
CONTENTS

	A Note on the Translation	vii
CHAPTER 1	The Book's Birth	1
CHAPTER 2	The Book's Genre	17
CHAPTER 3	The Book's African Days	26
CHAPTER 4	The Book's Ambrose	41
CHAPTER 5	The Book's "Conversion"	58
CHAPTER 6	The Book's Baptismal Days	78
CHAPTER 7	The Book's Hinge	98
CHAPTER 8	The Book's Culmination	112
CHAPTER 9	The Book's Afterlife: <i>Early Reception, Later Neglect</i>	133
	NOTES	149
	BASIC READINGS	155
	INDEX	157

The Book's Birth

CHAPTER I

To write the biography of *Confessions*, we have to start in the delivery room—how and when was it born? We shall see that the when can partly be determined by the how. How did Augustine write *Confessions*? Well, in the strict sense, he didn't—didn't set words down on papyrus or parchment. Augustine has been painted, by artists as great as Botticelli, Carpaccio, and Benozzo Gozzoli, seated at a desk and writing. He did not do that. Oh, he undoubtedly wrote things like notes to himself, or lists of items, or instructions to individual brothers in his monastic community. But the books, sermons, and letters that have come down to us were all dictated to scribes. Even a book that feels as intimate as *Confessions* was spoken to several of the many scribes Augustine kept busy. That was the

normal practice in antiquity. Even in prison, Saint Paul had a scribe on hand. Even when living as a hermit, Saint Jerome had teams of scribes. The population of ancient scribes was a vast one.

Writing was a complex and clumsy process. That was especially true in the classical period, when papyrus scrolls were used. One needed at least three hands to unroll the scroll on the left, to roll it up on the right, and to write a series of columns in the intermediate spaces. Besides, even the mixing of the ink and trimming of the reed pens (quills arrived in the Middle Ages) had to be done while the scroll was held open at the spot reached by the scribe. Since the rolls were written on one side only, they could run to great lengths, as much as thirty feet long.

Obviously, the author could not be doing all this and composing in his mind. The only efficient way to function was for the author to dictate to a shorthand writer (tachygrapher), who took the text down on tablets of wax or wood. Then this first scribe, with the help of assistants, would write the text on a scroll. Other scribes would copy this text on other scrolls—the only way to duplicate a text in the age before printing presses. A man would read slowly from the master text while a number of scribes created their own copies. There was no need

for these secondary scribes to decipher the first man's shorthand signs. After he made the master copy, multiple facsimiles were needed. Paul sent copies of the same letter to several places—to the churches of Galatia for instance. He sent his Epistle to the Romans to Jerusalem as well as to Rome. He also had to keep copies by him, for his own reference and to supply those asking for clarification of the record.

Writings, created with such labor, could be lost in transit where couriers were careless or in peril—Augustine's first letter sent to Jerome did not reach him, causing endless later trouble. Books could easily disappear if there were not enough copies made or preserved. Even though Augustine kept his own archives in good order, his very first book is irretrievably lost. Teams of scribes had to be kept at work all the time to bring a book into existence and keep it there. The Late Antique church historian Eusebius tells us that the church father Origen had seven tachygraphers and a horde of other scribes and calligraphers to replicate what the shorthand experts took down and wrote out (*History of the Church* 6.23).

The making of books was an expensive as well as laborious and time-consuming process. One of the principal costs of Augustine's episcopal

establishment was the production of his many books. He wrote five million words that have come down to us, most of them after he became the bishop of Hippo. Isidore of Seville famously said that anyone who claims to have read all of Augustine must be a liar. In a recently discovered letter (Divjak 23-A), Augustine says that in less than three months he had dictated 6,000 lines of text—James O’Donnell suggests he made the count for payment to his scribes.

Besides all the scribal payments, there was the costly material of which books were made. To form double-ply sheets from the papyrus plant was labor-intensive, from cutting to cross-laying to drying. Even more difficult was the skinning, stretching, scraping, and drying of sheep or calf or goat skin to make parchment. And copyists had to keep the sheet numbers in order if they wrote the text before the sheaves (quires) were bound into a codex. Augustine had to be serviced by what amounts to a literary industrial complex in order to produce the amazing number of his books.

It may distance Augustine from us if we think we are not communing with him directly as he writes in solitude, just as we read in solitude. But this is the exact reverse of the ancients’ view. Theirs was an

oral culture; they learned better and remembered better when they heard words sounded by a human voice. Plato makes Socrates say that spoken discourse pierces to the soul, while writing lies on the surface (*Phaedrus* 276b–d). Ancient readers did not normally read in solitude. As writing was a cumbersome process, reading was a clumsy one. People most often read aloud, even when they were alone. Augustine says that it puzzled people to see Ambrose reading silently (*Confessions* 6.3). Reading was difficult, since the letters were written without word-separation or punctuation (*scripta continua*). When Paul sent a letter to a gathering, an official *lector* read it aloud—most in the gathering were not able to make sense of the written row of letters. That is why the author of Revelation says, “Happy whoever reads these words out, and happy those who hear him” (1.3).

