

Augustinus  
**De Musica**

# **Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (CSEL)**

---

Herausgegeben von der Arbeitsgruppe CSEL  
an der Universität Salzburg

## **Band 102**

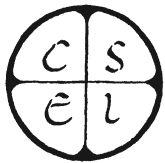
Augustinus

# De Musica

---

Edited by Martin Jacobsson

Introduction by Martin Jacobsson and Lukas J. Dorfbauer



**DE GRUYTER**

**International Advisory Board:**

François Dolbeau, Roger Green, Rainer Jakobi, Robert Kaster, Ernst A. Schmidt, Danuta Shanzer, Kurt Smolak, Michael Winterbottom

Zur Erstellung der Edition wurde das Programm CLASSICAL TEXT EDITOR verwendet.

ISBN 978-3-11-046965-3

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-047146-5

ISSN 1816-3882

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

**Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2017 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston

Druck und Bindung: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

☺ Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier

Printed in Germany

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

## Acknowledgements

The work on this edition began in 1995, when my supervisor, Monika Asztalos, suggested that I prepare a critical edition of the sixth book of the *De musica*: without her supervision there would not have been any dissertation. At that time, Patrick Le Bœuf was planning to edit the whole text, but he generously left the sixth book to me and gave me access to his dissertation and an unpublished article on the *De musica*. I am very grateful to him for his generosity and help at various stages of my work. The edition of the sixth book was published as part of my dissertation in 2002. In 2003, I received a grant from the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) for an edition of the remaining five books to be published together with a revised version of the sixth book in the CSEL series. During the years 2003–2007, I was able to discuss the edition with Hildegund Müller and received much helpful advice for the constitution of the text. It was more or less finished in 2007, when I left the university and the work came to a standstill. This state of affairs lasted until 2011, when Lukas J. Dorfbauer was entrusted with the task of bringing the work to completion by preparing the edition for publication. In addition to the technical work involved with the edition, he also made many valuable contributions to the text and punctuation according to the CSEL standards, rendering the edition more accessible. Lukas also took upon himself to rework the introduction as well as contributing substantial material of his own regarding the manuscript tradition and the history of the text. He also added the indexes and reworked the bibliography. I am sincerely grateful to him.

My thanks are also due to Dorothea Weber, who has guided the work with a steady and supportive hand and has shown great patience too. Clemens Weidmann very kindly perused the whole work at a late stage and made several valuable contributions, for which I am very grateful. Thanks are due to Victoria Zimmerl-Panagl for assisting in proof-reading and in preparing the layout. I also wish to thank Stefan Hagel for generous assistance with the Classical Text Editor (CTE).

Anders Piltz was the faculty referee of my dissertation and made a number of suggestions regarding the sixth book, which were very valuable for this edition. Erik Bohlin contributed thoughts and conjectures in seminars.

Trygve Göransson was always ready to advise and help, and I am sure he saved me from many a blunder. I am very sorry he did not live to see this book in print.

I wish to thank Oliver Norris for checking the English of the introduction.

For many years, my closest colleague was and is, once again, Christina Thomsen Thörnqvist. Very few things, philological or other, have not at some point been a matter of discussion between us. I have received much sound advice from her as well as support when dealing with difficulties of different kinds. It has all been very much appreciated and I wish to express my sincere gratitude.

I was kindly received at the following libraries: Biblioteca Capitolare, Ivrea; Archivio Capitolare, Vercelli; Biblioteca Sacro Convento, Assisi; Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; Bibliothèque Municipale, Tours; Bibliothèque Municipale, Angers; Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano, where I was granted access to the manuscripts and received all help necessary. The visits to the libraries were made possible by generous support by the Harald och Tonny Hagendahls minnesfond.

During all these years, my parents, Margaretha and Ragnar, have been a constant source of support and generosity, and without the foundation laid by them, my studies and my work at the university would have been pointless. I am most grateful to them. For all they had to listen to about this book, it is only fair that I dedicate it to them.

My sister, Magdalena, and my brother-in-law, Luca, have given all possible support and help. They have constantly encouraged me, and Luca has proved to be very helpful in things Italian, which may come in handy when one wishes to access a manuscript or a library.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to David. Already when I wrote my dissertation he was a firm and constant support. He has remained so over the years, and without him, there would have been no travel to visit libraries, most probably no book at all, and, actually, a pretty dreary life. I am very lucky to have him in my life.

Martin Jacobsson

# Table of Contents

## Acknowledgements — V

**Introduction** (chapters 1, 2.1–2.7, and 2.10–2.11 by Martin Jacobsson and Lukas J. Dorfbauer; chapters 2.8–2.9 by Lukas J. Dorfbauer)

## **1 The time-frame and circumstances of the composition of the *De musica* — 1**

## **2 The transmission of the text — 10**

- 2.1 Manuscripts containing the full work or single full books — **11**
- 2.2 Fragmentary manuscripts. Excerpts. Abridgements, adaptations, and some early indirect witnesses — **14**
- 2.3 The interrelations of the manuscripts — **21**
- 2.4 Family  $\alpha$  (*C E G I J K S T U W Y Yf Za*) — **23**
  - 2.4.1 Branch *I K* — **24**
  - 2.4.2 Branch  $\beta$  (*C E S T U W Y Yf Za*) — **25**
    - 2.4.2.1 Branch  $\gamma$  (*C E*) — **26**
    - 2.4.2.2 Branch  $\delta$  (*S T U W Y Yf Za*) — **27**
  - 2.4.3 Manuscript *G* — **28**
  - 2.4.4 Manuscript *J* — **28**
- 2.5 Family  $\zeta$  (*A B D F H L M N Yc*) — **29**
  - 2.5.1 Branch *B H* — **30**
  - 2.5.2 Branch  $\iota$  (*A F*) — **31**
  - 2.5.3 Branch  $\eta$  (*D L N Yc*) — **33**
  - 2.5.4 Manuscript *M* — **34**
- 2.6 Late manuscripts containing the sixth book only – Manuscript *Na* — **35**
- 2.7 The old prints of Augustine’s *De musica* — **36**
- 2.8 Fragmentary manuscripts, lost manuscripts, and early indirect witnesses, up to the 11th century — **38**
  - 2.8.1 The fragment preserved in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 1395 — **38**
  - 2.8.2 The excerpt *De rhythmo* preserved in Paris, BNF lat. 7530 — **39**
  - 2.8.3 The Cassiodorus florilegium — **40**
  - 2.8.4 The *Praecepta artis musicae* Augustini — **42**
  - 2.8.5 Manuscripts attested in Carolingian library catalogues — **44**
  - 2.8.6 Sedulius Scotus — **45**
  - 2.8.7 John Scotus Eriugena — **47**
  - 2.8.8 The *Expositiunculae* in libros beati Augustini de musica — **48**
  - 2.8.9 A Carolingian manuscript once at Metz — **50**

