *ciu.* I 10-13 (I 20, 20 ...*unt etiam Christianos* - I 23, 25 *adhibetur extrinsecus*), once copied between current ff. 6 and 7. Portions from *ciu.* III 17 (I 124, 25 *Ianiculum hostili* - I 125, 28 *coniectantibus credi solet*), from *ciu.* V 5-6 (I 197, 26 *ad aequalitatem factorum* - I 199, 2 *ne [in] ipsis quidem*), and from *ciu.* XII 20 (I 544, 25 *et hoc propterea ut* - I 545, 24 *falsae beatitudinis*) originally missing, due to material damage in the exemplar (i. e. *L* and its lost complementary tome[s]). These *lacunae* were filled in the 9th century, when ff. 40, 65, and 179 were added as single leaves (by *l*? cfr. infra).

Script and hands: main text copied by several Caroline hands, corrections and variant readings added in the margins by (a) 9th-c. hand(s) very close to the main ones (*l*²).

Paratexts: the short summary at the end of book I and the *marginalia* to books I and II (ff. 1v-30r) were copied from *L*. Conversely, *marginalia* to books IV 7 - IX 5 (ff. 51r-129r) were not taken from it³⁹. All of them seem written by the same hands responsible for the main text or by copyists very close to them.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-16r. No chapter division.

L Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 607, s. VI² (Licht), orig. Northern Italy (Ravenna [Licht]), prov. Lyon (s. IX)⁴⁰.

Content: *ciu.* books I-V, lacunal, acephalous, and lacking the end. Incipit on f. 1r with *ciu.* I 14 (I 25, 4 *fuit Daniel, fuerunt alii prophetae*); *lacuna* between ff. 71-72 (occurred earlier than the 9th c.) affecting *ciu.* III 17 (I 124, 25 *Ianiculum hostili* - I 125, 28 *coniectantibus credi solet*); *lacuna* between ff. 76-77 (occurred later than the 9th c.) affecting *ciu.* III 20-31 (I 131, 28 *etiam fauentibus* - I 144, 7 *putaui si humanum*); *lacuna* between ff. 92-93 (occurred later than the 9th c.) affecting *ciu.* IV 13-23 (I 163, 30 *officii et operibus* - I 174, 29 *Terminus et luventas*); *lacuna* between ff. 110-111 (occurred earlier than the 9th c.) affecting *ciu.* V 5-6 (I 197, 26 *ad aequalitatem factorum* - I 199, 2 *ne in ipsis quidem*); ends on f. 138v at *ciu.* V 26 (I 240, 3 *hac occasione fieri uoluit*).

36. BISCHOFF II 2519; HÜWALD 2, p. 122; G. POMARO, *I manoscritti medievali della Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana di Lucca*, Firenze, 2015, p. 75-76 (<http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/lucca-biblioteca-capitolare-feliniana-19-manuscript/221946>).

37. Cfr. COLOMBI, «Assetto» cit., p. 217-219.

38. BISCHOFF II 2574; P. GUINARD - L. HOLTZ, *Manuscrits médiévaux: de l'usage au trésor. Catalogue de l'exposition (21 septembre 2002 - 4 janvier 2003)*, Lyon, 2003, p. 81 (description by L. Holtz); online description : <https://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/manuscrits/list.php>. 39. P.-I. FRANSEN, «Un commentaire marginal du *De civitate Dei* dans deux manuscrits (Lyon 607 et 606)», *Revue Bénédictine*, 125, 2015), p. 125-146. ID., «Florus a-t-il copié les notes d'un manuscrit perdu du *De civitate Dei*? Les *marginalia* du ms. Lyon, BM, 606», *Revue Bénédictine*, 129, 2019, p. 267-283. For the relation of *l* with Florus of Lyon, see also GIANI, «The Transmission» cit., p. 121-123 and the quoted bibliography.

40. CLA VI 784; BISCHOFF II 2574a; GUINARD-HOLTZ, *Manuscrits médiévaux* cit., p. 51 (description by L. Holtz); T. LICHT, *Halbunziale. Schriftkultur im Zeitalter der ersten lateinischen Minuskel (iii.-ix. Jahrhundert)*, Stuttgart, 2018, p. 204-205; online description <https://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/manuscrits/list.php>.

Early history: excerpt signs and annotations by Florus (ff. 8r-v, 99v-101r, 112v-119r) prove that the manuscript was in Lyon already in the 9th century⁴¹.

Script and hands: several hands in half-uncial script with marked uncial admixture. Corrections by the same hands who wrote the main text and by another contemporary hand in lighter ink, possibly the one responsible for marginal annotations (*L*², cfr. infra).

Paratexts: content summaries at the end of each book and marginal annotations⁴², possibly written by an Italian contemporary cursive minuscule (*L*²), with the exception of the summary at the end of book IV, written in a slightly later half uncial script above an erased 6th c.-minuscule, according to Lowe⁴³.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-21r. No chapter divisions.

Ma Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 29, years 977-978, orig. San Millán de la Cogolla⁴⁴.

Content: f. 1ra-b a prayer/litany, written possibly by *Ma*² (12th-c. hand); ff. 1va-291vb: *ciu.* books I-XXII.

Script and hands: Visigothic script, by at least five hands according to Elisa Ruíz García (A: ff. 1va-88vb; B: 88vb-106vb, 107ra-195vb [diaconus *Moterrafe* (cfr. ff. 170v, 195v)]; C: 106vb-197ra; D: 196ra-276vb [priest *Aloitus* (cfr. ff. 273v, 276v)]; E: 276vb-291vb). *Ma*² corrects the text using another exemplar, whose variants are transcribed between the lines and in the margins.

Paratexts: version *B* of the *tabulae capitulorum* for books XVI and XVIII-XXII, copied at the beginning of each book; *tabulae* for books XVI and XVIII were copied by *Ma*² over an illegible text. 'Gassia-series' annotations to books I-VII, other annotations from books VIII onwards, some of which to be attributed to Paulus Albarus and Samson of Cordoba. Other notes were added by the copyists themselves and allow us to follow the timeline of their copying activity (e. g. f. 63v)⁴⁵. The frames in which the glosses are copied are often decorated with zoomorphic appendices.

Book I: covers ff. 1va-13v. No chapter division.

A München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3831, s. IX^{2/4}, orig. (Eastern) France; former owner: Johannes Wildsgefert († 1470); prov. Augsburg cathedral (s. XV)⁴⁶.

Content: ff. 1r-347r: *ciu.* books I-XXII, lacunal. Missing leaves between current ff. 33 and 34 once transmitted *ciu.* III 25-28 (I 136, 27 *aliud fuit quam inrisio* - I 141, 13 *Pax cum bello*); omission between ff. 155 and 156 of the final lines of book XIII (I 599, 14 *...tractanda et Domino* - 599, 24 *dispositione differtur*). The last *lacuna* was filled by *A*², a 11th-c. hand, on a parchment strip bound between ff. 155 and 156. Some sections of *ciu.* XXII 29-30 are swapped, due to the inversion of ff. 345 (II 631, 6 *delectatione succe[n]dent* - II 634, 16 *nisi quod in ira eius*) and 346 (II 627, 20 *difficultatis sic intellegi* - II 631, 6 *laudem rationabilis pulchritudinis* [*rationales pulchritudines* A]). The text of *ciu.* XI 9-11 (I 472, 15 *quod scriptum est* - I 477, 24 *procul dubio non*) and of *ciu.* XVI 8-23 (II 137, 6 *ducere ita quaecumque* - II 160, 7 *cernentibus aliquas occultas* [*dutas* A]) is lacking without signs of material damage (see ff. 122v, with a Tironian note marking the textual problem, and 196v respectively). Originally conceived as a two-volume edition (ff. 1-118 = *ciu.* I-X; ff. 119-347 = *ciu.* XI-XXII). Addition by *A*² of an excerpt from Hier. *ep.* 108 *Scipio quam genuit... deoque dederunt* (CSEL 55, p. 350, 14 - 351, 1), on an originally blank portion of f. 191vb; on f. 347va-b addition by the same scribe of an excerpt from Cassiod., *Inst. diu.* I 33 (*Oratio Augustini*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1937, p. 83-85).

Script and hands: Carolingian minuscule from several hands. Corrections made by (a) 10th-11th c. hand(s) (*A*²), on the basis of another exemplar.

41. For the use of this MS. by Florus, see GIANI, «The Transmission» cit. p. 121 and the bibliography quoted there.

42. FRANSEN, «Un commentaire» cit.

43. Cfr. the notes by C. Charlier quoted by FRANSEN, «Un commentaire» cit., p. 126-127, where the former expresses the opinion that these annotations were added by the same hand who copied the main text.

44. HÜWA IV, p. 211-212 (s. IX); E. RUIZ GARCÍA, *Catálogo de la sección de códices de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1997, p. 215-217.

45. See M. C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 147-155; ID., «Augustín entre los mozárabes: un testimonio», *Augustinus*, 25, 1980, p. 157-180; ID., *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la Península: ensayo de distribución regional*, Sevilla, 1995, p. 136-140; J. AGUILAR MIQUEL, «The Mozarabic Reception of Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei*: Albar, Eulogius, and Samson of Cordoba», *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 67, 2021, p. 319-348.

46. BISCHOFF II 2955; HÜWA V/2, p. 297-298; J. TREDE - A. FRECKMANN, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Handschriften aus Augsburger Bibliotheken*, vol. III: *Domstift und Franziskanerobservantenkloster Heilig Grab Clm 3831-3919, Streubestände gleicher Provenienz und Clm 3941* (Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis. III. Series nova 3, 3), Wiesbaden, 2018, p. 3-4.

Paratexts: this MS. displays *tabulae capitulorum* for books XI-XVII at the beginning of each book, according to version *A* for books XI-XIII *tit.* 1-17, to version *C* for books XIII *tit.* 18-23 - XV, and to version *D* for books XVI-XVII. On f. 1r, added in the upper margin by a later hand, a rather incongruous *incipit epistola*.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-13v. No chapter division.

F_b München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6267, ff. 1-176 and 386-422, years 811-835 (Hitto's bishopric), orig. Freising⁴⁷.

Content: *ciu.* I-XI and XVIII. This MS. is a compound of two codicological units, the earliest being *F_a* (ff. 177-386, s. VIII-IX, Freising [Atto's bishopric]), which contains books XII-XVII.

Script and hands: Caroline minuscule from several hands. Corrections and interlinear glosses by a later Caroline hand, *F_b²*; on f. 93r a Latin-German gloss from 11th c. (*grint glabrus*) and on f. 178r a hard-to-read gloss in hard point. On f. 239r a marginal note from the bishop of Freising Johannes Grünwalder (s. XV).

Paratexts: version *B* of the *tabulae capitulorum* at the beginning of book XVIII; 'Gassia-series' annotations to book I.

Book I: covers ff. 1v-18r; no coeval chapter division.

O₁ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 120, years 842-855, orig. Würzburg cathedral (commissioned by bishop Gozbaldu), former owner: William Laud (1573-1645)⁴⁸.

Content: f. 1r-v: unpublished *Sermo de nativitate* added by a 10th c.-hand; ff. 2r-164v: *ciu.* I-VII; missing leaf between ff. 161 and 162, which caused the loss of *ciu.* VII 29-31 (I 312, 14 *omnis animae et* - I 314, 21 *eius unicus filius*). Its complementary volume, commissioned by bishop Gozbaldu as well (*O₂* Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud misc. 135, years 825-855 [more probably 825-842], Niederaltaich), contains books VIII-XVIII. On f. 164v, addition on a previously blank space of a liturgical fragment for St. Nicholas, with typical Würzburg 11th-c. neumatic notation.

Script and hands: according to Daniela Mairhofer, from a paleographical point of view, the MS. can be divided into three sections: 1) f. 2r-v, l. 4, transcribed by a hand belonging to the late 'Hunbert-Gruppe'; 2) ff. 2v-98v copied by a hand ascribed by Bischoff to the 'II Gozbaldu-Gruppe', occasionally interrupted; 3) from f. 98v to the end, several hands belonging to 'II Gozbaldu-Gruppe', occasionally interrupted. The MS. has been systematically corrected and formally checked (punctuation, orthography) by a group of hands very close to those responsible for the main text (*O₁²*)⁴⁹.

Book I: ff. 2v-27r. No chapter division.

b Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2051, s. IX^{med}, orig. North-Western France (Brittany?), prov. from the same library as Paris, BnF, lat. 1869 (s. IX); former owner: Antoine Faure (1628-1689)⁵⁰.

Content: *ciu.* books I-XXII; on f. 259rb the text of *ciu.* XXI 18 breaks off at II 523, 23 *quia hoc praedixit Deus* and is interpolated without any heading or mark with a passage from book XXII 8, which continues until f. 260ra (II 566, 7 *quisquis adhuc prodigia* - II 568, 33 *Alexandrino adistente ipsi sinum* [secarent add. b²]). This interpolation is followed by excerpts from two Origenian homilies translated by Rufinus: Orig. *hom in Ios.* 15, 5 (GCS VII 2, p. 389, 25 - 391, 20); *hom in Lev.* 3, 4 (GCS VI, p. 307, 19-24). Then, on f. 260va, the text of *ciu.* XXI 18 resumes from where it was interrupted (II 523, 23 *quod uere digni erant*). The interpolated passage from *ciu.* XXII is also copied in its original position (book XXII 8) on ff. 270ra-vb⁵¹.

47. CLA IX 1257; BISCHOFF II 3017; HÜWA V/2, p. 316-317; BStK III, p. 1031-1033, n. 515 I-II; B. BISCHOFF, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in Der Karolingerzeit*, vol. I, Wiesbaden, 1974³, p. 89-90; K. BIERBRAUER, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Textband* (Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 1), Wiesbaden, 1990, p. 33, n. 49 (years 825-835); G. GLAUCHE, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München. Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising*, vol. I: Clm 6201-6316 (Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Monacensis; T. 3, Ser. nov. Ps. 2,1), Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 120-122.

48. BISCHOFF II 3829; HÜWA II/2, p. 269; B. BISCHOFF - J. HOFFMANN, *Libri Sancti Kyliani. Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg, 1952, p. 42, 133; D. E. MAIRHOFER, *Medieval Manuscripts from Würzburg in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 2014, p. 366-374.

49. M. GIANI, «La copia del *De civitate Dei* commissionata da Gozbaldo di Würzburg», *Segno e Testo*, 20, 2023 [forthc.].

50. BISCHOFF III 4125; <https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc1042256> (description by L. Albiero).

51. COLOMBI, «Assetto» cit., p. 210-213.

Script and hands: regular Caroline minuscule from several hands. Frequent corrections by a Caroline hand (*b*²), very close to the main scribe, based on another exemplar; several marginalia, *maniculae*, corrections (mainly word divisions and letter shapes) and glosses by a later hand.

Paratexts: version *B* of the *tabula capitulorum* for book XVIII, copied right before this book; ‘series-D’ annotations to books XX-XXII.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-11v, no coeval chapter division. Several marginal signs by 9th-c. hands, such as crosses and *Nota*-signs.

d Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2053, s. IX^{4/4} (or IX-X), orig. Northern France (?), former owner: Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683)⁵².

Content: *ciu.* I-VIII; *lacuna* of *ciu.* I 16-26 (I 28, 13 *in corpore alieno perpetrari* - I 42, 9-10 *hoc modis omnibus ad...*) not caused by mechanical damage in this very MS. The textual loss occurs on f. 8r and is not marked by any sign or annotation.

Book I: covers ff. 1r-11v. Two sets of *marginalia*, one coeval and one later (11th c.?). The hand that copied the latter added the chapter numbering and the headings of *tabulae A*, until ch. 16.

C Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12214 + Sankt Peterburg, Rossijskaja Nacional'naja Biblioteka, Q.v.I.4, s. VI (VI² [Licht]), orig. Northern Italy (Ravenna [Cavallo, Licht]), prov. Laon area (s. VIII), Corbie (s. IX), Saint-Germain-des-Prés⁵³.

Content: *ciu.* books I-X (I-IX Paris MS.; X Sankt Peterburg MS.). The central bifolia of the sixth gathering (ff. 33-36) are mixed up (ff. 35-33-36-34), causing the following textual inversions: f. 32 ends with *ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 11 *quod nullo contrectantur*), f. 35 covers *ciu.* I 19-20 (I 33, 15 *adulterum pertulit* - I 34, 32-35, 1 *tu inquit*); f. 33 covers *ciu.* I 18-19 (I 30, 11 *adtactu* - I 31, 26 *animorum diuersitate*); f. 36 covers *ciu.* I 20-22 (I 35, 1 *quod seminas* - I 36, 25 *feri pu...*); f. 34 covers *ciu.* I 19 (I 31, 26 *ageretur* - I 33, 14 *ipsam quoniam*), f. 37 starts again with *ciu.* I 22 (I 36, 25 *...tandum est*); modern foliation follows the original sequence.

Early history: The MS. was in the vicinities of Laon in the 8th century and in Corbie by the 9th (cfr. *Script and hands*).

Script and hands: half-uncial, by two scribes, according to Ronconi (A: ff. 1-32v, 117r-278v; B: 35r-116v). Corrections (by a roughly contemporary hand [according to Pecere, cfr. *ex exemplar* (sic) *contuli*, f. 319r] or a 6-7th-century hand [according to Lowe] - *C*²) in a sloping quarter of uncial, responsible for the *contuli* at the end of each book. Rare annotations by an 8th-century hand in Laon *az*-script and several corrections in 9th-c. Corbie script (*C*³). The last one sometimes imitates the half-uncial of the main hands.

Paratexts: *tabulae capitulorum A* for books I-X are copied by one of the two hands responsible for the main text in gatherings added at the beginning of the MS., together with the *retr.* excerpt pertaining to *ciu.* (II 43) and a note explaining the ratio of the addition.

Book I: covers ff. 15r-47r; paragraphs are divided and numbered according to *tabulae A*; *C*² corrects the errors and adds *Nota*-signs and several *marginalia*; *C*³ corrects the text using another MS.

S Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 177, years 829-857, orig. Auxerre (commissioned by bishop Heribald)⁵⁴.

Content: *ciu.* I-XIV. Gatherings numbered X and XVII went lost, provoking the *lacunae* of *ciu.* IV 29 - V 9 (I 183, 13 *consuetudinem ciuitatis* - I 203, 7 *illud temptauit*) and VIII 5-18 (I 327, 10 *uelut honesta* - I 348, 16 *interuenientibus inimici*). The main body of the MS. is bound together with a gathering made of 6 paper leaves, where the collation of a *membranaceus codex*, to be identified with *S* itself, against a *papyraceus* (i.e. paper) one, possibly to be identified with a 15th-century codex still preserved in Sankt Gallen under the shelfmark 179, is transcribed by a 18th-century (?) hand, limited to *ciu.* I and part of book II.

52. BISCHOFF III 4126; <https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc104227r>.

53. *CLA* V 635 and XI **635; BISCHOFF III 4771a; *HÜWA* XI, p. 206; D. GANZ, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Beihefte der Francia, 20), Sigmaringen, 1990, p. 127; O. PECERE - F. RONCONI, «Le opere dei padri della chiesa tra produzione e ricezione: la testimonianza di alcuni manoscritti tardo antichi di Agostino e Girolamo», *Antiquité Tardive*, 18, 2010, p. 75-113, here p. 94-103; O. PECERE, «*Emendatio* di produzione ed *emendatio* diacronica nei codici latini *antiquiores*», *Segno e Testo*, 15, 2017, p. 181-245, here p. 186-187; LICHT, *Halbunziale* cit., p. 202-203.

54. BISCHOFF III 5635; *HÜWA* IX/2, p. 136; G. SCHERRER, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Halle, 1875, p. 63; M. GIANI, «Reading and Copying Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* in 9th-century Sankt Gallen», *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, n. s., 18 (2023), p. 337-371; <http://e-codices.ch/en/list/one/csg/0177>.

Early history: bequeathed by bishop Heribald to Saint-Étienne of Auxerre. According to Anna Grotans, the MS. displays handwritten annotations by Ekkehard IV, which entails that it entered Sankt Gallen's library by the first half of the 11th century⁵⁵. Be that as it may, it must have ended up there no later than the 13th century, when the *ex libris* was added on p. 1.

Book I: covers pp. 2-39, with very few glosses and corrections in coeval and later Caroline script. No chapter division.

T Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds ancien 119, s. IX^{med(-3/4)}, orig. Paris, Saint-Germain-des-Prés (?) (Bischoff), prov. Saint-Germain, Auxerre; former owners: Pierre Pithou (1539-1596); François Pithou (1543-1621); Bibliothèque du collège de l'Oratoire de Troyes⁵⁶.

Content: *ciu.* I-XXII, heavily lacunal (books XII-XVI completely missing) and lacking the end. The text breaks off on f. 139v at *ciu.* XI 33 (I 509, 17 *non est inutiliter*); on f. 140r it resumes from *ciu.* XVII 23 (II 254, 5 *erat omnes undique*), on f. 251v the text ends with *ciu.* XXII 30 (II 632, 26 *peccare non posset atque*).

Book I: covers ff. 1r-15v; no coeval chapter division. The quality of the reproduction does not allow to set a clear distinction between the hands that intervened on the text; nonetheless, some *marginalia* were surely added by a later hand.

Ba Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Capitolare di San Pietro C 99, s. IX^{med}, orig. Wissembourg⁵⁷.

Content: ff. 1v-178r: *ciu.* I-X; on f. 178r magical *characteres ad fluxum sanguinis restringendum*, added by a later hand.

Paratexts: 'series-A' annotations mingled with 'Gassia' annotations.

Book I: ff. 1v-17v; emendations by a 9th-century hand (*Ba*²). A cursive 15th-c. (?) hand divides the text into chapters according to *tabulae A* and adds several *marginalia*.

Va Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 426, s. IX^{2/4}, orig. Bodensee⁵⁸.

Content: *ciu.* books I-X; *ciu.* V 11-21 (I 210, 27 *ualetudinem propagationis* - 232, 25 *nisi Deo uero*) is missing, due to the loss of the eleventh gathering (the tenth according to coeval numbering), between ff. 78v and 79r.

Paratexts: *tabula capitulorum A* for book XVIII and *retr.* II 43 added at the beginning of the volume, not long after the main text was copied; 'series-A' annotations mixed with 'Gassia-series' annotations.

Book I: ff. 5r-23v. No chapter division; emendations by a 9th-c. hand (*Va*²). The first gathering was replaced soon after the completion of the MS.

Ve Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXI (52), s. IX^{4/4} (Gavinelli), orig. Vercelli⁵⁹.

Content: *ciu.* I-XXII. The upper margin of the volume is heavily damaged, owing to humidity and mold; hence, the first lines of each page are illegible.

Script and hands: according to Gavinelli, the text was copied by two hands (A: ff. 1r-277v; B: ff. 278r-337r); it bears marginal annotations by bishop Leo of Vercelli (998-1026) and by other 11th-century annotators.

Paratexts: version *B* of the *tabulae capitulorum* for book XVIII, placed at the beginning of the book itself.

Book I: ff. 1r-16r. No chapter division; a Caroline hand (*Ve*²) and later hands intervene on the text and add *marginalia*.

55. A. GROTRANS, «*Sih dir selbo lector. Cues for Reading in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century St. Gall*», *Scriptorium*, 51, 1997, p. 251-302, here p. 291-292. In contrast, cfr. H. EISENHUT, «Handschriften mit Spuren Ekkeharts IV. von St. Gallen», in *Ekkehart IV. von St. Gallen* (Lingua Historica Germanica 8), ed. N. Kössinger - E. Krotz - S. Müller, Berlin-Boston, 2016, p. 133-152, here p. 143.

56. BISCHOFF III 6243; *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. II: Troyes, Paris, 1855, p. 63-64 (according to this catalogue, the manuscript once transmitted also Jerome's epistles).

57. BISCHOFF III 6410; *HÜWA* I/2, p. 303.

58. BISCHOFF III 6835; *HÜWA* I/2, p. 255; M. VATTASSO - P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Codices Vaticani latini*, vol. I: *Codices I-678*, Roma, 1902, p. 326; GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 335-341.

59. *HÜWA* I/2, p. 373; *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia. Opera fondata da Giuseppe Mazzatinti*, vol. XXXI: *Inventario dei manoscritti dell'Archivio Capitolare di Vercelli*, ed. R. Pastè, Firenze, 1924, p. 22-23; GAVINELLI, «Tradizioni testuali carolinghe» cit., p. 273-274.

W_{2a} Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 16 Weiss., ff. 1v-87v, s. IX^{3(-4)/4}, orig. Wissembourg⁶⁰.

Content: *ciu.* I-IV 11; the last two quires (ff. 72-79, 80-87) are inverted: f. 71v ends with *ciu.* III 31 (I 145, 11 *in terris litoribus*); ff. 72r-79v transmit *ciu.* IV 11-26 (I 161, 30 ...*terim quaero quid* - I 178, 18 *in senatum nuntiare*); ff. 80r-87v *ciu.* III 31 - IV 11 (I 145, 11 *proximis tunc Uticae* [*utique W_{2a}*] - I 161, 30 *sit nondum in...*). *W_{2a}* is bound together with another exemplar, copied in the same milieu and around the same years, *W_{2b}* (ff. 88r-95v; *ciu.* II 26 - III 12).

Script and hands: regular Caroline minuscule by several hands.

Paratexts: ‘series-A’ annotations mingled with ‘*Gassia*’ annotations.

Book I: ff. 1v-27v. No chapter division.

II. - STEMMATICAL ANALYSIS: FAMILIES θ , γ , η , AND ϕ

A. Family θ

θ matches exactly what I have previously identified as group *Ila*⁶¹, based essentially on Colombi and Keskiaho’s research on paratexts, annotations, and editorial arrangement of the earliest witnesses⁶². This family includes *Au Bx Lu* and *Va*. The last one, from which *Ba* and *W_{2a}* stemmed, was corrected on the basis of a γ -copy, as I have shown in a previous article⁶³. Therefore, its *descripti* sometimes agree with θ (*Va Ba W_{2a}*), sometimes with γ (*Va² Ba W_{2a}*). *K* and its *descriptus Ca* also entertain a (looser) stemmatical relation with θ , which I have discussed at length elsewhere⁶⁴.

Au Bx Lu share a macrostructural disruption due to a binding error in their common ancestor⁶⁵, whilst *Va* and its descendants do not, as the latter’s first gathering (where the disruption occurred) was replaced shortly after the manuscript was completed⁶⁶. The table below provides the textual sequence of *Au Bx Lu*. The roman numerals in the first column correspond to the original order of textual blocks, the length of which is also given (expressed in number of characters).

I	<i>ciu.</i> I praef. <i>Gloriosissimam</i> (I 3, 10) - I 1 <i>illud uero quod</i> (I 5, 7) ⁶⁷	ca. 2500 characters
IV	<i>ciu.</i> I 8 <i>etiam in his</i> (I 13, 13) - <i>ciu.</i> I 9 <i>consequendam</i> (I 16, 23) ⁶⁸	ca. 4730 characters
III	<i>ciu.</i> I 4 <i>ibi clausa</i> (I 9, 17) - I 8 <i>Deus saepe</i> (I 13, 13) ⁶⁹	ca. 4730 characters
II	<i>ciu.</i> I 1 <i>uel ubicumque</i> (I 5, 7) - I 4 <i>seruata libertas</i> (I 9, 17) ⁷⁰	ca. 4820 characters
V	<i>ciu.</i> I 9 <i>si nollent esse socii...</i> (I 16, 23)	...

Since the mixed-up portions almost coincide in length and the first segment counts for around a half of segments II, III, and IV, the disarray likely derives from a codicological issue. Misplaced portions IV and II were possibly transcribed on the second and third bifolia of θ ’s (or its ancestor’s) first quire, portion III on the fourth and central bifolium. The textual confusion may depend from the fact that the second and third bifolia were folded in the wrong direction, as outlined in the following scheme, where the numbers mark the original order of each folium, and letters A-D the original sequence of the bifolia⁷¹.

