

The Manuscript Tradition of Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*

Augustine's allegorical commentary in two books on the first three chapters of Genesis, the work which is known as *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, enjoyed great popularity in the early Middle Ages (500-900). Eugippius did not take excerpts from it, but his younger contemporary, Cassiodorus, praised it:

Nam et pater Augustinus, contra Manicheos duobus libris disputans, ita textum Genesis diligenter exposuit, ut paene nihil ibi relinquere probaretur ambiguum; unde contigit ut nolens praestaret nobis heresis confutata quatenus, cum illa fortiter uincitur, catholici diligentius instruantur.¹

Following Cassiodorus' lead, Isidore quarried *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* ruthlessly for citations that were included in his allegorical compilation on Genesis, taking words from several sections in book 1 and a phrase or two from nearly every section in book 2.² Augustine's work was also used by the scholar who compiled the Ps. Bede commentary on Genesis, which was prepared in Spain not long after Isidore's time.³ *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* also served as a much-appreciated source for the compiler of the *Intexuimus*, a commentary on Genesis which was put together in Visigothic Spain in the late seventh century.⁴ Given its success among these Visigothic commentators, it is hardly surprising that *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* was also used along with *De Genesi ad litteram* by Julian of Toledo when he created his masterpiece of exegesis, the *Antikeimenon*.⁵ In

1. Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1.1.2.

2. See the *index fontium* in my CCSL edition of this work, forthcoming.

3. See my article, 'The Commentary on the Pentateuch Attributed to Bede in PL 91.189-394', *Revue Bénédictine* 106 (1996), p. 61-108, 255-307.

4. See my article, 'The Visigothic Commentary on Genesis in Autun 27 (S.29)', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 30 (1997), p. 167-276.

5. Adolfo Robles Sierra, 'Fuentes del *Antikeimenon* de Julián de Toledo', *Escritos del Vedat* 1 (1971), p. 59-135.

the preface to his commentary on Genesis, Bede explicitly mentions *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* along with Augustine's other commentaries (*De Genesi ad litteram*, *Confessiones* and *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*).⁶ When Wigbod was preparing the commentary on Genesis that Charlemagne had ordered, he too turned to *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* and included several passages from it in his commentary, which marks the beginning of Carolingian exegesis.⁷ Wigbod did not, however, take excerpts directly from Augustine's other major commentary on Genesis, *De Genesi ad litteram*. Given the immense influence and popularity of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, it is perhaps surprising that it was not used by Claudius of Turin when he prepared a massive commentary on Genesis for Louis the Pious.⁸ In his commentary on Genesis, Hrabanus Maurus followed Bede and cited Basil, Origen and Josephus and various works of Augustine, but not *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, although passages from the work ended up in his new commentary via Isidore.⁹ With Isidore's help Angelomus of Luxeuil too appropriated many passages indirectly from *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, but he also knew and used the work directly.¹⁰

Given the importance of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, the new edition that was prepared by Dorothea Weber and published in Vienna in 1998 as volume 91 in the series *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (CSEL) is very welcome. This new edition is the first since the Maurists' edition was printed in the first volume of Augustine's collected works in 1679 (volume 1, p. 645-686). The 1679 edition was reprinted in the *Patrologia Latina* (34.173-220) and scholars have depended upon it ever since. Since it is easy to identify all the surviving manuscripts that were used by the Maurists, one wonders why Weber identified

6. De principio libri Genesis, in quo mundi huius creatio descripta est, multi multa dixere, multa posteris ingenii sui monumenta relinquere, sed praecipue, quantum nostra pusillitas ediscere potuit, Basilius Caesariensis quem Eustathius interpres de graeco fecit esse latinum, Ambrosius Mediolanensis, Augustinus Hipponensis episcopus (quorum primus libris nouem, secundus uestigia eius sequens libris sex, tertius libris duodecim et **rursum aliis duobus specialiter aduersum Manicheos descriptis**), proluxa legentibus doctrinae salutaris fluenta manarunt, completo in eis promisso ueritatis quo dicebat, *Qui credit in me, sicut dicit scriptura, flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae*. E quibus Augustinus etiam in libris confessionum suarum, in libris quoque quos contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum, eximie composuit, set et in aliis sparsim opusculis suis nonnullam eiusdem primordialis creaturae memoriam cum expositione congrua fecit. CCSL 118A,1.3-18.

