Friendship in Saint Augustine’s *Confessions*

*Between social convention and Christian morals*

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

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door

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geboren te Sittard
promotor: prof.dr. C.H.M. Kroon
copromotor: dr. N.M. Vos
Si linguis hominum loquar, et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut aes sonans, aut cymbalum tinniens. cum essem parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus. quando autem factus sum vir, evacuavi quae erant parvuli. videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem. nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum. nunc autem manent, fides, spes, caritas, tria haec. maior autem horum est caritas.

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child. But when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glass, darkly: but then face to face. now I know in part: but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three. But the greatest of these is charity.

1 Corinthians 13:1, 13:11-13
King James Bible (2008)
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### Summary

### Biography
For the past seven years I have been trying to understand what Augustine is talking about in the Conessions when he mentions friendship, and why he is talking about it. The results of these years you are holding in your hands right now. And whatever anyone may think about those results, these seven years, filled with conversations with Augustine and with those who know him well, filled with books and research, filled with countless moments of amazement, these seven years have been wonderful years for me. I would not want to have missed one single moment. For all those moments and all those years I am deeply indebted to the people who have made it all possible.

First of all I want to thank Ineke Sluiter and Caroline Kroon. They took me in and pointed me in the right direction. Then there was Nienke Vos who not only made sure that I kept my theological priorities straight, but who also saw to it that my readers might still be able to follow the logic of my arguments obscured at times by my colloquial verbosity. Thank you for all your patience, even when my stubbornness proved to be rather trying from time to time.

Through all those years there was Caroline Kroon who taught me, showed me, questioned and guided me, and who gave me confidence. Thank you, for a wonderful time, Caroline.

I am greatly indebted to the members of the reading committee: Gerard Boter, Ineke Sluiter, Paul van Geest, Paula Rose, Suzanne Adema, and James O’Donnell. Their questions and suggestions helped me to improve whatever there was to improve.

I want to thank Neil McLynn, who gave me my first ever peer review in Oxford. Ton Kuijpers for making the text legible and intelligible. Arnold Roosch for his breath-taking creativity and unwavering enthusiasm: the perfect embodiment of benevolentia. And Jean Schleipen for his wisdom, his humour, and his true dilectio.
As to the subject of friendship itself I want to thank a number of people who make me see and feel what friendship is; simply by being who you are and by being, or having been, part of my life you have made me want to understand friendship. Thank you, my dear friends.

During the seven years of my research there have been many moments of frustration, when the right answers to the right questions kept eluding me, and when time seemed to be slipping away. In those countless dark moments, when doubts assailed me, there were three people who stood by my side unwaveringly and unconditionally, three people without whose help I would not have lasted a single week in this glorious enterprise: my father, my mother and my wife. My father and mother taught me that nothing is impossible as long as you follow your heart, that you should never give up when you are chasing your dream. Although they did not live to see me set out on this seven year journey, their voices have kept me going when the going got tough. Thank you, Mom and Dad.

And then there is my wife, who gave me seven years of her life, during which she took care of daily business whenever I needed more time to spend on my endless research. Always with a smile on her lips. You believed in me from the start, you made me believe in myself, whenever my belief would falter. For all your love and true friendship, I thank you, Annelies.
For as long as I can remember, friendship in one form or another has been an important and yet intriguing part of my life. That is, I would think, as it is with most of us. In primary school there were the friends to run around with, to go out into the wilderness seeking glorious adventures during those sun drenched summer holidays that would never end. In my teens there were the friends with whom I would try to understand the real world and with whom I would plan a future full of promises. At university there were the friends with whom to look back and decide what to change in ourselves and in the world around us. As a grown-up the days I spend with my friends have become so dear to me that I could never do without them.

And always, during all those years, as some friends came along, some moved away and some became so close as to be just another part of myself, I wondered what it was that would turn schoolmates and mere acquaintances into any kind of friends. What was the stuff that true friends were made of? Sometimes I had dearly wanted to become someone’s friend, but they would snub me, or worse yet, betray me. Sometimes someone whom I considered to be my friend would just drift away and after a while would seemingly turn into another person, strange and incomprehensible. And sometimes conversation with a friend would just falter and die, because there would be nothing left to talk about, the common ground suddenly exhausted, while friendship would turn into a formal acquaintance and eventually cease to be.

And yet, I have known four friends with whom I have shared the greater part of my life in more than years alone. The friendship we share amongst each other has grown and matured, while at the same time it has stayed young and exciting. These are still the men I would call to set out on a glorious adventure on some enchanted Saturday afternoon. These are the men I would call to help me pick up my life again, whenever it needs any picking up. And in both cases they would come and join me unquestioningly.

The friendship with these men I would call true friendship. But what is it that makes it true? What is it that connects us and has connected us through all these years, while other friends have come and gone?

As I said before, friendship has always intrigued me. Small wonder then that when I first started reading Cicero in earnest at university and discovered
his *Laelius, de amicitia*, I was more than triggered to look for any answers. At the same time I stumbled upon Augustine. Browsing through his works I picked up a copy of the *Confessions*, which, as I came to understand, was one of his major works and very accessible too. In the *Confessions* I saw Augustine’s friendship in action, I read his thoughts about it. And somewhere in that moving, at times emotional story of his life it felt as if there might be some of the answers I was looking for.

Still, as things go, it was not until many years later that I would finally get the opportunity to sit down and start analysing Augustine’s friendship in the *Confessions*. The present thesis is the result of that scientific analysis and that personal search. I hope it will add to the understanding of Augustinian *amicitia* to the Augustinian scholar as well as help the general reader to understand a little more about everyday friendship in its truest form.
### Chronological table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>354</td>
<td>Augustine born in Thagaste (modern Souk Ahras, Algeria).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Julian the Apostate emperor, withdraws support for Christianity.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>361-3</td>
<td>Accession of Valentinian I and Valens, followed by Gratian in 367.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td>Julian the Apostate emperor, withdraws support for Christianity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>364</td>
<td>Accession of Valentinian I and Valens, followed by Gratian in 367.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>370</td>
<td>Returns to Thagaste from Madaura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>Goes to Carthage for the first time.</td>
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<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>Patricius dies. Augustine takes a concubine.</td>
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<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>Consecration of Ambrose as bishop of Milan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>Reads Hortensius. Birth of Adeodatus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>Returns from Carthage to Thagaste to teach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>375</td>
<td>Death of Valentinian I. Accession of Valentinian II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>376</td>
<td>Death of friend. Returns to Carthage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>378</td>
<td>Death of Valens, followed by the accession of Theodosius I in 379.</td>
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<tr>
<td>380</td>
<td>First publication <em>De Pulchro et Apto</em>. Publishes numerous books and treatises up until his death.</td>
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<td>383</td>
<td>Goes to Rome.</td>
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<tr>
<td>384</td>
<td>Altar of Victory controversy in Rome.</td>
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<tr>
<td>384</td>
<td>Professor of rhetoric (<em>rhetoricae magister</em>) in Milan.</td>
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<td>385</td>
<td>Monnica and Nebridius arrive in Milan.</td>
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<td>385</td>
<td>Jerome leaves Rome for the East.</td>
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<tr>
<td>386</td>
<td>Finding of Ss. Gervasius and Protasius. Affair of the basilicas in Milan.</td>
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<td>386</td>
<td>Sends concubine back to Africa. Conversion in the garden in Milan. Goes to Cassiciacum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>387</td>
<td>Returns to Milan. Baptism together with Alypius and Adeodatus.</td>
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<td>387</td>
<td>Vision in Ostia. Death of Monnica.</td>
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<tr>
<td>388</td>
<td>Goes to Rome. Together with Alypius returns to Carthage, then to Thagaste. Nebridius returns to his family estate near Thagaste in 388 or 389.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>390</td>
<td>Death of Adeodatus and Nebridius.</td>
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</table>
391 Goes to Hippo Regius. Ordained priest.
   391 *Theodosius I bans public practice of traditional religion.*
   392 *Death of Valentinian II. Theodosius I last emperor of undivided empire.*

393 Attends Council of Hippo. Attends 18 Councils of Carthage between 394-421.
   393-394 *Alypius visits Jerome in Bethlehem.*
   394 *Consecration of Alypius as bishop of Thagaste.*

395 Consecrated bishop of Hippo.
   395 *Death of Theodosius I. Honorius rules in the West, Arcadius in the East.*
   397 *Death of Ambrose. Succeeded by Simplicianus.*

397-401 Writes *Confessions.*
   410 *Alaric sacks Rome.*

412-416 Writes *De Civitate Dei.*
   425 *Valentinian III emperor in the West.*

430 Death and burial.
   431 *Hippo captured by Vandals.*
Maps of Augustine’s journeys
Source: Brown (1967, repr. 2000)
Chapter 1

Introduction
1.1  Augustine and his Confessions

1.1.1  Aurelius Augustinus

Augustine was ‘like a colossus bestriding two worlds’. That is how Albert Outler, one of his translators, describes him. To fully understand that description, we need to understand the times Augustine lived and worked in. For those times, the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, were tumultuous and momentous in more than one respect. And Augustine was a true child of those times. The fourth century saw the crucial transition of early Christianity from a pursued sect into the imperial state religion. Within a relatively short period of time (314-431 A.D.) thirteen church councils were held out of a total of fifty-five up until the present day. Only seven of those fifty-five have been accepted by the whole of Christendom as ecumenical, three of which took place during that same period. Of the eight so-called great fathers or doctors of the church, seven were each other’s contemporaries, and most of them were in direct contact with each other.

It was during this period that the Christians unfurled the roadmap for their church for the next 1100 years, concerning their organization, liturgy and doctrine. But this same period brought about great changes at another level as well. The Roman empire briefly regained some semblance of its former strength and invincibility guided by the emperors Constantine and Theodosius. At the beginning of the century Rome’s place as the one eternal capital of the empire was usurped by Constantinople, at the end of that same century the empire was finally split in two. When Alaric sacked Rome in 410 A.D., the writing on the wall could no longer be ignored and a new reality slowly but surely settled in.

Augustine, who was part of both these worlds, the ecclesiastical and the secular, was in a very real sense right in the middle of all these developments.

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2 Outler (1955: 1).
3 Castella (1950), Maxwell-Stuart (1997).
4 Nicæa I 325 A.D., Constantinopol I 381 A.D., Ephesus I 431 A.D.
He was a member of the gentry, albeit of the Roman province of Africa. His father, a local councilman, scraped the funds together for his son to set out on the *cursus honorum*, a prospective career in the imperial civil service, just like Roman fathers had been doing for centuries. As a young man Augustine was intellectually captivated by Cicero’s *Hortensius*, while at the same time he entered the illegal sect of the Manichees, who appealed to his unbridled hunger for knowledge. His ambition and his talents brought him to Rome and eventually to Milan, where he performed at the imperial court as the city’s official *rhetor*. He was enthused by Ambrose, who paved his way for his reading of Scripture. At the peak of his worldly career he converted to Christianity, forsook that career, returned to the province he had come from, and eventually became a bishop.

Augustine was facing the same problems every Christian of his age was grappling with and every intellectual was trying to find answers to. He was driven by an unquenchable curiosity and a longing for answers to all his questions about the universe and the world around him. But in all this turmoil it eventually turned out that it was Augustine’s voice that those around him and those who would come after paid attention to, helping them to make their own decisions. Echoing Outler’s description of Augustine’s position within his own timeframe, James McEvoy describes Augustine’s influence on what came after: ‘He was like a Colossus for the age which followed him: no figure of Christian antiquity came near to rivalling his hold over the minds of reflective Christians of the Middle Ages’.  

### 1.1.2 The *Confessions*

Of all the books Augustine wrote, the *Confessions* are arguably his most popular work. Its appeal seems to some extent to derive from the author’s voice and ‘dramatic’ presentation of the narrative. In James O’Donnell’s words: ‘The opening [of the *Confessions*] can give rise to the disconcerting feeling of coming into a room and chancing upon a man speaking to someone who isn’t there. He gestures in our direction and mentions us from time to time, but he never addresses his readers.’ Presented as a monologue with God as primary addressee and virtual

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interlocutor, the *Confessions* seem to be the most intimate place to hear Augustine’s voice from up close.9
Augustine wrote the *Confessions* right after he had become bishop of Hippo Regius in the Roman province of Africa.10 Through its language steeped in classical rhetoric, its references and quotations from classical literature and Scripture, its elaborate imagery borrowed from the *Aeneid* and Scripture alike, Augustine in his *Confessions* was trying to bridge the gap between ‘the two worlds’ that were about to merge in his days.11
As McCarthy puts it: ‘The Confessions reflects a literary space in which ancient Roman classics intermingle with the new Christian classics.’12
In the first nine books Augustine tells the story of his life from birth until his conversion to Christianity and his baptism. Although this might give the impression that the *Confessions* are a straightforward autobiography, right at the opening of book 1 it becomes more than clear that they are at the same time quite something else and much more than that.13
The final four books contain Augustine’s thoughts about time, memory and temptation, as well as an elaborate exegesis of the first chapter of Genesis. These four books arguably continue the autobiographical line on a rather implicit level, showing the bishop at work.
All in all Augustine in the *Confessions* describes his life as a great struggle to free himself from earthly temptations, turn his back on his secular career and to eventually see the light of reason and accept the love of God.

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9 To appreciate the specific character of ‘Augustine’s voice’ in the *Confessions* we will have to differentiate between Augustine as the author of the *Confessions* and Augustine as the explicit or overt narrator in the *Confessions*. I shall go into these different personae of Augustine in chapter 1.4.1 on pp.37-8.


11 Just as McLynn (1994: 277) remarks about Ambrose: ‘the mediator between two worlds [i.e. secular and clerical], the authoritative interpreter of the one to the other.’


13 O’Donnell (2006: 7): ‘Augustine performed an interpretation of his own life.’ Kotzé (2004: 3): ‘Augustine’s aim in writing the Confessions was neither to analyse and understand himself nor to create for posterity a portrait of himself, or even of his conversion.’ She argues that the *Confessions* were meant first and foremost to bring its readers to change their lives in accordance to Augustine’s vision of the road to salvation as unfolded in the *Confessions*. See her interpretation of the character of the *Confessions* on pp.19-20. See also Fredriksen (1988: 104): ‘The temptation to see it primarily as autobiography should be resisted. It is rather, Augustine doing theology in a new key, using his own past experience as privileged evidence for his new theological propositions.’
The emphasis on this personal, internal struggle as the centrepiece of the *Confessions* might also have been influenced by the changing times. In the previous century the fear of death and the prospect of martyrdom had dominated the thoughts and subsequently the writings of the Christians. According to Brown, the story of the actual lives the saints had led, had been of little importance, since their martyrdom was considered to be the very climax of their lives through which the strength of their faith was expressed. In Augustine’s day the greatest enemies of a Christian were inside him; they were his doubts and his sins.\(^\text{14}\) Therefore, the true importance, as Augustine explicitly states, of his eventually successful struggle could only be found in the process itself, in the way it had come about.\(^\text{15}\) It had been Augustine himself, guided all the way by God, who had prepared himself for the final step: the gift of God’s love, *caritas*. In emphasizing this fact, that it had ultimately been up to himself to act, he reaches out to the reader and offers him a very real example to follow.\(^\text{16}\) Throughout the *Confessions*, as we shall see, Augustine chooses to show, not tell; by relating his life’s story and by showing how he has become the man he is, he involves the narratee in that story, enabling the narratee to identify with him and, thus, to imitate him.\(^\text{17}\) Mayer, commenting upon the exhortative aspect of the *Confessions* calls the book ‘a pastorally motivated protrepticus’, a protrepticus being a literary genre primarily serving as an exhortation to the study of philosophy.\(^\text{18}\) It would be called ‘pastoral’ insofar as the successful road to conversion, according to Augustine, does not imply philosophy or any kind of intellectual breakthrough, but leads through the heart to Christ. Kotzé qualifies the *Confessions* as both a protreptic as well as a paraenetic: ‘A protreptic aims to change both the world view and the conduct of the


\(^{15}\) Cf., e.g., 8.1.1: *quomodo dirupisti ea [vincula] narrabo*; 8.12.30: *narramus quemadmodum gestum sit*; 10.3.4: *et delectat bonos audire mala, nec ideo delectat, quia mala sunt, sed quia fuerant et non sunt*.

\(^{16}\) Cf. 10.3.4: *excitant cor, ne dormiat in desperatione et dicat, non possum*; 13.21.30: *vivendo coram eis et excitando ad imitationem*; 13.25.38: *praebentibus se ad imitandum in omni continentia*.

\(^{17}\) The occurrence of 17 narrative episodes in books 1-9 is a clear example of this ‘show, not tell’ principle. On the effectiveness of this presentation see 9.13.37: *meminerint cum affectu pio parentum meorum in hac luce transitoria (...), ut quod a me illa poposcit extremum uberius ei praestetur in multorum orationibus per confessiones quam per orationes meas*. For the narrative episodes as illustrations of everyday life see also Brunt (1988: 355) on Cicero’s *Laelius, de amicitia*.

addressee, while a paraenetic presupposes a shared world view and aims at improving the conduct of the audience.'\(^{19}\) Both aspects, she argues, are present while Augustine addresses his Christian (paraenetic) and his non-Christian audiences, the Manichees among others (protreptic).

In my discussion of the thirteen books of the *Confessions* I will show how the realism of the example Augustine sets to the reader and the feasibility of succeeding along the road Augustine had travelled is enhanced by his choice of subject matter in his anecdotes: we will consequently see ‘small scale’ incidents of the most mundane nature, as for example the theft of pears by a group of young boys, or the temptation of accepting a bribe so as to be able to buy books. The everyday nature and implied recognition of the incidents by the reader leads to identification of that reader with the young Augustine.\(^{20}\)

Augustine the bishop tells the story of his own personal struggle. Through my textual analyses the image will arise of the young Augustine in the *Confessions* as a man just like any other. Whatever Augustine says about what had happened to him, could have happened to anyone. Thus, the *Confessions*’ happy end would arouse in readers the expectation of a similar experience.\(^{21}\)

1.1.3 Friendship

While Augustine had been struggling, doubting, falling back upon corrupted and evil ways, he had never been alone. There had always been friends around him, with whom he could discuss things, to whom he could open up. Some of those friends had been of the wrong kind, setting him up to bad things, seducing him to folly. But some had turned out to be of the right kind, who had shared his struggle, who had matched him every step of the way. They had been ‘true’ friends, as he puts it.

In the course of this study I will show in what way they are portrayed and ‘staged’ by the author in order to demonstrate their importance for

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20 Bruggink (2010: 341): ‘Het voorval is zo onbeduidend en tevens zo herkenbaar dat iedereen durft toe te geven dat hij ook wel eens zoets heeft gedaan (...) [Augustinus] is daarmee heel benaderbaar en navolgbaar.’ (‘The incident is by itself so unimportant yet so recognizable that anyone would dare confess to have done something of the sort (...) [it would make Augustine] accessible and imitable’).
21 See my discussion on identification as an aspect of the protreptic character of the *Confessions* in chapter 3.3 on pp.263-6.
Augustine’s development in one way or another. At the same time secular friendship turning into Christian brotherhood seems to be the perfect example for the true Christian to follow. Thus we shall see how the theme of friendship and the way it is treated by Augustine is used in order to bring the pagan and the fledgling Christian worlds together.

In his famous biography Peter Brown says: ‘Augustine was an imperialist in his friendships. To be a friend of Augustine’s meant only too often becoming a part of Augustine himself’. Friendship has always been an essential part of Augustine’s life; he was never completely without friends.

As Von Campenhausen puts it: ‘[dass] Augstin von Natur ein starkes Anlehnungsbedürfnis besass, zu allen Zeiten seines Lebens viele Freunde hatte und in seiner Weise fast ein virtuos der Freundschaft gewesen ist’. It is a sentiment likewise recognized by McNamara: ‘[Saint Augustine] was endowed with a genius for friendship. (...) it is not that Augustine was overbearing in his friendships (...) but that he was a master at convincing others of his beliefs.’ Augustine himself refers to friendship in his Confessions as sweeter than all the sweet things in the life he led.

He firmly declares that he could not have been happy without friends. In the De Civitate Dei he states that he finds consolation in this world full of dangers only in true faith and the mutual love of true and good friends.

According to Lane Fox, Augustine was the first Christian writer to explore friendship, rather than love, for a neighbour, or for God. As Cassidy puts it: ‘It was Augustine who could be singled out from the writers of late antiquity for his acute awareness of the attractive power of the love of friendship.’

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22 Van der Valk (2009: 142): ‘It is because Augustine felt such affection for his friends that we are truly able to judge his love for God.’; McNamara (1958: 43): ‘His companions (...) whose character reflect Augustine’s own, for he was the centre of their friendship.’


24 McEvoy (1986: 44-5): ‘Augustine’s experience of friendship was a constant feature of his entire life.’ See also, e.g., Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 50-3, 174); Van Bavel (1970, repr. 1986: 23-4). See also McGuire (1988: 53): ‘For Augustine at all stages in his life friendship was a basic human need that went beyond intellectual enjoyment.’, and (ibid.: 57): ‘For Augustine [friendship] was the very substance of human life and love.’


26 McNamara (1958: 95): ‘He was unbending in his requirements for friendship.’ See also MacNamara (1958: 227).

27 4.4.7: amicitia mea, suavi mihi super omnes suavitates illius vitae meae.

28 6.16.26: nec esse sine amicus poteram beatus.

29 August., De civ. D.19.8: quid nos consolatur in hac humana societate erroribus aerumnisque plenissima nisi fides non facta et mutua dilectio uerorum et bonorum amicorum?

30 Lane Fox (2015: 68).

1.2 Friendship as a recurring theme in the Confessions

1.2.1 The principal question of this thesis

In view of the preponderance of the theme of friendship at what seem to be dramatic focal points in the presentation of the text of the Confessions, I have formulated the following principal question:

What is the function of the theme of friendship within the Confessions as a whole?

In order to answer this question I have also formulated two complementary (and partially interrelated) subsidiary questions:

1. How can friendship be characterized in the Confessions?
2. How is friendship presented in the narrative episodes in the Confessions?

1.2.2 Way of approach and outline of this study

When reading the Confessions one should bear in mind that Augustine in this book presents two kinds of amicitia, a classical Roman concept as well as a Christian concept. These two concepts share a large number of aspects. In order to answer the first subsidiary question I have used a combined and multi-stage method. To begin, I have made an analysis of friendship as presented in (i) two classical sources, secular (Cicero) as well as Christian (Ambrose); and (ii) modern research on the composite notion of friendship in the Augustinian corpus as a whole. This part of the research, and the overview thus obtained of the various components of amicitia, will be explained in more detail in chapter 1.3. Methodologically, this overview then functions, in chapter 2, as a guiding principle for the analysis of both the narrative and the non-narrative

32 For illustrations of a classical concept of friendship, see, e.g., 4.4.7, 4.8.13-4.9.14, 6.7.11, 6.16.26.
33 Cf. Williams (2012: 60), who reads amicitia ‘as a system of labels and categories to be interpreted more than as a set of relationships and events to be reconstructed.’
34 See also Konstan (1997: 8) on characterizing friendship through its vocabulary: ‘Determining the parameters of ancient friendship (...) is fundamentally a philological task, which must begin by identifying the vocabulary of friendship.’
passages of the *Confessions*, the former of which have been analysed by means of a relatively novel close-reading method which I will introduce in chapter 1.4 below. The interpretation of the *Confessions* in chapter 2 comprises the body of the research and contains analyses of seventeen embedded narratives. It focusses on eight of them concerning friendship in particular, in their respective contexts. In this study I refer to these eight narratives as key narrative episodes (KNE’s). As I will focus in my discussion of their context on the character and presentation of friendship and the eventual function of this theme in the *Confessions*, I will not present an exhaustive outline of the complete text of the *Confessions*, but will limit myself to what I call ‘selective summaries’.

The analytic instrument I employ to answer the second subsidiary question is of an eclectic nature and combines insights from both discourse linguistics and narratology. The instrument has been developed by a number of classicists in Amsterdam, and incorporates elements from (i) a model of narrative structure initially developed by William Labov for natural narrative (Labov 1972), (ii) a model of linguistic discourse modes as, e.g., proposed by Carlota Smith (Smith 2003), and (iii) Irene de Jong’s approved model of narratology (e.g. De Jong 2014). It is the first time that this instrument has been applied to the text of Augustine’s *Confessions*. The instrument typically has a strong focus on discourse-linguistic devices, such as the use of tenses and the use of particles (e.g., *sed*, *nam*, *autem*, *at*, *igitur*), which reflect different principles of textual advancement and textual coherence. Attention is also paid to a separate group of particles

35 For meditative passages see, e.g., 2.8.16-2.10.18, 4.5.10-4.9.14, 6.14.24-6.16.26.

36 1. The pear theft (2.4.9); 2. The friend who nearly turned into an enemy (4.4.7-4.7.12); 3-6. Alypius and Nebridius (6.7.11-6.10.17); 7. Firminus (7.6.8-11); 8. The garden in Milan (8.8.19-8.12.30).

37 See, e.g., Adema (2007; 2008); Allan (2007; 2009); Adema & Stienaers (2013); Rose (2013); De Jong (2014); Van Gils, de Jong & Kroon (eds) (to app.).

38 For an application of this instrument to Augustine’s treatise *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, see Rose (2013). Cf. Kotzé (2004: 8): ‘The greatest impetus for studying the Confessions has always come from the disciplines of theology and history (with philosophy and psychology in ancillary positions).’; O’Donnell (1992) *Prolegomena* xxii: ‘New lines of inquiry and new questions have not been risked. The issues have remained those that Courcelle defined, and the techniques remain his.’ For a selective overview of isolated grammatical, syntactical or stylistic approaches to the *Confessions* as well as approaches from the field of literary theory see Kotzé (2004: 18-20). For a critical note on the added value of the application of ‘the theoretical framework of literary theory’ and on any kind of danger it might be liable to, see Kotzé (2004: 20): ‘To my mind this kind of readings often serve more to illustrate the theory than to really advance our knowledge of the Confessions.’ Bearing this danger well in mind I will nonetheless, by applying the above-mentioned eclectic analytical tool, attempt to show in this study what such an approach can indeed add to our understanding of the function of the theme of friendship in the *Confessions*. 
which primarily aim for speaker authority and hearer commitment (e.g. *vero, modo, enim, ergo*), and might therefore be called ‘conversation management particles’. Where relevant, I also discuss the rhetorical use of anaphoric pronouns, especially the pronoun *ille* as a means to indicate and emphasize the relations between referents. In chapter 1.4 I describe the details of the close-reading instrument I have employed to answer the second subsidiary question.

Together, the ‘model’ presented in 1.3 and the results of the analyses in chapter 2 lead to a quite specific picture of the multi-faceted concept of *amicitia* as Augustine uses it in the *Confessions* (see the conclusions in chapter 3.1) as well as of the sophisticated way in which Augustine presents the theme of *amicitia* in the narrative episodes of the work (see subsidiary question 2 above and the conclusion in chapter 3.2).
1.3 A ‘model’ to characterize friendship as Augustine presents it in the Confessions

In the Confessions Augustine does not present a classical Roman concept of amicitia as opposed to a Christian concept, but he rather, as we shall see in my analyses of the key narrative episodes (KNE’s), presents classical amicitia as an imperfect version of Christian amicitia. Both these concepts of amicitia may individually evolve into ‘true’ friendship by the addition of specific aspects, such as virtus (in case of the Roman concept) or caritas (in case of the Christian concept). Any discussion about the function of the theme of friendship in the Confessions will have to take all these concepts of amicitia, Roman, Christian, perfect and imperfect, into account.

Therefore, I will now present a brief analysis of two classical sources which may have influenced Augustine in his presentation of the specific concepts of amicitia as they appear in the Confessions. I will also summarize some of the results of prior research into Augustine’s concept of amicitia in the Augustinian corpus as a whole. Finally, I will present a ‘model’ based on this analysis and summary, which may enable us, in the remainder of this study, to characterize the individual concepts of friendship, whether they be perfect or imperfect, as presented in the Confessions.

A Ciceronian concept of amicitia

Cicero, arguably, canonized the classical concept of amicitia in his Laelius, De Amicitia, which he wrote in 44 BC. To him amicitia was an intricate
sociological concept of give and take, *quid pro quo*.[41] Augustine was in many ways influenced by Cicero. Cicero’s *Hortensius* had set Augustine on the path of philosophy. The dialogues Augustine wrote while at Cassiciacum are Ciceronian in style and setting.[42] The title of his early work *De Pulchro et Apto* echoes Cicero’s *De Officiis* and *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. Considering the subject matter and purport of Cicero’s *Laelius, De Amicitia*, it seems more than likely that the concept of classical *amicitia* as Augustine saw it, derived from Cicero’s presentation.[44] Since a detailed characterization of Cicero’s presentation of friendship in his *Laelius, De Amicitia* had not been attempted before, I have sought out all occurrences of friendship in the text and have found the following aspects essential to Cicero’s conception of this complex concept.[45] To name

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[41] But for all its efficiency it was as essential to man’s life in Cicero’s view as it was in Augustine’s. Cf. Cic. *Amic.* 5.17: *nihil est enim tam naturae aptum, tam conveniens ad res vel secundas vel adversas;* 7.22: *itaque non aqua, non igni, ut aiunt, pluribus locis utimur quam amicitia.* For classical *amicitia* as a ‘businesslike arrangement’ see, e.g., McLynn (1994: 275): ‘Amicitia should not be confused with [our modern concept of] friendship,’ and Konstan (1997: 2). Also Syme (1939: 157): ‘Roman political factions were welded together (...) by mutual interest and by mutual services (*officia*) (...) on a favourable estimate the bond was called *amicitia,* otherwise *factio.*’ For a more nuanced view see, e.g., Brut (1988: 351): ‘[amicitia]’s range extends from genuine intimacy and community of principles to forms of outward courtesy’, and Konstan (1997: 13): ‘That there are practical advantages to friendship does not necessarily reduce it to a set of transactions based on interest and obligation rather than selfless action.’ Konstan (1997: 5) claims ‘relative autonomy comparable to the status it presumably enjoys in modern life’. He expresses the same sentiment in a general definition (1997: 1): ‘friendship is a mutually intimate, loyal, and loving bond between two or more persons that is understood not to derive primarily from membership in a group normally marked by native solidarity, such as family, tribe, or other such ties.’ See also Williams (2012: 29) who argues that ‘no word in a given language [amicitia or φιλία] can ever be entirely the same as another [friendship] in any other language.’

[42] For Augustine’s familiarity with, e.g., Cicero’s dialogue *Tusculanae Disputationes*, see Hagendahl (1967: 514).


[44] Testard (1958: 334): ‘*Toute l’école romaine et latine, tous les maîtres n’étaient-ils pas cicéroniens?* (...) *La civilisation gréco-latine a bien connu ce fonds commun.*’, Cassidy (1992: 134): ‘It was, above all else, the writings of Cicero which provided Augustine with an access into this classical tradition of friendship.’; McLynn (1994: 77): ‘Cicero and the bible are quarried with equal thoroughness.’; Den Boeft (2010: 296): ‘of all the classical references in Augustinie’s oeuvre 18% point to Vergil, 33% to Cicero.’; Classen (2011: 8): ‘They all [the Church fathers] relied consistently in one way or another on the teachings developed by Cicero in his famous *De Amicitia.*’ And Classen (2011: 9): ‘*De Amicitia* constitutes one of the foundational texts for the entire discourse on friendship.’ For the influence of Cicero’s *Laelius* see also Williams (2012: 2): ‘this text played a key role in the transformation of classical into Christian discourses of friendship.’, and Hadot (1986-94: 288-9). Hadot (ibid.: 289-91) argues that Seneca’s influence on Augustine’s description of friendship was even greater than Cicero’s, since Seneca presents friendship as ‘eine Hilfe zum Erlangen der Tugend’.

these aspects I have used the words Cicero uses with the only exception of *libertas* (outspokenness). Cicero only describes outspokenness as an essential aspect of friendship, without explicitly naming it. In order to be able to refer to this aspect of friendship in my analyses in chapter 2, I use the word which Augustine uses: *libertas.*

*Benevolentia:* the friends aim for each other’s best interest, rather than claiming a friend’s help;

*Caritas/amor/dilectio:* affection and love for each other;

*Virtus:* moral strength which creates and preserves friendship;

*Vicissitudo:* the friends influence each other, which only between ‘good’ friends leads to positive peer pressure;

*Unitas:* the friends become as one, complementing each other;

*Aequalitas:* the friends are each other’s *exemplar* (*alter idem*);

*Consensio:* the friends agree on things human and divine;

*Libertas:* outspokenness, the friends admonish each other.

The first passage in the *Laelius, De Amicitia* where we can clearly see a number of friendship’s aspects is in chapter 6, where Cicero seems to give a definition of what he considers to be friendship:

*Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio, qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nil quicquam melius homini sit dis immortalibus datum.*  

(Lael., De Am. 6.20)

For friendship is nothing else than an agreement in all things, human and divine, conjoined with mutual goodwill and affection, and I am inclined to think that, with the exception of wisdom, no better thing has been given to man by the immortal gods.

In this definition of friendship we read about *benevolentia, caritas* and *consensio.* There are more aspects, as we can see from the quotation below, such as *amor* and *dilectio,* as elements of the love, *caritas,* which the friends feel for each other. We can also see *aequalitas,* the friends are like each other.

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46 E.g., 4.4.8: *mirabili et repentina libertate*; Aug. Ep. 155.11.
47 Cf. Williams (2012: 20) who views this definition as an element of Laelius’s polemical argumentation.
48 For Cicero’s use of *amor* and *caritas* see, e.g., Konstan (2010: 243).
Let us believe that the sentiments of love and of kindly affection spring from nature, when intimation has been given of moral worth; for, when men have conceived a longing for this virtue, they bend towards it and move closer to it, so that, by familiar association with him whom they have begun to love, they may enjoy his character, equal him in affection, become readier to deserve than to demand his favours.

Aequalitas can only exist between men who are ‘good’. To Cicero this being ‘good’ is asserted by the presence of virtus, moral strength. It is the one aspect from which friendship originates:

This very virtue is the parent and preserver of friendship and without virtue friendship cannot exist at all;

Friends should be able to admonish each other, Cicero says, which indicates outspokenness or libertas.

It is an aspect of true friendship both to give and to receive advice.

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50 Cf. Cic., Lael., De Am. 21.82: Par est autem primum ipsum esse virum bonum, tum alterum simile sui quaere. For Cicero’s emphasis on friendship between men, see, e.g., Williams (2012: 23).

51 Classen (2011: 7): ‘Virtue dominates friendship in Cicero’s philosophy’. Cf. Lael., De Am. 17.104: vos autem horator, ut ita virtutem locetis (sine qua amicitia esse non potest), ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilitus putetis; 22.83: virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes; 22.83: virtutum amicitia adiutrix a natura data est, non vitiorum comes; 27.100: virtus (...) et conciliat amicitias et conservat.

52 Cf. Cic., Lael., De Am. 6.22: quid dulcius quam habere, quicum omnia audes sic loqui ut tecum?
In this admonishing each other (monere et moneri) we can also see the aspect of vicissitudo:\(^{53}\)

\[
qui vel amare vel, ut ita dicam, redamare possit (...) nihil est enim remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissitudine studiorum officiorumque iucundius. (Lael., De Am. 14.49)
\]

a sentient being capable of loving and – if I may so term it – of loving back (...) for nothing gives more pleasure than the return of goodwill and the interchange of zealous service.

One more aspect Cicero presents is unitas, the friends being together as one.\(^{54}\) To Cicero this oneness can only exist among friends.\(^{55}\)

\[
Amicitiae vis sit in eo ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus. (Lael., De Am. 25.92)
\]

The effect of friendship is to make, as it were, one soul out of many.

**An Ambrosian concept of amicitia**

The influence of Ambrose on Augustine’s presentation of friendship in the *Confessions* can be compared to Cicero’s. Ambrose, as we shall see in the analyses and selective summaries of the text of the *Confessions*, was of great importance to the development of the young Augustine. In 378 A.D. Ambrose held an oration at the funeral of his brother Satyrus (*De excessu fratris sui Satyri*). The text was published, together with a speech Ambrose gave a week after the funeral at his brother’s tomb, on the theme of resurrection. The booklet was called *Libri Consolationis et Resurrectionis* and it was widely distributed. In Ambrose’s description of his relationship with his brother we may find a number of aspects of

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53 Konstan (2010: 238) points out that reciprocity in ancient friendship should not be qualified as as an obligation of one friend towards another, but rather as an ‘expectation of loyal affection’. But even lacking any obligation, vicissitudo has a downside, as Cicero points out; it can quite easily turn into negative peer pressure; Cic., *Lael.*, De Am. 11.37: nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris; 12.42: sine sociis nemo quicquam tale conatur. See on this point also Konstan (2010: 245). Cf. Augustine’s very similar sentiment when contemplating what drove him to the pear theft, 2.8.16: et tamen solus id non fecisset (...), solus omnino id non fecisset. See my discussion on pp.65-9.

54 Friends do not have to be together to be as one, according to Cicero, *Lael.*, De Am. 7.23: [amicī] et absentes adsunt.

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amicitia. The similarities, as we shall see, between Ambrose’s text, in terms of both structure and content, and the Confessions, mainly occurring in the second key narrative episode (4.4.7-4.7.12), are remarkable. Considering these similarities, the popularity of Ambrose’s text and his overall influence on Augustine, I think it is highly probable that Augustine knew about it and had read it.

In De excessu fratris sui Satyri the following characteristics seem to define amicitia:

Benevolentia: the friends would die for each other;
Amor: reciprocal love;
Vicissitudo: the friends influence each other, heed each other’s words;
Unitas: the friends are together;
Aequalitas: the friends are each other’s likeness even to a physical point;
Caritas: the love for each other in God;
Virtutes: the cardinal virtues.

Since Ambrose’s text is not explicitly about friendship, I have ‘labelled’ the aspects myself as they appear in the text, with the exception of amor, caritas en virtutes, which Ambrose discusses explicitly. The ‘labels’ I use are in accordance with the Ciceronian ‘labels’ (see above). In Ambrose’s oration we can see unitas between the brothers. Their minds were as one, even when they were physically separated. We can see amor and aequalitas, carried to the point of their physical likeness, as well as vicissitudo, as they discussed everything together and hung on each other’s lips, and benevolentia on Satyrus’s part, when he would gladly

56 For the importance of the theme of friendship to Ambrose, see, e.g., McGuire (1988: 42-7). For the similarities between friendship and family relationships see also my discussion of Augustine’s relationship with his mother, which shows a number of aspects of friendship (chapter 3.1 on p.249 and chapter 3.2 on pp.258-62).
57 I shall discuss these similarities in the analyses and selective summaries in chapter 2.
58 Ambr., De exc.fr.sui Sat. c.6: corpore inseparabilis; c.7: non esset vitae tempus divisum (...); c.73 animorum imagines semper nobiscum erant, etiam quando non eramus una; c.79: numquam nobis fit vitae conditio discretior.
59 Ambr., De exc.fr.sui Sat.c.37: mutua semper utrique nostrum .. amor.
60 Ambr., De exc.fr.sui Sat.c.6: melior mei portio (...) numquam enim totus in me fui, sed in altero nostri pars maior amborum; c.37: corporis similitudine alter in altero videbamur; c.38: quae mihi hinc gaudia (...) quod eos errare in nobis cernerem (...) neque enim de tuis erat aliquid aut factis aut sermonibus, quod tinerem; c.39: individuus spiritus, individuus affectus.
61 Ambr., De exc.fr.sui Sat.c.23: uterque enim nostrum ex alterius ore pendebat.
die in someone else’s place. And we can also see \emph{caritas} shared between Ambrose and Satyrus. The highly classical and all important concept of \emph{virtus} that we saw with Cicero, has in Ambrose’s book been transformed and Christianized into the ‘cardinal virtues’. To Ambrose these last two aspects, \emph{caritas} and the christianized concept of \emph{virtus}, make all the difference between secular, everyday friendship and Christian friendship.

**Modern research: the Christian concept of \emph{amicitia} in the Augustinian corpus**

Augustine’s conception of friendship has been the object of research for many years. In 1958 Marie Aquinas McNamara already identified six aspects of friendship within the broader field of the Augustinian corpus: \emph{unitas}, \emph{aequalitas}, \emph{benevolentia}, \emph{vicissitudo}, \emph{dilectio} and \emph{caritas}. She also summarized the main aspects of classical friendship as presented in Cicero’s \textit{Laelius, De Amicitia}. The aspects she identified in the Augustinian corpus she also recognized in the Ciceronian concept. As the main difference between the two concepts she emphasizes the crucial role of \emph{virtus}, in the \textit{Laelius, De Amicitia}, which leads to a concept of friendship as ‘necessarily rare and limited to a small circle.’

In the Augustinian corpus she points out that as far as \emph{unitas} is concerned the actual physical aspect of togetherness does not seem to be essential. The friends ought rather to be of one mind. Actual separation, therefore, cannot destroy friendship, since ‘the object of friendship, the mind of a friend, lived in one’s own mind.’ That mind Augustine loved for its desire to know and love God. In that way even people who had never met and might never meet could still be friends. \emph{Aequalitas}, she adds, does not

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62 Ambr., De exc.fr.sui Sat.c.2: mallet occidi pro aliis, quam sibi vivere.
63 Ambr., De exc.fr.sui Sat.c.6: uterque autem eramus in Christo.
64 McGuire (1988: 45): ‘What is important to Ambrose is the lack of any tension between the ideal of friendship in Roman and Christian cultures. The two worlds merge into each other in effortless harmony.’
65 McNamara (1958: 4): ‘Saint Augustine’s attitude toward friendship was penetrated with the notions of classical friendship.’
66 McNamara (1958: 4-7).
67 McNamara (1958: 5). See also my discussion in chapter 3.3 on pp.268-9 on Augustine’s emphasis on friendship between individuals as compared to Ambrose’s wider scope. Cf. Brown (2012: 155): Augustine ‘didn’t think big, as Ambrose had done’.
69 McNamara (1958: 198).
70 McNamara (1958: 141-44, 217).
imply a complete identification of the one friend with the other; rather, the equality Augustine has in mind is an equality of morals: ‘fortune or condition [Augustine] considered extrinsic to friendship.’\footnote{McNamara (1958: 213). However extrinsic they might be, she also argues (ibid.: 75-6) that there had never been a true friendship between Augustine and Ambrose, because in their case fortune and condition were much too different.} She does not seem to make any real distinction between Augustine’s use of \textit{amor} and \textit{dilectio}, the latter of which has an, arguably, higher, i.e., less physical connotation.\footnote{2.2.2: \textit{serenitas dilectionis}. On this qualification of friendship’s love see Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 118).} She considers \textit{benevolentia} to be another term Augustine employs to express this love or affection between friends. \textit{Caritas} she identifies as the one thing which makes friendship true. Likewise, turning away from God’s love is the only thing that can end friendship. True friendship, she says, to Augustine is a gift from God; it cannot be sought. The achievement of true friendship is thus beyond human control. ‘One can desire to be the friend of another who is striving for perfection, but only God can affect the union.’\footnote{McNamara (1958: 202).} The \textit{protreptic} character of the \textit{Confessions} is, as I shall discuss in chapter 3.3, aimed at bringing the narratee to prepare himself for that gift.\footnote{Augustine stresses the responsibility of the individual for his own actions: e.g., 8.10.22: \textit{ego cum deliberabam (...) ego eram, qui volebam, ego, qui nolebam: ego eram}. But the final step relies on God: e.g., 5.2.2: \textit{et ecce ibi es in corde eorum, in corde confitentium tibi et proicientium se in te et plorantium in sinu tuo post vias suas difficiles}; 8.1.1: \textit{quomodo dirupisti ea [vincula] narrabo}; 10.40.65: \textit{nihil eorum [amplitudines memoriae] discernere potuit sine te et nihil eorum esse te inveni. nec ego ipse inventor (...) nec ego ipse}. For the minimal influence man himself can exert, see my discussion in chapter 3.3 on pp.264-5.} 

McNamara distinguishes the following aspects of Augustine’s \textit{amicitia}:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{Benevolentia/amor}: & reciprocal love; \\
\textit{Vicissitudo}: & the friends influence each other; \\
\textit{Unitas}: & the friends are together in their minds; \\
\textit{Aequalitas}: & the friends are alike; \\
\textit{Caritas}: & the love for each other in God, which turns \textit{amicitia} into \textit{amicitia vera}. \\
\end{tabular}

Tarcisius Van Bavel in 1970 also emphasized the crucial influence of \textit{caritas}, in his words: ‘the love of Christ’.\footnote{Van Bavel (1970, repr.1986: 23-36).} Ultimately, he says, it is impossible
for one friend to ever completely know the other in his deepest self. This inherent lack of total knowledge leaves the friends no other recourse than faith. This faith engenders caritas, and only thus friendship can be truly perfect. Since friends were an essential part of Augustine’s life and since he himself had stated that there could be no happiness without friendship, Van Bavel is convinced that Augustine thereby proves that faith is the most essential aspect not only of true friendship, but of life in general.