60. BISCHOFF III 7368; *HÜWA* V/2, p. 527; H. BUTZMANN, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: Neue Reihe, Bd. 10), Frankfurt am Main, 1964, p. 125; <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/16-weiss/start.htm>.

61. GIANI, «The Transmission» cit., p. 129-132.

62. COLOMBI, «Assetto» cit.; EAD., «Titoli e capitoli» cit.; KESKIAHO, «Copied Marginal Annotations» cit.

63. GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 344-354.

64. GIANI, «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit.

65. See also KESKIAHO, «Copied Marginal Annotations» cit., p. 286, n. 40; GIANI, «The Transmission» cit., p. 130; EAD., «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 351-353.

66. GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 351-353.

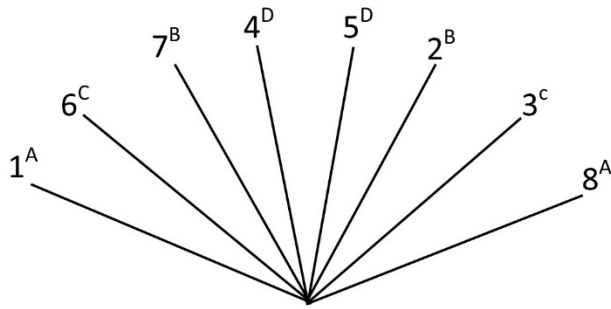
67. The textual break occurs in *Bx* on f. 1r, in *Lu* on f. 1v, in *Au* on f. 2r.

68. The textual break occurs in *Bx* on f. 1v, in *Lu* on f. 2v, in *Au* on f. 3v.

69. The textual break occurs in *Bx* on f. 2v, in *Lu* on f. 3v, in *Au* on f. 4v.

70. The textual break occurs in *Bx* on f. 3r, in *Lu* on f. 4v, in *Au* on f. 5v.

71. This scenario implies that the amount of text represented by the initial non-misplaced portion corresponds to an entire folio (*recto plus verso*). If we postulated that this portion corresponds to a page only, the swap of II and IV would involve a single folio (III) bound in the middle of a quire, which, codicologically speaking, sounds very odd. Since in θ the text of the *accessus* (ca 700 letters; cfr. infra)



Bx Lu Au also share another textual inversion, this time in book VII:

I <i>ciu.</i> VII 7 <i>nisi terminetur exultat</i> (I 283, 26-27) ⁷²	...
III	<i>ciu.</i> VII 9 <i>quidquid hoc non est</i> (I 286, 14-15) - VII 11 <i>hoc agat non saltem</i> (I 289, 6) ⁷³	ca. 3600 characters
II	<i>ciu.</i> VII 8 <i>sed iam bifrontis simulacri</i> (I 283, 31) - VII 9 <i>iste definiuit ac per hoc</i> (I 286, 14) ⁷⁴	ca. 3400 characters
IV	<i>ciu.</i> VII 11 <i>cum coniuge sua</i> (I 289, 6)...	...

Here there is a simple inversion of two textual portions, which can be interpreted as the inversion of two components of a central bifolio in a given gathering. The textual portion contained in each purported folium is longer than what is suggested by the previous disruption: on average 3500 characters. Therefore, the first and the second transpositions most likely occurred in two distinct ancestors of θ (or in an ancestor and in θ itself)⁷⁵.

Au Lu Bx (and, occasionally, *Va* and its descendants, and *K* and its *descriptus Ca*⁷⁶) also share several secondary readings⁷⁷. The strongest are:

was probably copied as well, we can imagine that it covered the verso of a single folio bound at the beginning of the gathering, possibly in a distinctive script (see e.g. the heading of MS. K).

72. The textual break occurs in *Au* on f. 118r, in *Bx* on f. 59r, in *Lu* on f. 67r.

73. The textual break occurs in *Au* on f. 119v, in *Bx* on f. 59v, in *Lu* on f. 67v.

74. The textual break occurs in *Au* on f. 120r, in *Bx* on f. 60r, in *Lu* on f. 68r.

75. Alternatively, θ or one of its ancestors was made by juxtaposing multiple exemplars (possibly one for books I-V and the other for books VI-X), in different scripts and/or variously dated. The situation of *Au* looks more complicated, for the textual inversion in book VII is framed within a broader problem of folia-inversions that involves books VII, IX and X (the last one being only partly copied in *Au*). I outline below the *loci* where two non-contiguous textual units are adjacent, preceded by a number indicating the original order of the fragments: f. 91r: 1. *ciu.* VII 4 *cogerentur esse perfecti* (I 279, 17-18) // 10. *ciu.* X 11 *ducere non morentur* (I 420, 3); f. 93r: *ciu.* X 15 *humanae linguae uocibus loqueretur* (I 425, 16-17) // 6. *ciu.* VII 24 *utrum enim sequendo* (I 305, 25); f. 117r: *ciu.* IX 5 *qui huius sectae primas habuerunt* (I 375, 21-22) // 2. *ciu.* VII 4 *uerum tamen uix* (I 279, 18); f. 118r: *ciu.* VII 7 *nisi terminetur exultat* (I 283, 26-27) // 4. *ciu.* VII 9 *quidquid hoc non est* (I 286, 14-15); f. 119v: *ciu.* VII 11 *et hoc agat non saltem* (I 289, 6) // 3. *ciu.* VII 8 *sed iam bifrontis simulacri* (I 283, 31); f. 120r: *ciu.* VII 9 *iste definiuit ac per hoc* (I 286, 14) // 5. *ciu.* VII 11 *cum coniuge sua* (I 289, 6); f. 125r: *ciu.* VII 24 *semine faciat indigere* (I 305, 25) // 8. *ciu.* IX 21 *ut eidem Domino infirmitate carnis* (I 395, 25-26) - end of book IX *diligentius disseremus* (I 400, 22). 7. *ciu.* IX 5-21 (I 375, 22 *huiusce modi passiones* - I 395, 25 *hoc ita sciunt*) missing. 9. *ciu.* X 1-11 (I 400, 31 *omnium certa* - I 420, 3 *concupitus quoslibet*) missing. It seems that the misplacement involved an entire gathering (nn. 2-5), in the middle of which the inversion of folia shared with *Bx* and *Lu* occurred (nn. 3-4). As *Au* does not witness to book X in its entirety, it is difficult to further expound on the origin of the corruption.

76. For which see GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 344-354 and EAD., «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit. respectively.

77. When reporting θ γ and η 's secondary readings, as well as their descendants', I provide a negative apparatus and suppress those variants pertaining to the same *locus criticus* that do not actually have to do with the family under discussion. I also avoid registering the *lacunae* of those MSS. that are not part of the family and omit discussing the discrepancies with the apparatus of Dombart-Kalb's edition. This decision is based on the need to provide the readers with the neatest data possible, so that they are not distracted by unnecessary information. The same applies when I list separate *lectiones singulares* of a given MS. Instead, I provide a positive apparatus, discuss the discrepancies with the edition, and register the *lacunae* affecting all copies when reporting ϕ 's secondary readings and discussing the upper layer of the stemma. Lastly, I generally do not register purely orthographic variations, such as monophthongizations and diphthongations, sonorizations of voiceless consonants (es. *c>g*) dissimilations and assimilations (es. *bp/pp*).

ciu. I 13 (I 24, 26-30) Ac per hoc quando ista cadaueribus Christianorum in illa magnae urbis uel etiam aliorum oppidorum uastatione defuerunt, nec uiuorum culpa est, qui non potuerunt ista praebere, nec poena mortuorum, qui non possunt ista sentire.

sentire] transire *Au Bx Lu Va* (*corr. Va²*)

ciu. I 20 (I 34, 29-31) Nam et hoc genus rerum, quamuis non sentiat, dicitur uiuere ac per hoc potest et mori, proinde etiam, cum uis adhibetur, occidi.

quamuis... ac per] *om. Au Bx Lu* (*corr. Lu²*) *Va* (*corr. Va²*)

ciu. I 23 (I 38, 9-10) Hoc et ipse Cato in suo carissimo filio iudicauit.

*Bx deest*⁷⁸

filio] *om. Au Lu Va* (*corr. Va²*) *K* (*corr. K²*)

To give an idea of the nature and frequency of less relevant shared errors and *adiaphora* variants, I provide below a sample from *ciu.* I 1 to I 18.

ciu. I 6 (I 11, 12) se] *om. Au Lu Bx* : *del. Pl*; *ciu.* I 8 (I 13, 9) uel] *om. Au Lu Bx Va Ba* (*corr. Ba²*) *K* (*add. K²?*) *Ca*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 16, 31) huius] huiusce *Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a} K Ca Pl Le*; *ciu.* I 12 (I 23, 10) reformatio] formatio *Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a}*; *ciu.* I 13 (I 23, 27) cum] dum *Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a} K Ca Pl Le*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 27, 16) hinc] ex hinc *Au Lu Bx Va* (*corr. Va²*) *K Pl²* : **hinc *Ca*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 27, 20) per] *om. Au Lu Bx Va* (*corr. Va²*); *ciu.* I 18 (I 29, 23) perdere se] se perdere *Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a}*

Pl and *Le*, two closely related copies mainly belonging to family η , as we will see, co-occur with θ in a number of secondary readings, which may suggest that they experienced some kind of horizontal contact with the last one, though the quality and quantity of these readings is not sufficient to state it with certainty.

In addition, six errors and variants are shared by all θ -MSS. with the exception of *Lu*, which, in my view, are not sufficiently significant to imply the existence of a common ancestor for *Au Bx Va*. Almost all of them are *sauts du même au même*, which, besides being polygenetic (they are shared once by *Bs Ve* and once by *b* too), are also very easy to spot and correct by a scribe who had another witness at his disposal, with the intention of emending only the most blatant errors. Since contamination is pervasive in this transmission, and given that in book XVIII the text of *Lu* is probably contaminated⁷⁹, for now I prefer to attribute these variants to polygenesis and contamination, rather than postulate a sub-family.

ciu. I 22 (I 36, 15-16) Quamquam si rationem diligentius consulas, ne ipsa quidem animi magnitudo recte nominabitur...

Bx deest

magnitudo] magni *Au Va* (*corr. Va²*)

ciu. I 24 (I 39, 24-25) Porro si fortissimi et praeclarissimi uiri terrena patriae defensores...

Bx deest

praeclarissimi] clarissimi *Au Va Ba W_{2a}*

ciu. I 25 (I 40, 23-26) Nonne si tantum dominatur iniquitas, ut non innocentia, sed peccata potius eligantur, satius est incertum de futuro adulterium quam certum de praesenti homicidium?

de... certum] *om. Au Bx Va* (*corr. Va²*)

ciu. I 28 (I 44, 25-27) Quarum uero corda interrogata respondent numquam se de bono uirginitatis uel uiduitatis uel coniugalis pudicitiae superbisse...

uel uiduitatis] *om. Au Bx Va* (*corr. Va²*) *Bs Ve*

78. Here and elsewhere, *deest* should be understood in reference to the *locus criticus* only. Therefore, it does not necessarily apply to the quoted passage in its entirety.

79. M. GIANI, *Il «Liber glossarum» e la tradizione altomedievale di Agostino* (OPA. Opere Perdute e Anonime [secoli III-XV] 1), Firenze, 2021, p. 294.

ciu. I 33 (I 50, 20-23) ...sed luxuriam quaeritis impunitam, qui deprauati rebus prosperis nec corrigi potuistis aduersis. Volebat uos ille Scipio terri ab hoste, ne in luxuriam flueretis...
quaeritis... luxuriam] *om. Au Bx Va (corr. Va²)*

ciu. I 35 (I 51, 20) ...qui etiam cum ipsis inimicis aduersus Deum...
inimicis] *om. Au Bx Va (corr. Va²) b (corr. b²)*

Lastly, all θ -copies display their own firmly separative errors⁸⁰.

Concerning paratexts, θ was provided with a brief *accessus* and characteristic sets of marginal annotations and incipit/explicit formulae, all reflected in the copy derived from it. As a matter of fact, θ -MSS. share:

- 1) The same liminal text, a brief content summary at the beginning of the work, published for the first time by Cyrille Lambot from Reims, BM, 403, f. 240 (12th c., Italy), where it was copied as colophon⁸¹. Compared to Lambot's text, θ interpolates an out-of-context gloss on the oleaster, which was noticed and discussed for the first time by Colombi, who read it in *Lu*⁸². Actually, the *accessus* is witnessed by *Au* as well⁸³; *Bx* and *Va* do not transmit it, as the former is acephalous and the first gathering of the latter was replaced soon after its completion⁸⁴.
- 2) The same set of copied marginal annotations, hitherto unpublished and described for the first time by Keskiaho, who named it 'series-A'. It runs along the margins of *Bx* and *Lu* in its pure form, whilst in *Va* and its *descripti* it is mixed with annotations from the so-called 'Gassia-series'⁸⁵. *Au* does not contain coeval content-related glosses.
- 3) The same set of incipit/explicit formulations, marking the passage from a given book to the next one. They are generally succinct (e.g. *Explicit liber secundus. Incipit liber tertius*), with the exception of the breaks between books VI and VII and between IX and X, where the following elaborate sentences are found⁸⁶:

Sancti Augustini episcopi (episcopi *om. Lu*) ecclesiae catholicae contra paganos liber sextus domino adiuuante finitus est. Incipit liber septimus *Au Bx Lu Va Ba*

80. I provide here a sample of *Au*'s separative errors from *ciu.* I 1 to I 10 (see also n. @): *ciu.* I 1 (I 5, 7) [*Bx deest*] usus alios] usuras alios uel aliorum *Au*; *ciu.* I 3 (I 8, 7) uoluisse] noluisse *Au*; *ciu.* I 4 (I 9, 27) descripsit] quem scripsit *Au*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 12) euersor] *om. Au*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 14, 22-23) [*Bx deest*] atque execrabiles... conterit terras] *om. non per homoiot. Au*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 13) auertant] infirmant *Au*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 18, 13) haec] habet *Au*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 19, 11) paulinus] paulus *Au*; a sample of *Bx*'s separative errors from *ciu.* I 1 to *ciu.* I 10: *ciu.* I 7 (I 12, 2-4) et decernerentur... ducerentur] *om. per homoiot. Bx*; *ciu.* I 8 (I 13, 3-4) impiis.. mala] *om. per homoiot. Bx*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 17, 13) mali] *om. Bx*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 19, 19) suo] *om. Bx*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 20, 6) illa bona] bona illa *Bx*. Since the sample of *Lu*'s separative errors from *ciu.* I 1 to *ciu.* I 10 includes only *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 18) boni] *om. Lu*, I also report the following firmly separative errors taken from other paragraphs: *ciu.* I 22 (I 36, 14) [*Bx deest*] mirandi] mirandi pulcherrime *Lu*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 40, 22) postea forte peccemus] forcemus *Lu^{a.c.}* : fornicemus *Lu^{p.c.}*.

81. C. LAMBOT, «Lettre inédite de s. Augustin relative au *De civitate Dei*», *Revue Bénédictine*, 51, 1939, p. 109-121, here p. 118-119, reprinted in *PL Suppl.*, vol. II, col. 1375. The same content summary can be found also in Par. lat. 2056, f. 323rb (11th c., Italy), as pointed out by COLOMBI, «Assetto» cit., p. 235.

82. COLOMBI, «Assetto» cit., p. 232-236.

83. I provide here a diplomatic transcription of the form witnessed by *Au* (with the main variants of *Lu* - already transcribed by Colombi - between brackets). I have adapted the orthography to classical use. Numerals are transcribed according to *Au*. *In hoc codice continentur sancti Augustini contra paganos ciuitatis libri numero XXII (X Lu, fortasse recte), id est a primo usque ad X [sibylla dixit cibos eleos quod est interpretatum oleaster]. A primo libro usque ad V, disputatio contra eos qui propter bona uitae huius deos colendos putant; a libro VI usque ad XVI VII (Xmum recte Lu) disputatio aduersus eos qui cultum deorum propter uitam quae post mortem futura est seruandam recte Lu^{p.c.}, non legitur Lu^{a.c.}) existimant, simul et aduersum excellentissimum (intellige excellentissimos : -as Lu^{a.c.} : -am Lu^l) philosophorum qui apud illos clari sunt et qui nobiscum multa sentiunt de animae immortalitate et quod Deus uerus mundum condiderit et de prouidentia eius quae (intellige qua) uniuersa quod (quae recte Lu^l) condidit erigit (intellige regit). A libro uero XV (undecimo recte Lu) usque ad XXII refutatis impiis contradictionibus disputantur (disputatur recte Lu) et astruitur ciuitas Dei ueraque pietas et Dei cultus in quo uno ueraciter sempiterna beatitudo promittitur.*

84. GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 351-353.

85. KESKIAHO, «Copied Marginal Annotations» cit., p. 285-290.

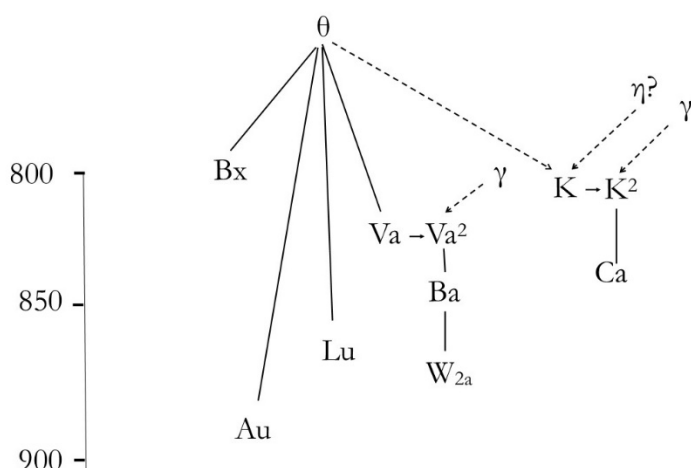
86. Here and elsewhere, in the transcription of incipit/explicit formulations I normalize orthography and punctuation. I always express numbers in letters, avoiding Roman numerals.

Explicit liber nonus. Incipit liber decimus ecclesiae catholicae (cathocae *Bx*) contra paganos de ciuitate Dei Aurelii Augustini episcopi *Au*⁸⁷ *Bx Va Ba* [*Lu non vidi*]

Bx also displays the following elaborate formula between the end of book III and the beginning of book IV, which suggests that θ may reflect an edition of the first nine books in three volumes, with three books each.

Explicit liber tertius incipit liber quartus *Au Va Ba*⁸⁸ : explicit liber tertius incipit liber quartus Aurelii Augustini de ciuitate Dei feliciter *Bx*

In conclusion, genealogical relations internal to family θ can be outlined as follows⁸⁹:



B. Family γ

Family γ includes *Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve Ch*[†] and the contaminated branches *Va*² *Ba W*_{2a} and *K*² *Ca*⁹⁰. The main text of *O₁* underwent a systematic correction campaign (carried out by *O₁*²) not long after it was copied, based on at least another manuscript stemmatically close to *Va* and its descendants⁹¹. It is likely that *Pl Le* also came in contact with γ , both in their common ancestor as well as in *Pl*², the corrector of *Pl*⁹². Besides contamination with *Pl Le*,

87. *Au* copied the formula on f. 126v, though it does not transmit book X.

88. *W*_{2a}, f. 80r leaves a blank space for the formula and the beginning of book IV. The *lacuna* was filled by a much later reader, who adds *finis libri III incipit liber IV*.

89. This stemma is also based on the demonstrations contained in GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 344-354 and EAD., «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit.

90. On the contaminated branches, see GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 344-354 and EAD., «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit. respectively.

91. GIANI, «La copia del *De ciuitate Dei*» cit.

92. γ -variants shared by *Pl Le*, or only by one of them are: *ciu.* I 19 (I 32, 8) *lucretiam*] *lucretiam lucretia Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca Pl Le*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 5) *adulterium homicidium*] *adulterium unius homicidium Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca* (*homicidium a.c.*) *Le*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 41, 8) *absque*] *absque ulla Va² Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve Pl*; *ciu.* I 26 (I 41, 29) *legitime*] *legibus Va² Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve Pl* (uel *legitime in marg.*) *Le* : *legi**bus K²? Ca*; *ciu.* I 28 (I 45, 6) *relaxantur*] *reuelantur Ma F_b O₁* (uel *relaxantur O₁² in marg.*) *Bs Ve K² in marg.* : *reuelantur uel relaxantur Pl²*. Other shared variants, possibly polygenetic, are: *ciu.* I 4 (I 9, 27) *hostium*] *hostium et Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K²? Ca Pl² Le*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 2) *fleuisse ruituram*] *fleuisse seruituram Lu^{p.c.} Ma?* (f. *perituram Ma²*) *F_b O₁* (uel *ruituram O₁² in marg.*) *Bs Ve K² Ca Pl^{a.c.}* (uel *ruituram in marg.*) *Le*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 19) *et²*] *est et A² Va² Ba W_{2a} O₁² K Ca Pl Le* : *est Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 30) *rem*] *rem quia A² Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K³? Le³* : *rem qui Le^{a.c.}*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 41, 2) *quae*] *quae in Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca Pl Le*. The number and quality of these variants are not negligible.

the γ family matches the class I have previously named *IIB*⁹³ (*K* and *Ca* being contaminated with γ rather than its direct descendants⁹⁴). γ -MSS. share several secondary readings. The most relevant are:

ciu. I 4 (I 9, 23-26) Nisi forte Graeci quidem in illa sua uictoria templis deorum communium pepercerunt atque illo confugientes miseros uictosque Troianos ferire uel captiuare non ausi sunt, sed Vergilius poetarum more illa mentitus est.

troianos... poetarum] troiarum *Ma* (*corr. Ma*²) *Bs Ve* : troianorum *F_b* (*corr. F_b*²) : troianos** *O₁* (*corr. O₁*²)

This *lacuna*, which is not caused by a homeoteleuton, is likely due to the skipping of a line in γ or in one of its predecessors.

ciu. I 19 (I 32, 27 - 33, 3) Verum tamen si forte ita est falsumque est illud, quod duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit, sed potius ambo adulterium commiserunt, unus manifesta inuasionem, altera latente consensione: non se occidit insontem, et ideo potest a litteratis eius defensoribus dici non esse apud inferos inter illos, *qui sibi letum insontes peperere manu.*

a litteratis] aliter ab *Ma F_b O₁* (uel a litteratis eius *O₁*^{2 in marg.}) *Bs Ve K^{2 in marg.}*

ciu. I 20 (I 34, 25-29) Unde quidam hoc praeceptum etiam in bestias ac pecora conantur extendere, ut ex hoc nullum etiam illorum liceat occidere. Cur non ergo et herbas et quidquid humo radicitus alitur ac figitur?

humo] homo θ (*-Au^{p.c.} Lu¹ Va²*) *K* : horum *Va² Ba W_{2a} Ma* (*corr. Ma*²) *F_b O₁ Bs Ve Ca* (*corr. Ca*³) : al. horum *K^{2 s.l.}*

ciu. I 21 (I 35, 27-30) ...et Abraham non solum non est culpatus crudelitatis crimine, uerum etiam laudatus est nomine pietatis, quod uoluit filium nequaquam scelerate, sed oboedienter occidere...

crudelitatis] *om. Ma* (*corr. Ma*²) *F_b* (*corr. F_b*²) *O₁* (*corr. O₁*²) *Bs Ve*

ciu. I 26 (I 41, 28-30) Nam et miles cum oboediens potestati, sub qualibet legitime constitutus est, hominem occidit, nulla ciuitatis suae lege reus est homicidii...

qualibet] qua *codd. (-L I A)*

legitime] legibus *Va² Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve Pl* (uel legitime ^{in marg.}) *Le* : legi**bus *K²? Ca*

ciu. I 28 (I 45, 5-7) Quaedam enim ueluti pondera malarum cupiditatum et per occultum praesens diuinum iudicium relaxantur et manifesto ultimo reseruantur.

iudicium relaxantur] iudicium reuelantur *Ma F_b O₁* (uel relaxantur *O₁*^{2 in marg.}) *Bs Ve K^{2 in marg.}* : iudicium reuelantur uel relaxantur *Pl²* : iudiciorum *exantur *Le* : iudicium uexantur *Le²*

ciu. I 29 (I 46, 17-24) Nam ista respondet: Deus meus ubique praesens, ubique totus, nusquam inclusus, qui possit adesse secretus, abesse non motus; ille cum me aduersis rebus exagitat, aut merita examinat aut peccata castigat mercedemque mihi aeternam pro toleratis pie malis temporalibus seruat; uos autem qui estis, cum quibus loqui dignum sit saltem de diis uestris, quanto minus de Deo meo, qui *terribilis est super omnes deos*...

minus] magis *Ma F_b O₁* (uel quanto minus *O₁*^{2 in marg.}) *Bs Ve K² Ca*

ciu. I 31 (I 48, 7-8) Minime autem praeualeret ambitio, nisi in populo auaritia luxuriaque corrupto.

ambitio] ab initio *Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve^{a.c.} K^{2 in marg.}*

ciu. I 36 (I 52, 31-32) Hic itaque modus sit huius uoluminis, ut deinceps disposita ab alio sumamus exordio.

disposita] disputata *Ma F_b Bs Ve K^{2 in marg.}* : disputa *O₁^{a.c.}* : disputanda *O₁*² (uel disposita ^{in marg.})

γ -MSS. also share a series of *sauts du même au même*...

93. GIANI, «The Transmission» cit., p. 132-135; EAD., *Il «Liber glossarum»* cit., p. 279-280. It is interesting to note that *O₁* was copied from same edition as *O₂*, since it matches all the former's textual features, and that the first part of *F_b* (books I-XI) certainly derives from the same edition as the second (book XVIII). For the addition of *Ve* to the family, see also M. GIANI, «Book XVIII of Augustine's *De ciuitate Dei* in Four Carolingian Witnesses», in *Studia Patristica. Vol. CXVII - Papers presented at the Eighteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2019*, Vol. XIV: *Augustine of Hippo's «De ciuitate Dei»: Content, Transmission, and Interpretations*, ed. M. Vinzent - A. Dupont - G. Partoens, Leuven, 2021, p. 9-22.

94. GIANI, «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit.

ciu. I 17 (I 29, 11-12) perpetret... in eo] *om. per homoiot. Ma (corr. Ma²) F_b Bs Ve*; atque in se... perpetretur] *om. non per homoiot. O₁ (corr. O₁²); ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 19-20) perdita... etiam] *om. per homoiot. F_b (corr. F_b²) O₁ (corr. O₁²) Bs Ve*; (I 30, 18-20) sanctitate... corpus] *om. per homoiot. Ma (corr. Ma²); ciu.* I 20 (I 34, 10-12) sicut falsum... proximum tuum] *om. per homoiot. Ma (corr. Ma²) F_b (corr. F_b²) O₁ (corr. O₁²) Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 20 (I 34, 14-15) proximum a semet ipso... diliges] *om. per homoiot. Ma (corr. Ma²) F_b (corr. F_b²) O₁ (corr. O₁²) Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 33 (I 50, 23-24) flueretis... luxuriam] *om. per homoiot. Ma F_b O₁ (flueretis nec contritis O₁²) Bs Ve*.

...and several *adiaphora* variants, a sample of which (from *ciu.* I 1 to I 10) is provided below:

ciu. I 1 (I 5, 18) nisi seruos Christi se esse] nisi se seruos Christi esse *Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca^{p.c.}* : nisi seruos Christi esse *Ca*; *ciu.* I 1 (I 5, 22) luce fruere] fruere luce *Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 11) taceri] reticere *Va Ba (taceri^{s.l.}) W_{2a} (taceri^{s.l.}) Ma O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca* : retineri de fabio tarentino urbis euersore *F_b in textu*; *ciu.* I 8 (I 13, 8) sit usus] usus sit *Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K²*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 9) corripiendis] corrigendis *Ma F_b O₁² (uel corripiendis^{in marg.}) Bs Ve K² Ca*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 19, 12) pauperrimus] pauper *Ma (corr. Ma²) F_b O₁ (corr. O₁²) Bs Ve K² Ca*.