7. On Wigbod, see my articles, 'The Encyclopedic Commentary on Genesis Prepared for Charlemagne by Wigbod', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 17 (1982), p. 173-201, and 'Wigbod and Biblical Studies under Charlemagne', *Revue Bénédictine* 107 (1997), p. 40-76. Wigbod's commentary was printed twice in the *Patrologia Latina*: PL 93.233-430 & PL 96.1101-1168.

8. See my article, 'The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious', *Speculum* 72 (1997), p. 279-329.

9. See my article, 'The Commentary on Genesis of Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious', *Studi medievali* 43 (2002), forthcoming.

10. See my article, 'The Commentary on Genesis of Angelomus of Luxeuil and Biblical Studies under Lothar', *Studi medievali* 40 (1999), p. 559-631.

(on p. 60) only seven of the sixteen manuscripts used by the Maurists, and in no case provided any evidence from their edition or collations to support an identification. A complete list will be provided in the near future when I publish the continuation of my 1981 list of the Maurists' manuscripts, but we can make a few guesses now. The Maurists' codex Gemmeticensis (from Jumièges) might be either Rouen 473, saec. XII, or Rouen 476, saec. XII. Their codex Cisterciensis is surely Dijon 140, saec. XII (from Cîteaux). The two codices Victorini would be Paris lat. 14301, saec. XI, and Paris lat. 14296, saec. XIV. The codex Sorbonicus might be Paris lat. 15302, saec. XIII, or Paris lat. 15737, saec. XIII, or perhaps even Paris lat. 15656, saec. XIII-XIV. Their codex Pratellensis (from Saint-Pierre de Préaux near Lisieux), their codex Casalensis (from Chezal-Benoît, near Chartres) and their codex Arnulfensis (from Metz) are probably lost. The variants recorded by the Maurist editors in their extant collations and those given in their edition must be compared to each individual manuscript to confirm the identification.¹¹ Every reader needs to know how the text of the work in Amerbach's *editio princeps* and in subsequent editions is related to the oldest manuscripts that were collated and reported by Weber.¹² On this essential topic Weber is silent.

My comments here concern mainly the oldest manuscripts and the manuscript tradition. In addition to its popularity among early medieval commentators, the immense influence of *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* can also be seen in the number of extant ninth-century manuscripts. Although we might have expected to find at least one copy that dates before the year 800, this does not seem to be the case.

Although Weber's edition is the first to be based on a thorough examination of the oldest manuscripts, Bernhard Bischoff's opinions of the date and origin of them were not taken into consideration when the new CSEL edition was prepared.¹³ Just as a list of eighth-century manuscripts necessarily includes the relevant CLA numbers, lists of ninth-century manuscripts must include Bischoff's opinions of their dates and origins, as I have explained in detail recently.¹⁴ For this reason the stemma proposed by Weber could not reflect historical reality. The dates provided for some manuscripts, such as Angers 179, are off by two

11. The procedures to use to identify the manuscripts used by the Maurist editors were set out in my article, 'The Maurists' Manuscripts of Four Major Works of St. Augustine: With Some Remarks on Their Editorial Techniques', *Revue Bénédictine* 91 (1981), p. 238-279; rep. *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of St. Augustine* (Florence, 2001), p. 62-103.

12. For an example of this procedure, see my article, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of St. Augustine's *De Genesi ad litteram*', *Revue Bénédictine* 90 (1980), p. 30-45; rep. *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of St. Augustine* (Florence, 2001), p. 24-39, and Roger Gryson's 1993 edition of Jerome on Isaiah, AGLB 23, p. 109-119.

13. Xerox copies of Bischoff's notes and opinions on ninth-century manuscripts are easily available from the Bavarian State Library in Munich. See Gabriel Silagi, *Gazette du livre médiéval* 27 (Fall 1995), p. 64.