Van Bavel’s aspects of Augustine’s amicitia are:

- Benevolentia: the friends aim for each other’s best interest;
- Dilectio: reciprocal love;
- Vicissitudo: the friends influence each other;
- Unitas: the friends are together in their minds;
- Aequalitas: the friends are alike;
- Caritas: the love for each other in God;
- Fides: communal faith makes amicitia vera.

In 1999 Donald Burt came to a slightly different analysis of the aspects of Augustine’s friendship. He considers truth/frankness (veritas/libertas) to be of great importance among friends, while he does not consider love (amor/dilectio), as distinct from caritas, the love of God in the friend, a specific aspect of Augustinian friendship at all. He identifies five aspects (benevolence, reciprocity, concordia (‘oneness in heart’), equality and truth/frankness). All of these, according to Burt, would be possible only if the friendship were based on one’s love of God in the friend.

Burt’s aspects of Augustine’s amicitia are:

- Benevolentia: the friends aim for each other’s best interest;
- Vicissitudo: the friends influence each other;
- Concordia: the friends are together in their minds;
- Aequalitas: the friends are alike;

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76 See for this sentiment also Cassidy (1992: 129).
77 See also my discussion in chapter 3.1 on p.179.
80 Burt (1999: ch.4).
Caritas: the love of God in the friend, which makes all the other aspects possible.

Veritas/libertas: the friends are frank and truthful towards each other;

On the basis of my analyses of Cicero’s and Ambrose’s concepts of friendship, which are likely to have influenced Augustine, as well as taking into account the results of previous research as presented above, I have developed the following ‘model’ to characterize Augustine’s concept of friendship in the Confessions. Keeping this ‘model’ in mind while close-reading the text of the Confessions in chapter 2, we may be able to identify the specific aspects of friendship, be it classical or Christian, ordinary or ‘true’, as Augustine presents it, in the Confessions. In chapter 3.1 I shall describe these aspects of Augustine’s friendship based on my analyses.
## Aspects of amicitia: Ciceronian, Ambrosian, and Augustinian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Cicero</th>
<th>Ambrose</th>
<th>McNamara</th>
<th>Van Bavel</th>
<th>Burt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benevolentia</td>
<td>Friends aim for each other’s best interest.</td>
<td>Friends would die for each other.</td>
<td>Reciprocal love</td>
<td>Friends aim for each other’s best interest.</td>
<td>Friends aim for each other’s best interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amor/Dilectio</td>
<td>Reciprocal love</td>
<td>Reciprocal love</td>
<td>Reciprocal love</td>
<td>Reciprocal love</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicissitudo</td>
<td>Reciprocal influence</td>
<td>Reciprocal influence</td>
<td>Reciprocal influence</td>
<td>Reciprocal influence</td>
<td>Reciprocal influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unitas</td>
<td>Friends complement each other.</td>
<td>Friends are together.</td>
<td>Friends are together in their minds.</td>
<td>Friends are together in their minds.</td>
<td>Burt calls this <em>concordia</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordia/</td>
<td>Friends agree on all things human and divine.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Friends are together in their minds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensio</td>
<td>Reciprocal love</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aequalitas</td>
<td>Friends are each other’s example.</td>
<td>Friends resemble each other even physically.</td>
<td>Friends are alike.</td>
<td>Friends are alike.</td>
<td>Friends are alike.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caritas</td>
<td>Reciprocal love</td>
<td>Love for each other in God.</td>
<td>Love for each other in God, which defines <em>amicitia vera</em>.</td>
<td>Love for each other in God, made possible by <em>fides</em>, communal faith. <em>Amicitia vera</em> requires <em>fides</em>.</td>
<td>The love of God in the friend, which makes all the other aspects possible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virtus</td>
<td>Moral strength, which defines <em>amicitia vera</em></td>
<td>Ambrose speaks of <em>virtutes</em> (cardinal virtues).</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libertas/Veritas</td>
<td>Outspokenness</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Outspokenness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.4 A method to analyse the narrative episodes in the Confessions: narratology and linguistics combined

1.4.1 Narratological features

For a better understanding of some of the narratological terms and categories used throughout this study I will describe those that I consider the most essential for the analysis of the Confessions. They are derived from De Jong.\textsuperscript{81}

A story is told by a narrator. A narrator may be ‘visible’, by explicitly commenting upon the story he tells or by adding information about himself; or, by refraining from any such thing, he might be ‘invisible’. The former narrator is called overt, the latter covert. For the Confessions as a whole Augustine is a very overt narrator, with the exception of some of the narrative episodes. The primary narrator usually tells the story from his own point of view, as he has experienced the action or as he is experiencing it. Thus he becomes the focalizer of the story. Sometimes the narrator actually is a part of the story he tells, in which case he is called internal narrator, sometimes he is not, in which case he is called external narrator. In most of the narrative episodes, Augustine the narrator is one of the characters. It may be that someone else is introduced as telling a story within the main story from his point of view, as a secondary narrator, which constitutes a focus shift from the primary to a secondary or embedded focalizer. In the Confessions such a shift in focalization happens a number of times, for example in book 8 where Augustine (primary narrator) tells that he met Simplicianus, who then (secondary narrator and focalizer) tells him the story about Victorinus. Augustine, however, remains the narrator telling the narratee about Simplicianus telling him the story.

Sometimes a focus shift occurs when Augustine as his own younger self figures in a story he tells. When that happens, as, for example, in the anecdote about the friend who nearly turned into an enemy in book 4, Augustine’s younger self, as an actor in the narrative episode, becomes the embedded focalizer. There is a focus shift from ‘Augustine the bishop’, the external, primary narrator, to ‘Augustine the young man’, the internal embedded focalizer, struggling towards conversion. De Jong distinguishes between narrating focalization, which would agree with Augustine the

\textsuperscript{81} See De Jong (2004: glossary and ch.1), De Jong (2014: ch.2-4).
bishop narrating the story, and experiencing focalization, which would agree with the young Augustine as he saw and (mis)understood events at the time they occurred. See De Jong (2014: 65).

This enables Augustine the bishop as primary narrator to comment upon his own erstwhile actions as if he were talking about someone else, a character in one of his narrative episodes, thus emphasizing the change he has gone through between his erring, younger self and the bishop he has become.

Looking at the *Confessions*, it is important that we distinguish three different aspects or personae of Augustine. First, there is the historical figure who actually sat down to write the *Confessions*. This historical Augustine as the author then chose the fictional setting of a dialogue of sorts between himself and God, creating his own second persona, the primary narrator. See De Jong (2014: 10, 17) for the notion of a narrator as distinct from the historical author as helpful to look beyond the strict biographical reading of the text.

This primary narrator then recounts anecdotes in which he, most of the time, plays a part, thus creating his own third persona, the embedded focalizer. Throughout this study I will distinguish between these three personae respectively as Augustine the author, Augustine the bishop and Augustine the young man.

The narrator tells a story to someone, the addressee or narratee. When a secondary narrator steps in, it automatically follows that he would address a secondary narratee. In the *Confessions* we have a special situation: from the opening lines throughout the entire book it is quite clear that Augustine the bishop, as the primary narrator, addresses God as primary and overt narratee. It is God after all to whom he confesses the former error of his ways and the subsequent salvation that was brought about. Still, Augustine asks himself a couple of times why he should be telling God all this, since it was God who had seen it all happen and had – for a major part – made it all happen. In that respect God might be called the interlocutor to Augustine the speaker, while the actual narratee, for whose (protreptical)

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83 See De Jong (2014: 10, 17) for the notion of a narrator as distinct from the historical author as helpful to look beyond the strict biographical reading of the text.
84 Cf. Kotzé (2004: 122-3): ‘A full treatment of all the different voices that speak in the *Confessions* merits a lengthy study in its own right. It is perhaps one of the fields where the categories of contemporary literary theory could provide a useful tool for unravelling the problem.’
85 E.g., 2.3.5, 10.1.1, 10.3.4.
86 Thanks go to Caroline Kroon for this suggestion.
‘benefit’ Augustine the author wrote his book and for whose ‘benefit’ Augustine the bishop addresses God, is covert.\textsuperscript{87}

A story is told by a narrator to a narratee. It is up to the narrator how to present the narrative: at what point to start, for example, what details to emphasize or to withhold, how to treat the sequence of events. The narratee may reconstruct for himself the series of events through this presentation. In narratology this reconstruction is called the fabula, the narrator’s presentation is called the story. When a narrator decides to vary the sequence of events in his story as compared to the sequence in the reconstructed fabula, which is called anachrony,\textsuperscript{88} he has a number of temporal procedures to choose from. When he narrates an event which took place earlier than the point in the story where we are, that is called an analepsis or flashback. Augustine uses analepsis, for example, in the anecdote about the friend who nearly turned into an enemy in book 4. Such an analepsis might refer to a time before the main narration started, which would make it external, or within the time-frame of the main narration, which would make it internal. When the narrator does not refer to the events in the analepsis anywhere else in the narration, the analepsis is called completing. All the narrative episodes in the \textit{Confessions} are internal, with the exception of the two anecdotes about Monnica’s younger days. Eight of the seventeen are analepses.\textsuperscript{89} All the narrative episodes are completing, arguably with the exception of the story of Antony’s conversion, since Augustine ‘fills in’ the final details only at the end of book 8 (see also below on paralipsis). Looking at the eight KNE’s, I note that, however completing they might be, suggesting an independent character towards each other, they are interdependent in as far as they each illustrate an aspect of \textit{amicitia} which adds to that one overall description of friendship which is the subject of this study.

Narrating an event that in chronological order will only take place after the point in the story where we are, is a flash forward or prolepsis. In the \textit{Confessions} Augustine as primary narrator uses prolepsis sparingly,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{87} Cf. the position of Lucilius in Seneca’s letters: Lucilius is the overt narratee (the letters are addressed to him and he is explicitly addressed in them), while the content of the letters is clearly meant as educational and protreptical to a wider audience. See also Kotzé’s remarks on the covert narratee in the \textit{Confessions}: ‘Augustine remains acutely aware of his other audience.’
\item \textsuperscript{88} De Jong (2014: 78).
\item \textsuperscript{89} The anecdote about the friend who nearly turned into an enemy in book 4, the four anecdotes about Alypius (\textit{Vita Alypii}) in book 6, Protasius and Gervasius, and the two anecdotes about Monnica’s younger days (\textit{Vita Monnicae}), all in book 9.
\end{itemize}
as, for example, in mentioning the deaths of Verecundus, Nebridius and Adeodatus in book 9. Instead he inserts proleptical remarks or sentences, as narrating focalizer.

We also encounter a specific form of foreshadowing in the *Confessions* called a narratological seed. It is an element which a narrator works into his story unobtrusively as a detail or theme sown to grow, as it were, only to come to full bloom later on in the story. It might be, for example, that words that have been spoken before by one character with no particular emphasis or import will simply be repeated by another, or will by later developments gain importance or come true. And only at that moment the narratee will be able to put the one and the other in perspective, suddenly realizing where a certain development in the story has begun. It is what Augustine does, for example, in his repeated use of the word *homo* (4.4.7-9) when talking about the friend who nearly turned into an enemy; only several chapters later he will point out that the reason for his enormous grief had been that he had loved his friend not as a man who, like all men, would one day die (*diligere homines humaniter*: 4.7.12), but as someone who had been immortal.

A narrator may decide not to tell all the details of any given story, an ellipsis. He might choose to do that for the sake of speed or maybe simply because those details might not be of any interest. Then again a narrator might purposely withhold some detail because it would not fit in with the point he was trying to make or might even contradict it. Augustine quite explicitly mentions the first two reasons for his ellipses. But the third one we see in the *Confessions* as well, for example when in book 9 he never mentions anything about the political situation and its possible impact on his actions at the time.90

Sometimes Augustine chooses to withhold certain information only to mention it at some later point. This is called paralipsis. As Augustine uses it, it results in greater suspense to the narratee. The difference between paralipsis and an internal analepsis is that in the former case the narratee gains some essential insight in what he previously understood or thought he had understood, while in the latter the analeptic insertion serves only to illustrate the argument at that specific point in the narrative. One of the most explicit examples of paralipsis we see in the anecdote where Alypius is falsely apprehended as a thief; only at the end of the anecdote it becomes

90 See my discussion on pp.206-7.
clear that Alypius had actually seen and recognized the real thief and his accomplice. Another example is the actual conversion of Antony, which Augustine only adds right before his own crucial conversion scene in the garden in Milan, after having recounted the Antony story many chapters before. The above-mentioned example of analepsis about the friend who nearly turned into an enemy illustrates Augustine’s argument at that point, but does not bring the narratee to ‘rethink’ a earlier passage.

The narrator may choose to spend more or less time on the narration of a specific element or anecdote, thus altering the ‘speed’ or rhythm of the narrative. This means that an event can have a longer duration and thus gain greater emphasis in the story than in the fabula. For instance, Augustine describes the death of his friend, the second KNE, in very great detail. As a result, the report of this event takes more time than the actual event would have taken in the fabula, the reconstructed chain of events that make up the narrative of his life. In this case, story time does not equal fabula time, as De Jong would put it.91

1.4.2 Narrative structure

According to William Labov’s sociolinguistic model of narrative, natural narrative consists of various ‘building blocks’, which form the key categories of a fully formed natural narrative. Focussing on oral narrative he first distinguished six of these categories: abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, coda.92 At the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam Labov’s system was turned into a workable tool to analyse narrative passages from classical literature.

The abstract indicates that the narrative is about to begin and provides a preview of what we are going to read or hear. The orientation sets the scene. The main characters and their locale and the specific circumstances in which they might find themselves are introduced. The action itself takes place in the complication and peak. Other than in the rather static description in the orientation there is temporal progression. The peak is where all the suspense and/or tension built up throughout the complication comes to the fore; surprise, shock or any strong emotion may be found

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92 The model was elaborated by, e.g., Fleischman (1990) and Toolan (2001), who added a seventh category, the peak.
The evaluation explains, comments upon or reacts to any part of the action or to the action as a whole. The resolution wraps up the final events of the narration after its climax; what happened afterwards? The coda is, as was the abstract in a way, the transition between the anecdote and the main text; it leads the narratee back to the point before the story was introduced and to the ‘here and now’ of the narrator and his narratee.

As we shall see in the analyses in this study, the order in which these narrative categories are presented sometimes deviates from the prototypical order presented here. Moreover, Augustine does not always use all the seven categories. The individual categories may appear more than once within one narrative, or may be briefly embedded within another part. Understanding the organisation of the structure of the narrative, as well as Augustine’s variations upon its prototypical order is essential to the understanding of the content of that narrative. Thus, understanding the organisation of the structure of the narrative is of great importance in trying to see the function of friendship in the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*.

**Table 1 Narrative categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>What is this all about?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>Who/when/where/how?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td>What happened?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak</td>
<td>Climax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>So? What does this lead to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td>What happened afterwards?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda</td>
<td>Epilogue and return to the main story-line</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

93 Stienaers (2013: 8): ‘the tension reaches a climax and the narrative pace slows down in comparison with the tempo of the surrounding text segments.’; Stienaers (2013: 14): ‘peaks represent the moments which the story is really about in the narrator’s eyes.’

94 This holds especially for evaluation, which is often found after a narrative peak, but in essence may occur anywhere in the structure.
1.4.3 Discourse modes

An author has a number of options to present his text. He may, for instance, present the progression of the action in the story world or he may describe objects or places. He may choose to supply information, or add his personal commentary at any given moment in the narrative in accordance with what he thinks the narratee needs to know or understand. Such forms of presentation are called local text types, or discourse modes. They are characterized by specific clusters of textual features, such as tense, the use of particular particles, and type of sentence structure. As Van Gils, De Jong and Kroon point out, ‘the combination of historical present, short and syntactically noncomplex sentences, visual detail, and embedded focalization is typical for a narrative peak, conveyed by a narrative mode. Likewise, the co-occurrence of, for instance, interactional particles, perfect tense, focalization by the narrator and evaluative expressions are typically found in an evaluation of the narrative, and characteristic of the discursive mode.’

I discuss here the modes that are most prominent in the system of the Amsterdam scholars, without going into all the details, and relating them directly to the narrative categories discussed in 1.4.2.

The narrative mode (NM) presents sequences of events in relation to each other; in this mode action progresses chronologically step by step. The narrative mode is commonly used in complication, peak, orientation and resolution. In Latin narrative the progression of reference time may be conveyed by either the perfect tense or the (historical) present tense. The perfect tense can represent events which each constitute a step on the time line of the story. The present tense is generally presumed to emphatically zoom in on the action and usually places the audience in the middle of the story world, evoking the events in front of them ‘by very small steps on the story line’. The narrator pretends, as Kroon puts it, that the time in which he relates the story, the time of narration, coincides with the

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95 Smith in 2003 identified (not exhaustively) six different discourse modes in spoken and written language: narrative, description, report, information, argument and direct mode. This system was adapted for use in analyzing classical narrative by, e.g., Adema (2007, 2008); Kroon (2002, 2007); Rose (2013), and Stienaers (to app.). See also Van Gils, L.W., I.J.F. de Jong & C.H.M. Kroon (eds) (in prep.). For Ancient Greek see, e.g., Allan (2007, 2009).
97 Adema (2009).
98 Adema (2009).
time in which the story takes place, the reference time. Adema calls this pseudo-simultaneous narrative mode. On the other hand, we shall see the present tense in the Confessions also express a ‘matter of factness’ as a bare enumeration of events.

The research group at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam has adopted the term discursive mode for what Smith called report mode, since this term makes it clear that units in discursive mode are connected to the ‘universe of discourse now’ and not the ‘universe of story now’. I will follow their suggestion.

In discursive mode (DM) the speaker/narrator comments upon the action from the time of narration, i.e. in his own hic et nunc and that of his narratee. States of affairs referred to in discursive mode are each, individually, presented in their relation to that time of narration, and not necessarily related to one another in a strictly consecutive way. Due to the semantic meaning of the perfect tense as anterior to the moment of speaking, in perfect tense the narrator can present information in relation to his own point in time. This makes the perfect a suitable tense not only for conveying subsequent actions and events in narrative mode, but also for conveying past events in discursive mode where sequential relationships between states of affairs are absent or disregarded. Discursive mode occurs mainly in abstract, evaluation and coda, but can also be inserted as ‘running commentary’ into the main narrative parts. There is no temporal progression in discursive mode.

In descriptive mode (DeM) the narrator describes an object, a person or a location. This mode is most commonly used in orientation sections. Reference time does not advance in this mode, as the narrator takes his time to describe a particular part of the narrated world. The tenses used most frequently in descriptive mode are the (actual) present tense and the imperfect tense. In present tense the narrator describes people or places

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100 Adema (2008, 2009).
101 Cf., e.g., 4.4.8: post paucos dies me absente repetitur febribus et defungitur; 8.12.30: inde ad matrem ingredimur: indicamus: gaudet. narramus quemadmodum gestum sit.
102 See Kroon (2014). Instead of Smith’s description mode and information mode the Amsterdam research group uses descriptive mode and informative mode, a usage I will adopt as well.
104 Pinkster (2015: 442).
105 Adema (2009).
still present in the time of narration, while in imperfect tense he presents them in relation to reference time.

In informative mode (IM) there is no temporal progression either; here the speaker/narrator supplies general or universal information that holds true in reference time as well as in the time of narration. The prototypical tense in this mode is the (actual) present tense, emphasizing the universal validity of the communication.

Finally, the term direct mode (DiM) applies to any direct speech of any of the characters. Since the Confessions as a whole is addressed by the speaker Augustine to God, his interlocutor, the ‘macro-level dialogue’ (which happens to include a number of embedded narratives) might be described in terms of direct mode. Throughout the analyses of the narrative episodes I have chosen the mode which best expresses the specific intention of Augustine’s words, in lieu of the direct mode. In the second key narrative episode, for example, Augustine at one point explicitly addresses God, asking him a couple of questions: ‘At that time what did you do, my God? How unsearchable is the abyss of your judgments?’ Considering their form, both questions would qualify as direct mode, but considering their content and intention, I qualify the former question as discursive mode. The latter, however, I would prefer to qualify as informative mode, as its intention is to make a statement rather than to ask for information. In only six of the seventeen narrative episodes direct mode occurs as direct speech of any of the characters and it is a few times used to great effect in the peak.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{106} 4.4.8. See also my analysis on pp.85-6.

Table 2  Discourse modes in narrative texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse modes frequently distinguished by clusters of linguistic features</th>
<th>Prototypical function</th>
<th>Prototypical tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrative (NM)</td>
<td>The sequence of events</td>
<td>Perf./hist.pres., in alteration with plq. perf. and impf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discursive (DM)</td>
<td>Narrator’s comments, reflections and evaluations with regard to the story he tells</td>
<td>Perf./actual pres./fut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informative (IM)</td>
<td>Generally valid information</td>
<td>Actual pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive (DeM)</td>
<td>Describing persons, objects, places in the story world</td>
<td>Perf./impf./actual pres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct mode (DiM)</td>
<td>Direct speech</td>
<td>All tenses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.4  Linguistic features

The analytical instrument typically has a strong focus on discourse-linguistic devices. I refrain here from giving an exhaustive technical account of all the instruments used in so-called discourse linguistic approaches to literary (especially narrative) texts, and confine myself to mentioning only those linguistic phenomena that will play a major role in my own analyses of Augustine’s *Confessions*. One of these features is the use of tenses. In my description of the discourse modes in the previous paragraph I pointed out the specific usage of, e.g., the perfect tense to carry the action forward, prototypical of the narrative mode, mainly occurring in complication and peak, or to present information in relation to the author’s own point in time, prototypical of the discursive mode. The present tense can be used as an historical present, prototypical of the narrative mode, or as actual present, prototypical of descriptive mode or informative mode. Another linguistic feature which may enhance our understanding of a narrative text is the use of particles. An analysis of their use in the narrative episodes will help to bring out the rhetorical structure of the narrative. It

108 More extensive accounts with respect to Latin narrative may be found in e.g. Kroon (1998, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2012); Adema (2007, 2008); van Gils (2009); Adema & Stienaers (2013); Rose (2013); Stienaers (to app.). For Ancient Greek, see, e.g., various articles in Allan & Buijs (2007), and Allan (2009).
may also help to see the ways in which the author tries to interact with the reader, how he tries to draw and hold the reader’s attention, or how he tries to persuade the reader to agree with him. Considering the protreptic nature of the Confessions,\textsuperscript{109} seeing the interactive structure of the narrative is of great importance to the understanding of the Confessions as a whole and of the individual narrative episodes in particular.

As to the use of particles in Latin, a lot of work has been done by Kroon.\textsuperscript{110} A number of connective particles, e.g., sed, nam, autem, at, igitur, reflect different principles of textual advancement and textual coherence. The prototypical function of at, for example, is to mark an objection in a conversational text. At the same time it can lend monological texts a dialogical touch. The prototypical function of autem is not to mark a counter-argument, but rather to indicate a shift of attention to another discourse topic.\textsuperscript{111}

Attention is also paid to a separate group of particles which primarily aim for speaker authority and hearer commitment (e.g. vero, modo, enim, ergo), and might therefore be called ‘conversation management particles’.\textsuperscript{112}

Where relevant, I also discuss the rhetorical use of anaphoric pronouns, especially the pronoun ille as a means to indicate and emphasize the relations between referents.\textsuperscript{113}


\textsuperscript{111} Kroon (1995, 2011).


\textsuperscript{113} Kroon (2010). See, e.g., Augustine’s emphasis on the differences between himself and his friend in 4.4.8: \textit{at ille ita me exhorrruit ut inimicum (...). ego autem stupefactus atque turbatus, distuli omnes motus meos (...). sed ille abreptus dementiae meae, ut apud te servaretur consolationi meae.} By the use of at, autem and sed this implied contrast is emphasized even further.
To illustrate the way I have analysed the narratives episode in the *Confessions*, let us take a look at the story about Monnica and the bishop in book 3 of the *Confessions*. It encompasses a number of elements that are common to the narrative episodes in the *Confessions* and its analysis will show how the combined linguistic and narratological approach may contribute to a greater understanding of the text. Schematically the episode could be read as follows:

**Monnica and the bishop: 3.12.21**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative category</th>
<th>Inserted narrative</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td></td>
<td>DM, DeM</td>
<td>Augustine does not want to leave out one more answer which the bishop, whom Monnica turned to, gave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The bishop refuses her request to talk some sense into Augustine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td></td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Augustine the bishop agrees in hindsight with the refusal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM, DiM</td>
<td>Monnica should pray for her son. The bishop tells her an instructive story from his own childhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop’s story</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The bishop had turned away from Manichees on his own accord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Monnica sticks to her original request.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The bishop sends her away, assuring her that a child of such a woman could not perish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Monnica has retold this story over and over again as if the bishop’s words had come straight from heaven.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The entire anecdote is plainly told: the discourse mode is narrative almost throughout, except for a tiny bit of information in the abstract and a brief

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114 For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the seventeen narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.
evaluation by Augustine in discursive mode. Except for the very brief evaluation, we do not see Augustine as the primary narrator, ‘interrupting’ the flow of the narrative mode by observations, interpretations or remarks. The bishop’s eventual reaction to Monnica’s repeated request to aid her son carries emotion and is rather unexpected to the narratee. As such, this is the peak of this anecdote.

**Analysis**

The anecdote starts, prototypically, with an abstract.

**Abstract**

(DM) *et dedisti alterum responsum interim quod recolo. nam et multa praetereo, propter quod propero ad ea quae me magis urguent confiteri tibi, et multa non memini.*

(DeM) *dedisti ergo alterum per sacerdotem tuum, (DeM) quendam episcopum nutritum in ecclesia et exercitatum in libris tuis.*

Meanwhile you gave her another answer that sticks in my memory. For I pass over much because I am hurrying on to those things which especially urge me to make confession to you, and there is much that I do not remember. You gave her another answer through one of your priests, a bishop brought up in the church and well trained in your books.

Augustine addresses God in discursive mode, telling, for the benefit of the narratee, what the anecdote is going to be about: God has given Monnica a second answer to her prayers. Augustine comments upon his own words (*nam*), almost as if he interrupts himself, as can be deduced from the subsequent repetition of the opening words (*dedisti .. alterum*) of the previous sentence, and the use of *ergo*.

The description of the bishop in this abstract may count as an ‘integrated’ orientation, after which the narrative proper immediately starts with a complication.

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115 For a discussion of the use of *nam* in sentences that justify the absence of expected information, see Kroon (1995: 158, 2014: 77).

116 For this use of *ergo* see Kroon (1989, 2004).
In this complication there is a short explanation as to Monnica’s action in which the narrator – by means of the consensus particle *enim* – explicitly appeals to the narratee’s understanding.\(^{118}\) The narratee is supposed to agree that it was perfectly normal for Monnica to put this to the bishop. At this point, as at many more instances in the *Confessions*, the narratee would quite naturally be the general reader with whom Augustine is trying to establish some common understanding, rather than with God, the interlocutor of the *Confessions*.\(^{119}\)

The brief evaluation in discursive mode carries prospective weight (*postea*) beyond the confines of this anecdote. This is an example of prolepsis.\(^{120}\) The following sentence (*enim* once more) explains why the bishop did not want to do as she asked, or perhaps it explains why it was wise not to do

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\(^{117}\) O’Donnell (1992) on 3.12.21 sees the bishop as subject of *faciebat*. The emphatic use of the deictic *ille* (*illa femina – noluit ille* (see Kroon (2009, 2010b)) brings me to disagree with him, as well as with Chadwick’s translation, and follow the interpretation of the *Bibliothèque Augustinienne*.\(^{118}\)


\(^{119}\) See 1.4.1 on pp.37-8.

\(^{120}\) See 1.4.1 on pp.38-9.
it, but it does not as yet explain how the young Augustine would come to see it as wise.

Augustine quotes the words of the bishop verbatim in direct mode. It is one of the few examples of the direct mode in the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*. When it occurs it draws attention to the content.\(^{121}\)

\[\text{Complication}\]
\text{(NM) *simul etiam narravit*}

\[\text{Inserted anecdote}\]^{122}

\[\text{Complication}\]
\textit{quae cum ille dixisset atque illa nollet adquiescere, sed instaret magis deprecando et ubertim flendo, ut me videret et mecum dissereret, ille iam substomachans taedio,}

\[\text{Peak}\]
‘vade’ inquit ‘a me. ita vivas: fieri non potest, ut filius istarum lacrimarum pereat.’

\[\text{Resolution}\]
\textit{quod illa ita se accepisse inter conloquia sua mecum saepe recordabatur, ac si de caelo sonisset.}

\[\text{Complication}\]
At the same time he told her

\[\text{Inserted anecdote}\]

\[\text{Complication}\]
When he had said this to her, she was still unwilling to take No for an answer. She pressed him with more begging and with floods of tears, asking him to see me and debate with me. He was now irritated and a little vexed

\[\text{Peak}\]
And said: ‘Go away from me: as you live, it cannot be that the son of these tears should perish.’

\[\text{Resolution}\]
In her conversations with me she often used to recall that she had taken these words as if they had sounded from heaven.

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\(^{121}\) See, e.g., 8.12.29 ‘*tolle lege, tolle lege*’ or 9.10.26: ‘*fili, quantum ad me attinet, nulla re iam delector in hac vita. quid hic faciam adhuc et cur hic sim, nescio, iam consumpta spe huius saeculi. unum erat propter quod in hac vita aliquantum immorari cupiebam, ut te christianum catholicum viderem priusquam morerer. cumulatius hoc mihi deus meus praestitit, ut te etiam contempta felicitate terrena servum eius videam, quid hic facio?’

\(^{122}\) At this point the bishop’s story is inserted. For its analysis see my discussion on pp.74-5, and the appendix. Inserting an anecdote into the ‘main’ anecdote is something we will see Augustine do a number of times, most explicitly in the conversion stories in book 8, the stories of Simplicianus (see my analysis of 8.2.3-5 on pp.172-6) and Ponticianus (see my analysis of 8.6.14-16 on pp.176-9).
We get the bishop relating to Monnica some events from his own life in an elaborate indirect discourse. He has now become the narrator of this short episode, what we read are his perceptions, emotions and words. This is a shift in focalization from Augustine to the anonymous bishop. The construction of the sentence (triple subjunctive in an adverbial clause \((\text{cum } \ldots \text{ dixisset-nollet-instaret})\) and double subjunctive \((\text{ut } \ldots \text{ videret-dissereret})\) followed by a participle clause \((\text{substomachans})\)) builds up to the main clause, while the actual content of that main clause (‘Go away from me’) in its brevity and its straightforwardness must come as quite a surprise, if not as a shock, to the narratee. This main clause then, containing the bishop’s final words in direct mode, I consider to be the peak of this anecdote.

Wrapping up the story by relating what happened afterwards, in resolution, we read that Monnica ever after kept referring to this little exchange.

**Conclusion of this illustration**

The aim of my application of the eclectic instrument which combines insights from both discourse linguistics and narratology to the narrative episodes in the *Confessions* is to understand the functions of these episodes within the organization and the protreptic ‘message’ of the *Confessions* as a whole. In the above illustration it brings out the specific construction of this story which serves to highlight its actual content: we read about two people having a conversation, with one of them telling a little story about himself. The bishop Monnica turns to finally utters prophetic words (peak) as if they had come directly from heaven. There is the lasting effect on Monnica (resolution) who keeps retelling the anecdote forever after. Peak and resolution thus highlight a theme that we will see recurring throughout the *Confessions*: man is an unwitting instrument of God. By the little story about the bishop, Augustine momentarily draws the attention to him as secondary focalizer. Augustine’s narratee would most probably recognize Augustine himself in that bishop. This foreshadowing of Augustine’s development or acts in the acts of others will recur throughout the *Confessions*.

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123 This bishop’s little personal anecdote illustrates a recurring point in the *Confessions*: it had ‘become clear’ to him, without any human intervention, that he should leave the Manichees and he had left. To Augustine, such a conversion could only be brought about by God; only such a conversion could be valid.

Chapter 1 – Introduction
Chapter 2

Selective summaries and analyses of the *Confessions*
Books 1 to 13
2.1 Book 1

Selective summary

Augustine’s introduction to the *Confessions* (1.1.1)

Augustine opens his book directly addressing God. There is no classical dedication or formal introduction. He makes it quite clear that what follows is a conversation between God and himself and that the – covert – addressee is listening in. The very first lines of the *Confessions* are not Augustine’s own words, but an adaptation of Scriptural quotations; this is a first indicator of Augustine’s – eventually proliferate – use of (secular and) Scriptural quotations and references throughout the *Confessions*, as we shall see in the summaries and analyses of its thirteen books.

In the first sentence God is called praiseworthy (*laudabilis*). In the *Confessions* we shall see Augustine praise God by relating his own sinful Werdegang, where the acceptance of his mortality and of man in general, as well as his obstructing pride and God’s ways to make him give it up, are essential to the development of his personal story.

The most important of all the questions Augustine the narrator asks himself in this very first chapter is how to achieve full rational understanding of God’s nature. We shall see the young Augustine in the *Confessions* struggle to find an answer to that question on his way to complete enlightenment (cf. 7.10.16). All Augustine the narrator says at this point is that it is his faith that invokes God. His faith has come to him, he says, through the intervention of Christ, an insight the young Augustine will eventually come to in book 7, previous to his final conversion in book 8.129

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125 See chapter 1.4.1 on pp.37-8.
126 Cf. O’Donnell (1992) on 1.1.1; O’Donnell (2006: 77): ‘Human readers or not only disregarded, but seated in the balcony and ignored by the performer on stage.’
127 Ps. 47:2, 95:4, 144:3, 146:5.
128 See the repeated emphasis on praise in the first chapter: 1.1.1: *magnus es, domine, et laudabilis valde. (...) et laudare te vult homo (...); et tamen laudare te vult homo (...), tu excitas ut laudare te delectet (...), da mihi, domine, scire et intellegere utrum sit prius invocare te an laudare te (...), et laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum: quaerentes enim inveniunt eum et invenientes laudabunt eum.*
129 O’Connell (1969: 38) remarks on the questions Augustine asks here: ‘This series of questions sets the exercitatio animi underway. The entire work is meant to answer those questions more adequately.’
Thus this first chapter prepares the narratee on many levels for what he can expect. This kind of summary introduction is steeped in the classical tradition, but Augustine presents his general themes as well as characteristics of his story (conversation with God with an audience of sorts) in a much more implicit way, which, while conforming to general secular practice, serves to open this book on a rather informal and thereby more personal note.

The true nature of God
(1.2.2-1.5.6)

In chapters two to five Augustine presents the many difficulties man encounters in trying to understand the true nature of God; where does God reside? Does his being take up any space at all? Does he permeate every part of creation, bigger parts more than smaller parts? Augustine does not give any answers (of chapters two and three 75% is made up of questions). This enables the reader, the covert narratee, to identify with Augustine, asking himself the same questions, ever more eager to hear with what answers the bishop will eventually come up. The identification of the narratee with the narrator is a very important aspect of the protreptic character of the Confessions, since such an identification would make it more feasible for the narratee to follow in Augustine’s footsteps.

The beginning of Augustine’s life’s story: earliest childhood
(1.6.7-1.6.10)

Only after these introductory chapters, does Augustine start talking about his earliest childhood, thus initiating the (rather loosely constructed)
autobiographical chronology of the *Confessions*.\(^\text{135}\) He mentions his parents, but makes it absolutely clear that to his mind it was God from the first who was working through them. All Augustine knows about himself at that early stage is based either upon hearsay or is based upon his personal observations of babies, whose dumb actions are wholly motivated by their desires for physical comforts (*voluntates*). It is remarkable that in mentioning those upon whose words he has to rely, he talks about the authority of ‘some womenfolk’ (*muliercularum*: 1.6.10). One of those so anonymously pointed out is his mother, Monnica, who will figure so prominently in his life’s story. Augustine, as we shall see throughout the *Confessions*, only sparingly refers to the characters in his story by name. It would seem that in his *Confessions* he is not interested in personal details or even exact descriptions, but mostly in how people or places serve to illustrate a general characteristic or development.\(^\text{136}\) Too much (personal) detail might obstruct any identification on the part of the narratee and, thus, obscure the universal applicability of the story Augustine presents. I shall go into this in greater detail in the analysis of the second KNE about the friend who nearly turned into an enemy and whose name we never learn (4.4.7-4.7.12).

At the very end of 1.6.8 Augustine says that babies (*nescientes*) he observed made him understand more about himself than his nurses (*scientes*) could tell him. This illustrates the difference between purpose of human action and the absence of that purpose. Augustine sees God working through man, as I pointed out above, and he sees God’s will in seemingly random acts.\(^\text{137}\) We shall see this theme of *sciens*/deliberate/human vs. *nesciens*/non-deliberate/divine as a recurring theme throughout the *Confessions*. In the analysis of the narrative episodes we shall see this as an important aspect of reciprocity (*vicissitudo*), someone unwittingly influencing someone else through his words or actions.\(^\text{138}\) Since Augustine in the *Confessions* chooses, as we shall see, to show how he has come to embrace Christianity

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\(^{135}\) See also Mayer (2004: 76): ‘a protrepticus allows its author great freedom in putting his material together (...) it allows him to be selective and so omit facts of biographical interest, accentuate particular themes, and reconfigure problems to give them altered emphases.’

\(^{136}\) See for a similar sentiment Holland (2012: 313), on the fact that in the Qur’an hardly anyone is mentioned by their specific name: ‘Figures from even the recent past were of interest to Muhammed only once they had been bleached of all context, all individuality.’

\(^{137}\) E.g., 3.4.7, 3.12.21, 4.3.5, 5.7.13, 6.7.12. See also Lane Fox (2015: 293): ‘If God works indeed in human lives, He works through human error.’

\(^{138}\) E.g., Augustine influencing Alyppius (6.7.11-12), or Firminus influencing Augustine (7.6.8-11).
and to receive God’s love, the *sciens-nesciens* theme is an important element of the presentation of his progress and by what means it has come about, especially in the narrative episodes.\(^{139}\)

Augustine’s first encounter with the three temptations: bodily needs, worldly ambition and curiosity (1.8.13-1.10-16)

In chapter 1.8.13 Augustine continues with the story of his early childhood. He learns to talk, because he feels the growing need to communicate his wishes to those who cater to them. Considering the great (mainly negative) influence the desires, needs, and subsequent temptations (*voluntates*) will have on Augustine throughout his entire life, as we shall see in the following books, it is telling that these *voluntates* (h.l. his bodily needs) are what first drove him to communicate and interact with others. It is a quality of the temptations that Augustine will keep emphasizing: there is no inherent harm in them. Any danger they may entail depends on the level of importance one accords them in his own life. To Augustine it will always be the individual who, aided by the love of God, chooses to regard that balance, or, turning away from that love, to disregard it.\(^{140}\) This balance (*continentia*) is, as we shall see, a key aspect of what Augustine in the *Confessions* considers to be the way the true Christian ought to lead his life. As we shall see in the analyses of the KNE’s, this balance is of great importance in defining the individual aspects of secular or Christian friendship.

Augustine then goes on to tell how he learned to talk by listening to and observing those around him who were not necessarily intent upon teaching him words and phrases. He copies and applies to himself what others do and say unwittingly (*nesciens*/non-deliberate). From an early age he loves to hear stories and to see them performed. It was curiosity, he says, which drove him to stories. Curiosity (*curiositas* or *concupiscientia oculorum*) is one of the three main temptations (*voluntates*) which Augustine distinguishes, analogous to St. John.\(^{141}\) The other two are physical

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\(^{139}\) Cf. 8.1.1: *quomodo dirupisti ea [vincula] narrabo*; 8.12.30: *narramus quemadmodum gestum sit.* 10.3.4: *et delectat bonos audire mala, nec ideo delectat, quia mala sunt, sed quia fuerunt et non sunt.* See also my discussion of the *sciens-nesciens* theme in chapter 3.3 on pp.264-5.

\(^{140}\) Miller (2011: 388): ‘the correct measure in our commerce with the world.’

\(^{141}\) Cf. 2.6.12-14, 10.30.41-39.64; 1 Jn. 2:15-17. See also O’Donnell (1992) *Prolegomena.*
gratification (concupiscencia carnis) and ambition (ambitio saeculi).\textsuperscript{142} These temptations, to him, are ubiquitous: they are facts of life. In this description of his early childhood Augustine describes himself as an ordinary boy, with ordinary weaknesses and ordinary desires. He was, apparently, just like any other boy at that age. Thus, the narratee might easily recognize himself in that description to a greater or lesser degree, and, thus, be able to identify with the protagonist of the story.

**Early knowledge of God**

(1.11.17-18)

When Augustine falls gravely ill and his parents fear for his life, he begs to be baptized, which would certainly have taken place, had he not suddenly recovered. This story about the baptism on Augustine’s supposed deathbed will be echoed in book 4, in the second KNE, when his friend will indeed be baptized while unconscious (4.4.8). There is an interesting and important reversal of roles between Augustine as the boy who is ill and about to be baptized, and as the friend who later argues against it. It is a reversal which will serve to illustrate the development Augustine has gone through since his early childhood. At this point in book 1 this story functions as a narratological seed for the key narrative episode in book 4.\textsuperscript{143}

**Augustine’s early schooldays and his dislike of Greek**

(1.12.19-1.16.26)

Of all the things the young Augustine was supposed to learn he hated Greek most, because, he says, it was forced upon him.\textsuperscript{144} Augustine the bishop’s explanation\textsuperscript{145} of his hatred of Greek foreshadows what will prove to be a significant theme in the subsequent conversion stories concerning Augustine himself or those he is told about:\textsuperscript{146} any really effective and

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\textsuperscript{142} His voluntates (h.l. his bodily needs), as indications of his concupiscencia carnis, drove him to communicate and interact with others (1.8.13); his ambitio saeculi is expressed by his desire to excel in rhetoric (1.9.14).

