

A series of anti-Pelagian legal and ecclesiastical texts from the Quesnelliana collection: Relation to other canonical collections and edition

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Abstract

This article proposes a new critical edition of a series of late antique Roman laws issued during the so-called Pelagian controversy. In that controversy the North African church, headed by bishops Aurelius of Carthage and Augustine of Hippo, opposed the teachings of Pelagius and Caelestius. In 418, Roman Emperor Honorius chose the side of the African church and condemned Pelagius and Caelestius in a series of legislative writings. The dossier of anti-Pelagian laws has been transmitted in several canonical collections. Canonical collections are collections of texts, preserved in one or multiple manuscripts, of which the contents primarily concern church regulations or reports from ecclesiastical councils. This article will first discuss how the collections which contain these anti-Pelagian writings relate to each other. Additionally, the manuscript relations within each collection will be examined. Afterwards, the article gives a brief overview of earlier editions of the anti-Pelagian laws. The article concludes with a new critical edition of the anti-Pelagian dossier, and supplements this edition with an English translation.

I. Introduction

This article is concerned with a series of anti-Pelagian laws preserved in several canonical collections.¹ The Pelagian controversy was a theological controversy that originated out of a concern by the fifth-century North African church over the thinking of Pelagius and Caelestius.² According to the African bishops, Pelagius' insistence on the capacities of the free will undermined a belief in the hereditary sin of Adam and consequently, the role of Christ's grace. The African bishops, headed by Aurelius of Carthage and Augustine of Hippo, sought support from the bishop of Rome and the imperial court. Some documents essential for understanding the role of the see of Rome and the imperial court in the Pelagian controversy, are preserved in manuscripts containing so-called canonical collections. The purpose of this article is to examine the relation between these canonical collections and their manuscripts, and to offer a new critical edition of (parts) of the anti-Pelagian dossier in these collections.

¹ This study was conducted as part of the ERC-funded research project AntCoCo: "Understanding Late Antique Top-Down Communication: A Study of Imperial Constitutions" (Grant agreement ID: 101001991), at the Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg. A word of thanks goes to Peter Riedlberger, PI of the AntCoCo project, for his many valuable suggestions.

² On this controversy, see, a.o., Otto Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius: Die theologische Position der römischen Bischöfe im pelagianischen Streit in den Jahren 411-432* (Päpste und Papsttum 7), Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1975; Anthony Dupont, *Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum during the Pelagian Controversy: Do Different Contexts Furnish Different Insights?* (Brill's Series in Church History 59), Leiden: Brill, 2013; Anthony Dupont *et al.* (eds.), *Sancti uiri, ut audio: Theologies, Rhetorics, and Receptions of the Pelagian Controversy Reappraised* (BETL 336), Leuven: Peeters, 2023.

For our understanding of the Pelagian controversy, the most important canonical collection is the collection named Quesnelliana (after its first editor Pasquier Quesnel).³ A significant part of this collection, namely its (numbered) documents VI-XX, deal explicitly with the Pelagian controversy. This article will focus in particular on documents XIII-XX, which consists of Roman imperial legal texts directed against Pelagianism, as this study was carried out as part of the ERC-funded project AntCoCo, which studies unabridged imperial constitutions. A brief introduction to these seven texts is in order. XIII is a letter directed by Emperor Honorius, nominally together with his fellow Emperor Theodosius II, to Palladius, praetorian prefect of Italy; XV is a subsequent edict by Palladius, issued together with his colleagues Monaxius and Agricola; XVI is a letter of Honorius to Aurelius of Carthage; XVII is a letter by Aurelius to the North African bishops of the provinces Byzacena and Arzugitana; XVIII is an excerpt from one of Augustine's letters. The excerpt functions in this collection as the proceedings of a synod in Palestine where Pelagius had formally condemned 'Pelagian' statements and affirmed their 'Catholic' counterparts, in two series of twelve statements; XVIII is an imperial letter, attributed (most probably falsely) to Emperor Constantius, to Volusian, urban prefect of Rome; XX is then a subsequent edict by Volusian. With the exception of the Augustinian excerpt (from 417), these texts all date from 418-419. Some of these texts have also been preserved in other canonical collections, and one of the aims of this study is to examine precisely how these collections relate to each other, at least with regard to this anti-Pelagian dossier.

Volker Henning Drecoll has also recently studied the anti-Pelagian material in the Quesnelliana, and published on this collection, including a new critical edition of parts of the dossier, in 2023.⁴ For that reason, it is warranted to explain how this current article relates to Drecoll's. This article will cover two topics that Drecoll did not examine. First, the current study will look at how the text of the Quesnelliana dossier relates to the text of the same documents as found in other canonical collections. These collections are the Colbertina, Vaticana, augmented Dionysiana-Hadrina collections, the *codex encyclius*, the *Collectio Bobbiensis* and a class of manuscripts of Leo the Great's sermons and letters.⁵ Drecoll only briefly mentions the Colbertina collection and Vaticana.⁶ He argues, on the basis of a comparison of the contents of the collections, that other canonical collections have drawn their anti-Pelagian texts from the

³ On this collection, see Friedrich Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, I. Band, Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1870, p. 486-500; Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999, p. 27-29; Matthew J.J. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters: The Transmission and Reception of Papal Documents in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 83), Turnhout: Brepols, 2022, p. 111-132.

⁴ Volker Henning Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier in the *Collectio Quesnelliana*", in A. Dupont et al. (eds.), *Sancti uiri*, 255-277.

⁵ On the Colbertina, see F. Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 536-542; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 31-32; M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 141-149. On the Vaticana, see F. Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 512-526; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 25-26; M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 132-140. On the augmented (Dionysiana-)Hadriana, see F. Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 454-465; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 20-21; M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 298-310. On the *codex encyclius*, see F. Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 751-753; M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 268-269. On the *Collectio Bobbiensis*, see M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 343-344. On the letters of Leo, see Antoine Chavasse, *Leo Magnus. Tractatus* (CCSL 138), Turnhout: Brepols, 1973, p. cxiv-cxxiv; M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 389-396.

⁶ On the Colbertina, see V.H. Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier", p. 259; on the Vaticana, see *ibid.*, p. 260-262.

Quesnelliana. The conclusion of this study will confirm Drecoll's assessment, and corroborate it on the basis of textual evidence.

A second difference pertains to the edition of Drecoll. Drecoll considers his text an *Ausgangstext*, and not a reconstruction of the original text or an archetype text. He describes his edition as "a hypothetically constructed text by which the variant readings of the used manuscripts can be explained as easy as possible", also noting that "conjectures are avoided" in his edition.⁷ The critical apparatus of Drecoll is highly accurate, and his edition successfully meets the criteria he formulated. What the edition in this article aims to do, is to provide a more complete critical apparatus. For one, Drecoll left the Oxford Oriel College manuscript aside, as it "provides a depraved text".⁸ Though this remark is not unjustified, the collations of this manuscript (our *siglum o*) have been included in the apparatus, because of the historical significance of this manuscript. It was after all the manuscript of choice in the influential edition of Quesnel. Additionally, the current edition will provide the variant readings of all canonical collections, and of selected manuscripts from these collections, in the critical apparatus. This can in turn aid future scholars in their assessment of relations between the texts of the collections. The current edition will also depart from Drecoll's in that conjectures will be considered.

The following section (II) will discuss the relations between the collections in which our anti-Pelagian texts have been preserved, as well as between the manuscripts of each collection. For readability, *sigla* will be used. An overview of *sigla* can be found below, immediately preceding the edition proper (section IV). After the discussion of manuscript relations in section II, section III will briefly discuss the most influential editions of this legal dossier. The readings from these editions will also be incorporated in the dossier. The edition itself is followed by an English translation. In turn, this translation is followed by a concluding section of notes, in which I will offer the reasoning behind my readings of choice, where these readings may not be evident on the basis of either manuscript support or syntax, or where a more elaborate justification is in order.

⁷ V.H. Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier", p. 269, n. 61.

⁸ V.H. Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier", p. 256. *Ibid.*, n. 7, he quotes O. Guenther's verdict on the Oxford manuscript as *maxime interpolatus*. See Otto Guenther, *Epistula imperatorum pontificum aliorum* (CSEL 35/1), Prague and Vienna: Tempsky-Leipzig: Freytag, p. 92.

II. Manuscript transmission of the anti-Pelagian dossier

II.1. Seven collections

The anti-Pelagian texts described in the introduction have been preserved in seven canonical collections. Not all of these collections contain the full series. The table below mentions the seven items, as numbered in the Quesnelliana collection. An x indicates whether the text is included in the other canonical collections.

Text\Collection	<i>Q</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>H</i>
XIII	x	x					
XV	x	x					
XVI	x	x				x	x
XVII	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
XVIII	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
XVIII	x	x				x	
XX	x	x					

In order to further assess how these collections relate to each other, textual evidence must be considered. It is apparent that in many instances the text of *Q C* disagrees with that of *E B L V H*. Thus we can seemingly distinguish between the two collections *Q C* on the one hand, and *E B L V H* on the other. We will later return to the precise relation between these two ‘groups’. For now, we will look into the different collections within each group.

Among the five collections *E B L V H*, each collection has characterising errors.⁹ That means that none of these collections could have been the model for another. Furthermore, within these five collections two subgroups can be discerned. In several instances, *E B L* have an error against the readings of *V H* (confirmed by *Q C*). Likewise, *V* and *H* share errors, in disagreement with the other collections.¹⁰

The Colbertina collection (*C*) is only represented in one manuscript (Paris latin 1455). It contains several individual errors against *Q* and *E B L V H*.¹¹ Otherwise, it is in agreement with *Q* whenever *Q* disagrees with *E B L V H*. So, for the texts under consideration, *C* behaves like any other manuscript of *Q*.¹² For this reason, I will use the *siglum c*, also in the edition, to refer to the manuscript that contains the Colbertina collection.

It is at this point necessary to consider how the collections *E B L V H* collectively relate to *Q*. In principle, the transmission of the legal dossier can be bipartite – with *Q* representing one branch of the transmission and *E B L V H* another. Alternatively, one of these two ‘groups’ would have derived from the other. For the first hypothesis, both

⁹ For the sake of a fair comparison of the four collections, examples given here are only from the texts common to these collections, namely XVII and XVIII (lines 131-254). For errors of *E*, see *dogmatibus* (140), *de* (155), *ecclesiasticis* (251); for *B*, see *omnibus* (187), *defendenda* (204), *disputationis* (205); for *L*, see *Caelestii* (133), *commeminit* (141), *festinaui* (147); for *V*, see *tenetur* (154), *ut* (204), *habeamus* (239); for *H*, see *ac* (134), *instruere* (147), *tam* (149), *nihil omnino* (157).

¹⁰ For errors of *E B L*, see *uolentes* (168), *VIII* (193), *VIII* (230), *corde* (253); for *V H*, see *consacerdotibus* (135), *anathemasset* (174), *neque* (182).

¹¹ See *Gaiano*¹ (136), *manu* (142), *orbis* (149), *infantes* (212).

¹² As a collection, *C* has drawn its material from the collection of Sankt Blasien (Sanblasiana) and the Quesnelliana. Compare in this regard M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 143-144: in the example of Leo's letter 28 (*Lectis dilectionis tuae*), the manuscript does not contain readings characteristic for *Q* (cited *ibid.*, p. 117-118). See also F. Maassen, *Geschichte*, p. 537.

groups would need to contain demonstrable errors, where the other group has a correct reading. For the latter hypothesis, all instances where one group disagrees with the other have to be explained as that group being erroneous against the other, which should then have preserved the archetypal reading. For this discussion, the evidence of text XVIII is essential, as it is a text that has been preserved independently of the canonical collections. This text is an excerpt from Augustine's *ep.* 186, written by Alypius of Thagaste and Augustine in 417, addressed to Paulinus of Nola. A large section of the letter was excerpted and included in our canonical collections under a new heading. Because the whole letter 186 has been transmitted independently of this excerpt, its text can help assess the differences between *Q* and *E B L V H*.¹³ There are several instances where all our collections unequivocally contain a reading against Augustine's *ep.* 186.¹⁴ This indicates that the excerpt underwent some minor modifications compared to the letter. With the exception of those differences, the excerpt in our collections is identical to the text of Augustine's *ep.* 186.

Since the whole of *ep.* 186 is preserved independently of its excerpt, its text can help assess the textual differences between *Q* and *E B L V H*. These are the instances in which *Q* disagrees with *E B L V H* (with reference to Goldbacher's edition of *ep.* 186).¹⁵

Line	<i>Q</i>	<i>E B L V H</i>	<i>ep.</i> 186
176	eum dicere	cum diceret	eum dicere
178	eius	ipsius	eius
178	non et	non	et non
185	Et	<i>om.</i>	et
198	non ex dei esse	non esse ex dei	non ex dei esse
203	anathemauit	anathematizauit	anathemauit
209	Adam	quod Adam	Adam
220	Confiteatur	ut confiteatur	confiteatur
220	etiam	<i>om.</i>	etiam
223	diuitiarum	diuitiarum suarum	diuitiarum
228	Fateatur	ut fateatur [ut confiteatur <i>E B L</i>]	fateatur
233	Fateatur	ut fateatur	fateatur
236	Fateatur	ut fateatur	fateatur
238	Fateatur	ut fateatur	fateatur
244	Fateatur	ut fateatur	fateatur

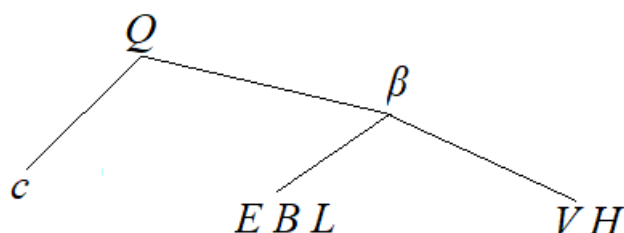
In all instances where *Q* disagrees with *E B L V H*, the text of *Q* is identical to that of *ep.* 186. The only exception is the reading *non et* in line 178, but also there *Q* resembles *ep.* 186 more than *E B L V H* does. This comparison suggests that *Q* has

¹³ The most recent edition of *ep.* 186 was published by Goldbacher in the CSEL series: Al. Goldbacher, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponensis episcopi epistula. Pars IV: Ep. CLXXXV-CCLXX* (CSEL 57), Vienna: Tempsky-Leipzig: Freytag, 1911. The text excerpted in XVIII is *ep.* 186,31-33; ed. Al. Goldbacher (CSEL 57), p. 70, l. 13-p. 73, l. 23.

¹⁴ For differences, see the apparatus for *Quod* (167), *dominus* (167), *quomodo* (172), *peccasset*¹⁻²(177), *non et* (178), *fuisset moriturus* (209), *Quod* (210; 212), *omnino* (235), *ipse* (246), *ipsius* (250), *fide* (253). Additionally, Goldbacher's edition lacks the enumeration of condemned Pelagian theses and their orthodox counterparts (both in a series of twelve). However, Goldbacher does mention that his four earliest manuscripts include an enumeration, so it is possible Goldbacher removed these enumerations on his own accord (see CSEL 57, p. 71).

¹⁵ This overview has been simplified. A comprehensive overview can be found in the critical apparatus.

better retained the archetype reading of the document; in all cases where *E B L V H* disagree with *Q*, they have an additional error, and therefore they derive from a common ancestor characterized by the errors summed up above. It may be possible to extrapolate this relation between *Q* and *E B L V H* to the other texts of the anti-Pelagian dossier. This would imply that the archetype for our anti-Pelagian dossier is represented by *Q*, and that *E B L V H* descend from a common ancestor, that had *Q* as its source. These five collections together represent one branch of *Q*. Earlier, we had demonstrated how among the collections *E B L V H*, *E B L* represent one branch, and *V H* another. The following representation may best illustrate the relation between the seven collections, for the texts under discussion:



II.2. *Codex encyclicus*

The *codex encyclicus* was a sixth-century manuscript, which contained reports of the council of Chalcedon as well as encyclical letters. Cassiodorus states that he asked the *codex encyclicus* to be translated from Greek to Latin.¹⁶ This manuscript itself has not survived, but two later witnesses, namely *g* and *w*², have preserved its contents. Both are ninth-century manuscripts, from Corbie and Reichenau respectively. The anti-Pelagian dossier of these manuscripts are additions to the contents of the *codex encyclicus* as Cassiodorus had described it. That means that the hyparchetype *E* is not identical to the *codex encyclicus*, but contains later additions to it.¹⁷ The two witnesses of *E* are most likely sibling manuscripts. That means that both *g* and *w*² have individual errors.¹⁸

II.3. *Collectio Bobbiensis*

The *Collectio Bobbiensis* is preserved in one ninth-century manuscript, which has its provenance in Bobbio.¹⁹ Its readings most closely correspond to those of *E* and *L*. Additionally, it is characterized by its own errors, so it cannot have been the source for these other two collections. It bears closer resemblance to *L* than to *E*, in that it shares

¹⁶ Cassiodorus, *Institutiones* 1,XI,2: *Calchedonensis autem synodi testis est codex Encyclicus, qui eius reuerentiam tanta laude concelebrat, ut sanctae auctoritati merito iudicet comparandam. quem codicem, id est totius orbis epistularum, a uiro disertissimo Epiphano fecimus in Latinum de Graeco sermone conuerti*; ed. R.A.B. Mynors, *Cassiodori senatoris institutiones: Edited from the Manuscripts*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1961, p. 36, l. 1-5.

¹⁷ See also E. Schwartz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Tomus 2: *Concilium uniuersale Chalcedonense*, Vol. 5: *Collectio Sangermanensis* (ACO 2.5), Berlin-Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1936, p. xx: *de collectione Quesneliana deriuata esse uidentur*.

¹⁸ For errors of *g*, see *Victorino* (136), *tractum* (137), *Hierusalem* (167), *esset* (177); for errors of *w*², see *Byzacenam* (132), *Carthagine* (161). Admittedly, the individual errors of *w*² are very limited for the texts under consideration. See also E. Schwartz, ACO 2.5, p. v, who states *w*² is a *gemellus* of *g*.

¹⁹ M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 343-344. Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, Teil II: *Laon-Paderborn*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004, p. 153.

a number of errors with the former collection, where *E* preserves the archetype reading.²⁰ There are some instances in which *B* resembles an error of *E* more closely than it resembles *L*, but in those cases, it is likely the reading of *E B* represents the reading of the common ancestor of *E B L*, and *L* introduced a new error.²¹

II.4. Letters and sermons of Leo

As of yet, no consistent nomenclature exists for this collection of letters. Antoine Chavasse, in his edition of the sermons of Leo the Great for the Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, names this collection *A*. Matthew Hoskin, on the other hand, uses the designation “Ballerini Collection 24”, after the presence of this collection in the edition by the brothers Ballerini.²² Of around the 30 manuscripts of this collection, at least 16 also contain the letter by Aurelius and the excerpts (documents XVII and XVIII of *Q*). The earliest witnesses of the collection date to the twelfth century, and the collection likely originated in central France in that century or the end of the eleventh century, in a Cistercian milieu. The two anti-Pelagian texts that made their way in this collection were probably drawn from a source similar to the source of *E* and *B*.

For this study not all witnesses of *L* have been consulted, mostly because of their limited value for the critical edition. The selection of witnesses for the apparatus adequately represents the readings of this collection. Among the manuscripts of *L*, a significant amount of witnesses share the specific combination of two errors:

integrata (157)] integra; de (165)] ex.

These witnesses are the Dijon, Bruges, Charleville-Mézières, Saint-Omer, Troyes manuscripts of the collection, as well as the Vat. reg. lat. 139 and Paris latin 16866 witnesses, and *v*^l. These manuscripts thus form a subgroup of our *L*. Among this class, only the latter manuscript is included in the apparatus, because it has no errors in these texts that are not also common to the other manuscripts. It may thus be possible that *v*^l is the model for the other witnesses of this class, but the limited evidence here can only allow a tentative hypothesis on this topic. Within this subgroup, the Bruges and Saint-Omer manuscripts are most likely siblings,²³ possibly related somewhat to the Dijon witness.²⁴ The Charleville-Mézières and Vat. reg. manuscripts are also related, probably as siblings too.²⁵ The Troyes manuscript and Paris latin 16866 witness

²⁰ See, for example, *Donatiano ... Palatino* (135-136), *quarum* (151), *ullius* (157), *Et* (160).

²¹ See, for example, *incipiunt capitula* (164)] *incipit epistula E B, om. L; de* (164)] *om. E B, ex L; habitis* (164)] *habens E B*.

²² See A. Chavasse, CCSL 138, p. cxiv-cxxiv; M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 389-396. At least one witness can be added to the overview of witnesses by Chavasse and Hoskin, namely Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, W* 132.

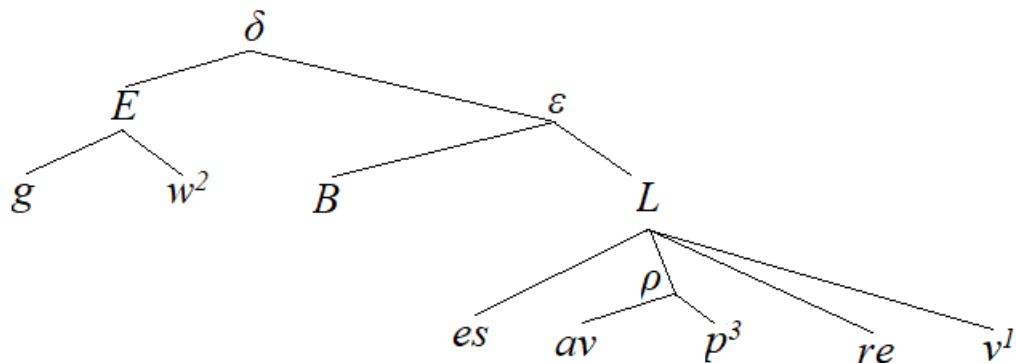
²³ Errors common to the Saint-Omer (*so*) and Bruges (*br*) manuscripts are: *Arzugitanam* (132)] *arguitanam*; *Arzugitanae* (137)] *arguitane*; *reputari* (188)] *reportare L, reputari so br*; *possint* (219)] *possunt*. An individual error of *so* is the omission of *amen* (see apparatus under 254), a typical reading of *L*. An individual error of *br* is *libero* (191)] *libro*.