14. See my article, 'Bernhard Bischoff's Handlist of Carolingian Manuscripts', *Scrittura e civiltà* 25 (2001), p. 93-116.

centuries. It is therefore useful to provide a list of the oldest manuscripts that includes Bischoff's opinions about their dates and origins and try to figure out the manuscript tradition:¹⁵

CODICES SAEC. IX¹⁶

- K COLOGNE *Dombibliothek* 74, f. 113-167, saec. IX in. ('spätestens 819'), Cologne. Bischoff, *Katalog* 1.1900, p. 393. Family: $\Phi \beta$, Weber, p. 49.
- C KARLSRUHE *Badische Landesbibliothek*, Aug. perg. 187, 43 folios, saec. IX 2/4 ('vor 847'), Reichenau. Bischoff, *Katalog* 1.1688, p. 353. Family: $\Phi \gamma$, Weber, p. 51.
- H LONDON *British Library* Harley 3039, f. 2-15, saec. IX med., Lorsch. Bischoff, *Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften* (Munich, 1974), p. 39; *Lorsch* (1989), p. 48. Family: $\Phi \alpha$, Weber, p. 44.
- E LYON *Bibliothèque municipale* 609 (525), f. 114v-133v, saec. IX 3/4, Lyon (Bischoff). Family: $\Phi \beta$, Weber, p. 49.
- D MUNICH *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* Clm 3824, f. 94v-135, saec. IX med., West Germany. Bischoff, *SS* 1, p. 12. Family: $\Phi \beta$, Weber, p. 49.¹⁷
- V PARIS *Bibliothèque nationale de France* lat. 1924, f. 12v-89v, saec. IX in., Verona (Bischoff). The Maurists' *codex regius*. Family: $\Phi \beta$, Weber, p. 48.
- ST GALL *Stiftsbibliothek* 143, saec. IX 2/4, St Gall (Bischoff). Family: $\Phi \gamma$, Weber, p. 52 (page numbers and contents not given).
 - VATICAN CITY *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* Pal. lat. 216, f. 1-19, saec. IX¹, West Germany. Bischoff, *Lorsch* (1974), p. 49; *Lorsch* (1989), p. 58. Only book 2. Very closely related to the Baltimore manuscript; Weber, p. 33, n. 95.

CODICES SAEC. X

- G LEIDEN *Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit* Voss. lat. F.114, f. 22-31v, saec. X in., West France (Bischoff). Family: $\Phi \gamma$, Weber, p. 51.
- O PARIS *Bibliothèque nationale de France* lat. 1923, f. 30-55, saec. X² (Bischoff). Family: $\Phi \alpha$, Weber, p. 45.
- M PARIS *Bibliothèque nationale de France* lat. 2077, f. 10v-32, saec. X² (Bischoff). From Moissac. 'Kontaminiert', Weber, p. 54.
- R REIMS *Bibliothèque municipale* 395, f. 13-31, saec. X (Bischoff). Family: Ψ , Weber, p. 53.

15. In the following list, manuscripts that were not assigned a siglum by Weber are indicated with a bullet (•).

16. An abbreviated version of the work is found in Baltimore, Maryland *Walters Art Gallery* W.2, f. 26-53v, saec. IX 3/4, 'Etwa Umkreis von Soissons'. Bischoff, *Katalog* 1.185, p. 43. See Edouard Jeuneau, 'Un dossier carolingien sur la création de l'homme', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 28 (1982), p. 112-132; reprinted *Études érigéniennes* (Paris, 1987), p. 559-580. Weber, p. 33, n. 93.

17. On this manuscript, see my article, 'Augustine Manuscripts from the Library of Louis the Pious: Berlin Phillipps 1651 and Munich Clm 3824', *Scriptorium* 50 (1996), p. 103; rep. *The Manuscript Traditions of the Works of St Augustine* (Florence, 2001), p. 353.