\textsuperscript{143} For a description of the concept of a ‘narratological seed’, see chapter 1.4.1. on p.39.

\textsuperscript{144} The element of ‘force’ is emphasized in 1.12.19 by the repeated use of urgere (3x) and cogere (2x).

\textsuperscript{145} For the difference in perspective between ‘Augustine the bishop’ and ‘Augustine the young man’ see my presentation in chapter 1.4.1 on p.36-7.

\textsuperscript{146} E.g., Alypius and Nebridius (6.7.12), Firminus (7.6.8-11), Simplicianus (8.2.3-5), Ponticianus (8.6.14-16), The Garden in Milan (8.8.19-8.12.30).
lasting impression or decision can only come from within and can never be purposely (*sciens*) brought about by someone else, through force or any kind of conviction.

Curiosity has a much greater positive impact upon learning than force, Augustine the bishop says. Storytelling, mythology, was what really got his attention. The young Augustine was moved to tears by the story of Dido committing suicide because of a broken heart, while he remained dry-eyed when contemplating God or his very own mortality. But although the bishop might not agree with his younger self’s emotions, the young man at the time was applauded by everyone, because knowledge of classical literature and mythology was the backbone of his secondary education.  

**Worldly ambition and *vicissitudo***  
(1.17.27-1.19.30)

His adherence to the ways of the world, as we shall see, is one of the major problems the young Augustine faces during his struggle towards eventual conversion. He will struggle with this duality of the socially acceptable and the, to the Catholic bishop, morally reprehensible right up to and arguably for some time beyond his own conversion. At the end of the *Confessions*, bookmarking all thirteen books, as it were, he will repeat the sentiment in a slightly rephrased form.  

Augustine proved to be a promising student. This was to be expected, he says, since he was bound to try and imitate those who were continuously paraded in front of him as role-models. Just as with his learning to talk by imitating others (see above on 1.8.13), we see Augustine progress by following an example set before him. These are indications of the protreptic character of the *Confessions*.  

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147 1.16.26: *libenter hoc didici* (...) *et ob hoc bonae spei puer appellabar.*

148 See my discussion in book 9 (pp.202-3) where Augustine even after his conversion seems to hesitate in taking the final step and forsaking his worldly career.

149 13.21.29: *continere se ab amore huius saeculi.* Cf. 1.3.21: *amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio est abs te.*

150 1.18.28: *Quid autem mirum*, (...) *quando mihi imitandi proponebantur homines.*

151 Cf. 8.5.10: the fire of Augustine’s desire to follow in Victorinus’s footsteps: *exarsi ad imitandum,* and 13.21.31: *imitando imitatores Christi tui.*
The young Augustine chose the way that was most acceptable to the society of which he was a part. He continued in his bad habits, however, he lied, played around, sneaked off to theatre performances. He stole to satisfy his concupiscencia carnis, but also to bribe boys into playing with him. However bad the bishop would consider all these things, I think they are all instances of socially acceptable behaviour of a little boy growing up. While playing his games, we see Augustine as victor and victim. Doing to others what others will do to you, the identification of the perpetrator and the victim as one and the same, we shall see as a characteristic which Augustine deems common to human interaction. It is an illustration of reciprocity (vicissitudo). As with the story about the supposed baptism on his deathbed, this mentioning of his youthful thieving that went beyond mere self-gratification is yet another narratological seed, this time for the famous episode about the pear theft in the next book, the first KNE in the Confessions (2.4.9). The reference in book 1 as well as the KNE in book 2 illustrate the dangers of vicissitudo among friends when continentia is lacking.

**Book 1: an introduction**

All in all, there appear to be quite a number of themes that Augustine introduces in book 1 which will return throughout the Confessions: understanding God’s nature, adhering to the material world, scien-snesciens, man as the instrument of God, the three temptations and their intrinsic neutrality, but potential danger in losing the right balance, man’s motivation from within. There are a couple of narratological seeds in the baptism and the theft. The opening already illustrates Augustine’s use of pagan, literary allusions. There is the young Augustine’s struggle between the socially acceptable and the, to the Church, morally unacceptable. We see him trying to follow in the footsteps of a number of role-models. And we see the tentative, positive introduction of the theme of friendship via

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152 Cf. McCarthy (2009: 464): ‘Augustine [the bishop] finds the approval he receives to be far from harmless, because it ties his personal formation to a vast, largely unreflective imperial culture fired by the lust for domination and praise.’

153 1.19.30: *in quo etiam ludo fraudulentas victorias ipse vana excellentiae cupiditate victus saepe aucupabar.*

154 E.g., 2.2.2, 3.1.1, 4.1.1.

155 On the dangers of peer pressure see Bruggink (2010: 349).

156 1.20.32: *amicitia mulcebar.*
vicissitudo. All these themes will be repeated continuously throughout the next twelve books and some of them will play a major part in the seven KNE’s and Augustine’s description and presentation of friendship. As such, book 1 functions as an elaborate introduction to the *Confessions*.
2.2  Book 2

2.2.1  Selective summary: 2.1.1-2.3.8

The importance of friendship and love (2.1.1-2.2.2)

Having described his infancy and early schoolboy days in book 1, Augustine, now in his teens (adulescentia), faces a different kind of enticement: it’s a young man’s physical needs that bother him at this stage. This adds, as we saw in the previous book, to Augustine’s description of himself as an ordinary young man growing up with very recognizable personal problems. He wants to talk about these, because, as he says, reminding himself about his eventual liberation from them, will make him love God more. Of course, the story of how Augustine eventually managed to extract himself from them presents a realistic example for the narratee to follow. Although harshly rejecting his escapades, Augustine the bishop chooses a beautiful phrase to describe what was happening: ‘I ran wild in the shadowy jungle of erotic adventures’. However negatively Augustine the bishop looks back on it now, still, he can see something enjoyable in it, perhaps even as a bishop. Though it was not perfect, it was not all that bad. As we have seen in the previous book, the young Augustine is merely conforming to general expectations; his behaviour was socially accepted and to those around him did not call for any check.

The only thing he wanted at that time, Augustine the bishop says, was to love and be loved in return (amare et amari: 2.2.2). This idea of well-balanced vicissitudo in love he then associates with friendship, continuing the slightly positive attitude towards friendship that we saw at the end of the previous book (1.20.31). He characterizes friendship as ‘[love’s] exchange of mind with mind’. However, although equality (aequalitas) and vicissitudo were present, they were not strong enough (yet) to restrain his lust. That restrain echoes the balance (continentia), which I have pointed out in the previous book: since it is still lacking, the love the young

157 2.1.1: et silvescere ausus sum varis et umbrosis amoribus. The translation sounds much more suggestive than the beautiful image of the tree that grows unchecked beyond its bounds, while in the shadow of its manifold branches love blossoms.

158 2.2.2: Sed non tenebatur modus ab animo usque ad animum quatenus est luminosus limes amicitiae, sed exhalabantur nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis et scatebra pubertatis.

159 2.2.2: modus [amoris] ab animo usque ad animum.
Augustine feels is *libido*, possessive, lustful love,\textsuperscript{160} instead of *dilectio*, which implies an arguably higher, non physical level of love.\textsuperscript{161} *Dilectio*, the non-possessive level of love, we see here, is an aspect of friendship. Augustine the bishop describes friendship here in the most positive way as it shone out clearly (*luminosus limes amicitiae*: 2.2.2), while the young Augustine was blindly stumbling along as in a fog.

**A gap year in Thagaste, where temptations start to get a firm hold on him (2.2.3-2.3.8)**

Augustine continues on his path, begun in book 1, away from God. He spends his sixteenth year at home in Thagaste, when his *body*, as he puts it, is sixteen years old, emphasizing the importance of his physical development and the *concupiscentia carnis* that held him in its grip. In describing his return from Madaura, where he had already started his secondary education, Augustine suddenly exclaims: ‘To whom am I telling all these things? Certainly not to you, my God, but to my fellow men; (...) and why? So that whosoever reads this understands from what abyss he must call out to you.’\textsuperscript{162} Here, explicitly, Augustine, remarks upon and in a nutshell gives an explanation for the unique construction he has chosen for the *Confessions*; he addresses God as his interlocutor, with whom he shares his thoughts, but Augustine actually speaks for the benefit of the – covert – narratee.\textsuperscript{163} The narratee understanding what to do himself upon reading Augustine’s story is a perfect indication of the protreptic character of the *Confessions*.

The young Augustine did not heed his mother’s warnings, the bishop says, against the enticements of the flesh. He rather looked to his companions instead, saw them not ashamed, but bragging outright about their deeds. What drove him to imitate them and to make up things he had not even done, was not only his desire for these actions, he says, but also his desire

\textsuperscript{160} 2.2.2: *caligo libidinis*.

\textsuperscript{161} 2.2.2: *serenitas dilectionis*. On this qualification of friendship’s love see Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 118). She considers Augustine’s use of the term *amicitia* as generic of human relations, including the bond between husband and wife, thus transcending physical love. I shall discuss the quality and viability of friendship within any given relationship in chapter 3.1 (pp.248-9).

\textsuperscript{162} 2.3.5: *neque enim tibi, deus meus, sed apud te narro haec generi meo, generi humano, (...) et ut quid hoc? ut videlicet ego et quisquis haec legis cogitemus de quam profundo clamandum sit ad te*.

\textsuperscript{163} Cf. 10.1.1: *coram te in confessione, in stilo autem meo coram multis testibus; 10.3.4: hominibus coram te confiteor per has litteras*. See chapter 1.4.1 on pp.37-8.
for their praise. In his desire to be accepted by them, to be one of them, we see Augustine’s desire for *aequalitas*, while in his role models bringing him to evil deeds there is *vicissitudo*. Both aspects of friendship are faulty at this point, of course, since there is no *continentia* whatsoever. Augustine the bishop strongly condemns the conduct of his younger self during that gap year in Thagaste,\textsuperscript{164} but we see a continuous emphasis on social acceptance of what to his contemporaries apparently did not amount to anything worse than rebellious juvenile behaviour. To the narratee it would still be possible to identify with this to all secular accord perfectly normal young man.

### 2.2.2 Analysis of key narrative episode 1: the pear theft (2.4.9)\textsuperscript{165}

As an example of the actions he undertook with his companions Augustine then tells the story of the pear theft. It is the first KNE we encounter in the *Confessions*. Schematically the passage could be read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>I wanted to steal something, for the sake of stealing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>There was a pear tree with unappealing pears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>In the dark of the night a couple of us boys stole some pears, most of which we threw to the pigs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Oh, my God, I loved the wickedness of the deed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once we get to the analyses of the other seven KNE’s in books 4, 6, 7 and 8, it will become clear that Augustine presents this first KNE in a rather sober way as far as the use of particular linguistic devices and narratological techniques is concerned. The use of tenses is mainly restricted to the imperfect, when setting the scene in orientation, and perfect, for presenting a sequence of closely related events, or to introduce the narrator’s voice in discursive mode. The prototypical narratological categories (abstract,

\textsuperscript{164} 2.3.8: *Ecce cum quibus comitibus iter agebam platearum Babyloniae, et volutabar in caeno eius tanquam in cinnamis et unguentis pretiosis.*

\textsuperscript{165} For detailed analyses of the full texts of the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.
orientation, complication, evaluation) are present with the remarkable absence, however, of a climax or peak. In all the other KNE’s Augustine does present a peak, sometimes even more than one. A peak, by the build-up of intensity and/or suspense in previous complication would invite an arguably greater emotional involvement of the narratee than evaluation. In this KNE evaluation echoes the abstract. To illustrate the negative aspect of friendship, peer pressure and what it can lead to, Augustine does not have to appeal to the narratee’s emotional involvement by the use of particular linguistic devices and narratological techniques, since the ‘point’ of this little story is well brought home by the force of its content; the matter at hand, clear cut and with all its obvious associations, as we shall see, speaks for itself.

2.2.3 Selective summary: 2.5.10-2.8.16

Augustine sees many things (summed up as the three temptations) that might bring someone to try to acquire certain desirable goods (2.5.10). These things can and may be appealing, as long as one leads one’s life keeping them in the right proportions. Wanting them is not wrong, just like there is nothing wrong with friendship, as long as it does not become a goal in itself and it does not obstruct the one true good, which is God. Once again, it is a matter of the right balance (continentia), which I have pointed out before. The friendship of ordinary people (amicitia hominum) is presented here as a good thing bringing separate minds together as a whole (unitas), a natural urge to belong, to be part of a group, not to be alone.

Trying to explain to himself why he stole those pears, Augustine acknowledges that it was he himself who wanted to steal them: ‘I wanted to carry out an act of theft’ (ego furtum facere volui: 2.4.9). He (emphatic ego in first position of the sentence) takes full credit for that; it was his

166 nec ea re volebam frui quam furto appetebam, sed ipso furto et peccato – non illud ad quod deficiebam, sed defectum meum ipsum amavi.

167 Cf. Bruggink (2010: 343): ‘De vertelling van de perendiefstal kan tot een minimum beperkt blijven, omdat de verwijzing naar de zondeval al het werk doet.’ (the narrative of the pear theft can be minimal, because the reference to the Biblical fall from grace is self-explanatory).

168 2.5.10: amicitia quoque hominum caro nodo dulcis est propter unitatem de multis animis.
own choice to do so. He keeps asking himself what exactly made him do it. The question is repeated six times in 2.4.9-2.8.16. This emphatic questioning echoes what we have seen in chapter 1.2.2-1.5.6, where some 75% of chapters 2 and 3 was made up of questions. Once again, Augustine, in presenting himself primarily at a loss, but gradually working out the problem, draws the narratee’s attention, involves him, as it were, in the process. Thus, any answer that would be reached, would be to a large degree understandable and acceptable to the narratee.

In considering all possible explanations for the theft, one thing, Augustine says, seems to have been essential: ‘Had I been alone I would never have done it.’ (2.8.16). He mentions this eight times in 2.8.16-2.9.17. He also repeatedly stresses that he can remember those things and what it was like quite clearly. Augustine’s treatment of memory is remarkable, in that at crucial moments essential details seem to have slipped his mind (as we shall see, e.g., in his famous conversion scene in book 8), which adds even greater emphasis on the places where he does explicitly invoke his memory. Thus, his repetition of the fact that he would not have performed this act if he had been on his own gains even greater force by his assuring the narratee that that fact stands out clearly and without any doubt in his memory. He repeats that there was nothing he loved in that theft except for the theft itself (cf. 2.4.9). Yet, the company of his peers seems to have been essential to his actions. His desire to perform the act was caused by the interaction with the guilty consciences of those peers; vicissitudo without continentia.

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169 This emphasis on his own responsibility seems in stark contrast to St. Paul’s words in Romans (7:17): nunc autem iam non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me peccatum. However, the point Augustine is making here is about his self as responsible for the act; in book 8 (8.10.24-25) we will eventually see the young man struggle with two wills (voluntates) at war within himself, while one mind (mens) rules them both. See my discussion of that struggle on pp.188-91.

170 See my discussion on p.55.

171 See Lane Fox (2015: 65): ‘Remarkably, we are listening in to him in the unrevised process of analysing his past. As ever, he is analysing it in a prayer to God which we, its readers, overhear.’

172 2.8.16: et tamen solus id non fecissem (sic recordor animum tunc meum), solus omnino id non fecissem.

173 See, e.g., 1.6.7, 1.6.10, 1.7.11, 1.7.12, and, perhaps most significantly in the eighth KNE, in the garden in Milan (see my discussion on pp.193-4).

174 2.8.16: confricatione conscientiarum animorum accenderem pruritum cupiditatis meae (...) voluptas mihi erat in ipso facinore, quam faciebat consortium simul peccantium.
The pear theft was more than doing evil for evil’s sake (2.4.9-2.8.16)

The entire KNE is steeped in classical allusions. Ineke Sluiter and others have pointed out the implicit and explicit references to Sallust’s description of Catiline’s conspiracy. Augustine employs the non-fictional history of Sallust to illustrate the high drama and evil of what he and his companions perpetrated. A reference to or even a comparison between Catiline’s revolution and a pear theft by a group of sixteen year olds, might, by its very disparity, seem ludicrous, but as to the point Augustine is trying to make here, their theft was as ominous as Catiline’s treasonous deeds. By its rather mundane character and its lack, as an innocent boyhood prank, of any inherent drama, the scene would be acceptable to the narratee as an incident he might recognize and could relate to. Thus, the eventual point of the story would be much easier to apply to the narratee’s personal mind set, whereas an example of great portent, like, for example, Augustine’s involvement in a robbery or murder incident, would have led to the narratee’s distancing himself from any point Augustine might be trying to make. This element of small scale, everyday instances as identifiable and acceptable to the narratee is a recurrent characteristic throughout the Confessions, as we shall see in the analyses and selective summaries of the subsequent books. It is one more illustration of the protreptic character of the Confessions.

Augustine the bishop clearly differentiates between the object of the theft, the pears that he did not need or want, and the very committing of the theft. What made him do the bad thing was badness itself, he says. Here

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175 Sluiter (2010); O’Donnell (1992); Clark (1995, repr. 2001); Müller (2003); Bruggink (2010).

176 Cf. O’Connell (1969: 50), who points out the universal appeal of the incident: ‘[Augustine] is preparing our minds to see that the story of individual sin is ultimately the story of humanity itself.’ See also Kotzé (2004: 197) on the ‘value of the use of a concrete exemplum as a rhetorical strategy.’ Cf. Gil (at the presentation of Caroline Hammond’s translation of Augustine’s Confessions, Amsterdam, April 2016) who spoke of the ‘intimate universality’ of the episode. But see also Lane Fox (2015: 66), who points out that the episode might be read in different ways: ‘A literary curiosity which has deceived unwary readers.’ As an example he quotes Nietzsche (1967) in his letter to Franz Overbeck (Br. 589): ‘Oh dieser alte Rhetor! Wie falsch und augenverdreherisch! Wie habe ich gelacht! (zb. über den „Diebstahl“ seiner Jugend, im Grunde eine Studenten-Geschichte.).’

177 Cf. Bruggink (2010: 341). See also Lane Fox (2015: 289): ‘Augustine also expects the story to be read by other aspiring ‘slaves of God’ (…) The Confessions’ detailed, step-by-step story is suited to this public.’

178 2.4.9: ut essem gratis malus et malitia meae causa nulla esset nisi malitia (…) defectum meum ipsum amavi (…) non dedecore aliquid, sed dedecus appetens.
one of the narratological seeds, which I pointed out in the previous book (1.19.30), comes to bloom, as it were. It is the theme of the evil deed which is not motivated by any short term gratification of acquiring the object of desire.\footnote{Lane Fox (2015: 67) points out the difference between the theft in book 1, which goes unanalysed by Augustine, and the theft in book 2: in book 1 the theft served a purpose (eating or bribing friends), in book 2 it was perpetrated for evil’s sake. For the theft as evil for evil’s sake see also Miller (2011: 389): ‘Augustine sought arbitrary liberty, liberty whose exercise was his alone to authorize. A narrative about what seems like a minor sin thus provides a conceptual window into evil’s deeper mystery.’} By the echo of book 1 and by presenting it here as a KNE, thus drawing the narratee’s attention, the theme gains further emphasis. But by the reference to Catiline Augustine indicates that badness was not the main cause for his doing the bad thing. Even Catiline had a very real motive for doing what he did. This is an \textit{a fortiori} argument: when not even Catiline did the evil thing solely for the sake of doing something evil, then this most certainly does not apply to Augustine either. As he said, it was peer pressure which drove him to the theft.\footnote{\begin{verbatim}2.8.16: et tamen solus id non fecissem \textit{(sic recordor animum tunc meum), solus omnino id non fecissem.\end{verbatim}}

**The dangers of the ordinary friendships of this world (2.9.17-2.10.18)**

The pleasure the young Augustine found in the theft was caused by the company of those who shared in the crime, the bishop says, which eventually leads him to the paradox that friendship equals enmity (\textit{o inimica amicitia}): it seduces the mind and is the harbinger of the desire to do harm and cause hardship.\footnote{\begin{verbatim}2.9.17: seductio mentis investigabilis (...) nocendi aviditas et alieni damni appetitus.\end{verbatim}} With the pear theft, as it was in book 1, it is the group that eggs one on.\footnote{1.13.21: euge! euge! dicitur ut pudeat, si non ita homo sit; 2.9.17: \textit{cum dicitur eamus, faciamus et pudet non esse impudentem.}} Although Augustine mentions \textit{amicitia} twice in between these two passages, both times in a positive way,\footnote{\begin{verbatim}1.20.31: amicitia mulcebar; 2.5.10: amicitia .. dulcis.\end{verbatim}} he does not speak of \textit{amici}; they are his peers (\textit{coaetaneos}: 2.3.7), or simply ‘those with whom I sinned’ (\textit{simul peccantium}: 2.8.16), but nowhere does he speak of them as friends. In the episode of the pear theft Augustine thus presents a perversion of friendship,\footnote{Bruggink (2010: 349): ‘\textit{een misleidende imitatie}’ (‘a misleading imitation’ [of true friendship]).} with the aspects of \textit{aequalitas} and \textit{vicissitudo} to explain what made him steal those pears, what made him seek evil for evil’s sake. At the root of this perversion, he says, was his
turning away from God. Therefore, we can conclude that the presence of God’s love (caritas) would have made all the difference, would have brought continentia with it, and would have done away with the potentially negative character of these two aspects of friendship. The manifold power of amicitia, how it works and what its true character is, is the note upon which Augustine ends book 2, with an exasperated question: ‘who can untie this extremely twisted and tangled knot?’ (2.10.18). The everyday friendship of this world can be a bad and dangerous thing, as illustrated by this first KNE. The young Augustine was prone to it, Augustine the bishop hints at the good thing that lies within its reach.

186 See also chapters 1.3 and 3.1. Cf. Sluiter (2010: 311): ‘Het relaas van dergelijke vriendschappen dient als negatief voorbeeld van wat vriendschap uiteindelijk moet zijn.’ (‘the recounting of such friendship serves as a negative example of what friendship ought to be’).
2.3  Book 3

2.3.1  Selective summary: 3.1.1-3.11.20

While in Carthage lust comes first for Augustine, friendship comes second (3.1.1-3.3.6)

After his gap year in Thagaste, Augustine left for ‘university’ in Carthage. Once again we see the reciprocity (vicissitudo) in his desire ‘to love and be loved in return’{187} that he proclaimed in the previous book. And, even as we saw Augustine emphasize that he had been the one who had wanted to perpetrate the theft, we see Augustine once again as the prime actor: it is he who brings in the mist (obnobilabam) to cover the splendour of friendship. He ‘polluted’, he says, ‘the spring water of friendship with the filth of concupiscence.’{188} It is a description of friendship which echoes in its positivity the previous description in book 2.{189}

In Carthage Augustine spends time with a group of young men who delighted in causing trouble, the Overturners (eversores).{190} He loved their friendship, the bishop says.{191} Apparently a form of amicitia can exist even where thoughts and values differ. All this is completely in accordance with what would be expected of a young man in Augustine’s circumstances. At the same time we see some sort of frustration on the young Augustine’s part of not really belonging to the group of Overturners; while he spends his time with them, there is apparently not any aequalitas. Yet, the young Augustine’s frustration and longing to be as one with these eversores, implies the appeal of unitas as an important aspect of what he, at that moment, considers to be friendship.

{187} 3.1.1: amare et amari.
{188} 3.1.1: venam igitur amicitiae coinquinabam sordibus concupiscientiae candoremque eius obnobilabam de tartaro libidinis.
{189} 2.2.2: luminosus limes amicitiae.
{191} 3.2.2: et cum eis era m et amicitii eorum delectabar aliquando, a quorum factis abhorrebam.
Augustine first starts reading Cicero, which ultimately brings him to the Manichees (3.4.7-3.7.12)

In the course of his studies the young Augustine then starts reading a book ‘by a certain Cicero’ (*librum cuiusdam Ciceronis*: 3.4.7). It was the now lost *Hortensius*, probably a philosophical dialogue. The use of *cuiusdam*\(^{192}\) might serve to reflect the viewpoint of the younger Augustine to whom Cicero at that point was not yet very well known. Or it might be Augustine the bishop downplaying the importance and stature of the pagan Cicero to the devoted audience of the *Confessions*.\(^{193}\) Augustine presents Cicero as some author bereft of any implicit authority,\(^{194}\) whose words, while aimed at secular philosophy, unintentionally pointed him in the direction of Christianity. Thus, Cicero’s role in Augustine’s story at this point becomes entirely intermediary, instrumental in a way, in what could be seen as the first act of Augustine’s conversion. In that way it is one more example of the theme of *sciens*/deliberate – *nesciens*/non-deliberate, which we have seen before (p.38); in that which is not done deliberately, God’s will is ever more obvious. There was only one thing missing in Cicero’s book, Augustine the bishop says, and that was Christ. Therefore, Cicero’s book could only show him the way to ultimate understanding, but it could not get him there. From Cicero’s book the young Augustine does turn to the Bible, but it repels him because of his pride. The style of the Bible is too simple to his tastes.\(^{195}\) It would seem that the young Augustine, the up and coming intellectual, who was already excelling in his mastery of language, cannot let go of that mastery and of its inherent pride. He does associate himself with the Manichees, a sectarian branch of Christianity from the east. They had been banned by imperial decree from 372 A.D. onwards. But this only added to their attraction to young bloods like Augustine and his fellow students. In the Manichees, other than with the group of *eversores*, he found a group of people in whom he could recognize himself,

\(^{192}\) O’Donnell (1992) on 3.4.7.


\(^{194}\) Testard (1958).

\(^{195}\) 3.5.9: *visa est mihi indigna quam tullianae dignitati compararem.* Note the implied respect (*dignitas tulliana*) as opposed to its previous absence (*quidam Cicero*).
which indicates \textit{aequalitas}.\footnote{Even in respect to the temptations of the flesh (\textit{concupiscentia carnis}); 3.6.10: \textit{carnales nimis}.} They tried to find rational answers to all the questions that haunted him,\footnote{Cf. Van Oort (2002: 125): ‘[Augustinus] meldt met nog meer nadruk de wetenschappelijke pretenties van de manicheërs. Vooral echter deed dit manicheïsme zich aan hem voor als een \textit{Christian science}’ (‘Augustine with even greater emphasis mentions the scientific presumptions of the Manichees. This Manicheism first and foremost appeared to him as a Christian science’).} while at the same time they would provide the \textit{unitas} he had been sorely missing.

\section*{Monnica’s reaction to Augustine’s Manichaeism (3.11.19-20)}

Augustine’s joining the Manichees, although it might have been quite acceptable to those around him, nevertheless causes great distress to his mother. This emphasizes once again the ongoing conflict between what is socially acceptable and what is acceptable to Christian morals. Monnica starts crying as if she has lost her son. She even throws him out of the house, an indication of how far Augustine is taking his newfound Manichaeism.\footnote{3.12.21: \textit{inflatus .. novitate haeresis illius}; \textit{inflatus} might be an illustration of the ‘immoderate use’ I discussed above (pp.62, 65).} He temporarily lodges with Romanianus, until Monnica has a dream that makes her take him back. She sees herself standing on a wooden rule,\footnote{3.11.19: \textit{vidit enim se stantem in quadam regula lignea}.} weeping for the loss of her son, when a boy approaches who comforts her by telling her that where she is, her son is. Looking up she then sees Augustine standing next to her. She is consoled and takes him back into the house. Augustine is greatly moved by the quoted words which he takes as having come directly to him from the Lord by his mother’s lips.\footnote{3.12.21: \textit{quod illa ita se accepisse inter conloquia sua mecum saepe recordabatur; ac si de caelo sonisset.} Cf. 8.12.29: taking the words spoken by a human as words spoken by God, might be a narratological seed for what happens when Augustine hears the words of a child (\textit{quasi pueri an puellae, nescio}) at his conversion in the garden in Milan: \textit{nihil aliud interpretans divinitus mihi iuberi}.} This, again, is an example of the theme of \textit{sciens – nesciens}, people speaking or acting as unwitting instruments of God.\footnote{Cf., e.g., 1.6.8: the babies (\textit{nescientes}) make Augustine understand more than the nurses (\textit{scientes}).} The importance of the quotation is further emphasized by Augustine’s explicit memory of it,\footnote{3.11.20: \textit{recordationem meam, quantum recolo, quod saepe non tacui}.} given his recurrent lack of memory at what seem crucial points in his narrative.\footnote{See my discussion of Augustine’s recurrent lack of memory above on pp.66, 114.}
2.3.2 Analysis of narrative episode: 3.12.21

Augustine then says that the Lord had given Monnica another answer (alterum responsum: 3.12.21). This remark connects his mention of Monnica’s dream to an encounter she had with a bishop. Clearly, this following story should draw the narratee’s attention. First, because Augustine presents this anecdote, other than the story about Monnica’s dream, as a narrative episode. And second, because Augustine so emphatically introduces the story: a great many things will be left unmentioned, he says, for lack of time or because he has outright forgotten them, but this next story he clearly remembers. Considering his treatment of memory, or the lack thereof, at crucial moments in the *Confessions*, this almost reads like ‘so pay attention, dear reader, to what follows’.

Monnica goes to see a bishop, trying to get him to talk some sense into Augustine. The bishop, however, declines, referring to personal experience, telling her to just give it some time, until Augustine would prove to be more open to reason. This is a clear indication that to the eyes of the world Augustine, in joining the Manichees, was not doing anything so exceptional as to warrant immediate action. When she insists, the bishop tells her to go away; a son for whom so many tears are shed, he says, cannot perish. These words she then takes to heart as if they had come straight from heaven.

The episode is not about friendship nor does friendship play any significant part in it. However, any difference in structure or presentation between any of the narrative episodes not about friendship and the key narrative episodes (KNE’s) might help to gain a better understanding of friendship as Augustine presents it in the *Confessions*. Schematically the narrative episode could be read as follows.

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204 3.12.21: quod recolo. Nam et multa praetereo, propter quod prope vero ad ea, quae me magis urgunt, confiteri tibi, et multa non memini. This narrative episode is, apart from the series of four narrative episodes in book 9, the only other episode about Monnica. The echo in book 9 is remarkable: multa praetereo, quia multum festino (...) sed non praeteribo, quidquid mihi anima parturit de illa famula tua. It is as if Augustine always wants to point out his mother’s importance to him, and arguably the importance to the narratee of her part in Augustine’s story. See also my discussion in chapters 3.1 (p.248-9) and 3.2 (pp.258-62) of Augustine’s relationship with his mother as an example of true friendship.

205 See above n.203.

206 For a fully detailed analysis of this narrative episode, see also chapter 1.5 and the appendix.
The bishop gave Monnica one more answer, which Augustine does not want to leave out.

The bishop refuses her request to talk some sense into Augustine.

Augustine the bishop agrees in hindsight with the refusal.

Monnica should pray for her son. The bishop tells her an instructive story from his own childhood.

She sticks to her original request.

The bishop sends her away, assuring her that a child of such a woman could not perish.

Monnica has retold this story over and over again as if the bishop’s words had come straight from heaven.

He had been a staunch Manichee himself.

No one had ever argued with him or tried to talk him out of it.

He had left the Manichee’s on his own accord.

From this personal experience of the bishop it follows, of course, that he need not talk to Augustine; it would in time become clear to the young
man as well, that he should leave the Manichees. Much more important is that the analysis, in bringing out this peak, shows the emphasis on this particular element of the little anecdote: no decision of any portent, which on a larger scale we shall see in the conversion scenes in books 6, 7, and 8, in Augustine’s view can ever be brought about by the conscious effort of a fellow human being. The motivation for such a life-changing decision can only be brought about by God, working through another human being, who will then act unwittingly. It is the sciens-nesciens theme again. Perhaps, the bishop’s refusal to try and talk some sense into the young man, might imply that the bishop too realized the essential futility of any such direct instruction.

As I have pointed out in the previous analysis of this narrative episode, the employment of particular linguistic and narratological devices and techniques in the little story the bishop tells clearly serves to put full focus on what I have identified as the peak of the larger narrative (cf. the imperatives, the direct speech in present tense, the brevity, its content in resolution qualified as of divine origin): everything will turn out alright eventually. The bishop’s words in the complication that Augustine will discover the error of his ways and his own impiety ‘through his reading’ can be seen as a narratological seed considering the details of Augustine’s personal conversion story, as we shall see in the analysis of the final KNE (8.8.19-8.12.30).

In that respect, the mention of Monnica’s dream just previously (3.11.19-20) appears to enhance that proleptic character. The anecdote about the bishop was introduced by Augustine’s remark that the Lord had given Monnica another answer, which clearly connects the two passages. She had seen Augustine standing beside her on the same rule, which will come true right after Augustine’s conversion in the garden where he will finally stand firm upon that rule of faith (8.12.30).

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207 See chapter 1.5 on pp.47-51.
208 For the concept of narratological seed, see chapter 1.4.1 on p.39.
2.4 Book 4

2.4.1 Selective summary: 4.1.1-4.3.6

Augustine’s perfectly acceptable social life as a teacher and a young, unmarried father (4.1.1-4.2.2)

The book opens with a description of the young Augustine prone to all the enticements of the big city, during his days spent in Carthage. A recurring theme in 4.1.1 is the *vicissitudo* apparent in all these activities: the young man is ‘misled and misleading’. For the first time in the *Confessions* Augustine speaks of his partner, referring to her with the impersonal *unam*. In the repetition of *in illis annis* (in those years) Clark sees a link between the passage where Augustine talks about his teaching and these lines where he talks about living with his partner and his son: ‘in both cases A. was behaving well by conventional standards’. I think the link is even more extensive than that. In the next chapter Augustine mentions his relationship with astrologers (*eo tempore*: 4.3.5), and after that his reactions to the death of a close friend (*in illis annis*: 4.4.7). All these items were considered to be perfectly alright by conventional, social standards, but all are faulty in the eyes of Augustine the bishop.

Turning away from God, Augustine keeps looking for ways of knowing what lies ahead (4.3.4-6)

In these years Augustine from time to time consults astrologers and mathematicians. Vindicianus, a wise man (*vir sagax*: 4.3.5) advises

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209 Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 135) calls book 3 ‘A.’s ‘Carthage book’”. Augustine describes his days in Carthage in books 3, 4 and 5 up until 5.8, where he leaves for Rome. Better, if anything, to speak of Augustine’s Carthage books, seeing the emphatic and at times emotional description of his life in those three books.

210 4.1.1: seducebamur et seducebamus, falsi atque fallentes (...) cum amicis meis per me ac mecum deceptis. Cf. 1.5.6: ego nolo fallere me ipsum; 1.20.31: falli nolabam.

211 4.2.2: unam habebam.


213 Cf. the young Augustine’s ambition, seeking approval from those around him, e.g., 1.16.26: *haec didici* (...) et *ob hoc bonae spei puer appellabar*, 2.1.1: *placere cupiens oculis hominum*. Cf. also what Augustine the bishop says about the rhetor to whom he dedicated his book: 4.14.23: *sic amabam ut vellem esse me talem* and 4.14.21: *amaveram hominem* (...) *quia placebat alitis*. 
Augustine to leave astrology alone. He tells the young man about his own career and his own decision to leave off astrology. It is a personal reflection which, as an argument meant to convince the addressee, echoes the personal anecdote the bishop told Monnica in the previous book. When Augustine asks Vindicianus how then sometimes these astrologers do seem to be able to predict the future, Vindicianus’s answer paves the way, as it were, for something that will turn up later in the *Confessions*: Augustine’s attitude towards the conversion stories and his subsequent reaction in his own eventual conversion in book 8. Vindicianus gives a rather explicit comparison to answer Augustine’s question:

\[
\text{si enim de paginis poetae cuiuspiam longe aliud canentis atque intendentis, cum forte quis consultit, mirabiliter consonus negotio saepe versus exiret, mirandum non esse dicebat si ex anima humana superiore aliquo instinctu nesciente quid in se fieret, non arte sed sorte, sonaret aliquid quod interrogantis rebus factisque concineret. (4.3.5)}
\]

So when someone happens to consult the pages of a poet whose verses and intention are concerned with quite a different subject, in a wonderful way a verse often emerges appropriate to the decision under discussion. He used to say that it was no wonder if from the human soul, by some higher instinct that does not know what goes on within itself, some utterance emerges not by art but by ‘chance’ which is in sympathy with the affairs or actions of the inquirer.

As in the previous books we see the theme of *sciens*/deliberate/divine – *nesciens*/non-deliberate/human; someone unwittingly (*nesciente*) utters words, clearly non-deliberate (*non arte sed sorte*), which someone else applies to himself. The addressee then considers these words to be of miraculous origin.\(^{214}\) Vindicianus’s words about consulting the pages of a book and finding a verse ‘by chance’ which one then applies to oneself prepare the narratee for what is going to happen later on in the climactical conversion scene in the garden in Milan in book 8 and the very explicit role in that scene of written texts as oracles (*sortes*).\(^{215}\) As such this passage about pagan oracular practice is yet another narratological seed.\(^{216}\)

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\(^{214}\) 4.3.5: *mirabiliter versus exiret*. Cf. 3.12.31: *quod illa (...) saepe recordabatur; ac si de caelo sonuisset*.


\(^{216}\) For other narratological seeds see, e.g., Augustine asking to be baptized while gravely ill (1.11.17), or his thieving for thieving’s sake (1.19.30).
Nebridius joins in on criticizing truth-saying, to the point of ridiculing it. It is the first time in the *Confessions* that Nebridius is mentioned. He and Alypius, whom we shall first meet in book 6, are Augustine’s closest friends. And it is just at this point that Augustine now starts talking about yet another friend, whose name he will never tell us, but whose conversion would have an enormous impact on the young Augustine.

2.4.2 Analysis of key narrative episode 2: 4.4.7-4.7.12

Augustine the bishop then briefly returns to an emotional episode of his past: the death of one of his dearest friends. In this episode we can see secular, conventionally acceptable *amicitia* in action, as it were, just as we saw in the first KNE about the pear theft in book 2. The description of friendship, however, is much more elaborate than it was in that first KNE: there are, as we shall see, a great number of aspects, *aequalitas, unitas, benevolentia, dilectio, vicissitudo* and *caritas*. The reason why Augustine should recount this anecdote at this point would not immediately be clear to the narratee. The story is an analepsis, a flashback, recounting something that has happened prior to the moment recounted in the story so far. But, as I have pointed out above, this story can be seen as one in a series of four instances in book 4 of the theme of what is socially acceptable against what is faulty in the eyes of Augustine the bishop. In the other three instances we see ambition, love, and curiosity, but it is friendship as presented in this narrative episode which gains the greatest emphasis. This emphasis is achieved by Augustine’s way of presenting this narrative episode, as the narratological and linguistic analysis will show. In this second KNE Augustine for the first time in the *Confessions* achieves the emotional translation of the narratee from the time of narration to the timeframe in which the narrated action takes place, the reference time.

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217 For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the seventeen narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.

The friend in this episode remains anonymous.\textsuperscript{219} Anonymity seems to be a carefully chosen aspect of Augustine’s narrative; it enables the narratee to apply the narrative’s implicit message to himself.\textsuperscript{220} Thus, it is an aspect of the protreptic character of the \textit{Confessions}. Schematically the KNE could be read as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 4.4.7</td>
<td>NM, IM, DeM</td>
<td>When Augustine first started teaching, he had a friend who was just like him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 4.4.7</td>
<td>DM, IM</td>
<td>Their friendship was not perfect, because there was no caritas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 4.4.7</td>
<td>NM, DeM, DM</td>
<td>Yet, he loved it. But he had led his friend astray. Still, they spent every minute together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 4.4.7</td>
<td>DM, IM</td>
<td>But God took the friend out of this life, out of their sweet friendship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 4.4.8</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>The praise for the acts of the Lord is endless.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 4.4.8</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>But what exactly did the Lord do back then?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 4.4.8</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>His ways are unfathomable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 4.4.8</td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>The friend fell ill and while unconscious was baptized. Augustine unsuccessfully tried to make fun of it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 4.4.8</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The friend got mad at Augustine and told him to refrain from further ridicule; Augustine would hold his tongue until the friend would have recovered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 4.4.8</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>But the friend was saved from Augustine’s mad ideas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 4.4.8</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The friend died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 4.4.9</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Augustine was heartbroken, cried and asked himself where this emotion was coming from.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{219} Like, e.g., the woman he is living with (4.2.2) and the \textit{vir sagax} (4.4.5).

\textsuperscript{220} See also my discussion on anonymity in the \textit{Confessions} on p.56.
Six narratological categories are present in this story, although the sequence they are in varies from the prototypical order. The main structure here is orientation – abstract – complication – peak – resolution – evaluation – coda. Separate pieces of evaluation are inserted into orientation, and abstract. The major part of the episode is presented in discursive, informative and descriptive mode. The final evaluation is extensive, almost to the point where the action in narrative mode seems to be subordinated to it. The coda explicitly closes the episode in Thagaste and leads back to the main narrative in Carthage.

The frequent dispersion of evaluation and the interruption of the narrative by the primary, and very overt, narrator’s reaction and commentary in discursive and informative mode emphasize the presence of that narrator. The character and content of the specific insertions by Augustine the bishop introduce a certain amount of suspense into the, at first glance, rather straightforward story of the friend who dies, by creating the feeling for the narratee that there is more going on than might be expected. These interruptions suggest an informal style, a casual conversation, which brings the story very much to life. The (frequent) use of the discourse

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Evaluation 4.5.10</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Time has alleviated the pain of his sorrow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excursus 4.5.10</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>What is the joy in tears?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 4.5.10-4.7.12</td>
<td>NM, IM, DM</td>
<td>Augustine cannot live up to the examples of the great mythological friendships. He loved his friend as if he would never die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda 4.7.12</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Finally he left Thagaste for Carthage; end of flashback.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See, e.g., my remarks on 4.4.8 below, on the abstract (*quid tunc fecisti, deus meus*), the evaluation (*et quam investigabilis abyssus indiciorum tuorum?*) or the complication (*longe autem alter!*).

Van Reisen (2010: 328-9): ‘de stijl van zogeheten geplande spontaniteit (...) is een geschikt middel om een tekst te componeren die het karakter heeft van een dialoog (...) een gevolg van die literaire stijl is dat je als lezer sympathie krijgt voor Augustinus (...) je gaat als het ware deelnemen aan de persoon Augustinus.’ (‘the style of so-called planned spontaneity is a way to compose a text with the character of a dialogue (...) this style brings the reader to sympathize with Augustine (...) one takes part, as it were, of the persona of Augustine’).
markers *enim, nam, autem* and *at* appeal directly to the narratee.\(^{223}\) As primary narrator, Augustine the bishop employs experiencing focalization, turning the young Augustine into the embedded focalizer.\(^{224}\) The narration thus resembles a vivid eyewitness report.

Let us now look more closely at the story of the friend who died, the second KNE in the *Confessions*.