Bs and *Ve* are closely related to each other and probably descend from a common ancestor δ^{95} . Besides displaying (together with *K* and *Ca*) the same elaborate *incipit/explicit* formula at the end of book I/beginning of book II⁹⁶ and at the end of book III/beginning of book IV⁹⁷, they consistently share several (mostly minor) errors and variant readings. I provide below a sample, limited to *ciu.* I 1 to I 11:

ciu. I 1 (I 5, 20) tenebris] *om. per homoiot. Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 2 (I 5, 27) et²] *om. Bs^{a.c.} Ve*; *ciu.* I 2 (I 6, 1) uel illo templo] uel in illo templo *I^{a.c.}? A F_b^{a.c.} T β* : uel illo in templo *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 5 (I 10, 5) caedem] caedem ac *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 2) refertur] nonne fertur *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 14) multa] *om. Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 22) in] *om. Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 23-24) caedem uel captiuitatem] ***dem captiuitate(?) uel Bs^{a.c.} : cedem captiuitatem uel Bs² : eadem captiuitate uel Ve*; *ciu.* I 7 (I 12, 2-3) decernerentur] cerne- *Bs^{a.c.} Ve*; *ciu.* I 8 (I 13, 24) distincti] districti *Bs^{a.c.} Ve*; *ciu.* I 8 (I 13, 31) eademque] eadem *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 13) auertant] euertant *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 21) prae se gerunt] praesagarent *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 20, 13-14) quidem utrum] utrum quidem *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 20, 22) fames necauit malis] necauit (neg- *Ve²*) malis fames *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 11 (I 21, 2) quod] quam *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 11 (I 21, 3) uita ista] ista uita *Bs Ve*; *ciu.* I 11 (I 21, 7) incertum est] *om. Bs Ve*

Ve displays the following small separative errors and variant readings on its own:

ciu. I 1 (I 5, 9) ...dicatissimis et amplissimis...
et amplissimis] *om. Ve*

ciu. I 15 (I 25, 31 - 26, 1) At illi eum excogitatis atque horrendis cruciatibus necauerunt.
illi] isti *Ve*

ciu. I 19 (I 31, 21-22) Mirabile dictu, duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit.
mirabile] admirabile *Ve*

Likewise, *Bs* displays a firmly separative error:

ciu. I 20 (I 34, 16-22) Porro si falsi testimonii non minus reus est qui de se ipso falsum fatetur, quam si aduersus proximum hoc faceret, cum in eo praecepto, quo falsum testimonium prohibetur, aduersus proximum prohibeatur possitque non recte intellegentibus uideri non esse prohibitum, ut aduersus se ipsum quisque falsus testis adsistat...

95. This conclusion is consistent with Gavinelli's position, which is based on the collations of sample passages from books I, XI, XVII and XVIII (GAVINELLI, «Tradizioni testuali carolinghe» cit., p. 278, collations on p. 281-284).

96. Explicit liber primus. Incipit liber secundus *Ma F_b O₁*; Explicit liber primus de ciuitate Dei contra paganos Aurelii Augustini. Incipit liber secundus eiusdem *Bs Ve K Ca*.

97. Explicit liber tertius. Incipit liber quartus *Ma F_b O₁*; Explicit liber tertius (tertius *om. K*) sancti (Aurelii *Ca*) Augustini de ciuitate Dei contra paganos (tertius *add. K* : feliciter *add. Ca*). Incipit liber (eiusdem operis *add. Ca*) quartus (tertius *Bs^{a.c.}*) *Bs Ve K Ca*.

aduersus.. prohibeatur (prohibetur *Ba Ve*)] *om. Bs*

F_b and *O_I* share the following six errors (sometimes in agreement with *K²* and *Ca*), which may suggest that they descend from a common ancestor τ :

ciu. I 5 (I 10, 4-5) ...*matres familiarum pati quae uictoribus collibuisset, fana atque domos spoliari...*
fana] *om. F_b^{a.c.} (corr. F_b²) O_I^{a.c.} (corr. O_I²)*

ciu. I 9 (I 14, 25-29) Plerumque enim ab eis docendis ac monendis, aliquando etiam obiurgandis et corripiendis male dissimulatur, uel cum laboris piget, uel cum os eorum uerecundamur offendere, uel cum inimicitias deuitamus, ne impediunt et noceant in istis temporalibus rebus...

Ve deest

os eorum] hos quorum *F_b O_I (corr. O_I^{2 s.l.}) K²? Ca*

ciu. I 10 (I 20, 4-7) Quocirca utiliora erant fortasse tormenta, quae bonum incorruptibile amandum docebant, quam illa bona, quae sine ullo utili fructu dominos sui amore torquebant.

utiliora] uiliora *F_b O_I^{a.c.} K² in marg. Ca*

ciu. I 11 (I 21, 3-4) Quid autem interest, quo mortis genere uita ista finiatur, quando ille, cui finitur, iterum mori non cogitur?

iterum] *om. F_b O_I (corr. O_I²)*

ciu. I 18 (I 30, 10-14) Neque enim eo corpus sanctum est, quod eius membra sunt integra, aut eo, quod nullo contrectantur adtactu, cum possint diuersis casibus etiam uulnerata uim perpeti, et medici aliquando salutem opitulantes haec ibi faciant, quae horret aspectus.

ibi] cibi *F_b K² Ca^{a.c.} : ciui O_I (corr. O_I², uel ibi in marg.)*

ciu. I 26 (I 41, 14-16) ...ut insectatores suae pudicitiae deuitarent, in rapturum atque necaturum se fluuium proiecerunt eoque modo defunctae sunt...

in rapturum... proiecerunt] *om. F_b (corr. F_b²) O_I (corr. O_I²)*

The last two errors are polygenetic: the reading *ciui/cibi*, may have been facilitated by the presence of *haec* before *ibi* (and is also easy to correct) and the other is a *saut du même au même*. *Hos quorum* and *uiliora* may have been errors of γ corrected *ope ingenii* by δ , which seems to have been copied by a thorough scribe⁹⁸. On the other hand, the omissions of *fana* and *iterum* are more difficult to explain as polygenetic errors and they could not have been restored by the scribes in light of the context. Therefore, I consider the presence of a shared hyparchetype τ at the root of *F_b* and *O_I* as probable, though not proven with absolute certainty. Anyway, none of the MSS. is a *descriptus* of the other⁹⁹.

Generally speaking, internal relations between MSS. belonging to γ seem somewhat obscured by *ope ingenii* corrections - and possibly by episodic contamination. The text of *Ma* is telling in this respect, since it shares firmly secondary readings both with δ and τ .

Ma + δ (+ *K² Ca*):

ciu. I 6 (I 10, 26-28) Ita uero, qui ea quae laudarent maxime requirebant, ista praeclarissima secundum ipsos pietatis indicia praeterirent?

qui ea] quae iam *Ma (corr. Ma²) : quae iam iam Bs Ve*

98. Secondary readings shared by *Bs* and *Ve* are mostly additions/suppressions of prepositions, preverbs, and conjunctions, which - at least in several cases - look intentional.

99. Here is a sample of separative errors of *F_b*, from *ciu. I 1* to *I 10*: *ciu. I praef.* (I 3, 18) arduum] excelsum *F_b*; *ciu. I 6* (I 10, 28) indicia praeterirent] indicia praeterirent de marco romano principe qui bellum contra siracusanos gessit *F_b in textu*; *ciu. I 6* (I 11, 11) taceri] reticeri *Va Ba (taceri^{s.l.}) W_{2a} (taceri^{s.l.}) Ma O_I Bs Ve K² Ca* : retineri de fabio tarentino urbis euersore *F_b in textu*; *ciu. I 8* (I 13, 1) quippe] *om. F_b*. Separative errors of *O_I* - which is probably later than *F_b* - are difficult to find out after the thorough review performed by *O_I²*. The only one I have been able to detect is *ciu. I 12* (I 22, 26) quam] quam sub *O_I*.

ciu. I 8 (I 13, 27-32) Nam sicut sub uno igne aurum rutilat palea fumat, et sub eadem tribula stipulae comminuuntur frumenta purgantur, nec ideo cum oleo amurca confunditur, quia eodem preli pondere exprimitur: ita una eademque uis inruens bonos probat purificat eliquat, malos damnat uastat exterminat.

preli] parili *Ma* (corr. *Ma*²) *Bs Ve K² Ca*

ciu. I 10 (20, 31 - 21, 1) Finis autem uitae tam longam quam breuem uitam hoc idem facit.

tam] etiam *Ma* (corr. *Ma*²) *Bs Ve K² Ca*

Ma + τ (+ *K² Ca*):

ciu. I 8 (I 13, 32) uastat] uastat et *Ma F_b K² Ca*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 14, 29) noceant] non eant *Ma^{a.c.} F_b^{a.c.} O_l* (uel noceant *O_l² in marg.*); *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 29) sibi] si *Ma* (corr. *Ma*²) *F_b O_l* (corr. *O_l²*); *ciu.* I 9 (I 16, 31) ideo] adeo *Ma F_b O_l* (corr. *O_l²*) *K²? Ca*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 20, 12) esse] se *Ma* (corr. *Ma*²) *F_b O_l* (corr. *O_l²*); *ciu.* I 19 (I 31, 10) hi] hi qui *Ma* (corr. *Ma*²) *F_b O_l* (corr. *O_l²*) *K² Ca^{a.c.}*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 32, 8) interemit] intremit *Ma O_l^{a.c.}* : intremitur *F_b*; *ciu.* I 23 (I 38, 8) honestas] honesta set *Ma* : honesta sed *F_b O_l* (uel non honestas turpia *O_l²*); *ciu.* I 23 (I 38, 15) cato] si cato *Ma* (corr. *Ma*²) *F_b K²? Ca^{a.c.}* : ** cato *O_l*; *ciu.* I 24 (I 39, 27) iuratores] adiutores *Ma* (corr. *Ma*²) *F_b O_l* (uel iuratores *O_l² in marg.*) *K² Ca* : adiutores *Pl²*; *ciu.* I 31 (I 48, 29) si] *om. Ma F_b O_l^{a.c.}*; *ciu.* I 32 (I 49, 15) pestilentiam] pestilentiam ut *Ma^{a.c.} O_l^{a.c.} F_b K² Ca^{a.c.}*; *ciu.* I 33 (I 50, 20) pacatam] pacare *Ma F_b O_l* (uel pacatam *O_l²*) *K² in marg.?*

These readings suggest that either *Ma* depends on two different exemplars that belonged to γ (a relative of δ, a Northern-Italian family, and a relative of τ, a Bavarian group), or *ope ingenii* corrections - and, possibly, episodic contamination - obscured the stemmatical relations, which is more likely historically and philologically speaking (*Ma* was produced in San Millán de la Cogolla in 977/8). The majority of these readings is indeed reversible: the ones shared by *Ma* and τ were probably already in γ and have been corrected by δ. The last one, as we have seen, heavily intervened on the text with a series of small adjustments. The same applies to the three errors shared by *Ma* and δ, two of which are easy to correct even for a non-interventist copyist such as τ.

As we can observe by browsing the variant readings listed above, *K² Ca* sometimes agree in secondary, mostly reversible, readings with δ, sometimes with τ. The stemmatical position of *K²* - and, consequently, of its *descriptus Ca* - is likely akin to the one of *Ma*: they reflect readings of γ independently corrected by δ and τ. If this scenario is proven to be true, *Ma* and *K²* would be the most accurate witnesses of γ, despite being, respectively, the youngest and a corrector. Contrary to *K²*, who introduces *in textu* or in the margins of *K* many blatant corruptions, *Va²* accurately corrects its text by introducing only plausible readings¹⁰⁰. Therefore, it is less faithful in reflecting the original text of γ.

Concerning paratexts, γ was characterized by a typical heading and the same sets of marginal annotations and *tabulae capitulorum*¹⁰¹. Its descendants share:

- 1) The following heading, which does not appear in *O_l* and *Ca*, as they start *ex abrupto* with the prologue of *ciu.*

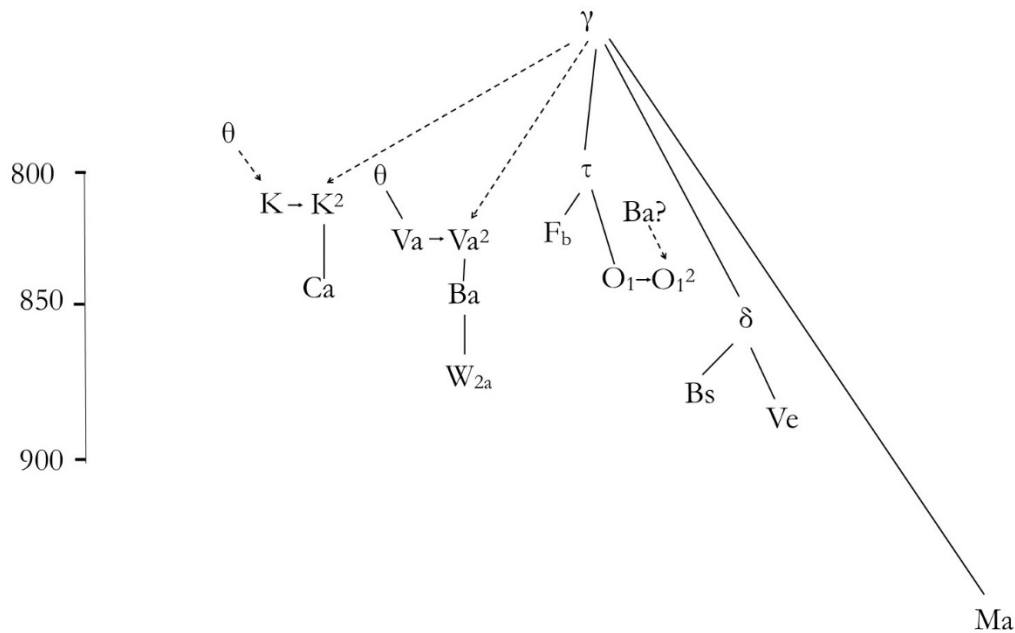
In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Christi *om. K*) incipit liber de ciuitate Dei sancti Augustini episcopi mirifice disputatus aduersus paganos (et *add. F_b Bs Ve K Ch†*) daemones et (et *om. F_b Bs Ve K Ch†*) eorum (eorumque *Ch†*) deos ab exordio mundi usque in finem saeculi *Ma F_b Bs Ve K Ch†*

- 2) The same set of *marginalia*, the so-called ‘*Gassia-series*’, running alongside the text of books I-X in *K* and *Ca* and of books I-VII in *Ma*. As for *F_b*, the set covers only book I. *O_l*, *Bs* and *Ve* only display occasional readers’ notes, often by later hands.
- 3) Version *B* of the *tabulae capitulorum* for the second half of the work.

To sum up, the stemmatical relations between γ-MSS. could be represented as follows:

100. GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 344-354.

101. GIANI, «The Transmission» cit., p. 132-135.



C. Family η

This family includes *STb²BoPlLe*. In some kind of relation with this family are also *b* (first hand) and *β*, previously identified as group *Iic*¹⁰². Family η is blurrier than the previous ones in terms of boundaries and stemmatical position, though all its members share the following firmly secondary readings:

ciu. I 23 (I 37, 28 - 38, 3) Sed tamen etiam illi praeter Lucretiam, de qua supra satis quod uidebatur diximus, non facile reperiunt de cuius auctoritate praescribant, nisi illum Catonem, qui se Uticae occidit; non quia solus id fecit, sed quia uir doctus et probus habebatur...

solus id] solus hic *STBoLe* : solus h** *Pl^{a.c.}* : solus hoc *Pl^{p.c.}*

ciu. I 23 (I 38, 17-20) Nullo modo igitur Cato turpe esse iudicauit sub uictore Caesare uiuere; alioquin ab hac turpitudine paterno ferro filium liberaret.

ferro] furore *STBoPlLe* : al. furore *b²*

Augustine is arguing that, since Cato the Younger did not kill his beloved son before committing suicide, he actually did not consider the defeat and life in a world ruled by Caesar a real dishonor. The means through which he would have killed his son must have been a *paternum ferrum*, since the author is reporting the thought of his character (as it is attested by the term *turpitude*).

In addition, these copies also share a number of *adiaphora* variants:

ciu. I 9 (I 14, 28) cum inimicitias] cum eorum inimicitas *STb²BoPl^{a.c.}Le* : cum inimicitias eorum *Pl²*;
ciu. I 22 (I 37, 5) esse potuit] potuit esse *STBoPlLe*; *ciu.* I 23 (I 38, 21) caesare et sperauit] caesare sperauit *b²BoPl* : caesare separauit *STLe*; *ciu.* I 27 (I 43, 29) erroribus et terroribus] terroribus et erroribus *KoSTBo* : terroribus cum erroribus *PlLe* (err- cum terr- *Pl²*); *ciu.* I 30 (I 47, 14) imperii romani] imperio romano *STBoPl^{a.c.}(corr. Pl²)Le*; *ciu.* I 36 (I 52, 14) sunt regna omnia] sunt omnia regna *STBoPlLe*

102. GIANI, «The Transmission» cit. p. 135-136.

Within this family, two sub-groups can be isolated, namely *Pl Le* and *S T*. The first two share a peculiar arrangement of the *tabulae capitulorum* (*tabula A* before book XVI and *tabula B* at the beginning of book XVIII) and the excerpt from *retr.* II 43 as *accessus* (which is however transmitted also by β , and by *C Va*, added shortly after the main text was copied). Moreover, *Pl* and *Le* are the only MSS. displaying first-hand chapter numbering, besides the late-antique *C*, and are characterized in this respect by several shared *lacunae* and errors¹⁰³. The following variants and secondary readings are further signs of their genealogical relation:

ciu. I 7 (I 11, 32) nouo more] nouo modo *Pl* (uel more ^{in marg.}) *Le*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 14, 8) uastitate] uastatione *Pl Le^{p.c.}* (-ni *Le^{a.c.}*); *ciu.* I 9 (I 16, 17) perditos] perditorum *Pl^{a.c.}* (*corr. Pl^l*) *Le²*: perditor* *Le^{a.c.}*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 20, 14) talium] taliter *Pl Le*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 29, 28) sana] sanaque *Bo b β* : sana integraque *Pl Le*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 5) immunditiae] impudicitiae *Pl* (uel immunditiae *Pl^{2 s.l.}*) *Le²*: immundicitiae *Le^{a.c.}*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 16) casu dum] casu quodam *Pl*: casu dam *Le^{a.c.}*: casu cuiusdam *Le²*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 31, 23) uerissime] clarissime *Pl* (uel uerissime *Pl^{2 s.l.}*) *Le*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 12) adulterium unus] unus adulterium *Pl^l Le*; *ciu.* I 22 (I 36, 26) theobrotus *Kalb iuxta Lact.*] theobrotus *L l A*: cleobrotus *Bo*: clemobrotus *Pl* (uel cleimbrotus ^{in marg.}) *Le*: theobrotus *Pl² rell.* (tehobrotos *Ma^{a.c.}*); *ciu.* I 26 (I 41, 15) atque necaturum] *om. b*: ac necaturum *Pl Le^{p.c.}*: anecaturum *Le*; *ciu.* I 26 (I 41, 30) immo] quod *Pl* (uel immo *Pl^{in marg.}*) *Le^{p.c.}* (*non legitur Le^{a.c.}*); *ciu.* I 27 (I 42, 23) se quisque] quisque se *Pl Le²*: quisque *Le*; *ciu.* I 29 (I 46, 7) et ueri dei] dei et ueri *Pl Le*; *ciu.* I 32 (I 49, 7) scire] scire ista *Pl Le*

Pl was produced in Tours in the third quarter of the 9th century; *Le* is located by Bischoff in «Frankreich» and dated by him from the mid to the third quarter of the same century. The precise nature of their relation is still *sub iudice*. Both present their own series of firmly separative readings¹⁰⁴, which suggests that none of them depends from the other. However, the fact that several errors listed above seem to derive from readings shown by *Le post correctionem*, may indicate either that *Pl* was copied from *Le* (and eliminated the latter's own variants due to the use of at least another exemplar, likely a γ -copy, as we have seen above) or that *Le* more faithfully reproduced the mends of their common exemplar, which were independently corrected in the same way by *Pl* and the corrector of *Le* (but not always, see *casu dum*] *casu dam* *Le^{a.c.}*: *casu cuiusdam* *Le²*: *casu quodam* *Pl*). For the moment, I am inclined towards the latter hypothesis, but the former cannot be ruled out, given the philological interest of *Pl* (and *Pl²*)¹⁰⁵. Another possible explanation is that *Pl* and *Le* descended from a common ancestor and that *Le* was corrected on the basis of *Pl* or a related copy.

The other sub-group within family η includes *S* and *T*, which derive from a common ancestor σ . They share several secondary readings and variants - often in agreement with *b²*, the first corrector of *b*, who based himself on *T* or on a close relative of *T*, as we will see in what comes next. Among these readings, I mention only the following (not all equally relevant):

ciu. I 1 (I 5, 7) quod] quod in *S T*; *ciu.* I 5 (I 10, 2-3) praetermittit] praetermittit ut *S T^{a.c.} b²*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 13) et premant] subprimant *S*: subprimant *T b²*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 15, 28) et] *om. S T*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 20, 16) confitebatur] *om. S T*; *ciu.* I 12 (I 22, 21) enim] *om. S T*; *ciu.* I 14 (I 25, 13) est] est et *S T b²*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 2) acutissimis] cautissimis *S T*; *ciu.* I 17 (I 29, 2-3) exitiabiliter] inexplicabiliter *S^{a.c.}*: inexplicabiliter

103. They fail to mark the beginning of chapters II-III, VI-IX, XIII, XV, XXI, XXIII, XXVI-XXVII, XXX, XXXV; they anticipate the beginning of chapter V next to *postremo illud Iunonis* (I 9, 20), whilst *C* locates its beginning at *Nisi forte Graeci* (I 9, 23) (modern editions correct both *C* and *Pl Le* by starting with *Quem morem etiam Cato*, consistently with the chapter heading *De generali consuetudine hostium uictas ciuitates euerterentium quid Cato senserit*); they shift the beginning of chapter XI next to *Hoc si aegre ferendum* (I 20, 28-29), whilst in *C* and modern editions the chapter starts with *Sed enim multi*; lastly, they mark with number XVIII the actual chapter XIX.

104. Here is a sample limited to *ciu.* I 1-19. As of *Le*, see *ciu.* I 3 (I 7, 2) uidelicet] *om. Le*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 13) scriba] *om. Le*; *ciu.* I 9 (I 17, 1) eis] eis ecclesiis *Le*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 20, 19) mercede] *om. Le*; *ciu.* I 12 (I 22, 27) oberit] opera *Le*; *ciu.* I 14 (I 25, 9-10) methymnaeum] meum neum *Le*; *ciu.* I 17 (I 28, 20) ne quicquam] *om. Le*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 32, 2) scelestum] conscelestum *Le*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 3) causa] *om. Le*. Regarding *Pl*, see: *ciu.* I 7 (I 12, 2) implendae] implendo *T*: implendae pro *Pl*; *ciu.* I 10 (I 18, 12) tamen] tam *Pl*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 10) cogitatione] contagione *Pl*. The sample is limited to those errors that have not been corrected: since both *Pl* and *Pl²* thoroughly revised the text, probably on the basis of different exemplars (see the marginal variants by *Pl* and its corrections, as well as those by *Pl²*), the global number of errors typical of *Pl* is rather low.

105. The analysis of chapter numbering is not conclusive either, since *Pl* fails to mark chapters X, XIV, XVI-XVIII, XXIV and XXVIII, whereas *Le* does not show any innovation on its own, with the exception of the slight anticipation of chapter XXV, the beginning of which is located next to *cum uel peccatorem* (I 40, 7-8), an error that could have been easily corrected *ope ingenii* by *Pl*.

Sp.c. T^{u.c.} : inexpiabiliter T^{p.c.} b² ~ paenitentiae] patientiae S T b²; ciu. I 20 (I 34, 21) aduersus se] aduerse S^{a.c.} (corr. S²) T^{u.c.}; ciu. I 24 (I 39, 9) seruiendo... auferre] om. per homoiot. S T; ciu. I 24 (I 39, 10) dominatione] damnatione S T; ciu. I 27 (I 43, 11) qualis] quas S T : quales Bo b² Pl^{a.c.} Le; ciu. I 31 (I 48, 12-13) premeretur libido] premeretur S T b² : om. b; ciu. I 31 (I 48, 32) contemnendos] contemplandos S T; ciu. I 35 (I 51, 30) alienis] altenis S^{a.c.} : alternis S² T b²

S is dated to the years of Heribald's bishopric at Auxerre (829-857), who probably commissioned and bequeathed it to Saint-Étienne; *T* is dated by Bischoff to the middle or the third quarter of the 9th century. According to him, this MS. was copied at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris and subsequently arrived at Saint-Germain of Auxerre. That *T* is not the exemplar of *S* is firmly proven by the following sample of separative readings, taken from *ciu.* I 1-18¹⁰⁶:

ciu. I 5 (I 10, 1) quam] om. *T*; *ciu.* I 5 (I 10, 2) habuit] habita *T^{p.c.}*; *ciu.* I 6 (I 11, 20) rerum] om. *T* : del. b²; *ciu.* I 11 (I 21, 15-16) itaque multum curandum est] utique multum curandum *T*; *ciu.* I 16 (I 28, 15) tamen pudorem incutit] om. per homoiot. *T*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 29, 17) si autem polluet aliena non erit] om. per homoiot. *T*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 3) est] om. *T*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 29-30) oppresso sicut... etiam corpore] om. per homoiot. *T*

On the other hand, *S* displays only the following separative error on its own, which however looks quite conclusive in itself¹⁰⁷:

ciu. I 33 (I 50, 23) Volebat uos ille Scipio terreri ab hoste, ne in luxuriam flueretis: nec contriti ab hoste luxuriam repressistis, perdidistis utilitatem calamitatis, et miserrimi facti estis et pessimi permansistis
contriti] contra *S*

As I mentioned earlier, *b*², the main corrector of *b*, who is paleographically very close to the main scribe, thoroughly revised its main text on the basis of *T* or a stemmatically close exemplar. Besides the shared readings quoted in the previous lists, I add:

ciu. I 9 (I 15, 1) et ideo] ideo ut *T^{p.c.}* b²; *ciu.* I 9 (I 16, 23) esse] eam *T* : uel eam b^{2s.l.}; *ciu.* I 10 (I 18, 28) tutius] totiens *T* : al. totiens b² in marg.; *ciu.* I 10 (I 19, 5) sapuerint] superauerint *T^{u.c.}*? : sperauerint *T^{p.c.}* : uel sperauerint b^{2s.l.}; *ciu.* I 12 (I 22, 14) sui] sua *T b*²; *ciu.* I 13 (I 23, 30) teste] testante *T* : al. testante b² in marg.; *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 13) adulterino] adulterii *T b*²; *ciu.* I 28 (I 45, 19) immanenti] manenti *T^{p.c.}* b²; *ciu.* I 29 (I 46, 10) paenitentiam] petendam *T^{p.c.}* b²; *ciu.* I 29 (I 46, 17) ista] si ita *T b*²

Bo does not consistently share conjunctive errors with any of the two sub-families of η . It shares with *Pl* *Le* or the sole *Pl* the following two (polygenetic) secondary readings:

ciu. I 24 (I 40, 3-5) ...praesertim quos nullius militaris potestatis uel talis militiae iura constringunt ipsum hostem ferire superatum.
ferire] ferre *Bo* : uel ferre *Pl* in marg.

ciu. I 32 (I 49, 8-9) ...ludi scaenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia uanitatum...
scaenici] scaenici et *Bo Pl Le*

More relevant are the errors and variants shared by *Bo* and *S T*:

ciu. I 5 (I 10, 6) ...postremo armis cadaueribus cruore atque luctu omnia compleri.
atque luctu] luctu atque *S^{a.c.} T^{u.c.} Bo* : luctu aeque *S²*? : luctuque *T^{p.c.}*

ciu. I 20 (I 34, 29-31) Nam et hoc genus rerum, quamuis non sentiat, dicitur uiuere ac per hoc potest et mori, proinde etiam, cum uis adhibetur, occidi.
uis] uitis *S Bo* : ui**s *T^{u.c.}*

106. The quality of the microfilm reproduction does not allow firm conclusions regarding *T*²'s dating. Therefore, I will limit myself to the errors of *T* that have not been corrected.