CODICES SAEC. X-XI

- A ANGERS *Bibliothèque municipale* 179 (171), f. 10v-37v, saec. x-xi, West France. Bischoff, *Katalog* 1, p. 19. Family: Ψ , Weber, p. 52 ('von einer Hand des 9. Jdts. geschrieben').
- ANGERS *Bibliothèque municipale* 180 (172), saec. x-xi. Family: Ψ , Weber, p. 54 (folio numbers and contents not given). Not in Bischoff, *Katalog* 1.
- N MANTUA *Biblioteca Comunale* E.V.14, f. 46-69, saec. x-xi. Family: Φ α , Weber, p. 51.
- O* PARIS *Bibliothèque nationale de France* Nouv. acq. lat. 1447, f. 161-172v, saec. x-xi, Cluny.¹⁸ Family: Φ α , Weber, p. 45: 'Möglicherweise wurde die Handschrift nach einem L bzw. F Nahestehenden Codex korrigiert'—but both L and F were evidently written later than O*.

CODICES SAEC. XI

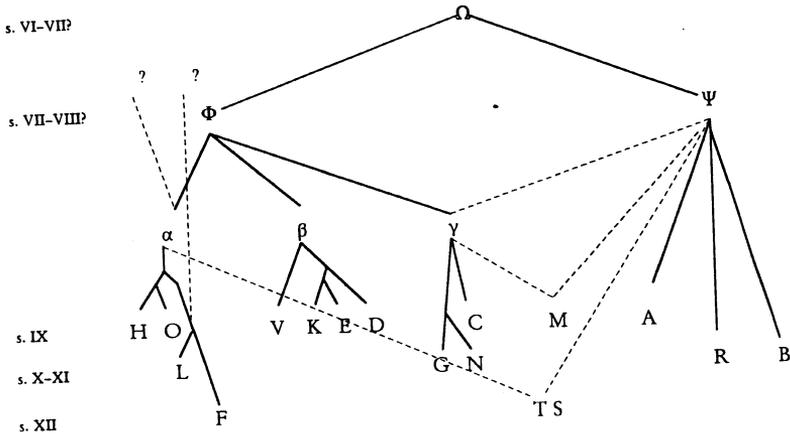
- B BRUSSELS *Bibliothèque royale* 9349-54, f. 134v-153, saec. xi. Family: Ψ , Weber, p. 53.
- L LINCOLN *Cathedral Chapter Library* 13, f. 87-102, saec. xi. Family: Φ α , Weber, p. 45.

CODICES SAEC. XII

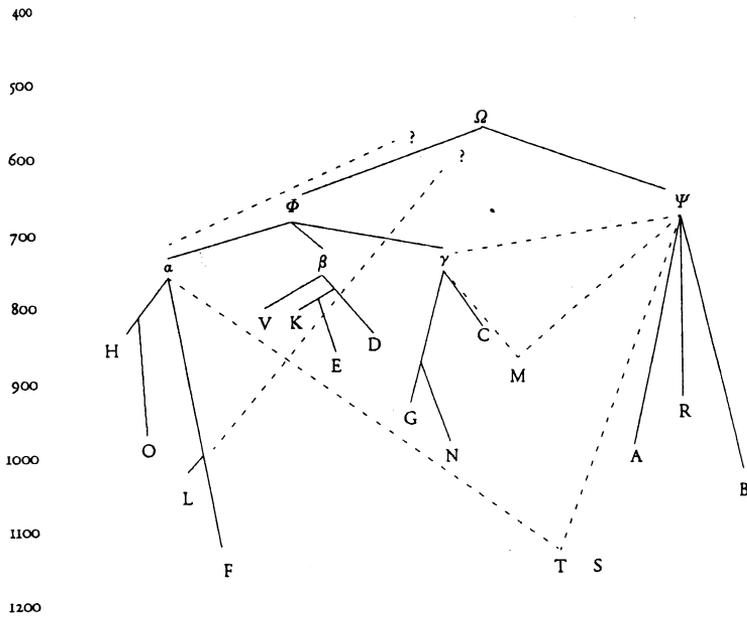
- S HEILIGENKREUZ *Stiftsbibliothek* 196, saec. xii. 'Kontaminiert', Weber, p. 55 (folio numbers and contents not given).
- F PARIS *Bibliothèque nationale de France* lat. 1925, f. 1-31v, saec. xii. Family: Φ α , Weber, p. 46.
- T TROYES *Bibliothèque municipale* 40/I, saec. xii. 'Kontaminiert', Weber, p. 55 (folio numbers and contents not given).