2.8.10	The fragment preserved in Paris, BNF lat. 6184 —	<b>50</b>
2.8.11	The fragment München, Bayerische Staatsbibl. clm 29382/2 —	<b>52</b>
2.9	A short survey of the reception of the <i>De musica</i> up to the Carolingian age —	<b>53</b>
2.10	Stemma codicum —	<b>56</b>
2.11	Editorial principles. The critical apparatus —	<b>58</b>
2.11.1	Apparatus fontium et locorum similium. Metrical apparatus —	<b>58</b>
2.11.2	Chapter division —	<b>59</b>
2.11.3	Orthography and punctuation —	<b>60</b>
2.11.4	The designation of the dialogue's interlocutors —	<b>61</b>

**Bibliography — 63**

**Conspectus siglorum — 66**

**Text: Augustini *De musica***

Liber primus —	<b>69</b>
Liber secundus —	<b>95</b>
Liber tertius —	<b>117</b>
Liber quartus —	<b>135</b>
Liber quintus —	<b>169</b>
Liber sextus —	<b>193</b>

**Indices — 234**



# Introduction<sup>1</sup>

## 1 The time-frame and circumstances of the composition of the *De musica*

In 383, having abandoned Manicheism and hoping for a successful career, Augustine left Carthage for Rome. In 384, he was appointed professor of rhetoric in Milan, where he met Ambrose and encountered the philosophical tradition that now is known as Neoplatonism in a Christian shape. In 386, Augustine's famous conversion took place, and he left Milan for Cassiciacum, where he spent his time together with some friends who shared his interest in philosophy. It was there that he wrote the treatises *Contra Academicos*, *De beata uita*, *De ordine* and the *Soliloquia*.<sup>2</sup> In 387, he returned to Milan to be baptised by Ambrose, and, while waiting to be baptised, he wrote the *De immortalitate animae* and began working on the *Disciplinarum libri*, of which he finished a treatise, *De grammatica*.<sup>3</sup> Once baptised, Augustine planned to return to Africa, where he wished to live quietly together with his mother, his son and some friends equally dedicated to philosophy and theology. However, due to a blockade of the harbours of Rome, they had to wait in Ostia, where Augustine's mother died. He then returned to Rome for several months, where he wrote the treatises *De quantitate animae*, *De libero arbitrio* (book 1), and *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum*. In late 388, it was finally possible for Augustine to travel to Carthage. From there he proceeded to Thagaste, where he lived until 391, when he left for Hippo to found a monastic community whose members were to dedicate themselves to prayer and the study of the Scriptures.

During these years, a change took place in Augustine's mind in regard to the importance of the *artes liberales*. In the *De ordine* of 386, they had been considered necessary for attaining true happiness.<sup>4</sup> Some years later, this was no longer his opinion. It has been a matter of controversy whether the preface of the sixth book of the *De musica*, or perhaps an even larger portion of the book, can be used as evidence of this change of mind, and whether the sixth book, either in its entirety or at least in parts, could have been written at the same time as the first five books. What

---

<sup>1</sup> Some parts of the present introduction are revised versions of the relevant sections in JACOBSSON, *De musica*. For a first overview of Augustine's *De musica* one may consult HENTSCHEL, *De musica*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aug. retract. 1,1–4. On all the dates given here one may consult PERLER – MAIER, *Les voyages*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aug. retract. 1,5sq.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. ord. 2,9,26: *Qui autem sola auctoritate contenti bonis tantum moribus rectisque uotis constanter operam dederint aut contemnentes aut non ualentes disciplinis liberalibus atque optimis erudiri, beatos eos quidem, cum inter homines uiuunt, nescio quo modo appellem*. For a general survey of the *artes liberales* and philosophy in Antiquity cf. HADOT, *Arts libéraux*.

appears clear is that Augustine would hardly have spent so much time and effort on writing a treatise dedicated to one of the *artes liberales*, or would have planned a whole series of works on the other *artes*, had he not thought highly of them when he began his work.<sup>5</sup> However, Augustine's appraisal of the subject seems to be different in books 1–5 than in the preface to book 6 of the *De musica*, and it is a fact acknowledged by himself that his appreciation of the *artes liberales* diminished over the years.<sup>6</sup>

What do we know for certain about the date and composition of the *De musica*? First, it is clear that the single books were written over a longer period of time, as Augustine says in his *Retractationes*:

*Per idem tempus, quo Mediolani fui baptismum percepturus, etiam disciplinarum libros conatus sum scribere ... Sed earum solum de grammatica librum absolute potui, quem postea de armario nostro perdidit, et de musica sex uolumina, quantum attinet ad eam partem, quae rithmus uocatur. Sed eosdem sex libros iam baptizatus iamque ex Italia regressus in Africam scripsi, inchoaueram quippe tantummodo istam apud Mediolanium disciplinam. De aliis uero quinque disciplinis illic similiter inchoatis – de dialectica, de rethorica, de geometrica, de arithmetica, de philosophia – sola principia remanserunt, quae tamen etiam ipsa perdidimus; sed haberi ab aliquibus existimo.*<sup>7</sup>

Augustine mentions his early plan to write a treatise on each of the *artes liberales* and the fact that he never realised it.<sup>8</sup> He states that he finished only the *De grammatica* and six books of the *De musica*. He wrote the latter when he had already been baptised and returned to Africa, but he had begun to work on that subject (i.e. on music) earlier, while in Milan.<sup>9</sup> He says nothing about having finished even a

<sup>5</sup> For another view cf. HOLTE, *Béatitude* 364sq. For the importance of music to Augustine cf. BRENNAN, *De musica*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. e.g. *retract.* 1,3,2 (*Verum et in his libris displicet mihi ... quod multum tribui liberalibus disciplinis, quas multi sancti multum nesciunt, quidam etiam qui sciunt eas sancti non sunt*), and, especially, 1,11,1 (*Deinde, ut supra commemorauit, sex libros de musica scripsi, quorum ipse sextus maxime innotuit, quoniam res in eo cognitione digna uersatur, quomodo a corporalibus et spiritalibus sed mutabilibus numeris perueniatur ad immutabiles numeros, qui iam in ipsa sunt immutabili ueritate, et sic inuisibilia dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciantur. Quod qui non possunt et tamen ex fide Christi uiuunt, ad illa certius atque felicius conspicienda post hanc uitam ueniunt. Qui autem possunt, si desit eis fides Christi, qui unus mediator est dei et hominum, cum tota sapientia sua pereunt*).

<sup>7</sup> *Retract.* 1,6.

<sup>8</sup> For a general discussion of Augustine's encyclopedic project, see PIZZANI, *L'enciclopedia Agostiniana*.

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of what might be implied by the phrase *apud Mediolanium* cf. KELLER, *Aurelius Augustinus*, 151, n. 14. ALEXANDER, *Biographical Significance*, 4 thinks that "probably, books 1-5 were composed or noted down from discussions into draft form at Milan and during the return journey to Africa in 387 and 388. Book six appears to have been written entirely in Africa and the whole work finished in late 389 or early 390."

single book of the *De musica* in Milan. On the contrary, we are told that he had begun ‘in the same way’ (*similiter*) to work on the other subjects, of which (with the exception of the *De grammatica*) only the outlines (*principia*) remained.