So even written words were shot through with oral elements—the vocal phenomena of the author at one end of the process dictating and a reader at the other end voicing the words. The writing was almost like a musical score—a set of signs to be given acoustical reality in performance. For Augustine’s contemporaries, this “bypassing” of the merely written would make his words all the more

vivid. Paul hints at such bypassing of the written when he says to the Corinthians,

Am I renewing my introduction to you—do I, like others, really need (or don't I) credentials presented to you or by you? Yourselves are my credentials, written on my heart—there all can find and read them. You are in fact a letter sent by Messiah for me to deliver, one not written in ink but in the Spirit of the living God, written not on stone tablets but on the fleshy tablets of the heart. (2 Cor. 3.1)

There are other ways writing was made to serve oral delivery. In Ezekiel's vision, a hand reaches down from heaven with a scroll in it. "Man, eat what is in front of you, eat this scroll, *and then go and speak to the Israelites*" (Ezek. 3.1). The prophet digests the divine message so he can *speak* it. Similarly, the prophet in Revelation (10.10–11) swallows the "little scroll" in the angel's hand, and the angel tells him to go prophesy. So, paradoxically, the oral externals of Augustine's performance convey more inwardness to his original audience than writing alone could do.

The difficulty of reading in the ancient world had another impact on *Confessions*. The *scripta continua*, with no word divisions, no chapter-and-verse markings, made it hard to look up citations in a

scroll or codex Since Augustine weaves a constant web of scriptural language throughout his text, it is clear that he is relying principally on his capacious memory in these citations—not looking them up, one by one. The power of memory in an oral culture is proverbial. Thomas Jefferson, who thought black people intellectually inferior to whites, marveled at their memory, a side-product of their oral culture (*Notes on the State of Virginia*, Query XIV). Cicero said that all public speakers must have well-trained memories (*The Orator* 2.350–60). The ancient orators did not read speeches to their audience (a difficult process, whether with scroll or codex), but memorized long orations—something still possible in the nineteenth century, when Edward Everett delivered his two-hour address at Gettysburg from memory (his regular practice when speaking on solemn occasions). Augustine, as we shall see, explored the vast capabilities of memory in *Confessions* Book 10. He was an example of what he is analyzing and praising there. His intimate knowledge of Scripture was necessary to his performance of *Confessions*.

The fact that Augustine cited Scripture from memory explains his resistance to the new translation Jerome was making into Latin of the Jewish Scripture from the Hebrew original rather than from the Greek translation (Septuagint). Augustine,

who only spoke Latin, had memorized his Bible in the Latin translation familiar in Africa. It was a wrench to jettison that hard-won memorization of so large a body of work. (See Augustine, *Letters* 28.2, 71.3–6, 82.34–35). The familiar Latin words had become a part of Augustine, one he did not want to disturb unduly.

Augustine, like Ezekiel, or like the John of Revelation, had “eaten” the Scripture and afterward thought in its terms and rhythms, with and through its words. It is sometimes said that authors like Abraham Lincoln were so influenced by the King James English Bible that it affected their style. But the omnipresence of Scripture in Augustine goes far beyond that. Scripture informs the whole long prayer that is *Confessions*. The echoes are not foot-noted or underlined in the original, but italics here will suggest how deeply interfused are Augustine’s words and the Bible’s:

To whom before you should I call out, *Cleanse me of my inmost sins, and outward promptings fend off from your servant?* I believe in you and that is why, you know Lord, I address you. Have I not anticipated accusation of my own sins, and *you freed my heart of impiety?* I do not *take you into court*, you who are Truth. I would not deceive myself, not let

my iniquity tell itself a lie, so I go not to court with you. If you arraign our sins, Lord—Lord, who can stand the indictment ? (1.6)

The sacred writings are present in *Confessions* not only when Augustine quotes them but in the way he uses his own words. The most basic verse structure of the Psalms, as of all Hebrew poetry, is a two-line unit in which the second line repeats, reverses, or elaborates on the first one. An example is quoted in the opening words of *Confessions*, from Psalm 146.5:

Vast is what you do,
what you know beyond assaying.

This pattern informs much of *Confessions*, its sighing replications, his way of turning a thought over and over. These give the book its air of slow reflection and inwardness. The words cast a spell and we are taken down into Augustine's deepest self. Thus, by a paradox, Augustine's use of other people's words (the sacred authors') helps him speak most authentically as himself.

The fact that Augustine can maintain this meditative spell in *Confessions* is a key to its dating. Once launched on this interior exploration, Augustine sustains a tone and intensity throughout at least the

first ten books (we can argue later about the last three). It is true that Augustine composed some works over a number of years—notably *City of God* and *The Trinity*. But *City of God* is a work whose purpose and method shifted over the years of its composition, and work on *The Trinity* was suspended because of an accident—and those books do not have the incantatory continuity of *Confessions*. A sustained single effort seems to have produced *Confessions*.