107. The error *ciu.* I 8 (I 13, 15) si nullum] in ullum *S* (corr. *S*²) is easy to correct, and it was indeed corrected by *S*².

ciu. I 22 (I 37, 23-24) ...manifestum est hoc non licere colentibus unum uerum Deum.
uerum deum] deum uerum *S T Bo β*

ciu. I 26 (I 42, 3-6) Qui ergo audit non licere se occidere, faciat, si iussit cuius non licet iussa contemnere;
tantummodo uideat utrum diuina iussio nullo nutet incerto.

d deest
uideat] uideatur *S T Bo b*

However, their quality and quantity are not sufficiently significant to infer a genealogical relation, given that contamination played an important role both in the ancestor of this family - as we will see later - and in its descendants (*Pl Le* experienced heavy horizontal contacts at least with γ). Anyway, *Bo* is not the ancestor of any other copy, as proven both by its dating to the last third of the 9th century and by its own separative readings¹⁰⁸.

MSS. *b* and β are closely linked to each other, as already noticed by Alfons Kalb¹⁰⁹ and firmly proven or strongly suggested at least with regard to books VI, VII, X, and XIII¹¹⁰. However, in book I they show very few and inconclusive signs of relation:

ciu. I 4 (I 9, 3) ...*huc undique Troia gaza*...
undique] undique et *b^{a.c.}* (*corr. b²*) β

ciu. I 15 (I 27, 11-14) Quod si non timent, tale ergo aliquid, quale accidit Regulo, etiam ciuitati tam diligenter quam ille deos colenti accidere potuisse fateantur et Christianis temporibus non calumnientur.
non] *om. b^{a.c.}* (*corr. b²*) $\beta^{a.c.}$

These witnesses display some signs of affiliation with η as well, although the following shared readings do not have probative value¹¹¹:

ciu. I 4 (I 8, 26-28) Ipsa, ut dixi, Troia, mater populi Romani, sacratis locis deorum suorum munire non potuit ciues suos ab ignibus ferroque Graecorum, eosdem ipsos deos colentium...
sacratis locis] sacratis in locis *S T Bo Pl Le b β*

ciu. I 8 (I 13, 15-17) ...rursus si nullum nunc peccatum puniret aperta diuinitas, nulla esse diuina prouidentia crederetur.
aperta] aperte *Ko S T b² Bo Pl Le β*

Apparently, *aperta* is to be preferred for prosodical reasons¹¹².

ciu. I 18 (I 29, 27-29) ...sed in bonis corporis numerabitur, qualia sunt uires pulchritudo sana ualetudo, ac si quid huius modi est...
sana] sanaque *Bo b β* : sana integraque *Pl Le*

ciu. I 23 (I 38, 4-9) De cuius facto quid potissimum dicam, nisi quod amici eius etiam docti quidam uiri, qui hoc fieri prudentius dissuadebant, inbecillioris quam fortioris animi facinus esse censuerunt, quo demonstraretur non honestas turpia praecauens, sed infirmitas aduersa non sustinens?
esse] *om. Ko K Ca S T Bo b β*

108. Cfr. e.g. *ciu.* I 12 (I 23, 13) promittitur] promittitur de curandis corporibus defunctorum *in textu Bo*; *ciu.* I 29 (I 46, 18) adesse] *om. Bo*; *ciu.* I 30 (I 47, 9) infinita uarietas] infinitas *Bo* (una pars est *in marg.*); *ciu.* I 35 (I 51, 15) ad confessos] a deo fessos *Bo*.

109. Cfr. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. xi, n. †.

110. Cfr. M. GIANI, «The Early Medieval Transmission of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Book VI» [in preparation]; EAD., «The Transmission» cit., p. 135-136; J. AGUILAR MIQUEL, «The Earliest Manuscript Tradition of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Book 13», in *Augustine's «De Civitate Dei»: Political Content, Textual Transmission, and Early Medieval Reception*, ed. M. Giani - G. Partoens - A. Dupont, Leiden-Boston, 2023 [forthc.].

111. On the (irregular) presence of *Ko* in this series, cfr. *infra.*; on that of *K Ca*, see GIANI, «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit.

112. F. DI CAPUA, «Il ritmo prosaico in s. Agostino», in *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, vol. II, Roma, 1931, p. 607-764, here p. 721.

In the third case, $b\beta$ may reflect, together with Bo , the original reading of η , independently corrected by $Pl\ Le$ and $S\ T$. Concerning β , contamination is proven by the co-occurrence of alternative variant readings, often registered in the margins and preceded by *al.*¹¹³

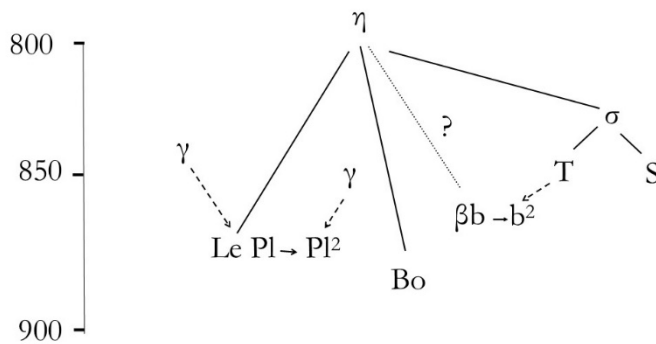
As for the paratexts, all η -MSS. plus β ¹¹⁴ mention the alternative title *De excidio urbis* in the explicit of book I:

Explicit liber primus de excidio urbis. Incipit liber secundus *S\ T\ Bo\ Le* : Aurelii Augustini episcopi de ciuitate Dei explicit liber primus de excidio urbis. Incipit secundus *Pl* : explicit liber primus de ciuitate Dei et de excidio urbis contra paganos β

The first ten books of *S\ T* and *Bo* are opened and closed by concise formulations, with the exception of the end of book X¹¹⁵, where they read with b :

Explicit liber decimus Aurelii Augustini (Christi *add. b*) ecclesiae catholicae de ciuitate Dei. Incipit liber undecimus (incipit... undecimus *om. Bo* : de ciuitate Dei *add. S* : feliciter amen *add. b*) *S\ T\ Bo\ b* [*Le non vidi*¹¹⁶]

All in all, the relations within this family can be outlined as follows:



D. Family ϕ

Family ϕ includes $\theta\ \gamma\ \eta$ (= *Au\ Bx\ Lu + Ma\ Fb\ O₁\ Bs\ Ve\ Ch† + S\ T\ Bo\ Pl\ Le*), the contaminated branches *Va\ Ba\ W_{2a}* and *K\ Ca*, as well as $b\ \beta$ and the isolated d ¹¹⁷. This means that all early medieval extant witnesses of *ciu.* belong to ϕ , with the exception of *L\ I\ Ko\ A\ C*. As we will see, *l\ Ko\ A\ C* occasionally agree with ϕ , probably due to contamination. The same applies to the correctors of *L\ I\ A\ C* (*L²\ I²\ A²\ C²\ C³*). The existence of ϕ is suggested by the following errors. The first one is the strongest:

ciu. I praef. (I 3, 10-18) *Gloriosissimam ciuitatem Dei siue in hoc temporum cursu, cum inter impios peregrinatur ex fide uiuens, siue in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae, quam nunc expectat per patientiam, quoadusque iustitia*

113. See e. g. *ciu.* I 3 (I 8, 17) *peruersitatis l\ A\ Ko\ C\ d\ Bo\ b\ \beta\ K*] *proteruitatis rell. Bo^{in marg.}\ \beta^{in marg.}* (which suggests contamination in *Bo* as well); *ciu.* I 24 (I 39, 3) *marco rell.*] *m\ l\ I\ A\ C³* : *m\ marco\ \beta*; *ciu.* I 27 (I 43, 5) *cum l\ I\ Ko\ A\ C^{a.c.}\ Bx\ S\ T\ Bo\ b\ \beta* (*al. cur^{in marg.}*)] *cur rell.*

114. b reads *Explicit liber primus. Incipit secundus eiusdem operis Augustini Aurelii de ciuitate Dei.*

115. *Bo* has an elaborate formulation at the beginning of book V, where it also displays an interpolation: *Aurelii Augustini episcopi catholici de ciuitate Dei liber quartus. Incipit liber quintus [qua dicit donant bona non bonis sed bonis] Bo*

116. *Pl* systematically opens incipit/explicit formulae with the words *Aurelii Augustini episcopi De ciuitate Dei*, in order to make them consistent throughout the volume, and it displays a more elaborate formulation at the end of book X as well: *Explicit domino adiuuante liber decimus domni Aurelii Augustini praeclarissimi episcopi atque doctoris de gloriosissima ciuitate Dei contra paganos. Aurelii Augustini episcopi de ciuitate dei incipit liber XI Pl*

117. Even though d has been connected with C by Dombart and Kalb (*AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. VI), in book I there is no sign of relation between them.

convertatur in iudicium, deinceps adeptura per excellentiam uictoria ultima et pace perfecta, hoc opere instituto et mea ad te promissione debito defendere aduersus eos, qui conditori eius deos suos praeferunt, fili carissime Marcelline, suscepi, magnum opus et arduum, sed Deus adiutor noster est.

L Bx desunt

hoc opere instituto et mea ad te promissione *l Ko A C^{a.c.}*] hoc opere ad te instituto et mea promissione *d Lu Va Ba W_{2a} F_b O₁ Bs Ve Ch K Ca Bo Pl Le* : hoc opere a te instituto et mea promissione *Au Ma S T β b* : hoc opere \ac/ instituto et mea ad te promissione *C³* (ac e rasura)

Ad te was probably skipped in an ancestor of φ and then ambiguously added in the margin, so that φ (or its ancestor) copied it in the wrong place¹¹⁸. Its misplacement between *hoc opere* and *instituto* prompted some of the MSS. to independently adapt it to the new context by changing *ad* into *a*¹¹⁹. The reading of *C post correctionem* is not registered by Dombart and Kalb and was noticed for the first time by Juan Bastardas, who in 1953 published a revised version of Dombart-Kalb's edition. According to him, the addition originally read *a te*, transformed into *ac* by erasure¹²⁰. Though *Bx* and *L* are lacking in this passage, their stemmatical position is not in doubt: as I will display below, *l* is a *descriptus* of *L*, and *Bx* undoubtedly belongs to θ.

Other secondary readings shared by MSS. φ are less relevant, since they are potentially polygenetic:

ciu. I 1 (I 4, 32 - 5, 7) ...bona uero, quae in eos ut uiuerent propter Christi honorem facta sunt, non imputant Christo nostro, sed fato suo, cum potius deberent, si quid recti saperent, illa, quae ab hostibus aspera et dura perpassi sunt, illi prouidentiae diuinae tribuere, quae solet corruptos hominum mores bellis emendare atque conterere itemque uitam mortalium iustam atque laudabilem talibus afflictionibus exercere probatamque uel in meliora transferre uel in his adhuc terris propter usus alios detinere...

L Bx Ve desunt

prouidentiae diuinae *l A Ko C*] diuinae prouidentiae *Au Lu Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs S T Bo K Ca Pl Le b β d*.

The reading of *l A Ko C* is to be preferred for prosodical reasons¹²¹.

ciu. I 4 (I 9, 20-23) ...postremo illud Iunonis templum sibi elegerat auaritia et superbia leuium Graeculorum, istas Christi basilicas misericordia et humilitas etiam immanium barbarorum.

L deest

graeculorum *l Ko A C d^{a.c.}*] graecorum *d^{p.c.}* *Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K Ca S T Bo Pl Le b β*

This is a typical polygenetic banalization¹²². It is worth noting that *d ante correctionem* maintains the original *Graeculorum*. According to Dombart, *b* also reads *Graeculorum*, which is actually not the case.

ciu. I 8 (I 13, 14-17) Nam si nunc omne peccatum manifesta plecteret poena, nihil ultimo iudicio seruari putaretur; rursus si nullum nunc peccatum puniret aperta diuinitas, nulla esse diuina prouidentia crederetur.

L Bx desunt

118. Actually, polygenesis cannot be completely ruled out: θγη may have independently misinterpreted the ambiguous position of *ad te* in the archetype, whilst the other hyparchetype(s) did not.

119. A comparable situation (an error of φ due to the misplacement of a word or syntagma) can be observed in *ciu.* II 27 (I 94, 6-17) [same witnesses of book I, plus *W_{2b}; Le Lu non uidi*]. *Hanc talium numinum placationem petulantissimam impurissimam impudentissimam nequissimam immundissimam, cuius actores laudanda Romanae uirtutis indoles honore priuauit tribu mouit, agnouit turpes fecit infames, hanc, inquam, pudendam ueraeque religioni auersandam et detestandam talium numinum placationem, fabulas in deos illecebrosas atque criminosas, haec ignominiosa deorum uel scelerate turpiterque facta uel sceleratius turpiusque conficta oculis et auribus publicis ciuitas tota discebat, haec commissa numinibus placere cernebat, et ideo non solum illis exhibenda...* ignominiosa deorum uel scelerate turpiterque facta uel sceleratius turpiusque conficta *L l Ko A^{a.c.} C d*] ignominiosa deorum facta uel scelerate turpiterque uel sceleratius turpiusque conficta *Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K Ca* : ignominiosa deorum facta uel scelerate turpiterque commissa uel sceleratius turpiusque conficta *A² Au Bx Va* (turpiter *Va^{a.c.}*) *Ba W_{2a} W_{2b} O₁² K³ S T Bo Pl b β*. The only difference is that here *d* does not seem to belong to φ.

120. SAN AGUSTÍN, *La Ciudad de Dios*, traducción de L. Riber, texto revisado por J. Bastardas, vol. I (lib. I-II), Barcelona, 1953, p. 10.

121. DI CAPUA, «Il ritmo prosaico» cit., p. 721.

122. *Graeculorum* is also required by prosody, cfr. DI CAPUA, «Il ritmo prosaico» cit., p. 721.

nunc peccatum ^{l²} Ko A C] peccatum nunc ^{l^{a.c.}} d Au Lu Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K Ca S T Bo Pl Le b β

The transposition trivializes the *ordo verborum*.

ciu. I 9 (I 14, 8-15) Quid igitur in illa rerum uastitate Christiani passi sunt, quod non eis magis fideliter ista considerantibus ad prouectum ualeret? Primum quod ipsa peccata, quibus Deus indignatus impleuit tantis calamitatibus mundum, humiliter cogitantes, quamuis longe absint a facinerosis flagitiosis atque impiis, tamen non usque adeo se a delictis deputant alienos, ut nec temporalia pro eis mala perpeti se iudicent dignos.

L Bx desunt

primum Ko A C] primo l d Au Lu Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K Ca S T Bo Pl Le b β

Here *primum* is probably the original reading: Augustine expresses a rank of importance, rather than a temporal priority. The variant is however very small, and also easy to correct.

ciu. I 18 (I 30, 22-26) An uero si aliqua femina mente corrupta uiolatoque proposito, quod Deo uouerat, pergat uitanda ad deceptorem suum, ad hoc eam pergentem sanctam uel corpore dicimus, ea sanctitate animi, per quam corpus sanctificabatur, amissa atque destructa?

d deest

ad hoc L ^{l^{a.c.}} A^{a.c.} C] adhuc ^{l²} Ko A^{p.c.} Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K Ca S T Bo Pl Le b β

Adhuc is a blatant corruption, though stemmatically irrelevant.

ciu. I 22 (I 36, 13-18) Et quicumque hoc in se ipsis perpetraverunt, animi magnitudine fortasse mirandi, non sapientiae sanitate laudandi sunt. Quamquam si rationem diligentius consulas, ne ipsa quidem animi magnitudo recte nominabitur, ubi quisque non ualendo tolerare uel quaeque aspera uel aliena peccata se ipse interemerit.

Bx d desunt

nominabitur L I A C] nominatur Ko Au Lu Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K Ca S T Bo Pl Le b β

The correct reading is likely *nominabitur*, due to the presence of *interemerit*.

ciu. I 25 (I 41, 1-4) Ceterum absit a mente Christiana, quae Deo suo fident in eoque spe posita eius adiutorio nititur, absit, inquam, ut mens talis quibuslibet carnis uoluptatibus ad consensum turpitudinis cedat.

d deest

quibuslibet L I Ko A C] cuiuslibet Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K Ca S T Bo (quibuslibet ^{in marg.}) Pl Le b β

The original reading is probably *quibuslibet*, which provides a better meaning. It is also more probable that the direction of the corruption is from *quibuslibet* to *cuiuslibet*, fostered by the adjacent *carnis*, rather than the opposite.

ciu. I 28 (I 45, 21 - 46, 2) Quamquam et illud non sit tacendum, quod quibusdam, quae ista perpessae sunt, potuit uideri continentiae bonum in bonis corporalibus deputandum et tunc manere, si nullius libidine corpus attrectaretur; non autem esse positum in solo adiuto diuinitus robore uoluntatis, ut sit sanctum et corpus et spiritus; nec tale bonum esse, quod inuito animo non possit auferri; qui error eis fortasse sublatus est. Cum enim cogitant, qua conscientia Deo seruierint, et fide inconcussa non de illo sentiunt, quod ita sibi seruietes eumque inuocantes deserere ullo modo potuerit, quantumque illi castitas placeat dubitare non possunt, uident esse consequens nequaquam illum fuisse permissurum, ut haec acciderent sanctis suis, si eo modo perire posset sanctitas, quam contulit eis et diligit in eis.

eumque L ^{l^{a.c.}} Ko A C^{a.c.} Bs Ve] eumque ita ^{l²} C³ d Au Lu Bx Va Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O₁ K Ca S T Bo Pl Le b β

Although Bastardas introduced *ita* into the main text between square brackets, its addition looks secondary, as it was probably noticed by δ, the common ancestor of *Bs Ve*. Dombart does not register the correction by ^{l²}.

Several *adiaphora* variants oppose ϕ to the remaining tradition, as we will see *infra*. The position of θ , γ and η within ϕ will be discussed in what follows, when I will delve into the contamination of η ¹²³. For now, I would only point out that *d* does not share significant errors with any of these families. On the other hand, it shares almost all ϕ 's variants and displays several separative errors on its own¹²⁴. Therefore, I consider it as directly dependent from ϕ , though its genealogy is likely more problematic than it appears. This is suggested by the fact that it does not share with $\theta\gamma\eta$ the banalisation *Graeculorum* > *Graecorum*, and that in other books it displays some signs of being independent from ϕ ¹²⁵. It is possible that the extensive *lacuna* affecting this MS. in book I¹²⁶ has somewhat obscured its more nuanced stemmatic position.

III. - THE UPPER LAYER OF THE STEMMA

As we have seen, the sole manuscripts that do not share ϕ 's secondary readings are *L l A Ko C*. In the following paragraphs, I will first focus on the branch that originates from *L*. Then, I will explore the relation between this branch, *A*, *C*, and ϕ , focusing at first on secondary readings, and subsequently on *adiaphora* variants.

A. The branch of *L*

Léopold Delisle first argued that books I-V of *l* were copied from *L*¹²⁷. His hypothesis was confirmed by Emmanuel Hoffmann, who noticed that two textual *lacunae* caused by material damage in *L* were originally present in *l* and subsequently filled in by a slightly later hand. Célestin Charlier added another argument in favor of the derivation of *l* from *L*: the misplacement in *l* of a correction introduced in the margin by the main hand of *L*¹²⁸. I can offer a further element to confirm the dependence, which went unnoticed to Dombart and received no comments from Fransen, who published *L* and *l*'s annotations¹²⁹:

ciu. I 15 (I 25, 27-29) Perrexit ille atque in senatu contraria persuasit, quoniam non arbitrabatur utile esse Romanae rei publicae mutare captiuos. Nec post hanc persuasionem...

captiuos *L* *rell.*] in subsequentibus dicit quia et suasus est ut staret *L*^{2 in marg.} : captiuos in subsequentibus dicit ***suasus est ut staret *l* in *textu*

A marginal annotation of *L* entered the main text of *l*. The symbol made up by a line and two dots was misinterpreted by *l* as an addition sign, while it just marks the passage to which the note is referred.

However, Hoffmann unnecessarily doubles the number of exemplars available to *l* for book I, stating that its copyists depend on a witness other than *L* for the text transcribed in its first six folia (*ciu.* I *praef.* - 10 [I 3, 10

123. Cfr. *infra*, p. @.

124. Here is a sample of *d*'s separative variants and errors, from *ciu.* I 15 to I 36. *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 2) clausique] conclausique *d*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 24) urbi] sibi *d*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 27, 18) probro] probrosum *d*; *ciu.* I 16 (I 28, 11) non] *om.* *d*; *ciu.* I 27 (I 42, 26) ut hortandi] arbitrandi *d*; *ciu.* I 27 (I 43, 20) saniores purioresque] puriores sanioresque *d*; *ciu.* I 28 (I 45, 7) ultimo] ultimo iudicio *d*; *ciu.* I 28 (I 45, 17) nec] sine *d*; *ciu.* I 28 (I 45, 25) diuinitus] diuinitatis sed *d*; *ciu.* I 32 (I 49, 8) ludi] quod ludi *d*; *ciu.* I 32 (I 49, 13) potatis] potestatis *d*; *ciu.* I 32 (I 49, 15) dii] *om.* *d*; *ciu.* I 35 (I 51, 19) sorte] societate *d*; *ciu.* I 36 (I 52, 14) sunt regna omnia] regna sunt omnia *d* : sunt omnia regna η ; *ciu.* I 36 (I 52, 26) et ipsi] metipsi *d*.

125. See note @.

126. See *supra*, p. @.

127. L. DELISLE, «Notices sur plusieurs manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon», *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 29/2, 1880, p. 363-403, here p. 366-369 and 397-401.

128. C. CHARLIER, «La compilation augustinienne de Florus sur l'Apôtre: sources et authenticité», *Revue Bénédictine*, 57, 1947, p. 132-186, here p. 150, n. 1.

129. FRANSEN, «Un commentaire» cit., p. 133. Another (much less relevant) argument for the dependence is the reading *ciu.* I 15 (I 25, 28) utile esse romanae rei publicae] utile esse romanae rei pb *L* : utile esse romanae rei pl *l* : romanae rei publicae utile esse *Ko* : ule e. r. r. p. *Va*^{a.c.} : utiles e. r. r. p. *Oj*^{a.c.}. The *b* of *pb* is open on top in *L* may have fostered *l*'s corruption. The following reading instead does not strengthen nor weaken the dependence: *ciu.* I 14 (25, 12-13) incredibilis est plane *L*^{1 in marg.} *rell.*] *om.* *L*^{a.c.} *l*. The addition by the first hand in the inferior margin of *L* went completely unnoticed by *l* or was possibly added it in the margin as well, which got lost due to material damage. Besides material evidence, Dombart and Kalb noticed that *L* *l* share several inversions (AVRELIUS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. III; A. KALB, «Zum Text der *Civitas Dei* » cit., p. 160). See e.g. *ciu.* I 19 (32, 14) [*d* *deest*] scilicet inter illos *rell.*] inter illos scilicet *L*.

*Gloriosissimam ciuitatem - 20, 20 Multos inqui...*¹³⁰), a section that is missing in *L* as it stands today. This second exemplar would have been the same from which *l* copied books VI-XIV¹³¹. I provided elsewhere arguments for the inconsistency of this theory¹³², already rejected by Charlier¹³³. This is a key point for the *constitutio textus*: as Dombart passively inherited Hoffman's claim of the independence of *l* from *L* in the first 10 chapters, he did not give much credit to the former, which actually mirrors the missing part of *L*.

Ko, characterized by several secondary readings of its own¹³⁴, was produced in the last third of the 9th century in Lyon's cathedral *scriptorium*, the same milieu where, some decades before, *l* was copied from *L*. It inconsistently shares with *L* *l* several errors and *adiaphora* variants, which will be discussed in the last part of this paper, and a few secondary readings with *l* alone. For the most part, they are not particularly relevant, with the exception of the last two of the following list. There, *Ko* shares additions with the sole main scribe of *l post correctionem* - or with a scribe very close to it¹³⁵:

ciu. I 3 (I 8, 17-21) ...quibus linguis usurpauerunt mendaciter ipsum nomen, ut uiuerent, uel quas linguas in locis ei sacratis metuendo presserunt, ut illic tuti atque muniti, ubi propter eum inlaesi ab hostibus fuerant, inde in eum maledictis hostilibus prosilirent.

L deest
ei *rell.*] eius *l Ko*

ciu. I 7 (I 12, 10-14) Truculentissimas et saeuissimas mentes ille terruit, ille frenauit, ille mirabiliter temperauit, qui per prophetam tanto ante dixit: *Visitabo in uirga iniquitates eorum et in flagellis peccata eorum; misericordiam autem meam non dispergam ab eis.*

L deest
ille mirabiliter temperauit *rell.*] ille miserabiliter temperauit *l Ko* : ille temperauit mirabiliter *W_{2a}^{a.c.}* : *om.*
O₁ (add. *O₁^{2 s.l.}*) : non legitur β

ciu. I 9 (I 16, 9-11) ...nec ea consideratione, qua suam famam ac salutem uident esse necessariam utilitati erudiendorum hominum...

L deest
uident esse *l^{p.c.} rell.*] uidentes esse *l^{a.c.} Ko* : uidentes *Au Lu^{a.c.} Bx^{a.c.} Va Ba W_{2a}* : uidentes se *O₁* (*corr. O₁²* ; uel uidentes ^{in marg.}) : dicunt esse *T* (*corr. T²?*)

ciu. I 10 (I 19, 7-11) Nam si multi gauisi sunt ibi se habuisse diuitias suas, quo contigit ut hostis non accederet: quanto certius et securius gaudere potuerunt, qui monitu Dei sui illuc migrauerunt, quo accedere omnino non posset!

L deest
posset *Ko^l rell.*] possit *l Ko^{a.c.}* : possent *Bx^{p.c.}*

ciu. I 22 (I 36, 24 - 37, 9) Quam ob rem si magno animo fieri putandum est, cum sibi homo ingerit mortem, ille potius Theombrotus in hac animi magnitudine reperitur, quem ferunt lecto Platonis libro, ubi de immortalitate

130. See supra, p. @.

131. SANCTI AVRELIJ AVGVSTINI EPISCOPI *De ciuitate Dei libri XXII. Pars I: libri I-XIII* (CSEL 40/1), ed. E. Hoffmann, Pragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1899, p. II-III.

132. GIANI, «The Transmission» cit., p. 119-121.

133. CHARLIER, «La compilation» cit., p. 150, n. 1.

134. Here is a sample from parr. I 14 to 25: *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 18) eorum deditus cultui] deorum cultui deditus *Ko*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 31) sit] esset *Ko*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 27, 7) colendos] colendos esse *Ko*; *ciu.* I 15 (I 27, 18) cultor illorum] cultor eorum *Ko* : eorum cultor *Pl²*; *ciu.* I 16 (I 28, 13) corpore alieno] corpus alienus *Ko*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 29, 23) in] *om. Ko*; *ciu.* I 18 (I 29, 28) ac] et *Ko*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 32, 26) se occidere] occidere se *Ko*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 13) se] *om. Ko*; *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 22) facti se credi] facto secreti *Ko*; *ciu.* I 20 (I 34, 5) diuinitus praeceptum] praeceptum diuinitus *Ko*; *ciu.* I 20 (I 34, 7) caendi carendiue] carendiue *Ko*; *ciu.* I 20 (I 34, 25) utique] uni *Ko* ; *ciu.* I 20 (I 35, 10) eis] in eis *Ko*; *ciu.* I 20 (I 35, 12) restat] restat ergo *Ko*; *ciu.* I 23 (I 38, 18) turpe esse iudicauit] turpe iudicauit *Ko* : esse iudicauit turpe *Pl^{a.c.}*; *ciu.* I 24 (I 39, 9) ferre] ferro *Ko* ~ eis] a *Ko*; *ciu.* I 24 (I 39, 27) iure belli] uiro belle *Ko*; *ciu.* I 24 (I 39, 28) hi] *om. Ko*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 40, 24) tantum dominatur] tantummodo minatur *Ko*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 40, 27) committere] admittere *Ko*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 40, 29) eos uel] uel propter *Ko*.