**Analysis**

(*4.4.7-8*)

**Orientation**

*(NM)* _In illis annis, quo primum tempore in municipio, (IM) quo natus sum, (NM) docere coeperam, comparaveram amicum (DeM) societate studiorum nimis carum, coaevum mihi et conforentem flore adulescentiae. mecum puer creverat et pariter in scholam ieramus pariterque luseramus. sed nondum erat sic amicus,*

**Orientation**

During those years when first I began to teach in the town where I was born, I had come to have a friend who because of our shared interests was very dear. He was my age, and we shared the flowering of youth. As a boy he had grown up with me, and we had gone to school together and played with one another. He was then not yet my friend.

_*In illis annis _clearly introduces a new narrative episode. Augustine begins with orientation. The narrative mode with pluperfects serves to describe the circumstances Augustine is in at the beginning of the story and introduces the main characters. There is neither temporal nor spatial progression.

Augustine has got a friend. The friend is very dear to him (*nimis carus*),\(^{225}\) which implies the love he felt for him. This love, which we shall see expressed again in the following chapters, signifies *dilectio*, as an aspect of friendship.

Throughout the orientation Augustine describes his friend with great emphasis as his equal and as one without whom he cannot exist (*coaevum-conforentem-mecum*(2x)-*pariter*(2x); *parilium; non poterat anima mea sine illo*).\(^{226}\) In this description we can see two aspects of friendship:

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\(^{223}\) On the use of connective markers to lend a dialogical touch to a text see Kroon (2011).

\(^{224}\) See chapter 1.4.1 on p.37, and De Jong (2014: 65).

\(^{225}\) I prefer this translation of *carus* to Chadwick’s rather bland ‘close’; ‘dear’ expresses its connotation of ‘loving’, which makes it almost synonymous to *dilectus or amatus*. See Lewis and Short (1958), s.v. *carus*.

aequalitas and unitas. With the first predicates that have the friend as a subject (creverat, erat) the friend is not explicitly mentioned (zero anaphora); the distance between I-he-we is very small as the subjects of the subsequent predicates change in zero anaphora sometimes within the same sentence (comparaveram, creverat, ieramus, erat). By not explicitly referring to either of the friends individually it seems that their equality is further emphasized.227

Evaluation
(DM) quamquam ne tum quidem sic, uti est vera amicitia, (IM) quia non est vera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.

Orientation
(DeM) sed tamen dulcis erat nobis, cocta fervore parilium studiorum.

Evaluation
And when he did become so, it was less than a true friendship which is not possible unless you bond together those who cleave to one another by the love which is poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given to us.

Orientation
Nevertheless, it was a very sweet experience, welded by the fervour of our identical interests.

Augustine now explicitly interrupts the orientation by a first bit of evaluation in discursive mode to make clear that, the equality and unity between them notwithstanding, their friendship was not as it should have been. It was based on the zeal they shared for the same endeavours, which at that time would mainly have been Manichean. It was, as yet, far removed from caritas and the Holy Spirit, as will be further explained in the following sentences (nam). Nevertheless, that friendship was at that time still precious (dulcis) to them.

Orientation
(DM) nam et a fide vera, quam non germanitus et penitus adulescens tenebat, deflexeram eum in superstitiosas fabellas et perniciosas, propter quas me plangebat

227 Cf. Miller (2011: 393): ‘Indeed, the fact that Augustine fails to mention his friend's name—a signifier of individuation—is telling. (...) [there is] an absorption of two souls into one, a reduction of identity—both personal and numerical.’
mater. (DeM) mecum iam errabat in animo ille homo, et non poterat anima mea sine illo.

Orientation
For I had turned him away from the true faith, to which, being only young, he had no strong or profound allegiance, towards those superstitions and pernicious mythologies which were the reason for my mother’s tears over me. So under my influence this man’s mind was wandering astray, and my soul could not endure to be without him.

Nam introduces, in conjunction with the pluperfect, an explanation in discursive mode. Now we see how the friendship between the two of them was not in accordance with the criteria stated in the evaluation. The deictic ille once more presents the friend, last mentioned explicitly in the first sentence, and ‘zooms in’ on him individually.228 After the emphasis on their equality and unity in the first part of the orientation the use of ille (repetition and postposition) draws all the more attention to the friend. The two men are clearly contrasted by the chiasm in this sentence (mecum errabat – non poterat sine illo); they are two individuals, still united within one sentence structure, but each one confined, as it were, to its furthermost limits. It is telling that the first signs of their individuality come right after Augustine’s leading his friend away from the true faith, which illustrates, of course, the essential fault in their friendship. The tears of Augustine’s mother once more recall her reaction in the previous book (3.11.19), thus identifying the ‘superstitious and pernicious mythologies’ as the Manichean creed. The orientation here is more than just the setting of the scene and introduction of the characters; the intimate friendship of the two young men and their apparent equality and unity are nuanced right from the start, explicitly through repeated interruptions by a very overt primary narrator and implicitly by the emphatic use of anaphoric references (ille) and significant sentence construction (chiasm).

Finally, there is Augustine’s choice for the word homo. In the next sentence we see the word again. To Augustine the bishop, clinging to the transient, physical world as if that were all that mattered, is the root of all evil, since it implies a turning away from God.229 The repeated mention of homo here, with its connotation of ‘mortal man’, may be regarded as a narratological

228 Kroon (2010b).
229 Cf. 1.3.21: amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio est abs te and 13.21.29: continere se ab amore huius saeculi.
seed for this theme, that Augustine will turn to elaborately after this passage. The implicit reference (*homo*) to this theme adds one more nuance to the orientation in signalling the grave mistake which Augustine made in this relationship, this friendship that was faulty and doomed from the start.

**Abstract**

(DM) *Et ecce tu* (IM) *inminens dorso fugitivorum tuorum, deus ultionum et fons misericordiarum simul, qui convertis nos ad te miris modis,* (DM) *ecce abstulisti hominem de hac vita, cum vix explevisset annum in amicitia mea, suavi mihi super omnes suavitates illius vitae meae.*

**Abstract**

But you were present, immediately at the back of those who flee from you, at once God of vengeances and fount of mercies: you turn us to yourself in wonderful ways. You took the man from his life when our friendship had scarcely completed a year. It had been sweet to me beyond all the sweetness of life that I had experienced.

*Ecce* asks for the narratee’s special attention. It signals a dramatic turn in the story. Only now, after the intricately constructed orientation, is there an abstract. After the pluperfect, describing what went before (*deflexeram*), Augustine now uses the perfect tense for the main predicate, anticipating in a condensed way the action that we are about to see in the complication. The fact that the friend, who has just been so elaborately introduced, will die, should come as a shock to the narratee and is emphasized by the repeated *ecce* as well as by the stark brevity of expression (*abstulisti hominem de hac vita;* you took the man from this life).

Their friendship was the sweetest thing of all to Augustine in the life he led at that time, while he was still not open to *caritas* and there could thus be no ‘true’ friendship yet: still, faulty as it was, he cherished it as he was back then. This is the second time Augustine mentions that this faulty friendship was dear to them at the time (see above: *dulcis erat nobis*). It is as we have seen with his description of the temptations in chapter 2.1:  

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230 Cf. 8.12.7 *Et ecce audio vocem de vicina domo;* O’Donnell (1992) on 1.5.5: ‘A spoken punctuation mark, adding emphasis.’

231 In *De excessu fratris sui Satyri* Ambrose mourns the loss of his brother who incorporated *omnes vitae istius suavitates* (Ambr., *De exc.fr.sui Sat.* c.20). This is the first of a number of echoes we shall see in this second KNE of aspects of Ambrose’s book. These echoes, sometimes repeating Ambrose’s sentiments, sometimes illustrating the opposite example, indicate the likeliness of Augustine having read Ambrose’s famous booklet. Since the echoes mainly occur in this second KNE which deals so explicitly with the nature of friendship, the aspects of Ambrosian friendship serve to identify the aspects of friendship as Augustine presents it here. See also my discussion of this book in chapter 1.3 on pp.29-30.

232 See my discussion on p.57.
even in that which is not perfect some good and some enjoyment can be found, as long as one maintains the right balance (*continentia*). So, one may enjoy friendship, even lacking *caritas*, as long as that friendship does not make any of the friends act against what is right, as we have seen with the pear theft in book 2 (2.4.9).

Through the abstract it is now clear what is going to happen. The death of the friend, when it will eventually take place in the narrative proper, will no longer come as a surprise to the narratee. The informative mode introduces a universal quality of God. O’Donnell points out that here it specifically applies to the situation at hand.²³³ Vengeances (*ultionum*) and mercies (*misericordiarum*) indicate what lies ahead of the two young men individually: punishment for Augustine’s deceitful ways and forgiveness for the friend who will eventually accept the true faith. It also continues even more specifically, I think, the budding contrast between the two friends (specifying the collective *fugitivorum tuorum*: those who flee from you) as individuals that we already saw in the orientation. Thus, we see a remarkable use of informative mode actually referring to reference time, almost as if it were discursive. Augustine, it would seem, blends narrator’s commentary in with general information here.

The repeated *hominem* continues the theme of mortality.

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**Evaluation**

(IM) *quis laudes tuas enumerat unus in se uno, quas expertus est?*

**Abstract**

(DM) *quid tunc fecisti, deus meus,*

**Evaluation**

(IM) *et quam investigabilis abyssus iudiciorum tuorum?*

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**Evaluation**

Who on his own can recount your praises for the experiences of his life alone?

**Abstract**

At that time what did you do, my God?

**Evaluation**

How unsearchable is the abyss of your judgments?

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The rhetorical question in evaluation expresses Augustine’s reaction and attitude towards the action that is about to follow. Once more we see the present tense in informative mode. There is a second question as a last bit of abstract. This one uses perfect tense as a specific reaction in discursive
mode of the primary narrator to the action (*tunc*). The praise implies a positive feeling on Augustine’s part towards the action, towards what God did. One might argue that there is no need to explicitly repeat what is going to happen. We have just read that the friend is going to die, that is what God is going to ‘do’. Still, phrasing this last sentence of the abstract as a question, remarking upon the unfathomable depths of the Lord’s judgement and adding a positive evaluation to it all, I think might be an indication that this narration is not really about the death of the friend; *quid tunc fecisti?* in that respect almost comes to read as ‘What did really happen there?’.

It is the story itself, the complication and the peak, that must provide the answer.

However that may be, by ending the abstract with these two non-specific questions, Augustine steps up the tension after the orientation and abstract, which both had been very explicit up to that point. The narratee might now be wondering ever so slightly about what is coming next.

**Complication**

(NM) *cum enim laboraret ille febris, iacuit diu sine sensu in sudore laetali, et cum desperaretur, baptizatus est nesciens, me non curante, et praesumere potius animam eius quod a me acceperat, non quod in nescientis corpore fiebat. longe autem alter erat.*

**Complication**

When he was sick with fever, for a long time he lay unconscious in a mortal sweat, and when his life was despaired of, he was baptized without his knowing it. To me this was a matter of no interest. I assumed that his soul would retain what it had received from me, not what had happened to his body while he was unconscious. But it turned out quite differently.

*Enim*, being a so-called conversation management particle, usually appeals to the empathy or consensus of the addressee.\(^{234}\) It mainly occurs in monologue that ‘feels like’ dialogue.\(^{235}\) The occurrence of *enim* at this point in the complication thus emphasizes the conversational character of the way Augustine presents his story. Being preceded by the question directed to God (*quid tunc fecisti?*) this might be one of the few instances in the *Confessions* where Augustine would seem to appeal to God’s empathy. He thus draws God into the conversations as interlocutor with whom he

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shares communal knowledge to the benefit of the covert narratee of the *Confessions*.

Augustine once more refers to the friend with the deictic *ille*, as we have seen him do in the orientation. The focus now shifts clearly to the friend as an individual. Augustine himself hovers in the background, even grammatically (*me non curante .. quod a me acceperat .. mecum*). There is an emphasis on the fact that whatever was happening was happening without the friend knowing about it (*sine sensu .. nesciens .. nescientis*). Add to that the fact that Augustine, in his own words, was not greatly interested in it either and we once again see the theme of *sciens/deliberate/divine – nesciens/non-deliberate/human* we have seen before. The message to the narratee would be obvious: it was God who acted here. The short and remarkable sentence that follows (*longe autem aliter erat*: but it turned out quite differently) heightens the suspense. The friend was ill, he was baptized, but there was nothing to worry about. Or was there? The adversative *autem* is typically attached to transitions in the discourse structure. Here it introduces a prospective remark from the primary narrator. By its brevity and its implication the sentence gains all the more emphasis. As we saw in the last sentence of the abstract, there is once again no explicit statement of what exactly was so different.

**Complication**

(NM) *nam recreatus est et salvus factus, statimque, ut primo cum eo logui potui*  
(DM) *- potui autem max, ut ille potuit, quando non discedebam et nimis pendebamus ex invicem* - (NM) *temptavi apud illum inridere, tamquam et illo inrisuro mecum baptismum, quem acceperat mente atque sensu absentissimus. sed tamen iam se accepisse didicerat.*

**Complication**

For he recovered and was saved, and at once, as soon as I could speak with him (and I was able to do so as soon as he could speak, since I never left his side, and we were deeply dependent on one another), I attempted to joke with him, imagining that he too would laugh with me about the baptism which he had received when far away in mind and sense. But he had already learnt that he had received the sacrament.

The change, implied by the previous abstract, seems to be that the friend recovers (*recreatus est et salvus factus*). The words echo, as the entire

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236 See chapter 1.4.1 on pp.37-8.  
237 1.6.8, 1.8.13, 3.12.21, 4.3.5.  
238 Kroon (1995, 2011). See also chapter 1.4.4 on p.46.  
239 See above: *quid tunc fecisti, deus meus?* ‘What did really happen there?’
situation in a way does, Augustine’s own predicament as a child we saw in book 1.\textsuperscript{240} His illness had looked so grave there that he would have been baptized had he not recovered just in time.\textsuperscript{241} There is one other point in the \textit{Confessions} where we see him use the same turn of phrase. In book 5 he recounts how he fell ill right after his arrival in Rome, but recuperated by the hand of God.\textsuperscript{242} In the first episode in book 1 there is no salvation, since baptism does not take place. In the episode in book 5 \textit{salvum} is specifically qualified as corporeal, while salvation is yet to come. Talking about the situation of his friend in book 4, there is no further qualification. \textit{Recreatus} and \textit{salvus} are apparently two separate things here, indicating the corporeal as well as the religious side; the friend regains his health while his soul finds salvation.\textsuperscript{243} Thus, I propose to change Chadwick’s original translation of this sentence (‘For he recovered and was restored to health’) to: ‘For he recovered and \textit{was saved}’.

Mentioning his friend’s physical health we hear Augustine speak, in narratological terms, as experiencing focalizer: this his younger self could attest to. When he talks about his friend’s salvation however, we hear the primary narrator once again: only Augustine the bishop could qualify this in hindsight as his friend’s salvation.

In the first part of the sentence the friend is referred to by \textit{is (cum eo)} and we see zero anaphora. From the point where Augustine as primary narrator comments in discursive mode we see the friend repeatedly referred to by the arguably more emphatic \textit{ille}, which continues throughout the next sentences. This is an indication of the emphasis on the friend’s individuality and the growing estrangement between the two young men. This theme of estrangement, which up till now has been rather subtly expressed, becomes ever more explicit. From this point on, as we shall see, the two shall not be as one any longer.

\textbf{Peak}

(NM) \textit{at ille ita me exhorruit ut inimicum, admonuitque mirabili et repentina libertate, ut, si amicus esse vellem, talia sibi dicere desinerem. ego autem stupefactus atque turbatus, distuli omnes motus meos, ut convalesceret prius, essetque idoneus viribus valetudinis, cum quo agere possem quod vellem.}

\textsuperscript{240} See my discussion on p.58.
\textsuperscript{241} 1.11.17: \textit{sacramentis salutaribus initiarier (...), nisi statim recreatus essem.}
\textsuperscript{242} 5.10.18: \textit{recreasti ergo me .. et salvum fecisti .. tunc interim corpore, ut esset cui salutem meliorem atque certiorem dares.}
Peak
He was horrified at me as if I were an enemy, and with amazing and immediate frankness advised me that, if I wished to be his friend, I must stop saying this kind of things to him. I was dumbfounded and perturbed; but I deferred telling him of all my feelings until he should get better and recover his health and strength. Then I would be able to do what I wished with him.

There are several elements in this sentence which indicate that we have now come to the peak, the dramatic climax of the episode.\textsuperscript{244} At is a signal that something, which is somehow contrary to expectation, is going to follow.\textsuperscript{245} Ille keeps the attention fully focussed on the friend. The dramatic edge to the verb \textit{exhorrescere} emphasizes the enormity of what is happening here: the friend shudders before Augustine as if he were an enemy. This would constitute the explicit end of \textit{dilectio} between them, the love that was indicated in the orientation. The complete reversal of roles (friend-enemy) as well as the substitution of what, considering the abstracts, was to be expected (the eventual death of the friend), would come as a shock to the narratee. This is where all the subtle hints have been pointing to. The friendship between the two young men who had been as one has not only come to an end, but has turned into its opposite.\textsuperscript{246} It was all very different indeed.

\textit{Ego autem} once again introduces a shift in attention from the friend to Augustine, once more explicitly contrasting the two former friends. Augustine’s reaction is twofold. On the one hand he is shocked (\textit{stupefactus atque turbatus}), which corresponds perfectly to the dramatic impact of the action. But on the other hand we see him holding back on his immediate reaction, still convinced somehow that, once they could really talk this through, their friendship would prevail.

\textsuperscript{244} Atypically for a peak we also see indirect speech, and a rather sedate narrative speed. Perhaps this might be explained by the, arguably, atypical nature of this peak, as it was not indicated by any previous abstract. See also on pp.90-1.

\textsuperscript{245} Kroon (1995, 2011).

\textsuperscript{246} Cf. Miller (2011: 394), who translates \textit{repentina libertate} as ‘newfound independence’, thus arguing for an explicit end to the \textit{unitas} of the \textit{orientation}. On \textit{libertas} as frankness see Konstan (1997: 149-56).
Abstract
(DM) sed ille abreptus dementiae meae, ut apud te servaretur consolationi meae.
Peak
(NM) Post paucos dies me absente repetitur febribus et defungitur.

Abstract
But he was snatched away from my lunacy, so that he might be preserved with you for my consolation.
Peak
After a few days, while I was absent, the fever returned, and he died.

The friend is taken away from Augustine’s madness (dementia), contrasting the previous salvation of the friend (salvus). The passive forms (abreptus, servaretur) contrast the active abstrulisti hominem de hac vita (you took the man from this life); God acts, man undergoes God’s action. Ille once more draws the narratee’s attention back to the friend. The abrupt focus shifts, introduced by adversative markers in these few lines (temptavi – at ille – ego autem – sed ille) further enhance the emotional content of the action. They make the narratee’s attention go back and forth between the two men. In the final line of the orientation we saw them as two individuals, as two opponents staring at each other across the confines of a sentence. Now we see them coming to grips and exchanging blows, as it were, while the narratee looks from the one to the other. Their original being as one has now explicitly and as it were visually come to an end.

Augustine repeats that the friend is going to die. Although ‘snatched away from my lunacy’ could be understood in many ways, the first abstract leaves no room for doubt. Thus, the imaginary fight ends with the very real death of one of the two opponents. But other than might be expected in such a situation, the one who dies finds salvation and wins.

The actual death of the friend is related in the only occurrence of present tense in narrative mode in this KNE (repetitur, defungitur). This does not, as one might expect, zoom in on the action, slow it down to spin out the drama. Quite to the contrary, time is even speeded up, as it were, by the summary post paucos dies (after a few days).

247 Cf. Kroon (2011: 187) on discussing the use of at, instead of sed or autem, in a passage of Livy: ‘Livy wants to evoke the image of an actual verbal dispute between the two parties.’

248 4.4.7: ecce abstrulisti hominem de hac vita. See on pp.84-5.

The fact that Augustine was not present at the actual moment of his friend’s death seems to contradict what the narrator has said before.\textsuperscript{250} However, it might be there to indicate the growing estrangement between the friends: the moment when the friend began to dread him as if he were an enemy, when there was no longer any \textit{aequalitas} between them, was also the start of their physical separation and the end of their \textit{unitas}.

Since the death of the friend has been indicated twice before in abstract, the recounting of his actual death must count as a formal and integral part of the peak. Thus, we see two peaks in short succession. The first one, the friends turning into enemies, carries strong dramatic effect. It is announced, as it were, by subtly, but ever more clearly, showing the drifting apart of the friends.\textsuperscript{251} The second one, the death of the friend, explicitly, and almost formally, announced in abstracts, is a sentence that feels stark and impersonal in comparison. After the elaborate emotional conflict between the two men, the recounting of the death comes almost as an afterthought. As such the information might be part of the resolution, simply relating what happened after the climax of the story had come and gone.\textsuperscript{252}

Augustine brings the two themes of this narrative episode, the growing estrangement of the two friends and the death of the friend, each to their own peak. These two themes, I think, express the same thing: the separation, both emotional and physical, of two friends who had been as one. Looking at these two peaks in that way, I would call them, almost as a classical hendiadys, a ‘bipolar’ peak, which through its peculiar character emphasizes the one central theme of this KNE:\textsuperscript{253} as long as there is no \textit{caritas}, it does not matter how much friends are alike, how much time they spend together, how much they love each other, friendships such as that will not last and end in enmity.

\textsuperscript{250} 4.4.8: \textit{quando non discedebam et nimis pendebamus ex invicem}. See above on pp.87-8.
\textsuperscript{251} Van der Valk (2009: 144): ‘What Augustine gives us is an understanding of friendship that separates friends before bringing them back to one another through God.’
\textsuperscript{252} Cf. also my discussion of 9.11.28-9.12.29 on pp.215-6, where Monnica’ death, although the peak of the story, reads like resolution. See also my discussion of the similarities between the peaks in the second KNE in book 4 and the Monnica passage in book 9 on pp.259-60.
\textsuperscript{253} Stienaers (2013: 14): ‘peaks represent the moments which the story is really about in the narrator’s eyes.’
The resolution to the story is Augustine’s internal progress (4.4.9-4.5.10)

Resolution


Resolution

Grief darkened my heart. Everything on which I set my gaze was death. My home town became a torture to me; my father’s house a strange world of unhappiness; all that I had shared with him was without him transformed into a cruel torment. My eyes looked everywhere, and he was not there. I hated everything because they did not have him, nor could they now tell me ‘look, he is on the way’, as used to be the case when he was alive and absent from me. I had become to myself a vast problem, and I questioned my soul ‘Why are you sad, and why are you very distressed?’ But my soul did not know what reply to give. If I had said to my soul ‘Put your trust in God’, it would have had good reason not to obey. For the very dear friend I had lost was a better and more real person than the phantom in which I would have been telling my soul to trust. Only tears were sweet to me, and in my soul’s delights weeping had replaced my friend.

Augustine now tells what happened afterwards, after the drama had unfolded. This would qualify as the resolution. This resolution is quite extensive by telling what his younger self went through after his friend had died, the narrator clearly wants to relate his actions as well as his thoughts, serves to elucidate to the narratee the enormous impact this loss, and especially the final estrangement, had had on the young Augustine. There is one single perfect tense to indicate the mood that engulfed Augustine, after which he continues with imperfect en pluperfect tense to further illustrate that mood. He uses the connective et eight times, which in combination with the iterative imperfect tense, goes to illustrate his restlessness. In this resolution Augustine describes his state of mind right after his friend’s death. But although there is no sequence of states of affairs in relation to each other, there is a sense of progression as Augustine analyzes his

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254 See my discussion of the narrative categories in chapter 1.4.2 on pp.40-1.
feelings and characterizes secular friendship. In this he does achieve some sort of a mental progress, gaining a deeper awareness.

After the emphatic focus on the friend that started in the complication and was stressed by the contrast to Augustine in the first part of the peak, it seems that now, in this resolution, the friend is slowly fading away again: there is the double illo at first, followed by a double eum, much less emphatic, and a return to zero anaphora (ecce venit, sicut cum viveret, quando absens erat: look, he is on the way, as used to be the case when he was alive and absent from me), after which Augustine is the subject once more. Finally the friend is referred to by homo and amico, just as he was when Augustine first mentioned him in the orientation. It is as if Augustine drew him out of the anonymous shadows into the bright spotlight, only to eventually let him disappear into those same shadows again.

**Evaluation**
(DM) Et nunc, Domine, iam illa transierunt, et tempore lenitum est vulnus meum.

**Excursus**
(DM) possumne audire abs te, (IM) qui veritas es, et admove re aurem cordis mei ori tuo, ut dicas mihi cur fletus dulcis sit miseris? an tu, quamvis ubique adsis, longe abieicti a te miseriam nostram, et tu in te manes, nos autem in experimentis volvimur? et tamen nisi ad aures tuas ploraremus, nihil residui de spe nostra fieret. unde igitur suavis fructus de amaritudine vitae carpitur, gemere et flere et suspirare et conqueri? an hoc ibi dulce est, quod speramus exaudire te? recte istum in precibus, quia desiderium perveniendi habent. nun in dolore amissae rei et luctu, quo tunc operiebar? (NM) neque enim sperabam revivescere illum aut hoc petebam lacrimes, sed tantum dolorem et flebam. miser enim eram et amiseram gaudium meum. (DM) an et fletus res amara est et, prae fastidio rerum quibus prius fruebamur et tunc ab eis abhorrems, delectat?

**Evaluation**
Now, Lord, all that belongs to the past, and with time my wound is less painful.

**Excursus**
Can I hear from you who are the truth, and move the ear of my heart close to your mouth, so that you can explain to me why weeping is a relief to us when unhappy? Or, although present everywhere, have you thrust our misery far from you and remain in yourself while we are tossed about by succesful trials? Yet if our tearful entreaties did not reach your ears, no remnant of hope would remain for us. How does it come about that out of the bitterness of life sweet fruit is picked by groaning and weeping and sighing and mourning? Does the sweetness lie in the hope that you hear us? That is certainly the case in our prayers which express the longing to reach their object. But surely that is not true of sadness and grief for what has been lost, such as overwhelmed me at that time. I had no hope that he would come back to life, and my tears did not
petition for this. I merely grieved and wept. I was in misery and had lost the source of my joy. Or is weeping really a bitter thing which gives relief only when we cannot bear to think of the things which formerly we enjoyed, and which is pleasurable at the moments when we shrink from the memory of them?

Augustine remarks upon the time of narration. The perfect tense (*lenitum est*) conveys the result of the action. This almost reads like the close of the narrative episode and the return to the main story. As such this could be the coda. But, after an excursus on the nature of sweet tears, Augustine returns to his description of his internal progress, analyzing his feelings at the time immediately following his friend’s death; we do not leave reference time and after the excursus we will see the resolution continue.

**Augustine’s misery stems from his adherence to friendship with the mortal world**

(4.6.11)

**Resolution**

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**Resolution**

Why do I speak of these matters? Now is the time not to be putting questions but to be making confession to you. I was in misery, and misery is the state of every soul overcome by friendship with mortal things and lacerated when they are lost. Then the soul becomes aware of the misery which is its actual condition even before it loses them. At that time that was my state: I wept very bitterly and took my rest in bitterness. I was so wretched that I felt a greater attachment to my life of misery than to my dead friend.

Augustine resumes the narrative mode again from the resolution in 4.4.7. With *quid autem ista loquor* it is almost as if he interrupts himself, which gives the impression of listening in on a speaker in an actual conversational

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255 There is a second echo here to Ambrose’s *De excessu fratris sui Satyri* (see also note 231 on p.84). Ambrose pays much attention to the ‘sweet’ tears he sheds at his brother’s death: *ipsae dulces lacrimae* (Ambr., *De exc.fr.sui Sat*.c.74). See for Ambrose’s analysis of the nature of tears c.5-6.
setting. The analeptic narration about the death of his friend, that seemed to have come to an end, continues, with four imperfects and one pluperfect (sperabam, dolebam, flebam, eram, amiseram). We see the third enim within a space of five sentences. Throughout 4.5.10-4.12.19 enim appears seventeen times, thus emphasizing the interactional character of this whole passage. Now, at the beginning of 4.6.11, Augustine puts in a piece of informative mode almost defining miseria. The misery is directly linked to friendship with mortal things (amicitia rerum mortalium), explicitly echoing his previous remarks in book 1 about the friendship of this world (amicitia enim mundi huius: 1.13.21). By substituting the phrase ‘mortal things’ for ‘this world’ Augustine the bishop emphasizes which aspect of the friendship of this world was the main cause for the misery he felt at that time at the loss of his friend; that aspect is the love for someone, who is a part of this world and so must eventually die, but whom one considers to live forever. Thus, one would be attributing divine status, immortality, to mortal man. And that kind of blasphemous love would turn one away from God, as Augustine has already pointed out in book 1. The word mortalium continues this theme of mortal man that was first introduced in 4.4.7 and 4.4.9 by the repetition of homo.

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256 I have pointed out elements of this conversational style in the analysis above, e.g., by the interruptions in abstract, evaluation and complication, and by the profligate use of conversation management particles such as enim and at. Cf. Lane Fox (2015: 144): ‘We are listening to his self-analysis in progress, unrevised and written down as it happens.’ See also my discussion of this element of ‘realism’ in the first KNE, the pear theft (pp.65-6) and in the eighth KNE, the garden in Milan (p.185).

257 McLynn (1994: 75) points out that the second part of Ambrose’s De consolationis et resurrectionis, which follows De excessu fratris sui Satyri ‘is pervaded by the vocabulary of mourning: maeror, dolor, fletus, lacrima and their derivatives occur no fewer than 149 times in the eighty short paragraphs of this work.’ I see another echo of this in these two paragraphs from the Confessions, immediately following the story about the loss of Augustine’s friend: in 4.5.10-4.6.11 Augustine describes his mood emphasizing the element of tears, crying and misery: fluere/plorare/lacrima: 7 x; miseria/miser: 9 x.

258 Ambrose’s attitude at the death of his brother is exactly the opposite of Augustine’s here: from the start Ambrose accepts his brothers mortality: Ambr., De exc.fr.sui Sat.c.1: memineram esse mortalem, nec fefellit opinio; c.3: laetandum est enim magis quod talem fratrem habuerim, quam dolendum quod fratrem amiserim; c.4: quis enim commune condicionem recuset?

259 1.13.21: amicitia enim mundi huius fornication est abs te.
Legendary friendships as conveyed by secular literature are not realistic
(4.6.11)

**Resolution**

*NM* nam quamvis eam mutare vellel, nollem tamen amittere magis quam illum, et
nescio an vellem vel pro illo, *IM* sicut de Oreste et Pylade traditur, si non fingitur, qui
vellent pro invicem vel simul mori, qua morte peius eis erat non simul vivere. *NM*
sed in me nescio quis affectus nimis huic contrarius ortus erat, et taedium vivendi erat
in me gravissimum et moriendi metus. *DM* credo, *NM* quo magis illum amabam,
hoc magis mortem, quae mihi eum abstulerat, tamquam atrocissimam inimicam
oderam et timebam, et eam repente consumpturam omnes homines putabam, *DM*

**Resolution**

Although I wanted it to be otherwise, I was more unwilling to lose my misery than
him, and I do not know if I would have given up my life for him as the story reports
of Orestes and Pylades: if it is not fiction, they were willing to die for each other
together, because it was worse than death to them not to be living together. But in me
there had emerged a very strange feeling which was the opposite of theirs. I found
myself heavily weighed down by a sense of being tired of living and scared of dying.
I suppose that the more I loved him, the more hatred and fear I felt for the death which
had taken him from me, as if it were my most ferocious enemy. I thought that since
death had consumed him, it was suddenly going to engulf all humanity. That was, to
the best of my memory, my state of mind.

Augustine says that he held his life, albeit miserable, more dear than the
friend he had lost. For he was not prepared to exchange it for his friend
or even sure that he would want to lose it on behalf of his friend.260 To
the narratee this might sound rather selfish, not at all in accordance with
the emotional upheaval Augustine described in 4.4.7-9. But Augustine
then likens this ideal of unselfish death in return for his friend’s life to
the friendship between Orestes and Pylades, thereby placing it squarely
within the realm of mythology.261 He acknowledges the sentiment,
while at the same time qualifying it as fictional and as such probably
unrealistic. Cicero in his *Laelius, De Amicitia*262 uses the same exemplum
as it is presented in theatre, describing the standing ovation of the public;
people will applaud it when they see it in someone else, while they are

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260 One of the aspects of Satyrus’s benevolentia, according to Ambrose, is that he would gladly die
in someone else’s place: Ambr., *De exc.fr. sui Satyri c.2: mallet occidit pro aliis, quam sibi vivere.*
261 For Orestes and Pylades as a paradigmatic pair of friends in the mythological tradition, see
Williams (2012: 5-7).
not able to do it themselves.\textsuperscript{263} Ovid uses the exemplum of Orestes and Pylades as well in his \textit{Tristia}:\textsuperscript{264} neither was scared by his own death, but miserable by the death of the other. Augustine’s being tired of life at that time (\textit{taedium vivendi:} 4.6.11) was balanced by the fear of his own death (\textit{moriendi metus:} 4.6.11), he says, thus emphasizing the difference between himself and the mythological heroes.\textsuperscript{265} His words neatly rephrase Ovid’s (\textit{mortisque metus et taedia vitae: fear of death and weariness of life}),\textsuperscript{266} turning the chiasm completely around. The more I loved him, Augustine says, the more I hated death. Love and hate are thus teamed up, continuing the theme of opposites linked together like the ‘bitter and sweet’ in 4.5.10, the misery and happiness in 4.5.10-4.6.11 and friendship and enmity in 4.7.8. In a passage full of classical allusions I sense an echo of Catullus in this combination of \textit{amare} and \textit{odisse} (love and hate): ‘I love her and I hate her’ (\textit{odi et amo}: 85.1). The injustice of his girlfriend made Catullus love her more (\textit{amare magis}: 72.8), but cherish her less (\textit{bene velle minus}: 72.8). The eventual disappearance of \textit{benevolentia} altogether brought Catullus to hate her. \textit{Benevolentia}, as we shall see in the following chapters, will prove to be one of the essential aspects of Augustinian friendship. Augustine repeats that that was what he was like at the time. That is how he clearly remembers it (\textit{memini}). Once again, as, for example, in the narrative episode about Monnica and the bishop in book 3, Augustine’s explicit reference to memory emphasizes the content.\textsuperscript{267}

\textbf{Resolution}

(DM) \textit{ecce cor meum, deus meus, ecce intus. vide, quia memini, spes mea,} (IM) \textit{qui me mundas a talium affectionum immunditia, dirigens oculos meos ad te et evellens de laqueo pedes meos.} (NM) \textit{mirabar enim ceteros mortales vivere, quia ille, quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram, mortuus erat, et me magis, quia ille alter eram, vivere illo mortuo mirabar.}

\textbf{Resolution}

Look into my heart, my God, look within. See this, as I remember it, my hope; for you cleanse me from these flawed emotions. You direct my eyes towards you and rescue my feet from the trap. I was surprised that any mortals were alive, since he whom I

\textsuperscript{263} See also McEvoy (2001:7).
\textsuperscript{264} Ov. \textit{Tr.} 4.4.75-76 (this passage is mentioned five times throughout the book).
\textsuperscript{265} See a similar dilemma of Ambrose (\textit{De exc. fr. sui S	extae rius} c.34): \textit{quid de me loquar, cui neque mori licet (...) neque vivere libet.}
\textsuperscript{266} Ov. \textit{Met.} 10.482.
\textsuperscript{267} See my discussion on p.66 on Augustine’s at times questionable or suggestive lack of memory.
had loved as if he would never die was dead. I was even more surprised that when he was dead I was still alive, for he was my other self.

‘Look into my heart’ essentially refers to the repeated ‘that is what I was like back then’. There is yet another emphatic memini. In these few sentences in the middle of the chapter, surrounded as it were by a host of classical references,268 Augustine the bishop interrupts the narrative in discursive and informative mode. In these interruptions he employs Scriptural quotations,269 thereby emphasizing the different mind-set of the bishop he has become in contrast to the young man he used to be. The next sentence (enim) explains what the narratee ought to consider as the impurities that plagued Augustine, while at the same time appealing to the narratee’s empathy with Augustine’s reactions; it was quite understandable that Augustine would be surprised that the world was moving on and that people just went on living, because he could not love any man as a mere mortal being (quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram). This is the explicit reference to the theme of man’s mortality as I pointed out above. The repetition of mirabar (I was surprised), the positioning of both predicates (first and last word of the sentence) and the chiasm (mirabar ... vivere – vivere mirabar) emphasize the young Augustine’s amazement at what he is experiencing, and thus his incapacity to grasp man’s mortal nature. Still adhering to the ways of the world, Augustine is turning away from God, turning away from caritas. Therefore, although there was dilectio, as well as unitas and aequalitas (quia ille alter eram) three of friendship’s aspects, this love could only lead to tears, since it was based on false premises.

Resolution
(IM) bene quidam dixit de amico suo: ‘dimidium animae’ suae. (DM) nam ego sensi animam meam et animam illius unam fuisse animam in duobus corporibus; (NM) et ideo mihi horrore erat vita, quia nolébam dimidius vivere, et ideo forte mori metuebam, ne totus ille moreretur quem multum amaveram.

Resolution
Someone has well said of his friend, ‘He was half my soul’. I had felt that my soul and his soul were one soul in two bodies. So my life was to me a horror. I did not wish to

269 Ps. 70:5, 24:15.
live with only half of myself, and perhaps the reason why I so feared death was that then the whole of my much loved friend would have died.

The ‘someone’ is Horace who called Vergil ‘half of my soul’. The next sentence (nam) then explains the bene of the previous sentence: from his own experience Augustine fully understands Horace’s sentiment of his best friend being half of his soul. Using the perfect tense Augustine interrupts the narrative sequence of imperfect tense forms (mirabar, erat, timebam) by switching to informative mode (dixit) and reacting to Horace’s words in discursive mode (sensi), implying it was indeed ‘well said’, because through the years Augustine has come to see the truth of it. The use of ego after the impersonal quidam further illustrates this by focusing on Augustine and his personal experience, validating Horace’s remark. Thus, Augustine states that between himself and his friend there had been just one soul which resided in two bodies. This is, once more, a reference to Orestes and Pylades in Ovid’s Tristia, actually just three lines away from the earlier reference to them. This time, however, Augustine uses the two friends as a very real, in a sense more positive, comparison to his own friendship. It shows how the context of the quotes and references does not seem to be of any importance to the point Augustine is trying to make. It is, as McCormack remarks about Augustine’s use of Vergil, as if he uses these classical quotations and references as ‘pre-existing architectural elements’ to create a new building.

This second reference to Orestes and Pylades echoes what he said about his friend before: ‘my soul could not endure to be without him’ (4.4.7). Considering the stress Augustine put upon the equality between his friend and himself, this poetic image seems to carry that aequalitas one step further, as it were, to actually being one and the same.

Augustine’s previous being tired of living, but scared of dying is then echoed by the ‘horror’ that life had become to him and the fear of living. He no longer wanted to live, he says, because he would live on incompletely,
just one half of their shared soul. And he was afraid of dying, for by dying the remaining half of their shared soul would cease to be, erasing his friend entirely (ne totus ille moreretur (4.6.11): then the whole of my much loved friend would have died). O’Donnell points out that Augustine, looking back on these words in his Retractationes, considered it too much in the line of (cheap) rhetoric while at the beginning of the chapter Augustine had reminded himself that it was now time to confess to God. But considering the fact that we are looking at four different Augustine’s here (the young man grieving about his friend’s death and perhaps liable to pathetic emotions, the bishop writing the Confessions as author and acting as primary narrator, and the bishop writing the Retractationes), I think that this final sentence, rather than cheap rhetoric, is a perfect climax to the anecdote about the friend. Augustine, the author of the Confessions, describes the faulty friendship of his youth referring abundantly to classical sources to illustrate his point, even going as far as to explicitly state that he, as a young man as well as any of the personae of the bishop, was not and is not willing to conform to the secular, traditional image of friendship thus envisaged.

Man ought to be loved as the mortal being he is, with all inherent restrictions; all else is madness (4.7.12)

Resolution
(IM) o dementiam nescientem diligere homines humaniter! o stultum hominem immoderate humana patientem! (NM) quod ego tunc eram. itaque aestuabam, suspirabam, flebam, turbabar, nec requies erat nec consilium. portabam enim

274 Cf. Hor. Carm. 3.30.5/6: non omnis moriar multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam.
275 August. Retract. 2.2.6.
277 4.6.11: non enim tempus quaerendi nunc est, sed confitendi tibi.
278 Cf. the hyperbole in (...) et eam repente consumpturam omnes homines putabam (...) and (...) mirabar enim ceteros mortales vivere (...).
279 Cicero, Catullus, Ovid (3x), Horace (2x). This abundance of classical references echoes Ambrose’s book 2 of the libri consolationis et resurrectionis; this book 2 immediately follows Ambrose’s oration at his brother’s death.
concisam et cruentam animam meam impatientem portari a me, et ubi eam ponerem non inveniebam.

Resolution
What madness not to understand how to love human beings with awareness of the human condition! How stupid man is to be unable to restrain feelings in suffering the human lot! That was my state at that time. So I boiled with anger, sighed, wept, and was at my wits’ end. I found no calmness, no capacity for deliberation. I carried my lacerated and bloody soul when it was unwilling to be carried by me. I found no place where I could put it down.

Dementiam recalls the madness from which Augustine’s friend was snatched away (4.4.8). It is still the same ‘madness’ of loving his fellow man, not in the full knowledge of his mortality (humaniter) the way man ought to. This continues the antithesis between amicitia mundi and caritas which we saw before. The young Augustine bewails out of any proportion (immoderate) the bereavement that man is heir to. This lack of the right modus alludes to the theme of the right balance, continencia, once more: there is nothing wrong with grief as long as it does not dominate one’s actions. Augustine then offers an interpretation (enim) of his actions: his soul, lacerated and bloody, did not want to be ‘carried’ by him and apart from that he could not find a place of rest, which echoes the opening chapter of book 1 (et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te (1.1.1): and our heart is restless until it rests in you). Clark remarks that Augustine does not try to analyse who the ‘carrier’ is as distinct from his own soul: ‘instead he conveys the experience of a divided self.’ This duality within Augustine’s self is one of the major themes of the Confessions and which, as we shall see, will constitute a final crisis in book 8, directly leading up to Augustine’s conversion.

280 4.7.12: homines humaniter (...) hominem (...) humana; cf. 4.4.7: mecum iam errabat in animo ille homo (...) ecce abstulisti hominem de hac vita; 4.6.11: ille, quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram. Cf. also the explicit contrast between God and aliquis homo, caro et sanguis (5.2.2). Cf. Miller (2011: 387-8): ‘According to Augustine, evil arises when we seek to overcome our fundamental lack as mortal creatures by attaching ourselves to changeable goods in excess of their quality and being.’

281 In book 6 Augustine describes his feelings on sending his partner, the mother of his son, away, in similar words: 6.15.25: cor (...) concisum et vulneratum mihi erat et trahebat sanguinem. This echo, as we will see in the analysis of book 6, might add a further dimension towards that separation.