Furthermore, in a letter to his fellow-bishop Memorius of Capua, dating from 408, Augustine writes:

*Debui ergo nunc libros mittere, quos emendaturum me esse promiseram, et ideo non misi, quia non emendaui, non quia nolui, sed quia non potui curis uidelicet multis et multum praeualentibus occupatus ... uolui per ista, quae a nobis desiderasti, scripta proludere, quando conscripsi de solo rhythmo sex libros et de melo scribere alios forsitan sex, fateor, disponebam, cum mihi otium futurum sperabam. Sed postea quam mihi curarum ecclesiasticarum sarcina inposita est, omnes illae deliciae fugere de manibus, ita ut uix nunc ipsum codicem inueniam, quoniam tuam uoluntatem nec petitionem sed iussionem contemnere nequeo. Quod sane opusculum si potuero mittere, non quidem me tibi obtemperasse, uerum tamen te hoc a me tanto opere flagitasse paenitebit. Difficillime quippe intelleguntur in eo quinque libri, si non adsit, qui non solum disputantium possit separare personas uerum etiam pronuntiando ita sonare morulas syllabarum, ut eis exprimentur sensumque aurium feriant genera numerorum, maxime quia in quibusdam etiam silentiorum dimensa interualla miscentur, quae omnino sentiri nequeunt, nisi auditorem pronuntiator informet. Sextum sane librum, quem emendatum reperi, ubi est omnis fructus ceterorum, non distuli mittere caritati tuae; fortassis ipse tuam non multum refugiat grauitatem. Nam superiores quinque uix filio nostro et condiacono Iuliano, quoniam et ipse iam nobiscum commilitat, digni lectione uel cognitione uidebuntur.<sup>10</sup>*

Thus, we know from retract. 1,6 that the *De musica* was begun in Milan (i.e. in 387), but that very little was actually written there, while the lion’s share was written after Augustine’s return to Africa (i.e. in/after 388), and we know from the letter to Memorius that the sixth book underwent some kind of *emendatio*, although Augustine does not say what exactly that *emendatio* consisted of. In the past, scholars have interpreted this information variously:

One of the first to discuss the dating of the single books of the *De musica* was Prosper Alfaric in 1918. In a chapter dedicated to traces of Neoplatonism in Augustine, he claims that the first and the sixth books are closely connected and perhaps written at more or less the same time. The other four books seemed to him of little interest and incomparable to the first and last.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Aug. epist. 101,1 and 3sq. For a discussion of the historical background of Augustine’s letter to Memorius cf. HERMANOWICZ, Book Six.

<sup>11</sup> ALFARIC, L’évolution, 410sq.

In sharp opposition to Alfarc, Heinz Edelstein in 1929 asserted that books 1 and 6 of the *De musica* could not possibly have been written during the same period of time. He refers to Augustine's own testimony according to which only the beginning was written shortly after his baptism, while the rest was written later in Africa. Thus, the first book necessarily belongs to the first period, and it would seem impossible that the sixth book was composed at the same time as the first one.<sup>12</sup>

The most influential contribution to the subject is some pages of Henri-Irénée Marrou's dissertation, originally published in 1938, in which he discusses what he calls "Les deux éditions du VI<sup>e</sup> livre du *De musica*". Marrou asserts that, when reading the sixth book, one cannot accept that it was written at the same time as the first five: while these are a treatise on metrics, the sixth book is philosophical and religious, even "ecclésiastique". Furthermore, whereas there are numerous citations from classical authors in the books 2–5, there is only one non-biblical citation in the sixth, and this is Ambrose's Christian verse *Deus creator omnium*.<sup>13</sup> Marrou discusses the change of tone in the sixth book compared to the first five, and he quotes some of the words in the preface to book 6 used by Augustine to characterise the subjects treated in the preceding books, viz. *pueriliter*, *nugacitatem*, *uilem uiam*, *puerilia*. Marrou discards the solution to these problems proposed by Edelstein, according to whom the composition of the sixth book must fall within the time-frame subsequent to Augustine's return to Africa, while at least the first book was probably written in Milan. Marrou assumes that this time-frame would be too narrow to account for the significant differences between books 1–5 on the one hand and book 6 on the other, and he proposes a solution by a particular interpretation of a passage of the letter to Memorius quoted above: *Sextum sane librum, quem emendatum repperi, ubi est omnis fructus ceterorum, non distuli mittere caritati tuae*. Marrou stresses the words *quem emendatum repperi*, and claims that this *emendatio* could very well have consisted in the later addition of the preface and, perhaps, also of the epilogue of book 6. However, he does not attempt to set a precise date for this *emendatio*.<sup>14</sup>

In 1947, the *De musica* was published with a French translation in the series Bibliothèque Augustinienne by Guy Finaert and François-Joseph Thonnard. In their introduction, the editors claim that there is no valid reason to separate the sixth

<sup>12</sup> EDELSTEIN, *Musikanschauung*, 123. Edelstein's view on the date and composition of books 2–5 is not clear because he only deals with the first and the sixth books.

<sup>13</sup> MARROU, *Saint Augustin*, 580–583. In contrast to Marrou, some recent scholarly work on the *De musica* tends to downplay the differences not only between books 1–5 and book 6, but also between books 1–5 and later works of Augustine to such an extent that some even want to see connections between the numerological explanations given in the earlier books of the *De musica* and Augustine's ideas of Christian trinity of a much later period; cf. e.g. SCULLY, *De musica*.

<sup>14</sup> For the meaning of the technical term *emendare* cf. MARROU, *Saint Augustin*, 582 ("un mot technique qui dans la langue du grammairien a un sens tout à fait précis; il signifie 'relu et corrigé'") and, also, 22sq. As one can see from BETTETINI, *Bibliografia ragionata*, 430sq., Marrou's theory has been widely accepted by scholars.

book from the first five, and that the difference in tone could be explained by the nature of the subject.<sup>15</sup> Finaert and Thonnard approvingly quote Franco Amerio who stated in 1929 that “il VI libro non è che la continuazione e la conclusione necessaria dei primi cinque libri, i quali senza l’ultimo sarebbero incomprensibili, perchè nel sesto appunto è la spiegazione del particolare modo di procedere che distingue la poetica agostiniana dalle metriche, che pure hanno in comune l’oggetto materiale”.<sup>16</sup> They brush aside Marrou’s thesis concerning the *emendatio* by simply stating that “Cette revision n’aurait d’ailleurs pas été profonde.”<sup>17</sup> This seems to miss the point stressed by Marrou: the problem is not the somewhat differing content of the sixth book, but the way in which Augustine depreciates the content of the preceding five books in the preface to the sixth.<sup>18</sup>

Olivier Du Roy agreed with Marrou’s view that the preface to book 6 is a later addition, and he even proposed a more precise dating of the *emendatio*.<sup>19</sup> He hypothesises that Augustine’s *emendatio* consisted not only in the adding of a prologue and an epilogue, but also in the “remplacement des citations de vers païens par le ‘Deus creator omnium’ d’Ambrose, ce qui nous fait penser que cette *emendatio* doit être à peu près contemporaine des *Confessions* où cette hymne, connue pourtant dès Cassiciacum, est citée quatre fois.” However, if we accept this, we have to conclude that the *emendatio* was a radical revision of the entire book: to give only one example, the third citation of Ambrose’s words in the text (6,XVII,57) not merely uses the verse as a metrical example, but leads to a discussion of its content which occupies almost the entire chapter. It could hardly have replaced a pagan verse, unless this hypothetical verse also treated god as the creator of all things. Thus, it should not be doubted that the citations of *Deus creator omnium* were part of the original text.