18. The main work in this manuscript is Augustine's *Contra Faustum*, and perhaps this book can be identified with item 148 in Delisle's edition of the eleventh-century Cluny catalogue? *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* also appears in item 144. See Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1874), vol. 2, p. 463.

In the introduction to the new edition Weber offered the following stemma co-dicum (see p. 58):

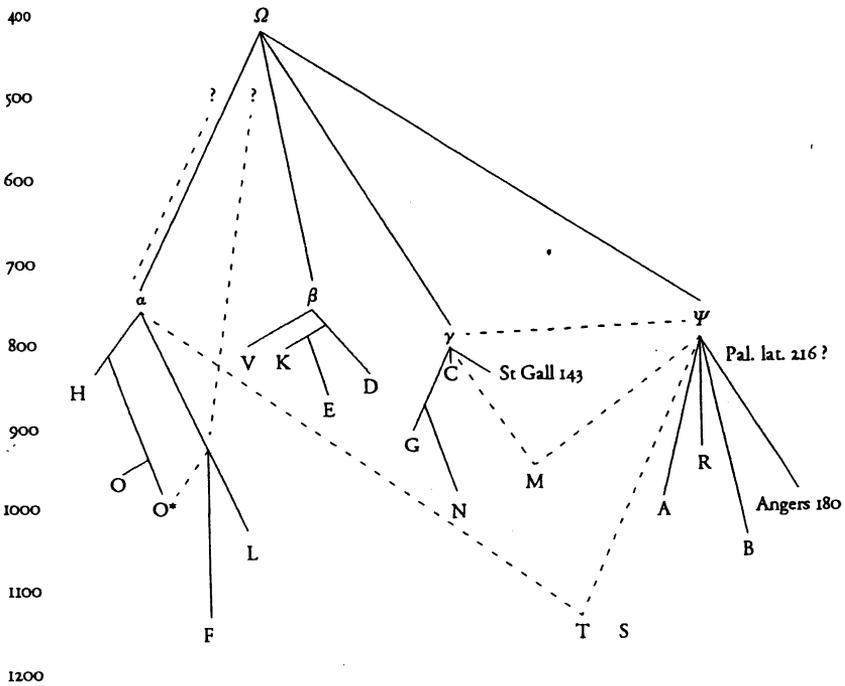


According to Weber's account, there are two main families, Φ and Ψ (p. 40-43 and p. 52-54), and three groups within Φ (p. 43-44), namely, α (p. 44-47), β (p. 47-50) and γ (p. 50-52). If Weber's stemma (see p. 58) were redrawn using the dates for the manuscripts that were offered by Bischoff, it would look something like this:



From this revised version of the stemma we can appreciate how the textual family β was represented throughout the Carolingian world: Verona (V), Cologne and western Germany (K and D) and Lyon (E). From the α family in the ninth century we have only H, copied at Lorsch, and from the γ family, only a codex Augiensis (C) and St Gall 143. Vatican Pal. lat. 216 from the library of Lorsch, which was not collated by Weber, might belong to any of these families.

However, since Angers 179 (A) is to be dated 'saec. x-xi' (according to Bischoff) and not 'saec. ix', there is no extant member of the Ψ family that was copied before the tenth century, that is, before Reims 395, saec. x (R), and Angers 179, saec. x-xi (A), were written. According to Weber (p. 54-55), Paris lat. 2077, saec. X² (M), was contaminated by a member of the Ψ family. However, according to Weber (p. 42), manuscripts belonging to the γ group—the oldest being Karlsruhe Aug. perg. 187 (C) and St Gall 143, both saec. ix 2/4—were influenced by Ψ . If this is true, the stemma for the manuscripts would look something like this:¹⁹



19. Three manuscripts not included on Weber's stemma, Paris Nouv. acq. lat. 1447 (O*), St Gall 143 and Angers 180, have been added here for the sake of completeness.