Augustine’s soul found no rest in the temptations, so he sought out the company of the friends he had (4.7.12)

Resolution

(NM) non in amoenis nemoribus, non in ludis atque cantibus, nec in suave olentibus locis, nec in conviviis apparatis, neque in voluptate cubilis et lecti, non denique in libris atque carminibus adquiescebat. horrebant omnia et ipsa lux, et quidquid non erat quod ille erat improbum et odiosum erat praeter gemitum et lacrimas: (IM) nam in eis solis aliquantula requies. (NM) ubi autem inde auferebatur anima mea, onerabat me grandi sarcina miseriae.

Resolution

There was no rest in pleasant groves, nor in games or songs, nor in sweet-scented places, nor in exquisite feasts, nor in the pleasures of the bedroom and bed, nor, finally, in books and poetry. Everything was an object of horror, even light itself; all that was not he made me feel sick and was repulsive – except for groaning and tears. In them alone was there some slight relief. But when my weeping stopped, my soul felt burdened by a vast load of misery.

What Augustine is looking for is peace and quiet. The repeated negation (non .. non .. nec .. nec .. neque concluded by non denique) with the predicate in ultimate position does more than simply stress the fact that absolutely nowhere did his anima find any rest. O’Donnell points out that Augustine sums up the five senses. Looking for peace and quiet in the emotional state he is in, the young Augustine employs the pleasures of the flesh and of the mind, which do not bring him any solace whatsoever. Here, as in the previous chapter, he strongly refers by his choice of words to the world of classical, secular literature, distinguishing between libri (prose) and carmina (poetry). Alluding to the pagan world, Augustine once more, as in the previous chapter with classical mythology, enumerates the places where he was looking for rest, but could not find it. His loved ones (his son, the mother of his son, and his own mother) do not figure in his search for rest in this time of great misery. Their absence at this point emphasizes where he does look for solace and rest: with his friends. To

284 O’Donnell (1992) on 4.7.12: amoenis nemoribus – amoena virecta fortunatorum nemorum (Verg. Aen. 6.638-639); ludis atque cantibus – et corporum complexum et ludos atque cantus (Cic. Tusc. 3.20.46) - ut cantus referatque ludos (Hor. Carm. Saec. 22); suave olentibus locis – suave locus voci resonat (Hor. Sat. 1.4.76) - suave olentis amaraci (Catull. Carm. 61.7); conviviis apparatus – apparatum convivium (Cic. Off. 3.14.58) - apparata convivia (Liv. aUc 24.16.17).
Augustine, the young man as well as the bishop, his anima, if anywhere, can only find rest in the circle of his friends. And that rest can only be true once those friends are true. Thus, he abhorred all the places and activities he enumerates, since he had not yet achieved true friendship.

**Resolution**

(NM) ad te, domine, levanda erat et curanda, sciebam, sed nec volebam nec valebam, eo magis quia non mihi eras aliquid solidum et firmum, cum de te cogitabam. non enim tu eras, sed vanum phantasma et error meus erat deus meus. si conabar eam ibi ponere ut requiesceret, per inane labebatur et iterum ruebat super me, et ego mihi remanseram infelix locus, ubi nec esse possem nec inde recedere.

**Resolution**

I should have lifted myself to you, Lord, to find a cure. I knew that, but did not wish it or have the strength for it. When I thought of you, my mental image was not of anything solid and firm; it was not you but a vain phantom. My error was my god. If I attempted to find rest there for my soul, it slipped through a void and again came falling back upon me. I had become to myself a place of unhappiness in which I could not bear to be; but I could not escape from myself.

The first sentence is an allusion to the opening of psalm 24. In answer to the failure of his looking for rest anywhere, this time, talking about the right way to go about it, Augustine does not refer to classical, secular literature, but turns to Scripture instead. When he tried to put his soul to rest with the Lord there was just empty space: ‘it slipped through a void’, because he did not know the true nature of God. Clark and O’Donnell see a reference to the universe of Lucrece, where there is no place of rest and stability, just atomic matter interspersed with emptiness. This might then be one more instance of Augustine’s use of classical, pagan references illustrating the wrong places to find true rest, with the added implication that philosophy cannot provide true rest either. This would be in accord with what we shall see in book 7 when Augustine experiences his first ecstasy through the books of the Neo-Platonists, which however fail to make him see the ultimate Truth.

That which ‘slips and falls back’ is still Augustine’s anima, last mentioned explicitly three sentences before as subject in a subordinate clause, followed by zero anaphora and referred to only once in between by eam. After this the forceful et ego feels like a veritable focus shift. It implies the

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same duality, on a much more explicit level this time, within Augustine himself that I have pointed out before.

**He flees Thagaste and returns to Carthage: the first key passage ends (4.7.12)**

**Resolution**
(DM) *quo enim cor meum fugeret a corde meo? quo a me ipso fugerem? quo non me sequerer?*

**Coda**
(NM) *et tamen fugi de patria. minus enim eum quaerebant oculi mei ubi videre non solebant, atque a Thagastensi oppido veni Carthaginem.*

**Resolution**
Where should my heart have fled to in escaping from my heart? Where should I have gone to escape from myself? Where was there where I could not pursue myself?

**Coda**
And yet I fled from my home town, for my eyes sought for him less in a place where they were not accustomed to seeing him. And so from the town of Thagaste I came to Carthage.

The three rhetorical questions in essence echo Lucrece, Seneca, and Horace. To this sentiment of the impossibility of running away from oneself *et tamen* reacts: *and yet* he ran. The only two perfect predicates in 4.7.12 (*fugi, veni*), eventually carrying the action forward in narrative mode and coming right at the end of the chapter, indeed imply the feeling of flight, escape, as it were, from the situation he has been describing in great detail of excruciating duality, sweet tears and misery. *Enim* calls for the narratee’s understanding of his flight: he sought a place where he had not spent time with his friend and therefore would not be expecting to see him again. This is a direct echo of 4.4.9, where he was constantly looking for his friend to appear again, thus enclosing 4.5.10-4.7.12. The classical image of friendship, entirely acceptable to secular social convention, was not enough for Augustine to bear his loss and to accept his friend’s death. It is as Augustine implied, he could not live up to the classical ideal. This

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289 4.4.9: *expectebant eum undique oculi mei; 4.7.12: minus enim eum quaerebant oculi mei, ubi videre non solebant.*
is the last time Augustine will mention the friend who nearly turned into an enemy. It might seem remarkable that at this point he refers to him with the rather neutral *eum*, but then again it goes to show how far the focus has shifted from the friend or rather from the relationship between them to Augustine’s exclusive self-analysis, where the nameless friend disappears when his function ends.

With Augustine now in Carthage the analepsis, the KNE about his experiences in Thagaste, ends. With this coda we return to the main narration (4.1.1-4.3.6). In the next chapters (4.8.13-4.9.14) Augustine tries to explain how the friendship he described between himself and the friend who died could ever turn awry and to what insights that led him. In that explanation he will explicitly address the theme of man’s mortality and the dangers of clinging to the physical world. It is the narratological seed he had planted by using *homo* thrice in this anecdote (in orientation, abstract and resolution). The emphasis on explaining how this friendship could have ended clearly shows that it had been this emotional aspect of the peak which had had the greater impact on him.²⁹⁰

2.4.3 Selective summary 4.8.13-4.16.31

Since the content of the chapters 4.8.13-4.9.14 is intricately linked to the previous episode about the friend and, in complementing Augustine’s description of friendship (4.6.11-4.7.12), adds valuable information to our understanding of the friendship he knew in those days, I shall discuss these chapters in detail.

**Once back in Carthage nothing has changed**

(4.8.13)

(IM) *non vacant tempora nec otiose volvuntur per sensus nostros: faciunt in animo mira opera.* (NM) *ecce veniebant et praeteribant de die in diem, et veniendo et praetereundō inserebant mihi speś alīas et alīas memoriaś, et paulatim resarciebant me pristinis generibus delectationum, quibus cedebat dolor meus ille; sed succedebant non quidem dolores alii, causae tamen aliorum dolorum.* (DM) *nam unde me facillime et in intima dolor ille penetrerat, nisi quia fuderam in harenam animam mean diligentem moriturum acsi non moriturum?*

²⁹⁰ See also my discussions on the ‘bipolar’ peak on pp.90-1.
Time is not inert. It does not roll on through our senses without affecting us. Its passing has remarkable effects on the mind. See: it came and went from day to day, and by its coming and going it implanted in me new hopes and other experiences to remember. Gradually it repaired me with delights such as I used to enjoy, and to them my grief yielded. But these delights were succeeded not by new sorrows but by the causes of new sorrows. The reason why that grief had penetrated me so easily and deeply was that I had poured out my soul on to the sand by loving a person sure to die as if he would never die.

The first sentence picks up what Augustine said before about time healing his wounds (4.5.10). Clark\textsuperscript{291} refers to the slow passage of time as conveyed by the sentence structure; there is the repetition of *veniebant* – *veniendo*, *praeteribant* – *praetereundo*, the addition of *paulatim*, the use of the imperfects to carry the action, which is more like a development, and the polysyndetical use of *et*. All this serves to illustrate the sense of gentle and steadfast progression implied in *volvuntur* (time .. rolls on),\textsuperscript{292} but the explicit mention of the senses also refers to Augustine’s previous elaboration upon the five senses (4.7.12). Although true peace and quiet is not to be found in the realm of the senses, he says, some ‘good’ apparently does come of giving in to them after all; time passes and does not take away, but softens the pain. This attitude towards the senses implies the same quality of their intrinsic ‘neutrality’ as we have seen before when Augustine for example introduced the temptations: there is nothing wrong with giving in to the senses as long as one keeps the right balance.\textsuperscript{293} As in the previous chapters, only interrupted by the two perfects *fugi* and *veni* (4.7.12), imperfect tense is used throughout this description of his first days in Carthage, just as it was describing his days of sorrow and despair in Thagaste. Augustine’s flight, as I have pointed out before,\textsuperscript{294} commenting upon the allusions to Seneca, has in this respect brought no change. The situation Augustine finds himself in, being unable to find a place of true rest for his soul, continues and is not ‘completed’ by perfect tense concluding the situation. Thus, his search goes on. The chiasm (*spes alias et alias memorias*: new hopes and other experiences) combines that which lies ahead (*spes*) with that which has passed (*memorias*), the repetition and almost juxtaposition of *alias* emphasizes that with this passage of time the young Augustine finds a new perspective:

\textsuperscript{293} See, e.g., 1.8.13 and my discussion on p.57.
\textsuperscript{294} See my discussions on pp.104 and 113.
life goes on. Slowly, the bishop says, time ‘repaired’ (resarciebant) him again with all the pleasures he knew so well. I see in Augustine’s use of resarcire in this particular context a reference to what he previously said: [anima mea] onerabat me grandi sarcina miseriae (my soul felt burdened by a vast load of misery: 4.7.12). So when he now says that time gradually ‘repaired’ him with delights there might be the special connotation that it also burdened him anew with those pleasures of the flesh that were keeping him back, tying him down. And to these pleasures his grief gave way, implying that he lost any balance (continentia) whatsoever.

**Augustine seeks solace in friendship that is faulty while still based upon Manichean fallacies**

(4.8.13)

(NM) maxime quippe me reparabant atque recreabant aliorum amicorum solacia, cum quibus amabam quod pro te amabam, (IM) et hoc erat ingens fabula et longum mendacium, cuius adulterina confricatione corrumpiebatur mens nostra pruriens in auribus. sed illa mihi fabula non moriebatur, si quis amicorum meorum moreretur.

The greatest source of repair and restoration was the solace of other friends, with whom I loved what I loved as a substitute for you; and this was a vast myth and a long lie. By its adulterous caress, my mind which had itching ears was corrupted. But this fable did not die for me when one of my friends died.

*Quippe* constitutes a strong emphasis\(^\text{295}\) and implies that the narratee will see the point: *of course* other friends comforted him, brought him back to himself, made him whole again. Just as we saw in 4.7.12 (p.72), for solace and comfort Augustine will always turn to his friends. Still, what these friends in Carthage loved was what they loved instead of God (*quod pro te amabam*), the vain phantom and error.\(^\text{296}\) This friendship, once again, cannot be true, just like it was not with his friend to whom he nearly turned into an enemy. The imperfects (*reparabant, recreabant*) pick up the former *resarciebant*, but here the pejorative connotation is even stronger: *recreabant*, as we have seen before,\(^\text{297}\) would apply solely to the physical level, bringing Augustine back to life, as it were, drying his tears, making him function again, but doing nothing for the true well-being of his soul.


\(^{296}\) Cf. 4.7.11: *vanum phantasma et error meas erat deus meas*.

\(^{297}\) Cf. 4.4.8: *recreatus et salvus factus*. See my discussion on pp.87-8.
Augustine’s faulty friendships bring solace: *unitas, aequalitas, vicissitudo, benevolentia* and *dilectio* (4.8.13-4.9.14)

(DeM) alia erant quae in eis amplius capiebant animum, *conloqui et conridere et vicissim* benivole obsequi, simul legere libros dulciloquos, simul nugari et simul honestari, dissentire interdum sine odio tamquam ipse homo secum atque ipsa rarissima dissensione condire consensiones plurimas, docere aliquid invicem aut discere *ah invicem*, desiderare absentes cum molestia, suscipere venientes cum laetitia: his atque huius modi signis a corde amantium et redamantium procedentibus per os, per linguam, per oculos et mille motus gratissimos, quasi fomitibus *conflare animos et ex pluribus unum* facere.

There were other things which occupied my mind more in the company of my friends: to make conversation, to share a joke, to perform mutual acts of kindness, to read together well-written books, to share in trifling and in serious matters, to disagree though without animosity – just as a person debates with himself – and in the very rarity of disagreement to find the salt of normal harmony, to teach each other something or to learn from one another, to long with impatience for those absent, to welcome them with gladness on their arrival. These and other signs come from the heart of those who love and are loved and are expressed through the mouth, through the tongue, through the eyes, and a thousand gestures of delight, acting as fuel to set our minds on fire and out of many to forge unity.

Augustine the bishop lists the ‘other things’ he did with his friends and shared. These things captured his soul even more than Mani’s teachings captured his mind, he says. O’Donnell hesitates: ‘It can be argued that the passage is suspect, too generous-minded for *Conf.*’, although he also sees it as ‘Augustine’s gentlest gesture to his old friends among the Manichees.’

Be that as it may, there is one thing that immediately strikes the eye at first reading the above passage; an abundance of words and phrases stressing the togetherness (*unitas*) and similarity (*aequalitas*) of the friends involved; I count 13 instances within this one enumeration. This is a direct reminder of the opening lines of 4.4.7. All Augustine wanted to convey there was the equality and togetherness between his friend and himself, while

298 Cf. 4.8.13 above: *maxime quippe me reparabant atque recreabant aliorum amicorum solacia (…) hoc erat ingens fabula et longum mendacium (…) alia erant quae in eis amplius capiebant animum.* See also Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 173).


301 *Coaevum – conflorentem – mecum (2x) – pariter (2x) – parilium; non poterat anima mea sine illo: 8 instances within 6 sentences. See the analysis of 4.4.7 on pp.81-2.*
immediately pointing out that that friendship was faulty, which, however, did nothing to diminish the emotional blow Augustine was dealt when he saw the two of them grow apart even to the point where they nearly turned into enemies. Both there and here Augustine refers to the soul (animus/ anima) instead of the mind (mens) when qualifying their relationship.

In Augustine’s description of the time he spent with his friends there is an image of relaxation and entertainment (libri dulciloqui, simul nugari: well- (or perhaps rather, pleasantly) written books, to share in trifling matters). The choice of words brings a Catullan circle of friends to mind.\footnote{Cf. Cat. 1. See also my discussions on classical references on pp.96-100, 164-5, 189-90, 266.} The equality between the friends is carried even further: disagreeing with a friend is like disagreeing with one’s self. Disagreement rarely occurs, while agreement is abundant.\footnote{Note the chiasmic emphasis on rarissima and plurimas.} Disagreement in this circle of friends serves ‘to cultivate, to ornament; to make pleasant or agreeable’ (condire).\footnote{Note the alliteration condire consensiones once more accentuating the repeated ‘con-’ prefixes.} At the end of the enumeration there are a few allusions to Cicero.\footnote{Cic. Lael., De Am. 14.49.} Redamare (to love in return)\footnote{2.2.2: serenitas dilectionis; 3.1.1: amare et amari.} is a Ciceronian neologism, echoing the vicissitudo as well as the dilectio we saw before.\footnote{Cic. Lael., De Am. 25.92.} The phrase ex pluribus unum facere (out of many to forge unity) echoes Cicero’s ut unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus (that one mind should arise from many) referring to Augustine’s unitas, as we have seen in the previous KNE.\footnote{See also my discussions on classical references as illustrative of faulty friendships on pp.108-11, 164-5, 189-90.} Once again we see an abundance of references to classical literature in Augustine’s description of the limited friendship he enjoyed at that time.

Describing his friendship in Carthage, Augustine rounds off this passage by bringing the theme of unitas and aequalitas to what almost feels like a climax. For all the mentioning of con- and invicum implying a conjoint individuality, they, he and his friends, now all melt together into one. This is exactly as we have seen him do before in talking about his deceased friend. He accentuated their togetherness (4.4.7-8) bringing their relationship to an almost identical ‘climax’ at the end of 4.6.11 when stating that their two souls had been as one in two bodies. This is one more reason to believe, as I remarked before, that Augustine ranks the kind of friendship he was in with
his friend in Thagaste on a par with friendship as he experienced it right afterwards in Carthage, with all the positive and negative connotations that go with it.

(IM) *hoc est quod diligitur in amicis, et sic diligitur ut rea sibi sit humana conscientia si non amaverit redamantem aut si amantem non redamaverit, nihil quaerens ex eius corpore praeter indicia benevolentiae. hinc ille luctus si quis moriatur, et tenebrae dolorum, et versa dulcedine in amaritudinem cor madidum, et ex amissa vita morientium mors viventium.*

This is what we love in friends. We love to the point that the human conscience feels guilty if we do not love the person who is loving us, and if that love is not returned – without demanding any physical response other than the marks of affectionate good will. Hence the mourning if a friend dies, the darkness of grief, and as the sweetness is turned into bitterness the heart is flooded with tears. The lost life of those who die becomes the death of those still living.

*Hoc* comprises all the aspects he enumerated of the time he had spent with his friends. Taken by itself this might sound as if Augustine expresses himself as to friends in general. However, as in his description of the friend who had nearly turned into an enemy, he is talking about the good things within a faulty friendship. The following repeated use of the Ciceronian *redamare* keeps this sentence within the sphere and line of thought of the preceding description.  

McEvoy notes the absence of the word *caritas* in this passage: ‘[Augustine] deliberately refused to employ the word *caritas* in relation to his Manichean experiences of love and friendship.’ He even suggests that we should consider this passage, where Augustine the bishop seems to praise the misguided friendship of his younger self, as ironical. Considering the absence of *caritas* in his description of this friendship in Carthage, I think that Augustine’s remarks about *vera amicitia* must be considered here (4.8.13) as well. Considering the structural and thematic resemblances

310 This use of *amare* is far removed from the temptation of *concupiscencia carnis*. For this argument, see O’Donnell (1992) on 4.9.14. Augustine refers to the higher aspect of love, *dilectio*. For the quality of *dilectio* see also my discussion of 2.2.2 (pp.62-3) and chapter 3.1 on pp.243-5. Cf. 2.2.2: *serenitas dilectionis*; 4.9.14: *nihil quaerens ex eius corpore praeter indicia benevolentiae*.


312 McEvoy (2001: 3).

313 4.4.7: *non est vera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi caritate*. 
between this passage and the KNE about the friend in Thagaste,\textsuperscript{314} where I do not see even the slightest indication of irony, I tend to agree with O’Donnell’s view, which I referred to above: I feel that Augustine is indeed making a gentle gesture to his Manichean friends, as well as, in so far as he acknowledges the good that faulty friendship entailed, to himself.

Turning to God and finding *caritas* makes all the difference (4.9.14)

After these two opening sentences of 4.9.14,\textsuperscript{315} which so explicitly refer to 4.4.7-4.7.12, recouping as it were, what went before, there is a break. The detailed description of his actions and emotions following the death of his friend comes to a stop as Augustine now turns to God in a second excursus (cf. 4.5.10).

(IM) *beatus qui amat te et amicum in te et inimicum propter te. solus enim nullum carum amittit cui omnes in illo cari sunt qui non amittitur. et quis est iste nisi deus noster, deus, qui fecit caelum et terram et implet ea, quia implendo ea fecit ea? te nemo amittit nisi qui dimittit, et quia dimittit, quo it aut quo fugit nisi a te placido ad te iratum? nam ubi non invenit legem tuam in poena sua? et lex tua veritas et veritas tu.*

Happy is the person who loves you and his friend in you, and his enemy because of you. Though left alone, he loses none dear to him; for all are dear in the one who cannot be lost. Who is that but our God, the God who made heaven and earth and filled them? By filling them he made them. None loses you unless he abandons you, and when he abandons you where can he go or fly for refuge unless it be to move from your serenity to your anger? Where can he escape from finding that your law is in his penalty? And your law is truth and truth is you.

Talking about true friendship, Augustine’s play on words and constructions is lifted directly from Scripture and from the lips of Christ himself at that.\textsuperscript{316} As we saw in the previous passage,\textsuperscript{317} classical, secular references serve to describe faulty friendship, while true friendship is described in Scriptural quotes and allusions. *Enim*, calling for the narratee’s understanding, goes

\textsuperscript{314} Cf. *tenebrae dolorum* – 4.7.9: *quo dolore contenebratum est cor meum; versa dulcedine in amaritudinem* – 4.5.10: *an et fetus res amara est et (...) delectat?*; *cor madidum* – 4.5.10-4.6.11: *flere/plorare/lacrima* (7x); *ex amissa vita morientium mors viventium* – 4.6.11: *dimidium animae* (...) *nolebam dimidius vivere.*

\textsuperscript{315} See above *hoc est quod diligitur in amicis* - *et ex amissa vita morientium mors viventium.*

\textsuperscript{316} Cf. Tb. 13:18: *beati omnes qui diligunt te; Mt. 22:37-40: diliges Dominum Deum tuum (...) diliges proximum tuum, sicut te ipsum (...) universa lex pendet et prophetae; Mt. 5:44: diligite inimicos vestros.*

\textsuperscript{317} 4.8.13. Cf. 2.4.9, 4.6.11.
to explain why such a one should be blessed (*beatus*). Augustine the bishop comments upon the actions of Augustine the young man and that is how those words must be read: losing a dear one is only possible, according to the bishop, if one does not love his friend in God, which of course applies to Augustine the young man.\(^{318}\) What not loving a friend in God would entail was clearly illustrated by the second KNE (4.4.7), when *caritas* was still lacking in that faulty friendship.\(^{319}\) The subordinate clause, qualifying *deus noster; deus,* is, once again, a combination of Scriptural references.\(^{320}\) One can turn away from God, Augustine says, but there is no place to go to: God is everywhere. Here at the end of 4.9.14 the uselessness of such a flight is obvious. This almost sounds as the answer to the previous reference to Seneca’s *dictum* that running away from one’s self was impossible.\(^{321}\) The classical, secular references merely point out the impossible, Scripture seems to furnish the solution.\(^{322}\)

**Augustine’s sermon to himself: there is no place of rest in this material world**

(4.10.15-4.12.18)

This (4.10.15) is where Augustine’s explicit focus on friendship, that started in 4.4.7, ends. Thimme\(^{323}\) calls the following chapters (4.10.15-4.12.19) Augustine’s sermon to himself ‘*die gewaltige (...) Predigt, die er sich selber hält. Durch die Erinnerung an den Tod des geliebten Freundes und seinen Jammer war sein Herz in Wallung versetzt. Es musste sich ergiessen, überströmen. Wir spüren hier bei stärkster Rhetorik tiefe Ergriffenheit*’. This implies that the supposed emotional tone of 4.10.15-4.12.19 was triggered, as it were, by Augustine’s reliving, re-enacting the

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\(^{318}\) Cf. 4.7.12: *o dementiam nescientem diligere homines humaniter.*

\(^{319}\) Cf. Lane Fox (2015: 146): ‘Between two Christian friends, there is never one too many in a relationship, but the third must always be God.’ Cf. Williams (2012: 16): ‘The presence of a third party in an idealized friendship – and one who is divine at that – would have struck most Romans as incomprehensible.’

\(^{320}\) Ps. 145:5-7; Jer. 23:24.

\(^{321}\) 4.7.12: *quo enim cor meum fugeret a corde meo? quo a me ipso fugerem? quo non me sequerer?* Cf. Lucr. 3.1053-1075; Sen. *Ep.* 28.1; Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.18-20: *patrae quis exsul se quoque fugit?*

\(^{322}\) The final sentence of 4.9.14 (see O’Donnell (1992)) is yet again a Scriptural reference, e.g., Ps. 118:142; Rom. 3:21. See also Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 174).

period of grief following his friend’s death. The structure and wording of 4.9.14, as we have seen, with all its references to what preceded, even to the point of recapitulating, as it were, the previous chapters, strongly indicates that Augustine carefully rounded off the passage on friendship with this one chapter. The sermon to himself thus becomes a well-planned and functional theoretical excursus, addressed to God (4.10.15) and addressed to Augustine’s soul (4.11.16-4.12.19), on the theme of mortality which runs through the entire passage of the death of his friend and its aftermath. In addressing his soul, Augustine continues the duality we have seen before.324

‘Turn us’, he says,325 continuing the theme of the previous chapters of running away from one’s self and from God fruitlessly. Thimme points out that in the theme of returning to one’s self, the inner quest for that place of rest, there might be an echo of Plotinus.326 It is an echo that we shall see repeated and explored in greater detail in book 7, when Augustine, after having read the books of the Neoplatonists, experiences his first ecstasy which arguably leads to his first, the intellectual, conversion. This Plotinian reference once more shows that to Augustine Scripture entails the right way, while secular authorities might show that way, but can never lead to fulfilment.

Concluding this passage (4.12.19), this sermon to himself, there is one more Scriptural reference: in convalle plorationis (the valley of tears),327 explicitly linking this passage to that time right after his friend had died, recalling the (sweet) tears Augustine had shed then.

Life continues in Carthage unchanged: Augustine’s nadir
(4.12.19-4.15.27)

In the next chapter Augustine returns to the narrative of his days in Carthage. In order to rise up to God man has to descend to his lowest point.328 At that time, the bishop says, his younger self was doing just that. O’Donnell puts it like this: ‘If the flight to Carthage marked the final fall into the last

324 Cf. 4.7.12: portabam enim concisam et cruentam animam meam impatien tem portari a me.
325 Ps. 79:8: converte nos et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus.
327 Ps. 83:7 and 83:10.
328 4.12.19: numquid et post descensum vitae non vultis ascendere et vivere? (...) descendite, ut ascendatis ad deum.
grave temptation, then we have reached a nadir.' Pride, superbia, ruled
the young Augustine, pride which was, for a young man in his position,
socially acceptable. Augustine then produced a work ‘on the beautiful and the fitting’. There
is an appeal in things of lesser character, he says, as long as they are kept
within the right proportions: it is yet again the theme of the right balance, continentia. He does not seem to remember, however, whether he published
this work in three or four books. Once again, we see a lapse of memory, this
time concerning his very first publication, something one might expect to
have made a lasting impression on him. This lack of memory of Augustine
the bishop would downplay any sense of pride his mention of it might imply. On the other hand, this recurrent lack of memory at crucial moments
in his narrative, I have pointed out before as a subtle sign to the narratee to
pay attention to the matter at hand. Augustine dedicates these books to a Roman orator, Hierius. This Hierius, to the modern reader otherwise unknown, appears to be someone Augustine
did not know personally, but whose reputation appealed to him. He seems
to have been an orator of great fame who had achieved, being a provincial
non-native Latin speaker from Syria, what Augustine was aiming for. As
I mentioned earlier in the discussion of the series of illustrations of how
the young Augustine’s life at that time conformed to social conventions,
this publication and its dedication are completely in line with what secular
society would expect of a young man of his position. Hierius, as a role
model for the young Augustine, also seems to serve as a narratological seed
for the other role model we will encounter in the Confessions: Victorinus (8.2.4-5; 8.5.10). While both Hierius’s and Victorinus’s backgrounds and
careers were clearly comparable to Augustine’s, the former illustrates the
young Augustine’s being seduced by worldly ambition to follow in Hierius’s
footsteps, while the latter illustrates his final steps towards conversion.
Thus, both examples emphasize the young Augustine’s progression from

330 Cf. 1.1.1, 1.13.21, 1.19.30, 2.6.13, 3.5.9.
331 Cf., e.g., 1.6.7-1.7.12; 2.8.16. See also my discussion of Augustine’s lack of memory or explicit
mention of his memory on p.66.
333 See my discussion on p.76.
334 See my analysis of the narrative episode about Victorinus as told by Simplicianus on pp.174-6.
The temptation of *ambitio saeculi* had been missing when Augustine previously enumerated (4.7.12) where and how he went looking for a place of rest. Apparently, back at that time, right after his friend had died, *ambitio saeculi*, that is, losing himself in his work, had not been an option. O’Donnell goes as far as to mistrust Augustine when at the end of 4.7.12 Augustine explains his flight to Carthage as escaping Thagaste, the place that constantly reminds him of his dead friend: ‘He is, moreover, carefully circumstantial in discussing his motives, while denying that ambition had anything to do with it; here, the reasons given within the limits of the present text are inadequate to explain the direction he took. A radical break with the immediate past was a logical way to escape his grief, but nothing in *conf.* says why or with what hope it was to Carthage that he went.’\(^{335}\)

I do not think that Augustine the author is trying to hide the ambition of his younger self. He might be ‘circumstantial’ about his motives, but he produces them nonetheless: he flees Thagaste and moves on. And having moved on, life continues and everything starts all over again. In Carthage, therefore, we see him once again seeking diversion in the circle of his friends as a standard characteristic of his life. His book ‘on the beautiful and the fitting’ is the outcome of the train of thought set in motion by his friend’s death and the following turmoil. And since ambition was a normal part of his everyday life, he published and dedicated this book to a man he wanted to emulate.

### A summarizing chapter
(4.16.28-31)

The final chapter of book 4 is structured around the repetition (5x) of the rhetorical question ‘what good did it do me?’ (4.16.28-31),\(^{336}\) followed by one more question that actually rephrases the same sentiment: ‘or what serious harm did it cause to your little ones [they who were slow to see the truth, yet did not stray from God] (4.16.31)? The repeated question refers to the hold *curiositas* had had on him in those days, which led him to the liberal arts and the Manichees.\(^{337}\) In the many uses of verbs related

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\(^{336}\) Cf. the structure of 4.1.1-4.4.7, the repetition of the temporal indicators (5x): *per idem tempus* – *in illis annis* – *in illis annis* – *eo tempore* – *in illis annis* and the structure of 8.9.21 *unde hoc monstrum? Et quare istuc?* repeated 3x.

\(^{337}\) The reference to liberal arts refers to the opening lines of 4.1.1, neatly rounding off the book. Cf. O’Donnell (1992) on 4.1.1: ‘the book is bracketed by the `liberal arts.`'
to vertere in this paragraph (averti, perversi, revertamur, avertamur) and in Augustine’s final exclamation nimia perversitas! (what extraordinary perversity: 4.16.31) Clark sees an echo of the previous use of converge (4.10.15). 338 I venture to broaden this echo even further to the theme of running/turning away (4.7.12, 4.9.14). Turning away from God, as Augustine has said before, implies friendship of this world. 339 This duality of physical, temporal things and the eternal and immaterial lay at the root of the previous KNE where Augustine had loved his friend not as a mortal man but as someone who would never die. This duality and the excruciating struggle it entails for Augustine returns on and off throughout the Confessions, only to reach a climax in the final key passage, Augustine’s own final conversion in the garden in Milan (8.8.19-8.12.30).

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339 1.13.21: amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio abs te; 2.6.14: ita fornicatur anima, cum avertitur abs te.
2.5 Book 5

2.5.1 Selective summary: 5.1.1-5.2.2

The first chapters of book 5 continue the narrative of book 4

The situation in which we saw Augustine in book 4 is unaltered: he is among his friends in Carthage and he is a Manichee. Life goes on. The theme of running away, albeit uselessly, from God, that was so explicit in book 4, is carried through as well: they who turn away willingly from God, should turn around (convertantur 2x: 5.2.2), the bishop says. But they must turn around of their own free will and then God will be in the hearts of those who confess, who give themselves up to God and shed their tears after so many trials. It is the same sentiment we saw in book 4, although now there is a greater emphasis on the individual’s initiative, his very own first step towards salvation. In the previous books we have seen Augustine presenting man as making his own choice and being responsible for its outcome. A personal decision would seem to be important in sorting any lasting effect. Making the narratee see the importance of a personal decision fits in with the protreptic character of the Confessions; it is up to the narratee to imitate Augustine’s example.

2.5.2 Analysis of narrative episode: 5.3.3-5.7.13

The encounter with Faustus

Something happens that will prove to be a breakthrough to the young Augustine: Faustus, a Manichean bishop arrives in Carthage. Augustine presents this encounter as a narrative episode, thus emphasizing its importance. The episode is interrupted by a substantial excursus (5.3.3-5.5.9). As with the episode about Monnica and the bishop, the episode is

340 Cf. 2.4.9: ego furtum facere volui; 2.9.17: 8.10.22: ego eram qui volebam, ego qui nolebam: ego eram.
341 Cf. the many previous references to the sciens-nesciens theme, indicating the impossibility of one man purposely and effectively influencing another man.
342 See my discussion on protreptic in chapter 1.1.2 on pp.19-20, and my discussion on the exemplary character of the Confessions in chapter 3.3 on p.263. See also my discussion in chapter 3.3 on pp.263-5 on man’s dependence on God’s grace. In terms of Augustine’s theology, man’s influence on his personal road to conversion is minimal.
not about friendship nor does friendship play any significant part in it. Still, an analysis of a narrative episode not about friendship might serve to bring out the characteristics of the presentation of the key narrative episodes (KNE’s). Schematically the entire episode could be read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 5.3.3</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Augustine will tell what happened when he was thirty-one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 5.3.3</td>
<td>NM, DM, DeM</td>
<td>The famous Manichee Faustus comes to Carthage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Excursus</strong> 5.3.3-5.5.9 Turning away from astronomy. He who has a great scientific knowledge of nature, but is ignorant of God, is unhappy. He who knows God, even ignorant of natural science, is happy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 5.6.10</td>
<td>NM, IM</td>
<td>For years his Manichean friends have been telling Augustine that Faustus will finally answer all his questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 5.6.10</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Augustine has no need for smooth talk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 5.6.10</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM</td>
<td>Faustus has a way with words, but Augustine is no longer charmed by form and style; he longs for content.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 5.6.11</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>He enjoys listening to Faustus, but can hardly wait to ask him about the problems that have been troubling him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 5.6.11</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>When Augustine finally succeeds in questioning Faustus, he finds the great Manichee wanting: his knowledge of the liberal arts is mediocre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 5.6.11</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Augustine still recalls that moment very clearly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 5.7.12-13</td>
<td>NM, IM, DM, DeM</td>
<td>When even the great Faustus cannot answer his questions, Augustine finally despairs of the Manichees. He ends up teaching Faustus as one of his own pupils.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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343 Cf. 3.12.21. See my remarks on the importance of analysing the narrative episodes which are not concerned with friendship on pp.73, 117-8. See also my discussion on the characteristics of the key narrative episodes in chapter 3.2 on pp.254-7.

344 For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the seventeen narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.
Thus Faustus has, without realizing it, freed Augustine from his faulty beliefs. It was God who acted here, through Faustus.

The episode starts with orientation, bookmarked, as it were, by two very brief pieces of abstract. Orientation is interrupted by a lengthy excursus. It is an interruption such as we shall see in the eighth KNE in book 8 as well. In book 8 the excursus repeatedly interrupts complication, Augustine's ultimate struggle towards his conversion, thus enhancing the feeling of suspense to the narratee. The story of Faustus is told throughout in narrative mode by Augustine with the exception of a small number of sentences in discursive, information and descriptive modes. There are no specific markers to emphasize the dramatic content of the peak, such as enim or at.

**Faustus as an instrument of God (5.3.3-5.7.13)**

Faustus’s reputation as a great orator and as a very learned man had already preceded him. But the young Augustine could very well discern, the bishop says, between the man’s oratory and the content of his words; it was the latter that he was interested in. Augustine the bishop wonders how ‘a certain Mani’ (Manicheum nescio quem: 5.5.8) has dared to write about such things that he clearly did not understand. The seemingly objective ‘a certain Mani’ implies the cool distance between Augustine the bishop and the prophet his younger self used to follow, thus emphasizing the progress Augustine has made. Augustine might also try to ‘tone down’ at this point any implied importance of Mani in consideration of his narratees, to whom Manichaeism would not be acceptable at all.

When Faustus comes to Carthage one day, Augustine manages to talk to him privately, although, as was usual with Augustine, together with those closest to him (familiares mei). One might at that point suppose Nebridius and perhaps the young Alypius to have been among them.

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Faustus, however, gives the same unsatisfactory answers as all the others to Augustine’s probing questions about Manichean lore.\textsuperscript{346} Because of his disappointment in Faustus the young Augustine discards any future plans about gaining a higher position within the Manichean hierarchy. Faustus had freed him, Augustine says, from his faulty beliefs, but he emphasizes that Faustus had done so without any purpose, even without realizing that that would be the impact of his actions on the young Augustine (\textit{nec volens nec sciens}).\textsuperscript{347} The coda ends with Augustine’s explicit statement that it had been God himself who had been at work here, acting through Faustus as an intermediary.\textsuperscript{348} This is a very explicit example of the theme we have seen before of man acting unwittingly as God’s instrument (\textit{sciens/deliberate/divine-nesciens/non-deliberate/human}).\textsuperscript{349}

2.5.3 Selective summary: 5.8.14-5.14.25

Leaving Carthage for Rome on his friends’ advice: \textit{vicissitudo} (5.8.14)

Augustine’s friends then persuade him to move to Rome, because he can get a better position there and make more money. Although he confesses that this argument appealed to the \textit{ambitio saeculi} of his younger self, Augustine the bishop is doing his best to explain his move to Rome as something that others brought him to (\textit{vicissitudo}) and with which he mainly went along. Perhaps these others were the Carthaginian friends we have heard of before (4.8.13), who were as one with him. But the only true reason for his move, Augustine says explicitly, was that God was working his salvation by setting him on his path to eventual conversion.\textsuperscript{350} Once this path opened up before him, it was up to Augustine to decide whether to follow where it would lead or not. Thus, as I pointed

\begin{footnotes}
\item 346 Von Campenhausen (1965: 157): ‘Als er schliesslich erschien, erwies er sich als eine liebenswürdige, rhetorisch gebildete Niete.’ Considering Augustine’s judgement on Faustus’ minimal knowledge of Seneca, Hadot (1986-94: 288) considers Augustine to have been well versed in Seneca’s philosophy.
\item 347 O’Connell (1969: 60): ‘But even in [Faustus] God’s secret providential ‘hand’ is at work to ‘remake’ Augustine; He has used this heretical bishop as an instrument.’
\item 348 5.7.13: \textit{manus enim tuae, deus meus, in abdito providentiae tuae non deserebant animam meam (…) et egisti mecum miris modis. tu illud egisti, deus meus, nam a domino gressus hominis diriguntur; et viam eius volet. aut quae procuratio salutis praeter manum tuam reficientem quae fecisti?}
\item 349 E.g., 1.6.8, 3.4.7, 3.12.21, 4.3.5.
\item 350 5.8.14: \textit{ad corrigendos gressus meos utebaris occulte et illorum et mea perversitate.}
\end{footnotes}
out above, man can make his own choice, while God provides the options.\textsuperscript{351} And true to the theme of \textit{sciens/deliberate/divine} - \textit{nesciens/non-deliberate/human}, the narratee would understand that, whatever his friends advised him to do, it would indeed be God who was working through them. Thus we see here for the first time a positive illustration of the power of \textit{vicissitudo}. There is no \textit{caritas} yet, which would turn \textit{vicissitudo} into a characteristic of true friendship, but even the presence of God in this oblique way turns it into something good.

**Leaving Carthage: a \textit{Color Vergilianus} (5.8.15)**

Monnica is the only one who does not want Augustine to go. She prays for him to stay with her, yet he escapes through a web of lies, one of them being a friend he is supposed to see off. Whether this friend is real or just part of the ploy to fool Monnica, O’Donnell points out that, once again, Augustine turns to a friend, although a fictional one, at a crucial moment in his narrative.\textsuperscript{352} There is an image of God protecting Augustine from the all too real dangers of the sea passage, saving him for the water of grace at his eventual baptism, at which the ‘rivers of tears’ from his mother’s eyes will run dry. This is a narratological seed for the moment of Augustine’s actual conversion in the garden in Milan when the rivers of tears from his own eyes will burst forth (8.12.28).

The scene of Augustine’s departure has strong allusions to Aeneas’s slipping away from Dido.\textsuperscript{353} Once again we see Augustine at a crucial moment in his story emphatically allude to classical, pagan literature to illustrate the socially acceptable, but the, to the Christian morals, unacceptable action. Here in book 5, however, the allusion to the \textit{Aeneid} gains a positive note, because Augustine turns it around, as it were, as a perfect example of \textit{aemulatio}, where new meaning is given to the original: Dido dies in Carthage while cursing her departing lover, who is leaving by divine command. Monnica, on the other hand, stays behind in Carthage.

\textsuperscript{351} See above on p.117.
\textsuperscript{352} O’Donnell (1992) on 5.8.15.
praying for the salvation of her son, who is leaving by – to him at that time unknown – God’s command. Augustine has mentioned Dido before (1.13.21), talking about his misguided schooldays, when he cried because of Dido’s plight. Now we see his very own mother crying her heart out for him to stay, yet this time Augustine is not moved by the pathos of the scene. The elliptical end of the chapter (et ego Romam: meanwhile I came to Rome) well conveys his cool determination. He is above the allure of mythological romance now, although it is not yet by the force of his own true conviction, but by the hand of God.

**Augustine’s second illness: a further instance of his personal nadir (5.9.16-5.11.21)**

Once in Rome Augustine develops a grave fever. The fever grows worse, but still he does not decide upon baptism. His enmity (inimicitia) with God was still too great, the bishop says. It was such an enmity coming between Augustine and his greatest friend in the KNE in book 4 above all else that had been the greatest shock to him back then. Now in Rome there is inimicitia once more, this time coming between himself and Christ, whom one might consider to be his greatest friend and who is, as Augustine the bishop agrees, his true salvation. One might see Augustine now in the position his friend had been in at the time, while the enmity that had developed between the two hitherto almost identical friends is further illustrated here by Augustine’s completely opposite reaction: Now it is Augustine who turns into the enemy of Christ. Augustine recovers, however, and we see another reference to the scene in book 4, as I have pointed out in the analysis of that passage.

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354 Cf. Augustine’s illness as a child (1.11.17-8) and my discussion of that passage on p.58. That illness I pointed out as a narratological seed for the illness of the friend in book 4. At this point we should note that as a child Augustine wanted to be baptized, now, as a young man, he does not. This emphasizes the progress the young Augustine has made away from God.

355 See my discussion on friendship between man and God in chapter 3.3 on p.269.

356 Cf. 5.9.16: nec solverat ille [Christus] in cruce sua inimicitias, quas tecum [Deo] contraxeram peccatis meis; 7.18.24: mediatorem dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum; 10.43.68: verax autem mediator (...) dei et hominum, homo Iesus Christus.