²⁴ Instead of the hyparchetype reading *reportare* of *L* (*reputari* 188), *so* and *br* have *reputari*, and the Dijon witness has *reputare*. Possibly the use of the same verb could point to a common ancestor of *so* and *br* and the Dijon witness. However, the evidence remains slim. In any case, the Dijon manuscript has many individual errors, and lacks rubrication in the concerned texts. Individual errors of Dijon include: *Incipit ... Caelestii* (131-133)] *om.*; *excerpta ... est* (164-166)] *om.*

²⁵ Common errors of the Charleville-Mézières and Vat. reg. manuscripts are: *Arzugitanam* (132)] *arzigintanam*; *Arzugitanae* (137)] *arzigintanae*; *et ... praeuaricationem* (182)] *om.*; *et* (228)] *om.* An individual error of the Charleville-Mézières witness is the unusual spelling *tymotheum* for *Timotheum*

each have individual errors, but it was not possible to discern any closer relation between these two witnesses and the remainder of this class.²⁶

Of the remaining manuscripts of Leo's letters and sermons, most have been included in the edition (namely *es*, *re*, *av*, and *p*³). The manuscript Paris mazarine 587 (969) has many individual errors, and has therefore not been considered for the edition.²⁷ Among the four that have been retained, *av* and *p*³ are likely siblings. They have many common errors, but not much individual errors each.²⁸ Aside from *av* and *p*³, the evidence of *es* and *re* has also been included in the apparatus. This configuration of five witnesses (with the aforementioned *v*¹) allows the best possible assessment of collective errors of *L*, of the common errors of *av* and *p*³, and of the individual errors of the witnesses of *L*. To conclude, the following stemma may best illustrate the relations between the witnesses of *E*, *B* and *L* that have been considered for this edition:



II.5. The Vaticana collection

The Vaticana collection was compiled in the beginning of the sixth century in (central) Italy, possibly in Rome.²⁹ The anti-Pelagian material under discussion must have been part of the collection from its inception, as it is preserved in the three complete manuscripts of the Vaticana (*v*², *b*, and *f*). The collection is named after its oldest witness, namely the eighth-century Vat. lat. 1342 (*v*²). However, this manuscript is not the common ancestor for all the other witnesses of this collection, and represents but one branch of the transmission, as it contains multiple individual errors.³⁰ The remaining three witnesses, *b n f*, can be divided in two branches: *b* and *n* have many

(221; other witnesses of *L* often *thimotheum*). Individual errors of Vat. reg. lat. 139 include: unde (157)] inde; solum regnum caelorum (218-219)] regnum celorum solum; miserentis (242)] misericors; ueraciter ... contraria (252-253)] *om*.

²⁶ An individual error of the Troyes witness is *boni uisi* (188), against the hyparchetype reading *uisi boni* of *L*. Although the Dijon manuscript also has *boni uisi*, the presence of the same error in both witnesses does not need to imply relationship, as it can be a fortuitous similarity. An individual error of Paris latin 16866 is the spelling *manaxio* of *Monaxio* (161).

²⁷ Examples of such errors include: Victorino (136)] uictoriano; Caelestii (139)] scelestii; excerpta ... est (164-166)] *om*.

²⁸ For common errors of *av* and *p*³, see *episcopi* (131), *Byzacenam* (132), *possint* (219), *dei* (244). For an individual error of *av*, see *absque* (235); for *p*³, see *ad* (151).

²⁹ M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 132-133, dates the collection's composition to the first quarter of the sixth century, and situates it in Rome. Extant witnesses of the collection all have their origins in Italy, though the precise provenance of these manuscripts is not extensively documented. Not all manuscripts belonging to the Vaticana collection have preserved the anti-Pelagian dossier under discussion. Compare the overview of witnesses in L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 25, with the overview of witnesses in this article.

³⁰ See the apparatus under *et alii Gaiano* (136), *prouinciaie* (147), *ab* (148), and *siue*¹ (177).

common errors, and *n* is most likely a later copy of *b*;³¹ similarly, *f* has significant individual errors.³²

Since *n* is a distant descendant of *b*, it is of little interest for further assessment of the Vaticana witnesses. Therefore, we can focus on the relation between *v*², *b*, and *f*. There is as of yet no scholarly consensus on the matter.³³ Based on the variant readings in the anti-Pelagian dossier, two hypotheses are possible, and the evidence I examined suggests the second to be more likely: either the three witnesses represent three independent branches of *V* (tripartite transmission), or *f* represents one branch, whereas *v*² *b* represent a second (bipartite transmission). In many instances where two of the three manuscripts have a common error against the third, it may be that the third witness fortuitously preserves a sound reading, because it would have corrected evident grammatical errors of the (hyp)archetype. This is arguably so for the vast majority of cases where *v*² is correct against the common errors of *b f*.³⁴ Likewise, that seems to be the case for the instances where *b* has a correct reading against errors of *v*² *f*.³⁵ Similar instances are also attested where *f* is correct against *v*² *b*. However, common errors of *v*² *b* against *f* are more frequent, and from time to time it is difficult to reconstruct how some archetype readings would have been attested in *f*, if we were to depart from the hypothesis of a tripartite transmission (in which common errors of *v*² *b* must have been present in the same model from which *f* was also dependent).³⁶

³¹ Common errors of *b n* include: Arzugitanam (132)] arzutanam; damnatione (133)] -em; ac desiderabilibus (134)] hac desiderabilis; uniuersis (145)] -i. The text of the fifteenth-century manuscript *n* is most likely drawn from the eighth-ninth-century witness *b*. Overall, *n* has faithfully preserved the readings of *b*, and often preserved its idiosyncratic spelling, such as *Teudosius* (93), *tinore* (128), *honorauilem* (146). In a few cases, *n* corrected blatant errors of *b*. For example, instead of *suscipio* (159), *n* correctly has *suspicio*; instead of *humanu* (183), *n* has *humanum*. On the other hand, newly-introduced errors of *n* are: carissime (109)] beatissime; sapere (223)] *om*.

³² See the apparatus under *clamamus* (168), *exisset* (171), *est* (176), and *peccasset*^{l-2} (177).

³³ Cf. L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 25; M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 135-140.

³⁴ For *particeps* (105), *dicere* (176), *per* (182), *esse* (195), *v*² has preserved the correct reading, against *b f* (who have *participes*, *diceret*, *pro*, and *esset* respectively). It may well be that *b f* preserved the hyparchetype readings of *V*, and that *v*², on grammatical grounds, adjusted these to the more sound reading which coincides with the archetype. For *v*²'s reading *diuitiarum* (223), it is certain *v*² disagrees with its hyparchetype (cf. the readings of *b f* and *E B L H*). In the case of *eorumque* (139), *v*² (*eorum quo*) simply has a different error rather than a correct reading against *b f* (*eorum qui*). For *Caelestii* (139) and *Caelestio* (257), the variation is insignificant: whereas *b f* read *celestii* and *celestio*, *v*² has *celestii* and *celestio*. Similarly, *v*² has *occultę* where *b f* have *occulte* (158: *occultae*).

³⁵ Evident grammatical errors of *v*² *f* could have been corrected in *b* for *gratiam* (171; 190; 192), *confiteatur* (220), and *uocari* (233), where *v*² *f* read *gratia*, *confiteantur*, and *uocare*. In the case of *gratiam* (190), *gratia* is likely an archetype error. It is also very plausible that *b* was able to reconstruct the correct name *Donatiano* (135), where *v*² *f* have *donotiano*. For the variant readings of *Arzugitanam* (132), *obiecta* (166), and *neque* (183), *b* simply has a different error than *v*² and *f*, and their errors likely have their origin in their shared ancestor.

³⁶ In the following instances, *f* has preserved an archetype reading (or a reading closer to the archetype) against *v*² *b*: *Carthaginensem* (92), *pellerentur* (97), *damnationi* (114), *auctoritate* (122), *Augustinum* (128), *idcirco* (146), *Pelagium* (165), *colligi* (169), *Pelagio* (170), *per* (183), *propria* (196), *uiuificabuntur* (217), *debita* (234), *faciat* (265). In most of these cases, *f*'s correct reading may be a fortuitous correction of an error in the hyparchetype, or merely concern variants in spelling. However, especially *f*'s reading *obtinati criminis* (101) could suggest a dependence on the archetypal reading *obstinati criminis* rather than the common model of *v*² and *b*'s *obstinatiori minis*.

II.6. The augmented Dionysiana-Hadriana collection

Like the Vaticana, *H* is an Italian collection. It represents a later version of the Dionysiana collection. That collection had been compiled by Dionysius Exiguus at the beginning of the sixth century at Rome.³⁷ An expanded redaction of this collection was realized by pope Hadrian I, and sent to Charlemagne at the end of the eighth century.³⁸ This (Dionysiana-)Hadriana collection was very influential in the Carolingian Empire. Either the Dionysiana or (perhaps more likely) the Hadriana collection was, in turn, augmented with additional material, including material in common with the Vaticana collection. This augmented (*adaucta*) Dionysiana or Hadriana collection was most likely compiled in the second half of the ninth century in Northern Italy (Ravenna), or in Rome.³⁹

Five witnesses of *H* contain this anti-Pelagian dossier. The transmission of these witnesses appears to be bipartite. The manuscripts *m* and *v*⁴ represent one branch, *r*, *verc* and *v*³ a second.⁴⁰ Among these latter three witnesses, *r* is in all likelihood the ancestor of both *verc* and *v*³ through (at least) one intermediary manuscript. There is no error of *r* that is not also preserved in *verc* *v*³. In other words, *verc* and *v*³ only have errors in addition to those they share with *r*.⁴¹ The two witnesses *verc* and *v*³ have plenty of additional common errors.⁴² Both manuscripts have individual errors, and so none of the two could have been a model for the other.⁴³ Thus, their common errors point to a shared model, which descended from *r*. As mentioned before, *m* and *v*⁴ are, most likely, witnesses of another branch of *H*. Individual errors in both manuscripts indicate they are siblings.⁴⁴

Manuscript *r* shows traces of earlier use. Annotations in its margins and the underlining of several (parts of) words in the main text indicate that someone, who had access to a version of the anti-Pelagian documents from another family of witnesses, intended to correct the text of *r*.⁴⁵ These corrections took place after the common ancestor of *verc* and *v*³ was already copied from *r*, as these two later witnesses bear no testimony of these adjustments. According to the Ballerini brothers, who wrote in 1757, the marginal notes of *r* were written *nouissima manu* (by a very recent hand).⁴⁶ Perhaps

³⁷ M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 149-150.

³⁸ M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 284-286.

³⁹ M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 298-301; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 20.

⁴⁰ For common errors of *m* and *v*⁴, see *uelut* (96), *ueneremur* (119), *Ianuario* (135), *quo Adam* (180-181), *neque* (183) [cf. the readings of *v*² *b f* of *V* there, also mirrored in *r* *verc* *v*³]. For errors of *r* *verc* *v*³, see *in* (120), *concilio* (141), *sunt* (253).

⁴¹ One exception is the reading *meritum* (201), where *r*, together with *m* and *v*⁴, has *meritorum*. Here grammatical reasons could have prompted the correction from *meritorum* to *meritum*.

⁴² E.g., *geminaretur* (101)] *geminetur*; *distulisset* (104)] *distulisti*; *secretis* (121)] *om.*; *eademque* (123)] *eadem*.

⁴³ Individual errors of *verc* are: *dogmatis* (96)] *-i*; *quae* (172)] *quoque*; *dei* (246)] *om*. Individual errors of *v*³ are more frequent. Examples include: *examinatione* (100)] *et -em*; *Iuniarum* (127)] *februar.*; *constitutos* (133)] *-is*; *serpentina* (148)] *repentina*.

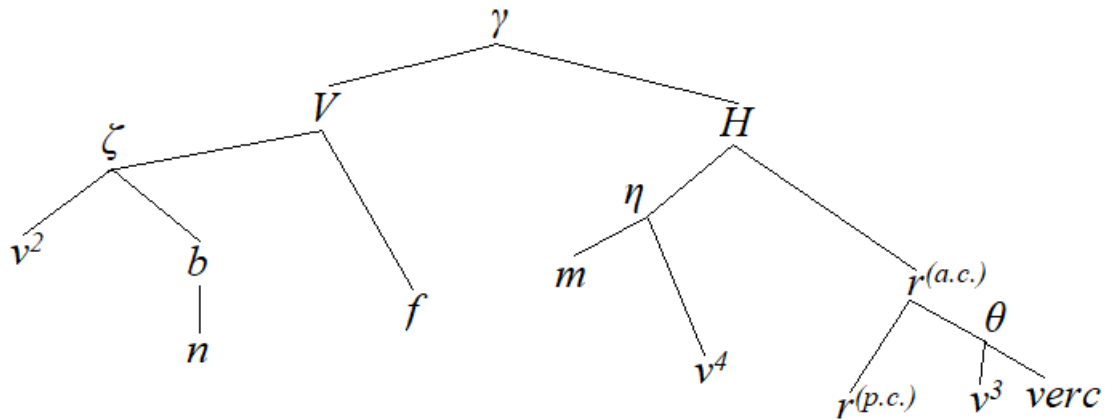
⁴⁴ For errors of *m*, see *distulisset* (104), *detestabilis* (120), *meditantes* (121), *uideatur* (159). For errors of *v*⁴, see *clementia* (99), *cum de supradictorum* (155-156), *unde* (205), *possint* (219).

⁴⁵ See the apparatus for: *utilitatis* (97), *quo* (99), *eos* (100), *obstinati criminis* (101), *praescriptae* (104), *adstruunt uel publica oppugnatione non destruunt* (108), *monere* (110), *religio* (111), *perscriptam* (114), *damnationi* (114), *quo* (115), *in* (120), *coniuentiam* (124), *Eodem* (128), *consacerdotibus* (135), *Gaiano* (135) [twice], *se sancta dilectio uestra* (140), *plenario* (140), *concilio* (141), *quam* (144), *et Plinta* (161), *neque* (182), *neque* (183).

⁴⁶ See Pietro & Girolamo Ballerini, *Appendix ad sancti Leonis magni opera*, tomus tertius, Venice: Simone Occhi, 1757, c. 174, n. 3: *Solum in Vallic. MS. nouissima manu emendatum unitatis*.

the annotator was Cesare Baronio (Baronius), who was active at the Vallicelliana in Rome (the provenance of *r*). Baronius did edit the anti-Pelagian dossier (see the discussion below, section III). He made use of an apograph of *a* and his ‘own’ manuscript, most likely *r*, for his edition.

The following stemma illustrates the relation between *V* and *H* and their witnesses:



II.7. The Quesnelliana and Colbertina collections

The Quesnelliana is a collection compiled between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth century, probably in central Italy.⁴⁷ The anti-Pelagian dossier of the Quesnelliana, was most likely compiled earlier, and suggests a North African origin.⁴⁸ The Quesnelliana collection is preserved in eight manuscripts, all transalpine, with a majority dating from the late eighth to early ninth century. An additional ninth-century manuscript, *c*, combined texts from another canonical collection, the Sanblasiana, with the Quesnelliana to form a unique collection, known as the Colbertina.⁴⁹ The text of the anti-Pelagian dossier in *c* represents that of the other manuscripts of *Q*. The individual errors in *c* as well as its altered composition indicates it cannot have been a model for any other witness of *Q*.⁵⁰ It also does not share common errors with other manuscripts of *Q*, and thus represents an isolated branch.

One partial witness of *Q* deserves brief mention. The manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, latin 1700, is a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century manuscript made by Nicolas Le Fèvre. Its pages 153-163 contain the anti-Pelagian dossier of the Quesnelliana (texts XIII-XX). The manuscript from which Le Fèvre copied this dossier is undoubtedly *t*. Paris latin 1700 and *t* share a number of significant errors.⁵¹ From time to time, Paris latin 1700 preserves a correct reading against an error of *t*. In some instances, Le Fèvre corrected obvious errors of *t*.⁵² In other instances, he applied corrections to his text, and thus replaced a reading of *t* by another

⁴⁷ M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 111-112; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 27.

⁴⁸ See V.H. Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier", p. 268.

⁴⁹ M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 143-144; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 31-32.

⁵⁰ See n. 12.

⁵¹ See *neglexerint* (116), *quoniam* (142), *opto ... memores* (160), *quoquo modo* (204) *quomodo* *t^{p.c.}* *P lat. 1700*.

⁵² For the following readings, the text of *P lat. 1700* corresponds to that of the lemma, against the errors of *t*. Such errors of *t* are: *imperialis* (91)] -es; *urbe* (96)] *orbe*; *praescriptae* (104)] *perscriptae*; *poenae* (104)] *paenae*; *scituros* (112)] -us.

reading.⁵³ Marginal notes indicate where the different anti-Pelagian texts could be consulted in the edition of Baronius. Le Fèvre most likely compared his text to the edition of Baronius, and could have adjusted the readings of *t* to those of Baronius.⁵⁴ A contemporary of Le Fèvre, François Pithou, was in possession of manuscript *t* at that time. Manuscript *t* itself appears to contain marginal notes by Le Fèvre,⁵⁵ and Le Fèvre is known to have copied from Pithou's collection on multiple occasions.⁵⁶ For the critical edition itself, Le Fèvre's manuscript is of no practical use. His copy did not influence any edition of the anti-Pelagian dossier.

It is difficult to establish the precise relations between all witnesses of *Q* on the basis of the variant readings of the texts under discussion. There is some certainty regarding several pairings of sibling manuscripts: *w* and *x* have errors, admittedly few, in common, and have a common origin (Lorsch);⁵⁷ *a* and *e* have some common errors,⁵⁸ *p*¹ and *p*² share a large number of errors.⁵⁹ Besides the limited scope of the dossier under discussion in this study, two additional factors impede, at present, a proper understanding of how the witnesses of *Q* relate more closely. A first factor is the presence of many archetype errors of *Q* that are clearly at odds with their syntactical context.⁶⁰ Some branches of the transmission have a tendency to preserve these

⁵³ E.g., pellerentur (97)] appellentur *t P lat. 1700^{a.c.}*; quo (99)] quos *t P lat. 1700^{a.c.}*; monere (110)] manere *t P lat. 1700^{a.c.}*; hanc (113)] ac *t, ac P lat. 1700*, hanc *P lat. 1700^{in marg.}*.

⁵⁴ See, for example, on *P lat. 1700*, p. 158, *in marg.*: Bar. an. 419, pag. 446. In all instances summed up in the previous two footnotes, *P lat. 1700* corresponds, *post correctionem*, to the text of Baronius, with one partial exception: instead of *monere* (110), Baronius reads *moneri*.

⁵⁵ See the manuscript description of *t* on the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Archives et manuscrits, "Latin 3848 A", *s.d.* (consulted 16.04.2025): <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc618175>: "notes marginales de la main de plusieurs érudits du XVII^e s. *passim* ; on reconnaît celle de Nicolas Lefèvre au bas du f. 23v".

⁵⁶ See Mathieu Lescuyer, "Guillaume Ranchin (1559-1605), érudit protestant et gallican: sa bibliothèque et sa famille (Première partie)", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 145 (1999): 323-358, p. 329.

⁵⁷ E.g., episcopus (138)] -is. That the phrase *et alio Gaiano* (136) is added in both witnesses *in marg.*, similarly to how *accessit* (144) is written *sup.l.* may indicate the model of *w x* would have been characterized by an omission of these words, which was supplied later in both manuscripts independently. As we will see, the two Lorsch manuscripts *w* and *x* have been corrected in various instances, and these corrections seem to have been made on the basis of other witnesses. As a result, individual errors of *w* and *x* are difficult to judge: some errors were corrected, while others introduced at a later phase (or in several phases) in both manuscripts. For individual errors of *x*, see *episcopum* (128) and *ullius* (157). Those errors indicate *x* could not have been the model for *w*. Conversely, individual errors of *w* are rare. That does not necessarily mean *w* could be the model for *x*: possibly *w* was simply a more careful copy of the same model. Some errors of *w ante correctionem* have been rectified by a later hand. Examples can be found under *ad* (106), *neglexerint* (116), *cuius* (142), and *suspicio* (159). With regard to composition, *w* is missing a table of contents that is likely archetypal, as it is present in the other *Q* witnesses, including *x* (f. 1r-4r in *x*). In sum, it is most likely *w* and *x* are sibling manuscripts.

⁵⁸ See the apparatus under *perscriptam* (114), *confessione* (254). Individual errors of *a* can be found under *faciet* (112), *Iduum* (127), in its numbering of *capitula* in text XVIII under *III* (180), *III* (182), and *V* (185). For individual errors of *e*, see *peruerterent* (98), *interesse* (155), *regno* (227), and *subdendum* (271). V.H. Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier", p. 269 argues that *a e t* "seem to be sisters". From my collations I could not find convincing evidence to confirm that *t* is more closely related to *a* and *e*.

⁵⁹ See the apparatus for *non* (108), *in* (110), *definitione* (113), *patietur* (120). For individual errors of *p*¹, see *pellerentur* (97), *deuotio* (111), *damnationi* (114), *eademque* (123). For errors of *p*², see *iusta* (100), *prouincias* (132), *desiderabilibus* (134), *Kalendis* (161).

⁶⁰ For example, instead of *scituros* (112), *w x^{a.c.} t^{p.c.}* have the erroneous *sciturus*. Yet, the presence of the same error *sciturus* in *V* may indicate that *sciturus* could have been an archetype error of *Q*, which was preserved in the aforementioned witnesses, and fortuitously corrected to the grammatically more sound form *scituros* in most other branches. Similarly, several witnesses read *hominis* instead of *homines* in

archetype errors more faithfully than other branches. Within *Q*, *p*¹ *p*² *o* appear least conservative regarding these archetype errors. As a consequence, it is difficult to gauge whether the shared readings of *p*¹ *p*² *o* point to a dependence on a common ancestor, or whether the similarities are incidental.⁶¹

The question of relationship between *p*¹ *p*² *o* is of importance, because *o* contains many unique readings, some which appear to ‘solve’ textual problems in the archetype text of *Q*. It was in the possession of twelfth-century English historian William of Malmesbury, who may have been responsible for the contents the codex. Scholarship is divided on how to assess *o*. Quesnel himself, who consulted both *o* and *p*², often favoured *o*.⁶² Some modern scholars name it the “most reliable manuscript” of *Q*.⁶³ Others deem it its worst surviving copy.⁶⁴ If relationship with *p*¹ *p*² can securely be demonstrated, in the sense that the three witnesses derive from one hyparchetype marked by the errors these three witnesses share, then that would entail important consequences as regards *o*’s unique readings. These should, in that case, be considered innovations or further errors. With the limited evidence I have studied, I am most convinced that there is some kinship between *p*¹, *p*², and *o*, although full independence of *o* remains plausible.

A second factor which impedes a clear judgment on the relations between the manuscripts of *Q*, is the extent to which some of these manuscripts underwent corrections. These corrections may have been influenced by other branches of the transmission, a phenomenon known as contamination. Yet not all corrections in manuscripts are due to contamination. Syntactical errors, which may have characterized the archetype or a hyparchetype, can be corrected independently.⁶⁵ Especially at Lorsch, where the sibling witnesses *w* and *x* originated, a lively exchange of manuscripts seems to have taken place. Some of the corrections in the Lorsch witnesses parallel the reading of the *a e*, which suggests that *a*, *e*, or an otherwise unknown related exemplar served as the basis for these corrections.⁶⁶ Other corrections have their parallels in non-*Q*

l. 120. There too *hominis* may have been, the (erroneous) archetype reading of *Q*, corrected to *homines* in the other branches.