In 1990, Ubaldo Pizzani published two articles concerning the first and the sixth book of the *De musica* as part of a volume on the whole work.<sup>20</sup> He refers to the differences between the *De ordine* from 386, in which the search for truth through culture and philosophy remains fundamental for Augustine, and the preface to the

<sup>15</sup> FINNAERT-THONNARD, *La musique*, 7–9.

<sup>16</sup> AMERIO, *Il ‘De musica’*, 36.

<sup>17</sup> FINNAERT-THONNARD, *La musique*, 9. In a similar way ALEXANDER, *Biographical Significance*, 4 n. 3 states that “Augustine probably revised book six to some extent ... but it is not at all clear that this means that chapter 6.1.1 was a totally new addition (or was even ‘revised’) or that the revision was significant.”

<sup>18</sup> In fact, also the way information is conveyed appears somewhat different in book 6. Already VOSS, *Der Dialog*, 270sq. pointed out that in the sixth book “sind Inhalt und Gesprächscharakter gegenüber den fünf vorangehenden spürbar geändert”, because the method of proceeding by questions and answers which is used in the first five books is rather the exception in the sixth, in which we more often find “monologische Darlegungen des Lehrers”, while the task of the ‘pupil’ usually is confined to answering ‘yes’ in various ways.

<sup>19</sup> DU ROY, *L’intelligence*, 283.

<sup>20</sup> PIZZANI, *Il primo libro*; PIZZANI, *Il sesto libro*.

sixth book of the *De musica*, in which the *litterae saeculares* “vengono ora presentate soprattutto come possibili fonti di errore e come capaci di tendere pericolose reti a chi ad esse si dedica con zelo sconsiderato”. Pizzani also draws our attention to the strong connection between the preface and the epilogue of the sixth book, and he asserts that this “fermo ed inequivocabile ridimensionamento di un approccio culto alla verità, che non trova alcun riscontro nei primi cinque libri del dialogo sulla musica, ma lega strettamente la *praefatio* con l’epilogo del VI, non pregiudica nel modo più assoluto ... l’impegno speculativo sotteso alla trama del libro”. This “apparente aporia”, according to Pizzani, could indeed result from a later *emendatio*, as suggested by Marrou, whose hypothesis Pizzani calls “certo suggestiva ma non facilmente controllabile”.

In his monograph on the *De musica* from 1993, Adalbert Keller, referring to retract. 1,6 (see above), asserts that the *De musica*, except for some first drafts (*principia*), was written in Africa.<sup>21</sup> He treats the question of the discrepancies between the first five books and the sixth, and stresses the more ‘biblical’ and ‘theological’ tone of the sixth book. Like Marrou, Keller emphasises Augustine’s depreciatory words in the sixth book, but he fails to mention that they all occur in the preface. His solution is that of Marrou: the differences are due to the *emendatio*, whose extent, he says, must remain unknown. Keller’s interpretation of the words *quem emendatum repperi* also appears rather strange, namely that Augustine intended to replace the preceding books with the sixth, which, in his opinion, can be deduced from the ‘summary’ of the first five books’ contents in the chapters 6,X,25–27.<sup>22</sup> However, to regard these chapters as a kind of replacement of the discussions found in the preceding books is hardly a satisfactory solution. Besides, they are introduced by Augustine with the words *quod ad huius operis susceptionem attinet*, which obviously refers to the work in its entirety, i.e. to all six books. Thus, Keller’s thesis of the chapters 6,X,25–27 being a summary introduced into the work in connection with the *emendatio* should be discarded.

In an article published in 1997, Michele Cutino argued, against Marrou, that the preface must be contemporary with the rest of the sixth book. However, he sometimes makes Augustine say things which Augustine does not say: Cutino claims that according to Augustine the technical treatment of rhythm in the first five books “sarebbe ‘sciocchezza da fanciulli’ (pueriliter *per quinque libros ... morati sumus ... nostram nugacitatem*), se non fosse propedeutica a riconoscere nei ritmi terreni il segno di una superiore e transcendente potenza divina, ciò che rende legittimo il loro studio (*fortassis excuset officiosus labor*)”.<sup>23</sup> But there is no conditional clause in Augustine, as in Cutino’s paraphrase, nor anything corresponding to “sarebbe ... se

<sup>21</sup> KELLER, Aurelius Augustinus, 151sq.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. KELLER, Aurelius Augustinus, 157.

<sup>23</sup> CUTINO, Per una interpretazione, 150.

non fosse". Cutino's reading makes Augustine's words far less depreciatory than they actually are, and closer to what one would expect to find in a traditional preface. Augustine in fact states that the preceding discussion was *pueriliter*, and that the first five books are *nugacitas*, which, however, might be excused because he has taken upon himself the dutiful toil of writing them for no other reason than to provide intelligent readers with a gradual ascent from worldly literature to God: it is only his good intentions which may excuse the actual *nugacitas* of these books.

Furthermore, commenting on the words *nulla natura interposita* in the preface, Cutino states that "il nesso *nulla natura interposita* si trova proprio alla fine del libro, indicando il contatto immediato fra gli esseri angelici e la *lex divina*, e costituisce perciò una autorevole prova della contemporaneità fra la *praefatio* e il resto del libro".<sup>24</sup> However, if we consider how the revision of a book and the addition of a preface would probably be conducted, it seems reasonable to believe that the author, before adding anything to the text, would read through what he had written previously. In this case, especially if we accept Marrou's thesis that the epilogue too was added in connection with the *emendatio* – as Cutino accepts<sup>25</sup> – the last words read by Augustine in his first version, before adding the epilogue, would be the following: *nulla interposita natura excipientes usque ad terrena et inferna iura transmittunt*. What would be more natural than to resume these words in the new preface, thereby creating unity between what was the end of the book in its original version (and, in any case, even if one does not accept Marrou's thesis, the end of the technical part of the book) and what was added as a new introduction?