357 5.10.18: recreasti .. me (...) et salvum fecisti – 4.4.8: recreatus est et salvus factus. See my discussion on p.61. For another reference see O’Donnell (1992) on 5.9.16: consilia medicinae tuae demens inridebam – 4.4.8: temptavi apud illum inridere, tamquam et illo inrisuro mecum baptismum (...) sed ille abreptus dementiae meae.
Augustine’s worldly ambition thrives: the imperial court in Milan (5.12.22)

Augustine’s teaching in Rome turns into a disappointment. So, when he eventually sees an interesting job opening in Milan, he applies, with some help from his Manichean friends, and is promptly appointed. McLynn stresses the implied dearth of available talent at that time, seeing that Augustine got the job at all, ‘a little-known provincial (...), who had spent but a single year in Rome (much of it on his sickbed), struggling, with limited success, to establish a teaching career’.\footnote{McLynn (1994: 169). See also Watts (2015: 167-8) who points out the growing need for a younger generation in the period of transition after the death of the emperor Valentinian I in 375 AD. He also describes (2015: 184) the creation of a ‘rival court’ in Milan for the young Valentinian II to counterbalance the court of Maximus, the usurper.} This time, as compared to his leaving for Rome, Augustine leaves no doubt that it is he who took action and that the action was born from ambitio saeculi.\footnote{5.13.23: ego ipse ambivi ut dictione proposita me probatum praefectus tunc Symmachus mitteret.} He moves to Milan, approved by Symmachus, and comes to Ambrose the bishop.\footnote{For a discussion of this first encounter see O’Donnell (1992) on 5.13.23; McLynn (1994: 263-76).} I think it is remarkable that Augustine the bishop does not say anything about the long lasting conflict between Ambrose and Symmachus, concerning the altar of Victory in the Roman Senate.\footnote{See Gibbon (1788, repr.1994: 74-5); Watts (2015: 185-7).} It was an exemplary dispute between the classical, secular tradition of the Goddess of Victory attending the meetings of the senate and the Christian rejection of any such pagan rite. As such, this would be a historic illustration of the ongoing conflict in the Confessions between the socially acceptable and the, to the Christians, morally reprehensible. Any silence on Augustine’s part might simply mean that he considered it not in any way important to the development of the story he wanted to tell.\footnote{Cf. McNamara (1958: 76): ‘high politics left him indifferent.’; Von Campenhausen (1965: 160): ‘Sie [political references] bilden nur den schattenhaften Hintergrund der eigentlichen Seelengeschichte, die für Augustin ganz im inneren Raum der verantwortlichen Erkenntnis und geistigen Entscheidung verläuft.’; Mayer (2004: 76): ‘a protrepticus allows its author great freedom in putting his material together (...) it allows him to be selective and so omit facts of biographical interest, accentuate particular themes, and reconfigure problems to give them altered emphases.’; O’Donnell (2006: 7): ‘Augustine performed an interpretation of his own life.’; Leppin (2012: 348): ‘Die Welt der Politik lässt er in den Confessionen (...) am Rande liegen.’; Fuhrer (2012: 366): ‘Eine konsequent durchkomponierte und als Gespräch mit Gott – als Confessio – stilisierte Erzählung ist nicht als Tatsachenbericht zu verstehen.’}
Augustine’s encounter with Ambrose
(5.13.23)

Augustine the bishop describes Ambrose as highly regarded and pious. He was a man, he later adds, considered to be happy ‘to the eyes of the world’ (*secundum saeculum*: 6.3.3). This explicitly introduces the conflict between social acceptance and Christian morals; Ambrose, in this respect, will show the young Augustine, and the narratee, that complying to the former does not necessarily preclude the latter.

The young Augustine was interested in the rhetorical qualities of Ambrose’s sermons and orations, not in their content, Augustine the bishop says. This lack of *curiositas* on the young man’s part would seem odd. But when eventually the content of Ambrose’s words does get through to Augustine, while he is clearly not actively looking for any deeper meaning, God’s hand in all this will be all the more prominent for it. A repetition of *nesciens* further emphasizes the theme of *nesciens*/*non-deliberate/human – sciens/deliberate/divine in this.

Cicero, Faustus, and Ambrose: a matter of style versus content

In describing Ambrose’s style, Augustine the bishop compares Ambrose to Faustus (5.13.23). The latter he seeks out for the answers to his questions, filtering out his rhetorical talent, the former he listens to precisely because of that rhetorical talent, ignoring the content of his words. One day, however, while listening to Ambrose’s words, Augustine does not seem to be able to neglect their content anymore. With Faustus such a separation of form and content had never been a problem. This can only mean that with Ambrose the content was so strong and truthful and appealing to Augustine that he could not, as with Faustus, keep his concentration focused on the one or the other.

In considering the difference between Faustus (content, not form) and Ambrose (form, not content), I would like to introduce a third influence in this same vein: Cicero. Looking at what Augustine tells us about his first ‘encounter’ with Cicero there are some noteworthy comparisons to be made to his encounters with Ambrose and Faustus. Augustine turns to Cicero’s

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363 5.13.23: *rerum autem incuriosius et contemtor adstabam.*
writings because of the form admired by just about everyone, in contrast to the content. Yet, it is the content that, as we have seen, changes everything for Augustine. He reads Cicero’s *Hortensius* not to perfect his eloquence (as he emphatically repeats), but because its content, not its form, grips him. Thus, these three men, each in his own way, help Augustine on his way along the path that brings him to eventual Truth. Cicero and Ambrose, as positive influences, are sought after for the mastery of their language, the form, but open Augustine’s eyes by the things they have to say, the content, while Faustus, as a negative influence (baring the truth about Manichaeism’s lack of substance), is sought after for exactly that reason, for rational answers, content, and proves lacking on both counts. Thus putting Cicero and Ambrose on the same line, their individual importance to Augustine and his development is enhanced by their similarities. In both Augustine’s ‘encounters’ with them there is the theme of *nesciens/non-deliberate/human – sciens/deliberate/divine.*

In putting Cicero on any kind of equal footing with Ambrose, Augustine explicitly singles out a pagan author as someone who has had a very positive influence on his personal development. The influence is positive only in as far as Cicero has put Augustine on the road to philosophy, while he was not strong enough to bring him to the Truth.
2.6 Book 6

2.6.1 Selective summary: 6.3.3-6.6.10

Ambrose’s influence on Augustine: embracing Scripture (6.3.3-6.6.10)

The example of Ambrose’s exegetical approach to Scripture deepens Augustine’s understanding of Scripture. What he once thought of as absurd now starts making sense, while heeding Ambrose’s advice that ‘the words kill, but the spirit breaths life’. This is an insight on Augustine’s part that shows his progress from where he was when he had newly arrived in Milan: ‘as long as I adhered to the words, life eluded me’ (5.14.24).

Ambitio saeculi is definitely not gone from the young Augustine’s life yet; ‘I aspired to honours, money, marriage’ (6.6.9). The force of the tricolon and climax puts marriage clearly into the realm of ambition and not of lust (as we shall see later on in book 6). In this he conforms to his mother’s, and arguably his father’s, plans as well. Their ambitious plans for their son’s future were entirely in accord with what was to be expected of people in their circumstances.

2.6.2 Analysis of key narrative episodes 3, 4, 5 and 6: 6.7.11-6.10.17

Talking about his friends in Milan, Augustine makes it quite clear that they all shared the same insanities, were egged on by the same temptations. Once more we get the image of everyday, faulty friendship along the same lines of reciprocity (vicissitudo), equality (aequalitas), togetherness (unitas), and love (dilectio) as we have seen before. By mentioning the company of his friends, Augustine now introduces two of his most intimate friends, Alypius and Nebridius, in great detail. There follows a series of four KNE’s about Alypius. These four KNE’s represent a compact illustration of the powers and dangers of curiositas as well as a dramatic and intricate description of the struggle and progress, and general character of one of Augustine’s best friends.\(^\text{367}\)

\[^{366}\text{2.3.6-9.}\]

The extent of this series (a quarter of book 6) brought Courcelle to talk about a *Vita Alypii*.\(^{368}\) The only other one who gets this kind of attention in the *Confessions* is Monnica (9.8.17-9.13.37).\(^{369}\) Alypius, who is now, for the first time in the *Confessions*, mentioned by name, appears to be the most important of all Augustine’s friends.\(^{370}\) He will be there in the garden in Milan (8.8.19-8.12.30), silently clinging to Augustine’s side right up to the moment when the *tolle lege* sounds, thus practically sharing that emotional moment of conversion. Augustine calls him ‘the brother of my heart’ (9.4.7). They have known each other ever since the start of Augustine’s teaching days in Thagaste as teacher and student. Alypius will go on to become bishop in his own right, working side by side with Augustine, fully in charge of ‘foreign affairs’, travelling far afield, corresponding with all and sundry, including the imperial court, being ‘the Horatio to Augustine’s Hamlet’, as O’Donnell puts it, his right hand man.\(^{371}\) Nebridius, the only one who might arguably vie with Alypius for first place in Augustine’s circle of friends – and the one is hardly ever mentioned without the other following close behind – was not with him during the retreat to Cassiciacum, where Augustine went to put put his life in perspective right after his conversion in the garden in Milan. Neither did he join Augustine and Adeodatus in baptism, like Alypius did (9.6.14).

The series of four KNE’s show us Alypius in action. The analyses of these four KNE’s will therefore be of great importance as to the characterization and presentation of friendship in the *Confessions*; friendship, as we shall see, in its pagan form. In this respect, reading O’Donnell’s verdict as to what we may learn about Alypius; ‘The pious narrative of Alypius’s earlier

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\(^{368}\) Courcelle (1950: 31-2). He considers this to be the original nucleus upon and around which the *Confessions* where built. Answering Paulinus of Nola’s request to Alypius for a short biography of Alypius, Augustine, according to Courcelle, stepped in, because of Alypius’s reticence, and setting out to write about his friend, he then found the inspiration to start writing his own ‘autobiography’, the *Confessions*. See for this argument also Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 6); Thimme (2004: 752); McNamara (1958: 53). *Contra*: Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 158): ‘The many attempts to explain the book in terms of a single, external provocation (…) ignore the life that runs through it. (…) every single fibre in Augustine’s middle age grew together with every other, to make the Confessions what it is.’ Also O’Donnell (1992) on 6.7.11; Müller (2003: 199): ‘Dass Paulins Frage nach Alypius am Anfang der Entstehungsgeschichte der Confessiones gestanden habe, ist abzulehnen.’

\(^{369}\) See my discussion on the comparison between the Monnica passage in book 9 to the KNE’s in books 4 and 6, in chapter 3.2 on pp.258-62.

\(^{370}\) O’Donnell (1992) on 4.4.7; Monnica’s and Patricius’s names are first mentioned in book 9.


\(^{372}\) 4.3.6: *Carissimus meus Nebridius*; 9.3.6: *dulcis amicus meus*. 
life that we get in the sixth book of the *Confessions* is mostly irrelevant,’ I beg to differ.\textsuperscript{373} The elaborate passage about Alypius, this so-called *Vita Alypii*, is followed by an, at first glance, enigmatically brief chapter about Nebridius in discursive mode. What Augustine emphasizes here is, as we shall see, the *aequalitas* between himself and Nebridius. Nebridius explicitly wants to share Augustine’s life (*unitas*) in pursuit (*curiositas*) of truth and wisdom. It made Nebridius leave everything behind just to join Augustine in his studies. Nebridius was much more like Augustine himself,\textsuperscript{374} while Alypius was Augustine’s complementary *alter ego*.\textsuperscript{375} Alypius and Augustine complemented each other in their weaknesses and in their strong points: Augustine the intellectual man of ideas, Alypius the practical man of action. Therefore I think it is entirely logical that in this passage Alypius has so much more text. In describing Alypius’s character, Augustine gets the chance to present himself in stark relief, accentuating the differences between them, while still presenting him as one of his most intimate friends. Nebridius, in my opinion, would have been a friend like the friend who nearly turned into an enemy, in book 4, of whom Augustine tells us so little that we do not even know his name, but who by dying shook Augustine’s world. The emotional impact is comparable to the description of Nebridius’s death in book 9: ‘Now he lives .. that is where my Nebridius lives, a sweet friend to me .. there he lives .. there he lives’.\textsuperscript{376} Other than with Alypius, in Nebridius’s case the curiosity coincided with Augustine’s. Although it drove them into the arms of the Manichees, eventually it led them away from those false beliefs. Thus we see a form of *curiositas*, which, once it is aimed at the right goals, can be kept in the right balance and can eventually even be made to bring about positive results. After emphasizing the dangers inherent in *curiositas* by telling the anecdotes about Alypius, Augustine neatly contrasts them with this other aspect of *curiositas* by mentioning Nebridius, his equal, briefly. By paying much more attention to the dangers (the four episodes about Alypius), than to a possible way to harness them (the brief orientation about Nebridius),

\textsuperscript{373} O’Donnell (2006: 104).

\textsuperscript{374} McNamara (1958: 52): ‘He never again found one who approached so closely to his own intellectual level.’

\textsuperscript{375} Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 57). Based on the results of the analysis of these four KNE’s I have to disagree with Jaeger (2011: 186): ‘The complementary character of their virtues and flaws has no particular highlight in the narrative.’

\textsuperscript{376} 9.3.6: *nunc ille vivit* (...) *ibi vivit* (...) *ibi vivit* (...) *ibi vivit*. 
the warning to the narratee about the power of curiosity gets all the more apparent.

**Structure of 6.7.11-6.10.17**

The general framework of the entire passage I call the main orientation, setting the scene, as it were. Into this framework the four KNE’s, concerning Alypius, are inserted. For the sake of easy reference during the analyses and discussion of this major passage, I have separately named the four KNE’s which together constitute the *Vita Alypii*: The Circus (I), The Relapse (II), The Thief (III) and The Temptation (IV). As we have seen before (e.g. book 4) Augustine does not seem to be interested in chronology (I Carthage, II Rome, III Carthage, IV Rome).

The entire passage about Alypius and Nebridius can schematically be read as follows.\(^{377}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Inserted anecdote</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 6.7.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM, IM</td>
<td>With Alypius and Nebridius Augustine shared his struggles foremost. Alypius, a wonderful young man, had been Augustine’s student in Thagaste.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Circus 6.7.11-6.7.12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alypius is healed of his passion for the circus games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Relapse 6.8.13-6.8.14</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alypius is enthralled by the gladiatorial games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Thief 6.9.14-6.9.15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alypius narrowly escapes being falsely apprehended as a thief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 6.10.16</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius becomes Augustine’s close friend, in Rome and Milan. He practices law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Temptation 6.10.16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alypius withstands bribery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius attaches himself to Augustine.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{377}\) For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the seventeen narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.
There are some differences as to the linguistic and narratological characteristics between the four separate KNE’s. The sequence of narratological categories in The Circus is almost in prototypical order, as we shall see in the analysis, whereas there is greater variety in The Relapse. The Circus and The Relapse complement each other, in as much as they both address the same weakness of Alypius. Greater variety of the latter might thus balance the more prototypical sequence of the former. In The Thief there is much greater variety (double abstract and double peak). In these three KNE’s there is a variety of discourse modes, where we repeatedly hear the voice of Augustine the bishop. In these three KNE’s there are also numerous literary references accentuating their content. The fourth KNE, on the other hand, The Temptation, is presented throughout in narrative mode and again shows an almost prototypical sequence of narratological categories. There are no literary references. There is no heightened suspense. The obvious difference in character between the fourth KNE and the previous three serves to emphasize the difference in content between them, as we shall see in the analyses.

Analysis

**Orientation**
(NM) Congemesebamus in his, qui simul amice vivebamus, et maxime ac familiarissime cum Alypio et Nebridio ista conloquebar.

**Orientation**
The group of us who lived together as friends used to deplore these things [wavering faith and worldly ambition]. I used especially to discuss them with Alypius and Nebridius.

As we have seen right after the metamorphosis of his friendship and the subsequent death of his friend in the second KNE (4.6.11-4.7.12),
Augustine in a moment of great tension or emotional upheaval turns to his friends. With *congemesebamus* he switches to the plural, after the continuous first person singular of the previous chapter. He is now no longer talking to his friends about the things that worry him, but they share their condition equally among each other. The togetherness with his friends (*con-gemesebamus, con-loquebar, simul amice vivebamus*) echoes the themes of *aequalitas* and *unitas* that we have seen in the second KNE.\(^\text{378}\)

There is a distinction here between Augustine’s use of *caritas/carus* (48× in the *Confessions*, only once in book 6) and *amicitia/amicus/amice* (74× in the *Confessions*, 15× in book 6). As Konstan points out\(^\text{379}\) there is a much more frequent use of *amicitia/amicus/amice* (63×) with all its references to the pagan, classical tradition *before* Augustine’s conversion in book 8 than of *caritas/carus*, which comes to symbolize the Christian ideal of friendship (27× before, 21× after the conversion, of which 12× in the exegetical books 12 and 13). The number of occurrences of *amicitia/amicus/amice* in book 6 (20% of all occurrences in the *Confessions*) can be explained by the focus in this book on classical, pagan friendship. That was the friendship between the young Augustine and Alypius at that time; none of them had as yet received the gift of *caritas*. This might also explain why Augustine talks about what is happening to him to the ones he calls *carus*.\(^\text{380}\) They might be closer to the Christian ideal, thus causing him by the comparison to clearly see his own state. But he shares his sufferings with the ones he calls *amici*. They are the ones with whom he equally struggles to find his way.

**Orientation**

(IM) *quorum Alypius ex eodem quo ego eram ortus municipio, parentibus primatibus municipalibus, me minor natu.* (NM) *nam et studuerat apud me, cum in nostro oppido docere coepi, et postea Carthagini: et diligebat multum, quod ei bonus et doctus viderer, et ego illum, propter magnam virtutis indolem, quae in non magna aetate satis eminebat.*

**Orientation**

Among this group Alypius came from the same town as myself. His parents were leading citizens. He was younger than I and had attended my classes when I began to teach in our town and later at Carthage. He was much attached to me because I seemed

\[^{378}\text{4.4.7: coaevum-conflorentem-pariter (2x); 4.8.13: conloqui-conridere-simul 3x-consensiones-confiare.}\]

\[^{379}\text{Konstan (1997: 161).}\]

\[^{380}\text{6.6.10: dixi tunc multa in hac sententia caris meis (...) et inveniebam male mihi esse.}\]
to him good and cultured, and I was attached to him because of the solid virtue of his character, which was already apparent when he was of no great age.

There is a short orientation that equally applies to all four separate narratives. Apparently Augustine has known this Alypius ever since his first teaching days in Thagaste. That takes us back once again to the second KNE. This means that Alypius and Augustine had known each other when that friend died. He might have been one of the friends who comforted Augustine in Thagaste as well as afterwards in Carthage, or, considering the age difference, one of his students. Alypius would have been one of those in Carthage who came seeking knowledge and seduced and was seduced, as Augustine put it.

Augustine and Alypius love each other dearly. There is the *vicissitudo* and *dilectio* that we have seen before as characteristics in Augustine’s description of friendship. At this point in their relationship there is a subtle difference between the two in the basis for this *dilectio*. Alypius loves Augustine for being good and learned. Augustine presents the ‘good and learned’ from the internal viewpoint (focalization) of Alypius (*ei viderer*; subjunctive mode). His own love for Alypius is, however, presented as a factual statement in the indicative mode: ‘because of the solid virtue of his character’. Thus, the *aequalitas* between the two friends shows some signs of their individuality. There might be a slight echo in this of the duality so subtly expressed between Augustine and his friend in the second KNE. The difference of course would be that in book 4 this duality had evolved from a situation of almost perfect unison, whereas here we see the duality right at the start of their relationship which will eventually turn into perfect *unitas*.

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381 4.4.7: *in municipio, quo natus sum, docere coeperam.*
382 Alypius was *minor natu* and *in non magna aetate*, while Augustine was 21 at the time.
383 4.1.1: *seducebamur et seducebamus, falsi atque fallentes; 4.2.2: malebam bonos habere discipulos, sicut appellantur boni et eos sine dolo docebam dolos (…) fidem meam, quam exhibebam in illo magisterio diligentibus vanitatem et quaecentibus mendacium, socius eorum.*
384 E.g., 2.4.9, 4.4.7-8, 4.8.13.
385 See chapter 1.4.1 on p.36.
386 *et ego illum – 4.4.8: at ille .. ego autem ..sed ille.*
387 9.4.7: *fratrem cordis mei.*
The Circus  
(6.7.11-12)

Now that Augustine has given us the necessary biographical facts, he goes on to tell us more about what kind of a person Alypius is. Thus we enter upon the first of the four narratives from Alypius’s life. This is the story I have named The Circus. The direct link with what went before is *tamen*, which contrasts Alypius’s great virtue with the state he was in at that point in time. Now we are going to see how Alypius’s virtue was compromised. Here a second orientation starts specifically related to this KNE. Schematically this third KNE could be read as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 6.7.11</td>
<td>NM, IM</td>
<td>Alypius is enthralled by circus games. He sits in on Augustine’s lectures, though, in Carthage, not yet his student.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 6.7.12</td>
<td>NM, IM</td>
<td>It has slipped Augustine’s mind to try to turn Alypius away from the games. But God works through him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 6.7.12</td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>One day, while Alypius is in attendance once more, Augustine coincidently derides those who love the games, without any intention of appealing to Alypius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 6.7.12</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius applies Augustine’s words against the games to himself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 6.7.12</td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>It was God who had worked through Augustine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 6.7.12</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius turns his back on the temptations of the circus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 6.7.12</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Afterwards Alypius becomes Augustine’s student. He becomes a Manichee as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 6.7.12</td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>Manichaeism seduced the minds of those not yet strong in virtue.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis

**Orientation**

(NM) *gurges tamen morum Carthaginiensium, (IM) quibus nugatoria fervent spectacula, (NM)absorberat eum in insaniam circensium. sed cum in eo miserabiliter volveretur, ego autem rhetoricam ibi professus publica schola uterer, nondum me*
Orientation

Nevertheless, the whirlpool of Carthaginian morals, with their passion for empty public shows, sucked him into the folly of the circus games. At the time when he was miserably involved in that, I was using a public lecture room as professor of rhetoric there. He had not yet heard me lecturing because of a certain estrangement which had arisen between me and his father. I had discovered his fatal passion for the circus, and was gravely concerned because he seemed to me about to throw away or even already to have thrown away a career of high promise.

Augustine is teaching rhetoric in Carthage. Alypius is not yet his student, due to some misunderstanding between Augustine and Alypius’s father. Carthage (gurges morum) has devoured (absorbuerat) Alypius. The choice of words echoes Virgil’s description of the scene where Aeneas takes Helenus’s advice and avoids the risk of facing Charybdis, because he knows the greater good that lies beyond. Thus, we see a reference to pagan literature where the fictional hero remarkably shows the restraint that is lacking in Alypius. This emphasizes Alypius’s weakness in not being able to live up to the classical prototype. In book 4 we have seen a similar weakness in Augustine himself. In the aftermath of his friend’s death he said that his younger self could not bring himself to sacrifice his own life on behalf of his friend. In that respect he fell short of the classical example of Orestes and Pylades. I see in this failure to live up to a classical, pagan standard an aspect of aequalitas between Alypius and Augustine.

Alypius is brought to the insanity of the circus games (nugatoria spectacula). Augustine describes him enthralled by the circus, while his own younger self was solely concentrating on his teaching. However, considering his previous remarks in book 4 about his own weaknesses in those days in a rather similar choice of words, we can see aequalitas in this with indications of their individuality. The two men are indeed not as one yet.

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388 Verg. Aen. 3.420-3: atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos sorbet in abruptum fluctus.
389 4.6.11: nam quamvis eam [vitam] mutare vellem, nollem tamen amittere magis quam illum, et nescio an vellem vel pro illo, sicut de Oreste et Pylade traditur.
390 Cf. Augustine’s enumeration of all things bad that he himself had hankered for in those selfsame days of his teaching in Carthage: spectaculorum nugas (4.1.1). See for the difference O’Donnell (1992) on 6.7.11: ‘A. attended the blood sports himself in youth (en. Ps. 147.7, et aliquando nos quoque ibi sedimus et insanivimus), but they had not the hold on him that the theatre did.’
391 The emphasis on individuality here volveretur, ego autem echoes what we saw in the second KNE 4.4.8: at ille ... ego autem. See also my discussion of the second KNE on pp.88-9.
Orientation
(NM) sed monendi eum et aliqua coercitione revocandi nulla erat copia, vel amicitiae benivolentia vel iure magisterii. putabam enim eum de me cum patre sentire, ille vero non sic erat. itaque postposita in hac re patris voluntate, salutare me coeperat veniens in auditorium meum, et audire aliquid atque abire. sed enim de memoria mihi lapsem erat agere cum illo, ne vanorum ludorum caeco et praecipiti studio tam bonum interimmeret ingenium.

But there was no means of warning him and recalling him by imposing some degree of pressure, either by the benevolence of friendship or by exercising the authority of a teacher. Moreover, I thought that his opinion of me coincided with his father’s. In fact he did not think so of me. So he put aside his father’s wish in this matter and began to greet me, coming into my lecture room to listen for a while and then to leave. But I had forgotten my intention to have a word with him to dissuade him from ruining such good abilities by a blind and rash enthusiasm for empty games.

Augustine kept himself back from Alypius. *Enim* calls for the narratee’s understanding; *of course* (on account of the earlier information that an estrangement had arisen between Augustine and Alypius’s father) we see that Augustine should act with great reserve. That was the impression he was under, considering the attitude of Alypius’s father. The combination of *ille vero*, still continuing the emphasis on their duality, draws the narratee’s attention back to Alypius, contrasting Augustine’s first person singular (*putabam*). *Vero* (in truth) indicates that what follows conveys the real reason: it is not simply that Alypius ‘did not do’ as his father did, but Alypius just ‘was not like that’. And that, to Augustine, came as a pleasant surprise. Therefore (*itaque*), because Alypius was another kind of man than his father, he had started to greet Augustine and to listen in on some of his lectures. But by then, Augustine had forgotten to seize the opportunity of warning Alypius. There is *enim* once again. This time, there seems to be good reason (see also *domine tu* in the following text) to interpret *enim* as primarily addressed to the all-knowing God, in his role as interlocutor in the conversation, whose understanding and knowledge is explicitly called for here by Augustine the bishop.

Abstract
(NM) verum autem, domine, tu, (IM) qui praesides gubernaculis omnium, quae creasti, (NM) non eum oblitus eras, futurum inter filios tuos antistitem sacramenti

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393 See for the same use of *enim* my discussion of 2.3.5 on p.63 and 4.4.8 on pp.86-7.
tui: et ut aperte tibi tribueretur eius correctio, per me quidem illam, sed nescientem, operatus es.

Abstract
But Lord, you who preside over the government of everything which you have created, and not forgotten him who among your sons was to be a presiding minister of your mystery. His amendment of life should really be attributed to you, even if you brought it about through my agency, although I did not know it.

Verum autem introduces the abstract of the central part of this third KNE. Although the young Augustine might have forgotten about Alypius, God had not. He was going to employ Augustine (nescientem) to put Alypius straight again. This is clearly the abstract. Once again we see the theme of man as an unwitting instrument through which God acts: sciens/deliberate/divine – nesciens/non-deliberate/human.394

Complication
(NM) nam quodam die cum sederem loco solito, et coram me adessent discipuli, venit, salutavit, sedit, atque in ea quae agebantur intendit animum. et forte lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem oportune mihi adhibenda aequalitas circensium, quo illud quod insinuabam et iucundius et planius fieret, et cum inrisione mordaci eorum, quos illa captivasset insania. (DM) scis tu, deus noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitaverim.

Complication
One day I was sitting at the usual place and my pupils were present before me. He came in, greeted me, sat down, and gave his attention to the subject under discussion. I was expounding a text which happened to be in my hands. While I was expounding it, it seemed opportune to use an illustration from the circus games which I used to make my point clear, and to make the matter clearer and more agreeable I was bitingly sarcastic about those captivated by this folly. You know, our God, that at that moment I had no thought of rescuing Alypius from the plague.

Nam opens the complication with a direct link to what we have just read in the abstract.395 Now we shall see how God acted and acted through Augustine. Temporal modifiers like quodam die (one day) usually indicate the start of the narration proper, as is the case here. The first series of predicates (venit, salutavit, sedit) are in perfect tense: the action proceeds. It is as Augustine has told us in the orientation: Alypius would come in, say ‘Hi’, sit down and listen. Business as usual in every sense. The

394 Cf. 3.4.7, 3.12.21, 4.3.5, 6.7.12.
asnyndetical perfects enhance this normalcy, almost as if the narrator now calls forth his actors, before they actually act. In the next sentence we see imperfect tense (erat) giving the necessary background information to the forthcoming action. Forte stresses the fact that the young Augustine truly has no ulterior motive as towards Alypius personally. The circus is not even the subject of the lecture. Augustine merely mentions the circus to illustrate a point and meanwhile ridicule those who are its, the circus’s, victims. The forceful captivasset brings back to mind the dramatical absorbuerat. With the pejorative insania and the following peste we hear Augustine the bishop once more. He emphasizes that he really was not planning (non cogitaverim) any of what happened next. Thus the narratee would presume that it was indeed clearly God (sciens) who was working through him (nesciens).

**Peak**

(NM) at ille in se rapuit, meque illud non nisi propter se dixisse credidit; et quod alius acciperet ad suscensendum mihi, accepit honestus adulescens ad suscensendum sibi, et ad me ardentius diligendum.

**Peak**

But he took it to heart, and believed that I had said it exclusively with him in mind. An allusion which another person might have taken as cause for being angry with me, the noble young man took as cause for anger with himself, and for loving me the more ardently.

*At ille* puts the focus firmly back on Alypius, continuing the action of venit, salutavit, sedit, intendit, while the conversational discourse marker *at* indicates that what follows was contrary to what the young Augustine might have expected and to what the narratee might expect as well.\(^{396}\) This is the peak: Alypius applies what he hears directly to himself and believes that what Augustine says he exclusively says because of him, Alypius.\(^{397}\) This echoes what Vindicianus told Augustine about sortes in 4.3.5.\(^{398}\) As a narratological seed that passage in book 4 leads to this example of Alypius’s behaviour as further development of the sortes element, which will eventually come to full fruition in book 8 in the final KNE (tolle lege). But this is not the only unexpected thing that happened. Alypius’s reaction

\(^{396}\) Kroon (1995: ch.10).

\(^{397}\) Cf. Lane Fox (2015: 212): ‘Words worked in a way which was unintended by their speaker, but was shaped by their hearer’s predisposition.’

\(^{398}\) See my discussion on pp.77-8.
to Augustine’s words is unexpected as well. Another man, Augustine says, would have reacted to this ridicule by turning on the one who spoke it, but Alypius not only turns on himself, but also, by the force of these words, starts loving (\textit{dilectio}) Augustine even more.

\textbf{Evaluation}

\textit{(DM)} dixeras enim tu iam olim et innexueras litteris tuis: corripe sapientem, et amabit te. At ego illum non corripueram, sed utens tu omnibus et scientibus et nescientibus, ordine quo nosti - et ille ordo iustus est – de corde et lingua mea carbones ardentes operatus es, quibus mentem spei bonae adureres tabescentem ac sanares. taceat laudes tuas, qui miserationes tuas non considerat, quae tibi de medullis meis confitentur.

\textbf{Evaluation}

Long ago \textit{of course} you said and inserted in your Scriptures: ‘Rebuke a wise man and he will love you’. But I had not rebuked him. But you use all, both those aware of it and those unaware of it, in the order which you know – and that order is just. Out of my heart and tongue you made burning coals by which you cauterized and cured a wasting mind of high promise. Let silence about your praises be for the person who does not consider your mercies; your mercies make confession to you from the marrow of my being.\textsuperscript{399}

The \textit{evaluation} tells us how this can be, how love can spring from criticism. \textit{Enim} introduces the words from Proverbs 9:8: ‘Rebuke a wise man and he will love you’. As we have seen before, \textit{enim} appeals to the understanding of God as interlocutor to Augustine’s primary narrator.\textsuperscript{400} Once again we see at, this time followed by \textit{ego illum}, echoing the \textit{ego illum} from the general orientation. This at-clause (‘\textit{But it wasn’t I who had really caused it}’) essentially goes to repeat Augustine’s affirmation of his not having acted on any purpose, but merely having been instrumental. The \textit{sciens – nesciens} theme is repeated quite explicitly here. The previous madness (\textit{insania}) is no more: ‘you cured’ (\textit{ac sanares}). The second person singular emphasizes once again that it was God who did it.

\textsuperscript{399} Because of the added conversational flavour \textit{enim} and \textit{at} bring to this passage, I add ‘of course’ and ‘but’ to Chadwick’s translation.

\textsuperscript{400} See above note 394 on p.135.
Peak
(NM) *et enim vero ille post illa verba proripuit se ex fovea tam alta, qua libenter demergebatur et cum mira voluptate caecabatur, et excussit animum forti temperantia, et resiliuerunt omnes circensium sordes ab eo, ampliusque illuc non accessit.*

Resolution
deinde patrem reluctantem evicit, ut me magistro uteretur: cessit ille atque concessit. et audire me rursus incipiens, illa mecum superstitione involutus est, amans in Manichaeis ostentationem continentiae, quam veram et germanam putabat.

Peak
Really, as you know, on hearing those words he jumped out of the deep pit in which he was sinking by his own choice and where he was blinded by an astonishing pleasure. With strict self-control he gave his mind a shaking, and all the filth of the circus games dropped away from him, and he stopped going to them.

Resolution
Finally, he persuaded his reluctant father to allow him to attend me as a teacher. His father yielded and granted his request. He began again to attend my classes, and became involved together with me in Manichee superstition. He admired the show of continence among them, which he thought authentic and genuine.401

The forceful combination of *et enim* and *vero*402 (really, as you know) still suggesting Augustine’s and the addressee’s emotional involvement, continues the peak. *Ille* draws full attention to Alypius once more, after the *at ille* of the first part of the peak. And of course what Alypius did is utterly wonderful: by the force of those reprimanding words he pulls himself out of the abyss that he had plunged himself into. *Demergebatur* (he was sinking) recalls the maelstrom (*gurges*), while *caecabatur* (he was blinded) recalls the blind obsession with idle games from the abstract.403 The image of turbulence, storm and the near drowning and invisibility Augustine used before when he was describing the dangers he had been in as a pubescent boy in book 2.404 The similarity of the phrases emphasizes the similarity in their circumstances as an element of their *aequalitas*. *Deinde* introduces what happened afterwards, a brief resolution. Alypius went on to convince his father that he should allow him to officially become Augustine’s student.

401 To convey the force of the combination of *et enim vero* I substitute ‘really, as you know’ in Chadwick’s translation for the rather bland ‘for’.
403 *ludorum caeco et praecipiti studio.*
404 2.2.2: *obmutilabant atque obsuscabant cor meum (…) aestuabat et rapiebat (…) atque mersabat gurgite flagitiorum.*
Evaluation
(IM) erat autem illa vecors et seductoria, pretiosas animas captans nondum virtutis altitudinem scientes tangere, et superficie decipi faciles, sed tamen adumbratae simulataeque virtutis.

Evaluation
But it was a mad and seductive ploy which captured precious souls that do not yet know how to touch virtue at its depth and are easily deceived by surface appearances. It was only a shadow and simulation of virtue.

True to what we have read in 4.1.1 about the friends influencing (vicissitudo) and seducing each other, Alypius is then drawn into another maelstrom (captans once more), this time caused and initiated by Augustine himself. Thus, we see that Alypius’s virtue, which was remarkable considering his young age, was still easily misled by pretended virtue. The subtle inequality between Alypius and Augustine that we saw throughout this KNE has now disappeared: the two friends share the same burdens. In that way, as I have pointed out above, the two friends grow ever closer, whereas, starting from an almost identical basis, the two friends in book 4 eventually turn apart as far as could be.

The Relapse
(6.8.13-6.9.14)

Another KNE is introduced by a short orientation. Alypius is now in Rome, Augustine still remains in Carthage. Schematically this fourth KNE could be read as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 6.8.13</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius is in Rome to study law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 6.8.13</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>He is riveted by a passion for gladiatorial games.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 6.8.13</td>
<td>NM, DiM</td>
<td>Some friends take him to the games. He brags that he can withstand their seduction; he only has to close his eyes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

405 E.g., good and wise against virtuous, as expressed by the play on anaphorical references ego against ille.
### Analysis

**Orientation**

(NM) *Non sane relinquens incantatam sibi a parentibus terrenam viam, Romam praecesserat, ut ius disceret,*  
**Abstract**  
*et ibi gladiatorii spectaculi hiatus incredibili et incredibiliter abreptus est.*

**Orientation**

Alypius did indeed not abandon the earthly career of which his parents had sung praises to him. He had arrived in Rome before I did to study law.  
**Abstract**  
There he had been seized by an incredible obsession for gladiatorial spectacles and to an unbelievable degree.

Alypius, as a student, is pursuing a career in law. He absolutely does not abandon, as Augustine emphasizes (*non sane*), the course advocated by his parents. O’Donnell points out that *incantatam* carries the normal connotations of the verb ‘to enchant/bewitch’. This rather negative connotation added to the earthly career (*terrenam viam*), would allude to Augustine the bishop’s attitude towards the ways of the world, thus implying his judgement on Alypius’s career plans. Alypius, just like Augustine, is still led by his *ambitio saeculi.*

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407 E.g., 1.13.21: *amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio est abs te.*
A brief abstract leads to the complication. The great stress Augustine puts on the incredible nature of what happened next (*hiatu incredibili et incredibiliter*) is understandable, as we have just read that Alypius had seemed to have been completely healed from all that. Now the narratee could well surmise that he only stopped going to the circus, the races. But surely, one might suppose, the same arguments ought to have turned him away from the amphitheatre, the gladiators, as well. Thus, not only does the abstract tell us what we are about to read, but it also increases the suspense by paralipsis, not giving the narratee all the necessary information yet, that Alypius’s going there was provoked by his fellow students, by peer pressure, through *vicissitudo*.

**Complication**

*(NM)* *cum enim aversaretur et detestaretur talia, quidam eius amici et condiscipuli, cum forte de prandio redeuntibus pervium esset, recusantem vehementer et resistentem, familiari violentia duxerunt in amphitheatrum crudelium et funestorum ludorum diebus, haec dicentem: ‘si corpus meum in locum illum trahitis, numquid et animum et oculos meos in illa spectacula intendere? adero itaque absens, ac sic et vos et illa superabo.’ quibus auditis illi nihilo setius eum adduxerunt secum, id ipsum forte explorare cupientes, utrum posset efficere. quo ubi ventum est et sedibus quibus potuerunt locati sunt, fervebant omnia immanissimis voluptatibus. ille clausis foribus oculorum interdixit animo, ne in tanta mala procederet.

**Complication**

He held such spectacles in aversion and detestation; but some of his friends and fellow-pupils on their way back from a dinner happened to meet him in the street and, despite his energetic refusal and resistance, used friendly violence to take him into the amphitheatre during the days of the cruel and murderous games. He said: ‘If you drag my body to that place and sit me down there, do not imagine you can turn my mind and my eyes to those spectacles. I shall be as one not there, and so I shall overcome both you and the games.’ They heard him, but none the less took him with them, wanting perhaps to discover whether he could actually carry it off. When they arrived and had found seats where they could, the entire place seethed with the most monstrous delight in the cruelty. He kept his eyes shut and forbade his mind to think about such fearful evils.

Complication is introduced by *enim*, appealing to the understanding of the narratee. His friends had dragged Alypius there, obviously against his will on a day of the most cruel games. They meet quite by accident (*forte*): as we saw in the previous KNE, there is no premeditated plan by any of the men. It is once again the *sciens-nesciens* theme: God’s hand is at work here leading Alypius into temptation. Alypius keeps repeating that they can force his body to be present at those games, his mind, however, will
resist. He relies on his own strength, which implies a form of pride. This should warn the narratee of impending danger, since Augustine has already introduced pride, starting from the first chapter of the *Confessions*, as a recurrent theme illustrating man’s weakness, which ultimately keeps him away from God.\footnote{Cf., e.g., 1.1.1, 1.13.21, 1.19.30, 2.6.13, 3.5.9., 4.12.19. See also my discussion on pride on pp.54, 114.}

Alypius closes the ‘doors of his eyes’. He forbids his mind to proceed any further. This would seem to imply the separate existence of ‘mind’ and ‘self’. This is a duality similar to what we have seen Augustine express in book 4, where he presented his soul as distinctive from ‘himself’.\footnote{See on this duality my discussion on pp.100-1 of 4.7.12: *portabam enim concisam et cruentam animam meam impatientem portari a me*, and Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 171): ‘[Augustine] conveys the experience of a divided self’.}

\textbf{Evaluation}

(DM) atque utinam et aures obturavisset!

\textbf{Complication}

(NM) nam quodam pugnae casu, cum clamor ingens totius populi vehementer eum pulsasset, curiositate victus, et quasi paratus, quidquid illud esset, etiam visum contemnere et vincere,

\textbf{Peak}

aperuit oculos. et percussus est graviore vulnere in anima quam ille in corpore, quem cernere concupivit, ceciditque miserabilius quam ille, quo cadente factus est clamor:

\textbf{Evaluation}

(DM) qui per eius aures intravit et reseravit eius lumina, ut esset, qua feriretur et deiceretur audax adhuc potius quam fortis animus, et eo infirmior, quo de se praesumserat, qui debuit de te.
A tiny piece of evaluation serves to enhance the suspense by further hinting at an unfavourable outcome. *Nam* then goes on to explain what happened. The convoluted sentence structure builds up to two words: *aperuit oculos* (he opened his eyes). ‘Eyes’ is the key word here, in final position: all depended on them staying shut. There is all the emotion and sudden action of the peak. The narratee might be supposed to hold his breath here. This is, after all, the worst that could have happened. It was Alypius’s *curiositas* that got the best of him. Augustine describes in evaluation what actually brought Alypius to open his eyes.

There is an allusion to Odysseus’s adventure confronting the Sirens.\footnote{Hom. *Od.* \( \mu \) 133-200. Cf. the reference to Charybdis and Vergil’s Aeneas in 6.7.11 on p.134.} Odysseus himself withstood the ordeal listening, but tied to the ship’s mast, because he could not trust his mind once the song had entered his head. In his case the ties were his only salvation. Now the young and vulnerable Alypius wants to pull off a comparable trick solely relying on the strength of his mind. As an *a fortiori* construction this also ought to have spelled disaster from the start to the narratee: if even the great and wily Odysseus dared not rely on the power of his mind alone, what chance did poor Alypius have? Thus the mythological allusion serves to heighten the suspense by preparing the narratee ever more clearly for the outcome.

As we have seen before, Augustine uses images from pagan literature to illustrate – to Christian morals – the faulty ways of the world.\footnote{See, e.g., my discussion of 4.6.11 on pp.96-100.} Yet, as before with the Vergilian reference, we once again see a fictional hero showing restraint where Alypius does not. Once again Alypius cannot live up to the standards of a classical, pagan hero.