This has been doubted by some. The book must have been begun in 397, before Augustine learned of Ambrose's death in that year, since there is no awareness that he has died. But Augustine stops the narrative part of the book at Book 9, the time of his baptism ten years earlier. Yet Book 10 gives an account of his soul at the time of writing. Some think that the first nine books were released by themselves, and readers asked what his state was after that decade. They point to a passage of Book 10 that says:

The testimony to my past sins—which you have forgiven and hidden away to give me happiness in you, transforming my soul by faith and by baptism into you—may that testimony stir the heart in those who read or hear it. (10.4)

That does not say people have read some *earlier form* of the present work. It is more natural to think they have been reading the present text, the one he is continuing. The matter is clearer in the passage that is most often used to claim that Book 10 was not an original part of *Confessions*:

Many have asked what my condition is at the moment of my testifying, both those who know me and those who know me not but have heard something from me or about me. (10)

He does not say some people have read the earlier parts of this book, or that they have necessarily read anything. He refers to those who have *heard (audierunt) something (aliquid)* from me or about me (*ex me vel de me*). Nothing could be more general, more non-specific about *Confessions* or any other book. If he is being asked by those who know him personally, that does not restrict the questions to anything that has been written by him or about him. And those who have only heard “about me,” contrasted with those who have heard “from me,” are getting their information from someone else, not from *Confessions*.

Who was likely to ask these questions? If they were people who had read an earlier version of *Confessions*, the more expected request would be that he continue the story, not that he would break off and

make a later report. Who, by contrast, would be likely to ask that he give an account of himself in 397? There were many who challenged Augustine, not only foes like the Manicheans or Donatists, but those of his own faith who (as we shall see) questioned the validity of his consecration as bishop or had heard other rumors. The occasion of questioning was, therefore, not obviously the reading of Books 1 through 9 in an earlier published form.

Nonetheless, for a long time many scholars thought Book 10 was added later on. They then went on to ask when the book was added. They settled on 401 because of some verbal similarities between Book 10 and *Explaining the Psalms*, Psalm 36, which was dated to 401. But if Augustine was partly repeating himself, would he do it at the same time, or later? The latter seems more likely, as occasion arose. Besides, Pierre-Marie Hombert has dated the psalm commentary to 403, stretching the composition of *Confessions* to six years (397–403).¹

Some who would not date Book 10 after the first nine books do think that Books 11–13 were added later. After all, even Book 10 is about Augustine, while the last three books are outside the narrative of *Confessions* entirely. They are an exegetical exercise on the opening of Genesis. To some they seem so outside the ambit of the book that they are rarely

read, and some earlier translations omitted them. Which raises an important point: if these books are so disjunct from the rest of *Confessions*, why did Augustine tack them on, either originally or at some later point?

But Genesis is present all through the book. Episodes in Genesis lie behind key events in Augustine's life, as we shall see. The God who made the world is still remaking Augustine by his secret providence and graces. Furthermore, Augustine finds the mystery of the Trinity implicit in the creation story, and the Trinity has also been haunting the entire book. James O'Donnell has traced the way patterns of three are everywhere in *Confessions*. It is clear that Augustine had Books 11 through 13 in mind as he steered the book toward its culmination. This also gives a special meaning to Book 10. Augustine purifies himself there as a preparation for plunging deep into the sacred writings of Scripture. It is like the examination of conscience (Confiteor) before beginning the Mass. Or like the meditation on death and judgment at the west entrance to a medieval cathedral.

Confessions is written as a deliberate whole. If it was added to after 397, why is there no belated notice of Ambrose's death? Of course, some items may have pre-existed the finished book and been

worked into its texture, including the tribute to his mother in Book 9 (written perhaps at her death in 387) and the mini-biography of Alypius in Book 6 (written perhaps when he was consecrated bishop around 395).

For much of his other work, Augustine had to dictate in the times he could snatch away from his duties as a bishop who was constantly preaching and counseling. How did he find a chunk of relatively free time to dictate the *Confessions* in one go? Oddly, he may have been forced to spend time immobilized by a debilitating ailment. It was in 397 that he wrote to a fellow bishop, Profuturus:

In regard to the spirit, as God allows, and as he grants me endurance, I am doing well. But in regard to the body, I am confined to bed, unable to walk or stand or sit, from the pain and swelling of anal fissures and hemorrhoids. But since God allows this, what can I say but that I am doing well? If our will does not conform to his will, we are at fault, since he is not to be thought of as doing or allowing anything that is not for our good. You know this, but since you are my second self, why should I not say as freely to you what I say to myself? So I trust my days and nights to your holy prayers. Pray that I do not use the days

wastefully, and that I bear the nights with composure. (Letter 38.1)

It seems likely that *Confessions* was delivered from birth throes indeed, emerging from this combination of pain, serenity, and prayer. He was surely not “using his days wastefully.” The obstetric record of *Confessions* can thus be briefly stated. It was born in Hippo, Africa, by a prolonged bout of dictation in the year 397 CE, when Augustine was forty-three years old, ten years after his baptism, six years after his ordination as a priest, and a little over a year after his consecration as a bishop.