⁶¹ Common errors of *p*¹ *p*² *o* can be found under *sanctitas tua* (120), *Ianuario* (135), *anathemasset* (174), *anathemauit* (203), *tunc* (260), *urbi* (278), *praefectus urbi* (279). In some cases, these errors are also (incidentally) shared with other witnesses.

⁶² See the apparatus under *monere* (110), *sanctimonii tui* (113), *sibi definitionem* (113), *supra* (114).

⁶³ L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, p. 27. M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great’s Letters*, p. 269, seems to agree with Kéry’s verdict.

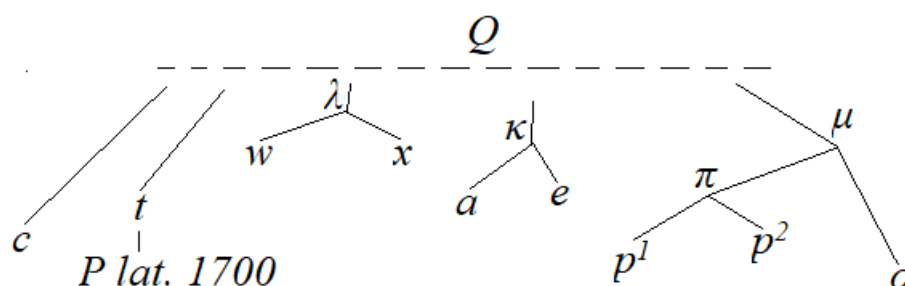
⁶⁴ Martin Brett, “Theodore and the Latin Canon Law”, in Michael Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, Cambridge: CUP, 1995, 120-140, p. 122, n. 6. Perhaps even more dismissive is the attitude of C. Munier, in his CCSL edition of the *Concilium Carthaginense a. 418*. In his critical apparatus, before he is halfway through his edition of this council in its version attested in *Q*, he states he will not continue to refer to the witness because of its low quality. See C. Munier, *Concilia Africae a. 345-525* (CCSL 149), Turnhout: Brepols, 1974, p. 70, n. on line 40: *nolui cod. Q*⁷ [our *o*], *utpote deterioorem, longius conferre*. See also V.H. Drecoll, “The Anti-Pelagian Dossier”, p. 256.

⁶⁵ See, for example, *pellerentur* (97)] *appellerentur* *a*^{a.c.} *e*^{a.c.}; *mentes* (98)] *mentis* *a*^{a.c.} *e*^{a.c.}. There is no need to assume the correctors of *a* or *e* needed an external witness to base these two corrections on: it may have made good sense to replace the very unusual verb *appellerentur* with the more common *pellerentur*. The reading *mentis* is clearly at odds with its syntactical context, and the correction to the nominative plural, congruent with the verb *peruerterent*, could be obvious.

⁶⁶ *Christianorum* (150)] *christianissimorum* *w*^{p.c.} *x*^{p.c.} *a e*; *abrenuntient* (187)] *renuntient* *w*^{p.c.} *x*^{p.c.} *a e*. In one other instance, *w* and *x* corrected their reading to the reading attested in the other witnesses of *Q*, but not of *E B L V H*: *coepiscopis* (145)] *episcopis* *w*^{a.c.} *x*^{a.c.}. Perhaps in this instance, too, *a*, *e*, or a related manuscript was the model for this correction.

manuscripts, probably of *V*.⁶⁷ Sometimes the same corrections were applied in both *w* and *x*, whereas other corrections are unique to only one or the other Lorsch manuscript. Curiously, whenever *w* and *x* have undergone the same correction, the resulting reading is also attested in *a e*. Admittedly, the readings are not always unique to *a e* in these instances. Corrections that have no parallel in *a e*, corrections which mostly coincide with readings of *V*, on the other hand, always occur either in *w* or in *x*, but never in both at the same juncture. Perhaps the limited textual evidence of the anti-Pelagian dossier and the complex nature of these various corrections – fortuitous corrections of obvious errors, ingenious innovations of a copyist or corrector, or corrections with parallels in one or more manuscripts, often from different traditions –, prevents a firm conclusion on the precise nature of the scribal activity and exchange at Lorsch.

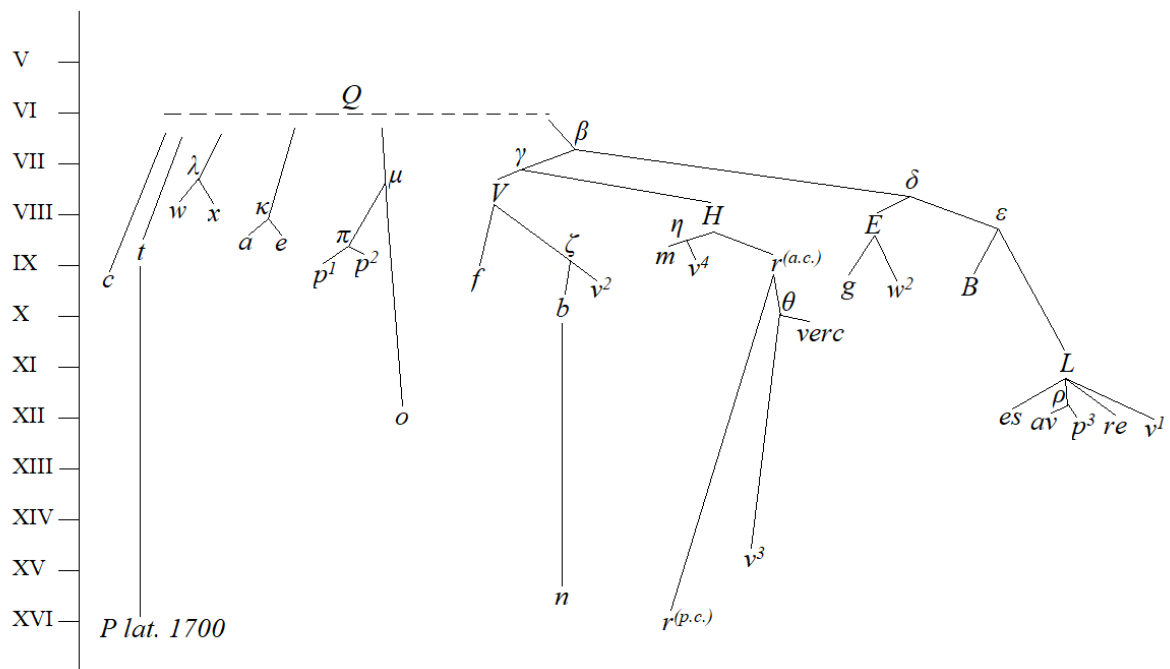
It may be of benefit to summarize the discussion on the relationships between the different manuscripts. First, the witnesses of *E B L V H* can be situated in one branch of *Q*. Of the *Q* manuscripts proper, three pairs of sibling manuscripts can be discerned: *w* and *x*, *a* and *e*, and *p*¹ and *p*². Manuscript *o* may be related to *p*¹ and *p*². The later witness Paris latin 1700 is copied from *t*. Manuscripts *t* and *c* do not seem to be directly related to other witnesses of *Q*. Put together, that would mean that there are six or seven branches of *Q*, represented by the following witnesses respectively: (1) *E B L V H*, (2) *w* and *x*, (3) *a* and *e*, (4) *c*, (5) *t* and its copy, (6) *p*¹ and *p*², with *o* either also belonging to this branch, or (7) representing another branch.⁶⁸ How these six or seven branches relate more specifically to each other is difficult to tell at the moment. The relation between the manuscripts of *Q* can perhaps be visualised as follows. The dashed line represents the uncertainty regarding the earliest transmission of *Q*, and leaves the question of the precise relations between these branches open:



⁶⁷ For example, the corrections of *w* for its readings of *eos* (100), *monere* (110) are readings from *VH*; its corrections for *se sancta dilectio uestra* (140), *anathemauit* (203), *etiam*¹ (220), *fateatur* (228, 233, 236, 238, and 244) all have parallels in *E B L V H*; the reading *idem*, to which *w*'s second hand adjusted *id est* (230; written as *idē* in *w*), is only attested in the witnesses of *V*; conversely, for *w*'s adjustment from *ipse* to *ipsam* (246), this second reading is attested in *o E f H*, so from *V* only *f*. Corrections that only took place in *x* often mirror the readings of *o* and *f* in particular. For example, *x*'s correction *auctoritatem* from *auctoritate* (109) mirrors *o V H*; *x*'s reading *praescriptam* instead of *perscriptam* (114) is only attested in *o* and *f*; *x*'s corrections of *obiecta* (166) and *diuitiarum* (223) are readings of *E B L V H*; more specifically from *V H* is *x*'s addition of *posse* after *habere uitam aeternam* (185-186), with a closest similarity to *f*. Some of the corrections discussed here may have fortuitously resulted in parallels with other witnesses, so the cited evidence should be taken with a grain of salt.

⁶⁸ Cf. M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 117-131, who argues *w x a e* have errors in common which point to a common ancestor, on which *p*¹ and *p*² do not depend. Note that in this overview, Hoskin did not incorporate the evidence of *t* and *o*. For the Leo letters Hoskin was concerned with, *o* preserves a different collection. See *ibid.*, p. 369-370. See also A. Vanspauwen, "Matthew J. J. Hoskin: The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters" [Book review], *Plekos* 24 (2022): 578-599, p. 597-598.

If we add to this overview the manuscripts of *E B L V H*, approximately date these collections and their witnesses, the schematic representation of witnesses looks as follows:



III. Prior editions: Selective overview

The critical apparatus of the edition will incorporate the readings of five editions. These are the editions of Cesare Baronio (Baronius), Pasquier Quesnel, the brothers Ballerini, Al. Goldbacher, and, most recently, Volker Henning Drecol. A full discussion of all prior editions of the anti-Pelagian dossier cannot be achieved here. The chronological overview that follows will be limited to the bare minimum. The footnotes offer bibliographical information, including the page (or folio or column) numbers where our anti-Pelagian dossier can be found. Roman numerals between square brackets indicate which of the anti-Pelagian writings can be found in each edition, in accordance with the numbering of *Q*.

The sixteenth century saw the first editions of texts from our anti-Pelagian dossier. In 1524, two editions were published, one by Jacques Merlin (Merlinus),⁶⁹ active in Paris, and the other by Nikolaus Fabri von Carbach (Carbaccheus) in Mainz.⁷⁰ Both scholars edited the letter by Aurelius and the excerpt from Augustine's *ep.* 186 (XVII-XVIII). The Magdeburg *Centuriae*, published in 1562, offered the first edition of texts XIII-XVI, which were together with XVII incorporated in a church history.⁷¹ In turn, Baronius was the first editor of XVIII-XX. He included the texts XIII-XX in

⁶⁹ Jacques Merlin, *Tomus primus quatuor conciliorum generalium*, Paris: Galotti a Prato, 1524, f. CLXXVIIr-CLXXVIIv [XVII-XVIII].

⁷⁰ Nikolaus Fabri von Carbach, *Sancti Prosperi presbyteri Aquitanici aduersus inimicos gratiae dei libellus, in quo & de gratia, & de libero arbitrio diui Aurelii Augustini defenditur. Epistola Aurelii Carthaginensis episcopi contra Pelagianos. Romanorum pontificum autoritas de gratia dei pro Prospero aduersus Pelagianos*, Mainz: Joannes Schoeffer, 1524, f. L IIr-L IVr [XVII-XVIII].

⁷¹ [Centuriae Magdeburgenses,] *Quinta Centuria ecclesiasticae historiae, continens descriptionem amplissimarum rerum in regno Christi [...]*, Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1562, c. 846-849 [XVI-XVII.XIII-XV].

his monumental church history, with which he aimed to rival the protestant Magdeburg *Centuriae*.⁷² The edition of Baronius (1596) was very popular, and many of his conjectures influenced later editions.⁷³ Baronius indicates he made use of a transcript of an Arras manuscript, which was provided to him by the Leuven scholar Henricus Gravius (Hendrik van Grauwe/Henri de Grave), when the latter was in Rome. I have not been able to identify this transcript, if extant. Baronius also refers to another manuscript, which he dubs *codex noster*, different from the Arras transcript.⁷⁴ His own manuscript was probably of *H*, and perhaps can be identified with *r*. Baronius was, for a time, active at Santa Maria in Vallicella – *r*'s provenance – and the marginal notes in *r* point to a reader who had access to another version of the text, and who could have been an earlier editor of the anti-Pelagian dossier. Some of the marginal readings of *r* correspond to those of Baronius.⁷⁵

Most influential of the seventeenth-century editions is the one of Quesnel (1675). In appendix to his edition of the works of Leo the Great, the Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel added an edition of the canonical collection that continues to be connected to his name: the Quesnelliana collection. Quesnel presented the dossier as they appeared in his manuscript witnesses. For his study he consulted the Magdeburg *Centuriae*, Baronius, and other seventeenth-century editions of Salmasius, Baluzius and Garnier.⁷⁶ His two manuscript sources are a *Thuaneus* manuscript (*p*²) and (an apograph of) an Oxford manuscript (*o*).⁷⁷ In his edition of the excerpts from Augustine's *ep.* 186,

⁷² *Bar.* [for a full reference, see section IV], p. 372-373 [XVIII], 413-414 [XVIII], 445-446 [XVI-XVII], 461-462 [XVIII-XX.XV].

⁷³ E.g., *adrectauerat* (9) [conatur *atrectare*; *maiestatis* (16) [maiestati; *potenti omne* (16) [omnipotenti.

⁷⁴ On the Arras transcript, see Baronius' introduction on XIII, p. 413: *Accepimus illud [Honorii Imperatoris rescriptum] e latebris antiquitatis erutum a uiro disertissimo piaie memoriae Henrico Grauiio professore Louaniensi, dum Romae ageret sub Gregorio XIV. Rom. Pontifice, iam ante uocatus a Sixto. nactus est ipse ex codice monasterii S. Vedasti Attrebatensis. Et licet mendis nonnullis abundet: meretur tamen ipsa ueneranda antiquitas etiam pannis attrita cultum.* On the difference between this transcript and his own codex, see his introduction to XVI, p. 445: *Extat enim de his Honorii Imp. rescriptum ea de causa in Collectione Cresconiana, sed in nostro codice absque die & Consule, in exemplari uero quod accepimus a praeclaro uiro Henrico Grauiio professore Louaniensi, cum Romae esset, huius anni Consulibus notatum legimus, nempe Monaxio atque Plinta.* This testimony also reveals that there were differences between the Arras transcript and *a*, as *a* too does not mention the consuls at the end of XVI either.

⁷⁵ Admittedly, these instances are few, and not unambiguous: *coniuentiam* (124) [coniuentiam; *neque per* (182) [per Baronius, per *r* (non in marg.). See also n. 45-46.

⁷⁶ Claude Saumaise [Salmasius], *Eucharisticon Iac. Sirmondo S. I. P. pro aduentoria, de regionib. et ecclesiis suburbicariis*, Paris: Hieronymus Drouart, 1621, p. 283-284 [XVIII-XX], 288-292 [XIII-XV]; Étienne Baluze [Baluzius], *Sanctorum presbyterorum Saluiani Massiliensis et Vincentii Lirinensis opera*, editio secunda, Paris: François Muguet, 1669, p. 445-451. [XIII-XVII.XVIII-XX]; Jean Garnier, *Marii Mercatoris s. Augustini aequalis opera quaecumque extant*, Paris: Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, 1673, p. 239-240 [XIII], 247 [XV], 248 [XVI], 252 [XVII], 254 [XVIII], 257-258 [XX].

⁷⁷ In the first volume of his edition of Leo, Quesnel describes his manuscript sources more accurately. See *Quesn.* [for a full reference, see section IV], vol. 1, *Notitia* [in the front matter, four pages before p. 1]. He describes multiple *Thuan.* witnesses. However, the one that corresponds to our *p*² is the first in his list. He describes it as such: *Codex MS. in quo codex Canonum & Constitutorum Sedis Apostolicae, cum triginta & tribus Leonis Epistolis.* He then refers to the old shelfmark of the manuscript: *Ex Bibliotheca Thuanea N. 129.* The manuscript description of the modern Bibliothèque nationale de France website Archives et manuscrits indicates that *p*² indeed corresponds to manuscript 129 of the catalogue of Jacques-Auguste de Thou. See Archives et manuscrits, "Latin 3842 A", *s. d.* (consulted 16.04.2025); <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc61810g>. Immediately after this *Thuan.* witness follows Quesnel's description of his Oxford manuscript. On this witness he writes: *Codicis eiusdem Romani exemplar MS. cuius apographum ad me misit uir doctissimu E. Bernardus in Academia Oxoniensi Astronomiae Professor.* The expression *codicis eiusdem Romani exemplar* refers to the canonical collection also contained in *p*² (cf. the description of *p*² mentioned above).

Quesnel cites an additional manuscript source, namely a *Grimanicus codex*, a book from the collection of cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461-1523); thus far, I have not been able to identify this manuscript of Grimani with any of the consulted manuscripts.⁷⁸ Quesnel's edition is most prominently influenced by his Oxford exemplar.⁷⁹

Another monumental edition of the anti-Pelagian series is the one prepared by the Ballerini brothers Pietro and Girolamo in 1757. Quesnel's edition of Leo the Great, because of its editor's Jansenist background, was received with some hesitation. The brothers Ballerini were to provide a more acceptable 'Catholic' counterpart to the Quesnel edition. The Ballerini extensively and consistently referred to variant readings in their examined manuscripts and editions. For the documents unique to *Q*, they consulted a *Thuaneus* manuscript (*p*²) and an "imperial Viennese manuscript", which is our *w*.⁸⁰ For texts XVI to XVIII, they also mention the collection of a Barberini and Vatican manuscript (i.e., collection *V*), and another Vatican manuscript and the Vallicelliana manuscript of the "Dionysian additions" (i.e., *H*).⁸¹ For documents XVII-XVIII more in particular, they refer to a collection of Leo's writings they called *Collectio XXIV* (our *L*), but they do not specify any particular reading from a witness from that family.⁸² The range of editors they consulted is impressive. For our dossier alone, Ballerini refer to readings from Merlinus, the Magdeburg *Centuriae*, Baronius, Salmasius, Baluzius, Garnier, Quesnel, Harduinus and the Maurists.⁸³

⁷⁸ *Quesn.*, p. 82, in marg.: *Haec capitula ad Grimanicum nostrum Codicem relegimus*. Quesnel's mentions on the manuscript's reading does not clarify much. He cites the following as errors of his Grimani witness: eum dicere (176) cum diceret; 193 (omnimodo) *Grim.*, omnino *Quesn.* [in this instance, Quesnel may have misread *o*, which has om̄im̄, for *omni modo*, and not for *omnino*]; episcopalis (206) *Grim.*, om. *o Quesn.* In other words, in two instances he attributes to the Grimani manuscript a reading attested by all sources but his Oxford witness, and in one instance the Grimani reading corresponds to those of *E B L V H*, to which belong a majority of the witnesses. However, in his front matter in volume 1 [see n. 77], Quesnel does further elaborate that his Grimani manuscript contains 107 letters of Leo, and that it comes *Ex Bibliotheca Domus Institutionis Oratorii D. Iesu ad muros Parisienses*, so from the Oratory of Jesus in Paris. It is most likely a manuscript of *L*.

⁷⁹ See n. 62.

⁸⁰ The references in which the descriptions of the Ballerini match uniquely with *w* are: monere (110) manere *w^{a.c.}*, cauere *w^{p.c.}*; iuxta (118) non iuxta *w*; Arzugitanam (132) Arzucitanam *w*; participem ... commemorit (140-141) participem sanctam dilectionem uestram ... commemorit *w^{p.c.}*; edicta (282) edicta *w^{p.c.}*. In addition, the Ballerini often specify the readings of their Vienna manuscript before and after corrections. When they do so, their descriptions reflect *w* accurately.

⁸¹ *Ball.*, c. 173-174, n. 1. These witnesses correspond to our *b* and *v*² of *V*, and *v*⁴ and *r* of *H* respectively.

⁸² In their volume 1, (*Sancti Leonis Magni Romani pontificis opera*, Venice: Simone Occhi, 1753), c. 553-556, the Ballerini describe the collection and their manuscripts. The Ballerini mention they consulted Vat. lat. 544 (*v*¹), Vat. reg. lat. 139, a manuscript from Cesena (possibly Bibl. Malet. *Plut.* d. XII), and a Florence manuscript described as *Laurentianus Florentinus XIV. pluteo XXI*. (most probably manuscript BML, *Plut.* 21.14). They also describe a Fesulano manuscript from Florence, which can be identified with BML Fiesole 46. The Ballerini also note that Quesnel made use of three manuscripts of this collection as well, namely a *Victorinus* (*p*³, from Saint-Victor in Paris), a *Regniacensis* (from Reigny), and one from *S. Martini Autissiodorensis* (from Saint-Martin in Auxerre). Quesnel describes these manuscripts in the front matter in his first volume of Leo's works (see n. 77). See also M. Hoskin, *The Manuscripts of Leo the Great's Letters*, p. 390-395. The current whereabouts of the Reigny and Auxerre manuscripts are unknown; the Auxerre manuscript may have been destroyed during the French revolution.

⁸³ Jean Hardouin [Harduinus], *Conciliorum collectio regia maxima, ad P. Philippi Labbei & P. Gabrielis Cossartii e Societate Iesu labores. Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales ac constitutiones summorum pontificum, tomus primus: Ab anno Christi XXXIV. ad annum CCCCL.*, Paris: Ex typographia regia, 1715, c. 1229-1234 [XIII-XVII.XVIII-XX]; [Mauristae] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus decimus, pars secunda*, Paris: François Muguet, 1696, c. 88-89 [XVIII], 105-106 [XIII-XV], 109-110 [XVI-XVII], 126 [XVIII-XX].