135. Other polygenetic secondary readings shared by *Ko* with *l* are in common with other MSS. too: *ciu.* I 20 (I 35, 3) [*d Ve desunt*] ob] ab *l Ko F_b O₁^{a.c.} Bs*; *ciu.* I 27 (I 43, 9) peccatum] peccatum et *l Ko Au Lu Bx Va^{a.c.} Ba^{p.c.} W_{2a} K* (*corr. K²*); *ciu.* I 31 (I 48, 31) aut si intellegebat] *om. per homioit. l* (*corr. manus recentior*) *Ko Au Bx Va Ba W_{2a}*. Lastly, the following is more of a hint than evidence, since the original text of *l* is not readable: *ciu.* I 28 (I 44, 6) o] o***** *l* : omnibus *Ko* : *om. O₁* (*corr. O₁²*).

animae disputauit, se praecipitem dedisse de muro atque ita ex hac uita emigrasse ad eam, quam credidit esse meliorem. Nihil enim urgebat aut calamitatis aut criminis seu uerum seu falsum, quod non ualendo ferre se auferret; sed ad capessendam mortem atque <ad> huius uitae suauia uincla rumpenda sola adfuit animi magnitudo. Quod tamen magne potius factum esse quam bene testis ei esse potuit Plato ipse, quem legerat, qui profecto id praecipue potissimumque fecisset uel etiam praecepisset, nisi ea mente, qua immortalitatem animae uidit, nequaquam faciendum, quin etiam prohibendum esse iudicasset.

d Bx desunt

etiam *rell.*] etiam fieri *l¹Ko* : eam *T (del. T²)*

ciu. I 23 (I 38, 9-17) Hoc et ipse Cato in suo carissimo filio iudicauit. Nam si turpe erat sub uictoria Caesaris uiuere, cur auctor huius turpitudinis filio fuit, quem de Caesaris benignitate omnia sperare praecepit? Cur non et illum secum coegit ad mortem? Nam si eum filium, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnauerat, etiam uictorem laudabiliter Torquatus occidit, cur uictus uicto filio pepercit Cato, qui non pepercit sibi? An turpius erat contra imperium esse uictorem, quam contra decus ferre uictorem?

d Bx desunt

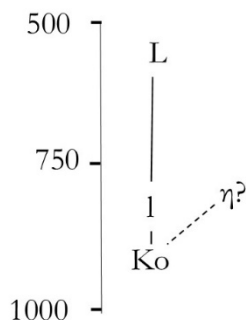
ferre *rell.*] ferre fuisse *l¹ Ko* : *om. O^{1a.c.}*

The last two additions look very much like second thoughts of the same scribe who copied the main text of *l* (in the second instance, possibly the scribe who copied until *pepercit sibi*, two lines above the *locus criticus*), as the modifications of *l²* are generally in a lighter ink. However, it is difficult to distinguish between *l¹* and *l²*, since probably *l²* was also a Lyonnaise 9th-century hand. If these two readings are actually corrections of the main scribe, then it becomes rather probable that *Ko* descends from *l*. Had they shared a common ancestor (a lost *descriptus* of *L*), it would be unclear why *l* did not copy these words in the first place, while *Ko* included them in the main text. Alternatively, if we are dealing with additions by *l²*, the direction of the influence remains unclear: besides the aforementioned scenario, we must also consider the hypothesis that the scribe of *Ko* himself corrected *l*, his exemplar, *ope ingenii* while making the copy, or that *l* was corrected on the basis of *Ko* or its antigraph.

Adopting the hypothesis of the derivation of *Ko* from *l*, which, historically and philologically speaking, is the most plausible, entails explaining the origin of *l*'s separative readings¹³⁶. In my view, they were corrected in *Ko* by contamination. Indeed, whatever stemmatical position *Ko* occupies, it certainly shares several *adiaphora* variants with ϕ , and three secondary readings with η in particular:

ciu. I 8 (I 13, 16) [*L Bx desunt*] aperta] operta *d* : aperte *Ko S T b² Bo Pl Le β ¹³⁷*; *ciu.* I 23 (I 38, 7) [*d Bx desunt*] esse] *om. Ko K Ca S T Bo b β* ; *ciu.* I 27 (I 43, 29) [*Ve deest*] erroribus et terroribus] terroribus et erroribus *Ko S T Bo* : terroribus cum erroribus *Pl Le (err- cum terr- Pl²)*

All in all, the most economical solution seems that *Ko* was copied from *l* and contaminated with a ϕ -copy (possibly belonging to η). The following scheme synthetically represents the genealogical relation between *L* / *Ko*.



136. Here is a sample from parr. I 14 to 25: *ciu.* I 15 (I 27, 22-23) sacrorum] sacramentorum *l* (uel christianorum *l² s.l.*) *Au W_{2a}*; *ciu.* I 16 (I 28, 16) fieri] *om. l*; *ciu.* I 17 (I 29, 2) dei] *om. l*; *ciu.* I 17 (I 29, 11) atque] ad *l^{a.c.}* : at *l^{p.c.}*; *ciu.* I 24 (I 39, 23) nam] dum *l*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 41, 7) quasi] quasi si *l*. I did not take into account variants corrected by *l²*, since the relative chronology of *l²* and *Ko* is unclear.

137. Dombart did not notice that *aperte* is the reading of *b* post correctionem.

As a consequence, *Ko*'s readings turn out to be of primary importance to restore *L* where both *L* and *l* are lacking due to independent material damage occurred after *l* and *Ko* were respectively copied, that is to say, in paragraphs 10 to 13 of book I (I 20, 20 ...*unt etiam Christianos* - I 23, 25 *adhibetur extrinsecus*, missing in *l*, while *L* begins at I 14 [I 25, 4 *fuit Daniel, fuerunt alii prophetae*]). In the appendix, we will go through a few *loci* where this discovery affects the text of *ciu*.

B. Stemmatical position of A and C: family a

According to Bischoff, *A* was written in France (possibly Eastern), in the second quarter of the 9th century. Dombart considered this MS. one of the most reliable for the *constitutio textus*, together with Late-antique copies. In his stemma, both *l* and *A* descend from *L*, the second one through a contaminated *codex interpositus*. As a matter of fact, *A* (*ante correctionem*) does not share any firmly secondary reading with φ ¹³⁸, while it shares with *L* and its *descripti* - besides several not very relevant errors¹³⁹ - three more meaningful ones; two of them occur in *C* too, another one in η :

ciu. I 18 (I 30, 27 - 31, 2) Absit hic error et hinc potius admoneamur ita non amitti corporis sanctitatem manente animi sanctitate etiam corpore oppresso, sicut amittitur et corporis sanctitas uiolata animi sanctitate etiam corpore intacto. Quam ob rem non habet quod in se morte spontanea puniat femina sine ulla sua consensione uiolenter oppressa et alieno compressa peccato; quanto minus antequam hoc fiat! ne admittatur homicidium certum, cum ipsum flagitium, quamuis alienum, adhuc pendet incertum.

d deest

fiat $l^2 C^3 \varphi$] faciat *L* ^{*l*a.c.} *Ko*^{*l*} *A* ^{*C*a.c.?} : faciant *Ko*^{*a.c.*}.

Here Augustine is speaking about those women who killed themselves for the fear of being raped during the sack of Rome. Even in their case, says Augustine, suicide is a not good action, since they killed someone for the fear of losing their integrity, which was not to be lost, had they not given their consent to the violent act of their oppressors. It is clear therefore that the reading of *L* (*l Ko*) *A* and *C* is secondary, though reversible, due to the context. The fact that l^2 corrected *faciat* into *fiat* while *Ko* keeps *faciant/faciat* does not stand against the derivation of *Ko* from *l*, since the correction of l^2 consists of two light and thin strokes, that may have been overlooked by *Ko*. The reading *ante correctionem* of *C*, barely legible, was most probably *faciat*, as recorded by Dombart in the apparatus.

ciu. I 24 (I 38, 28 - 39, 3) Nolunt autem isti, contra quos agimus, ut sanctum uirum Iob, qui tam horrenda mala in sua carne perpeti maluit quam inlata sibi morte omnibus carere cruciatibus, uel alios sanctos ex litteris nostris summa auctoritate celsissimis fideque dignissimis, qui captiuitatem dominationemque hostium ferre quam sibi necem inferre maluerunt, Catoni praeferamus; sed ex litteris eorum eundem illum Marco Catoni Marcum Regulum praeferam.

Bx d desunt

eorum eundem *C* φ (- η)] eorumdem *L l A S T b^2 Bo Pl Le* : eorum eidem *Ko*
marco *Ko* φ] m *L l A C^3* : om. *C* : marcum *Ma*^{*a.c.*} *Fb O*^{*l*a.c.?} *K^2 Ca T b^2* : m marco β
marcum regulum *Ko* φ (*non legitur Ma*^{*a.c.*})] regulum *L l A C* : m regulum *C^3*

cfr. *ciu*. I 15 (I 25, 21) Marcus Regulus, imperator populi Romani...

138. *A ante correctionem* only shares an inconclusive secondary reading with *Bx* (*ciu*. I 19 [I 31, 31] [*d deest*] haec *rell.*] om. *A*^{*a.c.*} *Bx*) and another one with *Le* (*ciu*. I 25 [I 40, 29] [*d deest*] haec *rell.*] hoc *A Le*^{*a.c.*}).

139. *ciu*. I 3 (8, 6) [*L deest*] esse potuerit *rell.*] potuerit esse *l A* : esse se potuerit *b* (*corr. b^2*) (*l* and *A*'s reading is *deterior* according to DI CAPUA, «Il ritmo prosaico» cit., p. 721); *ciu*. I 11 (I 21, 2) [*L l desunt*] et *C rell.*] om. *Ko A Au; ciu*. I 15 (I 26, 27) tanta quisquam dementia mirae *C rell.*] tantam quisquam dementia mirae *L*^{*a.c.*} : tanta quisque dementia mirae *L l l^{p.c.} A Ko* : tantam quisque dementia irae *l*^{*a.c.*} : tanta quisque dementia (dementia^{*p.c.*}) ire *d* : tanta quisquam dementia irae *O*^{*l*a.c.} *Ve K*^{*a.c.*} : tantam quisque dementia mirae *Le; ciu*. I 20 (I 34, 13) [*d deest*] crimine se *C Ko rell.*] crimine *L l A* : crimen *l*^{*a.c.*} (Dombart's apparatus contains a wrong line reference - 12 instead of 13 - and does not record *A*'s reading. The error persists in Bastardas' apparatus); *ciu*. I 20 (I 35, 8-9) [*d Bx desunt*] ambulatilibus] ambulatibus *l A* : om. *W*_{2a} : a. et *Ma* (*corr. Ma*²) : ambulatilibus *Bs*^{*p.c.*} : ambulatibus *S T* (according to Dombart, *ambulantibus* is also shared by *Fb*^{*a.c.*}, which is difficult to confirm on the basis of the digital reproduction); *ciu*. I 22 (I 36, 26) [*d Bx desunt*] theobrotus *Kalb iuxta Lact.*] theobrotus *L l A* : theobrotus *C Pl² rell.* (tehobrotos *Ma*^{*a.c.*}) : cleobrotus *Bo* : clemobrotus *Pl* (uel cleimbrotus ^{*in marg.*}) *Le; ciu*. I 32 (I 49, 30) histrionibus *Ko C rell.*] str- *L l A Ma O*₁ (*corr. O*₁²).

marcus regulus *l Ko (rasura inter marcus et regulus) φ] m regulus L A C*

cfr. *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 33) Si autem dicunt M. Regulum...

m regulum L l A] regulum C : marcum regulum Ko φ (regulum marcum Au : marcium regulum S T^{p.c.} : martium regulum T^{u.c.})

Dombart was inconsistent in choosing which form to publish between *Marcus* and *M.* Sometimes he chose the form of the late-antique witnesses (*M.*), sometimes that of more recent copies. Since, all in all, the original variant is plausibly the former, *ciu.* I 24 probably reads *illum M Catoni Regulum praeferam*: the addition of the second *Marcum* before *Regulum* sounds slightly redundant and is probably a trivialization of $φ$ against *L l A C* (accepted by Dombart, notwithstanding his stemma).

Though *eorundem*¹⁴⁰ is not unacceptable in this context, its secondary nature is suggested by the opposition *ex litteris nostris / ex litteris eorum*, and by the principle of the *utrum in alterum abiturum erat*: *eorundem* can be explained as the involuntary merging of *eorum* and *eundem*, fostered by the homeoarceton. In this context, *eundem* is to be understood as an allusion to the fact that both characters bear the same name, *Marcus*. Though polygenesis is not completely ruled out, this reading suggests that *L* and *A* are genealogically related. The agreement of $η$ with *L l A* can be explained, as we will see, through contamination.

ciu. I 31 (I 48, 8-16) Auarus uero luxuriosusque populus secundis rebus effectus est, quas Nasica ille prouidentissime cauendas esse censebat, quando ciuitatem hostium maximam, fortissimam opulentissimam nolebat auferri, ut timore libido premeretur, libido pressa non luxuriaretur, luxuriaque cohibita nec auaritia grassaretur; quibus uitii obseratis ciuitati utilis uirtus floreret et cresceret eique uirtuti libertas congrua permaneret. *premeretur libido φ (praerberetur libido Ve^{a.c.} : premeretur S T b² : om. b)] premeretur libidine L l Ko A C*

A priori, both variants may work, though the one of $φ$ seems *potior* and was accepted by Kalb, who however mistakenly attributes it to *L* and *l* as well¹⁴¹. Conversely, in his second and third edition, Dombart printed *libidine*. The reading of *L l Ko A C* has the disadvantage of leaving *luxuriaretur* without subject, thus breaking the perfect parallelism of the tricolon. Also, *libido* maintains the compelling pace of the argumentation, which would be slowed down by an ablative absolute at the beginning of the central colon. In any case, the second *libido* may have independently been corrupted into *libidine*, since the double *libido* before and after *premeretur* may have sounded somewhat strange to a copyist, as it is attested by the reading of *S T b²*.

A also agrees in a secondary reading with *C* only:

ciu. I 18 (I 29, 16-25) At enim, ne uel aliena polluat libido, metuitur. Non polluet, si aliena erit; si autem polluet, aliena non erit. Sed cum pudicitia uirtus sit animi comitemque habeat fortitudinem, qua potius quaelibet mala tolerare quam malo consentire decernit, nullus autem magnanimus et pudicus in potestate habeat, quid de sua carne fiat, sed tantum quid adnuat mente uel renuat: quis eadem sana mente putauerit perdere se pudicitiam, si forte in adprehensa et oppressa carne sua exerceatur et expleatur libido non sua?

d deest

fiat rell.] faciat A C

This error is certainly reversible, since the main point of the passage is precisely that women do not have power on what happens to their bodies against their will. It is worth noting that the corruption is identical to the first one presented in this paragraph, which may indicate that the common ancestor of *L A C* (being it the archetype or a common hyparchetype) had some problems with transcribing and/or understanding the verb *feri*. This time the error is not witnessed by *L l Ko*. The reading of *A* is not registered by Dombart in the apparatus.

140. In the preface of AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XV, Dombart fails to mention *b²* as witness of this secondary reading.

141. The error persists in Bastardas' apparatus. Also, according to Dombart, *b* reads *premeretur libido*, which is actually not the case.

Moreover, *A* almost always agrees with *L* (*l Ko*) in *adiaphora* variants, with only a few exceptions¹⁴², and it displays many variants and secondary readings on its own¹⁴³.

The data at our disposal suggests that *A* is genealogically related with *L*: though each variant by itself is not conclusive, the group of variants seems quite relevant. More specifically, even though broader collations are required in order to confirm this hypothesis, the error shared with *C* alone implies that *A* is independent from *L* and that the three of them descend from a common ancestor α : even if some degree of contamination is required to explain the occasional deviations of *A* from the branch of *L*, such a blatant corruption as *faciat* was unlikely introduced via contamination.

According to Licht, *C* was produced, like *L*, in Ravenna in the second half of the 6th century¹⁴⁴. This copy, contrary to *L*, has separative readings on its own¹⁴⁵. The other peculiarity of *C* is that it shares *adiaphora* variants and errors both with φ and α . For now, I will limit the discussion to the analysis of secondary readings, leaving the exam of *adiaphora* variants for the last part of the paper. I have already discussed three errors shared by *C* and α (or by *C* and *A* only):

ciu. I 18 (I 29, 21) [*d deest*] *fiat rell.*] *faciat A C*

ciu. I 18 (I 30, 33) [*d deest*] *fiat l² C³ φ*] *faciat L l^{a.c.} Ko^l A C^{a.c.}? : faciant Ko^{a.c.}*

ciu. I 31 (I 48, 12-13) *premeretur libido φ (praeberetur libido Ve^{a.c.} : premeretur STb² : om. b)*] *premeretur libidine L l Ko A C*

On the other hand, *C* and φ converge in witnessing the following secondary readings:

ciu. I 6 (I 10, 15-28) *Quid ergo per multas gentes, quae inter se bella gesserunt et nusquam uictis in deorum suorum sedibus pepercerunt, noster sermo discurrat? Romanos ipsos uideamus, ipsos, inquam, recolamus respiciamusque Romanos, de quorum praecipua laude dictum est:*

Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos,

et quod accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant: quando tot tantasque urbes, ut late dominarentur, expugnatas captasque euerterunt, legatur nobis quae templa excipere solebant, ut ad ea quisquis confugisset liberaretur. An illi faciebant et scriptores earundem rerum gestarum ista reticebant? Ita uero, qui ea quae laudarent maxime requirebant, ista praeclarissima secundum ipsos pietatis indicia praeterirent?

L deest

quorum C φ] quibus l Ko A

I reproduce here Dombart-Kalb's edition, though I believe that the text should be changed and the variant of *l Ko A* accepted. The quote from Virgil is indeed "in praise of the Romans", rather than "about the praise of the Romans"¹⁴⁶. The corruption, however, is not firmly conjunctive, since the presence of an ablative immediately after may have urged the scribes to independently transform an ablative into a genitive.

ciu. I 26 (I 41, 26 - 42, 1) *Sed non ideo sine scelere facit, quisquis Deo filium immolare decreuerit, quia hoc Abraham etiam laudabiliter fecit. Nam et miles cum oboediens potestati, sub qualibet legitime constitutus est,*

142. See infra, p. @.

143. Here is a sample from paragraphs I 14 to 25: *ciu.* I 14 (I 25, 9) *arionem] orionem A; ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 9) *seu permiserunt] om. per homioit. A; ciu.* I 15 (I 27, 19) *iuris] iniuris A; ciu.* I 17 (I 29, 4) *nece se] nece A; ciu.* I 18 (I 30, 15) *siue maleuolentia] om. per homioar. A; ciu.* I 19 (I 32, 11) *tanta] sancta A (corr. A²); ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 31) *deuiant] debient L^{a.c.} : dubitent A; ciu.* I 20 (I 34, 27) *illorum] eorum A; ciu.* I 20 (I 35, 4) *errori] erroribus A; ciu.* I 21 (I 35, 27) *solum non] om. A; ciu.* I 22 (I 37, 19-20) *si hoc ille] ille si hoc A; ciu.* I 24 (I 39, 4) *uicerat] uicerat cui uicerat A; ciu.* I 25 (I 40, 27) *est] om. A.*

144. Cfr. supra, p. @.

145. Here is a sample from parr. I 14 to 25, with the exception of those subsequently corrected by *C*² (a roughly contemporary hand) and *C*³ (a 9th-century hand): *ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 9) *permiserunt] permiserunt sed C ; ciu.* I 15 (I 26, 10) *sed] om. C; ciu.* I 16 (I 28, 4) *coartatur] coartata C; ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 2) *inter illos L^l rell.] om. L^{a.c.} : inter eos C; ciu.* I 21 (I 35, 20) *deus occidi iubet] iubet deus occidi C.*

146. Cfr. *ciu.* I *praef.* (I 3, 25 - 4, 3) *Hoc uero, quod Dei est, superbae quoque animae spiritus inflatus adfectat amatque sibi in laudibus dici: Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

hominem occidit, nulla ciuitatis suae lege reus est homicidii, immo, nisi fecerit, reus est imperii deserti atque contempti; quod si sua sponte atque auctoritate fecisset, crimen effusi humani sanguinis incidisset.

d deest

qualibet legitime *L l A*] qua legitime *Ko C^l* (quali*** *C^{a.c.}*) *Au Lu Bx Va^l S T Bo b β* : qua legibus *Va² Ba W_{2a} γ Pl* (uel legitime ^{in marg.}) *Le* : qua legi**bus *K²? Ca*

Though both variants may work, the reading of *L l A* is *difficilior* and *qualibet* introduces a concessive nuance that fits well in the context. The *scriptio continua* may have induced the scribe to skip *-libet*, due to the initial *l-* of *legitime*. I cannot state it with certainty based on the reproduction, but it seems that the ancestor of *C* read *quali*** before the erasure, and that the last syllable, *li-* was corrected by the first hand into the beginning of *legitime*. γ and γ -related MSS. (*Va²* and its *descripti*, *K² Ca* and *Pl Le*) present a further corruption of *legitime* into *legibus*.

Moreover, though it is not technically a shared secondary reading, *C* seems to have been copied from an ancestor that presented the same reading as ϕ in the following *locus*:

ciu. I 25 (I 40, 15-18) Nullo modo quidem hoc faciet animus, ut consentiat libidini carnis suae aliena libidine concitatae, qui Deo potius eiusque sapientiae quam corpori eiusque concupiscentiae subiectus est.

d Ve desunt

eiusque concupiscentiae *L^l* (eiusque ****entiae *L^{a.c.}*) *l A*] concupiscentiaeque *Ko φ (-O^l^{a.c.} concupiscentique)* : uoluptatique *C*

Here the original reading seems the one attested by *L l A* (they read *optime* according to Dombart) due to the parallel structure with *Deo potius eiusque sapientiae*. If this is actually the case, then the readings of *C* and ϕ - albeit different - may reflect that of a shared ancestor ψ , where *eiusque* fell out, which lead *C* to change *concupiscentiae* into *uoluptatique*, as well as ϕ to add *-que* after *concupiscentiae*. On the other hand, it is not excluded that Augustine himself wrote *corpori concupiscentiaeque*, for the sake of *variatio* and of a more elliptic structure.

To sum up, the data on *C*'s stemmatical position is conflicting, and, though nothing is conclusive in itself, the accumulation cannot be dismissed as a simple coincidence. In the following chapter, I will analyze several *adiaphora* variants where *C* sometimes stands with α , sometimes with ϕ . After examining all of them, I shall put forward a working hypothesis on *C*'s genealogical relation, which anyway requires more extensive collations in order to be proven or dismissed.

C. Authorial variants?

In a note to volume II of his 1928/9 edition, Kalb considered the possibility that *L* and *C* reflect two *recensiones* of the work, the former descending from the first 'piecemeal' edition, the latter from the final complete and revised text. If this was the case, says Kalb, then the variants opposing *L* and *C* would date back to Augustine's own day¹⁴⁷. Though Kalb did not go further in exploring this possibility, the presence of several *adiaphora* variants in upper layers of the stemma (α vs. ϕ) makes the presence of synchronic/authorial variants a hypothesis worth considering.

Paolo Chiesa observed that, in order to put forward such hypothesis, a tradition should meet four conditions: the occurrence of several *adiaphora* variants in the upper level of the stemma (often incongruously distributed in the main branches), the compatibility of those variants with the *usus scribendi* of the author, the absence of a demonstrable archetype (with possible exceptions), and external evidence of a plausible historical circumstance that triggered the revision on the part of the author¹⁴⁸. Naturally, states Chiesa, meeting all these

147. Kalb, *Praefatio*, in AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. II, p. XIX, n.*: «Oritur quaestio, num codicibus *L(A [scil. l])* et *C (rell.)* duae diversae 'Civitatis Dei' recensiones ex ipsius Augustini aetate nobis traditae sint, cum libros, quos manipulatim primum in lucem editos esse constat - cuius editionis progeniem *L* esse opineris -, postea toto opere absoluto non sine aliqua orationis correctione in unum coactos esse coniectari possit».

148. P. CHIESA, «Varianti d'autore nell'alto medioevo fra filologia e critica letteraria», *Filologia Mediolatina*, 8, 2001, p. 1-24, here p. 6: «la presenza di un grande numero di opposizioni adiafore al piano più alto dello stemma, in assenza di un archetipo dimostrabile, rende più probabile il fatto che a monte della tradizione esistano due o più redazioni d'autore, ma ancora non lo dimostra: le varianti redazionali potrebbero benissimo appartenere a una fase della trasmissione successiva all'autore. La dimostrazione può avvenire

conditions leads only to ascertain that the general framework is not incompatible with the survival of authorial variants. It does not automatically entail that we are dealing with such variants: positive evidence in this respect is rather rare. In the following paragraph, I will first go through the main *adiaphora* variants opposing α C vs. ϕ and α vs. C ϕ , evaluating their compatibility with the *usus* of the author and the circumstances in which they may have originated. Second, I will discuss the possibility of an archetype at the top of the stemma. For both these operations, I will consider only book I, conscious that the situation might substantially change in other books. Lastly, I will briefly situate *ciu.* in its genetical context, verifying whether Augustine's way of writing and disseminating his works stimulated and fostered the production of precocious variant readings. The case of the bishop of Hippo is particularly lucky, since we have several explicit attestations of interventions on his texts while they were already circulating.

1) *Adiaphora variants opposing α vs. C ϕ*

ciu. I 4 (I 9, 17-20) Ibi amissa, hic seruata libertas; ibi clausa, hic interdicta captiuitas; ibi possidendi a dominantibus hostibus premebantur, huc liberandi a miserantibus ducebantur...

L deest

miserantibus C ϕ] miserantibus hostibus I Ko¹ (*om. ab huc usque ad ducebantur per homoiot. Ko^{a.c.}*) A

The second *hostibus* may look redundant, but cfr. *ciu.* I 7 *quo liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captivandi ulli nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur*.¹⁴⁹ If the first redaction of the work included *hostibus*, a reviewer may have eliminated it in order to avoid the repetition or, alternatively, it may have fallen out due to homeoteleuton. Vice versa, if the first version did not include it, a reviewer acquainted with Augustine's argumentation (or Augustine himself) may have added the second *hostibus* in order to clarify that those who showed piety and misery were *hostes* as well.

ciu. I 5 (I 9, 31 - 10, 7) Quem morem etiam Cato, sicut scribit Sallustius, nobilitatae ueritatis historicus, sententia sua, quam de coniuratis in senatu habuit, commemorare non praetermittit: *Rapi uirgines pueros, diuelli liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum pati quae uictoribus collibuisse, fana atque domos spoliari, caedem incendia fieri: postremo armis cadaueribus cruore atque luctu omnia compleri.*

L deest

compleri I Ko A] repleri C ϕ

soltanto attraverso la valutazione di queste varianti e diventerà più sicura quando elementi diversi, meglio se di natura extratestuale, recheranno conferma all'ipotesi"; ID., «Varianti d'autore nei testi letterari dell'alto medioevo. Qualche osservazione di metodo», in *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto medioevo, Spoleto 28 aprile - 4 maggio 2011* (Settimane di studio della fondazione CISAM LIX), Spoleto, 2012, vol. I, p. 379-401, here p. 384-385, quoting and commenting upon H. EMONDS, *Zweite Auflage im Altertum. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zur Überlieferung der antike Literatur*, Leipzig, 1941: "1) la sospetta variante deve essere compatibile (per documentazione, aspetto linguistico, stile) con il periodo e la prassi dell'autore, 2) deve esistere una condizione soggettiva che può aver indotto l'autore a rivedere la sua opera. Un cambio nelle sue condizioni di vita, ad esempio; oppure l'emergere di un nuovo dedicatario, che soppianta il precedente. 3) la variante deve attagliarsi con la nuova situazione venutasi a creare in seguito al cambio di condizioni di cui si è parlato. Sono regole che possono sembrare piuttosto rozze, forse troppo consequenziali, ma che mostrano in modo evidente qual è il problema. Per stabilire che una determinata variante risale all'autore occorre trovare un punto d'appoggio extratestuale su cui far leva; perché se il discorso rimane tutto all'interno del testo la dimostrazione non riesce. Questo punto d'appoggio extratestuale è individuato da Emonds in quella che egli chiama condizione soggettiva, ossia un mutamento della situazione - dell'autore stesso, delle necessita di comunicazione, o altro - che può aver spinto l'autore a rivedere il testo. Tale condizione soggettiva deve essere attestata da una fonte diversa: è il convergere dei due elementi, provenienti da fonti diverse - la modifica di situazione e la presenza di varianti - ad autorizzare l'ipotesi di varianti d'autore."; ivi, p. 390 "Le anomalie di trasmissione, evidenti nei casi che abbiamo appena esaminato, costituiscono una sorta di primo indizio della possibile esistenza di varianti all'origine. La teoria filologica insegna che in presenza di diverse redazioni iniziali lo stemma non si chiude in alto, e questo rende poco decifrabile la tradizione; prove di carattere diverso - nei casi esaminati, elementi biografici, codicologici o letterari - permettono di identificare nell'autore stesso dell'opera il responsabile della redazione più recente, e dunque dell'apertura originaria dello stemma".