The real problem remains, which is only touched upon by Cutino: why does Augustine in the preface to the sixth book characterise the preceding five books with terms like *nugacitas*, *plane pueriliter*, etc.? And why, then, are some of the results from these five books used in the main part of the sixth book, as if the harsh words in the preface had never been written? After all, there is at least one section, viz. 6,X,26sq., which seems hard to understand without the background of the previous books. Also, when Augustine recapitulates the journey of reason through the six books in chapter 6,X,25, there is nothing which suggests that the findings of the first five books should be deemed a *nugacitas*.

The very first words of the dialogue proper in book 6, i.e. right after the preface, in fact would seem to corroborate the suggestion that the preface is a later addition. Here, the first interlocutor (the 'teacher') addresses the second (the 'pupil'): *Quam ob rem tu, cum quo mihi nunc ratio est, familiaris meus, ut a corporeis ad incorporea transeamus, responde*. It was also the 'teacher' who spoke the last words of the fifth book: *Finis sit huius disputationis, ut deinceps, quod ad hanc partem musicae attinet, quae in numeris temporum est, ab his uestigiis eius sensibilibus ad ipsa cubilia, ubi ab*

<sup>24</sup> CUTINO, Per una interpretazione, 152.

<sup>25</sup> CUTINO, Per una interpretazione, 163.

*omni corpore aliena est, quanta ualemus sagacitate ueniamus.* As the text of book 6 stands, the words *Quam ob rem* seem somewhat out of context: they seem better suited to the end of book 5 than to the preface of the sixth book. Also, there is a further problem with the transition from book 5 to book 6, noticed by Pizzani, namely that the siglum M (i.e. *magister*) is found at the beginning of the preface in the editions available to him, which implies that the preface is regarded as a part of the dialogue proper, spoken by the *magister*.<sup>26</sup> However, as the manuscript tradition makes clear, the evidence for a siglum at this point is very scarce: among the manuscripts on which the present edition is based, only A offers one at the beginning (AG = *Augustinus*, not *magister*, as elsewhere in A).<sup>27</sup> Clearly, there should be no speaker siglum at this point of the text, and the dialogue proper starts afterwards.<sup>28</sup>

What seems to be of even greater interest is the fact that the manuscripts also do not indicate an interlocutor by offering a siglum when the actual dialogue of book 6 begins with the words *Quam ob rem*, which are obviously spoken by the *magister*. A comparison with the five preceding books proves useful: They all begin with a line spoken by the ‘teacher’, and the first four books all end with a line spoken by the ‘pupil’. This means that a siglum is necessary at the beginning of the first book, to designate the speaker for the first time, and also before the first words of books 2–5, to indicate the new speaker. However, the last line of the fifth book is spoken by the ‘teacher’, so it may be considered superfluous to explicitly mark his first words in book 6 again. No siglum seems necessary until a change of speaker takes place, which happens only with the first line spoken by the ‘pupil’ *In his omnibus puto* in 6,II,2; this is also where we find a siglum again in the manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> Even if the sigla found in the medieval manuscripts may not go back to Augustine himself (see p. 61),

<sup>26</sup> PIZZANI, Il sesto libro, 66: “E se è vero che la sigla M., che la [i.e. the *praefatio*] precede nelle nostre edizioni, tende a presentarcela come un occasionale *excursus* del *magister* che conduce il dialogo, è anche vero ch’essa risulta esplicitamente rivolta ai lettori e non al *discipulus*, sì che il suo carattere di *hors-d’œuvre* ne risulta chiaramente confermato.”

<sup>27</sup> For more information on the sigla see p. 61sq.

<sup>28</sup> Note that the original text of the Maurist edition from 1679 does not display any siglum before the first line of any of the six books of the *De musica*, but that the siglum M was added both before *Satis diu* (i.e. the preface) and *Quam ob rem* (i.e. the beginning of the dialogue proper) in the reprint from 1836. This may be due to the fact that the first five books lack a prologue and begin with a statement by the *magister*, but the first siglum in all of these in the edition from 1679 is a D which occurs when the *discipulus* enters the discussion; in book 6, however, the first siglum is an M placed after the preface, before the words *Quam ob rem*. The editors of the 1836 reprint who added the siglum M at the beginning of each book did so without removing the now superfluous siglum M before *Quam ob rem*, which explains the occurrence of the siglum M before both the preface and *Quam ob rem*. What is important is the fact that the Maurists in 1679 did not make D the first siglum in book 6, as they did in the preceding five books, but M, and that they placed this siglum before *Quam ob rem*, thus indicating that they did not regard the preface as part of the dialogue proper.

<sup>29</sup> For these reasons, the text of the present edition will not give a siglum before the words *Quam ob rem* spoken by the ‘teacher’ in 6,II,2.



they clearly indicate that the preface to book 6 was regarded as a somewhat isolated element in the text.

All in all, Marrou's thesis that the preface (and the epilogue) to book 6 was added by Augustine at a later time seems to be the best way of accounting for the discrepancies between these elements on the one hand and the rest of the work on the other. However, it should be remembered that Marrou did not attempt to give a precise date for the addition. We may suppose that the *emendatio* happened at a time not very far from the composition of the rest of book 6, but far enough to allow for Augustine's obvious change of mind regarding the importance of the *artes liberales*.<sup>30</sup>

What Marrou does not mention is the fact that the preface of book 6 is unique in the dialogue-genre as found in Augustine's oeuvre. As Pizzani<sup>31</sup> pointed out, Augustine makes use of two different kinds of dialogue: one, in which the dialogue is placed in a certain setting, and the words spoken by the different speakers are explicitly introduced by *uerba dicendi* like *dixit* or *ait*;<sup>32</sup> the other, in which there is no setting, only the interlocutors' names which are indicated by mere sigla.<sup>33</sup> The former dialogues are always furnished with a preface which outlines the setting of the dialogue; the latter, however, do not offer prefaces, so the reader is immediately thrown *in medias res*. The dialogues written at Cassiciacum belong to the former group, while the dialogues written later at Rome are of the second kind. Obviously, the *De musica* belongs to the latter group, since there is neither a preface at the beginning of the work nor a setting for the dialogue.

One might ask why Augustine should have added a preface at the beginning of a single book at all. Perhaps there is a hint at the answer to this question in his *retractatio* concerning the *De musica* (see also n. 6): *Deinde, ut supra commemorauimus, sex libros de musica scripsi, quorum ipse sextus maxime innotuit, quoniam res in eo cognitione digna uersatur, quomodo a corporalibus et spiritalibus sed mutabilibus numeris perueniatur ad inmutabiles numeros, qui iam in ipsa sunt inmutabili ueritate, et sic inuisibilia dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciantur*. If we take these words (which were written much later, as should be stressed) at face value, it would appear that the sixth book had become better known than the other five. At the time

---

<sup>30</sup> Some scholars, accepting Marrou's interpretation, prefer to date the *emendatio* close to Augustine's letter to Memorius from 408; cf. e.g. O'CONNELL, Art, 181 ("the extent of Augustine's *emendatio* was precisely to write a new opening and a new closing paragraph, both reflecting the more 'ecclesiastical' viewpoint that was his, not in the year 390, but in the year of his writing to Memorius, 408/9"), or HERMANOWICZ, Book six, 193 ("Augustine revised book six of *De musica* and sent it over to Italy with Possidius in 408"). If this is correct, it would mean that Augustine added the preface and the epilogue in 408, put the book aside, and soon afterwards found it – *emendatus*.