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, several of our anti-Pelagian documents were incorporated in ambitious editorial projects. In 1857, Gustav Hänel (Haenel) published the imperial anti-Pelagian texts in his *Corpus legum*.⁸⁴ Hänel's edition records no variant readings of manuscript sources, and its readings have not been considered. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Al. Goldbacher edited Augustine's letter 201 (XVI in *Q*) as part of his edition of Augustine's letters (1911). He also edited, in the same volume, the full letter 186, which was the source of *Q*'s text XVIII. Goldbacher's edition is the latest and, to date, best edition of both letters.⁸⁵

Most recently, Volker Henning Drecoll examined the full anti-Pelagian dossier of the Quesnelliana (VI-XX), and published a new edition of texts XII, XIII-XV, XVII, and XVIII-XX. For his edition, he made use of *Q* manuscripts only, namely (our *sigla*) *w x t a e p¹ p²*. His edition most often represents the archetype reading of *Q*, although there are some exceptions.⁸⁶ For an easier comparison with his edition and the edition proposed in this article, the following table contains the *sigla* used in both editions:

Shelfmark (abbreviated)	Drecoll	Vanspauwen
Vienna 2141	V	<i>w</i>
Vienna 2147	H	<i>x</i>
Paris 3848A	P	<i>t</i>
Arras 572 (644)	A	<i>a</i>
Einsiedeln 191 (277)	E	<i>e</i>
Paris 1454	M	<i>p¹</i>
Paris 3842A	T	<i>p²</i>

IV. Edition and translation

Editorial principles

The proposed edition is an eclectic edition. It departs from the archetype reading, as represented by the witnesses of *Q*, in particular its manuscripts *w*, *x*, *t*, *a*, *e* and *c*. However, it is apparent that the archetype reading of *Q* offers an unsatisfactory text in several instances. Therefore, the edition also considers syntactical corrections and conjectures. Many of these conjectures have been proposed earlier, either by creative copyists or by earlier editors. Where a decision for readings at odds with the archetype text is not evident, I will explain these decisions in an overview of notes, following the edition.

An important consideration when determining whether to intervene in the archetype text, is the presence of desirable rhythmic patterns in the Latin prose. Imperial constitutions were written in a highly sophisticated style. Rhythmic patterns aid the structure of these long sentences. The system of rhythmic patterns is that of the *cursus mixtus*: word groups that round out phrases contain desired accentual and metric

⁸⁴ Gustav Hänel, *Corpus legum ab imperatoribus Romanis ante Iustinianum latarum quae extra constitutionum codices supersunt. Accedunt res ab imperatoribus gestae, quibus Romani iuris historia et imperii status illustratur*, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1857, p. 238-241 [XIII-XVI.XVIII-XX].

⁸⁵ Al. Goldbacher, *S. Aureli Augustini operum sectio II. S. Augustini epistulae pars IV. Ep. CLXXXV-CCLXX* (CSEL 57), Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1911, p. 70-73 [XVIII], 296-299. [XVI];

⁸⁶ See the apparatus under *aestimans* (11), *potenti omne* (16), *quem* (27), *liqueat* (31), *ausuum* (45), *qua* (68), *praefecti* (78), *dixerunt* (78), *provincias* (132), *christianorum* (150), *nuntiantur* (262), *amica reis* (281), *cunctos* (285).

patterns.⁸⁷ If a phrase at the end of a sentence or other significant syntactic break has an undesirable rhythmic pattern, this can be an indication that the text is corrupt. Any conjectures that restore a desired pattern have preference over those that do not. Within the anti-Pelagian series, documents XIII-XX have been written according to *cursus mixtus* standards throughout; that means the letter by bishop Aurelius was also written according to similar literary standards. The only exception is document XVIII, originally by Augustine. Augustine apparently held no regard for the *cursus* in his letter.

Document XVIII is a *verbatim* excerpt from Augustine's letter 186. It is included in the series of documents, primarily because it contained useful evidence in determining manuscript relations. However, because the fragment is of lesser importance in terms of the actual text it contains (it is derivative of Augustine's full letter, which has an adequate edition in Goldbacher's CSEL 57 volume, and a good translation in Teske's WSA II/3 volume),⁸⁸ I will not add a translation in this article.

The edition comes with two apparatus. The first apparatus is a very simple biblical apparatus, with references to the most clear and direct biblical references in the dossier; as a biblical apparatus, this apparatus is not exhaustive, and does not record various oblique references (such as Honorius' portrayal of the creation narrative in l. 17-31). The second apparatus is the critical apparatus. In general, the apparatus is a negative apparatus, describing where the manuscripts deviate from the given text. For some readings I considered it beneficial to also give positive attestations. These positive readings follow immediately after the lemma, and thus agree with the lemma text.

Sigla and edition

Manuscripts marked by an asterisk (*) have not been consulted for this study. The *siglum Golb.** is Goldbacher's edition of Augustine's full *ep.* 186. In the lists of collections and editions, I have added, in Roman numerals, the references to the documents of the anti-Pelagian documents. The numbers are those of the Quesnelliana collection.

<i>Q</i>	Collectio Quesnelliana (XIII-XX)
<i>w</i>	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2141; orig. Lorsch, prov. ?, 780; f. 24r-26v.
<i>x</i>	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2147; orig. Lorsch, prov. ?, 780; f. 47v-51r.
<i>t</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 3848A; orig. Metz, prov. Troyes, prov. François Pithou, prov. Louis de Targny, beginning of ninth century; f. 31v-37r.
<i>a</i>	Arras, Médiathèque de l'Abbaye Saint-Vaast (Bibliothèque municipale), 572 (644); orig. Saint-Vaast, eighth-ninth century; f. 41r-45v.
<i>e</i>	Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 191 (277); orig. North-East France (Constance?), prov. ?, eighth-ninth century; f. 41v-46r.
<i>p^l</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1454; orig. Central France, prov. Guillaume Sacher, end of ninth century; f. 72v-76r.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of prose rhythm in imperial constitutions, see Ralph G. Hall and Steven M. Oberhelman, "Rhythmical Clausulae in the *Codex Theodosianus* and the *Leges Novellae ad Theodosianum Pertinentes*", *The Classical Quarterly* 35 (1985): 201-214.

⁸⁸ R. Teske, *Letters 156-210 (Epistulae)* (WSA II/3), New York: New City Press, 2004.

- p*² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 3842A; orig. Northern France (Beauvais?), prov. Jacques-Auguste de Thou, prov. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, ninth-tenth century; f. 54r-56v.
- o* Oxford, Oriel College, MS 42; orig. Malmesbury, prov. Oriel College, twelfth century; f. 27r-29v.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1700; orig. Collège de Clermon (?), prov. Nicolas Le Fèvre, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, sixteenth century; p. 153-163.
- c* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1455; orig. Reims (Sens?), prov. Jacques Taveau de Sens, prov. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, end of ninth century; f. 64r-65v.
- E* Codex Encyclius (XVII-XVIII)
- g* Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 12098; orig. Corbie, prov. Saint-Germain-des-Prés, ninth century; f. 113r-114v.
- w*² Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 397; orig. Reichenau, prov. St. Jakob (Mainz), ninth century (before 846); f. 150v-152r.
- B* Collectio Bobbiensis (XVII-XVIII)
Milan, Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 238 inf.; orig. San Colombano, Bobbio, second half ninth century; f. 145v-146v.
- L* Collectio A epistularum Leonis magni (XVII-XVIII)
- es* Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, Lat. & I 6; orig. Cistercian milieu (?), prov. Gaspar de Guzmán, end of twelfth century; f. 177r-178r.
- re* Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie (Bibliothèque municipale), 412 (E. 292); orig. Saint-Remi, twelfth century; f. 138v-139v.
- av* Avranches, Bibliothèque patrimoniale, 96; orig. Mont-Saint-Michel, twelfth century; f. 151v-152r.
- p*³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 14488; orig. ?, prov. Saint-Victor, end of twelfth century; f. 174r-175r.
- v*¹ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 544; orig. Fontenay, prov. ?, twelfth century; f. CXCIv-CXCIIv.
Troyes, Médiathèque de Troyes Champagne Métropole, Ms 225; orig. Clairvaux, twelfth century; f. 183v-184v.
Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 167 (134); orig. ?, prov. Cîteaux, twelfth century; f. 187v-188v.
Charleville-Mézières, Médiathèque Voyelles, 223; orig. Northern France (Signy), prov. ?, twelfth century; f. 154r-154v.
Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 139; orig.?, prov. Paul Petau, prov. Alexandre Petau, prov. Christina of Sweden, twelfth century; f. 159r-160r.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 16866; orig. Chaalis, prov. Saint-Martin-des-Champs, twelfth century; f. 175v-176v.
- so* Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, 209; orig. Clairmarais, twelfth century; f. 153r-154r.
- br* Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, Ms. 279; orig. Ter Doest, thirteenth century; f. 175v-176v.
*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2158; orig. ?, prov. Mazarin, twelfth century.

*Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, Q. 7; orig. France, prov. Worcester (c. 1400), twelfth century; f. 123r-125r.

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms 587 (969); orig. ?, prov. Collège de Navarre, thirteenth century; f. 139v-140v.

Cologne, Historische Archiv Köln, Best. 7020 (Handschriften (W)), 132; orig. ?, prov. Cologne Charterhouse, fifteenth century.

[destroyed manuscript] Vitry-le-François, Bibliothèque municipale, 9 (16); orig. Trois-Fontaines, prov. ?, twelfth century.

- V* Collectio Vaticana (XVI-XVIII)
*v*² Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1342; orig. Central Italy, prov. ?, eighth century; f. 77v-79v.
b Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 679; orig. Northern Italy (Anglo-Saxon influence), prov.?, eighth-ninth century; f. 95v-98r.
n Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Sessoriano CCV (2100); orig. ?, prov. ?, fifteenth century; f. 195r-202v.
f Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Edili 82; orig. Northern Italy, prov.?, end-ninth century; f. 63v-66r.
- H* Collectio Dionysiana-Hadriana adaucta (XVI-XVIII)
m Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14008; orig. Rome, prov. St. Emmeram, second half ninth century; f. 179v-181v.
r Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, A.5; orig. Rome, prov. Ravenna, end of ninth century; f. 251v-254r [f. 263v-266r].
ver Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXVI; orig. Vercelli, tenth century; f. 207v-209v.
*v*³ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1353; orig. Bergamo (?), prov. ?, 1461; f. 190v-192v.
*v*⁴ Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5845; orig. Capua, prov. ?, beginning tenth century; f. 204v-207r.
- Bar.* Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, tomus quintus, Antwerp: Plantijn, 1596, p. 372-373 [XVIII], 413-414 [XIII], 445-446 [XVI-XVII], 461-462 [XVIII-XX.XV].
- Quesn.* Pasquier Quesnel, *Ad sancti Leonis magni opera appendix, seu codex canonum et constitutorum sedis apostolicae. Dissertationes, lectiones uariae, notae, obseruationes, indices*, tomus II, Paris: Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1675, p. 77-85. [XIII-XX]
- Ball.* Pietro & Girolamo Ballerini, *Appendix ad sancti Leonis magni opera, seu uetustissimus codex canonum ecclesiasticorum, & constitutorum sanctae sedis apostolicae*, tomus tertius, Venice: Simone Occhi, 1757, c. 170-182. [XIII-XX]
- Goldb.* Al. Goldbacher, *S. Aureli Augustini operum sectio II. S. Augustini epistulae pars IV. Ep. CLXXXV-CCLXX* (CSEL 57), Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1911, p. 296-299. [XVI]
- Goldb.** Al. Goldbacher, *S. Aureli Augustini operum* (CSEL 57), p. 70-73. [XVIII].

**XVIII. Incipit sacrum rescriptum acceptis synodi
suprascriptae gestis datum.**

Imperatores Honorius et Theodosius Augusti Palladio
praefecto praetorio.

Ad conturbendam catholicae simplicitatis lucem puro 5
semper splendore radiantem dolosae artis ingenio nouam subito
emicuisse uersutiam peruulgata opinione cognouimus: quae
fallacis scientiae obumbrata mendaciis et furioso tantum
debachata luctamine stabilem quietem caelestis adtrectauerat
fidei, dum noui criminis commendat inuentum, insignem notam 10
plebeiae aestimans uilitatis sentire cum cunctis, ac prudentiae
singularis palmam fore communiter adprobata destruere. Cuius
impiae commentationis auctores Pelagium Caelestiumque
percrebuit extitisse.

Hii parenti cunctarum rerum deo praecipuaeque semper 15
maiestatis intermine potenti omne ultra principium transeunti

1 XVIII] in marg. w, XIII p¹ p², cap. XVIII o, om. c, Capitulum XIV Quesn.
Ball. | XVIII... 2 datum] om. Bar. | sacrum rescriptum] inu. c | synodi] p²
o Quesn., -is w t a e p¹ c, synō x 2 suprascriptae] Ball. Drecoll, ss w t p¹ p²
c, om. x, supradicte o, supradictae Quesn. | gestis] tegestis p¹, tē (m²) gestis
p² | datum] om. o Quesn. 3 Imperatores] imp. w x a e, imp. p¹,
imperator p², impr. c | Theodosius] thedosius w^{a.c.} | Augusti] auggi. w x
c, augg. t, aggi. a e, augt. p¹, augustus p² 4 praetorio] praeterii
x^{a.c.}, -ii w^{p.c.} t a^{p.c.} e^{a.c.} p¹ p², praeterio c 5 simplicitatis] s² sup.l.
o | lucem] lucae p¹ 6 radiantem] -entem a^{a.c.} 7 emicuisse] emersisse
o Bar. (in marg.) Quesn. | peruulgata] -am a^{a.c.} 8 fallacis] -es w t c, -ia
p¹ p² | scientiae] sentiae c^{a.c.} | obumbrata mendaciis] obumbrat amendaciis
w^{a.c.} (ut uid.) x^{a.c.} (ut uid.) c^{a.c.} | furioso] -osa w x^{a.c.} t p¹ p² c 9 debachata]
dibachata w x^{a.c.} t a e p¹ p² c Drecoll, debachata est o Quesn. | stabilem] ut
stabilem o Quesn. | quietem] spond& sup.l. x, quieēt p¹ | adtrectauerat]
conieci, adtractare w, adtrectare x t a e p¹ p² c Drecoll, attrectaret o Quesn.,
conatur attrectare Bar. Ball. 10 criminis] acuminis Bar. | commendat
inuentum] Ball., -ati uenti w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} t a e c Drecoll, -ati nubentum w^{p.c.}, -at
euentu x^{p.c.}, commentatores p¹ p², commenta inuenit o Quesn., commendata
uento Bar. 11 plebeiae] -ei w^{a.c.} t c, -eia p¹ p² | aestimans] -ant p¹ p²
Drecoll, -at Bar. | uilitatis] utilitate p¹ p² | cum] & p¹ p² | cunctis] -orum
p¹ p² | ac] om. p¹ p² 12 palmam] psalmam a^{p.c.} | fore] om. p¹ p² |
communiter] conantur p¹ p² | adprobata] -at t, -atam p¹ p² | destruere]
adstruere t, destruere a^{a.c.} e, destrue p¹ 13 commentationis]
commendationis x, commentationes p^{2a.c.} | auctores] -is w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} t e^{a.c.} c |
Caelestiumque] caelestium quae x^{a.c.} 14 percrebuit] -rebruit x^{p.c.} a^{p.c.} p² o,
-crepuit a^{a.c.} c 15 praecipuaeque] praecipuae quae x^{a.c.} 16 maiestatis] -ati
Bar. Quesn. Ball. | intermine] interminatione p¹ p², & ter Bar. | potenti
omne] p¹ p² Drecoll, -i -i w x t a e c, omnipotenti o Bar. Quesn. Ball. | ultra]
& ultra o Quesn. Ball. | principium] omne principium o Bar. Quesn. Ball.

- 20 tam trucem inclementiam saeuae uoluntatis adsignent, ut, cum
formandi mundi opificem curam sumeret qualitatemque
hominis struendi profunda spiritus conceptione libraret, fundati
muneris fidei anteferet exordium, et mortem praemitteret
nascituro. Non hanc insidiis uetiti fluxisse peccati, sed egisse
penitus legem immutabilis constituti. Ad declinandum leti
exitialis incursum nihil prodesse abstinentiam delinquendi, cuius
ita uis putaretur adscripta, ut non possit aboleri deinceps.
- 25 Primitiui hominis errorem, in quem captae mentis inops rationis
caecitas irruisset, delapsus ad posteros non fuisse, tantumque
apud eum, quem malesuadae gratiae infelix rapuisset illecebra,
transgressionem interdicti extitisse discriminis, cum euidentis
catholicae legis omnifaria testetur auctoritas illum interitus
30 omnium fuisse uestibulum, quem diuinae praeceptionis sedulum
liqueat corrupisse mandatum. Aliaque quam plurima, quae sermo
respuit, lex refutat. Quae pertaesum sit recordari, etiam
sub dispositione plectendi.
- 35 Quae maturato remedio et celeritate festina oportet
intercipi, ne corroborato usu nequitiae adolescentes uix ualeant
coerceri, siquidem aures mansuetudinis nostrae recens fama

17 trucem] crucem *w^{a.c.} t c*, crudelem *w(in marg.)* | saeuae] *sceueꝑ o*, scaeuae
Quesn. Ball. | uoluntatis] uoluntis *a^{a.c.}* | adsignent] -ant *x^{p.c.} a^{p.c.} p¹ p² o*
18 mundi] *om. p¹ p²* | opificem] ope *p¹ p²* 19 libraret] liberaret *p¹* |
fundati] ac (*sup.l.*) fundati *w* 20 fidei] fedum *o*, foedum *Quesn. Ball.* |
praemitteret] praemit ter& *e^{a.c.}*, promittere *p¹*, promitteret *p²* *Quesn. Ball.*
21 nascituro] naituro *e^{a.c.}* | egisse] *exegisse Bar.* 22 legem] *gem*
sup.l. w | immutabilis] *s sup.l. o* | Ad] ut (*sup.l.*) ad *w* leti] loeti *w^{p.c.}*,
laeti *x p²* 23 incursum] -u *t c* | prodesse] -esset *w^{p.c.}* abstinentiam] *w* |
delinquendi] -entibus *c* 24 ita uis] *inu. o Quesn. Ball.* putaretur] putatur *Bar.*
| adscripta] adstricta *Bar.* | aboleri] -ere *w^{p.c.} p¹ p²* 25 captae] capite *c* |
inops] *o Bar. Quesn. Ball.*, inopis *w x t a e p¹ p² c Drecoll* 26 delapsus]
dilapsus *Bar.* | fuisse] -et *p^{2a.c.}* 27 eum] *x^{p.c.} o Bar. Quesn. Ball.*, eam *w*
x^{a.c.} t a e p¹ p² c Drecoll | quem] quae *p^{p.c.} a e Drecoll*, quam *p¹ p²*, qm
o(quem in marg.) | malesuadae] *p² o Quesn. Ball.*, -ae suad& *w*, male
suadet *x^{a.c.} t a e^{a.c.} c*, malesuade *x^{p.c.} e^{p.c.} p¹*, malae suadae *Bar.* |
malesuadae... illecebra] *in marg. t* | gratiae] mobile gratiae *o* | illecebra]
-am *a* 28 extitisse] -et *a^{a.c.} e* | discriminis] -i *o* 29 omnifaria] -am *t*,
omniafaria *c^{a.c.}* | interitus] interit *w^{a.c.}*, interitis *p¹*, interius *p²* 30 quem] quod
p¹ p² 31 liqueat] -et *o Quesn. Ball.*, liceat *Drecoll* | Aliaque quam]
aliaquequam *x^{a.c.}*, alia quoque *x^{p.c.}*, aliquae quam *a^{a.c.}*, alia quae quam *a^{p.c.}*
e^{a.c.} 32 pertaesum sit] *o Quesn. Ball.*, perpetue sumpsit *x p¹ p² c*, perpetuae
sumpsit *t a e Drecoll*, perp [etue uel etuae] sumpsit *w^{a.c.}*, perexosum
sit *w^{p.c.}*, perpetue cum sit *Bar.* 33 sub] di (*del.*) sub *w* 34 maturato]
matura *t*, maturata *c* | remedio] toremedio *t*, remedo *p^{1p.c.}* | oportet] -eat
Bar. 35 corroborato] -ata *p^{a.c.}* adolescentes] -is *w(tis m²) Ball.* 36 siquidem]
siquid *p^{a.c.}*

perstrinxerit intra sacratissimam urbem nostram aliaque loca ita pestiferum uirus quorundam inoleuisse pectoribus, ut interrupto directae credulitatis tramite scissis in partes studiis adserendi materia impacatae dissensionis inducta sit nouoque scandali fomite concitato beatissimae ecclesiae actus nutet adtemptata tranquillitas aliis iter aliud ancipiti interpretatione sectantibus, et absoluta sanctorum apicum claritas ac dilucide quid sequi uniuersitas debeat explanans pro captu uersipellis ingenii profanam nouorum ausuum mouentibus quaestionem, Palladi parens carissime atque amantissime.

Ob quam rem illustris auctoritas tua uictura in omne aeuum lege nos statuuisse cognoscat, ut pulsus ex urbe primitus capitibus dogmatis execrandi Caelestio atque Pelagio, si qui huius de cetero sacrilegii sectatores quibuscumque locis potuerint repperiri aut de prauitate damnata aliquem rursus proferre sermonem, a quocumque correpti ad competentem iudicem pertrahantur. Quos siue clericus siue laicus fuerit, deferendi habeat potestatem, et sine praescriptione aliqua perurgendi, quos relicta communis scientiae luce nouae disputationis tenebras introferre deprehenderit contra

37 perstrinxerit] -erat $x^{a.c.}$ $e^{p.c.}$ $p^1 p^2$ Bar. Ball. Drecoll | intra] inter c (ut uid.) | urbem] orbem $t^{a.c.}$ | aliaque] alia l. $w^{a.c.}$, alia quae $x^{a.c.}$ $a^{a.c.}$ | ita] hoc Bar. 38 uirus] uiros $x^{a.c.}$ | inoleuisse] inolsuisse $a^{a.c.}$, inoluisse $a^{p.c.}$ inoliuisse e 39 directae] -o Bar. | tramite] -ae t | adserendi] -ae $c^{a.c.}$, disserendi Bar. 40 materia] monstra Bar. | dissensionis] -es $x^{a.c.}$ | sit] sint Bar. | nouoque] nouo quae $t^{a.c.}$, noque $c^{a.c.}$ 41 actus] us *sup.l.* $w x$, actenus $a^{p.c.}$, actu $p^1 p^2$ Ball., om. o Quesn., hactenus Bar. | adtemptata] intentata Bar. 42 aliis] -aliis id- (*del.*, ut uid.) aliis o, aliis id aliis Quesn. iter] om. o Quesn. Ball., inter c | aliud] aliut $w^{a.c.}$ (ut uid.) $x t$, om. p^2 | et] at Bar. (et in marg.) 43 absoluta] cum sit absoluta Ball. | dilucide] -ae $x t p^2$ | quid] quod Bar. 44 captu] $x^{a.c.}$ $p^1 p^2$ o Bar. Quesn. Ball., -o $w t^{a.c.}$ $e c$ Drecoll | uersipellis] $x^{p.c.}$ $t^{a.c.}$ (ut uid.) $a e p^1 p^2$ o, -es $w x^{a.c.}$ c , uerri pelles $p.c.$ | ingenii... 45 ausuum] ingenii conturbatur. quibusdam nouorum ausuum profanam o Quesn., ingenii nouorum ausuum profanam Ball. 45 nouorum] -arum $p.c.$ | ausuum] $w^{p.c.}$ $a^{p.c.}$ o Quesn. Ball., aut suum $w^{a.c.}$ $x^{a.c.}$ $t^{a.c.}$ $e c$, aut suam $x^{p.c.}$ $p^1 p^2$ Drecoll, more anserum Bar. | Palladi] palladii e 46 parens] pares $w^{a.c.}$ e , patris t , pater $p^1 p^2$ carissime] -ae w | amantissime] amatissime $w x^{a.c.}$ 47 illustris] -es $w^{a.c.}$ $x^{a.c.}$ $c^{a.c.}$ | auctoritas tua] *inu.* Bar. | in] ut (*sup.l.*) in t | omne] -em $w t^{a.c.}$ $e^{a.c.}$ c 48 lege] -e $w^{a.c.}$ | primitus] prius $a^{a.c.}$ e 49 Caelestio] celestio p^2 50 huius] huiusce o Quesn. Ball. | sacrilegii] -io $a^{a.c.}$ e | sectatores] -is $a^{a.c.}$ 51 potuerint] potuerint rursus Ball. | repperiri] -ire $w^{a.c.}$ | aut] *sup.l.* w | aliquem] aliq. [-uam, ut uid.] w | rursus] om. o Quesn. Ball. 53 pertrahantur] -entur $w^{a.c.}$ $x^{a.c.}$ | Quos] quod w , quo $p^1 p^2$ 54 praescriptione] proscriptio $p^1 p^2$ Quesn. 55 perurgendi] -uendi $w x t^{a.c.}$ $e c$ | communis] -i o Quesn. Ball. | scientiae] sententiae Bar. luce] -ae t

apostolicam scilicet disciplinam euangelicamque claram et sine
 errore sententiam uafra rudis sectae calliditate pugnantes
 inuoluentesque splendentem fidem ueri ambagibus disserendo.
 60 Hos ergo repertos ubicumque de hoc tam infando scelere
 conferentes a quibuscumque iubemus corripere deductosque ad
 audientiam publicam promiscue ab omnibus accusari, ita ut
 probationem conuicti criminis stilus publicus insequatur ipsis
 inexorati exilii deportatione damnatis.