149. The same collocation also in *ciu.* I 1 *Huc usque cruentus saeviebat inimicus, ibi accipiebat litem trucidatoris furor, illo ducebantur a miserantibus hostibus, quibus etiam extra ipsa loca pepercerant, ne in eos incurrerent, qui similem misericordiam non habebant.*

Here Augustine is quoting Sallust's text. According to the critical editions of *De coniuratione Catilinae*¹⁵⁰, the reading *repleri* does not feature in the tradition, though we cannot exclude that this variant circulated in the 4th century and/or was attested by other MSS. not used/not registered by the editors. Anyway, the possibility of an authorial variant (or a variant approved by the author) is here remote, for two reasons. First, Augustine knew very well that the passage was a quotation, and therefore should not be 'embellished'. Second, the possibility that he collated the passage with a copy of *De coniuratione Catilinae* (and thus corrected the text in either direction), after having quoted it by heart the first time, is weakened by an unanimously attested "authorial error", which would have been corrected, had he double-checked his source: the sentence is attributed to Cato, while it was actually pronounced by Caesar. Yet, it cannot be excluded that he or someone else checked only the *phrasis* of the quotation, without taking a look at its context (the indication of the person who speaks is ca. 250 word before the passage).

ciu. I 6 (I 10, 15-17) Quid ergo per multas gentes, quae inter se bella gesserunt et nusquam uictis in deorum suorum sedibus pepercerunt, noster sermo discurrat?

L deest

suorum *Ko C φ] om. l A*

Both versions may fit in the context, though the one witnessed by *C Ko φ* is certainly better; the omission of *l A* may be a (polygenetic) error due to homeoteleuton.

ciu. I 8 (I 13, 8-9) Interest autem plurimum, qualis sit usus uel earum rerum, quae prosperae, uel earum, quae dicuntur aduersae.

L deest

earum quae *A C φ] earum**** quae l : earum rerum quae Ko*

Assuming that the reading of *l ante correctionem* corresponds to the one of *Ko*, we are dealing with another variant of the same typology as the one presented above; here however the synthetic formulation is witnessed by *A C φ*, whilst *l Ko* display the extensive one. The fact that it is not shared by *A* may indicate that it is actually just an innovation of *l* inherited by *Ko*.

ciu. I 8 (I 14, 2-4) Nam pari motu exagitatum et exhalat horribiliter caenum et suauius fragrat unguentum.

L Bx desunt

exagitatum et *A C φ (exagitatum Pl^{a.c.})] exagitatum putorem suum l : exagitatum putorem suum et Ko*

l and *Ko*'s reading is perfectly acceptable in the context. The verb *exhalare* is variously employed by Augustine, more frequently as transitive (and, consequently, passive) than intransitive¹⁵¹, and the term *putor* is attested 15 times in his oeuvre, according to Brepols' LLT-A. The combination of the verb *exhalare* and *caenum* is relatively rare. It can be found also in the translation by Rufinus of Gregory of Nazianzus' *homily* 1, 91, quoted twice by Augustine in the *Contra Iulianum* in reference to the struggle of the soul with temptations:

c. Iul. I 8 and VI 14: luto hoc faecis cui inhaesimus caeni sui foetorem uenis capacioribus exhalante

150. SALLUSTE, *Catilina, Jugurtha, Fragments des Histoires*, ed. A. Ernout, Paris, 1968, p. 104; C. SALLVSTI CRISPI *Catilina, Jugurtha, Fragmenta ampliora*, ed. A. Kurfess, Leipzig, 1981, p. 38; C. SALLVSTI CRISPI *Catilina, Jugurtha, Historiarum fragmenta selecta, Appendix Sallustiana*, ed. L. D. Reynolds, Oxford, 1991, p. 39.

151. For the transitive use, see e.g. *conf.* II 2 *sed non tenebatur modus ab animo usque ad animum, quatenus est luminosus limes amicitiae, sed exhalabantur nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis et scatebra pubertatis et obnubilabant atque obfuscabant cor meum, ut non discernetur serenitas dilectionis a caligine libidinis*; *c. Acad.* II 2 *cum ecce tibi libri quidam pleni, ut ait Celsinus, bonas res arabicas ubi exhalantur in nos, ubi illi flammulae instillarunt pretiosissimi unguenti guttas paucissimas, incredibile, Romaniane, incredibile et ultra quam de me fortasse et tu credis*; *en. Ps.* 102, 28 *quid prodest quia hymnum cantat lingua tua, si sacrilegium exhalat uita tua?*; *c. Faust.* XV 6 *digeras aliquando quod exhalas*. For the intransitive use, see *Gn. litt.* VII 9 *non est enim corpus, ut tamquam exhalando minuatur*; *bapt.* 5, 17 *tanta ex eis iucunditas fraterni amoris exhalat, tanta dulcedo caritatis exuberat*.

The quote from Gregory may have inspired Augustine for this expression. On the other hand, the parallelism with *fragrat* suggests that the original reading was without the object¹⁵². Also, the fact that *A* do not agree with *l Ko* may point to an origin in *l* of the addition. It is also worth mentioning that the reading of *Ko* merges the reading of *l* (*putorem suum*) with the one of ϕ (*et*), confirming its contamination. This variant - as the one discussed immediately above - was not registered by Dombart and Kalb.

ciu. I 17 (I 28, 20-24) Ac per hoc et quae se occiderunt, ne quicquam huius modi paterentur, quis humanus affectus eis nolit ignosci? et quae se occidere noluerunt, ne suo facinore alienum flagitium deuitarent, quisquis <eis> hoc crimini dederit, ipse crimen insipientiae non cauebit.

d deest

eis hoc *Ko C* ϕ (ei se *Ba*² : si se *W*_{2a})] hoc *L l A*

Dombart publishes the reading of *C* ϕ between angle brackets. This sign does not indicate conjecture: instead, it just marks those readings that *etsi haud inepta videntur, librorum mss. auctoritate parum firmantur*¹⁵³. The phrase works both with and without *eis*, since the target of fictive accusations (the virgins who did not kill themselves), though implicit, is rather clear. This variant reflects either the intervention of a corrector (ranging from the author in person to an anonymous scribe) from which *C* ϕ depend, aimed at making the phrase smoother, or a shared omission of *L l A*¹⁵⁴.

ciu. I 22 (I 36, 30 - 37, 3) Nihil enim urgebat aut calamitatis aut criminis seu uerum seu falsum, quod non ualendo ferre se auferret; sed ad capessendam mortem atque <ad> huius uitae suaui uincla rumpenda sola adfuit animi magnitudo.

d Bx Ve desunt

ad huius *Ko C* ϕ (*-Au Bo b*^{a.c.})] huius *L l A Au Bo b*^{a.c.}

Both readings fit in the context, the one of *C* and ϕ being more explicit and plainer. In this case, the absence of *ad* in some ϕ -manuscripts points towards the originality of the version of *L*, independently trivialized by several scribes. Hence, Dombart's text should possibly be corrected¹⁵⁵.

ciu. I 22 (I 37, 10-24) At enim multi se interemerunt, ne in manus hostium peruenirent (...) Non fecerunt patriarchae, non prophetae, non apostoli, quia et ipse Dominus Christus, quando eos, si persecutionem paterentur, fugere admonuit de ciuitate in ciuitatem, potuit admonere ut sibi manus inferrent, ne in manus persequentium peruenirent. Porro si hoc ille non iussit aut monuit, ut eo modo sui ex hac uita emigrarent, quibus migrantibus mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse se promisit, quaelibet exempla proponant gentes, quae ignorant Deum, manifestum est hoc non licere colentibus unum uerum Deum.

d Bx desunt

migrantibus mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse se promisit *L*^{p.c.} *l A*] migrantibus mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse promisit *L*^{a.c.} : migrantibus se mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse promisit *Ko C*^l ϕ : migrantibus ** mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse promisit *C*^{a.c.}
proponant *L l A* $\eta \beta$] opponant *Ko C* ϕ (*- S T Bo Pl Le* β ; opponant *Bs*^{a.c.})

As for the first variant, *L ante correctionem* seem to reflect the situation of the archetype (or the working copy of the author): the lack of a subject for the infinitive urged the copyists to add it (independently from

152. Caesarius of Arles quotes this very passage of *ciu.* without the object. Cfr. Caes. s. 70, 1 *Multorum enim malis moribus atque clamoribus exagitatus est mundus; et ista exagitatio malorum atque bonorum, sicut caenum atque unguentum pari quidem motu exagitatum, illud exhalat, hoc suauiter fragrat*. This means that this textual form was already circulating in the first half of the VI century, some years before its earliest direct witness, *C*.

153. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XXXIV.

154. Dombart quotes as a parallel I 167, 5 = *ciu.* IV 18 *Quid, quod et Felicitas dea est? Aedem accepit, aram meruit, sacra congrua persoluta sunt*, probably referring to the variant (firmly secondary, due to its distribution) *ei congrua A² K² b²* (according to his apparatus). This parallel would support the secondary nature of *eis*, whilst in the *prolegomena* (AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XIV) he seems to suggest that the homeoteleuton with *quisquis* has fostered the *lacuna* in *L l A*.

155. In the preface of AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XVII, Dombart quotes a passage from the book of Einar Löfstedt on the language of Tertullian (E. LÖFSTEDT, *Zur Sprache Tertullians*, Lund, 1920, p. 62), where the author discusses the absence of the repetition of the preposition in parallel structures (e.g. *De an. 20 fortasse an et de corpore et ualitudine aliquid accedat*). This however has nothing to do with Augustine.

one another?) in different positions. Contrary to Dombart and Kalb, Bastardas publishes the reading of *Ko C φ*, on the basis of its consistency with Augustine's style in term of clausulae¹⁵⁶.

Regarding the other *locus criticus*, the branch of *L* and η (+ β) transmit the same *adiaphora* variant: both verbs, though not synonyms, perfectly fit in the context. Both *iuncturae* are used by Augustine, though *opponere exemplum* is much rarer (also because the situations where it can be used are less frequent than those in which *proponere* fits)¹⁵⁷. However, it is also true that the variant may have originated unintentionally (in both directions), due to the abbreviation of the preverb. Hence, polygenesis is not excluded. According to Dombart, *L l A β* (η -MSS. were unknown to him or unexploited) transmit the original variant and the reading of *C* is doubtful, which is actually not.

ciu. I 32 (I 49, 13-14) Ecce attendite, si mens tam diu potatis erroribus ebria uos aliquid sanum cogitare permittit! cogitare *L l A*] considerare *Ko C φ*

In Augustine's works, *cogitare* (also in some combinations with *aliquid*) is more frequent than *considerare*, and this is possibly the reason why Dombart thought that *L*'s branch reads *recte*. However, *considerare* is also often used with the accusative in the sense of *cogitare*, *meditari* etc.¹⁵⁸.

ciu. I 32 (I 49, 15-18) Dii propter sedandam corporum pestilentiam ludos sibi scaenicos exhiberi iubebant; pontifex autem propter animorum cauendam pestilentiam ipsam scaenam constitui prohibebat. constitui *L l Ko A*] construi *C φ*

In book I of *ciu.*, the verb employed for the construction of theaters is always *construo*¹⁵⁹. Nonetheless, *constitui* is here preferred by Dombart, who supports his choice with two parallels in book III, where *constituo* is used for the foundation of temples¹⁶⁰. All in all, it seems that both verbs may work in the context.

ciu. I 32 (I 49, 19-30) Neque enim et illa corporum pestilentia ideo conqueuit, quia populo bellicoso et solis antea ludis circensibus adueto ludorum scaenicorum delicata subintrauit insania; sed astutia spirituum nefandorum prauidens illam pestilentiam iam fine debito cessaturam aliam longe grauiorem, qua plurimum gaudet, ex <hac> occasione non corporibus, sed moribus curauit inmittere, quae animos miserorum tantis obaecaui tenebris, tanta deformitate foedauit, ut etiam modo (quod incredibile forsitan erit, si a nostris posteris audietur) Romana urbe uastata, quos pestilentia ista possedit atque inde fugientes Carthaginem peruenire potuerunt, in theatris cotidie certatim pro histrionibus insanirent.

hac occasione *Ko A^{p.c.} C φ* (hac **cassatione *Au* : hac occasione *co Ve^{a.c.}*)] occasione *L l A^{a.c.}*

Dombart chose the variant of *C φ* (*hac occasione*)¹⁶¹ though he states that the one of *L* is *fortasse recte*, due to a parallel with Suet. *Caes.* 60. Actually, both expressions are employed by Augustine, according to Brepols' LLT-A: *ex hac occasione/ex occasione hac* 18 times, *ex occasione* without a genitive or a relative clause, 13 times¹⁶². In general, it is impossible to select one of the two on the basis of the *usus scribendi*.

156. He quotes DI CAPUA, «Il ritmo prosaico» cit., p. 721 [*recte* 722].

157. According to Brepols' LLT-A, it is attested only in *ep.* 93 Hic tu oppositurus es exemplum iusti illius in diluio, qui cum domo sua solus liberari dignus inuentus est; and in *c. Iul.* IV 744 sed acerbissimi gratiae huius inimici exempla nobis opponitis impiorum, quos dicitis alienos a fide abundare uirtutibus, in quibus sine adiutorio gratiae, solum est naturae bonum, licet superstitionibus mancipatum, qui solis libertatis ingenitae uiribus, et misericordes crebro, et modesti, et casti inueniuntur, et sobrii.

158. Cfr. e.g. *ciu.* I 9 *Quid igitur in illa rerum uastitate Christiani passi sunt, quod non eis magis fideliter ista considerantibus ad prouectum ualeret?*; *ep.* 44, 6 *Itaque ad diligentiorum etiam temporum discussionem uolumus ipsum uolumen accipere atque auferre nobiscum. Qui noluit dare dicens ibi nos habere illud, quando aliquid in eo considerare uellemus.*

159. Cfr. *ciu.* I 31 *caueam theatri senatum construere molientem*; *ciu.* I 33 *quando construi theatra prohibebat.*

160. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XV, referring to *ciu.* III 25 (I 137, 5-8): *Nec ipse aliud secutus uidetur quam quod aduertit Romae etiam Febri, sicut Saluti, templum constitutum. Eo modo igitur non solum Concordiae, uerum etiam Discordiae constitui debuit.*

161. In the preface of AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XVIII, Dombart fails to mention that *A^{p.c.}* reads *hac occasione*.

162. I provide here the list of the latter instances: *ep. nuper in lucem prolatae 7 quamuis propter imperandam nauem ad Gallias in negotio presbyteri Heraclii fueris directus, tamen ex occasione age cum fratre et coepiscopo meo <Nouato>, ut negotio ecclesiae adesse dignetur; quaest. Hept. 7 quaest. Iudic. 3 tunc uero, cum ciuitates datae ipsi Caleb commemorarentur, progressus ex occasione*

2) Adiphora variants opposing α C vs. ϕ

ciu. I 3 (I 6, 23-24) Ecce qualibus diis Urbem Romani seruandam se commisisse gaudebant!

L deest

se commisisse / *Ko A C*] se commendasse ϕ (secum mendasse *Bx*)

Dombart publishes *L* and *C*'s text, implying that the secondary reading is the one of ϕ . In my view, it is impossible to choose: Augustine employs both terms in book I when dealing with the acts of entrusting the defeated pagan gods with the city of Rome and its inhabitants¹⁶³. Again, the *varia lectio* is significant, but its interpretation is unclear.

ciu. I 3 (8, 10-21) Verum ista oportunitus alio loco diligenter copioseque tractanda sunt: nunc, quod institueram de ingratis hominibus dicere, parumper expediam ut possum, qui ea mala, quae pro suorum morum peruersitate merito patiuntur, blasphemantes Christo inputant; quod autem illis etiam talibus propter Christum parcitur, nec dignantur adtendere et eas linguas aduersus eius nomen dementia sacrilegae peruersitatis exercent, quibus linguis usurpauerunt mendaciter ipsum nomen, ut uiuerent, uel quas linguas in locis ei sacratis metuendo presserunt, ut illic tuti atque muniti, ubi propter eum inlaesi ab hostibus fuerant, inde in eum maledictis hostilibus prosilirent.

L deest

expediam / *Ko A C*] explicem ϕ (exmplicem *F_b^{a.c.}*, exemplificem *P.c.*) : al. explicem *I² in marg.*

peruersitatis / *Ko A C d Bo b β K^{a.c.}*] proteruitatis *Au Lu Bx Va Ba Ma F_b O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca S T Bo in marg.*

Pl Le β in marg. : *W_{2a} om. per homoiot.*

In the first *locus criticus*, Dombart favors the reading of α C, though it is arduous to decide which one should be adopted. Although *expediam* is frequently used for comparable expressions throughout *ciu.*¹⁶⁴, Augustine employs both verbs in similar contexts, with a slight preference for *explicem*¹⁶⁵. Actually, they

narrator quod postea factum est praeoccupauit; cons. eu. II 44 unde hoc praeoccupasse intellegitur et ipse ex occasione, ut ibi narraret quod multo post factum est; cons. eu. II 44 proinde manifestum est ex occasione recordatum praeoccupasse et ante multa, quae, priusquam Iohanni hoc fieret, gesta narraturus erat, hoc praeoccupatum in sua narratione praemisisse; en. Ps. 36, 2, 18 sic et isti filii eorum, sicut meministis, et praetermittendum ex occasione non est; en. Ps. 115, 1 quos alio loco dicit non ex ueritate, sed ex occasione praedicare uerbum Dei, non caste, id est, non ex animo purae et sincerae caritatis; s. 101 auctus (Wilmart 20) Praedictet ex occasione, salutet in uia; s. 137 Sunt homines in ecclesia, de quibus dicit Apostolus, qui ex occasione euangelizant, quaerentes ab hominibus commoda sua, siue pecuniaria, siue honorum uel laudis humanae; s. 154 Quid ergo ex occasione mandati?; op. mon. 10, 11 si autem inuitus, inquit, dispensatio mihi credita est, id est si necessitate transigendae huius uitae inuitus cogor euangelizare, dispensatio mihi credita est, ut scilicet ex dispensatione mea, quia christum, quia ueritatem praedico, quamuis ex occasione, quamuis mea quaerens, quamuis terreni emolumentis necessitate compulsus, alii proficiant, ego autem mercedem apud Deum gloriosam illam sempiternam que non habeam; contra Adim. 12 quod quidem ex occasione tractauimus, quia huic quoque sententiae multum insidari solent negantes corporum resurrectionem; contra litt. Pet. II 72 ueruntamen quia ex occasione praetermittendum non est, certe antiquus populus Dei circumcisionem pro baptismo habebat; c. Cresc. III 50 neque uero, si longe a morte cuiuslibet molestis libido ulciscendi malum pro malo retribuatur, adprobamus, multo amplius detestantes, si ex occasione uelut pro unitate conandi concupita quisque auferat aliena, non illa quae sub nomine ecclesiae non debent ab haereticis possideri, sed quorumque priuata.

163. Cfr. *ciu.* I 3 *Itane istis penatibus uictis Romam, ne uinceretur, prudenter commendare debuerunt?*; *ciu.* I 3 *Si igitur Vergilius tales deos et uictos dicit et, ut uel uicti quoquo modo euaderent, homini commendatos: quae dementia est existimare his tutoribus Romam sapienter fuisse commissam et nisi eos amisisset non potuisse uastari?* The first two occurrences are used by Dombart as well (AVRELIUS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., p. XXVIII) in order to point out the plausibility of *commendasse*. See also the example from I 13 provided by N. JACOBY, *Philologischer Kommentar zu Augustinus De civitate Dei, Buch I. Mit Hinweisen zu Sprache und Stil* (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe XV. Klassische Sprache und Literaturen, 89), Frankfurt am Main, 2004, p. 140.

164. *ciu.* I 35 *Perplexae quippe sunt istae duae ciuitates in hoc saeculo inuicemque permixtae, donec ultimo iudicio dirimantur; de quarum exortu et prokursu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror, quantum diuinitus adiuuabor, expediam propter gloriam ciuitatis Dei, quae alienis a contrario comparatis clarius eminebit;* *ciu.* X 32 *Deinceps itaque, ut in primo libro polliciti sumus, de duarum ciuitatum, quas in hoc saeculo perplexas diximus inuicemque permixtas, exortu et prokursu et debitis finibus quod dicendum arbitror, quantum diuinitus adiuuabor expediam;* *ciu.* XV 14 *sed hinc me oportuniore loco, si Deus adiuuerit, promisi diligentius locuturum; nunc quod instat expediam;* *ciu.* XIX 21 *Quapropter nunc est locus, ut quam potero breuiter ac dilucide expediam, quod in secundo huius operis libro me demonstraturum esse promisi, secundum definitiones, quibus apud Ciceronem utitur Scipio in libris de re publica, numquam rem publicam fuisse Romanam. Cfr. ciu. XXI 3 Quod si responderetur terrenum corpus solidum scilicet atque conspicuum nullum esse, atque ut uno potius nomine id explicem, nullam esse carnem, quae dolere possit morique non possit: quid aliud dicitur, nisi quod sensu corporis homines et experientia collegerunt?*

165. *Explicem* counts 27 occurrences in Augustine's œuvre according to LLT-A; instead, *expediam* appears 11 times. According to Dombart, the reading of *F_b* would be *emplicem*, which is actually not the case.

are not completely interchangeable: *expediam* carries the notion of “saying quickly, in a few words”, whilst *explicem* recalls more of a complete and thorough explanation. Either way, the modification looks quite intrusive, because it takes place in a passage where the author speaks in first person: changing the verb chosen by Augustine, and thus the nuance conveyed by it, is not anodyne. It is not impossible that Augustine himself - who used to write without a detailed work plan outlined beforehand¹⁶⁶ - or someone else changed the verb acknowledging that the topic of those who mistakenly attribute their misfortune to Christ and Christian cults was dealt with rather extensively. Lastly, it is interesting to note that *l*² adds in the margin the variant of φ , thus attesting that contamination played a role in *l* too.

As for the second *locus criticus*, both variants work very well, though Augustine employs much more frequently *peruersitas* (ca. 270 occurrences according to the LLT-A) than *proteruitas* (4 occurrences, one of which in *ciu.* II 2). If *peruersitatis* is the earlier form, then the substantive may have been replaced in order to avoid the repetition of *peruersitas*, used a couple of lines above. Instead, if we lean towards *proteruitas*, then its substitution with *peruersitas* may have been fostered by the echo of the preceding *peruersitas*. Lastly, it is worth noting that the reading of *L*'s branch and *C* is shared by part of η , together with *K*¹⁶⁷ and *d*¹⁶⁸.

ciu. I 10 (I 19, 11-19) Unde Paulinus noster, Nolensis episcopus, ex opulentissimo diuite uoluntate pauperrimus et copiosissime sanctus, quando et ipsam Nolum barbari uastauerunt, cum ab eis teneretur, sic in corde suo, ut ab eo postea cognouimus, precabatur: *Domine, non exrucier propter aurum et argentum; ubi enim sint omnia mea, tu scis.* Ibi enim habebat omnia sua, ubi eum condere et thesaurizare ille monstrauerat, qui haec mala mundo uentura praedixerat.

L deest

monstrauerat *Ko A C*] monuerat φ (mouerat *Au*^{a.c.} *Ca*^{a.c.} : nouerat *Au*^l) : monue** *l*

Again, Dombart published the reading of *Ko A C*. In this case, his choice is supported by the *usus scribendi*: Augustine seems to prefer *monstrare* over *monere*. Anyway, the words *monstrauerat* and *monuerat*, albeit not perfectly synonyms, convincingly fit in the context. An unusual change from a stemmatical point of view is the agreement of *l* with φ .

ciu. I 12 (I 22, 24-26) Proinde ista omnia, <id est> curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt uiuorum solacia quam subsidia mortuorum.

L l desunt

id est *A*^{p.c.} *Ko* φ *cur. mort.*] *om. A*^{a.c.} *C*

Here Dombart favors the reading of φ , which he publishes between angle brackets. As we said, they do not indicate conjecture, but rather a seemingly plausible reading, irregularly witnessed by manuscripts that are not of primary importance. In this case, the version without *id est* looks *difficilior* but not implausible: both may work in the context, provided with the appropriate punctuation. The absence of any explicit link between the antecedent (*ista omnia*) and the subsequent explanation (*curatio funeris...*) is typical of the oral style, and is attested in Augustine's speeches¹⁶⁹. Since he probably dictated the work to a scribe, some interferences with orality might have occurred. However, as this portion of the text is missing in both *L* and *l*, it is best to remain cautious. In this passage, we can benefit from the witness of *cur. mort.* 2, 4. This work, composed by Augustine for Pauline of Nola between 421 and 424 (more probably in 423/4¹⁷⁰) - when Augustine was busy writing *ciu.* XV-XVIII¹⁷¹ - contains at the beginning a long self-quotation from *ciu.* I 12-13, on the subject of the care for the dead and its fundamental uselessness from God's perspective. All 17 MSS. considered by the editor, Joseph Zycha, accordingly testify to *id est*¹⁷²: we can conclude that either *id est* is the original reading, or that Augustine, at the

166. COLOMBI, «Aspetto» cit., p. 185; PECERE-RONCONI, «Le opere» cit., p. 78.

167. For the relation of *K* with η , see GIANI, «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit.

168. For the stemmatical position of *d*, see supra @.

169. E.g. *en. Ps.* 62, 9 *ecce, fratres, quomodo caro nostra quamdiu mortalis est, quamdiu fragilis est, ante illam resurrectionem habet solatia ista quibus uiuimus, panem, aquam, fructus, uinum, oleum.*

170. M. KLÖCKENER, *Cura pro mortuis gerenda (De-)* (s.v.), in *Augustinus-lexikon*, vol. II, Basel, 199-2002, col. 182-188.