The biography of a person begins with the person’s heritage and birth, then plots his or her development over the course of the life (*bios*), ending at the person’s death (*thanatos*), tracing connections, arguing with misperceptions about the life, emphasizing what was most significant about the person. Similarly, the biography of a book should describe its internal development, what makes it work, what challenges it meets. But a book, if it is a good and important one, does not die as a person does. The person has a later reputation, to be attacked or defended, interpreted and reinterpreted. But a book can be read and experienced after it is finished, just as it was when it was written. It has an afterlife

(*Nachleben*, as the Germans say) that is different from a person's.

Confessions did have a kind of death, during the greater part of the Middle Ages, when it was (comparatively) neglected while clerics paid more attention to Augustine's doctrinal works. But *Confessions* had a kind of resurrection in the fourteenth century, when medieval myths and legends and supposed miracles overshadowed his own account of his life. After that there were waves of new interpretations of the book—textual in the Renaissance, romantic in the eighteenth century, historiographical in the nineteenth century, psychological in the twentieth century, post-structural in the twenty-first century. Many of these interpretations were misinterpretations, which I anticipate in telling the story of the book in the first place—dealing with the problem of the book's unity, with its departure from Augustine's own earlier accounts, with key relations (to his mother, to Ambrose and Simplician, to Faustus and Mallius Theodore). Since much of the debate during the book's *Nachleben* has been dealt with in the biography of the book itself, the last chapter can be summary, reflecting back on the course of the book as first defined.

INDEX

- Academic Skepticism, 50, 58–59
Achelis, Werner, 142
Acts of the Apostles (Paul), 65
Adam: and fig leaves, 24; sin of, 31–32
Adam's tree, 76
Adeodatus (son), 26–27, 37, 82, 95; and baptism, 83–84; death of, 85; and death of Monnica, 96; and *The Teacher*, 26–27
Against Academic Skeptics (Augustine), 81
Alfaric, Prosper, 141
Alypius, 14; addiction to blood sports, 63–64, 86; and baptism, 83–84; at Cassiciacum, 80; commitment to Christianity, 82; garden story, 68–77; and sex, 63; and truth of Christianity, 74; and virginity, 74; as witness, 73
Alypius tribute, and Paulinus, 85
Ambrose, 16, 20, 24; accused of fomenting disorder, 47–48; and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46; and Alypius, 63; and baptism, 56–57, 84; coup against Valentinian II, 46; death of, 10, 13; and Faustus, 54–55; as God's instrument in *Confessions*, 141–42; as influence on Augustine, 141; and Neoplatonic approach to religion, 50; relationship with Augustine, 22; and relics, 49–50; sermons, 55; significance of, to Augustine, 94; and silent reading, 5; in Trier, 55–56; typological technique, 56
Ambrosian chant: basis for, 48
Anaximines, 94
angels, 123–24
Answer to Academic Skeptics (Augustine), 79
Anthony the Hermit, 66
Apologia (Plato), 20
Apologia pro Vita Sua (John Henry Newman), 20–21
Aquinas, Thomas, 136