65 Decet enim originem uitii a conuentu publico sequestrari
 nec in communi eos celebritate consistere, qui non solum facto
 nefario detestandi, uerum etiam exemplo uenenati spiritus sint
 cauendi. Iuuat autem per omne paene imperium nostrum, qua
 mundus extenditur, huiusmodi promulgata diffundi, ne scientiae
 70 fortasse dissimulatio partum praestet errori atque impune se
 quisquam putet audere quod condemnatum uigore publico sese
 finxerit ignorare.

Datum pridie Kalendas Maias Rauennae Dominis Nostris
 Honorio XII et Theodosio VIII Augustis consulibus.
 75

59 splendentem] spendentem *e^{a.c.}* | ueri] -is *p¹ p²* | ambagibus] am *sup.l.*
w, -abus *a^{a.c.}* 60 infando] nefando *Bar.* | infando scelere] infandos celere
t p¹ 62 promiscue] -ae *w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} e* 64 damnatis] -us *p¹* 65 a conuentu] ac
 uentu *c^{a.c.}* | sequestrari] ri *sup.l. e* 66 nec] *sup.l. x* | communi] communi
a^{a.c.} 67 nefario] ne *sup.l. p¹* | uenenati] -eti *p¹*, uenati *c^{a.c.}* | sint] sunt *o*
Bar. Quesn. Ball. 68 paene] pene *w x a e p¹ p² Bar. Ball.*, paenae *t^{a.c.}*, poene
c, om. o Quesn. | qua] quo *x^{p.c.} a^{a.c.} e Drecoll* 69 ne] *sup.l. w, om. c* |
 scientiae] inscientiae *w^{p.c.} t* 70 partum] partum *o* | praestet] prasestet *p^{1a.c.}*
 | impune] -pone *w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} c^{a.c.}* | se... 71 quisquam] sequis quam *t* 71
 quisquam] quisque *Bar.* | putet] -at *c* | audere] -ire *w^{a.c.} x a^{a.c.} Bar.* | sese]
 se *Quesn.* 73 Datum] dat. *w x c*, data *a e o* | pridie] *prd. w c*, *prid. x e Bar.*,
pridi. a, ii p² | Kalendas] *kl. w t p² o, k. x c*, *kal. a e* | Maias] *mages a^{a.c.}*,
mages a^{p.c.}, *mai. p² c* | Rauennae] *rauinnae t a^{a.c.} e* | Dominis] *dd. w x t a*
e p¹ p² c Bar., *dnis o* | Nostris] *nn. w x t a e p¹ p² c Bar.*, *nris o* 74 XII]
 duodecies *x(xii; es sup.l.) p²(xii; decies sup.l.) o Quesn.* | VIII] *octies x(viii;*
es sup.l.) p²(viii; octies sup.l.) o Quesn. | Augustis] *aagg. w x a e p²*, *agg t*
c, agg.tis p¹ om. o Quesn., AA Bar. | consulibus] *cons. w x t c*, *conss. a e*
Bar., *consul. p²*

XV. Incipit exemplar edicti.

Iunius Quartus Palladius, Monaxius, et Agricola iterum praefecti praetorio dixerunt.

In Pelagium atque Caelestium catholici dogmatis fidem
scaeuus tractatibus destruentes sententia principalis incaluit, ut 80
uenerabili urbe summoti bonorum concilio multarentur. Hoc
igitur omnes ammoneri oportet edicto, ne quis sinistrae
persuasionis erroribus credulum praestet adsensum. Et si sit ille
plebeius aut clericus qui in caliginis huius obscena reciderit, a
quocumque tractus ad iudicem sine accusatricis discretione 85
personae facultatum publicatione nudatus inreuocabile patietur
exilium. Nam superna maiestas ut colligit ex secreti ignoratione
reuerentiam, ita ex ineptia disputationis iniuriam.

Prop. exemp. edicti.

XVI. Incipit imperialis epistula ad Aurelium Carthaginensem episcopum.

Imperatores Honorius et Theodosius Augusti Aurelio episcopo salutem.

76 XV] V *p*¹, *om. p*² c *Bar.*, cap. XV *o*, Capitulum XV *Quesn. Ball.* | Incipit] *om. Bar. Quesn. Ball.* | edicti] *post* edicti: ut a consortio bonorum pelagius et caelestius amouentur si laicus aut clericus eos crediderit inreuocabila exilio patiatu*r* *t*, iunii quarti palladii *o Quesn. Ball.*, praefectorum praetorio *Bar.* 77 Quartus] *r sup.l. p*¹ | et] *om. p*¹ *p*² | Agricola] -e *p*¹, -ae *p*² 78 praefecti] *x*, -o *w*^{a.c.} *t a e p*¹ *p*² *c*, -us *w*^{p.c.} *o Drecoll* | praetorio] -ii *x*^{p.c.} *p*¹ *p*², praetorio *a* | dixerunt] *w*^{p.c.} *x*^{p.c.} *o Bar. Quesn. Drecoll*, -erit *w*^{a.c.} *x*^{a.c.} *t a*^{a.c.} *e c*, dixit *a*^{p.c.}, direxit *p*¹ *p*², edixerunt *Ball.* 79 In] *x(sup.l.) o Quesn. Ball.*, *om. t a e p*¹ *p*² *c Drecoll*, contra *w(sup.l.)*, aduersus *Bar.(in marg.)* | atque] atque *a* | Caelestium] celestium 80 scaeuus] saeuus *a Bar.*, nefandis *p*¹ *p*², suis *Bar.(in marg.)* | tractatibus] *tatibus p*¹ destruentes] *distruentis w*^{a.c.} *x*^{a.c.} *t c*, *distruentes x*^{p.c.}, *destruentis a*^{p.c.} *incaluit* inualuit *x*^{a.c.} *Bar.* 81 uenerabili] -e *x*^{a.c.} (*ut uid.*) | concilio] consortio *Bar.(in marg.)* | multarentur] *mutarentur p*¹ *p*² *o* 82 edicto ne] edictione *w*^{a.c.} *x*, et edictione *c* 83 persuasionis] -es *w*^{a.c.} | sit ille] *inu. Bar.* 84 aut] *o Quesn. Ball.*, ac *w x t a e p*¹ *p*² *c Bar. Drecoll* 85 tractus] *s sup.l. w* 86 personae... publicatione] *ditt. a*^{a.c.} | nudatus] *us sup.l. w* 87 colligit] non colligit *p*¹ *p*² | ex secreti] *excreti e*, *execrandam p*¹, *exsecrandam p*² | ignoratione] -em *p*¹ *p*² 88 reuerentiam] *om. p*¹ *p*² | ex] *om. p*¹ *p*², & *Bar.* | ineptia] *conieci*, *inepta x*, *ineptae w t a e p*¹ *p*² *o c Bar. Quesn. Ball. Drecoll* | disputationis] -es *w*^{a.c.}, -i *x*^{a.c.}, disputationis praesumptione *o Quesn. Ball.* | iniuriam] *reicit iniuriam p*¹ *p*², *iniuriam eximit per edictum Bar.* 89 Prop] *prop. w x t*, propter *a e p*¹ *p*² *c Drecoll*, propositi *o* | Prop... edicti] *om. Bar. Quesn. Ball.* | exemp] *w x a e c*, *exep. t*, exemplum *p*¹ *p*², exemplaris *o*, exemplar *Drecoll* | edicti] -um *w x*^{a.c.} *t a e p*¹ *p*² *o c Drecoll* 91 XVI] cap. xvi *o*, *om. c f r*, xxiii *v*² *b*, xcv *m*, xxx *v*⁴, Capitulum XVI *Quesn. Ball.* | XVI... 92 episcopum] *om. Bar.*, CCI *Goldb.* | imperialis] -es *t v*² | imperialis epistula] *inu. o V H Quesn. Ball.* 92 Carthaginensem] *cartagine a*, *cartaginensem p*¹ *o r Quesn.*, *cartaginense v*² *b*, *chartaginensem f*, *kartaginensim m*, *kartaginensem v*⁴ *episcopum*] *episc w*, *ep̄s x* 93 Imperatores] *imperatores perpetui H* | Honorius] *onorius f* | Theodosius] *theodius x*^{a.c.}, *teudosius b*

95 Dudum quidem fuerat constitutum ut Pelagius atque
 Caelestius infandi dogmatis repertores ab urbe Roma uelut
 quaedam catholicae utilitatis contagia pellerentur, ne
 ignorantium mentes scaeva persuasione peruerterent. In quo
 100 secuta est clementia nostra iudicium sanctitatis tuae, quo constat
 eos ab uniuersis iusta sententiae examinatione damnatos. Sed
 quia obstinati criminis pertinax malum, ut constitutio
 geminaretur, exegit, recenti quoque sanctione decreuimus ut, si
 quis eos in quacumque prouinciarum parte latitare non nesciens
 aut propellere aut prodere distulisset, praescriptae poenae uelut
 105 particeps subiaceret.

Praecipue tamen ad quorundam episcoporum pertinaciam
 corrigendam, qui prauas eorum disputationes uel tacito consensu
 adstruunt uel publica obpugnatione non destruunt, pater
 carissime atque amantissime, sanctitatis tuae auctoritatem
 110 monere conueniet, quatenus in abolitione praeposterae haeresis
 omnium deuotio christiana consentiat. Religio itaque tua

95 constitutum] constitutum v^2 | atque] & Bar. 96 Caelestius] coelestius
 $p^2 v^2 b m$, celestius f | infandi] nefandi Bar. | urbe] orbe t | uelut] uel
 aut $m v^4$, ueluti Bar. | uelut...97 quaedam] uel utque dam $a^{a.c.}$
 97 utilitatis] unitatis $p^{p.c.}$ Goldb., ueritatis Bar. | pellerentur] $w^{p.c.}$ $x^{p.c.}$ $a^{p.c.}$
 $e^{p.c.}$ $p^2 o f H$ Bar. Quesn. Ball. Goldb., appellentur $w^{a.c.}$ $x^{a.c.}$ $t c$,
 appellerentur $a^{a.c.}$ $e^{a.c.}$, pelleretur p^1 , pellarentur $v^2 b$ 98 ignorantium]
 ignorantiam c | mentes] -is $a^{a.c.}$ $e^{a.c.}$ | persuasione] peruersione f
 peruerterent] perterent $e^{a.c.}$, perterrere $e^{p.c.}$ | In] sup.l. x | quo] quos f
 99 clementia] dementia c (ut uid.) v^4 | nostra] sup.l. w | quo] $x^{p.c.}$ $a^{p.c.}$ p^1
 $p^2 o rin marg.$ Bar. Quesn. Ball. Goldb., quos w $x^{a.c.}$ $t a^{a.c.}$ $e c V H$ ($r^{a.c.}$),
 quod $x^{a.c.}$ | constat] -ant v^2 100 eos] om. $V H$ (eos in marg. r), del. w
 iusta] iustae $a^{p.c.}$ $e^{p.c.}$ Bar., iuxta $p^2 b H$ | sententiae] -am H
 examinatione] damnationes examinatione b | damnatos] -us $a^{a.c.}$ v^2 , esse
 damnatos Bar. | damnatos Sed] damnatosse $m^{a.c.}$ 101 obstinati criminis]
 obstinatori minis $v^2 b$, obtinati criminis f , obstinationum H | constitutio]
 constitio $x^{a.c.}$ 102 exegit] coegit Bar. | recenti] trecenti b | sanctione]
 scanctione $a^{a.c.}$ 103 quis] qui $V r v^4$ 104 aut¹] ut b | propellere]
 propellare $a^{a.c.}$, propelle $o^{a.c.}$ | distulisset] distullessit v^2 , distulisse f ,
 redistulisset m | praescriptae] perscriptae $t V H$ (prae- in marg. r) | uelut]
 ut $a^{a.c.}$ 105 particeps] -cipes $b f$ | subiaceret] -ere v^2 106 Praecipue
 tamen] praecipuet amen v^2 | ad] ab (ut uid.) $w^{a.c.}$ 107 prauas] -is $a^{a.c.}$
 disputationes] -is $a^{a.c.}$ | uel] om. Bar. 108 adstruunt] asserunt Bar.
 uel...destruunt] om. $V H$ (in marg. r) | non] om. $p^1 p^2$ 109 atque] antique
 H | auctoritatem] -e $w t a^{p.c.}$ $e p^1 p^2 c$ Bar., autoritate $a^{a.c.}$, auctorem f
 110 monere] $e^{p.c.}$ $p^1 p^2 r$ in marg., manere, $w^{a.c.}$ $x t a e^{a.c.}$ c Goldb., cauere
 $w^{p.c.}$ $V H$ (monere in marg. r) Ball., imminere o Quesn., moneri Bar.
 conueniet] -ient v^2 | in] et in $p^1 p^2$ | abolitione] -em o Quesn. Ball.
 haeresis] heresos p^1 , hereseos p^2 111 deuotio] -ione p^1 | christiana] -
 ianorum H Bar. | Religio] relio $v^2 b$, relliquo f , dereliquo H (religio in
 marg. r) | tua] tuis H

competentibus scriptis uniuersos faciet admoneri scituros
 definitione sanctimonii tui hanc sibi definitionem esse
 perscriptam, ut quicumque damnationi supra memoratorum,
 quo pateat mens pura, subscribere impia obstinatione 115
 neglexerint, episcopatus amissione multati interdicta in
 perpetuum expulsi ciuitatibus communionem priuentur. Nam cum
 ipsi iuxta synodum Nicaenam confessione sincera conditorem
 rerum omnium deum imperiique nostri ueneremur auctorem,
 non patietur sanctitas tua sectae detestabilis homines in iniuriam 120
 religionis noua et inusitata meditantes secretis tractatibus
 occultare sacrilegium publica semel auctoritate damnatum. Vna
 enim eademque culpa est eorum qui aut dissimulando
 coniuentiam aut non damnando fauorem noxium praestiterunt.
 Et alia manu: Diuinitas te per multos annos seruet 125
 incolumem, pater carissime atque amantissime.

Data V Iduum Iuniarum Rauennae.

112 uniuersos] -is c v² | faciet] -iat a f Bar. Quesn. Ball. | admoneri] -ere f | scituros] -us w x^{a.c.} p^{c.} c V **113** definitione] -es p¹ p², -em H sanctimonii] -iae o Quesn. Ball., -io c^{a.c.}, testimonii Bar. | tui] tuae o Quesn. Ball. | hanc] ac t | sibi definitionem] inu. o Quesn. Ball. definitionem] -e f **114** perscriptam] prae- x^{p.c.} o f r(in marg.) Bar. Quesn. Ball. Goldb., pro- a e | damnationi] damnatio p¹, -ionis v² b, -ionem H(- tioni r in marg.) | supra] om. o Quesn. **115** quo] quod H(quo r in marg.) | mens] sup.l. w | subscribere] suscribere v² | impia obstinatione] impii ab ostinatione v² **116** neglexerint] -erit t V Quesn., neliglexerint w^{a.c.} | episcopatus] -atum x^{a.c.} | amissione] admissione V **117** expulsi] -is V H **118** iuxta] non iuxta w(non sup.l.), nos iuxta V H Bar. Ball. | synodum] -o f | Nicaenam] nicenam Q V H(incenam m ut uid.) | confessione] -em x^{a.c.} f | conditorem] -e f **119** ueneremur] uenemur t^{a.c.}, ueneramur m v¹ **120** patietur] -atur p¹ p² | sanctitas] s² sup.l. o | sanctitas tua] inu. p¹ p² o Quesn. Ball. | detestabilis] -es m homines] -is w x^{a.c.} t a^{a.c.} c V | in] sup.l. w x, om. p¹ p² c r(in in marg.) **121** inusitata meditantes] inusitatum editantes v² | meditantes] -e b, mediantes m | secretis] -es v^{2a.c.} **122** occultare] -ari w x t a o c Quesn. sacrilegium] & sacrilegium x(& sup.l.), sacrilegium q: o, sacrilegiumque Quesn. | publica semel] inu. o Quesn. | auctoritate] -em v² b damnatum] dampnatum ulterius proferri o, damnatum ulterius proferri Quesn. | Vna] -am b **123** eademque] eadem p¹ | dissimulando] -um f **124** coniuentiam] o Goldb., conibentiam w x t a e c, conhibentiam p¹ p², conuenentiam V, conuenientiam H(conni- in marg. r), coniuentiam Bar. Quesn. Ball. | damnando] -a c^{a.c.} | fauorem] pauorem f | praestiterunt] post praestiterunt: pater carissime atque amantissime o Quesn. **125** Et... 126 incolumem] transposuit post episcopum data o | manu] -um v² seruet] -ent v² **126** pater... amantissime] om. o Quesn. **127** Data] dat. w x p² c v² r, datum t p¹, datum rescriptum Bar. | Iduum] idus a V H Bar. Ball. Goldb. | Iuniarum] iunias a^{p.c.} v² b H Bar. Ball. Goldb., ianuaras f Rauennae rabenne V(rauenne f^{p.c.}), post Rauennae: Monaxio et Plinta consulibus Bar. Ball.

Eodem tenore etiam ad sanctum Augustinum episcopum
data.

130

**XVII. Incipit epistula sancti Aurelii episcopi ad omnes
episcopos per Byzacenam et Arzugitanam prouincias
constitutos de damnatione Pelagii atque Caelestii.**

135

Dilectissimis ac desiderabilibus fratribus et
consacerdotibus Donatiano primae sedis, Ianuario, Felici,
Palatino, Primiano, Gaiano et alii Gaiano, Ianuario, Victorino et
ceteris per tractum prouinciae Byzacenaе et Arzugitanae
constitutis Aurelius episcopus.