**Complication**

\( \text{(NM) ut enim vidit illum sanguinem, inmanitatem simul ebit; et non se avertit, sed fixit aspectum, et hauriebat furius et nesciebath, et delectabatur scelere certaminis, et cruenta voluptate inebriabatur: et non erat iam ille, qui venerat, sed unus de turba, ad quam venerat, et verus eorum socius, a quibus adductus erat.} \)

As soon as he saw the blood, he at once drank in savagery and did not turn away. His eyes were riveted. He imbibed madness. Without any awareness of what was happening to him, he found delight in the murderous contest and as inebriated by bloodthirsty pleasure. He was not now the person who had come in, but just one of the crowd which he had joined, and a true member of the group which had brought him in.
Complication then resumes with *enim*; what comes next follows naturally in relation to the previous abstract. There are four perfect tenses carrying on the action, followed by five imperfect tenses adding the sense of repeated continuity: *hauriebat-nesciebat-delectabatur-inebriabatur-non erat ille, qui venerat*: he drank-did not recognize it-enjoyed it-got drunk-was no longer the man he used to be. The imagery is clear and Alypius seems to like it a lot: like a drunkard he gobbles down his poison. Nothing remains of the temperance he had found in the previous anecdote. He no longer is as we have come to know him. He now has truly become one of the crowd.

**Classical allusions with negative as well as positive connotations**

Any classical text referring to the cruelties of the amphitheatre and their disastrous effects upon the human soul must call to mind Seneca’s famous letter to Lucilius.\(^{412}\) The crowd, Seneca says, is what ought to be avoided most for fear of coming away with its *mores*. The savageness (*inmanitas*) recalls Seneca’s famous *dictum* that he would come away less a man whenever he had been among men. Alypius’ weakness (the *infirmitas* from the *evaluation*) echoes Seneca’s comparison of those whose mind is not yet ready to withstand temptations to those who are recovering from a long illness. After the reference to Odysseus, we see a second *a fortiori* argument here: when even Seneca himself, who had spelled out the dangers, had been affected by them, then, to the narratee, this spells disaster for poor Alypius yet again.

Aeneas, Odysseus, and Seneca are all examples from pagan literature. All three would send out a clear warning to the narratee: they all gave in to their *curiositas*. Odysseus, the epitome of the emotional hero, had to be tied up and protected against himself. Seneca, the Stoic philosopher, by showing himself to be vulnerable warned against the very thing Alypius fell for. Aeneas showed restraint and withstood temptation, strengthened by his sure knowledge of divine assent. As Augustine has said before, the right balance, *continentia*, is needed when dealing with the temptations. Aeneas, Odysseus, and Seneca come away from this comparison as examples from pagan literature showing restraint and balance which Alypius cannot match.\(^{413}\) And by the *aequalitas* between Alypius and Augustine which


\(^{413}\) For this reusage of existing elements from the pagan world, see also my discussion in chapter 3.3 on pp.266-8.
I have pointed out before, this repeated failure of Alypius’s reminds the narratee of Augustine’s failure in this as well.\textsuperscript{414}

**Resolution**

(NM) quid plura? spectavit, clamavit, exarsit, abstulit inde secum insaniam, qua stimularetur redire, non tantum cum illis, a quibus abstractus est, sed etiam praeculis et alios trahens. (DM) et inde tamen manu validissima et misericordissima eruisti eum tu, et docuisti eum non sui habere, sed tui fiduciam; sed longe postea. (NM) Verum tamen iam hoc ad medicinam futuram in eius memoria reponebatur.

**Resolution**

What should I add? He looked, he yelled, he was on fire, he took the madness home with him so that it urged him to return not only with those by whom he had originally been drawn there, but, even more than they, he would take others with him. Nevertheless, from this you delivered him by your most strong and merciful hand, and you taught him to put his confidence not in himself but in you. But that was much later. The experience, however, rested in his memory to provide a remedy in the future.

Finally the resolution wraps it all up. *Quid plura* explicitly introduces what happened after the main action had taken place: as if there were hardly anything of any importance left to tell. Four asyndetical perfect tenses imply the frantic diversity of Alypius’s actions. We have almost come full circle, when, once again, as in the orientation of the previous KNE, we read that Alypius carries hence his madness.\textsuperscript{415} Alypius returns with his friends and, worst of all, he brings others with him. Thus it is as Augustine had said: they are seduced and they seduce.\textsuperscript{416} It is *vicissitudo* once more. In discursive mode Augustine the bishop then tells us that God eventually saved Alypius and taught him not to rely on himself, but to put his trust in God. He does not tell us, however, how this then came to pass. All he says is that it was long afterwards.\textsuperscript{417}

\textsuperscript{414} See on p.95.

\textsuperscript{415} 6.7.11: *gurges tamen morum Carthaginiensium (…) absorbuerat eum in insaniam*; see my discussion on pp.133-4.

\textsuperscript{416} E.g., 4.1.1: *seducebamur et seducebamus*.

\textsuperscript{417} It is tantalizing to wonder how long that was, seeing that the words of St. Paul, which Alypius will eventually apply to himself in that garden in Milan, address someone who is at that point still weak in his faith (8.12.30: *infirmus*).
The Thief
(6.9.14-6.9.15)

The next KNE brings us back to Alypius’s student days in Carthage. Schematically the fifth KNE could be read as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 6.9.14</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius was apprehended as if he were a thief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 6.9.14</td>
<td>NM, IM</td>
<td>When a student of Augustine’s in Carthage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 6.9.14</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius was apprehended as if he were a thief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 6.9.14</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>God was teaching him a lesson for future use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 6.9.14</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius was strolling around the forum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 6.9.14</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM</td>
<td>Someone was trying to rob the silversmiths. The culprit fled. Alypius, alerted by the noise, picked up the hatchet he had left behind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 6.9.14</td>
<td>NM, DiM</td>
<td>Alypius, hatchet in hand, is caught and hurried of to the criminal court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 6.9.15</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>God intervenes and ends Alypius’s ‘lesson’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 6.9.15</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM, DeM</td>
<td>Alypius is recognized. His side of the story is heard. They all go to the house of the alleged culprit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 6.9.15</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The hatchet is identified, which constitutes a confession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 6.9.15</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius is cleared from guilt and walks away the wiser man.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis

Abstract (NM) nam et illud, quod,
Orientation cum adhuc studeret iam me audiens apud Carthaginem, et medio die cogitaret in foro quod recitaturus erat, (IM) sicut exerceri scholastici solent,
Abstract (NM) sivisti eum comprehendi ab aeditimis fori tamquam furem,
Evaluation (DM) non arbitror aliam ob causam te permisisse, deus noster, nisi ut ille vir tantus futurus iam inciperet discere, quam non facile in noscendis causis homo ab homine damnandus esset temeraria credulitate.

Abstract
So too did the following incident
Orientation which happened when he was still a student and already my pupil at Carthage. He was in the forum at midday thinking about a declamation he was to give after the usual manner of scholastic exercises.
Abstract You allowed him to be arrested by the officers of the market as a thief.
Evaluation I think you, our God, allowed this for no other reason than that the man who was destined to have such weighty responsibilities should even then begin to learn that in court trials one should be on one’s guard against hasty credulity in condemning a man.

The abstract of this KNE tells us in a nutshell what we are about to read. The orientation sets the scene. The evaluation explains the plight Alypius found himself in. The message to be learned by Alypius is clear from the start: do not condemn a man rashly acting upon first impressions. It is of course a lesson that would be very useful to one who aspires to a career in law.

Orientation (NM) quippe ante tribunal deambulabat solus cum tabulis ac stilo,
Complication cum ecce adulescens quidam ex numero scholasticorum, (DM) fur verus, (NM) securim clanculo apportans, illo non sentiente, ingressus est ad cancellos plumbeos, (IM) qui vico argentario desuper praeminent, (NM) et praecidere plumbeum coepit.

Orientation
He was walking up and down alone in front of the law court with his wax tablets and stylus.
Complication Suddenly a young man who was one of the students and the real thief, carrying a
hidden hatchet, came to the leaden gratings which cover the shops of the silversmiths without Alypius noticing him, and began to hack at the lead.

Quippe\textsuperscript{418} introduces a very brief orientation, explaining what went before. There is a single imperfect tense showing us Alypius strolling along. Cum ecce, introducing the complication, puts the narratee straight into the action: there is a real (\textit{verus}) thief, secretly carrying a hatchet. The use of \textit{verus} is a narratological seed for what will prove to be the most important way out of the predicament for Alypius: the true identity of the actual thief. The perfect tense serves to put the action forward until, at the very end of the complication, there is another imperfect tense (\textit{considerabat}), as we see Alypius pause, admiring the hatchet. Augustine refers to Alypius in the ablative absolute with \textit{illo}, wedged in between the subject and its predicate, an as yet uninvolved bystander not paying any attention.

\textbf{Complication}

The silversmiths below heard the sound of the hatchet, conferred in whispers, and sent people to catch whoever they might happen to find. The thief heard their voices, dropped his tool, and ran off in fear to avoid being caught with it. Alypius, who had not seen him go in, perceived him as he came out and saw him running off at speed. Wanting to know the reason, he went into the place, found the hatchet, and was standing and reflecting in bemused astonishment.

The \textit{argentarii} are the subject of the sentence, \textit{autem} contrasting their actions to the thief’s actions.\textsuperscript{419} The use of \textit{forte} might seem strange here in a subjunctive clause relaying the command the \textit{argentarii} issued: ‘Go and apprehend whomsoever you may find’. It is a rather ill-defined command when sending out men into the marketplace. \textit{Forte} might be Augustine’s own insertion as a tiny piece of discursive mode. He wants to stress the fact, that, after all that happened to Alypius, being apprehended by these men was absolutely not Alypius’s fault. It could and would have happened...

\textsuperscript{418} Schrickx (2011: 115-35, 263).
\textsuperscript{419} For \textit{autem} as indicating focus shifts see Kroon (1995, 2011). See also chapter 1.4.4 on p.46.
to anybody who happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. As, for example, in the unforeseen encounter with his friends who eventually dragged Alypius to the amphitheatre in the previous KNE, we see something happening which was not premeditated by any of the characters involved; it is the *sciens-nesciens* theme once again. In the next sentence the subject is *ille*. It is not immediately clear to whom this *ille* refers. Of course the mystery does not run very deep (‘having left the instrument behind’ should be connected with the thief of course and not with Alypius) and is short lived as the very next sentence starts with *Alypius autem*. And of course the previous third person singular subject (*ingressus est .. coepit*) was the thief. Still, in this somewhat ‘open’ use of *ille* (*illo* (Alypius), *ille discessit* (the thief)) within the brief space of two sentences I can see the narrator purposely trying to confuse the one with the other, which is of course the whole point of the ensuing affair, Alypius and the thief both being students. Once again, as in the previous KNE, one might come to the conclusion that Alypius’s curiosity, lingering with the hatchet in his hands, gets him into real trouble. 

The imperfect tense *considerabat* is followed, like we saw at the start of the complication, by *cum inversum* combined with *ecce*. The unheard of happens: those who come running apprehend (dramatic present tense) Alypius as if he were caught red-handed. Once more, like in the previous KNE, the narratee might be supposed to hold his breath. Even more so in fact, since seeing Alypius indulge in the lowest vices of the amphitheatre is nothing compared to seeing him arrested like a common thief. And with the hatchet in his hands, all by himself, the narratee might be hard pressed to see any way out of this. Suspense rises. This is the peak. Four
dramatic present tenses (all asyndetically connected to one another) bring the narratee closer to the action, speed is implied.\textsuperscript{421} The present tense emphatically zooms in on the action and places the audience in the middle of the story world, evoking the events in front of them.\textsuperscript{422} The final imperfect tense closes the peak (ducebatur). This imperfect tense resumes, as it were, the imperfect tense that ended the complication (considerabat); no frantic action is implied anymore. The choice of an imperfect tense rather than a perfect tense is an important narratological indication for the continuation of the text. The episode does not end here (an interpretation that would have been triggered by a perfect tense), but gives (by the presentation of the event of ducere in its progress: they are leading him away to the magistrate) an opening for a new complication to obtain: their encountering an acquaintance of Alypius’s.

By the use of the third person singular passive after the four plural actives the focus now returns to ‘poor, helpless’ Alypius, a passive subject, no longer master of his own actions but completely at the mercy of his captors.\textsuperscript{423}

In this anecdote the peak is much more substantial (eventually followed by a tiny second peak) and emphasized by several indicators of a peak (\textit{cum inversum}, \textit{ecce}, dramatic present) than in the previous KNE’s. This is dictated by the difference in style between these KNE’s.\textsuperscript{424}

\textbf{Abstract}

\textit{(DM) sed hactenus docendus fuit. statim enim, domine, subvenisti innocentiae, cuius testis eras tu solus.}

\textbf{Abstract}

But this was as far as Alypius’ lesson went. At once Lord, you came to help an innocence of which you were the sole witness.

A brief second abstract tells us that the lesson for Alypius has gone far enough: rescue is at hand, the Lord intervenes. Augustine explicitly adds here that it was the Lord who acted on Alypius’s behalf; it is the

\textsuperscript{421} See Stienaers (2013: 8) on peaks in Caesar (Gall. 1, 7), Sallust (Jug.) and Tacitus (Hist. 4): ‘the tension reaches a climax and the narrative pace slows down in comparison with the tempo of the surrounding text segments.’

\textsuperscript{422} Kroon (2007, 2010a); Adema (2008); Adema and Stienaers (2011).

\textsuperscript{423} Cf. the use of the passive form in the description of the death of the friend in book 4 (4.4.9: \textit{abreptus, repetitur}), emphasizing man’s position as someone God treats as he sees fit.

\textsuperscript{424} For a possible explanation of this difference, see pp.159-60.
Lord (sciens/deliberate) who will intervene through man (nesciens/non-deliberate). Still, as before, suspense is heightened when Augustine rightly says that the Lord is the only witness to Alypius’s innocence. The narratee still does not know how Alypius might be rescued from this predicament, for there is no man who can vouch for his innocence. The use of enim, while addressing the – all-knowing – Lord, brings out the overall ambiguity between the interlocutor (the Lord) and the covert narratee (the general reader) as we have seen before.425

Complication
(NM) cum enim duceretur, vel ad custodiadam vel ad supplicium, fit eis obviam quidam architectus, cuius maxima erat cura publicarum fabricarum. gaudent illi eum potissimum occurrisse, cui solebant in suspicionem venire ablatarum rerum, quae perissent de foro, ut quasi tandem iam ille cognosceret, a quibus haec fierent. (IM) verum autem viderat homo saepe Alypium in domo curium senatus, ad quem salutandum ventitabat; (NM) statimque cognitum manu apprehensa semovit a turbis, et tanti mali causam quaerens, quid gestum esset, audivit, omnesque tumultuantes, qui aderant, et minaciter frementes iussit venire secum.

Complication
As he was being taken either to prison or to torture, they met on the road a certain architect who had principal responsibility for public buildings. They were extremely delighted to meet him, for the tenants were commonly suspected by him of removing items which had disappeared from the forum. Now at last he would know the person responsible for the losses. But the man had often seen Alypius in the house of a certain senator to whom he paid frequent visits. He recognized him at once, and taking him by the hand removed him from the crowd and asked him the cause of such an embarrassing situation. When he knew what had occurred, he ordered all the people there, who were in an uproar and making threatening shouts, to come along with him.

Complication resumes with enim. Augustine now comes up with an explanation as to divine help. Duceretur repeats the previous ducebatur; the action, slightly interrupted by the abstract, continues smoothly. Enim appeals to the narratee’s understanding and links the two predicates: ‘as you know from what I said above.’
There might be an appeal to yet another aspect of the narratee’s understanding. The Lord indeed intervenes, but all we see is an architectus coming towards the group that has apprehended Alypius. After stating so explicitly in the third KNE that the Lord acted through an unknowing human as intermediary, continuing the theme of sciens – nesciens we saw

425 See my discussion of 4.4.8 on pp.86-7, and of 6.7.12 on p.135.
in the previous books, the simple use of the conversational *enim* suffices here: the narratee ought to recognize the ways of the Lord. Considering the narratee expecting at this point a man to appear as the instrument of God, I think Augustine’s choice of the word *homo* in referring to the architect would validate that expectation.\textsuperscript{426}

The man approaches, the people rejoice when they recognize him. By the use of the present tense the narratee is very much involved in the action in pseudo-simultaneous narrative mode.\textsuperscript{427} The *architectus* (*homo*) then recognizes Alypius.\textsuperscript{428} The man takes Alypius aside and, having heard the true story from him, tells the now clamorous crowd to follow him.

### Complication

(\textit{NM}) *et venerunt ad domum illius adulescentis, qui rem conmiserat.* (\textit{DeM}) *puer vero erat ante ostium, et tam parvus erat, ut nihil exinde domino suo metuens facile posset totum indicare:* (\textit{DM}) *cum eo quippe in foro fuit pedesecus.* (\textit{NM}) *quem posteaquam recoluit Alypius, architecto intimavit. at ille securim demonstravit puero quaerens ab eo, cuius esset.*

They go straight to the house of the thief. This can only mean that Alypius had recognized the thief as he saw him get away in a hurry. In all probability he has told the men, who have apprehended him, this name as soon as they had taken hold of him. But having caught Alypius ‘red-handed’ they had of course no reason to heed his words. Once more the importance of the *architectus* becomes obvious. What we see here might qualify as paralipsis; by purposely withholding the information that Alypius had recognized the culprit, thus providing an obvious way for Alypius out of this mess, his predicament to the narratee seemed even harsher. Alypius recognizes the boy who opens the door and tells the *architectus*. This is yet another piece

\textsuperscript{426} For a similar use of *homo* emphasizing the human in contrast to the divine see 4.4.7-9, and my discussion on pp.82-4. See also 5.2.2: *aliquis homo, caro et sanguis.*

\textsuperscript{427} Kroon (2007, 2010a); Adema (2008); Adema and Stienaers (2011).

\textsuperscript{428} Since Alypius is not – cannot – be saved by a veritable witness, O’Donnell (1992) on 6.9.15 is right in remarking that it is not Alypius’s innocence, but his social network that paves the way for his rescue.
of paralipsis; not only had Alypius recognized the thief, there had also been an accomplice. Thus, there had been a potential witness after all. This use of paralipsis shows Augustine, the primary narrator, arranging the separate elements of his story to great effect. The narratee will afterwards reconstruct the fabula with all the elements in chronological order.

At brings the narratee’s attention back to the architect. It is the same use of at as we saw in the second KNE to signal a topic shift within a scene of dynamic action, where the narratee’s focus of attention shifts back and forth from one character to another. The architectus shows the hatchet to the boy and asks him to whom it belongs. Ille brings our attention back to the architectus. He after all is the one who brings the rescue about. And the Lord through him.

The short sentence (qui confestim ‘nostra’ inquit) I analyse as the second peak of this KNE. Here lies the true turning point: Alypius’s innocence by this one word nostra (ours) is finally clear to all. Next we see the resolution, where the story is – once more – speedily, although in greater detail than the previous one, wrapped up. Cetera (the rest) serves to sum up everything there was to tell about the thief, his motives, his whereabouts.

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429 Cf. Rose (2013: 56) with regard to Augustine’s treatise De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda: ‘the narrator Augustine seems deliberately to change the structure of an existing narrative, in order to enhance its value as an argument in the overall structure of cura mort.’

430 De Jong (2014: 77-8): ‘anachrony.’ See also chapter 1.4.1 on p.38.

This *cetera* then leads (*sic*) to the rest of the action that is put into two ablatives absolute (*translata causa, confusisque turbis*: the court case was transferred, the crowds were confounded).

Augustine then rounds off the story by saying that Alypius came away more experienced and instructed, referring to the educational theme of the abstract. Thus, this fifth KNE ends on a note resembling the end of the previous one: Alypius comes away the wiser man because of his experiences. The sole predicate *discessit* at the very end of this convoluted sentence literally ends this story; he walks away, the stage is bare. The story itself reads rather like a classical comedy, with a faint whiff of Plautus, about mixed identities, bold action, the grabbing of the culprit, dragging him off to the magistrate, the *deus ex machina*, the ‘coincidental’ boy who is so young he tells all. The fact that this entire scene is acted through with a purpose and brought to a conclusion when the Lord, almost as a director, sees fit, might equally contribute to the special, theatrical character of this story. Here, perhaps more than elsewhere, we see Augustine creating suspense. To the narratee there seems to be absolutely no way out of this predicament for Alypius. By the double paralipsis, Augustine succeeds in presenting this as a riveting tale, which otherwise might have fallen rather flat. As soon as the men would have taken Alypius to the magistrate, he would have told him the name of the thief. The story would have ended right then and there. All this heightened suspense emphasizes the point of the story: the enormous danger of unbridled curiosity.

**Alypius joins Augustine in Milan**

**Complication**

(NM) *Hunc ergo Romae inveneram, et adhaesit mihi fortissimo vinculo, mecumque Mediolanium prefectus est, ut nec me desereret, et de iure, quod didicerat, aliquid ageret secundum votum magis parentum quam suum. et ter iam adsederat mirabili continentia ceteris, cum ille magis miraretur eos, qui aurum innocentiae praeponerent.*

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432 Caroline Kroon (p.c.), has drawn my attention here to Horace’s equally ‘comedy-like’ Satire 1.9, which contains a number of similar comic elements: *Ibam forte via sacra, sicut meus est mos, nescio quid meditans nugaram, totus in illis (...)*. Horace’s protagonist is likewise saved by a man appearing as through divine intervention: *casu venit obvius illi adversarius et ‘quo tu, turpissime?’ magna inclamat voce, et ‘licet antestari?’ ego vero oppono auriculam. rapit in ius; clamor utrimque, undique concursus. sic me servavit Apollo.*
Complication
So I found Alypius at Rome. He attached himself to me with the strongest bond and was to accompany me to Milan, so that he would not be parted from me and also in order to practice law of which he had been a student, thereby falling in with his parents’ wish rather than his own inclination. Three times already he had sat as an assessor and manifested a self-control astonishing to others, while he was much more astonished to find that they preferred gold to their integrity.

We now enter upon the sixth KNE, the last in the series of four about Alypius, The Temptation. The story opens with orientation, perfect and pluperfect tenses, connected by the polysyndetical et/-que/et to set the scene. Ergo hails all the way back to the fourth KNE, referring to their time in Rome.433
The use of the recapitulative hunc indicates that we are now at the start of another, independent narrative episode, within the series of four KNE’s. The combination of hunc ergo almost summarizes what went before, thereby transcending the level of the separate KNE’s.434 It gives information about Alypius that is on a par with the first orientation in 6.7.11. Alypius has eventually followed Augustine to Milan, not wanting to leave him, and because he wanted to practice law. This time Augustine explicitly tells us that this was more the wish of Alypius’s parents than of the boy himself (something we had already surmised from the orientation to the second anecdote). Now Alypius finally displays that balance (continentia) Augustine has been referring to repeatedly.

The Temptation
(6.10.16)

The sixth KNE sees Alypius at work in Rome. Schematically this episode could be read as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius’s integrity is sorely tested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius works in public finances. There is a powerful senator in Rome who bends all to his will.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Complication | NM | He wants Alypius to do something illegal for him.
Peak | NM | Alypius resists his bribes and his threats.
Resolution | NM | People are aghast at his spurning the senator.
Evaluation | DM | Being just in small things, is being just in great things.

**Analysis**

**Abstract**
(NM) *temptata est quoque eius indoles, non solum inlecebra cupiditatis sed etiam stimulo timoris.*

**Abstract**
His character was tested not only by the seductions of avarice but also by the prick of fear.

A short abstract tells us what is going to happen, once more without going into too much detail. It leaves the narratee with the burning questions of how and why. It would seem preposterous to consider Alypius prey to licentiousness or intimidation. *Indoles* after all reminds the narratee of Alypius’s exemplary virtue of the first orientation in 6.7.11, the reason why Augustine loved him from the start.③

**Orientation**
(NM) *Romae adsidebat comiti largitionum Italicianarum. erat eo tempore quidam potentissimus senator, cuius et beneficiis obstricti multi et terrori subditi erant.*

**Orientation**
At Rome he was assessor to the count of the Italian Treasury. There was at that time an extremely powerful senator. Many people were kept under his power by bribes or subdued by terror.

There is a short orientation within the framework of this sixth KNE. The favours and the fear correspond nicely with the previous licentiousness (*inlecebra cupiditatis*) and intimidation (*stimulo timoris*). The narratee can guess that here lies the source of Alypius’s temptation.

**Complication**
(NM) *voluit sibi licere nescio quid ex more potentiae suae, quod esset per leges inlicitum;*

③ 6.7.11: *et ego illum [diligebam] propter magnam virtutis indolem.*
Peak
restitit Alypius. promissum est praemium; inrisit animo. praetentae minae; calcavit,

Complication
He wanted as usual to use his influence to obtain something which by the laws was unlawful.

Peak
Alypius resisted. A bribe was promised. He scorned it resolutely. Threats were made. He kicked them away,

Not all the details are clear. Augustine does not tell us what exactly the senator wanted. All that matters is that it was something illegal. The peak by its extreme brevity (five sentences, ten words) illustrates Alypius’s stubbornness and victory. Alypius’s actions are presented in an asyndetical, climactic tricolon (restitit, inrisit, calcavit), ringing triumphant. True to the abstract and orientation we finally see the gift and the threats Alypius had to face.

Resolution
(NM) mirantibus omnibus inusitatam animam, quae hominem tantum, et innumerabilibus praestandi nocendique modis ingenti fama celebratum, vel amicum non optaret vel non formidaret inimicum. ipse autem iudex, cui consiliarius erat, quamvis et ipse fieri nollet, non tamen aperte recusabat, sed in istum causam transferens ab eo se non permitti adserebat, quia et re vera, si ipse faceret, iste discederet.

Resolution
and everyone was amazed at so exceptional a character who neither wished to have as a friend nor feared to have as an enemy a powerful person, celebrated for his immense reputation, who had innumerable methods of either benefiting or injuring people. The judge himself, to whom Alypius was adviser, also wished to refuse the application, but did not openly turn it down and threw the responsibility for the case on to Alypius. He asserted that Alypius would not allow him to grant it. The plain truth was that, if he made the grant, Alypius would have resigned.

The resolution starts off with an elaborate ablative absolute showing the reactions of the internal audience. They wonder how Alypius can withstand such a man. This of course is the reversal of the situation we saw in The Relapse, where Alypius’s mind was not yet strong enough to withstand the attacks against it. This reversal illustrates the progress Alypius has made. For the fourth time Augustine explicitly mentions the theme of the double danger to Alypius of the ‘sweet and sour’ (to help or to harm). In ‘friend – enemy’ we might perhaps see a fifth reference. ‘Friend’ would continue
the series of enticements of *inlecebra cupiditatis-beneficiis-praemium-praestandi*, thus qualifying it as material, human, fleeting, which might explain why Alypius did not wish for friendship with this man. The last part of the sentence is construed as a chiasm putting *amicum* and *inimicum* as far apart as possible, emphasizing their polarity. The contrast echoes the second KNE (4.4.7) with its emphasis on the transformation of intimate friendship into enmity. In book 4, as here in book 6, the friendship that is offered Alypius is not true friendship, since *caritas* is still lacking. It is faulty, based on materialism and fleeting gain. The astonishment of the internal audience would imply that choosing this man’s friendship, however, would have been something quite normal and socially acceptable. It is Alypius’s behaviour that is considered to be uncommon (*inusitatum*). There is the same conflict between social convention and Christian morals that we have seen repeatedly in Augustine’s own behaviour as well.

The focus then shifts (*ipse autem*) to the judge to whom Alypius was assigned as assessor. Alypius is referred to with *istum, eo* and *iste* rather than with the, up till now, frequently used *ille*. The reference to Alypius (two adverbial groups, one subject in a subordinate clause) seems strong enough to continue the next two sentences with zero anaphora implying that he is the subject.

**Resolution**

*(NM)* *hoc solo autem paene iam inlectus erat studio litterario, ut pretiis praetorianis codices sibi conficiendos curaret; sed consulta iustitia, deliberationem in melius vertit, utiliorem iudicans aequitatem, qua prohibebatur, quam potestatem, qua sinebatur.*

**Resolution**

One thing alone almost led him astray because of his passion for books. He could have manuscripts copied for his own use at special government rates. He deliberated on the justice of this, and decided on the better choice, judging it more expedient to keep integrity, which would forbid it, than to use the power by which it was an allowed perquisite.

*Autem* once more introduces a shift: however strong and aloof Alypius is in all this, there still is one thing that nearly makes him cave in. It is the ‘sweet’ after all, although Augustine describes the true cause as Alypius’s literary studies which nearly bring him to acquire books for himself with illegal funds. These studies illustrate once again, as we have seen in the previous anecdotes about Alypius, the hold that *curiositas* has over him.
Of the four KNE’s about Alypius this is the only one where he saves himself without any external intervention by word or human intermediary, but by ‘deliberating on the justice of it’, preferring fairness over power. This, once again, illustrates the extent of the progress he has made.

**Evaluation**

(DM) *parvum est hoc; sed qui in parvo fidelis est, et in magno fidelis est, nec ullo modo erit inane, quod tuae veritatis ore processit: si in inusto mammona fideles non fuiistis, verum quis dabat vobis? et si in alieno fideles non fuiistis, vestrum quis dabit vobis?*

**Evaluation**

This is a small matter. But he who is faithful in little is faithful also in much. The word which proceeds from the mouth of your truth will never be empty: If you have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will give you the true? And if you have not been faithful with someone else’s property, who will give you your own?

This sixth KNE ends with evaluation. This is a small thing, Augustine says, referring to Alypius’s final victory over temptation. He could have used funds that were not his to use for this purpose to procure books, but he eventually chose not to. The small thing can easily be extrapolated to the big things. It is exactly this unheroic, undramatic character of the victory which gains in realism to the narratee who would be able to ‘translate’ it to his own situation and understand its main point. This small victory, showing the difference the right balance (*continentia*) makes, would be within anyone’s grasp, thus illustrating the *protreptic* quality of the episode. The words of St. Luke then close the anecdote. This Scriptural quotation emphasizes once more Alypius’s much more positive attitude regarding the Christian morals of Augustine the bishop, than the struggle we saw in the previous three KNE’s.

**Alypius attaches himself to Augustine**

(6.10.17)

**Resolution**

(DeM) *talis tunc ille inhaerebat mihi, mecumque nutabat in consilio, quidnam esset tenendus vitae modus.*

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436 Cf. The first KNE about the pear theft (2.4.9).
437 Lk. 16:10, 16:11,12.
Resolution
That was the character of the man who then attached himself to me and used to debate with me, hesitant what manner of life ought to be adopted.

The so-called *Vita Alypii* is now finished. As *hunc ergo* comprised the three previous KNE’s so *talis* now serves to comprise the entire passage about Alypius: ‘such a kind of man he was’. *Tunc* brings us back to where we were at the start of the very first orientation (*congemescebamus*). Once more Alypius is referred to with *ille*. The focus has returned to him. And we see a tentative movement back towards the plural. But instead of returning to the point in the story where he was before the first orientation (6.6.10), Augustine inserts a passage about Nebridius.

Complication (NM) *Nebridius etiam*,

Orientation
qui relicta patria vicina Carthaginii atque ipsa Carthagine, ubi frequentissimus erat, relicto paterno rure optimo, relicta domo et non secutra matre, nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanum venerat, nisi ut mecum viveret in flagrantissimo studio veritatis atque sapientiae,

Complication
pariter suspirabat pariterque fluctuabat, beatae vitae inquisitor ardens et quaestionum difficillimarum scrutator acerrimus.

Coda (NM) *et erant ora trium egentium et inopiam suam sibimet invicem anhelantium et ad te expectantium, ut dare eis escam in tempore opportuno.*

Complication
Nebridius also,

Orientation
after having left his home near Carthage and Carthage itself where he spent most of his time, abandoned his father’s fine country seat, left home and his mother, who was not to follow him, and came to Milan. In his burning enthusiasm for the truth and for wisdom, his single motive was to live with me.

Orientation
Like me he sighed, and like me he vacillated, ardent in his quest for the happy life and a most acute investigator of very difficult questions.

Coda
So there were the mouths of three hungry people, sharing with each other the sighs of their own state of need, and looking to you to give them their food in due season.

The convoluted sentence about Nebridius carries out the symmetrical construction Augustine set off with at the start of the first anecdote: ‘I

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438 6.10.16: *inhaerebat mihi, mecumque nutabat.*
used especially to discuss them with Alypius and Nebridius’ (6.7.11). With Nebridius etiam the narratee might at this point rightfully expect a Vita Nebridii. But what follows is one sentence (fifty-two words) in which we find, by way of orientation, the actual ‘biographical’ information about Nebridius in a substantial relative clause (qui (... sapientiae: thirty-seven words) containing a triple anaphoric ablative absolute (relica (... relicito (... relicita). We see Nebridius completely following in Augustine’s footsteps, first leaving his hometown in the vicinity of Carthage, then Carthage altogether and going to Milan. A fourth ablative absolute (non secutura matre: his mother, who was not to follow him) only goes to show how much Augustine stresses the resemblances between them here. This piece of biographical information only gains relevance by its reference to Monnica having followed Augustine.

With the next sentence Augustine finally leaves the passage about his two friends altogether and returns to the situation he described at the very beginning of the main orientation: the three friends spend their time together searching for the truth. At the end of the chapter they turn away sighing (aversabamur gementes: 6.10.17) which explicitly continues the congesmescebamus from the first orientation.

2.6.3 Selective summary: 6.12.21-6.16.26

Alypius’s curiosity once again and the importance of friendship (6.12.21-6.13.23)

A augustine enters upon an elaborate recounting of his marital status. At his mother’s behest he eventually agrees to marry a socially acceptable young girl. Alypius tries to keep Augustine from marrying. Augustine, however, clings to historic examples of men who while being married still cherished the love of wisdom, the love of God, and the love and faith of his friends (dilectio and benevolentia). The inclusion of these characteristics of friendship in a tricolon, arguably as a climax, regarding the love of wisdom and the love of God emphasizes the importance of friendship to Augustine. Instead of convincing Augustine, Alypius himself

439 O’Donnell (1995) on 6.11.19 points out that the main argument here is about ambition: ducenda uxor cum aliqua pecunia, ne sumptum nostrum graver. Cf. my earlier remark on p.126 on 6.6.9: inhiabam honoribus, lucris, coniugio. See also Monnica’s attitude towards Augustine’s career: ne impediretur spes mea compede uxoria (2.3.8).
is led by Augustine’s example towards a marriage as well. This is yet one more example of *vicissitudo*.\(^{440}\) Apparently Alypius’s weak spot is still, as it was in the *Vita Alypii*, his *curiositas*.\(^{441}\)

**A plan to get away from it all: a community of equals (6.14.24)**

The friends then agree to withdraw into quiet life, far from the maddening crowd, living in a community of resources, collectively forsaking *ambitio saeculi*.\(^{442}\) Augustine mentioned such a desire before (6.6.9), although at that point it had illustrated the delusions of the friends. In the description of the community they envisage here we see once again a strong emphasis on *unitas* and *aequalitas*. Wherever the inspiration for such a move may have come from,\(^{443}\) it leads to nothing, once they start asking themselves whether the ‘womenfolk’ (*mulierculae*) would agree to it. The friends return to sighs and moans, picking up *congemescebamus* (6.7.11) and *gementes* (6.10.17). Apparently the moaning continues, no matter what they try.

**Augustine’s loss of his concubine is comparable to the death of his friend (6.15.25)**

Although there are still two years before Augustine is supposed to get married, he sends away his partner, the mother of his son, presumably as a part of the impending marriage contract. Apparently the relationship he was in looked too much like a marital relationship for it to continue in the face of a legitimate marriage. She returns to Africa, leaving her son behind and choosing a life of continence.\(^{444}\) She is torn away from him

\(^{440}\) Cf. 4.1.1: *sedecebamur et sedecebamus*.

\(^{441}\) 6.12.22: *coeperat et ille desiderare coniugium, nequaquam victus libidine talis voluptatis sed curiositas*.


\(^{443}\) O’Donnell (1995) on 6.14.24 sums up an interesting number of possible inspirations (Plotinus, Pythagoras, Cicero). I think the most important link to be considered should be Augustine’s later implementation of this plan in Cassiciacum and eventually in Thagaste and Hippo up until his becoming a bishop. See also Hadot (1986-94: 291-2) who describes both plans for a community of friends as based on pagan-philosophical ideals.

\(^{444}\) Cf. Lane Fox (2015: 206): ‘Meanwhile, his bereaved partner left for a life of chastity, anticipating the decision which Augustine himself would eventually make. As she made it quietly, and never wrote her confessions, her momentous choice remains the less famous of the two.’
(avulsa), he says. The passive form, as we have seen before, might imply his own helplessness and acceptation of a decision that was taken for him.\(^{445}\) He couches his sentiments in the same words as he used describing his sentiments in losing his friend in book 4.\(^{446}\) He refers to the separation in the strongest terms, but unlike the wound left by his deceased friend this wound does not heal, it festers.\(^{447}\) The impact of the one loss might, by association, be applicable to the other. Was the relationship with this woman, who once more remains without a name, another example of his worldly, thus faulty, friendship? If so, then the most important conclusion that could be drawn from that would be that such a friendship transcends the sexes.\(^{448}\)

**Classical references once again illustrate worldly friendship: everything is there, except caritas**

(6.16.26)

The young Augustine once more discusses the things that move him with his friends, Alypius and Nebridius. Talking about the subject of their discussions he quotes the title of one of Cicero’s major works, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, as well as Epicurus, whose philosophy is the subject matter of its first two books. Back then in Milan, Augustine the bishop says, he could not understand how, when discussing unwholesome (foeda) thoughts with his friends, the discussing itself could appear to be sweet.\(^{449}\) As these ‘unwholesome thoughts’ must apply to Epicurus and perhaps by implication to Cicero, we see, once more, the inherent attraction of philosophy and its subsequent gratification, while it cannot bring salvation.

\(^{445}\) 4.4.8: abreptus, servaretur; 6.9.14: ducebatur. See on this use of the passive voice Lane Fox (2015: 205).

\(^{446}\) 4.5.10: cor (...) concisum et vulneratum (...) trahebat sanguine; 4.7.12: concisam et cruentam animam.

\(^{447}\) Cf. 4.5.10: lenitum est vulnus meum – 6.15.25: nec sanabatur vulnus illud meum (...), sed (...)

\(^{448}\) Cf. accerrimum putrescebat.

\(^{449}\) See also Williams (2012: 17): ‘There is a noticeable tendency throughout the Latin textual tradition to idealize friendship more highly than marriage, and in doing so to use imagery familiar from later celebrations of romantic love and marriage.’ On friendship between man and woman see also my discussion of the nature of friendship in chapter 3.2 on pp.248-9, and in chapter 3.3 on pp.258-62.

\(^{449}\) Cf. the faulty friendship that was sweet in, e.g., 4.4.7: suavi mihi super omnes suavitates illius vitae meae.
Epicurus might bring back the description of the goal the friends shared. They just wanted to find happiness undisturbed, which could be interpreted as the Epicurusan ideal of *Ataraxia*, happiness, resulting from absence of physical pain and mental disturbance. There might be one more reference to Epicurus when Augustine the bishop says that, even considering his opinions and misconceptions of those days, without his friends he could not be happy (*nec esse sine amicis poteram beatus*: 6.16.26). The position of *beatus* at the end of the sentence puts extra stress on its meaning. The essential things in their relationship at that time, he says, were that he loved (*diligebam*) them for their own sake (*gratis*) as they loved him (*vicissim*) for his, while without them (*sine amicis*), i.e. Alypius and Nebridius, he could not be happy. In this we see *dilectio*, *benevolentia*, *vicissitudo*, *unitas* and, as we have explicitly seen in the extensive passage about the two friends (the *Vita Alypii* and subsequent *Vita Nebridii*), *aequalitas*. The only other characteristic of true friendship that is still missing, is *caritas*. For that final addition, philosophy is found wanting: the young Augustine and his friends still have to find and accept the true God.

450 6.6.9: *securam laetitiam*; 6.14.24: *remoti a turbis otiose vivere*. See also O’Connell (1969: p.67) who refers to their plans to ‘get away from it all’ as a ‘Dream of Plotinopolis’.

451 Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 1.65, where Cicero quotes Epicurus about friendship: ‘Wisdom has supplied nothing as important to achieving a blissful life [*ad beate vivendum*] as friendship.’ Note that Augustine does not say that he is *beatus* because of his friends, but with his friends. With true friends he will share the love of God (*caritas*). Cf. 4.9.14: *beatus qui amat te et amicum in te et inimicum propter te.*
2.7 Book 7

2.7.1 Analysis of key narrative episode 7: 7.6.8

A friend finally brings Augustine to turn away from astrology: a conversion

The young Augustine still cannot disentangle his mind from the material world around him. To show, however, that he was indeed still making some kind of progress at that time, the bishop then relates his younger self’s definite break with astrology, a conversion in its own right. He presents the story as a narrative episode, thus calling for the narratee’s attention and emphasizing its importance.

We see God intervene in a circumstantial way by sending the young Augustine a friend, Firminus (hominem amicum: 7.6.8). Augustine emphasizes God’s hand in this (tu enim, tu omnino (...) tu procurasti (...) nesciens theme, seeing Firminus as an instrument of God.452 Firminus, a believer, asking Augustine for an interpretation of his star signs, is definitely not trying to turn Augustine away from astrology. Still, he unwittingly tells a story that will achieve exactly that. This echoes Augustine’s position in the third KNE, when he was explicitly not trying to convince Alypius, but Alypius still took his words as if they had been exclusively addressed to him.453 Augustine believes the story Firminus tells him because he was a friend.454 Friendship being characterized by benevolentia, as we have seen before, excludes any self-interest. Thus, friendship would seem to be a crucial element in the setting of this narrative episode. We should consider Augustine’s own reference to an earlier episode when Nebridius had tried to turn him away from astrology.455 At that point, even Nebridius’s friendship had not been strong enough to convince Augustine, while now, the friend who is sent by God succeeds. Of course all this shows the young

452 Note once again the explicit use of homo in this context. Cf. 4.4.7-9, 5.2.2, 6.9.15. See also my discussion on this use of homo on p.82-4. For man as an instrument of God see my discussion of the Faustus episode on p.120, and the first KNE about Alypius on p.136.
453 6.7.12: per me quidem illam [correctionem] sed nescientem operatus es (...) scis tu, deus noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitaverim.
454 7.6.9: his itaque auditis et creditis (talis quippe narraverat) omnis illa reluctatio mea resolute concidit.
455 7.6.8: tu procurasti pervicaciae meae, qua obluctatus sum (...) Nebridio adulescenti mirabilis animae (...) crebro dicenti non esse illam artem future praevindendi. Cf. 4.3.6.
Augustine’s progress, but it also illustrates the power of ordinary friendship compared to a friend’s actions wrought by God. Ordinary friendship can influence a friend’s actions (*vicissitudo*), but without God’s love, *caritas*, this influence cannot lead to the ultimate conversion. Rather, it will implicate a friend in the ways of the world, as we have seen, for example, in the pear theft in book 2 and in the fourth KNE, the Relapse, in book 6. The story of Firminus starts with a lengthy abstract. Augustine makes it quite clear what is about to happen: *iam etiam mathematicorum fallaces divinationes et impia deliramenta reieceram* (‘I had already rejected the fraudulent divinations and impious fantasies of astrologers.’). The combination of *iam* and the pluperfect tense is remarkable: it introduces something which has already happened, as if the narrator had so far neglected to mention it.456

A substantial complication is interrupted by a story told by Firminus. Such an interruption, with a shift of attention to an embedded focalizer, we have seen before in the narrative episode about Monnica and the bishop in book 3. The entire episode about Firminus is presented almost exclusively in narrative mode; the voice of Augustine the bishop is hardly heard. Its sober and rather straightforward style and construction are rather similar to the narrative episodes in book 2 (the pear theft), 3 (Monnica and the bishop) and 5 (Faustus). A comparison with the KNE’s in books 4 (the friend who nearly turned into an enemy) and 6 (*Vita Alypii*) once again emphasizes the latter’s greater dramatic impact. Schematically the narrative episode could be read as follows.