- Arendt, Hannah, 145
Arians, 47; and views on Trinity, 43–44
Aristotle, 122
asceticism, 59; fusion with enlightenment, 35
astrology, 34; and Manicheanism, 35, 110
Athanasius, 66
Augustine: and Academic Skepticism, 50; addiction to sex, 63, 138; and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46; and baptism, 17–18, 56, 60–61, 83–84; and baths, 76; belief in miracles, 46–47; birth and infancy of, 26; as bishop, 18; as byword for libertine-rake glamorization, 137; at Cassiciacum, 56; and celibacy, 61–63; and child's voice, 72; consecration as bishop, 19; departure for Rome, 40; dialogues, 81–83; dictation practices, 1–2; disaffection with Faustus and Manicheanism, 39; as dramatist, 66; and fight against sexual addiction, 70–72; finding time for writing, 14–15; first impression of Ambrose, 43; first letter to St. Jerome, 3; flashy Latin style, 137; and garden scene, 76–77; garden story, 68–77; and homosexual orientation, 142; ill health, 14–15, 41; and Jewish Scriptures, 54–55; knowledge of Scripture, 7; and language acquisition, 28; last conversation with Monnica, 94; letter to Profuturus, 14–15; as Manichean, 18, 26; and miracle mongering, 49–50; and mother fixation, 142; and mother of Adeodatus, 33; and nakedness, 23–24; and Neoplatonists, 92; non-contact with Ambrose after leaving Milan, 51; and Oedipal complex, 142; as philosopher-bishop, 20; as poor sailor, 41; as prolific writer, 4; relationship with Ambrose, 22; relationship with children, 26; relationship with Monnica, 85–97; religious background of, 18–20; return to Hippo, 18; rhetorical studies, 35; as schoolteacher in Carthage, 38; sexual fantasies of, 23–25; siblings of, 22; significance of Ambrose to, 94; and Simplician, 51; sins plucking at, 73; study in Carthage, 33; and teaching of rhetoric from Aeneid, 43; and translation of Scripture, 7–8; unquiet manhood, 24; validity of consecration as bishop, 12; and Virgin Mary, 143–44; voyage to Rome, 41; writing career, 17; as young sex hound, 138
Augustine, Works: *Against Academic Sceptics*, 81; *Answer to Academic Sceptics*, 79; *The Beautiful and the Decorous* (lost), 17, 37; *The City of God*, 10, 37, 136, 138; *Dialogues with Myself (Soliloquia)*, 21, 46, 61, 79, 81; *Explaining the Psalms*, 12; *First Meanings in Genesis*, 21, 122; *The Gift of Continuing Fidelity*, 134; *Happiness in This Life*, 52–53, 81, 92; *Let-*

- ters*, 7–8; *The Manicheans' Two Souls*, 38; *Music*, 18; *Order in the Universe*, 81; *Reconsiderations*, 54, 133; *The Teacher*, 26–27, 146; *Teaching Christian Faith*, 136; *The Trinity*, 10, 21, 127, 138
- baptism, 60–61, 83–84; Augustine's reaction to, 84–85; bath and, 23–25; Marius Victorinus and, 64–65; waters of, 131
- baptismal font of Milan, 85
- bath (*thermae*): and baptism, 23–25; scene at Tagaste, 23–25
- bath scene: modern psychiatric interpretation of, 23–25
- Beautiful and the Decorous*, *The* (lost, Augustine), 17, 37
- Bergson, Henri, 100
- Bible: Greek translation of (Septuagint), 7–8; King James English edition, 8; Latin translation of, from Hebrew, 7–8; study of, in nineteenth century, 140. *See also names of books*
- “big bang” (spiritual), 123
- Body and Society*, *The* (Peter Brown), 59–60
- Boissier, Gaston, 141
- books: afterlife of (Nachleben), 15–16; making of, 3–4; structure of biography of a, 15
- Botticelli, 1
- Braendle, R., 142
- Brown, Peter, 138; *The Body and Society*, 59–60
- Caecilian, Bishop, 19
- Caecilian Christianity, and Manicheanism, 35–36
- Caecilianists, 19
- Caelestius, 135
- Cain and Abel, 36–37
- Calvin, 136
- Carpaccio, 1
- Carthage, 19, 41, 113; Augustine in, 89; rhetorical study in, 35
- Cassiciacum, 56; spiritual retreat at, 79–81
- Cassiciacum dialogues, 92, 141; Monnica and, 142
- Catiline, 30–31
- celebrity conversions, 65
- celibacy, 59, 61–63, 139
- Chomsky, Noam, 28, 146
- Christian-Eastern movement, 33
- Cicero: on friendship, 31; *Hor-tensius*, 35, 60; *The Orator*, 7
- Ciceronian purists, 137
- Circumfessions* (Jacques Derrida), 143
- citations, difficulty in locating, 6–7
- City of God: as opposed to City of Man, 37
- City of God*, *The* (Augustine), 37, 138; misreadings of, 136
- City of Man: as opposed to City of God, 37
- “Clothe yourself in Jesus Christ,” 72, 76
- codex, binding of, 4
- Colet, John, 136
- Confessions*: Ambrose as God's instrument in, 141–42; Ambrose's opposition to Monnica's devotions, 45; Augustine's later comments on, 133–35; as autobiography, 22; biography of Alypius in, 14; Book 4, 96–97, 139–40; Book 6, 14; Book 8, 78, 98; Book 9, 14,

Confessions (cont.)