128 Eodem] eo *H(-dem in marg. r)* | tenore] tenere $x^{a.c.}$, tinore *b* | sanctum]
-u v^2 | Augustinum] augunum $w^{a.c.}$, agūsnū *x*, agustinum p^2 , augusti $v^2 b$ |
episcopum] -s *x*, -i v^2 **129** data] dat. *w x v^2 b*, -um *t*, datur $p^1 p^2 c$, datum
rescriptum *Bar.* **131** XVII] XVI *a*, cap. xvii *o*, om. *c E B L f*, xxv $v^2 b$, xcvi
m, xcvi *r*, xxxi v^4 , Capitulum XVII *Quesn. Ball.*, om. *Bar.* Incipit] om. *o L*
Bar. Quesn. Ball. | epistula] -am v^2 | sancti] om. *L V H* Aurelii] aureli *w t*
a e v^2 b | episcopi] Cart. -i *o*, cartaginiensis -i *B*, carthaginensis -i *es re Bar.*
Ball., -i cartaginensis *av p^3*, cartaginensis -i v^1 *Quesn.* | omnes] uniuersos
o Quesn., omne v^2 **132** Byzacenam] *Ball. Drecoll*, bizacenam $w^{p.c.} x^{p.c.} a e$
o g V m v^4 Bar. Quesn., uizacenam $w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} t c$, bizacaenam $w^2 r$,
bizancenam $p^1 p^2$, bizazenam *B*, bizanzenam *es re v^1*, bizantenam *av p^3* |
Arzugitanam] *x t Quesn. Ball.*, arzucitanam *w c*, arguzytanam *a*,
arzcitanam *e*, argizitanam p^1 , arzigitanam p^2 , arrugitanam *o*, arziguitanam
E B L, argutanam $v^2 f$, arzutanam *b*, arbutianam *m*, arduzianam *r*,
arbuizianam v^4 , azuritanam *Bar.*, Arzygitanam *Drecoll* | prouincias] -am
a e o B L b f H Bar. Drecoll, -ae p^2 , -a $g v^2$, prouintii w^2 **133** constitutos]
-is *B* | damnatione] -em *b* Pelagii] pelagi *V* | atque] et *o*, *del. f* | Caelestii]
celestii *x a p^1 p^2 o c g v^2 b m*, celestis *B*, celestii hereticorum *L*,
caelestii hereticorum *Bar.* **134** Dilectissimis] III. Dilectissimis *B* | ac] hac
b, et *H* | desiderabilibus] desiderantissimis p^2 , desiderabilis *b*,
desiderabilissimus *Bar.* | et] ac *Bar.* **135** consacerdotibus] sacerdotibus *V*
H(con- in marg. r) | Donatiano] donationo $v^2 f$ | Donatiano... 136
Palatino] om. *B L* | Ianuario] ianuario $p^1 p^2 o f m v^4 Bar. Quesn. **136**
Gaiano¹] graiano *c*, gagano *H(gaiano in marg. r)* | et¹... Gaiano²] *in marg.*
w x, om. v^2 | alii] *o L Quesn. Ball.*, alio *w x t a e p^1 p^2 c E B b f H Drecoll*,
aliis *Bar.* | Gaiano²] gagano *H(gaiano in marg. r)* | Victorino] uicturino *g*
137 tractum] tractatum *g* | prouinciae] -a *B* | Byzacenaе] p^2 *Ball. Drecoll*,
bizacenaе *w x t a o c E es r Bar. Quesn.*, bizacaenaе *e*, bizacene p^1 , bizazęę
B, bizanzenae *re av p^3 v^1*, bizanae v^2 , uizane *b*, bizacaene $f v^4$, bizacene
m et] *sup. l. c* | Arzugitanae] argizitane p^1 , arzugine *o*, arguitanae *E*,
arzyguitanę *B*, arziguitanae *L*, argugitane $v^2 b$, arzuzitane *f*, arduzicitanae *H*,
azuritanae *Bar.*, Arzygitanae *Drecoll* **138** episcopus] ep̄s *w x*$

Super Caelestii Pelagiique damnatione eorumque
 dogmatibus participem se sancta dilectio uestra in plenario 140
 concilio fuisse commemorat, dilectissimi et desiderabiles fratres.
 Sed quoniam pro honore dei, in cuius manu cor regis est
 constitutum, gloriosissimorum principum christianorum fidem
 rectam et catholicam custodientium accessit auctoritas, quam
 per humilitatem meam uniuersis coepiscopis meis uoluit 145
 intimari, idcirco honorabilem fraternitatem uestram missis
 exemplaribus instruere festinaui, ne in aliqua parte prouinciae
 supradictorum serpentina persuasio ab uniuersali ecclesia totius
 orbis exclusa fortasse subrepat. Ob hoc ergo tam necessaria
 constitutio christianorum principum caritatem uestram latere 150
 non debuit, et ad me ab eis datae litterae, quarum simul
 exemplaribus lectis quemadmodum subscribere unusquisque
 uestrum debeat, dilectio uestra cognoscat, siue quorum in
 synodalibus gestis subscriptio iam tenetur siue qui non potuistis

142 in... 143 constitutum] Cf. Prov 21:1

139 Caelestii] celestii x^p o re av p^3 bfm | Pelagii] E B L V
 H $Bar.$ | eorumque] eorum quo v^2 , eorum qui bf 140 dogmatibus] dogmatis
 E | participem] articipem p^1 | se... uestra] sanctam -ionem -am $w^{p.c.}$ E B L
 VH (se sancta dilectio uestra *in marg. r*) $Bar.$ | sancta] -ae c plenario] -iam
 m v^1 , -ia r (-rio *in marg.*) 141 concilio] -ia m v^1 , consilia r (-lio *in marg.*) |
 commemorat] commemini E V $Bar.$, commonui B , cognoui L , cum meminit
 r v^1 | et] ac $Bar.$ | desiderabiles] -is $x^{a.c.}$ $a^{a.c.}$ $w^{2a.c.}$, -em v^2 | fratres] *sup.l.*
 g 142 quoniam] qn [quando] t | cuius] cui $w^{a.c.}$ manu] -um c , -us $B^{a.c.}$ |
 regis] -it v^2 144 accessit] *sup.l.* w x | auctoritas] autoritas e $v^{2a.c.}$ | quam]
 -af, quia H (quam *in marg. r*) 145 per] pro $a^{a.c.}$ uniuersis] -i b | coepiscopis]
 episcopis $w^{a.c.}$ $x^{a.c.}$ E B L VH | coepiscopis meis] *inu. Quesn. Ball.* | uoluit]
 uolui p^1 p^2 Lf 146 intimari] -are L v^1 idcirco] hic circo v^2 b 147 instruere]
 instituere H | festinaui] curauit L , festinauit v^2 H | ne] ne quid mali $Bar.$ |
 in] *sup.l.* x | aliqua parte] -am - em x | prouinciae] -arum x (rum *sup.l.*), -as
 v^2 148 supradictorum] ex supradictorum $Bar.$ | serpentina] sempiterna $av^{a.c.}$
 | persuasio] persuasione $Bar.$ | ab] *om.* v^2 | uniuersali] -is r | ecclesia]
 -ae b totius] *sup.l.* av b 149 orbis] urbis c | orbis exclusa] *sup.l.* av |
 exclusa] exclausa m , ex clausa v^1 | Ob] ad *Quesn.* | hoc ergo] hergo B |
 tam] iam H 150 constitutio] concertatio $Bar.$, contestatio $Bar.$ *in marg.*
 christianorum] -issimorum $w^{p.c.}$ $x^{p.c.}$ a e *Drecol* | christianorum
 principum] *inu. L* 151 debuit] debui H (-it $r^{p.c.}$) | et] de qua *Bar. in marg.*
 | ad] a p^3 f | eis] his $Bar.$ | litterae] litterae uobis mitti debuere *o Quesn.*
Ball. | quarum] quorum B L 152 lectis quemadmodum] lectisq; admodum
 v^2 153 uestrum] *sup.l.* b | cognoscat] cognuscat $x^{a.c.}$ $a^{a.c.}$ $e^{a.c.}$ cognoscat L |
 in] *sup.l.* x , *om. E L V H Bar.* 154 synodalibus] -olibus $m^{a.c.}$ v^1 | tenetur]
 -eretur V | qui] que $x^{a.c.}$ c

- 155 eidem plenario totius Africae interesse concilio, quod cum de
supradictorum haeticorum damnatione omnium uestrum fuerit
integrata subscriptio, nihil omnino sit unde ullius
dissimulationis uel negligentiae uel occultae forsitan prauitatis
aliqua uideatur merito remansisse suspicio.
- 160 Et alia manu: Opto fratres, bene uiuatis mei memores.
Data Kalendis Augusti Carthagine, Monaxio et Plinta
consulibus.

- XVIII. Incipiunt capitula excerpta de gestis habitis
165 contra Pelagium haeticum et alia de libris eius, quae in
Palaestina synodo sibi obiecta anathemare compulsus est.**

161 eidem] eisdem *B V H* | Africae] affricę *re p³ v²*, affricę *av v¹ f*
interesse] inesse *e* | interesse concilio] *inu. o Quesn.* | concilio] *-ia t c*,
consilio *av^{a.c.}* | quod] quo *o Bar. Quesn. Ball.* | cum... 156
supradictorum] supra cum dedictorum *v⁴* | de] *om. E b*, in *B L Bar.*
damnatione] *-em b* 157 integrata] integra *c^{a.c.} v¹ b Bar.* | nihil
omnino] nihilominus *H* | omnino] omni nos *b* | sit] & *B, om. L* | ullius]
ullius siue *x*, illius *c^{a.c.}* *g(ullius in marg.) w² f H(u- r^{p.c.})*, illis *B L*
158 dissimulationis] *-es w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} t p¹ p² c E(-is in marg. g) V* | negligentiae]
-as E V H(-ae r^{p.c.}) | occultae] *-e w t p¹ p² g av p³ v¹ b f*, *-am H* 159 uideatur]
-eatur av^{a.c.}, *-eretur m* | remansisse] *re (del.) remansisse m* | suspicio]
suscipio *w^{a.c.} b* 160 Et] *om. B L* | alia manu] *aliam an g^{a.c.}* | Opto...
memores] *transp. post consulibus t* | fratres] *frater B^{a.c.}* 161 Data] *dat.*
w x a e p² c B av v² b r, datum *t p¹ Drecoll*, datas *w² Kalendis* | *kl. w x t p¹*
o B L b f H, kal. *a e v² Quesn. Ball.*, v kl. *p²*, k. *c*, kalendas *E Drecoll*, kalend.
Bar. | Augusti] *aug. w p¹ p² o c B re v¹ m r*, agus. *x*, augustas *t E v⁴ Drecoll*,
ags *a e b*, *-us av*, august. *v²*, AG. *f Carthagine*] *cartha. w x c*, cartagini *o*,
cartagine *w² re av p³ v¹ v² b Quesn.*, chartagine *f*, kartagine *B H* | Monaxio]
manoxio *b* | et Plinta] *et plenta Q Drecoll*, et plintha *E*, ex plinta *v²*,
expleta *H(& plinta in marg. r)* 162 consulibus] *consolib; w, con. ss. V*,
consulibus subscriptis *H*, *conss Bar.*; *post consulibus: opto fratres*
uene uiuatis mei memores t 164 XVIII] *om. t c E B L b Bar.*, cap.
xviii o, *xxvi v² f*, *xcvii m*, *xcvi r*, *xxxii v⁴*, Capitulum XVIII *Quesn. Ball.* |
Incipiunt] *incip. p¹ p² b v⁴*, *incip g*, *incipit w² B m, om. L f* | capitula] *cap.*
w p², *epistula E B, om. L*, *capl. v²* | excerpta] *excepta w^{a.c.} r v⁴, om. m* | de]
om. E B, *ex L Bar.* | habitis] *habens E B* 165 Pelagium] *pellagium v² b* |
de] *ex v¹* | libris] *libellis E L V H Bar.* 166 Palaestina] *palestina Q E B*
L v² b H, *palestino f synodo*] *om. B L* | synodo sibi] *sinodus ibi v²* | sibi]
om. o f Quesn. *obiecta*] *obiecta ipse x^{p.c.} E L v² f H*, *obiecta ipsa b* |
anathemare] *-tizare a^{p.c.} e^{p.c.} p¹ p² o Quesn. Ball.*, *damnare E B L V H Bar.* |
compulsus] *sup.l. a, -is w²* | *est*] *sup.l. a*

Quod ad Hierusalem nolentem colligi filios suos dominus clamabat, hoc nos clamamus aduersus eos, qui filios uolentes ecclesiae colligi nolunt nec saltem post iudicium, quod de ipso Pelagio in Palaestina factum est, corriguntur, de quo damnatus exisset, nisi obiecta sibi contra gratiam dei dicta, quae obscurare non potuit, ipse damnasset. Praeter illa enim, quae, quomodo potuit, ausus est qualicumque ratione defendere, obiecta sunt quaedam, quae nisi remota omni tergiuersatione anathemasset, ipse anathema factus esset. 170

I. Obiectum est enim eum dicere Adam mortalem factum, qui, siue peccasset siue non peccasset, moriturus esset;

II. Et quod peccatum eius ipsum solum laeserit, non et genus humanum;

III. Et quod infantes nuper nati in illo statu sint, in quo Adam fuit ante praeuaricationem; 175 180

167 Quod] quod ergo *Goldb.** | ad] ab *w x^{a.c.} t c V* | Hierusalem] ierusalem *g*, ierlm *es av p³*, iherlm *re v¹*, hyerusalem *b*, jerusalem *Quesn. Ball.* | nolentem] uolentem *Bar.* | colligi] -legi *B H*, colligere *Bar.* dominus] ille *Goldb.** 168 clamabat] clamat *Bar.* | clamamus] -emus *f* uolentes] -is *a^{p.c.} e*, *om. o E B L Quesn. Ball.* 169 colligi] -legi *a^{a.c.} e B v² b H* | saltem post] *inu. es* | quod] quo *v²* 170 Pelagio] *om. re*, pellagio *v² b* | in Palaestina] *om. Bar.* | Palaestina] palestina *Q E B L V*, palestino *H* | corriguntur] corrigunt *p¹*, colleguntur *H*, collegerunt *Bar.* | de] do *x^{a.c.}* | quo] co *v²* | quo damnatus] quodam natus *t(ut uid.) g B r* damnatus] damnat *x^{a.c.}* 171 exisset] est *f* | obiecta] -as *f* | sibi] *om. Bar.* | gratiam] -a *v² f* | gratiam dei] *inu. Bar.* | dicta quae] dictaque *b* obscurare] obscura *p¹* 172 potuit] potuerat *o* | illa enim] *inu. L* quomodo] quoquo modo *H Bar. Goldb.** 173 qualicumque] qualicum quae *a^{a.c.}*, quaecumque *c B*, quialicumq; *m* | defendere] re *sup.l. t* 174 nisi] mihi *p^{3a.c.}*, si *v^{1a.c.}* | remota] romata *f* | anathemasset] -tizasset *a^{p.c.}* *p¹ p² o E L Quesn. Ball.*, anathema sit *V H*, anathematizaret *Bar.* 175 anathema] anathema sit *H Bar.* | esset] fuisset *L*, esse *H*, *om. Bar.*; post esset [fuisset]: dogma pelagii heretici *L*, incipiunt capitula *f*, errores pelagii ad [sic] ipso in concilio condemnati *Bar.in marg.* 176 I] *om. p¹ o g B L Goldb.**, A *w²*, primo *Bar.* | Obiectum] -us *v²* | Obiectum... enim] *om. L* | est] *om. f* | eum] cum *E B L V H Bar.* | dicere] -eret *E B L b f H Bar.* 177 siue¹] sibi *v²*, sibe *m* | peccasset¹] peccassit *v²*, peccasse *f*, peccaret *Goldb.** | siue²] *om. Quesn.* | siue²... peccasset²] *om. x^{a.c.} m^{a.c.} v¹* | peccasset²] peccassit *v²*, peccasse *f*, *om. Bar.*, peccaret *Goldb.** | moriturus] mortuus *Bar.* | esset] est *g*, esse *f* 178 II] *om. p¹ o g B L Goldb.**, B *w²*, secundo *Bar.* | eius] ipsius *E B L V H Bar.* | laeserit] -erat *g* | non et] *inu. Goldb.** | et] *om. p¹ p² E B L V H*, etiam *o Quesn. Ball.* 180 III] II *w^{a.c.}*, *om. a p¹ o g B L Goldb.**, Γ *w²*, tertio *Bar.* infantes] s *sup.l. o* | in¹] *om. v²*, in in *m* | illo] -us *v^{2a.c.}*, -u *v^{2p.c.}* | statu] stati *x^{a.c.}*, statuti *p¹*, tactu *v²* | sint] sunt *x^{a.c.}* | quo... 181 Adam] quodam *m v¹* 181 praeuaricationem] prouaricatione *b*, prebaricationem *m*

III. Et quod neque per mortem uel praeuaricationem Adae
omne genus humanum moriatur neque per resurrectionem Christi
omne genus hominum resurgat;

185 V. Et infantes, etiam si non baptizentur, habere uitam
aeternam;

VI. Et diuites baptizatos, nisi omnibus abrenuntient, si quid
boni uisi fuerint facere, non reputari illis nec eos habere posse
regnum dei;

190 VII. Et gratiam dei atque adiutorium non ad singulos actus
dari, sed in libero arbitrio esse uel in lege atque doctrina;

VIII. Et dei gratiam secundum merita nostra dari;

VIII. Et filios dei non posse uocari, nisi omnimodo
absque peccato fuerint effecti;

195 X. Et non esse liberum arbitrium, si dei indiget auxilio,
quoniam in propria uoluntate habet unusquisque facere aliquid
aut non facere;

182 III] III *a*, om. *p*¹ *o* *g* *B* *L* *Goldb.* *, Δ *w*², capitula III *f*, quarto *Bar.*, IV *Quesn. Ball.* | neque] ne *p*¹ *p*², om. *VH*(non in marg. *r*) *Bar.* | per] *sup.l.* *x*, pro *b* *f* | mortem] -*e* *f* | uel] uel per *o* *Ball.*, neque per *Quesn. praeuaricationem*] *praeuaricanem* *e*^{*a.c.*}, -*e* *f* **183** omne] -*e* *v*², non omne *Bar.* | humanum] -*u* *b* | moriatur] oriatur *x*^{*a.c.*} | neque] om. *p*¹ *p*², et quod *v*² *f* *r*(non in marg.), et quo *b*, et *m* *v*^{*t*}, et quod non *Bar.* | per] pro *v*² *b* **184** omne] -*e* *v*², -*e* *m* *H* | hominum] humanum *p*¹ *p*² *E* *H* *Bar.* **185** V] III *a*, om. *p*¹ *o* *g* *B* *L* *Goldb.* *, E *w*², quinto *Bar.* | Et] om. *E* *B* *L* *V* *H* *Bar.* | etiam] igitur *f* | baptizentur] -*antur* *f* | habere] auere *v*² | habere... 186 aeternam] uitam aeternam habere posse *f*, uitam aeternam habere possunt *Bar.* | uitam] -*a* *v*² **186** aeternam] -*am* posse *x*(posse *sup.l.*), -*a* non possunt *v*^{*a.c.*}, -*a* possunt *v*^{*p.c.*}, -*am* non possunt *b* *H* **187** VI] om. *p*¹ *o* *g* *B* *L* *Goldb.* *, S [stigma] *w*², sexto *Bar.* | diuites] *s* *sup.l.* *o*, -*itis* *v*² | baptizatos] *s* *sup.l.* *o*, -*atus* *b* | omnibus] omnes *B* abrenuntient] renuntient *w*^{*p.c.*} *x*^{*p.c.*} *a* *e* | quid] quis *v*² **188** boni uisi] *inu.* *L* | uisi] nisi *c* | reputari] -*are* *t*, reportare *B* *L*, repotari *v*², po reputari *v*^{*t*} illis] *s* *sup.l.* *o*, illud *re* | nec eos] *ditt.* *f* | habere] habitare *f* **190** VII] om. *p*¹ *o* *g* *B* *L* *Goldb.* *, Z *w*², septimo *Bar.* | Et] de *v*² | gratiam] -*a* *w* *t* *a* *e* *c* *v*² *f* *H* | actus] -*os* *x*^{*a.c.*} *f*, auctus *p*^{*a.c.*} **191** dari] donari *H* *Bar.* | in¹] om. *E* *B* *V* *H*, de *Bar.* | libero] libro *e*^{*a.c.*} *v*² | doctrina] -*e* *g* **192** VIII] om. *p*¹ *o* *g* *B* *L* *Goldb.* *, H *w*², octauo *Bar.* | Et] de *v*² | dei gratiam] *inu.* *f* *H* *Bar.* | gratiam] -*a* *v*² *f* *m* **193** VIII] om. *p*¹ *p*² *o* *E* *B* *L* *Goldb.* *, nono *Bar.*, IX *Quesn. Ball.* | filios] -*ii* *w* *x*^{*a.c.*} *t* *a*^{*a.c.*} *e* *p*¹ *p*² *c*, -*ius* *v*² | nisi] si *v*^{*a.c.*} | omnimodo] omnino *x*^{*a.c.*}(*ut uid.*) *Quesn.* **194** peccato] omni peccato *H* *Bar.* | fuerint] -*it* *v*² | effecti] *sup.l.* *a*, interfecti *v*², infecti *f* **195** X] om. *p*¹ *p*² *o* *g* *B* *L* *Goldb.* *, I *w*², decimo *Bar.* | esse] esset *b* *f* liberum] liuerum *b* | arbitrium] aruitrium *b* | si] siquis *p*¹ | indiget] -*eret* *E*, eget *B* *L*, -*eat* *Bar.* | indiget auxilio] adiutorio indiget *o* *Quesn.* auxilio] -*ium* *p*² *B* *f*, adiutorio *o* *Quesn.* **196** propria] properia *v*² *b* unusquisque] unusquae *a*^{*a.c.*} | facere] -*eret* *b* | aliquid] om. *f* **197** aut] uel *Bar.*

- XI. Et uictoriam nostram non ex dei esse adiutorio, sed ex libero arbitrio;
- XII. Et quod paenitentibus uenia non detur secundum gratiam et misericordiam dei, sed secundum meritum et laborem eorum qui per paenitentiam digni fuerint misericordia. 200
- Haec omnia Pelagius sic anathemauit, quod satis gesta ipsa testantur, ut nihil ad ea quoquo modo defendenda disputationis attulerit, unde fit consequens, ut, quisquis sequitur illius episcopalis auctoritatem iudicii et ipsius Pelagii confessionem, haec tenere debeat, quae semper tenuit catholica ecclesia. 205
- I. Adam, nisi peccasset, non fuisset moriturus;
- II. Quod peccatum eius non ipsum solum laeserit, sed et genus humanum; 210
- III. Quod infantes nuper nati non sint in illo statu, in quo Adam fuit ante praeuaricationem;

198 XI] *om. p^l p² o g B L Goldb.**, IA w², Capitula XI f, undecimo Bar. uictoriam] -a w t c v² | nostram] -a w t c | non...esse] non esse ex dei E B L V H Bar. | dei] deo w^{a.c.} | esse adiutorio] *inu. o^{p.c.} 199* libero] -ere v^{2a.c.}, liuero b 200 XII] *om. p^l o g B L Goldb.**, IB w², cap. XII f, duodecimo Bar. | paenitentibus] penitus f, petentibus H Bar. | uenia] -am f^{a.c.} v^l Bar. 201 gratiam] -a v² | dei sed] *sup.l. e* | sed] et p² f meritum] -om v^{2a.c.}, -orum H, -a Bar. 202 laborem] -e v² | per] perper m | misericordia] -am B b f, -am dei v² 203 omnia] communia f | anathemauit] -tizauit w^{p.c.} a^{p.c.} p^l p² o E B L V H Bar. *Quesn. Ball. gesta... 204 ipsa] inu. o Quesn. Ball. 204* ut] et V | quoquo] quoque c quoquo modo] quomodo p^{p.c.} f, quo quomodo B v^l | defendenda] defenda c, deferenda B, defendendae H 205 disputationis] -iones B | unde] eo unde v^l | fit] sit re v^l | quisquis] si quisquis w^{a.c.} | sequitur] secutor B L 206 illius] -ius fuit B re av p³ v^l, ille fuit es, *om. H Bar.* | episcopalis] *om. o Quesn.*, -ali B | auctoritatem] -e B L, auctoritas v^{a.c.} | ipsius] in ipsius V H Bar. | Pelagii] pellagii v² 207 confessionem] -e B L v² b Bar., confusione f | haec] *om. Bar.* | tenere] -eri p^l | debeat] -ant v² | quae] que B av v² b | quae...tenuit] quem pertenuit f | semper] *om. Bar. catholica... 208 ecclesia] -am -am v², inu. Quesn. Ball. 209* I] *om. p^l g B, Goldb.** dogma catholicorum.i. es re v^l, dogma catholicorum av p³, primo Bar.(in marg.: catholicas assertiones aduersus pelagianos) | Adam] quod adam w^{p.c.} E B L V H | nisi] non b | non...moriturus] moriturus non fuisset L | fuisset] -isse Goldb.* | moriturus] -urum Goldb.* 210 II] *om. p^l g B av p³ Goldb.**, cap. II f, secundo Bar. | Quod] et quod Goldb.* | laeserit] in marg. c, | et] *om. f 212* III] *om. p^l p²(ut uid.) g B av p³ Goldb.**, tertio Bar. | Quod] et quod Goldb.* | infantes] in infantes c | sint] sunt L H, sit v² 213 praeuaricationem] prouaricatione v², praeuaricatione b, preuaricationem m