<sup>31</sup> PIZZANI, Il sesto libro, 66.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. *Contra academicos*; *De beata uita*; *De ordine*.

<sup>33</sup> E.g. *De quantitate animae*; *De magistro*; *De libero arbitrio*.

he wrote the preface, Augustine certainly approved of his readers' decision to separate the sixth book with its more Christian character from the others with their purely technical content and to read it as an independent preparatory treatise on the question *quomodo a corporalibus et spiritalibus sed mutabilibus numeris perueniatur ad immutabiles numeros*.

Have both 'editions' of the *De musica*, that is, the 'original text' and the 'emended one', left traces in the transmission of the work? In 1994, Ubaldo Pizzani expressed the hope that a critical edition would help answer this question and solve other problems regarding Augustine's *emendatio*.<sup>34</sup> The examination of a large and certainly representative part of the manuscript tradition leads to the conclusion that today there exists only one version of the sixth book of the *De musica*, and that there is little or nothing to indicate that another version has ever been in circulation.<sup>35</sup> If we accept the idea that the prologue (and the epilogue) of the sixth book is an addition made at the time of the *emendatio* mentioned by Augustine, we must also conclude that the whole tradition of the work as it is known to us goes back to the 'emended version' of the text. It is true that Augustine sent only the sixth book to Memorius in 408 (cf. epist. 101,3sq., quoted above), and that there is a great number of medieval manuscripts containing only the sixth book, but these facts are not mutually connected in any way: the book sent to Memorius (or any other early copy containing only the sixth book) does not seem to have left a trace in the medieval tradition, and the extant manuscripts containing book 6 only – none of which was written before the 13th century – are late descendants of copies having offered the full work, to judge by the text that they transmit.

## 2 The transmission of the text

About 100 manuscripts written before 1500 are extant that contain the whole text or parts of Augustine's *De musica*. In addition, there are numerous indirect witnesses to the text. Catalogues of the manuscript witnesses of Augustine's works are being published by the CSEL; eleven volumes have appeared so far, covering most of Europe except for France.<sup>36</sup> In his dissertation *La tradition manuscrite du De musica*

<sup>34</sup> PIZZANI, Il problema, 83 ("Purtroppo la mancanza di un'edizione critica del *De musica* ci impedisce di reperire elementi eventualmente atti a chiarire il problema").

<sup>35</sup> Of course, there are various medieval abridgements, but they are based on the same version of the text as found in the 'complete' manuscripts.

<sup>36</sup> Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus, Wien 1969–. Manuscripts of the *De musica* are indicated in vol. I/1 (Italy, ed. M. OBERLEITNER, 1969), 124sq., vol. II/1 (Great Britain and Ireland, ed. F. RÖMER, 1972), 131sq., vol. IV/1 (Spain and Portugal, ed. J. DIVJAK, 1974), 55, vol. V/1 (former Federal Republic of Germany, ed. R. KURZ, 1976), 167, vol. VIII/1 (Belgium,

de Saint Augustin et son influence sur la pensée et l'esthétique médiévales from 1986, Patrick Le Boëuf accounts for all extant manuscripts then known to him which contain some parts or all of the six books of the *De musica*.<sup>37</sup> Lost manuscripts of the *De musica* which are reported in medieval library catalogues are also accounted for by Le Boëuf. The oldest of these, dating from the Carolingian age, as well as the earliest extant indirect witnesses of Augustine's work will be discussed later.

In the following list, a siglum has been assigned to all manuscripts containing the full work or single full books of the *De musica* which were collated for the present edition.<sup>38</sup> Since, beginning with those of the 13th century, there are so many manuscripts that only contain the sixth book of the *De musica*, these will be indicated by italics.

## 2.1 Manuscripts containing the full work or single full books

### 8th–9th century

**A** Tours, Bibl. mun. 286

### 9th century

**B** Paris, BNF lat. 13375

**C** Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. 384

**D** Paris, BNF lat. 7200

### 9th–10th century

**E** Vercelli, Bibl. cap. CXXXVIII

### 10th century (allegedly)

- † Metz, Bibl. mun. 288<sup>39</sup>

### 11th century

**F** Angers, Bibl. mun. 486

**G** Ivrea, Bibl. cap. 52

**H** Paris, BNF lat. 7231

---

Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, ed. M. T. WIESER, 2000), 118, vol. IX/1 (Switzerland, ed. S. JANNER – R. JUROT, 2001), 79sq., and vol. X/1 (former German Democratic Republic, ed. I. SCHILLER, 2009), 131. No manuscripts of the *De musica* are indicated in vol. III/1 (Poland and Scandinavian Countries, ed. F. RÖMER, 1973), vol. VI/1 (Austria, ed. D. WEBER, 1993), vol. VII/1 (Czech Republic and Slovakia, ed. C. WEIDMANN, 1997), and vol. XI/1 (Russia, Slovenia, and Hungary, ed. I. GALYNINA – F. LACKNER – A. OROSZ – D. WELTIN, 2010).

<sup>37</sup> In JACOBSSON, *De musica*, xxviii–xxx one can find a summary of Le Boëuf's important work.

<sup>38</sup> This does not mean that all of them will be used for the establishment of the text or that all of them will be fully discussed in the preface of the present edition.

<sup>39</sup> Destroyed in 1944 (see p. 50).

## 12th century

**I** Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Douce 198

## 12th–13th century

**N** London, BL Harl. 228 (books 1–5 only)

## 13th century

**J** Assisi, Bibl. conv. 87 (books 6, 1, and 2, in this order)

**K** Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale II 2297

**L** Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 135

**M** London, BL Royal 5.D.X

**Na** *Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodl. 136*

**O** *Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodl. 150*

**P** *Oxford, Merton Coll. 36*

**Q** *Padova, Bibl. Anton. X.179*

**R** *Paris, BNF lat. 14477*

- *Paris, BNF lat. 15294*

- *Paris, BNF lat. 15296*

**S** *Paris, BNF lat. 16662*

**T** *Paris, BNF lat. 17398*

**U** Saint-Omer, Bibl. mun. 85

**V** *Todi, Bibl. com. 20*

**W** Troyes, Bibl. mun. 801

**X** *Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat. 10664*

**Y** *Città del Vaticano, Barb. lat. 510*

**Ya** *Città del Vaticano, Ross. 191*

## 13th–14th century

- *Brugge, Openbare Bibl. 151*

**Yc** *Città del Vaticano, Chig. A.VII.214*

**Yd** *Città del Vaticano, Pal. lat. 264*

**Ye** *Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat. 818*

## 14th century

- *Assisi, Bibl. conv. 318*

**Yf** Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale 49-62

- Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale 20760-82

**Z** *Durham, Cath. Lib. B.II.20*

**Za** Firenze, Bibl. Laur. Ashb. 1051

**Zb** Firenze, Bibl. Laur. S. Marco 649

- Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. 230

- *Lincoln, Cath. Lib. 208*

- London, BL Royal 5.C.VI

**Zc** *Napoli, Bibl. naz. VI.C.23*

- *Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Bodl.* 238
- *Oxford, Merton Coll.* 1
- *Oxford, Merton Coll.* 37
- *Paris, BNF Arsenal* 307
- *Paris, Bibl. Mazarine* 1639
- *Paris, Bibl. Mazarine* 3472 (books 1–5 only)