- 137; Book 10, 10–13, 98, 145; Book 11, 114–20, 145; Book 12, 120–25; Book 13, 125; Books 10 to 13, as later additions, 99; Books 11 to 13, 12–13, 148; compared to *Divine Comedy*, 22–23; compared to *Pilgrim's Progress*, 22–23; compared to Rousseau's *Confessions*, 22–23; composed as whole or in parts, 10–13; conceived as a unity, 149n1; dating of, 9–13; death of, in Middle Ages, 16; as defence of embattled figure, 20; dramatic technique in, 68; and Genesis, 32, 114; genesis of, 1–16; historicity of, 50, 91, 141; as long prayer, 21; Monnica as God's instrument in, 141–42; obstetric record of, 13; as one-sided non-fiction epistolary novel, 21; peccadillo of pears and pigs, 29–33; psychobiography and, 142; re-emergence in Romantic era, 137; resurrection of, in fourteenth century, 16; Romantic response to, 137–40; special meaning imparted to, 13; tenor of language in, 9–10; textual reinterpretation of, in various centuries, 16; tribute to Monnica, 14; written as deliberate whole, 13–15
- Confiteor*, 13, 100
conscience, examination of, 13, 106
continentia, 60
contraception, 26
conversion, 58–59, 78–79
conversion stories, 64–68
copies, need for multiple, 3
copying, process of, 2–3
Council of Nicaea, 20
Courcelle, Pierre, 72–75, 141
curiositas (transgressive knowledge), 110
Damasus I, Pope, 42; and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46
Dante, 25, 76, 147; *Divine Comedy*, 22–23; *Paradiso*, 132
death, meditation on, in medieval cathedral, 13
Derrida, Jacques, 146; *Circumfessions*, 143
diabolical affliction, marks of, 24
Dialogues with Myself (*Soliloquia*, Augustine), 21, 46, 61, 79, 81
dictation practices, in ancient world, 1–2
Diocletian, Emperor, 18
Divine Comedy (Dante), 22–23
doctrinal essence of Christianity, 74
Donatists, 12, 18–19
dry land, 131
Easter (386), and Portiana, 47
Enlightenment, 137
enlightenment, fusion with asceticism, 35
Erasmus, Desiderius, 136–37
Eusebius, *History of the Church*, 3
Everett, Edward, address at Gettysburg, 7
eversores (“subversives”), 33, 39
existentialists, 144–45
Ezekiel, 8; vision of, and scroll, 6

- fall of humankind, re-enactment of, 33
fasting, 60
Faustus, 16, 38–39; Ambrose and, 54–55; and language acquisition, 39
Ferrari, Leo, 141
fig tree, in garden scene, 75–76
First Meanings in Genesis (Augustine), 21, 122
fish in waters, creation of, 131
food, 108–9
fountain of life, 131
Freudian analysis, 142
- Galileans, 74
Garden of Eden, 90
Garden of Olives, 90
Garden of Philip, basilica at, 49
garden scene, 63, 68–77, 141; aftermath of, 78–80; fig tree in, 75–76; in Milan, 58; and sex, 59
Genesis, 12–13, 32, 37, 142; and Adam's tree, 76; Augustine's treatment of, 100; commentaries on, 31; in *Confessions*, 13, 114; exegetical exercise on opening of, 12–13; first covert reference to, 24; mysteries of, 99; speculative nature of Augustine's reading of, 125; verse 1, 122. *See also* *First Meanings in Genesis* (Augustine)
Gervasius, 49, 87
Gettysburg: Edward Everett address at, 7
Gibbon, Edward, 137
Gift of Continuing Fidelity, The (Augustine), 134
Gnosticism, 60
Gnostic sects, 33–34
God: as constant absence, 105–6; the Father, in *Confessions*, Book 11, 114–20; the Holy Spirit, in *Confessions*, Book 13, 125; as recipient of *Confessions*, 21–22; the Son, in *Confessions*, Book 12, 120–25
God's robots, 134
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von: *Faust*, 137; *Sorrows of Werther*, 137; *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, 137
Gourdon, Louis, 141
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 1
Gratian, and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46
gratuito malus, 30
“Great Sinner” myth, 137–40
Greek astronomy, 113–14
Greek *vs.* Latin, 28–29
- Happiness in This Life* (Augustine), 52–53, 81, 92
Harnack, Adolf von, 137, 140–41
hearing, sense of, 109
Heaven's heaven, 122–23, 131
Heidegger, Martin, *Sein und Zeit*, 145
Hierius, 37
Hippo, Africa, 4, 19; Augustine's return to, 18; and birth of *Confessions*, 15
historicity, problems of, 50, 91, 140–42
historiography, 140
Holy Spirit, as bond of love, 129
Hombert, Pierre-Marie, 149n1; dating of Psalm commentary, 12
homosexual orientation, 142
Hopkins, Gerard Manley, 105
Hortensius (Cicero), 35, 60