215 III. Vt ad ipsos etiam pertineat quod breuiter ait
apostolus: *Per unum hominem mors, et per unum hominem
resurrectio mortuorum; sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita
et in Christo omnes uiuificabuntur;*

V. Vnde fit, ut infantes non baptizati non solum regnum
caelorum uerum etiam uitam aeternam habere non possint;

220 VI. Confiteatur etiam diuites baptizatos, etiam si diuitiis
suis non careant et sint tales, quales ad Timotheum describit
apostolus dicens: *Praecepte diuitibus huius mundi non superbe
sapere neque sperare in incerto diuitiarum sed in deo uiuo, qui
praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum; diuites sint in
225 operibus bonis, facile tribuant, communicent, thesaurizent sibi
fundamentum bonum in futurum, ut apprehendant ueram uitam,
non eos regno dei posse priuari;*

215 Per...217 uiuificabuntur] 1 Cor 15:21-22 222 Praecepte...226 uitam]
1 Tim 6:17-19

214 III] om. p¹ B av p³ Goldb. *, V g, capit. III f, quarto Bar., IV Quesn.
Ball. | Vt] quod o Quesn., et es f | ad] ab b | pertineat] -et b^{a.c.} breuiter]
preuiter B^{a.c.} 215 apostolus] apostulos v² | mors... hominem²] om. H |
unum²] om. Bar. | hominem²] om. p¹ p² 216 sicut] & sicut Bar. | enim]
om. Bar. | in] sup.l. t 217 in] om. Quesn. | in... omnes] omnes in Christo
p¹ | uiuificabuntur] uiuificantur E B v² b 218 V] om. p¹ p² B L Goldb. *, VI
g, cap. V f, quinto Bar. | Vnde fit] om. Bar. | ut] et p², quod Bar. 219
etiam] tamen b | aeternam] -a p² | habere] om. H possint] -ent w x^{a.c.} t c, -
unt B av p³, -it b, possident v¹ 220 VI] om. p¹ p² B av p³ Goldb. *, VII g,
V es re v¹, cap. VI f, sexto Bar. | Confiteatur] ut confiteatur w^{p.c.} (ut sup.l.)
E B re av p³ v¹ b H Bar., confiteantur t^{a.c.}, et confiteantur es^{a.c.}, et confiteatur
es^{p.c.}, ut confiteantur v² f | etiam¹] del. w, om. E B L V H Bar. | baptizatos]
-os regno dei non posse priuari o Quesn., baptizatus v² b, -antes f^{a.c.} | si]
etiam H | diuitiis] -itis v² 221 sint tales] sitales p^{2.a.c.}, sintales p^{2.p.c.} | tales]
-is a^{a.c.} | ad] a e^{a.c.}, om. H (sup.l. r) | Timotheum] thimotheum p³ v¹ v²,
tymotheum b | describit] discribet w x^{a.c.} t, discribit B, discreuit v²,
discriuit b, descripsit H 222 apostolus] -os w^{a.c.}, apostulos x^{a.c.} v² | dicens]
dicent t^{a.c.} | Praecepte] -cipi t | huius mundi] om. o Quesn., huius saeculi
L | superbe] superue v² 223 sperare] desperare m v^{1.a.c.} | in¹] om. b |
incerto] -e g^{a.c.}, -u v² diuitiarum] -arum suarum x^{p.c.} (suarum sup.l.) E B L b
f H Bar. | deo uiuo] -um -um B L | uiuo] uero Quesn. 224 nobis omnia]
inu. o Quesn. Ball. ad] aut a^{a.c.} 225 thesaurizent] -ant b 226 apprehendant]
-at v² | ueram] om. o Bar. Quesn., bonam b | uitam] -am aeternam
x (aeternam sup.l.) o Bar. Quesn., -am ueram v¹ 227 non] et non re | non...
priuari] om. o Quesn. | regno] -um e B, a regno f m r Bar., ad regno v¹ |
posse] -ent v², -et b

VII. Fateatur gratiam dei et adiutorium etiam ad singulos actus dari eamque non dari secundum merita nostra;

VIII. Vt uera sit gratia, id est gratis data per eius misericordiam qui dixit: *Miserebor cui misertus ero, et misericordiam praestabo cui misericors fuero*; 230

VIII. Fateatur filios dei uocari posse illos, qui cotidie dicunt: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*, quod utique non ueraciter dicerent, si essent omnino absque peccato; 235

X. Fateatur esse liberum arbitrium, etiam si diuino indiget adiutorio;

XI. Fateatur, quando contra temptationes concupiscentiasque illicitas dimicamus, quamuis illic habeamus et propriam uoluntatem, non tamen ex illa sed ex adiutorio dei 240

231 Miserebor... 232 fuero] Ex 33:19; Rom 9:15 234 Dimitte... nostra] Mt 6:12; Lc 11:4

228 VII] *om. p¹ p² B av p³ Goldb. **, VIII *g*, VI *es re v¹ v^{a.c.}*, septimo *Bar.* Fateatur] ut fateatur *w^{p.c.}(ut sup.l.) v² b f^{a.c.} H Bar.*, ut confiteantur *g^{a.c.}*, ut confiteatur *g^{p.c.} w² B re av p³ v¹*, et confiteatur *es*, ut fateantur *f^{p.c.}* gratiam] autem (*del.*) gratiam *e*, gratia *m r* | singulos] singos *e^{a.c.}* 229 actus] auctus *v²*, actos *f^{a.c.}* | eamque] eam quae *x^{a.c.} t p¹ f^{a.c.} v¹*, VIII. eamque *g*, VIII. eamque *w²* | dari²] *om. L* | merita] -am *v²* 230 VIII] *om. p¹ p² E B L Goldb. **, capitulo VIII *f*, octauo *Bar.* | uera] re uera *Bar.* sit] *del. x*, sint *v²* | id est] idem *w^{p.c.} B v² b f^{a.c.}* | data] -am *v²* 231 eius] huius *b* | misericordiam] -a *f^{a.c.}* | Miserebor] re *sup.l. w*, misereor *H Bar.* | cui] cum *v^{a.c.} v¹*, cuius *Bar.* | misertus ero] misertero *w^{a.c.}*, misertus fuero *L*, misertosero *v²* 232 misericors] misertus *p¹ o Bar.* 233 VIII] *om. p¹ p² B av p³ Goldb. **, IX *o*, X *g*, VII *es re v¹*, cap. VIII *f*, nono *Bar.* Fateatur] ut fateatur *w^{p.c.}(ut sup.l.) E B b f^{a.c.} H Bar.*, et ... fateatur *es*, ut ... fateatur *re av p³ v¹*, ut fatetur *v²*, ut fateantur *f^{p.c.}* | Fateatur... illos] filios dei fateatur illos posse uocari *L* | filios] -us *v²* | uocari] -are *v² f^{a.c.}* uocari... illos] illos uocari posse *o Quesn. Ball.* | posse illos] *inu. B* 234 dicunt] -untur *m^{a.c.}* | Dimitte] nobis (*del.*) dimitte *g* | debita] deuita *v² b* | utique] utiquae *e* | non ueraciter] *inu. B L* 235 omnino] cum omnino *m v¹*, omni modo *Goldb. ** | absque] sine *av* 236 X] *om. p¹ p² B av p³ Goldb. **, XI *g*, VIII *es re v¹*, decimo *Bar.* | Fateatur] ut fateatur *w^{p.c.}(ut sup.l.) E B re av p³ v¹ v² b f^{a.c.} H Bar.*, et fateatur *es*, ut fateantur *f^{p.c.}* | liberum] leberum *x^{a.c.}*, liuerum *v²* | si] *om. v¹* | indiget] -eat *Bar.* 237 adiutorio] -ium *w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.}(ut uid.) c* 238 XI] *om. p¹ p² B av p³ Goldb. **, XII *g*, IX *es v¹*, VIII *re*, capitulo XI *f*, undecimo *Bar.* Fateatur] ut fateatur *w^{p.c.}(ut sup.l.) E B re av p³ v¹ v² b f^{a.c.} H Bar.*, et fateatur *es*, ut fateantur *f^{p.c.}* | quando] *om. H* | temptationes] damnationes *H* 239 concupiscentiasque] dimicamus et concupiscentias *o Quesn. Ball.*, concupiscentias quae *f^{a.c.}* | dimicamus] *om. o Quesn. Ball.* | quamuis... habeamus] *om. H Bar.* | habeamus] debeamus *g*, habemus *V* 240 et] *del. x* | et... uoluntatem] *om. Bar.* | tamen... illa] ex propria uoluntate *Bar.* illa] -is *H* | adiutorio dei] *inu. L*

nostram prouenire uictoriam; non enim aliter uerum erit, quod apostolus ait: *Non uolentis neque currentis sed miserentis est dei*;

245 XII. Fateatur secundum gratiam et misericordiam dei ueniam paenitentibus dari, non secundum meritum eorum, quandoquidem etiam ipse paenitentiam donum dei dixit apostolus, ubi ait de quibusdam: *Ne forte det illis deus paenitentiam*.

250 Haec omnia simpliciter sine ullis fateatur ambagibus, si quis in auctoritatem catholicam et ipsius Pelagii expressa ecclesiasticis gestis uerba consentit. Neque enim illa, quae his sunt contraria, ueraciter anathemata esse credendum est, nisi haec, quibus sunt contraria, fide corde teneantur et aperta confessione promantur.

242 Non... 243 dei] Rom 9:16 247 Ne... 248 paenitentiam] 2 Tim 2:25

241 nostram] -a *f^{a.c.} H, om. Bar.* | prouenire uictoriam] *om. E, salutem L non] in marg. e* | non enim] non *B, quia non L* | erit] est *H Bar.*
 242 apostolus] apostolos *v²* | apostolus ait] *inu. c* | Non] neque *c Quesn. Ball.* | uolentis] -es *w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} t a^{a.c.} e^{a.c.} v²* | neque] non *Bar.* | currentis] -es *w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} t a^{a.c.} e^{a.c.}, correntis v²* | sed] sed ut saluemur *L* | miserentis] -etibus *a^{a.c.}, -etis a^{p.c.}, -es e^{a.c.}* 243 dei] -us *B^{a.c.} b* 244 XII] XI *e, om. p¹ p² B av p³ Goldb. *, XIII g, X es re v¹, cap. XII f, duodecimo Bar.* | Fateatur] ut fateatur *w^{p.c.}(ut sup.l.) E B re av p³ v¹ v² b f^{a.c.} H Bar., et fateatur es, ut fateantur f^{p.c.}* | dei] *om. av p³* 245 paenitentibus] petentibus *es av p³ v¹ V* | meritum] -a *H Bar.* 246 quandoquidem] -am *a^{a.c.}, quandumquidem v², quemadmodum Bar.* | etiam] *om. L Quesn.* | ipse] -am *w^{p.c.} o B L f H Bar. Quesn. Ball. Goldb. *, -ae t^{a.c.}* | donum] *om. p¹* | dei] *om. e^{a.c.}*
 247 apostolus] -ulus *x^{a.c.}, -ulos v²* | de] *om. b H Bar.* | quibusdam] *om. H Bar.* | forte] fort& *c^{a.c.}* 249 sine] et sine *f* | ullis] -us *x^{a.c.}, illis B fateatur] -antur p^{3a.c.}* 250 in] contra *Bar.* | auctoritatem] -e *p² c H* | et] & ipsius (*del.*) & *e* | ipsius] in ipsius *Goldb. ** | ipsius... expressa] expressa ipsius pelagii *o Quesn. Ball.* 251 ecclesiasticis] et ecclesiasticis *E* | Neque enim] atque in *Bar.* | quae] que *B* | his] hi *m* 252 ueraciter] ueraciter credit *Bar.* | anathemata] -tizata *a^{p.c.} o L Quesn. Ball., anathemati p¹ p², anathema H Bar.* | esse] est *p¹ p²* | credendum] tenendum *Bar.* | est] *om. p¹ p²* 253 haec] quae *Bar.* | quibus] illis *Bar. sunt] om. r* | sunt contraria] *inu. Bar.* | contraria] illa contraria *o Quesn. Ball., contraria c^{a.c.}* | fide] fido *p² Bar., fideli o Quesn. Ball. Goldb. ** corde] cordae *e, et corde E B L f& sup.l.)* | teneantur] -atur *H* | aperta] ap. [aper] *c* 254 confessione] professione *a e* | promantur] praemantur *H; post promantur: expliciunt capitula in quibus tam christiani dogmatis professio est quam pelagiani errores scelerata inuentio E, amen L*

XVIII. Incipit sacra epistula Constantii imperatoris patris Valentiniani augusti iunioris de exiliando Caelestio haeretico Pelagiano.

Imperator Constantius Volusiano praefecto urbi.

Cum praeteritae superstitionis tunc recentia plena uanitatis 260
iamdudum corrigi iusserimus, quotidianis insinuationibus
maiora fieri nuntiantur; et quoniam discordia animos commouet
populorum, ea quae iamdudum iusseramus praecipimus iterari.
Vnde his lectis eximietas tua omnes qui dei inuidet pietati
diligenter inquirat et eos faciat statim e muris urbis expelli, ita 265
tamen, ne intra centesimum quidem lapidem habeant licentiam
consistendi. Caelestium quoque magis ac magis ex urbe pelli
mandamus. Constat enim iisdem e medio sublatis gratiam et
concordiam tenere ueterem firmitatem. Sane deinceps, si tale
quicquam fuerit nuntiatum, officium praestantiae tuae capitali 270
sententiae subdendum esse cognosce. Non enim patimur
impunitum esse praecepta nostra executionis negligentia
protelari. Vale, parens carissime atque amantissime.
Et adiecta subscriptio: Impleatur quod iussimus, quia hoc
famae tuae expedit. 275

256 XVIII] Cap. XIX o, om. c f Bar., XXVI v², XXVII b, capitulum XIX
Quesn. Ball. | Incipit] incipiunt a^{a.c.} e | Incipit... 258 Pelagiano] om. Bar.
(Constantii edictum contra pelagianos in marg.) | sacra] -o V Constantii]
constanti w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} a e, constantini c V 257 patris] om. V Valentiniani]
valentinaeani e | Caelestio] celestio p^l o b f 259 urbi] -is o V Quesn. Ball.
260 Cum] Cum tum Bar. | praeteritae] -as o Quesn. superstitionis]
superstitutionis e^{a.c.}, superstitiones o f^{a.c.} Quesn. | tunc] tum p^l p² o Bar.
Quesn. | recentia] -es o Quesn., -is Bar. | plena] planas o^{a.c.}, plenas o^{p.c.}
Quesn. 261 iusserimus] -amus c 262 maiora] -es o Quesn., maior Bar. |
nuntiantur] -atur a e^{a.c.} Bar. Drecoll | discordia] - am p^l p² | animos]
amimos w^{a.c.}, animus p^l p² | commouet] -it v² Quesn. Ball. 264 pietati]
uoluntati pietatis f 265 faciat] -iet v² b | faciat statim] inu. o Quesn. Ball. |
e muris] in marg. w, membris x, ex muris o Quesn. Ball., e moris v² 266
ne] ut ne Bar. | centesimum] -us x^{a.c.} 267 Caelestium] caelestinum
e^{p.c.}, celestium p² o b | ac] hac w^{a.c.} | pelli] expelli f Bar. 268 Constat]
constant v² | iisdem e] hiisdem e w, hisdem e x^{a.c.} a^{a.c.} e o b f, hisdem x^{p.c.},
hisde e t c, his de a^{p.c.} p^l p², ihisdem e v², iisdem ex Bar., eisdem e Drecoll
269 tenere] tene a^{a.c.} | si tale] italet v², si talem f^{a.c.} 270 quicquam] qui
quam t, quippiam Bar. | capitali] -e w^{a.c.} c, -is b 271 sententiae] -am f^{a.c.} |
subdendum] subdandum e, suidendum o^{a.c.} | cognosce] -nusce x^{a.c.} e^{a.c.}, -et
Bar. 272 impunitum] impositum e^{a.c.} | nostra] -am v² | negligentia] -ae
p^l 273 Vale] uel v² | parens] pare c^{a.c.}, pater V | atque] & & Bar. 274
adiecta] abiecta f^{a.c.} subscriptio] -ione x^{p.c.} p^l p²

XX. Exemplar edicti propositi a Volusiano praefecto urbi

Volusianus praefectus urbi dixit:

280 Hactenus Caelestium diuinae fidei et quietis publicae
turbatorem iudiciis amica reis secreta subduxerint. Iam leges et
iam edicta persequentur absentem. Cui, quod primum est,
aeternae urbis negatur habitatio, ut, si uel in proximis fuerit
diuersatus, debitum non euadat exitium. Pro merito etiam
285 temeritatis atque ausus sui cunctos huius edicti cautione
praemonemus, ne quis iniquus noxio latebram putet esse
praebendam, cuique cum horridi sit posita poena supplicii ac
stilum necesse sit proscriptionis incurrere, quisquis reum diuinis
humanisque rebus apud se putauerit occultandum.

277 XX] Capitulum XX o *Quesn. Ball.*, om. c *Bar.* | propositi] om. *p¹ p²*
Volusiano] uolusiono o 278 urbi] -is *w^{p.c.} x^{p.c.} p¹ p² o Quesn. Ball.*
279 praefectus urbi] *pū w x t a e c*, praefectus *p¹ p² o Quesn. Ball. Drecoll.*,
praef. V. *Bar.* | dixit] edixit *Quesn. Ball.* 280 Caelestium] celestium o 281
iudiciis] iudicis *a^{a.c.}* | amica reis] *w^{p.c.} x^{p.c.} a^{p.c.} o Bar. Quesn. Ball. Drecoll.*,
amicare his *w^{a.c.} x^{a.c.} t a^{a.c.} e c*, amicare *p¹ p²* | secreta] sacre *p¹*, sacra *p²* |
subduxerint] subdiderunt *p¹ p²*, subduxerunt *Bar.* | leges] -is t 282 edicta]
w^{p.c.} Ball. Drecoll., -i *w^{a.c.} x t a e o c Bar.*, -ae *p¹ p² Quesn.* 284 exitium]
suplitium o, supplicium *Quesn.* | merito] x *a^{p.c.} p¹ p² o Bar. Quesn. Ball.*
Drecoll., -a w t *a^{a.c.} e c* 285 cunctos] cunctus *w^{a.c.} x e^{a.c.}*, cinctus *a^{a.c.}*, cunctis
Drecoll 286 iniquus] -o *p¹ p²* | noxio] -us *p¹ p²* 287 praebendam] -hendam
p² | cuique cum] quicumque *p¹ p²*, quippe cum o *Quesn.*, ne cum *Bar.* |
horridi sit] horredi sit *w^{a.c.}*, horrendi sit x o *Quesn.*, horre disit t, horride sit
c, huiusmodi sit *Bar.* | supplicii] -ium *Bar.* 288 proscriptionis] eum
proscriptionis o (eum *sup.l.*) *Quesn.* 289 rebus] legibus *Bar.* | occultandum]
occultendum e, esse occultandum o *Quesn.*

Translation

XIII. Begins the sacred rescript sent after the reports of the aforementioned synod were received.⁸⁹

Commanders Honorius and Theodosius, emperors, to Palladius, praetorian prefect.

Through a widespread rumour we have acknowledged that a new craftiness suddenly emerged, which aims to disturb the light of Catholic simplicity, that always shines in pure splendour; this opinion, obscured by lies of a misleading knowing, and involved so greatly in a furious struggle, had attracted the stable peace of the heavenly faith, as it commends the discovery of a new crime, convinced that to agree with all is a clear sign of usefulness to the people, and that to tear down what is publicly approved would be the glorious mark of a singular wisdom. It became apparent that Pelagius and Caelestius are the instigators of this impious teaching.

They assign to the father of all things, God, with his everlasting eminent majesty, potent without end, who proceeds beyond the very beginning, such a fierce harshness of a savage will, that, when He took up the task of creation in shaping the world, and when He, in the profound creative act of His spirit, pondered on the quality of the man who was to be made, gave preference to the beginning of His created work over its faith,⁹⁰ and sent death ahead to he who was to be born.⁹¹ And they claim that this death did not flow forth from the snares of the forbidden sin, but that the law of an unchangeable decision had entirely put it in motion. They claim that restraint from wrongdoing was of no use whatsoever in preventing the course of the ruinous death. The power of this death is assumed to be arranged in such a way that it cannot be abolished later. They claim the error of the first-born man, in whom the reasonless blindness of a captive mind entered, was not passed on to his descendants, but that the transgression of the forbidden distinction only pertained to him, whom a calamitous

⁸⁹ The legal dossier was likely compiled in an ecclesiastical context in North Africa. See V.H. Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier", p. 257-268. The composers of the dossier interpreted the imperial legislation against Pelagius and Caelestius within their own frame of reference. Thus this dossier contains a blend of authentic legal elements (in this document, for example, Emperor Honorius, nominally together with his colleague Theodosius, directing a letter to the praetorian prefect Palladius) and details that most likely drew from the minds of the North African compilers. In this case, the imperial letter to Palladius is interpreted as a rescript, prompted by an earlier synod. The synod referred to is that of the preceding document XIII, namely the council of Carthage. This council, however, is dated to May 1, one day after the letter of Honorius (April 30). On the genre of a rescript, see Peter Riedlberger, *Prolegomena zu den spätantiken Konstitutionen: Nebst einer Analyse der erbrechtlichen und verwandten Sanktionen gegen Heterodoxe*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzboog, 2020, p. 27-40. The contents of Honorius' letter do indicate Honorius was familiar with the tenets of Pelagius' teaching, or at least with the way his opponents portrayed them. Honorius was possibly informed of the epistolary correspondence between the Africans and Innocent. See O. Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius*, p. 199-200.

⁹⁰ Alternatively, "he preferred a foul beginning (*foedum ... exordium*) for the produced work" (trans. P.R. Coleman-Norton, *Roman State & Christian Church: A Collection of Legal Documents to A.D. 535*, London: SPCK, 1966, vol. 2, p. 582). See also the discussion on *fidei* in the notes.

⁹¹ This paragraph summarizes the creation theology imputed to Pelagius and Caelestius. It frequently references the creation narratives of Genesis. The criticism against Pelagius concerns following points: God had created Adam as mortal (lines 19-22); Adam's decisions could not prevent death (l. 22-24); Adam's sin did not transfer to the rest of mankind (l. 25-28). By contrast, the 'Catholic' position, defended by the African bishops, Innocent of Rome, and Honorius, was that Adam was created immortal, lost his immortality because he sinned, and contaminated later mankind, who share in Adam's sin and mortality.

enticement of a seductive charm seized.⁹² They claim this, even though the clear authority of the catholic law unequivocally testifies that he was the entrance of death to all, of whom it was clear that he had broken the careful commandment of the divine instruction.⁹³ And they claim so much more, which public speech rejects, and the law refutes. It would be cumbersome to recall them all, even if it would serve the arrangement of a punishment.