171. COLOMBI, «Aspetto» cit., p. 186.

172. SANCTI AVRELI AVGVSTINI *De fide et symbolo, De fide et operibus, De agone christiano, De continentia, De bono coniugali, De sancta uirginitate, De bono uidiuitatis, De adulterinis coniugiis libri II, De mendacio, Contra mendacium, De opere monachorum, De*

moment of revising his text in order to quote it in *cur. mort.* (or in the context of an earlier revision campaign) noticed the paratactic expression and added *id est*, both in *cur. mort.* and in his exemplar of *ciu.*

ciu. I 18 (I 30, 1-3) Quod si tale aliquid est pudicitia, ut quid pro illa, ne amittatur, etiam <cum> periculo corporis laboratur?

d deest
cum *L¹ l Ko A C³ φ] om. L^{a.c.} C^{a.c.}*

The verb *laboro* takes the simple ablative (which expresses the cause from which the subject suffers). The reading of φ, *L post correctionem* and *C³* mirrors the evolution of Latin in the direction of Roman languages, as it expresses through the preposition what is normally conveyed by the sole ablative. Dombart reckons that φ bears the right variant, though both may function in this context.

ciu. I 19 (I 31, 30-32) Si non est illa inpudicitia qua inuita opprimitur, non est haec iustitia qua casta punitur.

d deest
opprimitur *L l Ko A C Au^{a.c.}] comprimitur φ (-Au^{a.c.})*

These two verbs, *comprimo* and *opprimo*, are used in book I of *ciu.* in a substantially interchangeable way, with reference to sexual violence (suffered by Lucretia, in comparison with the ones suffered by Christian women during the sack of Rome). *Opprimo* is more frequent: it occurs 11 times (with the exception of this passage), 9 of which with specific reference to sexual violence¹⁷³; *comprimo* instead occurs 3 times, only with this specific meaning¹⁷⁴.

ciu. I 19 (I 33, 8-12) Nobis tamen in hoc tam nobili feminae huius exemplo ad istos refutandos, qui Christianis feminis in captiuitate compressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sanctitatis insultant, sufficit quod in praeclaris eius laudibus dictum est: *Duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit.*

d deest
in *Ko^{a.c.} C³ φ] om. L l A C^{a.c.} : del. Ko*

According to Dombart, the omission of *in* may be either a polygenetic error of *L* and *C* caused by homeoteleuton with the preceding *tamen*¹⁷⁵ or even an archetypal error¹⁷⁶. However, the simple ablative can convincingly be explained as an ablative of limitation: both variants *a priori* fit in the context.

ciu. I 23 (I 37, 28 - 38, 2) Sed tamen etiam illi praeter Lucretiam, de qua supra satis quod uidebatur diximus, non facile reperiunt de cuius auctoritate praescribant, nisi illum Catonem, qui se Uticae occidit...

Bx d desunt
satis *L¹ l Ko A φ] om. L^{a.c.} C*

The sentence works well both with and without the adverb (indeed, Augustine dedicates the entire paragraph 19, quite a long one, to the character of Lucretia and her suicide). Contrary to his own habit, here Dombart prefers the reading of φ, shared also by the contaminated *L¹ l A* and *Ko*, and he does not

divinatione daemonum, De cura pro mortuis gerenda, De patientia (CSEL 41), ed. J. Zycha, Paragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae, 1900, p. XXXI-XXXIII (*prolegomena*) and p. 619-660 (text), here p. 626, l. 14.

173. *ciu.* I 18 ...*quis eadem sana mente putauerit perdere se pudicitiam, si forte in adprehensa et oppressa carne sua exerceatur et expleatur libido non sua?*; *ciu.* I 18 *Si autem animi bonum est, etiam oppresso corpore non amittitur*; *ciu.* I 18 *Absit hic error et hinc potius admoneamur ita non amitti corporis sanctitatem manente animi sanctitate etiam corpore oppresso, sicut amittitur et corporis sanctitas uiolata animi sanctitate etiam corpore intacto*; *ciu.* I 18 *Quam ob rem non habet quod in se morte spontanea puniat femina sine ulla sua consensione uiolenter oppressa et alieno compressa peccato*; *ciu.* I 19 *An forte huic perspicuae rationi, qua dicimus corpore oppresso nequaquam proposito castitatis ulla in malum consensione mutato illius tantum esse flagitium, qui opprimens concubuerit, non illius, quae oppressa concumbenti nulla uoluntate consenserit, contradicere audebunt hi, contra quos feminarum Christianarum in captiuitate oppressarum non tantum mentes, uerum etiam corpora sancta defendimus?*; *ciu.* I 19 *Huius corpore cum uiolenter oppresso Tarquinii regis filius libidinose potitus esset.*

174. *ciu.* I 18 *Quam ob rem non habet quod in se morte spontanea puniat femina sine ulla sua consensione uiolenter oppressa et alieno compressa peccato*; *ciu.* I 19 ...*qui Christianis feminis in captiuitate compressis alieni ab omni cogitatione sanctitatis insultant*; *ciu.* I 28 ...*nec istae, quae tales sunt, si earum quoque aliquas barbarica libido compressit...*

175. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XIX.

176. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XXV.

even mark it with the usual angle brackets. If we postulate, like Dombart seems to do, that the omission of *satis* is a shared error of *L* (*ante correctionem*) and *C*, then a strong suspicion arises of genealogical relation between them - which, by the way, seriously undermines his stemma. Instead, if we assume that this was a voluntary addition to the text, then it would be quite an invasive intervention from the part of a scribe, since he would have put himself in the position of someone capable of judging when Augustine has said enough about a certain topic. The possibility of an authorial/synchronic variant is here concrete.

ciu. I 25 (I 40, 11-13) At enim timendum est et cauendum, ne libidini subditum corpus illecebrosissima uoluptate animum adliciat consentire peccato.

d deest

libidini *LA^{a.c.} C*] libidine *l^{a.c.}* : libidini hostili *l¹ Ko A² φ*

Augustine is reporting the thought of those virgins who preferred to kill themselves rather than undergo sexual violence, for it would have harmed their physical and spiritual integrity. The adjective *hostili* points precisely towards the origin of the *libido* from an enemy/invader. This *iunctura* is rather uncommon: besides medieval quotations of the abovementioned passage, it is used according to the CrossDatabase Searchtool once in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*¹⁷⁷, once by Tacitus¹⁷⁸, and, interestingly enough, by Augustine himself in a letter to Victorianus dated towards the end of 409. This letter deals with the same topic as *ciu.* I, and was written not long before the latter¹⁷⁹. In response to Victorianus' concern about the crimes perpetrated by barbaric populations, among which is sexual violence, Augustine states that if consecrated virgins will pray God relying on his mercy, they will not be harmed in any way, and even when something happens to their bodies, it will not damage their spiritual purity at all:

ep. 111, 9 Haec illis dicentibus et ad deum ingemescentibus omnino suis aderit qui suis adesse consuevit, et aut nihil in earum castissimis membris libidine hostili perpetrari permittit, aut, si permittit, cum earum animus nulla consensionis turpitudine maculatur, etiam carnem suam defendit a crimine et, quicquid in ea nec commisit nec permisit libido patientis, solius erit culpa facientis omnis que illa uolentia non pro corruptionis turpitudine sed pro passionis uulnere deputabitur.

Therefore, both variants are possible and consistent with Augustine's style. *φ*'s reading contains an Augustinian *iunctura*: if we decide that the variant of *LA C* is the correct one, as Dombart did¹⁸⁰, we should imagine a reviewer very well acquainted with Augustine's thought and style (or Augustine himself). Otherwise, the shared omission of *hostili* genealogically links *LA C*, as seems to imply Bastardas, who prints [*hostili*] between square brackets.

Lastly, in the following case the opposition is only between *L* (missing, but possibly reflected by *l ante correctionem*) and *φ*, since *C* shows an error on its own:

ciu. I 3 (I 7, 21-22) Si igitur Vergilius tales deos et uictos dicit et, ut uel uicti quoquo modo euaderent, homini commendatos: quae dementia est existimare his tutoribus Romam sapienter fuisse commissam et nisi eos amisisset non potuisse uastari?

L deest

et ut uel uicti *l² Ko A φ (-γ)*] et ut *l^{a.c.}* : et uelut *C* : et uelut uicti *γ* (uel *Ma²* ; uel ut uel *O¹² in marg.*)

Dombart prints the version of *φ* - with the exception of *γ*, that reads *uelut* instead of *ut uel*, probably due to the closeness of *ut* with the abbreviation for *uel*¹⁸¹. However, the reading *ante correctionem* of *l* may

177. *Rhet. Herenn.* IV 8 12 *quo pacto hostis, reuulsis maiorum sepulcris, diiectis moenibus, ouantes inruerent in ciuitatem; quo modo deum templis spoliatis, optimatibus trucidatis, aliis abreptis in seruitutem, matribusfamiliis et ingenuis sub hostilem libidinem subiectis urbs acerbissimo concidat incendio conflagrat.*

178. Tac. *Iul. Agr.* 31, 1 *Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse uoluit: hi per dilectus alibi seruituri auferuntur; coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugerunt, nomine amicorum atque hospitem polluantur.*

179. J. DIVJAK, *Epistulae* (s.v.), in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, vol. II, Basel, 1996-2002, col. 893-1057, here col. 969-70.

180. In the preface of AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., p. XIX, Dombart states that *L l C* all read *libidine*, while it is the reading of the sole *l^{a.c.}*; therefore, *A* is not the only MS. that preserves the supposedly original reading. The fact that *l¹* adds (*h*)*ostili* stresses once again that a certain amount of contamination occurred even in the first layer of *l*.

181. Dombart registers in the apparatus only the reading of *C* and the one of the later *p*.

be original as much as the one of φ . Should this be the case, the addition of *uel uicti* would reflect the voluntary intervention of an attentive copyist or by the author/someone close to him: *uel* is indeed often employed by Augustine to stress a certain element in the phrase¹⁸². Otherwise, the omission of *uel uicti* would be a *lectio singularis* of *l. Et uelut* of *C* is per se unacceptable and looks like a corruption from either the version of *l* or that of φ .

3) Stemmatical position of η

Before drawing any conclusion regarding *adiaphora* variants, I would like to address another issue we have encountered and not yet properly addressed, namely the episodic agreement of *L l Ko A* with (some manuscripts of) family η ¹⁸³. We have already seen three instances, which I recall here:

ciu. I 3 (I 8, 17) [*L deest*] *peruersitatis l Ko A C d Bo b β K^{a.c.}*] *proteruitatis θ (W_{2a} om. per homoiot.) γ K² Ca S T Bo* ^{*in marg.*} *Pl Le β* ^{*in marg.*}

ciu. I 22 (I 37, 22) [*d Bx desunt*] *proponant L l A η β*] *opponant Ko C φ (- S T Bo Pl Le β ; oppinant Bs^{a.c.})*

ciu. I 24 (I 39, 2) *eorum eundem C φ (- η)*] *eorundem L l A S T b² Bo Pl Le* : *eorum eidem Ko*

The first two variants are *adiaphora*, while in the third, as we have seen, the error lays in the branch of *L*, together with η . I present below other (less relevant) instances in which θ γ display errors shared only partly by η .

ciu. I 3 (I 6, 24 - 7, 1) *Et nobis suscensent, cum de diis eorum talia dicimus; nec suscensent auctoribus suis, quos ut ediscerent mercedem dederunt doctoresque ipsos insuper et salario publico et honoribus dignissimos habuerunt.*

L deest

dicimus L l Ko A C d K Ca Bo Pl Le b β] *dicimus cum θ (om. per homoiot. Va^{a.c.}) γ K³ S T b²*

Here η (with the exception of *S T*) *K Ca*¹⁸⁴ and *d* transmit the correct reading against θ γ .

ciu. I 3 (I 7, 27 - 8, 3) *Quanto enim sapientius creditur, non Romam ad istam cladem non fuisse uenturam, nisi prius illi perissent, sed illos potius olim fuisse perituros, nisi eos quantum potuisset Roma seruasset!*

L deest

non Romam l Ko A C d Au^{a.c.} S Bo Pl b β] *Romam θ (-Au^{a.c.}) γ K Ca T Le*

non fuisse l Ko C φ (-d^{p.c.})] *afuisse d^{p.c.} (non legitur a.c.)* : *fuisse A*

The fact that η (with the exception of *T* and *Le*), together with *Au^{a.c.}* and *d* preserve the original reading is not problematic, since the repetition of *non* may have independently aroused suspicion on the part of medieval scribes (cfr. the readings of *A* and *d^{p.c.}*).

ciu. I 17 (I 28, 20-24) *Ac per hoc et quae se occiderunt, ne quicquam huius modi paterentur, quis humanus affectus eis nolit ignosci? Et quae se occidere noluerunt, ne suo facinore alienum flagitium deitarent, quisquis <eis> hoc crimini dederit, ipse crimen insipientiae non cauebit.*

d deest

crimen insipientiae rell.] *crimine insipientiae Ko Au^{p.c.} Lu^{p.c.} Ma² F^{p.c.} O₁ Bs Ve K² Ca^{p.c.} Bo Pl* : *criminen sipientiae Le*

cauebit L l A C S T b^{a.c.} β] *carebit Ko θ γ K Ca Bo b² Pl Le*

182. Cfr. e.g. *en. Ps.* 48, 2, 1 *primo uel apertus paganus, postea palliatur.*

183. The presence of the same system of chapter numbering in *C* and in *Pl Le*, is also a clue of horizontal contacts between at least *Pl Le* and α .

184. For the relation of *K* with η , see GIANI, «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit. Dombart in his apparatus reports that *K* reads *cum*, which is actually an addition by *K³*.

Here the secondary reading *carebit* is shared by *Ko* and φ -MSS., with the exception of *STb^{a.c.}* and β (that is to say, η , with the exception of *Bo Pl Le*). Many copyists adapted the object *crimen* into *crimine*, required by the verb *carere*.

ciu. I 27 (I 43, 4-6) Cur ergo amantur tot et tanta pericula uel certe, etiamsi non amantur, suscipiuntur, cum manet in hac uita, cui abscedere licitum est?

cum *L l Ko A C^{a.c.} Bx STBo b β* (al. cur ^{in marg.})] cur *C² d θ (-Bx) γ K Ca Pl Le*

The corruption (shared by φ , with the exception of *Bx* and *STBo b β*) is polygenetic, due to the preceding *cur*.

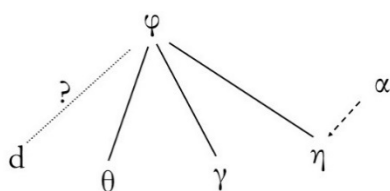
ciu. I 32 (I 49, 6-12) Verum tamen scitote, qui ista nescitis et qui uos scire dissimulatis, aduertite, qui aduersus liberatorem a talibus dominis murmuratis: ludi scaenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia uanitatum, non hominum uitiiis, sed deorum uestrorum iussis Romae instituti sunt. Tolerabilius diuinos honores deferretis illi Scipioni quam deos huius modi coleretis.

Ve deest

huius *L l A C Au S T b² Bo Pl Le*] eius *Ko d θ (-Au) γ K Ca b^{a.c.} β*

Here too the variant is too small to draw any conclusion from it, but it is worth noting that the original reading is attested by *L*'s branch (*Ko* excepted), *Au* and η .

First of all, this list confirms that the stemmatical position of *d* is probably less stable than it appears. The same may also be true to some extent for *Au* and *Bx*, since they occasionally join α in transmitting the original reading. As for η , we can infer that either γ θ share a common ancestor, from which η is independent, or that η was contaminated with α . For the moment, I would be inclined towards the second option, for two reasons: first, because the number and the quality of the shared readings is not so relevant as to postulate a common ancestor (several secondary readings shared by γ θ are potentially polygenetic). The lack of consistency within the class and its instability - most frequently, only a few η -MSS. agree with α -, as well as the presence of alternative readings in the margins of both β and *Bo* suggest, on the contrary, a multi-layered contamination and/or an ancestor (η) provided with marginal variants, from which the copyists of its apographs were able to choose. Secondly, I am more inclined towards contamination for historical reasons: *L l Ko A C* and η -MSS. are all French (or kept in France in the 9th century), and horizontal contacts in Carolingian Francia are very common, given the way in which scriptoria used to work¹⁸⁵. Also, as we have shown, *Ko* seems to have descended from multiple exemplars, one of which being *l* or a relative of *l*, the other possibly an η -copy. This may suggest that reciprocal influence between the representatives of these classes of manuscripts took place in central and Northern France.



4) Presence of an archetype

In order to explore the hypothesis of authorial/synchronic variants in this tradition, it is useful to verify whether an archetype can be proven, though its existence does not necessarily hinder the presence of such variants¹⁸⁶. Given that Dombart draws a bifid stemma, the first branch of which is occupied by *L* and the other by

185. Several episodes of contamination of *ciu.* in the 9th century are discussed in GIANI, «Reading and Copying» cit., p. 344-354; EAD., «La copia del *De civitate Dei*» cit.; EAD., «Köln 75 and Cambrai 350» cit.

186. On authors revising the text on a corrupted exemplar without noticing the corruptions, see G. ORLANDI, «Pluralità di redazioni e testo critico», in *La critica del testo mediolatino. Atti del Convegno (Firenze, 6-8 dicembre 1990)*, ed. C. Leonardi, Spoleto, 1994, p.

the supposed common ancestor of *C* and φ , he attributes the errors shared by *L* and *C* to the archetype. In particular, he points out the following two (pertaining to book I)¹⁸⁷:

ciu. I 18 (I 30, 33) [*d deest*] fiat $l^2 C^3 \varphi$] faciat $L l^{a.c.} Ko^1 A C^{a.c.}?$: faciant $Ko^{a.c.}$

ciu. I 19 (I 33, 8) [*d deest*] in $Ko^{a.c.} C^3 \varphi$] om. $L l A C^{a.c.}$: del. *Ko*

The first is a blatant error, but it is not shared by φ . Though it is true that *faciat* may have been corrected *ope ingenii*, it is not enough in itself to prove the existence of the archetype. The second one is rather an *adiaphora* variant¹⁸⁸.

Besides the explicit declarations in the *prolegomena*, there are other two *loci* where Dombart prints a different text from the one unanimously (or almost unanimously) attested by the earliest tradition:

ciu. I 10 (I 18, 18-26) Nam cum dixit apostolus: *Qui uolunt diuites fieri, incidunt in temptationem et cetera, profecto in diuitiis cupiditatem reprehendit, non facultatem, quoniam* praecepit alibi dicens: *Praecepte diuitibus huius mundi non superbe sapere neque sperare in incerto diuitiarum, sed in Deo uiuo, qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum: bene faciant, diuites sint in operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut adprehendant ueram uitam* (1 Tim 6, 17-19)

L deest

quoniam *Dombart-Kalb* (e *coniectura Halm*)] quam *codd.*

Although *quoniam* is a good conjecture, the reading transmitted by the MSS. may be acceptable: even if the Apostle does not recommend affluence as such, in the quoted passages he urges to employ one's own economic power at best. Be that as it may, the abbreviation for *quoniam* reads *quam* with the *titulus* on top, which makes this secondary reading polygenetic and inadequate to demonstrate the existence of an archetype.

ciu. I 24 (I 39, 16) Hoc probauit, cum causa promissi iurisque iurandi ad eosdem hostes, quos grauius in senatu uerbis quam <in> bello armis offenderat, sine ulla dubitatione remeauit.

Bx d desunt

in bello *Dombart-Kalb* (ex *mss.* $\gamma a e q$) *Ve*²] bello *rell.*

The reading *in bello* is attested only by later MSS. (related to φ , according to Dombart's stemma) and the corrector of *Ve*. In this case, the addition of *in* is not necessary and looks more like a polygenetic banalization. The absence of the preposition in the second member of a parallelism is attested elsewhere in *ciu.*¹⁸⁹ and does not seem unacceptable *per se*.

In his 1997 paper - where he also interestingly points out several flaws in the *Corpus Christianorum* edition compared to the *Teubneriana* - Bengt Alexanderson¹⁹⁰ proposes a relevant number of corrections *per coniecturam* to the text of *ciu.*, among which only one concerns book I. He suggests to correct *processit* into *praecessit* - witnessed, according to Dombart, by the later *e*, and, as attested by our collations, also by O_1^2 *Va Ba W_{2a}*¹⁹¹ - in the following passage¹⁹²:

ciu. I 34 (I 50, 31 - 51, 4) Romulus et Remus asylum constituisse perhibentur, quo quisquis confugeret ab omni noxa liber esset, augere quaerentes creandae multitudinem ciuitatis. Mirandum in honorem Christi processit exemplum. Hoc constituerunt euersores Urbis, quod constituerant antea conditores.

processit *rell.*] praecessit *Va Ba W_{2a}* : uel praecessit O_1^2 *in marg.*

79-115 [repr. in ID., *Scritti di filologia mediolatina*, ed. P. Chiesa - A. M. Fagnoni - R. Guglielmetti - G. P. Maggioni, Firenze, 2008, p. 27-61].

187. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XXV.

188. See supra, p. @.

189. Cfr. supra, p. @.

190. B. ALEXANDERSON, «*Adnotationes criticae in libros Augustini De Civitate Dei*», *Electronic Antiquity*, 3, 1997: <https://scholar.lib.vt.edu/ejournals/ElAnt/V3N7/alex.html>

191. On the relation between the family of *Va* and the corrector of O_1 , see GIANI, «*La copia del De civitate Dei*» cit.

192. According to Alexanderson, all modern translators translate as if it were *praecessit* - with the exception of Carlo Costa (S. AURELIO AGOSTINO, *La città di Dio*, trad. C. Costa, Torino, 1939).

Still, *processit* is perfectly acceptable. Moreover, the variant is so small that it cannot firmly be used as evidence for the presence of the archetype.

Alexanderson's plea for a thorough critical exam of *ciu.*'s text has been accepted by Christian Gnilka, who wrote three short essays on textual problems that went unnoticed by previous scholars. Two of them are relevant in this context, since they involve book I¹⁹³. First, he proposes to change *nos* into *non* in the following *locus*:

ciu. I 26 (I 42, 3-10) Qui ergo audit non licere se occidere, faciat, si iussit, cuius non licet iussa contemnere; tantummodo uideat utrum diuina iussio nullo nutet incerto. Nos per aurem conscientiam conuenimus, occultorum nobis iudicium non usurpamus. *Nemo scit quid agatur in homine nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est.* Hoc dicimus, hoc asserimus, hoc modis omnibus adprobamus, neminem spontaneam mortem sibi inferre debere...

d deest

nos codd.] non Gnilka

Despite the compelling arguments provided by Gnilka, the reading *nos* seems suitable. Augustine declares to suspend his judgement on the matter and, in case a saint virgin killed herself because God had asked her to do this, he cannot negatively evaluate her behaviour, as only she knows what was asked to her by God. In any case, the variant *nos/non* is so small that it cannot be used as a stand-alone clue for the existence of the archetype.

Gnilka's other two proposals to change the text are, in my view, too far-fetched, as they imply the expunction of the following passages put between square brackets on the basis of their supposed stylistic and logical incongruence:

ciu. I 24 (I 39, 24 - 40, 8) Porro si fortissimi et praeclarissimi uiri terrenae patriae defensores deorumque licet falsorum, non tamen fallaces cultores, sed ueracissimi etiam iuratores, qui hostes uictos more ac iure belli ferire potuerunt, hi ab hostibus uicti se ipsos ferire noluerunt et, cum mortem minime formidarent, uictores tamen dominos ferre quam eam sibi inferre maluerunt: quanto magis Christiani, uerum Deum colentes et supernae patriae suspirantes, ab hoc facinore temperabunt, si eos diuina dispositio uel probandos uel emendandos ad tempus hostibus subiugauerit, quos in illa humilitate non deserit, qui propter eos tarn humiliter altissimus uenit, [praesertim quos nullius militaris potestatis uel talis militiae iura constringunt ipsum hostem ferire superatum]. Quis ergo tam malus error obrepat, ut homo se occidat, uel quia in eum peccauit, uel ne in eum peccet inimicus, cum uel peccatorem uel peccatum ipsum occidere non audeat inimicum?

d deest

praesertim... superatum *codd.*] *secludit* Gnilka

ciu. I 32 (I 49, 6-19) Verum tamen scitote, qui ista nescitis et qui uos scire dissimulatis, aduertite, qui aduersus liberatorem a talibus dominis murmuratis: ludi scaenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia uanitatum, non hominum uitii, sed deorum uestrorum iussis Romae instituti sunt. Tolerabilius diuinis honores deferretis illi Scipioni quam deos huius modi coleretis. [Neque enim erant illi dii suo pontifice meliores.] Ecce adtendite, si mens tam diu potatis erroribus ebria uos aliquid sanum cogitare permittit! Dii propter sedandam corporum pestilentiam ludos sibi scaenicos exhiberi iuebant; pontifex autem propter animorum cauendam pestilentiam ipsam scaenam constitui prohibebat. Si aliqua luce mentis animum corpori praeponitis, eligite quem colatis!

Ve deest

neque... meliores *codd.*] *secludit* Gnilka

Gnilka's line of reasoning is stimulating, but it risks being hyper-critical, in the sense that Augustine too may have not always been attentive to the stylistic perfection and logic consequentiality of his phrasing: expunging these sentences as interpolations means correcting Augustine's own words and, in any case, can only be done after the presence of an archetype has been convincingly demonstrated through other clearly unacceptable readings.

193. C. GNILKA, «Gehör und Gewissen: Zu Aug. civ. 1,26», *Hermes*, 132/2, 2004, p. 255-256; ID., «Fremdkörper im Text des Gottesstaats», *Wiener Studien*, 118, 2005, p. 139-157.

Altogether, Gnilka's line of reasoning conflicts with the general impression of the editors of Augustine's works¹⁹⁴, and of *ciu.* in particular¹⁹⁵. His oeuvre seems to have come down to us in a very good state, probably due to its immediate and long-lasting success. Contrary to what happened to classical texts, Patristic texts, especially Augustine's major works, never faced a period of neglect between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, and it is therefore possible that all exemplars depend *recta via* from the original or from a very close copy.

5) Historical circumstances and external attestations

The analysis of external data concerning the genetic context and first circulation of *ciu.* has been exhaustively carried out by Cavallo and Colombi¹⁹⁶. In this paragraph I will simply summarize the main results of their studies. First, they showed that the publication of *ciu.* was conceived as 'piecemeal', in the sense that Augustine allowed partial copies of the work to circulate even before the work was completed, due to the urgency and insistence of his readership¹⁹⁷. This implies that we are dealing with multiple 'authorial versions' of the work, in the sense that the author intervened on the text at least to add new books to his ongoing project. It remains to be seen whether, at the moment of adding new portions to what he already published, he re-read his previously disseminated text and corrected it, thus originating 'genetic variants', viz. textual variants born before the publication of the final version. This method of publication (circulation of parallel and concurrent 'authorial editions') is not a peculiar feature of *ciu.*, but it is typical of Augustine's production, as it clearly illustrated in *retr.* (see e.g. the famous cases of *doctr. chr.* and *trin.*)¹⁹⁸.

Second, Augustine himself explicitly states in *ep.* 1A* *Divjak* that he re-read (and therefore revised to some extent) the text of *ciu.* after it was completed and published as a whole¹⁹⁹. This entails the introduction of 'evolutive variants', viz. of those variants implemented by the author after the work was already in circulation in its definitive form. Again, this is not a peculiar feature of *ciu.*: there are other passages in Augustine's epistles where he explicitly declares to have emended one of his works or states his intention to do so while it was already circulating²⁰⁰. What is more, Augustine asked the Carthaginian layman Firmus to read *diligenter* his copy of the work, in order to provide him with his feedback. We also know that Augustine received his friend's impressions at least with regard to the first ten books²⁰¹. This process - together with other circumstances alluded to in the epistles to Firmus - may have caused the introduction of 'synchronic variants', authored by Firmus and possibly (partly) accepted by Augustine. As Cavallo noticed, this process is not an *unicum* of *ciu.* either: the participation of friends and trustees (e. g. Paulinus of Nola and Simplicianus) to the 'correction' process or in some cases to the 'genetic phase' was part of Augustine's method of writing²⁰² and a usual practice in Antiquity²⁰³. In light of all this, Cavallo concludes:

194. The same impression was reported for instance, by Franco Gori, the editor of the last 50 *en. Ps.* (F. GORI, «L'edizione critica delle En. Ps. 101-150 di Agostino», *Augustinianum*, 55, 2015, p. 605-617, here p. 609) and by Almut Mutzenbecher, regarding *qu. Du.* (SANCTI AVRELI AVGVSTINI *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus, De octo Dulciti quaestionibus* [CCSL 44A], ed. A. Mutzenbecher, Turnhout, 1975, p. CXXXVI).