- human free will, denial of, 134
human makeup, analogy to God
 in, 126–27
Husserl, Edmund, 145
- Immaculate Conception, 143–44
ink, mixing of, 2
inquietum, 24
Isaiah, 131
Isidore of Seville, 4
- James, William, 78, 140
Jefferson, Thomas, *Notes on the
 State of Virginia*, 7
Jerome, 137; and celibacy, 139; in
 court of Pope Damasus I, 42;
 and deception, 74; dictation
 practices, 2; and Latin transla-
 tion of Scripture, 7–8
Jesus: at Mount of Olives, 76–
 77; and Nathaniel's thoughts,
 72; three temptations of,
 106–7 (*See also* urges of the
 eyes; urges of the flesh;
 worldly designs)
Jewish Bible, 113
Jewish Scriptures, 54–55
John (of Revelations), 8
John, Gospel of, 72; first letter
 of, 106
judgment, meditation on, in
 medieval cathedral, 13
Julian of Eclanum, 59, 135, 139
justification, doctrine of, 136
Justina, and affair of Victory's
 Altar, 42–46
- Kierkegaard, Søren, 140
Kligerman, Dr. Charles, 23, 142
- Lady Self-Control, 71, 73
language, human, divine myster-
 ies cloaked in, 121
language acquisition, 26–27;
 and Faustus, 39; Noam
 Chomsky and, 28
Last Judgment, scenes of,
 99–100
Latin *vs.* Greek, 28–29
lector, role of, 5
“Let there be light,” 130
liberal arts, 18, 38
lights in the heavens, 131
Lincoln, Abraham, and King
 James English Bible, 8
literary industrial complex, an-
 cient, 4
Luther, Martin, 136
Lyotard, Jean-François, *The Con-
 fessions of Augustine*, 146
- Madauros, 28; Augustine in, 89
Mallius Theodore, 16, 22, 55,
 92; biography of, 51–53; as in-
 fluence on Augustine, 141;
 and Neoplatonist teachings,
 50–51
Manicheanism, 18–19, 33–34;
 and astrology, 35; banned
 by Christian Roman
 Empire, 34; and Caecilian
 Christianity, 35–36; cosmol-
 ogy of, 38; rejection of Jewish
 Scripture, 33–34; two wills
 posited by, 69
Manicheans, 12, 38; Augustine
 as, 26; in Carthage, 33–34
Manicheans' Two Souls, The (Au-
 gustine), 38
Marcus Aurelius, 60; *To Myself*
 (*Meditations*), 21
Marius Victorinus, 50; and bap-
 tism, 64–65
Martial, 23
martyr relics, 46
Matthew, Gospel of, 144

- Maximus: and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46; move from Trier to Milan, 87
- Memor, Bishop, 59
- memory, 100–106, 126–28, 145; as act of self-destruction, 103; as analogy to Trinity, 127–29; capabilities of, in *Confessions*, 7; as inner exploration, 102; as key to identity, 100; power of, in oral culture, 7; and time, 117–19
- mental ascent to God, 93
- Milan, 18, 20, 22; baptismal font of, 85; garden scene in, 58
- Milton, John, *Paradise Lost*, 32
- Monica, Saint, 86
- Monnica, 37, 82, 150n5; and Cassiciacum dialogues, 142; criticisms of, 86; death of, 85–86; and drinking, 87–88, 135–36; as God's instrument in *Confessions*, 141–42; last days, 94–97; and marriage arrangements, 63; at Milan, 44–45; as model wife, 88–89; and mother of Adeodatus, 62; and Arthur Darby Nock, 143; as peacemaker in Tagaste, 89; and Portiana controversy, 48; relationship to Augustine, 85–97; as Saint Monica, 86; and Muriel Spark, 143; as supporter of Ambrose against Valentinian II, 45; and Rebecca West, 143
- Moses, as author of Genesis, 120
- mother fixation, 142
- motives, understanding of, 29–31
- Music* (Augustine), 18
- Nachleben, 15–16
- naked body, physical inspection of (*scrutatio*), 24
- Nathaniel's thoughts, Jesus and, 72
- Nathaniel's tree, 76
- Navigius, 95
- Neidhart, W., 142
- Neoplatonism, 60; Ambrose and, 50; ascent to happiness, 119; as influence on Augustine, 141; teachings of, 50–51
- Neoplatonists, 58–59; Augustine and, 92
- New Age spirituality, 33
- Newman, John Henry, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, 20–21
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 139
- Nock, Arthur Darby, 78; and Monnica, 143
- nocturnal emission, 107–8
- O'Donnell, James, 4, 17, 21, 50–51, 57, 99; on Augustine and Ambrose, 47; controversy with Courcelle, 74; expectation of salacious content in *Confessions*, 137–38; and New Age spirituality, 33; and patterns of three, in *Confessions*, 13
- Oedipal complex, 142
- oral culture: in ancient world, 4–6; and memory, 7
- Orator, The* (Cicero), and public speaking, 7
- Order in the Universe* (Augustine), 81
- Origen, 3; and castration, 60
- original sin, signs of, in infants, 27–28
- Ostia, 22, 85–86, 94–97