It is necessary to put a halt to these teachings with a fitting remedy and quickness, to prevent that young men, having become thoroughly acquainted with wickedness, can barely be contained. For indeed a recent rumour reached the ears of our clemency that in our most sacred city and in other places a pestilent disease was implanted in the hearts of some in such a way, that, the path of a straight belief being broken, and the zeal for asserting being scattered in different fractions, a cause for a warlike discord was brought in, and that, now tinder has been kindled by a new scandal, the challenged peace requests actions from the most blessed church towards those who, in a reckless interpretation, follow a different way; the absolute clarity of the church's sacred leaders requests so too, while clearly explaining what all should follow instead of being held captive by this changeable ingenuity, to those who ponder the profane matter of these new audacious ventures, Palladius, dearest and most beloved father.

For this reason may your clear authority recognize that we formulated, in a law that is to prevail for ever, that, after first the leaders of this horrible teaching are expelled from the city, namely Caelestius and Pelagius, if otherwise any follower of this sacrilege can be found, in no matter which place, or if they would deliver any speech again, stemming forth from the condemned evil, let them, seized by no matter who, be brought to a valid judge. And let there be a license for anyone, whether he be a member of the clergy or a layman, to carry them away, and to urge them, even without a formal legal pretext, those who he would catch, all light of common knowledge being removed, to introduce the darkness of this new teaching, fighting against the apostolic rule and the evangelical judgement, clear and without error, with the artful callousness of an uncultivated sect, and obscuring the splendid faith of truth by discussing ambiguities. Thus, we command that they, who induce anything from this so disgraceful crime, when they are found, no matter where no matter by whom, are to be captured and, being brought to a public hearing, to be accused by all without distinction, so that a public verdict can pursue the trial of the exposed crime, with the perpetrators themselves being condemned with the deportation of an unwanted exile.

For it is fitting that the cause of a misstep is hunted down by a public assembly, and that they cannot be in public fame, who not only should be hated because of their evil deed, but who on behalf of their example of a poisoned spirit, should be avoided. May however it be of help to divulge, throughout practically our whole empire, through which the world extends, announcements of this kind, to prevent that perchance a concealing of knowing could offer a fertile ground to error, and that anyone could think it goes unpunished to dare to do what, being condemned by public force, he pretends not to know.

Sent April 30 at Ravenna, our lords and emperors Honorius, consul for the twelfth time, and Theodosius, consul for the eighth time [418].

⁹² See Gen. 2:17, where Adam is forbidden to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Some ancient commentators specify this knowledge as the knowledge of distinction between good and evil. See, for example, Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* II,12 (ed. D. Weber, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* [CSEL 91], Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW, p. 130, l. 30): *et ideo lignum dinoscentiae boni et mali dicitur*.

⁹³ An important biblical source for this statement is Rom. 5:12.

XV. Begins the exemplar of the edict.

Junius Quartus Palladius, Monaxius, and Agricola (for the second time), praetorian prefects, stated the following.

Against Pelagius and Caelestius, who destroy the faith of Catholic teaching with sinister discussions, the imperial opinion glows in anger, so that they, being removed from the venerable city, will be punished by a council of good men. It is fitting thus that all be admonished by this edict, to prevent that anyone would offer a credulous assent to the errors of this evil opinion. And, whether he be a layperson⁹⁴ or a member of the clergy, who would have fallen in the disgrace of this obscurity, he will, seized by no matter who to a judge, without the decision of a designated accuser, stripped of possessions by a public declaration of his goods, undergo an irrevocable exile. For, just like the higher majesty gathers reverence from want of knowledge towards the mystery, He gathers insult from foolishness in a dispute.

The exemplar of the edict proposed.

XVI. Begins the imperial letter to Aurelius, bishop of Carthage

Commanders Honorius and Theodosius, emperors, greet bishop Aurelius.

A long time already it was determined that Pelagius and Caelestius, inventors of an evil teaching, would be driven from the city of Rome as some contagious pests to the Catholic welfare, to prevent that they would corrupt the minds of the unknowing with their sinister conviction. Herein our clemency followed the judgment of your sanctity, by which it is agreed that they are condemned by all, after a just examination of their opinion. Yet, because the stubborn evil of the obstinate crime demands that the decision would be doubled, we too have announced with a recent decree, that, if anyone, not unknowing that they are hidden in any part whatsoever of the provinces, either delays to drive them out or to report them, he will undergo the prescribed punishment as if he were complicit.

Yet, mostly in order to correct the obstinacy of some bishops, who either confirm the depraved discussions of those in a silent agreement or not destroy these by public opposition, my dearest and most beloved father, it will be fitting that the authority of your sanctity admonishes, so that the Christian conviction of all will agree in the abolition of the perverted heresy. And so your religion will put into motion, with accompanying writings, that everyone will be exhorted, so they will know by declaration of your sanctimony, that this declaration [of ours] is related to them as well, so that whoever would neglect, with impious stubbornness, to support the condemnation of the aforementioned – may a pure mind be open to this – will, harmed by the loss of their episcopal office, driven from their cities,⁹⁵ be deprived from communion, forbidden to them for eternity. For, since we ourselves, in accordance with the synod of Nicea, with sincere faith venerate God, the creator of all things and the director of our empire, your sanctity will not allow that people of a detestable sect, who consider new and unusual thoughts to the harm of religion, with their hidden discussions conceal their sacrilege, which had already been condemned once through public authority. For it is one and the same guilt to those who either by concealing assistance or by not condemning carry out a dangerous favour.

⁹⁴ Litt. 'plebeian'. The edict contains the term *plebeius* instead of *laicus* (cf. l. 53: *siue clericus siue laicus*), likely in order to attain a better prose rhythm (*plebeius aut clericus*: dcretic and tardus).

⁹⁵ Perhaps, more specifically applied to bishops: their dioceses.

And with another hand: May the divinity preserve you unharmed through many years, my dearest and most beloved father.

Sent June 9, at Ravenna.

In the same way sent to the blessed bishop Augustine as well.

XVII. Begins the letter by blessed bishop Aurelius to all bishops established through the provinces Byzacena and Arzugitana, on the condemnation of Pelagius and Caelestius.

To his dearest and most desirable brothers and fellow bishops, Donatianus of the first see, Januarianus, Felix, Palatinus, Primianus, Gaianus and the other Gaianus, Januarius, Victorinus, and the others who are ordained along the extent of the province of Byzacena and of Arzugitana, bishop Aurelius.

Your blessed love remembers to have participated in a plenary council about the condemnation of Caelestius and Pelagius, and their teaching, my dearest and most desirable brothers. Yet, because, for the honour of God, in whose hand the heart of the king is established, the authority of the most glorious Christian rulers, who protect the true and Catholic faith, is added. This authority he⁹⁶ wished to share through my humility with all my fellow bishops, and therefore I hurried to instruct your honourable brotherhood, with the sending of copies, to prevent that in any part whatsoever of the province the serpent-like opinion of the aforementioned, excluded from the whole earth by the universal church, may perhaps still creep. The decision of the Christian rulers, which for this reason was so necessary, could not be kept hidden from your love, and neither could the letter, sent to me by them. As soon as you will have read in the exemplars of this letter in which way anyone of you should subscribe to them, may your love recognize, of whom either the subscription is already contained in the synodal reports, or whether you were unable to have participated at the same plenary council of the whole of Africa, that, because the signature of all of you was included on the condemnation of the aforementioned heretics, there should on the whole be nothing on the basis of which any suspicion could rightly seem to have remained, be it a suspicion of any sort of concealment, or of neglect, or of perhaps a hidden wickedness.

And with another hand: I wish, brothers, that you live well, mindful of me.

Sent on the Kalends of August in Carthage, Monaxius and Plinta being consuls [419].

XVIII. Begin the theses excerpted from the accounts held against the heretic Pelagius and other matters from his books, which, when presented to him in the synod in Palestine, he was forced to anathemize.

[For a translation of this text, see R. Teske, *Letters 156-210 (Epistulae)*, p. 223-225.]

⁹⁶ Alternatively, "I". See the discussion on *uoluit* below (145).

XVIII. Begins the sacred letter of commander Constantius,⁹⁷ father of emperor Valentinian the younger, on the exile of Caelestius, Pelagian heretic.

Commander Constantius to urban prefect Volusian.

Even though we long ago ordered the then-recent teachings, full of vanity, of the past superstition to be corrected, in daily rumours they are announced to become more considerable; and because discord disturbs the minds of the people, what we long ago had ordered, we prescribe now to be repeated. Hence, these commandments being read, may your excellence diligently interrogate all who cast an evil eye towards piety to God, and make that they are immediately expelled from the walls of the city, in such a way however, that they have no license to stay within not even a hundred milestones distance. We order more and more that Caelestius too is driven from the city. For it is certain, when these are removed from the centre, that grace and concord retain their old firmness. Finally, of course, if any such thing would be announced, know that the office of your eminence is to be subjected to the capital sentence. For we do not allow it to go unpunished that our instructions be held back because of neglect of execution. Fare well, dearest and most beloved father.

And the subscription added: May be fulfilled what we ordered, for it would benefit your fame.

XX. Exemplar of the edict, proposed by Volusian, urban prefect.

Volusian, urban prefect, said:

Thus far hiding-places, kind to the guilty, have hidden Caelestius, disturber of the divine faith and public peace, from judgment. Already laws and already edicts pursue him who remains hidden. To him, which is the first stipulation, living in the eternal city must be denied, so that, if he would stay even in the vicinity, he may not evade his necessary end. On the basis of his recklessness and audacity too, we admonish all with the heedfulness of this edict, to prevent that an unjust person would think shelter should be given to this harmful individual, and that, since the proposed punishment is that of horrifying death, it would also be necessary that the verdict of proscription would befall whoever would believe that someone, guilty in matters divine and human, would need to be hidden near him.

Notes

Numbers between brackets refer to line numbers of the edition.

adtretauerat (9)

The archetype text of the relative clause *quae ... fidei* (7-10) is problematic for two reasons. First, it lacks a finite verb. This problem can be solved if one assumes an ellipsis of *est*. Second, the clausula of this relative clause is, in its archetype reading *adtrectare fidei*. This rhythm is highly undesirable (accentual medius with metrical spondee-paeon4).

⁹⁷ This rubric and the following inscription are most likely spurious. Constantius was emperor in 421, whereas Volusian was urban prefect of Rome in 418. The subsequent document in the dossier is also attributed to Volusian, so most likely the attribution to Constantius is false. In 418, Constantius was already married to Honorius' sister Galla Placidia, but held no formal office on the basis of which he could order a prefect to issue an edict.

Quesnel, following *o*, applied the following adjustments: an insertion of *est* and an insertion of *ut* (in order to correspond to expectations set by the preceding adverbial *tantum*). As a result, Quesnel (with *o*) adjusted *adirectare* to the subjunctive *adirectaret*. Baronius, conversely, inserted an auxiliary verb *conatur* here. Although these suggestions improve the syntax, the clausula remains suspect. I propose the adjustment *adirectauerat* here, so it forms, together with *fidei*, a desirable clausula according to *cursus mixtus* standards (tardus with cretic-tribrach). Simultaneously, this adjustment would also give the relative clause a finite verb.

commendat inuentum (10)

The archetype reading, *dum noui criminis commendati uenti*, is highly problematic. It contains an unusual stacking of genitives, and the *dum*-clause lacks a finite verb. I have followed the Ballerini conjecture here (*commendat inuentum*), as it corrects the archetype reading minimally, in a way that can explain how the archetype reading originated. Perhaps at one point the infix *in-*, written as *i* or *ī*, was mistakenly read as the suffix of the preceding word (compare *commendat inuentum* to *commendati uentum*). Subsequently, if we follow this reconstruction, *uentum* may have been adjusted to the preceding *commendati*.

potenti omne (16)

The archetype reading seems to be *potenti omni*. I have chosen for the reading *potenti omne* here, instead of *omnipotenti*. The difference between the archetype reading and the reading I propose consists of one letter, namely an *e* instead of an *i*. Many archetype errors have their origin in a confusion of *i* and *e*. The alternative solution, namely *omnipotenti* (cf. *o Bar. Quesn. Ball.*), seems unlikely to me, precisely because it is such a common expression, and therefore unlikely to have been adjusted to a more unusual phrasing.

fidei (20)

The archetype reading is *fundati muneris fidei anteferret exordium* (19-20). This reading parallels common anti-Pelagian argument.⁹⁸ Pelagians are accused of believing that mankind shares its condition with that of Adam before the fall (1), in that both have a free will fully capable of choosing between good or evil (2), and mortality (3).⁹⁹ Especially this latest point gets emphasized in this passage. Pelagius and Caelestius assign a cruel will (l. 17: *saevae uoluntatis*) to God, who intended Adam to die (l. 20-21: *mortem praemitteret nascituro*); Adam's death was not caused by his sin (l. 21: *non hanc [mortem] insidiis uetiti fluxisse peccati*), and could not have been averted by obeying God's commandment and abstaining from the sin (l. 22-23: *ad declinandum leti exitialis incursum nihil prodesse abstinentiam delinquendi*). Adam's death was intended from the start, and could not have been prevented (l. 23-24: *cuius ita uis putaretur adscripta, ut non possit aboleri deinceps*). These ideas were rejected by the opponents of Pelagius, namely the African church and afterwards bishop Innocent of Rome and the imperial court. For these opponents of Pelagius, Adam was not created mortal, but his mortality is the result of his sin; thus, Adam had the capabilities not to sin and not to die. Obedience to God's commandment could have prevented his death,

⁹⁸ See also V.H. Drecoll, "The Anti-Pelagian Dossier", p. 263-264.

⁹⁹ See also the summary of Pelagian and anti-Pelagian theses of XVIII. On sharing the nature of Adam, see theses II-III (178-184) and their Catholic counterparts (210-217); on the mortal nature of Adam, see thesis I (176-177; counterpart in 209); on the capabilities of the free will, without the aid of God, see thesis X (195-197; counterpart in 236-237).

as death was God's just punishment for Adam's sin. God's cruelty (l. 17: *trucem inclementiam saevae uoluntatis*), explained in this paragraph, could then be briefly summarized in the sentence *fidei anteferet exordium*. For (the Pelagian) God, the beginning of his created work – Adam's condition at the point of creation – has priority over Adam's faith – whether or not he would have trespassed – in determining whether and why Adam would die. The remainder of the paragraph further explains this argument.

An alternative reading is *foedum*, proposed by *o* and accepted by previous editors. The content of the argument would remain mostly the same, and the phrase would then read as follows: "He devised a horrible beginning for his created work".

malesuadae (27)

The archetype reading seems to be *male suadet*. However, the finite verb *suadet* results in an unusual asyndetic sequence of two finite verbs. An evident correction would be to adjust *male suadet* to an adjective *malesuadae*, with *p² o* and the editors Quesnel and the Ballerini, as supplement to *gratiae*. The term *gratia* has to be understood as "charm", and not as the theological term "grace".

pertaesum sit (32)

The archetype reading was likely *perpetu(a)e sumpsit*. The correction *pertaesum sit*, suggested in *o* and accepted by Quesnel and the Ballerini, may be preferable. This reading could also explain how the current archetype reading originated. The reading *sumpsit* may have resulted from a misreading of *sum* and *sit*. Because of that misreading, the preceding *pertae-* was understood as a separate word, and completed to the existing, and quite common, word *perpetuae*. This this hypothetical reconstruction, the phrase *pertaesumsit* was first read as *pertaesumpsit*, which would then have been reinterpreted as *perpetuae sumpsit*.

pro captu ... quaestionem (44-45)

In this larger phrase, I have corrected two archetype readings. The first is the adjustment from *capto* to *captu*, as *pro captu* is more idiomatic. A second is the correction from probably archetypal *aut suum* to *ausuum*. Perhaps in the latter instance a scribe misread *ausuum* as two separate words, *au* as an abbreviated form of *aut*, and *suum* as a separate word. However, the adjective *suum* does not refer to any noun in the phrase. Some manuscripts therefore have the reading *suam*, which, however, does not solve the syntax in this sentence either.

praefecti praetorio (78)

The archetype reading seems to have been *praefecto praetorio*. This form may have come from an abbreviation such as *pp*. In the archetype, this abbreviation was completed to form a dative, to express the recipient of the text. However, Palladius, Monaxius, and Agricola are praetorian prefects (see also l. 3-4 for Palladius), who together issue an edict.¹⁰⁰ Thus, instead of the dative singular *praefecto*, we must have a nominative plural here.

¹⁰⁰ On these prefects, see John R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire 2: A.D. 395-527*, Cambridge: CUP, 1980, p. 822-824 (Fl. Iunius Quartus Palladius 19), p. 764-765 (Fl. Monaxius), and p. 36-37 (Agricola 1). See also Denis Feissel, "Praefatio chartarum publicarum: L'intitulé des actes de la préfecture du prétoire du IV au VIe siècle", in D. Feissel, *Documents, droit, diplomatique de l'Empire romain tardif* (Bilans de recherche 7), Paris: ACHCByz, 2010, 399-428, p. 413-414 and p. 427.

dixerunt. In (78-79)

At this juncture, two textual problems coincide, and these problems may have had a common origin. The archetype reading has *dixerit* here. In that same archetype reading, it is unclear what the syntactical function of the accusatives *Pelagium atque Caelestium ... destruentes* is. For this second problem, some manuscripts and editors propose to insert a preposition, such as *in*, *contra*, or *aduersus*. The archetype reading *dixerit* may point to the direction of *in*. This preposition, possibly abbreviated as \bar{i} , could have been misread by a scribe, who read it as the suffix of the preceding verb, possibly also with an abbreviation marker (compare *dixe \bar{r} i* to *dixerit*). It has to be noted in this regard, that, contrary to modern editions, the early manuscripts did not separate the inscription of the edict (*Iunius ... dixerunt*) from the main text of the edict, but that the text of these two sections continued on the same line.

destruentes (80)

Although the archetype reading may have been *distruentis*, the accusative plural *destruentes* seems much better here than a genitive singular *destruentis*. It is unlikely that the authors intended to use an archaic accusative plural on *-is*. The archetype reading would have then originated from a double confusion of *i* and *e*.

aut (84)

With *plebeius* and *clericus*, the authors seemingly reiterate the distinction made in the preceding imperial letter by (l. 53: *Quos siue clericus siue laicus fuerit*). In that regard, the connector *aut* may be preferable over *ac*, even though the latter was probably the archetype reading. Perhaps the reading *ac* originated from an originally abbreviated form for *aut* (cf. \hat{a} or \hat{a}), in combination with dittography (compare *acclericus* to *acclericus*).

ex ineptia disputationis (88)

The edict closes with a parallelism (*ut ... ita ...*). The archetype reading of the second phrase is *ex ineptae disputationis iniuriam*. In this reading, however, there is no noun in the ablative that belongs to the preposition *ex*. Manuscript *o* provides the noun *praesumptione* after *disputationis*, but that solution is not ideal. The clausula *disputationis iniuriam* is a tardus with dicretic, which accords perfectly to the norms of the *cursus mixtus*. Conversely, an ablative in this position in the sentence (*praesumptione iniuriam*) would result in an undesirable clausula (medius with spondee-cretic), and an elision, which authors of imperial constitutions seem to avoid (cf. the preceding *ignoratione reuerentiam*). For that reason, I adjusted the adjective *ineptae* to the noun *ineptia*. Perhaps the archetype reading was due to a misreading of *ineptia* – possibly through an intermediary form *inepta* – which was harmonized with the following *disputationis*.

Prop. exemp. edicti (89)

The archetype reading seems to be *prop. exemp. edictum*. What is meant with the abbreviation is most likely *propositum* (or *proponitur*) *exemplar* (cf. l. 76 or l. 277). What should follow then is the genitive *edicti*.

pellenterentur (97)

The archetype reading may have been *appellentur*. However, for two reasons, that reading is not ideal. First, the clausula is better with a suffix on *-erentur*: compare *contagia pellerentur* (uelox with ditrochee) with *contagia appellantur* (trispondaic with

dispondee). Secondly, the verb *pello* is much more suited to this context than *appello*. Perhaps the reading *appellerentur* was caused by dittography (compare *contagiapellerentur* with *contagiaappellerentur*) and/or because a scribe added the notion *ab*, already present in the expression *ab urbe Roma* (l. 96), to the verb *pellerentur*, in an attempt to emphasize its meaning.¹⁰¹

quo (99)

Most manuscripts give *quos* here. Nevertheless, *quo* must be more correct. The accusative *quos* does not have a function in the relative clause (*eos* already fulfils that function), and the antecedent is probably *iudicium*.

auctoritatem (109)

Many good manuscripts offer the reading *auctoritate*, but *auctoritatem* functions better as the subject of an *AcI* construction. Confusion between -e and -em at the end of a word (or, similarly, -a or -am) is very common.

monere (110)

The archetype reading appears to be *manere*. Some witnesses read *monere*. The manuscripts of *V* and *H*, conversely, give *cauere*. The reading *monere* is perhaps best here, as it is close to the archetype reading (a confusion between a and o is possible), and parallels of a construction *monere*, followed by *quatenus*, are attested.¹⁰²

uoluit (145)

The archetype reading *uoluit* seems, on grounds of prose rhythm, preferable over *uolui*. In terms of syntax, the third person singular is somewhat unexpected, but most likely refers to Emperor Honorius.

Cum (260)

Some editors read *Quae cum* instead of *quae*. This reading was first introduced by Jean Garnier, who did not have any manuscript support for his reading. Garnier's reading was retained in several later editions, most recently by Hänel. However, it is not necessary to add this relative pronoun, if one understands either adjectives *recentia* or *plena* as substantivized.

amica reis (281)

Many manuscripts read *amicare his* here, which may be the archetype reading. That archetype reading is quite unintelligible, and likely corrupt. The most simple solution is provided by several manuscripts, and accepted by all previous editors, and that is a phrasing without h and a different word division. These adjustments result in the reading *amica reis*. Perhaps a scribe mistakenly inserted an h between e and i, and thus caused the archetype error.

¹⁰¹ It should be noted, however, that *appellerentur* comes from *ad-pello*, not *ab-pello*. See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae II*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1901-1906, c. 275-276.

¹⁰² E.g., *Nou. Iust.* 132, ed. Rudolfus Schoell, Guilelmus Kroll, *Corpus Iuris Ciuilis*, vol. III: *Nouellae*, Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1895, p. 665, l. 21-23: *per praesens nostrum edictum monere eos qui tales sunt, quatenus et ipsi recedant ab haeretica uesania*; *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* V,17,2, ed. R. Hanslik, *Cassiodorus – Epiphanius, Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* (CSEL 71), Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1952, p. 237, l. 8: *euocantes te moneremus, quatenus ...*

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