**Zd** *Paris, BNF lat.* 1936

**Ze** *Paris, BNF lat.* 1974

- *Paris, BNF lat.* 14294
- *Roma, Bibl. Vallic. tom.* XXI
- *Valencia, Bibl. univ.* 32
- *Valencia, Bibl. cat.* 238

**Zf** *Città del Vaticano, Barb. lat.* 531

- *Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marc. lat.* II,10 (2159)
- *Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl. cod. Guelf.* 77. Gud. lat. 2°

### 15th century

- *Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuß. Kulturbes. ms. lat.* 4° 796
- *Cambridge, Peterhouse* 193, *pars* 2
- *Cambridge, Univ. Lib.* 2026
- *Cesena, Bibl. Malat. D.III, IV*
- *Cesena, Bibl. Malat. D.IX, III*
- *Firenze, Bibl. Laur.* XIII, V
- *Firenze, Bibl. Laur.* XXIX, XVI
- *Firenze, Bibl. Laur. Med. Fesul.* XXI
- *London, BL Harl.* 5248
- *Mantova, Bibl. com. D.III.1*
- *Milano, Bibl. Ambr. R.48.sup.*
- *Oxford, Balliol Coll.* 289
- *Paris, BNF Arsenal* 350 (books 1–5 only)<sup>40</sup>
- *Utrecht, Universiteitsbibl.* 3.H.2
- *Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat.* 445
- *Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat.* 446
- *Città del Vaticano, Pal. lat.* 193
- *Città del Vaticano, Urb. lat.* 69
- *Venezia, Bibl. naz. Marc. Z lat.* 71 (1772)<sup>41</sup>
- *Venezia, Bibl. naz. Marc. lat.* II,3 (2113)<sup>42</sup>

---

**40** Partly collated (see p. 15sq.).

**41** Partly collated for books 1–5 (see p. 15).

**42** Partly collated for books 1–5 (see p. 15).

- Venezia, Bibl. naz. Marc. lat. II,9 (2225)
- Venezia, Bibl. naz. Marc. lat. II,8 (2441)

## 2.2 Fragmentary manuscripts. Excerpts. Abridgements, adaptations, and some early indirect witnesses

### 8th–9th century or earlier

- St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 1395, p. 436–437 (a fragment containing parts of 5,IV,7–5,V,10)
- The excerpt *De rhythmo* preserved in Paris, BNF lat. 7530, fol. 27v
- The Cassiodorus florilegium (excerpts from 1,XI,19–1,XII,26)
- The Praecepta artis musicae Augustini (an abridgement of the metrical doctrine found in books 1–5)
- References to the De musica in the works of Sedulius Scotus
- References to the De musica in the works of John Scotus Eriugena

### 9th–10th century

- The Expositiunculae in libros beati Augustini de musica (a commentary on the De musica containing excerpts from all 6 books)

### 10th–11th century

- Paris, BNF lat. 6184, fol. 26r–33v (a fragment containing the first book until 1,XII,25, breaking off with the words *tanto haec fiunt*)

### 11th century

- München, Bayer. Staatsbibl. clm 29382/2 (a fragment containing parts of 4,XVI,30–5,I,1)
- Zürich, Zentralbibl. Car. C 176/IV, fol. 151v–152v (a short excerpt containing parts of 6,VI,16 under the heading *Genera numerorum in sensibus secundum Augustinum*)<sup>43</sup>

### Post-11th century

- Avignon, Bibl. mun. 228, s. XIII, fol. 41r–44r (short excerpts from all 6 books which are part of a large florilegium, culled mainly from works of Augustine)<sup>44</sup>
- Erlangen, Universitätsbibl. ms. 170, s. XIV, fol. 130v–135v (an abridged version of book 6)<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> This is the only pre-12th century witness that – because of its brevity – will not be discussed in the present introduction.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. LE BŒUF, La tradition, 321–323.

<sup>45</sup> The same version as in Paris, BNF lat. 2114 and in Nürnberg, Stadtbibl. Ms. Cent. I 54. In this version, the dialogue form of the work is suppressed, and in many places new words are introduced to make the syntax work between two excerpts.

- Halle, Hauptbibl. der Franckeschen Stiftungen E 18, s. XV, fol. 2r (a short excerpt offering a selection of 6,XIII,39–6,XIII,42)
- London, BL Royal 4.B.X, s. XIII, fol. 69v–74v (short excerpts)<sup>46</sup>
- Nürnberg, Stadtbibl. Ms. Cent. I 54, s. XV, fol. 100r–105r (an abridged version of book 6)<sup>47</sup>
- Paris, BNF lat. 2114, s. XIII–XIV, fol. 179r–182v (an abridged version of book 6)<sup>48</sup>
- Paris, BNF lat. 17161, s. XII, fol. 164r–165r (a short excerpt offering parts of 6,V,9–6,V,15)<sup>49</sup>
- Città del Vaticano, Vat. lat. 480, s. XV, fol. 57v–58r (a short excerpt covering 6,I,1–6,II,3, breaking off with the words *ita differt hanc*)<sup>50</sup>
- Würzburg, Universitätsbibl. cod. m. ch. q. 2, s. XV, fol. 165v–167v (short excerpts culled from 1,I,1–1,IV,8 which constitute part of a metrical compendium)

As can be seen from these lists, 38 manuscripts containing the full work or the text of single full books of the *De musica* (mostly book 6) were collated for the present edition.<sup>51</sup> All manuscripts containing the full work and written before 1200 were collated, and so were nearly all from the period 1200–1300. From the 14th century some manuscripts were chosen as random samples, but the collation of these made clear that there would be little benefit from an exhaustive collation of witnesses from this age or of even more recent ones, so these were mostly passed over.

Two manuscripts from the 15th century were partially collated for all the first five books, viz. Venezia Marciana Z lat. 71 (1772) and Venezia Marciana lat. II,3 (2113). They were chosen as examples of the later tradition, and due to the fact that Patrick Le Bœuf in a personal communication stated that “the study of the manuscript tradition shows Ven. Marc. Z lat. 71 (1772) to have been directly copied after a lost *antiquior codex*, perhaps of the 9th century, closely akin to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 13375 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7231”. However, the partial collation of these manuscripts confirmed their insignificance for the constitution of the text, so their readings will not be received into the apparatus of the present edition. Also, the manuscript Paris, BNF Arsenal 350 was collated at certain points, but since it proved to be very closely related to S, no extensive collation was made, and its readings will not be reported in the critical apparatus. It

<sup>46</sup> Cf. LE BŒUF, *La tradition*, 321sq.