This seems to me to be a more plausible explanation of the manuscript tradition of Augustine's influential commentary.

In any case, it seems more likely that Ψ was an early Carolingian exemplar that was 'corrected' and not a seventh- or eighth- century hyparchetype.²⁰ There would thus be three main families (α , β , γ) and an early source of contamination (Ψ). In general, I believe that the bipartite stemma is usually an illusion, especially for a work such as *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* that circulated widely. The separative errors in Ψ noted by Weber on p. 42-43 do indeed (I agree) prove the existence of the Ψ family that is distinct from Φ ($\alpha + \beta + \gamma$). However, I believe that the readings unique to Ψ (listed on p. 41), which according to Weber indicated errors in Φ , are simply additional errors in Ψ , and do not prove the existence of a hyparchetype Φ from which $\alpha + \beta + \gamma$ derived. These readings (errors in Ψ) should not have been placed in the text:

- p. 88,2 aiunt
- p. 131,28 humana
- p. 147,7 est
- p. 147,10 ergo
- p. 152,10 natus
- p. 159,20 ergo
- p. 168,8-10 Nihil enim sic reuocat homines a peccato quemadmodum imminentis mortis cogitatio.
- p. 169,21 aiunt

There may be something here I do not see, but it seems clear that 168,8-10 is an interpolation, done by a reader who had a penchant for inserting into his manuscript *aiunt* (twice) and *ergo* (twice). It does not seem to me that there are any errors that demonstrate the existence of the hyparchetype Φ . That is, there is no locus where Ψ preserves a correct reading against the testimony of Φ ($\alpha + \beta + \gamma$). To summarize my opinions in terms of Weber's stemma, Ψ exists, but Φ does not. These considerations show how helpful it can be to draw up a list of manuscripts and then assemble the opinions of their date and origin from the best palaeographical authorities before studying a manuscript tradition.

Of special interest is the useful list of errors that, according to Weber, seem to have been in the archetype (see p. 39). This may be true, but it seems to me that

20. See also Dorothea Weber, 'Textprobleme in Augustinus, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*', *Wiener Studien* 111 (1998), p. 211-230.

Weber is too quick to provide conjectures. An example is the transposed text that appears on p. 128, lines 23-26, *Dicimus enim - damnatione meruimus*, instead of on p. 127 after line 14. The reason for this editorial decision, taken against the evidence of all the manuscripts, was not clear to me.

The new CSEL edition raises another issue close to my heart. This is the practice of placing chapter numbers and section numbers in the text, as though they were part of the original work of Augustine himself. The only division in the commentary due to Augustine was the division into two books. The later divisions and numbering schemes have nothing whatsoever to do with the original form of Augustine's work. If numbers are to be placed in the text, they must be enclosed within square brackets to indicate they are not part of the original work, but they should be placed in the margins. We may speak of the first chapter in the second book, or the last section in the first book of Augustine's work, but these divisions are artificial and the result of editorial intervention centuries after Augustine's time.

These matters aside, Dorothea Weber is to be congratulated on providing us with a new edition of an important work of Augustine, one that will be in use for many decades, perhaps centuries.

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ABSTRACT: The new edition of Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* prepared by Dorothea Weber (CSEL 91, 1998) raises interesting questions about the manuscript tradition of the work. If the stemma is drawn to reflect Bernhard Bischoff's opinions of the dates of the ninth-century manuscripts, various problems can be clarified and the text improved. In future editions of the works of Augustine, the manuscripts used by the Maurists should be identified with precision.

RÉSUMÉ: La nouvelle édition du *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* d'Augustin procurée par Dorothea Weber (CSEL 91, 1998) pose d'intéressantes questions concernant la tradition manuscrite de l'ouvrage. Si le stemma est amené à reproduire les opinions de Bernhard Bischoff sur la datation des manuscrits du IX^e siècle, divers problèmes peuvent être résolus et le texte amélioré. Dans les éditions futures des œuvres d'Augustin, les manuscrits utilisés par les Mauristes pourraient être identifiés avec précision.