- paganism, surviving vestiges of, in Rome, 42
- papyrus, preparation of, 4. *See also* scrolls
- Paradise Lost* (Milton), 32
- Paradiso* (Dante), 132
- parchment, preparation of, 4
- Patrick, 89
- Paul, 5, 78; Acts of the Apostles, 65; baptism of, 58; “Clothe yourself in Jesus Christ,” 24; dictation practices, 2; dispute at Antioch, 74; Epistle to the Corinthians, 6; Epistle to the Romans, 3, 73; letters of, 72
- Paulinus of Nola, 63; and Alypius tribute, 85
- pears and pigs, peccadillo of, 29–33, 139
- peer pressure, 29, 33
- Pelagian heresy, 134
- Pelagius, 59; response to *Confessions*, 134
- pens, reed, preparation of, 2
- Peter, and dispute at Antioch, 74
- phenomenologists, 144–45
- phrase salesman, trade of, 80
- pigs and pears, peccadillo of, 29–33
- Pilgrim’s Progress*, 22–23
- Plato: *Apologia*, 20; *Phaedrus*, 5
- Plotinus, 150n5
- Pontician, and renunciation stories, 66
- Portiana (basilica), controversy over, 47–49
- principium*, 121–22
- Profuturus, 14–15
- Protasius, 49, 87
- Protestant Reformation, 136
- Proust, Marcel, 100
- Psalms, 9, 36; Ps. 4, 80, 137; Ps. 65, 131; Ps. 93, 131; Ps. 115, 122; Ps. 148, 122
- psychiatric interpretations: and anachronism, 24–25; and bath scene, 23–25
- psychobiography, and *Confessions*, 142
- public baths, place of, in ancient life, 23
- reading, in ancient world, 5–6
- reason, abandonment of, and sexual orgasm, 60
- Reconsiderations* (Augustine), 54, 133
- remembering forgetting, 105–6
- Renaissance, 136
- renunciation: act of, 64–65; stories of, 64–68
- requiescat*, 24
- Revelation, scroll in, 6
- ritual cleansing, *Confessions*: Book 10 as act of, 99
- Romanian, 40, 81; and Augustine’s return to Tagaste, 35; patronage of, 33
- Romans, Book of, 73
- Rome, 22, 41; paganism in, 42
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 137; *Confessions*, 22–23
- Sallust, 30–31
- San Marco, basilica of (Venice), mosaics in, 124, 151n6
- Scientist in the Crib, The*, 28
- scribes, prevalence of, in ancient world, 1
- scripta continua*, 5–6
- Scripture, 20–22, 35, 59; Latin translation of, from Hebrew

- (Jerome), 7–8; study of, 112;
understanding, 113–14
- scrolls: papyrus, use of, 2; replication of, 2–3
- scrutatio*, 24
- Septuagint, 7–8
- Sergius Paul, 65
- Seven Cardinal Virtues, as guide to spiritual danger, 106
- Seven Deadly Sins, as guide to spiritual danger, 106
- sexual addiction, fight against, 70–72
- sexual dreams, complicity in, 107–8
- sexual orgasm, and abandonment of reason, 60
- sexual temptation, escape from, 79
- Sicily, 41
- sight, sense of, 109
- Simplician, 16, 55; Augustine and, 51; as influence on Augustine, 141; and Neoplatonist teachings, 50–51; and renunciation stories, 64–65
- Sizoo, Alexander, 75
- smell, sense of, 109
- Socrates, 5, 20
- solitude, of reader and writer, 4–6
- Spark, Muriel, 143
- specific gravity, 130
- spiritual psychodrama, 25
- Stoicism, 60
- Symeon Stylites, 59–60
- Symmachus, and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46
- tablets (wax or wood), use of, 2
- tachygrapher, 2
- Tagaste, 85; Augustine's return to, 29, 35; scene in the baths of, 23–25
- Teacher, The* (Augustine), 146; Adeodatus and, 26–27
- Teaching Christian Faith* (Augustine), 136
- Ten Commandments, as guide to spiritual danger, 106
- Theodosius, 60; actions against Maximus, 87; and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46; support for Valentinian II, 43
- thermae*. *See* bath (*thermae*)
- time, 115–25, 145–47; and memory, 117–19
- toothache, 80
- Trinity: analogues to, 100–101, 127; in *Confessions*, Book 13, 125; mystery of, 13; perversion of values of, 107
- Trinity, The* (Augustine), 21, 127, 138
- truth of Christianity, Alypius and, 74
- understanding, as analogy to Trinity, 127–29
- urges of the eyes, 110
- urges of the flesh, 107–9
- Valentinian II: and affair of Victory's Altar, 42–46; and Ambrose, 43
- Valerius, as Bishop of Hippo, 19
- Verecundus, 61–62
- Victory's Altar, affair of, 42–46
- Vindician, 35
- Virgil, 147; lessons in, 81
- virginity, Alypius and, 74
- vocation stories, 64

- West, Rebecca, 143
- will: as analogy to Trinity, 127–29; damaged by sin, 69; theories of, 68–69
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 145–46
- world, creation of, 120–23
- worldly designs, 110–11
- writing: as musical score, 5; and oral culture, 4–6; process of, 2–3; without word-separation or punctuation, 5
- writings, sacred, presence in *Confessions*, 8–9