<sup>47</sup> The same version as in Erlangen, Universitätsbibl. Ms. 170 and in Paris, BNF lat. 2114.

<sup>48</sup> The same version as in Erlangen, Universitätsbibl. Ms. 170 and in Nürnberg, Stadtbibl. Ms. Cent. I 54.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. LE BŒUF, *La tradition*, 320sq.

<sup>50</sup> LE BŒUF, *La tradition*, 177 assumes that it was only by error that this part of the *De musica* has been copied into the manuscript.

<sup>51</sup> Of these manuscripts, it was possible to study the following *in situ*: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, X, and Yc. The others were studied on microfilm, on digital photos, or on paper print-outs.

is true that certain *recentiores* contribute to the establishment of the text with some good conjectures, and they surely give us a better overview of the later history of the text. But most of them do not offer interesting readings which could not also be found in the older manuscripts, and thus a collation of all the manuscripts extant from the later Middle Ages has been judged unnecessary.

Apart from the manuscripts containing the full work or single full books of the *De musica*, there are fragments of manuscripts which once presumably offered the full work, manuscripts which contain excerpts from the *De musica* or an abridged version of it, and there are indirect witnesses which quote from the text or refer to it in some way. The earliest examples of these (up to the 11th century) have been collated and will be discussed separately. However, in no case was an interesting reading found in these witnesses that was not also present in at least one of the manuscripts chosen as the basis for the present edition. Thus, no readings of any fragmentary manuscript or of any indirect witness will be received in the critical apparatus.

In what follows, the eight extant manuscripts containing the full (or the near-full) text of the *De musica* which were written before the end of the 11th century will be succinctly described, although the readings of two of them, viz. *G* and *H*, will not be fully reported in the critical apparatus.<sup>52</sup> The other manuscripts which have been collated for the present edition will not be described separately; they will be summarily accounted for in the course of the discussion concerning the interrelations between the manuscripts.

#### A Tours, Bibl. mun. 286

Parchment. 115 fol., long lines, 23 to the page. 268 x 195 mm. 8th–9th c. Written in Tours; comes from Saint-Martin at Tours. 1. Augustine, *De musica*.

This manuscript is the oldest extant witness offering the full text of Augustine's *De musica*. It was thoroughly discussed by E.K. Rand in an article in 1927, and it is also succinctly described in his *Studies in the Script of Tours*.<sup>53</sup> Not only does the text of *A* exhibit an unusually high number of ancient and partly rare abbreviations (*notae antiquae*), but this manuscript is also full of marginal notes and glosses throughout the text. In the apparatus of the present edition only those notes that immediately affect the text, such as corrections or additions, will be recorded. Le Bœuf discusses the marginal notes of *A* rather at length and divides them into seventeen categories, such as “variantes pures”, “éléments de critique textuelle”, “reprise littérale du texte”, “explication d'un passage par rapprochement avec d'autres auteurs”, or “caractérisation psychologique des personnages du dialogue”;

<sup>52</sup> The reasons for doing so will be given in the descriptions of these manuscripts.

<sup>53</sup> RAND, A Nest, and RAND, *Studies*, 99sq. The main text of *A* is dated to ca. 800, the glosses to the second quarter of the 9th century by BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, 368 (nr. 6134). Note that E.A. Lowe did not include this manuscript in his *Codices Latini antiquiores* (CLA).



he concludes that “la grande majorité de ses gloses est purement paraphrasante et n’apporte rien au texte de saint Augustin”.<sup>54</sup>

**B** Paris, BNF lat. 13375

Parchment. 109 fol., long lines, 23 to the page. 220 x 130 mm. First quarter of 9th c. Written in Northeastern France, perhaps in Corbie; was in Corbie, later in Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>55</sup> 1. Augustine, *De musica*.

This manuscript is slightly later than *A* and, like *A*, it contains the six books of the *De musica* exclusively. The final part of the text (fol. 107r, line 21–108v), after the words *de elementis fieri possunt* (6,XVII,57), was written by a somewhat later, clearly differing hand which certainly used another exemplar than that from which the rest of the work was originally copied (on this, see also below in the description of *H*). The exemplar which was used to supplement the missing end of the *De musica* seems to have been related to branch *I K* of family *α*, since it can be demonstrated that *B* and *I* share, in the relevant section, some readings which are not found in family *ζ*, and some of which are clearly errors.<sup>56</sup> However, since the amount of text in *B* that does not belong to the branch *ζ* is very small, it was decided not to denote the relevant part of the text with a different siglum. *B* is the “codex Corbeiensis optima notae” collated by the Maurist editors.

**C** Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. 384

Parchment. 85 fol., long lines, 27 to the page. 282 x 200 mm. Middle of 9th c. Written in Northeastern France; comes from Saint-Amand. 1. Excerpts from Isidore, *Etymologiae* 3,15,1–3,23,2, fol. 1r–4v. 2. Excerpts from Censorinus, *De die natali* (12,3–13,1), fol. 4v–5r. 3. Augustine, *De musica*, fol. 5v–85v.

This manuscript was clearly meant to constitute a sort of textbook on music: The excerpts from Isidore and Censorinus which precede the text of Augustine’s *De musica* offer additional information on this subject, and there is also a kind of general preface interposed between these excerpts which offers a short discussion of the authority of the relevant authors.<sup>57</sup> These texts, or a selection of them, are also found in some later manuscripts of the *De musica* (*I*, *K*, and *S*) which is important

<sup>54</sup> LE BŒUF, *La tradition*, 339–360.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. GANZ, *Corbie*, 139sq. HUGLO, *Review*, 214\* suggests an origin of *B* in Saint-Riquier where a copy of the *De musica* is attested in 831 (see p. 44sq.). BISCHOFF, *Katalog*, 206 (nr. 4903) regards an origin of *B* in Corbie as likely, but notes that this manuscript does not appear as a typical product of this French center. *B* can be seen online via [www.gallica.fr](http://www.gallica.fr) (last accessed 30.9.2016).

<sup>56</sup> E.g.: 6,XVII,57 *quantumuis*] *quantouis B I*; 6,XVII,57 *aequalitas*] *quoque add. B I*; 6,XVII,58 *domino*] *deo B I*.

<sup>57</sup> Fol. 4v: [N]emo me inscium arbitretur Augustinum antiquiorem senioremq[ue] Isidoro esse tam aetate quam doctrina, et ideo dicta iunioris dictis magistri anteferre; sed sciat lector ideo ita nos ordinasse, ut aethimologias nominum atque rerum prius sedulus discat quam pelagum profundis gurgitis nauigandi uiuacitate ignarus ingrediatur, quia si priora summo cum studio lectitauerit, facilius absque naufragio ad portum tranquillitatis Christo perducente ueniet. Amen.