195. AVRELIUS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XXV: *...unde probatur communem illorum archetypum... quamquam mendis non carebat... tarnen perbonum fuisse.*

196. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 52-59; COLOMBI, «Aspetto» cit., p. 183-191.

197. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 52-53; COLOMBI, «Aspetto» cit., p. 184-186.

198. See e.g. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 55-58; J. DELMULLE - E. COLOMBI, «*Si dvos vis codices fieri.* La forma del testo agostiniano tra volontà dell'autore ed esigenze della trasmissione», *Filologia Mediolatina* 26, 2019, p. 1-55, here p. 29-45.

199. *ep.* 1A* *Divjak* 1 *Etiam mihi relectos.* See COLOMBI, «Aspetto» cit., p. 189. However, it is true that this revision may coincide with the one performed by Augustine in view of *retr.* (cfr. G. P. O'DALY, *Ciuitate Dei (De)*, in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, vol. I, Basel, 1986-1994, col. 969-1010, here col. 976).

200. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 55.

201. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 52; COLOMBI, «Aspetto» cit., p. 188-189.

202. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 53-54.

203. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 54-55. For more information on editorial techniques adopted by Augustine, see M. CALTABIANO, «*Libri iam in multorum manus exierunt.* Agostino testimone della diffusione delle sue opere», in *Tra IV e V secolo. Studi sulla cultura latina tardoantica* (Quaderni di Acme 50), ed. I. Gualandri, Milano, 2002, p. 141-157; H.-I. MARROU, «La technique de l'édition à l'époque patristique», *Vigiliae christianae*, 3, 4, 1949, p. 208-224; C. TORNAU, «Text, Medium und publizistische Begleitung: Buchproduktion und Buchkomposition bei Augustinus», *Quaestio*, 11, 2011, p. 141-168; W. HÜBNER, *Emendatio, editio* (s.v.), in *Augustinus-lexikon*, vol. II, Basel, 1996-2002, col. 797-801; V. H. DRECOLL, «*Etiam posteris aliquid profuturum.* Zur Selbststilisierung bei Augustin und der Beeinflussung der eigenen Wirkungsgeschichte durch Bücher und Bibliothek», *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 47, 2002, p. 313-335.

Insomma, collegando queste pratiche ai dati offerti dalla tradizione testuale, in sede critica vale anche per gli scritti patristici quanto Scevola Mariotti ebbe a scrivere per quelli classici: assai alta è la probabilità che, almeno in certi casi, «tra le innumerevoli varianti significative risalenti con sicurezza o con verosimiglianza ad età antica si conservi, in mezzo a corruzioni e interpolazioni, anche materiale autentico», o meglio un materiale latamente autentico, giacché proprio il rapporto strettissimo tra l'autore e la sua cerchia vanifica ogni tentativo di discernimento tra varianti «genuine» e varianti «sincroniche» uscite da quella cerchia, e lascia perciò dubbi insolubili sulle scelte definitive dell'autore. Il che, anzi, è ancora più vero nel caso dei testi patristici per tutta una serie di intermediari, depositari, chiese e comunità che non trova riscontro, per articolazione e ampiezza, per gli autori classici e che ancor più perciò poté influire sulla tradizione di quei testi²⁰⁴ (...) Da tutto il precedente discorso risulta una forte instabilità testuale degli scritti agostiniani, ma la medesima considerazione vale verosimilmente per le opere di altri Padri: instabilità dovuta alle vicende di composizione e alle modalità di pubblicazione, di produzione libraria e di circolazione di quelle opere²⁰⁵.

6) Conclusive remarks

Given that all preliminary conditions for putting forward the hypothesis of authorial/synchronic variants in the transmission of *ciu.* (limited to book I) are apparently met, it is now time to assess the *adiaphora* variants examined above as a whole, in order to understand their nature and origin. They can be divided into three categories. The first is synonyms:

- I 3 (I 6, 23-24) [*L deest*] *commisisse l Ko A C* vs. *commendasse φ*
- I 3 (I 8, 12) [*L deest*] *expediam l Ko A C* vs. *explicem l² φ*
- I 3 (I 8, 17) [*L deest*] *peruersitatis l Ko A C d Bo b β K^{a.c.}* vs. *proteruitatis φ (- d Bo b β K^{a.c.})*
- I 5 (I 10, 6-7) [*L deest*] *compleri l Ko A* vs. *repleri C φ*
- I 10 (I 19, 18) [*L deest*] *monstrauerat Ko A C* vs. *monuerat l φ*
- I 19 (I 31, 31) *opprimitur L l Ko A C Au^{a.c.}* vs. *comprimitur φ (- Au^{a.c.})*
- I 22 (I 37, 22) *proponant L l A η β* vs. *opponant Ko C φ (- η β)*
- I 32 (I 49, 14) *cogitare L l A* vs. *considerare Ko C φ*
- I 32 (I 49, 17) *constitui L l Ko A* vs. *construi C φ*

It is striking that the reviewer keeps the sound of words as intact as possible, by changing either their preverb/beginning or their root/second part. He never introduces synonyms that sound completely differently from the original. Since most of the synonyms are equivalent in meaning, it is rather difficult to detect which was the earliest form and which the secondary one.

The second category is represented by additions in φ that make explicit what was left implicit by α (referent, preposition, connective) or further qualify the action described (es. *uel uicti, satis*). In this case, the direction of the evolution is rather clear: if we interpreted them as omissions of α, they would all be either involuntary cuts of elements that are not absolutely necessary but help disclose the meaning and syntax of the text - a frankly implausible coincidence - or deliberate expunctions of elements in order to make the phrasing more obscure and elliptic - which goes against the principle of *lectio facilior* and is unlikely as well.

- I 3 (I 7, 21-22) [*L deest; uelut quoquo modo C*] *ut quoquo modo l^{a.c.} > ut uel uicti quoquo modo l² Ko A φ (-γ)*
- I 6 (I 10, 16) [*L deest*] *deorum l A > deorum suorum Ko C φ*
- I 12 (I 22, 24) [*L l desunt*] *curatio funeris A^{a.c.} C > id est curatio funeris Ko A^{p.c.} φ cur. mort.*
- I 17 (I 28, 23) *hoc L l A > eis hoc Ko C φ*
- I 18 (I 30, 2) *periculo L^{a.c.} C^{a.c.} > cum periculo L¹ l Ko A C³ φ*
- I 19 (I 33, 8) *hoc tam nobili L l Ko^{p.c.} A C^{a.c.} > in hoc tam nobili Ko^{a.c.} C³ φ*
- I 23 (I 37, 29) *quod uidebatur diximus L^{a.c.} C > satis quod uidebatur diximus L¹ l Ko A φ*
- I 25 (I 40, 11) *libidini L l^{a.c.} (-ne) A^{a.c.} C > libidini hostili l¹ Ko A² φ*
- I 32 (I 49, 24-25) *occasione L l A^{a.c.} > hac occasione Ko A^{p.c.} C φ*

204. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 54.

205. CAVALLO, «I fondamenti» cit., p. 58.

The last type of interventions is likely a suppression of α 's text on the part of φ . Were it the opposite, namely an addition by α , it would have been rather useless and redundant.

I 4 (I 9, 19) [*L deest*] miserantibus hostibus *l Ko A* > miserantibus *C* φ

All in all, it seems that the text evolved from the form of α (reflected by *L*) to the form of φ . *C* fluctuates frequently (as *Ko* does, in its case because of contamination); less important fluctuations are observed in *A* and *l*, which only sporadically deviate from *L*, probably due to light contamination. Two problems remain open. The first is: who stands behind this evolution? A simple scribe who carefully revised the text or the author himself? Was it Firmus? Or another trustworthy reader to whom Augustine asked to proofread his ongoing work? I will summarize the elements in favor and against these possibilities, declaring as of now that the question remains open, also because the textual sample examined here (one book out of 22) is too small to be representative.

Before doing this, I would like to add one last consideration concerning the complex problem of *C*'s genealogical relations. Given that the modifications listed above seem to originate from an intentional revision of the text, it is implausible that *C* should constitute an independent branch of the stemma. Indeed, such hypothesis would imply that the readings it preserves are original, and the others are either errors of α or deliberate innovations by φ . This would result in a too strange coincidence, namely that the errors of α are - besides blatant corruptions - eliminations of elements that are not strictly necessary, but clarify the line of reasoning.

Rather, the most plausible hypothesis for the stemmatical location of *C* as of now, is that it contaminates two versions (that of *L* and that of φ) already circulating in Late Antiquity. *C*'s layout suggests that it was conceived as an official 'edition' of *ciu.*: it is the earliest extant copy where the text is preceded by the excerpt from *retr.* as *accessus*, provided with *tabulae capitulorum*, and consistently divided into chapters. Therefore, it is likely that in the *Ravennate* milieu where it was produced, a certain interest for the reliability of the text encouraged systematic collations of two (or more) exemplars. The coincidence in secondary readings with both families confirms this theory, as does the fact that *C* shows erasures in two passages where the families diverge, as if its copyists had second thoughts:

ciu. I 22 (I 37, 21-22)²⁰⁶ migrantibus mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse se promisit *L^{p.c.} l A*] migrantibus mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse promisit *L^{a.c.}* : migrantibus se mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse promisit *Ko C^l φ* : migrantibus ** mansiones aeternas praeparaturum esse promisit *C^{a.c.}*

ciu. I 26 (I 41, 29) qualibet legitime *L l A*] qua legitime *Ko C^l* (quali*** *C^{a.c.}*)

Lastly, we can put forward the hypothesis that, if the modifications are authorial, *C* represents an intermediate stage in the process of *ciu.*'s genesis. However, as it is clear from the classification provided above, there is substantially no difference between the kind of variants opposing α vs. *C* φ and those opposing α *C* vs. φ . This makes it rather implausible that the text underwent two separate correction campaigns, and that *C* represents an intermediate stage in *ciu.*'s completion.

That being said, we can focus on the relation between the two main poles of the stemma, namely α and φ .

1) Elements in support of them reflecting two authorial versions of the work:

1. The origin of the *adiaphora* variants is in any case to be situated before the end of the 6th century concerning those opposing *L* vs. *C*, based on their date of composition²⁰⁷.
2. The comparison with other sets of secondary readings allows us to appreciate the peculiarity of the readings opposing α and φ : elsewhere, *adiaphora* variants are rare and sporadic. $\theta \gamma \eta$, for instance,

206. A similar case, which however does not entail erasure is *ciu.* I 20 (I 34, 28) [*d deest*] non ergo *L^l* (non *s.l.*) *l Ko A φ*] ergo *L^{a.c.} Bx^{a.c.}* : ergo non *C*. Here the correct reading is undoubtedly the one with *non*, which is necessary in the context. However, its change of position in *C* may point to an unstable position its antigraph (reflected by *L* itself?), in the archetype or in the original of the work (but it can also be a simple coincidence). Also, *C* sometimes displays incongruous *lectiones singulares* that may originate from its scribe's indecision when facing two divergent readings. See *ciu.* I 3 (I 7, 21) [*L deest*] et ut uel uicti *l² A Ko φ (- γ)*] et ut *l^{a.c.}* : et uelut *C* : et uelut uicti γ (uel *Ma²* ; uel ut uel *O^{r² in marg.}*); *ciu.* I 19 (I 33, 2) inter illos *L^l rell.*] *om. L^{a.c.}* : inter eos *C*; *ciu.* I 25 (I 40, 18) eiusque concupiscentiae *L^l* (eiusque ****entiae *L^{a.c.}*) *l A*] concupiscentiaeque *Ko φ* (-*O^{r^{a.c.}}* concupiscentique) : uoluptatique *C*.

207. As for φ , it is worth noting that a typical γ -variant in book XVIII is shared by Isidore of Seville (GIANI, *Il «Liber glossarum»* cit., p. 293, n. 92). Whether the stemmatical position of γ remains the same along the whole work is still to be determined.

generally differ from the rest of the tradition because of polygenetic trivializations and firmly secondary readings. *Adiaphora* variants appear only occasionally in their sets of distinctive readings. Naturally, this may also be due to the early dating of α and φ : philological interests and command of Latin language were still common in the 6th century.

3. Some *adiaphora* variants seem to originate from a reviewer acquainted with Augustine's style, and sometimes an intrusive one, since he modified the expressions where the author speaks in first person (viz. *expediam/explicem; satis*). Synchronic/authorial interventions may provide a plausible context for this type of variants.

2) Elements against:

1. All modifications could *a priori* be a copyist's initiative: we do not observe substantial changes on the level of content or allusions to some knowledge that only Augustine had. Also, they do not come across as absolutely necessary (for instance, in order to correct a factual error)²⁰⁸. All in all, these interventions are rather small and trivial and do not necessarily derive from the author's own initiative²⁰⁹.
2. The link between the modifications to the text and a change in the author's circumstances or intentions (e. g. a new dedicatee of the work) is missing: all these variants are generically attributable to a desire to adjust and clarify the text, which could pertain both to the author and to an attentive reader.
3. Some of the *adiaphora* variants were unlikely implemented by Augustine (e.g. *compleri/repleri* within the quotation of Sallust's text).
4. Lastly, when dealing with similar sets of *adiaphora* variants, editors of Augustinian works have always preferred to prudently choose one as the original²¹⁰.

In short, we cannot attribute these variants with certainty to Augustine or his circle, but in some cases this attribution cannot be disproved either. We find ourselves in a quite common situation for classical, Patristic and medieval philologists, which I want to elucidate with a quote from an article by Chiesa:

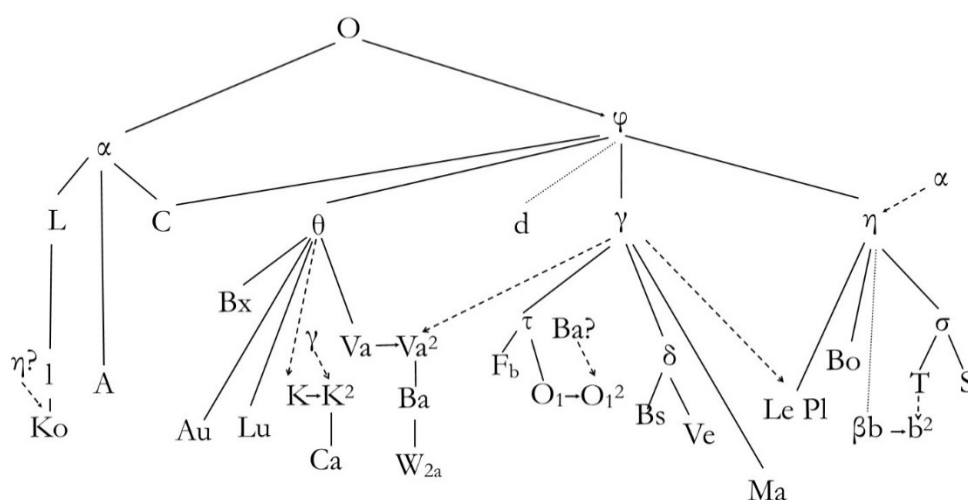
208. Compare with the cases discussed by PASQUALI, *Storia della tradizione* cit., p. 397-465.

209. This statement can be counter-argued by recalling that Augustine (or his secretaries) may have implemented only those adjustments that did not drastically affect the text. CHIESA, «Varianti d'autore nell'alto medioevo» cit., p. 9 stresses that the introduction of numerous and invasive authorial variants entails the necessity of producing a new and polished copy of the work, which is a time- and resource-consuming process. The author of *retr.* was perfectly conscious of the entropy caused by heavy modifications to the text on the level of its transmission too and this is the reason why he wrote *retr.*, where he confined his most substantial changes and in other occasions preferred to publish the text as it was, intervening as little as possible. Cfr. DELMULLE-COLOMBI, «*Si dvos vis codices fieri*» cit., p. 7 and 18.

210. To give just one example of *adiaphora* variants interpreted as later *emendationes*, I quote here Volker Henning Drecoll's analysis of the transmission of *gr. lib. arb.* (V. H. DRECOLL, «Gespaltene Überlieferung oder spätere Emendation? Überlegungen zur Edition von Augustins *De gratia et libero arbitrio*», in *Edition und Erforschung lateinischer patristischer Texte. 150 Jahre CSEL Festschrift für Kurt Smolak zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. V. Zimmerl-Panagl - L. J. Dorfbauer - C. Weidmann, Berlin-München-Boston, 2014, p. 101-109). The revision of preached sermons is a slightly different case, since here the aim is to adapt a text born for oral performance to be read and understood in written form. Of all possible cases, I quote here the one of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, analyzed by F. GORI, «L'edizione critica delle *Enarrationes in Psalmos* di Agostino e il metodo stemmatico», in *La trasmissione dei testi patristici latini: problemi e prospettive. Atti del Colloquio internazionale (Roma, 26-28 ottobre 2009)* (Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia 60), ed. E. Colombi, Turnhout, 2012, p. 179-200, here p. 192-196. Gori examines glosses and interpolations of ϵ_1 , who integrates the text in a clever way and shows to be acquainted with Augustine's thought. According to Gori, he betrays his identity through some additions that display a clear misunderstanding of Augustine's text. In any case, the typology of its interventions is different and more invasive than those observed in the text of *ciu.* The editions by Almut Mutzenbecher of *qu. Dul.* and *retr.*, where Augustine extensively quotes himself, allowed to point out some *adiaphora* variants between text of these works and the one of their Augustinian sources. Sometimes the tradition is unanimous, at least according to the available printed editions (es. *retr.* I ix 3 Dixi quippe in primo libro: *Malefacta iustitia dei indicari malefacta retr.* (cfr. *lib. arb.* I 16 34)] *maleficia lib. arb.*; *retr.* I ix 3 Itemque alio loco: *Ex quo conficitur, inquam, ut quisquis recte honesteque uult uiuere, si id se uelle prae fugacibus rebus uelit... rebus retr.* (cfr. *ord.* I 9 27; *ciu.* IV 1)] *bonis lib. arb.*) other times the *adiaphora* variant is attested in the manuscript transmission of one or of both the works (the source-work and the quoted work). Even though she never explicitly speaks of authorial variants and sets a clear distinction between the readings to be put in the main text and in the apparatus, in the *prolegomena* of her *retr.* edition, Mutzenbecher states that, when comparing the direct transmission of *retr.* with the excerpts of Augustine's works quoted there, it is clear that the latter derive, at least in part, "from an archetype which was not the original", thus implying that the *adiaphora* variants are due to a copyist's initiative, though they seem to have been accepted and reproduced by Augustine in his original of *retr.*

L'espressione varianti d'autore, che è una delle chiavi interpretative più ricche per la critica letteraria dei testi moderni e contemporanei, è usata con molta cautela per i testi antichi e medievali, perfino con qualche imbarazzo. Questo perché tutti sanno che il terreno sul quale ci si muove è assai scivoloso: quasi mai la documentazione ci permette di stabilire con sufficiente grado di sicurezza che determinate varianti riscontrabili nella tradizione risalgano a diverse scelte dell'autore stesso dell'opera, ovvero a fasi compositive diverse (...) Per chi studia opere antiche e medievali, in sostanza, l'imbarazzo è dato da questo: da un lato la certezza che ogni opera letteraria ha avuto un processo di elaborazione, all'interno del quale si saranno generate poche o tante varianti; dall'altro la difficoltà di trovare criteri di discernimento, che porta alla scelta prudenziale di considerare tutte le varianti pervenute tranne una come varianti di tradizione, assumendo quell'una soltanto come testo d'autore.²¹¹

In light of the data collected so far, the manuscript transmission of Augustine's *ciu.*, book I, can be outlined as follows:



This synthetic stemma only accounts for contamination when it is pervasive and systematic. Still, it should be pointed out that, as we have previously seen, family α is made of contaminated copies: all its representatives have been more or less systematically collated with a φ -MS. with the exception of $L^{a.c.}$: C and Ko were extensively corrected, while $L^{p.c.}$ / A were less consistently contaminated. Therefore, no pure witness of α still survives. As I have said, φ transmits a clearer and plainer version, mostly through additions: it is thus likely that, when α -witnesses were collated with φ -ones, innovations of the latter were introduced into the former.

The branch that goes from the original to φ is represented by an arrow, which indicates that, whoever was responsible for copying φ attempted to stylistically improve the text of *ciu.* This entails that, in case of *adiaphora* variants, α should be preferred over φ - provided that we rule out the possibility that variants between α and φ are authorial. All in all, the present stemmatical analysis has shown that Dombart-Kalb's edition needs to be improved, since it is based on both α and φ 's readings (the latter often printed between angle brackets, but not always) without a clear principle for the *constitutio textus*.

To conclude, I would like to quote another passage from Cavallo's seminal study on the material aspect of the transmission of Patristic text:

Nella situazione delineata in tutto il precedente discorso, quando si risalga alla primitiva materialità degli scritti patristici, che significato o valore possono avere concetti come quelli di stemma, archetipo, subarchetipo, contaminazione, recensione chiusa o aperta?

211. CHIESA, «Varianti d'autore nei testi letterari» cit., p. 379.

I hope to have at least demonstrated that, contrary to what Cavallo maintains, concepts such as stemma, contamination, archetype are still productive when applied to the tradition of *ciu.*, despite the perturbations and many challenges posed. Even though the upper layers of the stemma remain rather blurry, a thorough stemmatical analysis allows, if anything, to set a clear distinction between what is certainly secondary and what is possibly original. Naturally, this article is only a first attempt to approach a puzzle that, in its main feature, will probably not be resolved, or at least not in a short timespan.

Appendix

Dombart-Kalb's edition, besides requiring major updates due to the inconsistent criteria for the *constitutio textus* and flaws in the apparatus, is certainly to be corrected at least in the following passages, where secondary readings belonging to branches at the lower level of the stemmata or only to *A*, Dombart's favorite witness, were selected.

ciu. I 1 (I 4, 11-22) Ex hac namque existunt inimici, aduersus quos defendenda est Dei ciuitas, quorum tamen multi correcto impietatis errore ciues in ea fiunt satis idonei; multi uero in eam tantis exardescunt ignibus odiorum tamque manifestis beneficiis redemptoris eius ingrati sunt, ut hodie contra eam linguas non mouerent, nisi ferrum hostile fugientes in sacratis eius locis uitam, de qua superbiunt, inuenirent. An non etiam illi Romani Christi nomini infesti sunt, quibus propter Christum barbari pepercerunt? Testantur hoc martyrum loca et basilicae apostolorum, quae in illa uastatione Urbis ad se confugientes suos alienosque receperunt.

L Bx desunt
hoc *A*] haec *rell.*

ciu. I 2 (I 5, 30-31) ...aut aliquem ducem barbarorum praecepisse...

L Bx desunt
barbarorum *A b*] barbarum *rell.*

These two readings are based only on *A* (and *b*) against the remaining tradition. Since all other α -copies preserve the same reading as ϕ , the passages should be corrected. Lastly, it is worth noting that the apparatus criticus of Dombart's edition registers only MS. *a* (a later copy) as a witness to *barbarum*, while this reading is consistently attested by the earliest tradition, with the exception of *A* and *b*.

ciu. I 12 (I 22, 2-9) Nisi forte quispiam sic absurdus est, ut contendat eos, qui corpus occidunt, non debere timeri ante mortem, ne corpus occidant, et timeri debere post mortem, ne corpus occisum sepeliri non sinant. Falsum est ergo quod ait <Christus>: *Qui corpus occidunt, et postea non habent quid faciant*; si habent tanta, quae de cadaueribus faciant. Absit, ut falsum sit quod ueritas dixit.

L l desunt
christus *A*² *C*³ *Va Ba W*_{2a} *Ma F*_b *O*₁² *Bs Ve K*² *Ca Pl Le*] *om. cur. mort. Ko A*^{a.c.} *C*^{a.c.} *d Au Lu Bx O*₁^{a.c.} *K*^{a.c.}
S T Bo b β

The addition of *Christus* is clearly typical of γ and of all the MSS. that somehow entered in horizontal contact with it. It is absent from both ϕ and α (at least *ante correctionem*). What is more, it is also absent from the Augustinian self-quotation in *cur. mort.*: the subject of *ait* is *Veritas*. In addition, Dombart himself²¹² provides a series of parallel passages where Augustine introduces biblical quotations without explicitly stating the subject: *ciu.* X 5 (I 409, 11-12) *Item apud alium prophetam: In quo, inquit... ciu.* XIV 4 (II 10, 9-10) *Apertissime quippe <Paulus> ad Corinthios dicit* (where in the apparatus is stated that those codices that do not transmit *Paulus* read *recte*); *ciu.* XIV 13 (II 33, 7-11) *Elatio autem, quae in uitio est, eo ipso respuit subiectionem et cadit ab illo, quo non est quicquam superius, et ex hoc erit inferius et fit quod scriptum est: Deiecisti eos, cum extollerentur. Non enim ait: Cum elati fuissent.*

ciu. I 12 (I 22, 24-32) Proinde ista omnia, <id est> curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt uiuorum solacia quam subsidia mortuorum. Si aliquid prodest impio sepultura pretiosa, oberit pio uilis aut

212. AVRELIVS AVGVSTINVS, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*, ed. Dombart-Kalb cit., vol. I, p. XXXII.

nulla. Praeclaras exequias in conspectu hominum exhibuit purpurato illi diuiti turba famulorum, sed multo clariores in conspectu Domini ulceroso illi pauperi ministerium praebuit angelorum, qui eum non extulerunt in marmoreum tumulum, sed in Abrahae gremium sustulerunt.

L l desunt

exhibuit $A^2 C^3 Va^2 Ba W_{2a} Ma F_b O_l Bs Ve K^2 Ca Pl Le$] *om. Ko A^{a.c.} C^{a.c.} Au Lu^{a.c.} Bx Va^{a.c.} K^{a.c.} S T Bo b β d*

diuiti *rell.*] diuiti exhibuit $T^2 b^2$: diuiti praebuit $Lu^{p.c.}$

famulorum *rell. cur. mort.^N*] exhibuit famulorum *cur. mort.* (famulorum exhibuit *cur. mort.^o*) : praebuit famulorum *Ko* : famularum $A^{a.c.}$: non legitur $K^{a.c.}$

Here too the text published by Dombart is the trivialized form of γ , which was introduced in all witnesses that experienced some kind of horizontal contacts with this family. Several MSS. tried to fill in the perceived *lacuna* with personal conjectures (addition of *exhibuit* and *praebuit* in various positions). According to Zycha's edition, Augustine's self-quotation of Augustine in *cur. mort.* reads *exhibuit* before *famulorum*, though the position of the verb varies in MS. ϕ (Leiden, Universiteitsbibl., Voss. F 114, s. IX^{4/4}) and *N* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 87 (B.IV.21), s. VI) omits the verb, like the most reliable MSS. of *ciu.* There are two possibilities here: either Augustine left the verb implicit, to be clarified in the second half of the sentence, or the verb fell out in the archetype (or the idiograph). In the latter case, a scribe (or Augustine) may have added *exhibuit* in the margin, leaving the exact position where it had to be inserted ambiguous. In any case, the passage (the uncertainty of which, by the way, was not even marked by Dombart using the angle bracket) needs to be re-evaluated.

Abstract

The article presents the first conclusions that can be drawn from the integral collation of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* book I, against all pre-10th century complete and partial manuscript witnesses (fragments excluded), in order to lay more scientific foundations for the establishment of the text of this masterpiece. First, a brief external and internal description of the manuscripts included in the *corpus* is provided. Second, the stemmatical configuration of the lower levels of the stemma is discussed. Lastly, the issues related with the main branches are examined, also with regard to the possible survival of authorial variants.

Marina Giani

Università degli Studi di Milano/KU Leuven/FWO Flanders Research Foundation

marina.giani@unimi.it

marina.giani@kuleuven.be