**Firminus: 7.6.8-10**457

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Separate anecdote</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 7.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>Augustine has finally turned away from divination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 7.6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>IM</td>
<td>He could only have achieved that through the Lord.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

456 See on this use of *iam* Kroon and Risselada (2004).
457 For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.
Firminius’s story
(7.6.8)

Firminus tells Augustine about an astrological experiment his father and his father’s friend had carried through. In the description of the relationship of these two men there is a strong emphasis on their *aequalitas* and *unitas*. Thus, the element of friendship is further emphasized in this narrative episode. To Augustine the results of the experiment are final proof of the fallacy of astrology. He even tries to make Firminus turn away from astrology as well (*vicissitudo*).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>They meticulously observe the pregnancies of Firminus’s mother and a slave woman of the friend.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The two boys who are born at the same time share the same horoscope in every aspect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Yet Firminus grows up as a wealthy aristocrat’s son, while the other boy remains a slave.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we have seen before,\(^{458}\) once the narration is rounded off, Augustine returns to where he was before the narration started. The opening words of 7.7.11 clearly put the conversion from astrology in true perspective: Augustine’s previous first person singular (*fallaces divinationes reieceram* (7.6.8): I had rejected the fraudulent divinations) becomes God’s second person singular (*me illis vinculis solveras* (7.7.11): you had delivered me from those chains). The reference in this KNE, which is a conversion story, to a delivery from chains might be a narratological seed to the eighth KNE, Augustine’s final conversion in the garden in Milan; that episode is ‘bracketed’, as we shall see, by Augustine exclaiming that God finally broke his chains.\(^{459}\)

### 2.7.2 Selective summary

**One more breakthrough brings Augustine to his intellectual conversion: the books of the Neo-Platonists (7.7.11-7.8.12)**

Having finally distanced himself from astrology as a faulty means to acquire knowledge, the young Augustine keeps mulling over the question where evil comes from. No one knew what he was really going through at that point, Augustine the bishop says. O’Donnell sees this as an illustration of Augustine’s lonely struggle at that point in time: ‘The privacy, even loneliness, in which A. laboured would not have been evident to his ‘friends’ --the nameless crowd that constantly surrounds

\(^{458}\) 4.13.20: *haec tunc non noveram*; 6.10.17: *et aversabamur gementes et dicebamus*.

\(^{459}\) 8.1.1: *dirupisti vincula mea*; 9.1.1: *dirupisti vincula mea*. After Augustine’s final conversion his chains no longer exist, God has broken them.
him, and from which he seems in these years so detached'. Apart from the fact that a lot of Augustine’s progress is internal (of which we shall see even more in book 8) and might very well have gone unnoticed to its full extent by those around him, I would hesitate to qualify those around him at that time as ‘the nameless crowd’ from which he seemed ‘detached’; Alypius and Nebridius, his two most intimate friends with whom he shared his innermost thoughts, are depicted as part of that crowd as well.

The Platonic ecstasy: finally Augustine envisions caritas (7.9.13-7.21.27)

Someone then hands the young Augustine some books from the Neo-Platonists. In the position of this chapter, right in the middle of book 7, itself the half-way point of the Confessions, O’Donnell sees an emphasis on the importance of Augustine’s close reading of these Neo-Platonic books, which will bring about his ‘intellectual’ conversion. Once again it is God who is acting through man:

procurasti mihi per quendam hominem immanissimo typho turgidum quosdam platonicorum libros (7.9.13)

through a man puffed up with monstrous pride, you brought under my eye some books of the Platonists

We see the same use of the word homo to accentuate the difference between God and his human intermediary, which we have seen before. And we see Augustine’s use of procurasti, echoing the beginning of the previous narrative episode. This echo implies, by inference from that episode, God’s acting on Augustine’s behalf here as well. In this case, God’s act is remarkable, since in the previous narrative episode God’s act resulted in Augustine abjuring astrology, this time, however, it results in bringing Augustine to absorb the Neo-Platonic theory. Thus, Augustine the author

460 O’Donnell (1992) on 7.7.11.
461 Cf. 6.7.11: congesescebam in his, qui simul amice vivebamus, et maxime ac familiarissime cum Alypio et Nebridio ista conloquebamur; on Alypius 9.4.7: fratrem cordis mei; on Nebridius 6.10.17: pariter suspirabat pariterque fluctuabat. Cf. Augustine’s own failure to pick up any of the signs about Alypius’s turmoil in the garden in Milan (8.12.30). See for that my discussion on pp.197-9
463 Cf. 4.4.7-9, 5.2.2, 6.9.15.
464 7.6.8: procurasti ergo tu hominem amicum. See my discussion on pp.166-7.
implicitly qualifies classical pagan philosophy as a good instrument for a Christian to approach Truth. However, it is not a perfect instrument. Since it does not incorporate *caritas*, philosophy can only point one into *caritas*’s direction. This imperfect character of philosophy might be implied by the fact that the man who brings these books to Augustine, is not, as we saw earlier, a *homo amicus*, but a *homo immanissimo typho turgidus* (a man puffed up with monstrous pride).

As a consequence of what the young Augustine feels to be missing in these Neo-Platonic books he turns inward with the help of God. And there he sees the light. This is the true Platonic ideal: mortal man turns inward and thus metaphysically leaves ‘the cave’ and gains the eternal light that is the supreme Idea, the eternal Truth suffusing all, which in the Christian faith equals God. Once again we see Augustine refer to classical philosophical thought to illustrate what he was going through and to emphasize his point.

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465 This positive influence of a classical, pagan source is similar to the influence of Cicero’s Hortensius on the young Augustine (3.4.7).

466 McEvoy (1992: 167): ‘The parting of the ways between Platonism and Christianity is the Incarnation of the Word and the doctrine of the mediation of Christ.’


468 Cf. 7.10.16: *O aeterna veritas et vera caritas et cara aeternitas, tu es deus meus*.

2.8  Book 8

2.8.1  Analysis of narrative episode: 8.2.3-8.5.11

God sends Augustine to visit Simplicianus

God, Augustine the bishop says, sent him the idea of going to visit Simplicianus, a man who had spent his long life in God’s service. Once again the hand of God is actively at work. This divine influence in his conversion Augustine announced in the first chapter of book 8: ‘I will tell how you broke them [my chains]’. This time, however, God does not send a man (nesciens) to influence the protagonist, but sends the young Augustine himself (nesciens) to a man, who will act as God’s instrument. The narrative episode of Simplicianus is the first of a series of three interrelated conversion stories, the first two of which, about Simplicianus and about Ponticianus (8.6.14-8.7.16), as we shall see, build up to the final scene in the garden. Such an interrelated series of narrative episodes we have seen before in the *Vita Alypii* in book 6 (6.7.11-6.10.17) and we shall see again in the series of four narrative episodes about Monnica in book 9 (9.8.17-9.13.37). This narratological superstructure claims the reader’s attention, pulls him into the story. Other than in books 6 and 9, where we saw and will see a collection of narrative episodes around one central theme, we see in book 8 a progression of the young Augustine towards his final conversion; the narratee is led from scene to scene until he enters the garden with his ‘fleeing hero’ and the tension that has been building up for so long finally breaks when everything falls into place. This progression enhances the emotional involvement and identification of the narratee.

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471 Sluiter (2010: 308): ‘domino-effect van de steeds dichter op elkaar volgende bekeringsverhalen’ (‘domino-effect of conversion stories following each other ever more rapidly’). See also O’Donnell (1992) on 8.1.1. Kotzé (2014: 174-5) identifies six conversion stories in book 8: Victorinus, the two agentes in rebus, Antony, Augustine and Alypius. I would add two more: the two sponsae of the agentes in rebus who decide to dedicate their virginity to God. See also O’Connell (1969: 102): ‘But Augustine insinuates that, however dramatic the moment in the garden when his bonds were ‘burst asunder’, that moment was already the climax of a protracted work of grace.’
472 See for my analyses of the *Vita Alypii* pp.129-30, and for the passage about Monnica pp.208-11.
with the young Augustine. Both involvement and identification serve the protreptic character of this final step towards conversion.\textsuperscript{473}

Schematically the narrative episode about Simplicianus may be read as follows.

**Simplicianus: 8.2.3-5\textsuperscript{474}**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Inserted anecdote</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM, DM, IM, DiM</td>
<td>Augustine goes to Simplicianus and the conversation turns to the subject of Victorinus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 8.2.3-4</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM, DM, DeM</td>
<td>Victorinus, who as a public figure had been a staunch supporter and defender of paganism for many years, had eventually become a Christian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Baptism 8.2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excursus 8.3.6-8.4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Why is it that people rejoice more because of someone, who had seemed to be utterly lost, is eventually saved, than because of someone who has been safe all his life?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 8.5.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>Augustine yearns to follow in Victorinus’s footsteps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 8.5.10</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Simplicianus adds one more detail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Baptism 8.5.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda 8.5.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>By this story Augustine once more realized the struggle between mind and body.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{473} On the function of identification as an aspect of protreptic, see my discussion in chapter 3.3 on pp.263-66.

\textsuperscript{474} For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.
Simplicianus tells the story of the eventual baptism of Victorinus
8.2.4-5; 8.5.11

Simplicianus tells Augustine a story, just like we saw Firminus do in
the previous book (7.6.8), which will influence Augustine. That story is
about the baptism of Victorinus. There is an excursus, as we have seen in
the second KNE in book 4, and in the encounter with Faustus in book 5.
Whereas in the narrative episode about Faustus the excursus is theoretical
and analytical, here, in the story about Victorinus, it is directly linked in
its emotional content, as we shall see, to the peak of Augustine’s encounter
with Simplicianus in 8.5.10. Victorinus was a Roman rhetorician. After many years as an epitome of
classical, secular learning and standing, he had gradually come to accept
Christ. At first his fear of turning his friends into his enemies by openly
embracing Christianity had held him back. But in the end, through reading,
he had found the courage to take that final step. At his eventual baptism the
crowd rejoiced at his good fortune and listened to him when he proclaimed
his faith. Finally he forsook his worldly career.
The resemblances to Augustine’s own situation are obvious. There is even
the peer pressure, the negative side of vicissitudo, and a reference to the
Manichees as the friends who might turn into his enemies, a nightmare he
had experienced with his own friend in book 4. In the abstract there is a reference to the opening of book 8. Victorinus is a man such as the young
Augustine might aspire to be, if he would follow his worldly ambition.
Simplicianus will tell Augustine how this Victorinus took the final step
towards becoming ‘a servant of Christ and an infant born at your font’. The similarities between the story about Victorinus and Augustine’s own
situation indicate that the story which Simplicianus tells can be seen as a
foreshadowing of what is to come, a narratological seed in its most explicit
form. Schematically, the narrative episode about Victorinus could be read
as follows.

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A similar link we saw in the second KNE (4.4.7-4.7.12) and we shall see in the final KNE in book 8 (8.8.19-8.12.30).

For the negative side of peer pressure see, e.g., the pear theft in 2.4.9. For the echo of friends turning into enemies (8.2.4: amicos enim suos reverebatur offendere, superbos daemonicos, quorum (...) graviter ruitous in se inimicitias arbitrabatur) see 4.4.8: at ille ita me exhorravit ut inicium.


8.2.3: Quemadmodum (...) non erubuerit esse puer Christi et infans fontis tui – 8.1.1: quomodo dirupisti ea [vincula mea] narrabo.
### Simplicianus’s story
**8.2.4-5; 8.5.10**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.2.4</td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>Simplicianus urges Victorinus to be baptized. He refuses, saying that he already is a Christian. ‘Do walls make a Christian?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 8.2.4</td>
<td>DiM</td>
<td>He wants to be baptized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.2.4-5</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM, DiM</td>
<td>He is given the opportunity of being baptized in secret, to avoid any enmity from his former friends. He refuses and is baptized with joyful acclamation from his fellow Christians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 8.5.10</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>In Victorinus’s days there was a law of the emperor Julian which forbade Christians to teach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 8.5.10</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Victorinus decided to quit teaching and embrace the words of the Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 8.5.10</td>
<td>DM, NM, IM</td>
<td>Augustine deems Victorinus a lucky man for having found his way out.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The inserted anecdotes in the narrative episodes about Monnica and the bishop in book 3 and about Firminus in book 7 (7.6.8-11) are constructed along a sober sequence of narratological categories: orientation-complication-peak for the bishop’s story, and orientation-complication-resolution for Firminus’s story. The story the bishop told Monnica is rendered as one long sentence in indirect speech. The story Firminus tells about his father’s experiment is presented in narrative mode throughout and comprises half a chapter out of two and half chapters for the entire narrative episode. The story that Simplicianus tells about Victorinus is, moreover, much more substantial: it comprises two and a half chapters out of a total of five chapters. Its sequence of narratological categories is much more complex: complication-peak-complication-orientation-resolution-evaluation. And there is a more varied use of discourse modes: narrative, informative, discursive and direct mode. All three aspects (narratological sequence, variety of discourse modes and length in proportion to the entire

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479 7.6.8-11. See my discussion on pp.166-70.
480 8.2.3-5 (...) 8.5.10-11.
Complication and peak of Victorinus’s story bring Augustine to the peak of his own encounter with Simplicianus: he burns with desire to follow in Victorinus’s footsteps. Thus, the anecdote about Victorinus appears to be a perfect illustration of the protreptic character of the *Confessions*.

2.8.2 Analysis of narrative episode: 8.6.14-8.7.16

**Ponticianus and his conversion story of the friends in Trier**

After Augustine’s visit to Simplicianus, Ponticianus quite unexpectedly shows up and pays Alypius and Augustine a visit. He tells them a story about an experience he had in Trier. Augustine the bishop emphatically points out that Nebridius is not with them right then. Nebridius’s absence has to be remarked upon, since friendship, as Brown remarks,\(^{482}\) was a big part of Augustine’s life and one of his two dearest friends would be sorely missed during the monumental conversion scene that is now looming.\(^{483}\) Schematically the narrative episode about Ponticianus could be read as follows.\(^{484}\)

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481 In the story the bishop told Monnica we saw a rolemodel for Augustine as well, as a foreshadowing or narratological seed for Victorinus (see my discussion of 3.12.21 on pp.74-5). The difference in dramatic effect on the narratee between the anecdote in book 3 and this one in book 8 indicates the progress the young Augustine has made in between.


483 It is the first of Nebridius’s four remarkable absences: the conversion story that finally sets all in motion, the conversion itself, Cassiciacum and baptism. I will come back to these absences in the summaries and analyses of the individual episodes.

484 For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.
Ponticianus visits Augustine and Alypius and discovers that they have never heard about Antony and his conversion. He then recounts a story, concerning Antony, which he had himself witnessed.

Four friends

That was the story Ponticianus told Augustine and Alypius.

The structure of this narrative episode is comparable to the previous one. Here we see Ponticianus, in a conversation with Augustine, start telling him a story. In that story there is, once again, an emphasis on its content by a complex sequence of narratological categories (orientation-complication-peak-complication-resolution) and a great variety of discourse modes (narrative, discursive, informative and direct mode).

While the three men, Augustine, Ponticianus and Alypius are having a conversation, Ponticianus happens to notice a book on a side table. He picks it up, opens it, reads it and realizes (tulit, aperuit, invenit: 8.6.14) that it contains the letters of St. Paul’s. The choice of words will be echoed in the final KNE, when Augustine, just seconds away from his true conversion, will likewise pick up, open and read (arripui, aperui, et legi: 8.12.29) the book of St. Paul. Ponticianus mentions Antony and then tells them about his own experience in Trier with three of his companions. Schematically the episode about Ponticianus could be read as follows.

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485 For this foreshadowing see Sluiter (2010).
Ponticianus’s story
8.6.15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Once upon a time he and three friends had gone for a walk in two pairs, while they had been stationed at the palace in Trier.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td>NM, IM</td>
<td>The other two happened upon a little house where they found a book containing the Vita Antonii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak</td>
<td>NM, DM, DiM</td>
<td>One of them decides to follow in Antony’s footsteps. He reads on and is changed. He forsakes all earthly goods. His companion follows his example.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Ponticianus and his companion find these two, but they in their turn now refuse to join them again at the palace. Ponticianus and his companion hear the story of the other two. They congratulate them, but return to the palace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The two converted companions stay behind. Their respective fiancées join them in their celibacy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of these companions happened upon a humble house where they found a biography of Antony. Struck by Antony’s exemplary story the first companion decided to forsake his worldly ambition; instead of remaining a friend of Caesar he wanted to become a friend of God. His own friend, upon hearing this, decided upon the same course. Next, even their fiancées converted and took a vow of celibacy. The protreptic character in the story about the companions in Trier is clearly present, like it was in Victorinus’s story (a perfect role model and Augustine’s burning desire to imitate him); in the story about Trier we see how the reading of a book, Antony’s

486 On the protreptic character of Antony’s biography see Watts (2015: 156-7): ‘The first three chapters of the Life of Antony offer an idealized blueprint for how a member of the local elite could extricate himself from the personal relationships, financial obligations, and social aspirations. (…) It proved wildly popular.’

487 8.6.15: amicus autem dei, si voluero, ecce nunc fio. On the friendship with God see my discussion in chapter 3.3 on p.269.
biography, leads a man to conversion, how this conversion brings his friend to follow his example, and how their examples in turn bring their fiancées to follow them. The friend and the fiancées act as an internal audience. This is an element which was lacking from the story about Victorinus, but in the final KNE about Augustine’s own conversion this will be Alypius’s role, as we shall see. Thus, the anecdotes about Victorinus and the companions in Trier both function as narratological seeds for what is about to happen in the final KNE.

Analysis of key narrative episode 8: 8.8.19-8.12.30

The garden in Milan

Because of all its obvious dramatic content, the scene in the garden in Milan has, as yet, escaped any specific analysis whatsoever. It seems simply to have been taken at face value by the varied host of its readers. Right in the middle of this crucial scene we see Alypius. He is by Augustine’s side throughout book 8, without intervening in any way. Once again Augustine is accompanied by a friend even in his most intimate moment. While the scene is explicitly about the young Augustine’s final conversion, Alypius is the mirror in front of which the dramatic and emotional action takes place and, as I have mentioned above, we will see him react, as the internal audience, to that action. Thus, the part Alypius plays in the final stage of book 8 will add once more to our understanding of Augustine’s idea of friendship.

The scene in the garden in Milan is, even without counting the two quite extensive excursus, the most substantial of all the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*. The two excursus are part of the argumentative framework of book 8, describing Augustine’s internal progress, just like the excursus in the Simplicianus episode (8.3.6-8.4.9). The three narrative episodes

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488 For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, see the appendix.

489 O’Donnell (2006: 73): ‘When Augustine’s best biographer (sc. Brown) gets to that point in the narrative of Augustine’s life, he just steps aside and gives us two solid pages of quotation, slightly abridged, but otherwise uncommented on.’

490 McNamara (1958: 53): ‘Alypius was among the chief instruments which God used for the spiritual and moral conversion of Augustine.’

491 Although the entire Monnica episode is even more substantial, it consists, as does the *Vita Alypii*, of several interrelated stories. See my discussion of the Monnica passage on pp.208-11.
serve to illustrate that progress and draw the narratee’s attention through their dramatic impact.

All the discourse modes Augustine employs in his narrative episodes are present in this final KNE (narrative, discursive, informative, descriptive and direct mode). Augustine the bishop repeatedly varies the narrative mode by commenting upon the story, while his younger self is the secondary focalizer. The sequence of narratological categories is complex (complication-orientation-complication-peak-complication-peak-resolution-abstract-resolution-evaluation-resolution). There are two separate peaks in all. Augustine’s use of conversation management particles, which we have already seen in the previous KNE’s, intensifies and thus greatly appeals to the narratee’s attention. The analysis of the KNE about Augustine’s conversion can be illustrated by the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.8.19</td>
<td>NM, DiM</td>
<td>Augustine is struggling with himself. Alypius is with him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 8.8.19</td>
<td>NM, DM, DeM</td>
<td>They are in the garden of the house where they are staying. God knew where this would lead to, Augustine did not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.8.19-8.9.20</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM</td>
<td>Alypius is by Augustine’s side. Augustine is torn by his desire to take the final step towards conversion and his earthly self which holds him back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excursus 8.9.21-8.10.22</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Does this mean, Augustine asks himself, that there are two separate minds, good and bad, tugging at him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.10.22</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>He struggles with himself, seeing ever more clearly that the only one who is really holding him back is he himself.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Excursus 8.10.23-8.10.24</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>The existence of two separate minds would imply the existence of many more, each representing another kind of temptation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.11.25-8.11.26</td>
<td>NM, DiM, DM</td>
<td>The temptations try to talk him into giving in to them, but the voice of continence finally quietens them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 8.11.27</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Alypius is still with him, watching him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narratological category</td>
<td>Discourse mode</td>
<td>Synopsis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
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<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.11.27-8.12.29</td>
<td>NM, DiM, DM, IM</td>
<td>Augustine turns away from Alypius and throws himself crying under the leaves of a fig tree, calling out to God to bring about salvation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 8.12.29</td>
<td>NM, DiM</td>
<td>Augustine hears a child chanting ‘pick up and read’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 8.12.29</td>
<td>NM, DM, DiM</td>
<td>He remembers Antony’s conversion story, moves back to Alypius to retrieve the book of St. Paul that he has left with him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 8.12.29</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>He picks up the book and reads in silence St. Paul’s exhortation to forsake all earthly things.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 8.12.29-8.12.30</td>
<td>NM, DM</td>
<td>He does not want to read any further. All his doubts are gone. He shows Alypius what he has read.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 8.12.30</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Alypius indicates his own inner turmoil, which had gone unnoticed to Augustine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 8.12.30</td>
<td>NM, DiM</td>
<td>Alypius reads St. Paul’s words that follow and applies them to himself. They go to Monnica and tell her what happened: she is happy. They tell her how it has come about. She is jubilant and praises the Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 8.12.30</td>
<td>DM, IM</td>
<td>Monnica has received more than she had prayed for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Not only has Augustine been converted, he now also embraces chastity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Analysis (8.8.19)

**Complication**

(NM) *tum in illa grandi rixa interioris domus meae, quam fortiter excitaveram cum anima mea in cubiculo nostro, corde meo, tam vultu quam mente turbatus invado Alypium: exclamo, (DiM)’quid patimur? quid est hoc? quid audisti? surgunt indocti et caelum rapiunt, et nos cum doctrinis nostris sine corde, ecce ubi volutamur in carne et sanguine! an quia praecesserunt, pudet sequi et non pudet nec saltem sequi?’*

**Complication**

Then in the middle of that grand struggle in my inner house, which I had vehemently stirred up with my soul in the intimate chamber of my heart, distressed not only in mind but in appearance, I turned on Alypius and cried out: ‘What is wrong with us? What is this that you have heard? Uneducated people are rising up and capturing heaven, and we with our high culture without any heart—see where we roll in the mud*
of flesh and blood. Is it because they are ahead of us that we are ashamed to follow? Do we feel no shame at making not even an attempt to follow?’

*Tum*, referring to a definitive point in time, signals the start of a new narrative episode. *Illa* connects this chapter and the following scene to what went before: *that* was the struggle he was in at that time. *Invado* comes almost at the very end of the sentence. Its meaning conveys rapid action, rushing, sometimes even with a touch of violence. The use of the present tense draws our attention even more to the action. We are now suddenly in the middle of the action, the created story world: dramatic present tense. This action now comes as a surprise to us when he turns to, turns *upon*, as it where, the unobtrusive Alypius. The force of the verb might also go to illustrate Alypius’s own surprise at the time.

The way this scene unfolds, although it is a continuation of the Ponticianus episode, almost feels as if we are stumbling right into the middle of the action, without any set up, introduction or whatever. The almost neutral *tum* must suffice and prepares us in no way for what is coming. This is straightforward complication. *Exclamo* (I cried out) present tense once more, without connectors and placed directly after the previous predicate, carries on the heightened sense of immediacy. There is even a subliminal sense of force in the crying out loud, exclaiming, yelling. As in *invado* it is not just bare action we are witnessing here, there is implied tension. Augustine then continues with direct speech: a tricolon of anaphoric, rhetorical questions conveying the emotional state the speaker is in. The emphatic *ecce* draws the narratee’s attention. *Carne et sanguine* (in the mud of flesh and blood) might be taken as a hendiadys for the human condition, echoing the carnal temptation that is still holding him back.492

**Complication**
(NM) *dixi nescio qua talia, et abripuit me ab illo aestus meus, cum taceret attonitus me intuens. neque enim solita sonabam. plus loquebantur animum meum frons. genae, oculi, color, modus vocis quam verba quae promebam.*

**Complication**
That is the gist of what I said, and the heat of my passion took my attention away from him as he contemplated my condition in astonished silence. For I sounded very strange. My uttered words said less about the state of my mind than my forehead, cheeks, eyes, colour, and tone of voice.

492 Cf. 5.2.2: *aliquis homo, caro et sanguis.*
The perfect tense (dixi, abripuit) speeds up the narrative, relieving the dramatic tension implied by the previous presents. This speeding up might also be seen in nescio qua talia (that is the gist of what I said). Apparently there was much more in this vein, but by sidestepping possible details Augustine can carry on with his narrative without slowing down. Abripuit (tore me away) continues the implied emotion of invado and exclamo. The particular choice of words (grandis rixa, turbatus, aestus, attonitus: grand struggle, distressed, the heat of my passion, astonished) enhances the overall feeling of heightened emotions in this short passage. And Alypius looks at Augustine dumbstruck. And if that is what Augustine’s action does to his best friend, who has, after all, been with him all the time, been listening to the same stories as he has, if that is the reaction of the internal audience, then perhaps that is what the narratee might feel – or perhaps might be supposed to feel – as well. There is no action on Alypius’s part here other than his emotional reaction to Augustine’s behaviour and words and his eventual following Augustine into the garden. He doesn’t speak himself, but as the true friend he is, he follows in Augustine’s footsteps.

Now Augustine takes time for an explanation of sorts. The narratee is supposed to understand (enim) Alypius’s reaction: Augustine did indeed say unusual things, moreover, his entire body language signalled his extraordinary state of mind. The agitation we surmised from the choice and positioning of verbs as well as the use of tenses is now further illustrated and enhanced by a reference to his physical expression.

Orientation
(DeM) hortulus quidam erat hospitii nostri, quo nos utebamur sicut tota domo: nam hospes ibi non habitabat, dominus domus. (NM) illuc me abstulerat tumultus pectoris, ubi nemo impediret ardentem litem quam mecum aggressus eram, donec exiret (DM) - qua tu sciebas, ego autem non: sed tantum insaniebam salubriter et moriebar vitaliter, gnarus quid mali essem et ignarus quid boni post paululum futurus essem.

Orientation
Our lodging had a garden. We had the use of it as well as of the entire house, for our host, the owner of the house, was not living there. The tumult of my heart took me out into the garden where no one could interfere with the burning struggle with myself in which I was engaged, until the matter could be settled. You knew, but I did not, what the outcome would be. But my madness with myself was part of the process of recovering health, and in the agony of death I was coming to life. I was aware how ill I was, unaware how well I was soon to be.
Augustine then briefly tells us about the garden. This is descriptive mode. Augustine, like in so many other instances in the *Confessions*, tantalizingly chooses to give us the faintest description of the scenery as such. The situation is described as the story progresses: in a short while we will read about a tree in that garden. Elaborately detailed description is not what Augustine is interested in. This kind of description is what Hübner, talking about Vergil’s style in the *Aeneid*, calls ‘*die Technik der progressiven Landschaftsskizze*’. Here of course any scarcity of details would also be in line with my previous remarks about the speeding up of the narrative. This brief description constitutes the necessary orientation to the garden scene. Augustine then tells us in a tiny piece of prolepsis that the struggle will find its conclusion (*donec exiret*). We will repeatedly see him inserting a sentence or even just part of a sentence in a proleptical vein as the story progresses.

By the use of *lis* (struggle, but also lawsuit) we are to understand that we are not about to witness an ordinary row, but that we can expect to hear the arguments brought into play by the opponents. And those opponents are located within himself, as we will see further along. With hindsight Augustine the bishop can say, in a beautiful parallel construction with a double oxymoron, that he was ‘healthily insane’, that it was good for him that he struggled as he did, and that he ‘died in a vital kind of way’.

Complication

(NM) *absessi ergo in hortum, et Alypius pedem post pedem. neque enim secretum meum non erat, ubi ille aderat. aut quando me sic affectum desereret? sedimus quantum potuimus remoti ab aedibus.*

Complication

So I went out into the garden, Alypius followed me step after step. Although he was present, I felt no intrusion on my solitude. How could he abandon me in such a state? We sat down as far as we could from the buildings.

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493 See my discussion on Augustine’s use or lack of use of personal names (pp.56-7) and historical references (p.123). See for a similar lack of details in describing a scene, e.g., the conversation with Monnica in Ostia: 9.10.23: *incumbentes ad quondam fenestram unde hortus intra domum, quae nos habebat, prospectabatur. illic apud Ostia Tiberina*, or the description of the palace of memory: 10.8.12 *venio in campos et lata praetorian memoriae*.

494 Hübner (1981: 260). Cf. De Jong (2014: 105-6): ‘The narrative evocation of space (...) always requires active cooperation on the part of the narratees.’ While the writer focusses on plot or character, the narratees are asked to use their imagination or ‘summon the implications’ from the spare descriptions.

495 8.8.19: *sed tantum insaniebam salubriter et moriebar vitaliter.*
Complication is resumed once more with *ergo*. We return to the action by the perfect *abscessi*, which serves as a means to recapitulate the former line of action. It is remarkable that it takes us back to a point just before the point we had already reached with the previous *abstulerat*. Augustine had already been swept into the garden, now we see him rush into it. Perhaps the discursive mode, having interrupted the narrative mode, causes Augustine to start again, as it were, pick up the action proper just previous to the situation described in the orientation. This seems to enhance the realism of the narrative, implying that the primary narrator, Augustine the bishop, is still overcome by emotion recapturing this event. This kind of realism, suggesting a tone of casual conversation, we have seen before in the second KNE where friendship nearly turned into enmity (4.4.7-8). It involves the narratee in the story and serves to keep his attention.

Alypius follows him quietly and unobtrusively, but he is with him nevertheless. Augustine had torn himself away from him, but, of course (*enim*), his solitude could never be broken by the presence of his friend, the ‘brother of his heart’. There is *unitas* and *aequalitas*. Of course, his friend would never leave him whilst he was in such a state, he says (*dilectio/ benevolentia*). Again we see Augustine referring to Alypius with *ille*, this time to stress the contrasting duality (*meum - ille*). It is an emphasis on their individuality, within a larger framework of *unitas* and *aequalitas*, echoing what we have seen in the second and third KNE’s.

There follows one short sentence. They sit down as far from the house as they can. We will have to wait for three chapters until Augustine continues the action from this point. Thus, we see a story that plunges us right into the action, partially interrupted by *evaluation*, telling us once more about the great change that is about to overcome Augustine in this very garden where he now finally sits down, and then we come to the most extensive

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496 See for a similar effect of listening in on Augustine the prime narrator pretending to think out loud, my discussion of the questions in 1.2.2-1.5.6 on p.55, and of Augustine’s ‘self-analysis’ in 4.6.11 on pp.94-5. Cf. Lane Fox (2015: 65): ‘Remarkably, we are listening in to him in the unrevised process of analysing his past. As ever, he is analysing it in a prayer to God which we, its readers, overhear.’ Cf. Van Reisen (2010: 329).

497 See my analysis on p.81.

498 See chapter 1.4.3 on pp.42-3.

499 See my discussion on this duality in 4.4.7-8 on pp.81-91, and in 6.7.11 on p.132.
interruption of all. By the extent, position and character of the description of his emotional progress it is very similar in function to the chapters between the three narrative episodes in book 8. In that respect, this short sentence gains all the force of a cliff hanger.

A description of Augustine’s emotional state at that moment in time (8.8.19-8.10.22)

Complication
(NM) ego fremebam spiritu, indignans indignatione turbulentissima quod non irem in placitum et pactum tecum, deus meus, in quod eundum esse omnia ossa mea clamabant et in caelum tollebant laudibus. (...) attendite quid dicatis, et erubescite et accedite ad eum et inluminamini, et vultus vestri non erubescent.

Complication
I was deeply disturbed in spirit, angry with indignation and distress that I was not entering into my pact and covenant with you, my God, when all my bones were crying out that I should enter into it and were exalting it to heaven with praises. (...) They should give heed to what you say and blush: ‘Come to him and be illuminated, and your faces will not blush.’

For an analysis of the entire passage (8.8.19-8.10.22), see the appendix. For now it may suffice to describe the general characteristics of this passage. Ego draws full, exclusive attention to Augustine after the previous plural predicates (sedimus, potuimus). What comes next only concerns Augustine. We have already seen the use of the first person singular in abscessi, but Alypius kept following him. They were still acting together. Augustine now goes on (8.9.20-8.9.21, continued in 8.11.25-27) to describe extensively his state of mind at that point. He uses imperfect tense in a narrative mode that comes very close to description, as we have seen in the extensive evaluation of the second KNE in book 4 where friends nearly turned into enemies. We are still in complication here, lacking any spatial or specific temporal progression, but describing the process that goes on within Augustine himself, thus continuing the ‘action’ as it were on an internal level. It is precisely that aspect of continuation which made me qualify this passage as complication.

The passage as a whole (8.8.19-8.10.22) is by no means homogenous. There is an excursus (8.9.21 – 8.10.22) constructed around two rhetorical questions, which are repeated three times: ‘What is the cause of this

500 8.3.6-8.5.12, 8.7.16-18.
monstrous situation? Why is it the case?’ This repetitious construction we have seen before in book 4.\textsuperscript{501} In this excursus Augustine is no longer describing any internal mental progress. It is an emotional reaction to the frustrating struggle that seems to paralyze him at that point of time in the garden. And he comes to the conclusion that this dithering, this being of two minds, is like a sickness of the mind.

**Augustine steadily gains more insight into what is happening to him**

\textit{(8.10.22)}

**Complication**

(NM) \textit{ego cum deliberabam ut iam servirem domino deo meo, sicut diu disposeram, ego eram qui volebam, ego qui nolebam: ego eram. nec plene volebam nec plene nolebam. ideo mecum contendebam et dissipabar a me ipso, et ipsa dissipatio me invito quidem fiebat, nec tamen ostendebat naturam mentis alienae sed poenam meae. et ideo non iam ego operabar illam, sed quod habitabat in me peccatum de supplicio liberioris peccati, quia eram filius Adam.}

In my own case, as I deliberated about serving my Lord God which I had long been disposed to do, the self which willed to serve was identical with the self which was unwilling. It was I. I was neither wholly willing nor wholly unwilling. So I was in conflict with myself and was dissociated from myself. The dissociation came about against my will. Yet this was not a manifestation of the nature of an alien mind but the punishment suffered in my own mind. And so it was not I that brought this about but sin which dwelt in me, sin resulting from the punishment of a more freely chosen sin, because I was a son of Adam.

The complication is briefly resumed after the excursus, when we return once more to the progression his mind is going through at that particular moment. Again he opens with the forceful \textit{ego}, which he then repeats with an anaphoric, asyndetical tricolon ending in a dramatic climax: ‘It was I’.\textsuperscript{502} This is followed by an antithesis (\textit{volebam – nolebam}) and a chiasm (\textit{mecum contendebam – dissipabar a me ipso}) which all stress the duality he feels within himself.\textsuperscript{503} He concludes this piece of complication by

\textsuperscript{501} 4.16.28-31: \textit{et quid mihi proderat} (5x).

\textsuperscript{502} Cf. a similar emphasis on himself as the source of evil in Augustine’s analysis of the pear theft in 2.4.9: \textit{ego furtum facere volui}. See my discussion on pp.65-6. In book 10, after his conversion, Augustine the bishop will emphasize that, however independently man acts, no good will ever come of that without God’s help: 10.40.65: \textit{nihil eorum [amplitudines memoriae] discernere potui sine te et nihil eorum esse te inveni. nec ego ipse inventor (...) nec ego ipse.}

\textsuperscript{503} Cf. 7.3.5: \textit{itaque cum aliquid vellem aut nollem, non alium quam me velle ac nolle certissimus eram et ibi esse causam peccati mei iam iamque animadvertebam.}
explicitly calling himself a son of Adam. As a mortal man he carries on the struggle that mortal man is heir to. This is an echo of the theme of mortality which we first saw in book 4, where Augustine’s inability to see his friend as another mortal was the main cause for his misery.\textsuperscript{504}

Augustine’s thoughts upon his mistaken duality: an \textit{excursus} (8.10.23-24)

There is yet one more excursus, where Augustine further elaborates on the possibility or impossibility of the existence of several ‘wills’ (\textit{naturae, voluntates}) implying the existence of contrary minds in one person (8.10.23-24)\textsuperscript{505}. He had been very clear in the previous paragraph about any multiplicity, when he emphasized ‘It was I’: he alone was responsible for his own actions. Although there can be conflicting wills, there are no two minds in one body. This absence of a multiplicity of minds in one person (which is expressed by the concepts of \textit{unitas} and \textit{aequalitas}) we have seen emphasized in Augustine the bishop’s description of friendship with references to pagan literature in book 4.\textsuperscript{506} For the young Augustine, however, any such perfect unity in friendship had at that point still been beyond reach. For the young man there had clearly been, as we saw, in inner conflict.\textsuperscript{507} At this point in book 8 the emphasis on his being of one mind shows the progress he has made.

Augustine’s steady mental and emotional progress continues: classical references once more (8.11.25-27)

\textbf{Complication}

\textit{(NM) sic aegrotabam et excruciabar, accusans memet ipsum solito acerbius nimis ac volvens et versans me in vinculo meo, donec abrumperetur totum. (...) punctum ipsum temporis quo aliud futurus eram, quanto propius admovebatur, tanto ampliorem incutiebat horrorem. sed non recutiebat retro nec averterebat, sed suspendebat.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{504} Cf. 4.4.7-9, 5.2.2, 6.9.15, 7.9.13.
  \item \textsuperscript{505} 8.10.23: \textit{Nam si tot sunt contrariae naturae quot voluntates sibi resistunt, non iam duae sed plures erunt. (...) nam unde ista cunctatione sibimet adversantium voluntatum?}
  \item \textsuperscript{506} 4.6.11: \textit{unam .. animam in duobus corporibus. Cf. Ov. Tr. 4.4.72.}
  \item \textsuperscript{507} 4.7.12: \textit{portabam enim concisam et cruentam animam meam impatientem portari a me, et ubi eam ponerem non inveniebam. Cf. Clark (1995, repr. 2001: 171): ‘he conveys the experience of a divided self’. Cf. 8.10.23: \textit{sibimet adversantium voluntatum}.}
\end{itemize}
Complication
Such was my sickness and my torture, as I accused myself even more bitterly than usual. I was twisting and turning in my chain until it would break completely. (...) The nearer approached the moment of time when I would become different, the greater the horror of it struck me. But it did not thrust me back nor turn me away, but left me in a state of suspense.

Sic summarizes what went before, pointing to Augustine’s struggle with the contrary wills, and brings us back to the description of his internal progress. There seems to be an echo of Catullus here. The theme of two wills at war with each other within one person, as mentioned in the second excursus, carries pagan literary as well as Scriptural connotations. It echoes Catullus’s famous analysis of the two sentiments *odi* and *amo* (C. 85), ‘I hate and I love’, existing within him at the same time. Catullus’s explanation for that is that he does not know how it can be, but that he can feel it happening and that he is tortured by it (*excrucior*; cf. *excruciabar* above). Catullus of course was ripped apart by two contrary wills, which were both related to his attraction to a beautiful woman. Thus, the allusion to Catullus might also bring the association of ‘the physical’ into play when we look at Augustine’s situation. We already know, for he has been telling us about it in the previous books, as we will see again shortly, that his lust, the carnal desire, is what finally holds him back. At the same time the theme of two wills at war with each other echoes St. Paul’s letter to the Romans:

\[
\textit{Quod enim operor, non intellego. Non enim quod volo bonum, hoc ago: sed quod odi malum, illud facio. (…) nunc autem iam non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me peccatum (…) condelector enim legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem: video autem altam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meae.} \text{(Romans 7: 15-23)}
\]

I do not understand what I do. For what I want to do I do not do, but what I hate I do. (…) As it is, it is no longer I myself who do it, but it is sin living in me. (…) For in my inner being I delight in God’s law; but I see another law at work in me, waging war against the law of my mind.

Thus, we see the young Augustine’s struggle illustrated by an echo from pagan literature, emphasizing the struggle with his worldly desires,508 as well as by an echo of St. Paul’s, illustrating a Christian’s struggle and implying eventual salvation. We have seen this effect of pagan literary

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508 Cf., e.g., the references in the *Vita Alypii* to Aeneas on p.134, and Odysseus on p.144.
references (the wrong way) as opposed to Scriptural references (the right way) before, e.g., in book 4 after Augustine’s friend died. Running away to end his sorrow was useless, Augustine the bishop said, referring to classical literature,\textsuperscript{509} while turning to God led to salvation, referring to Scripture.\textsuperscript{510}

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Complication}\textsuperscript{511}
(NM) retinebant nugae nugarum et vanitates vanitantium, antiquae amicae meae, et succutiebant vestem meam carneam et submurmurabant, (DiM) ‘dimittisne nos?’ (...) (NM) sed iam tepidissime hoc dicebat. aperiebatur enim ab ea parte qua intenderam faciem et quo transire trepidabam casta dignitas continentiae, serena et non dissolute hilaris, honeste blandiens ut venirem neque dubitarem, et extendens ad me suscipliendum et amplectendum pias manus plenas gregibus bonus honorum exemplorum. (...) ista controversia in corde meo non nisi de me ipso adversus me ipsum.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Complication
Vain trifles and the triviality of the empty-headed, my old loves, held me back. They tugged at the garment of my flesh and whispered: ‘Are you getting rid of us?’ (...) Nevertheless it [the overwhelming force of habit] was now putting the question half-heartedly. For from that direction where I had set my face and towards which I was afraid to move, there appeared the dignified and chaste Lady Continence, serene and cheerful without coquetry, enticing me in an honourable manner to come and not to hesitate. To receive and embrace me she stretched out pious hands, filled with numerous good examples for me to follow. (...) This debate in my heart was a struggle of myself against myself.
\end{quote}

There is another Catullan reference in the \textit{nugae} (trifles), the word Catullus chooses to qualify his poetry (C. 1).\textsuperscript{512} These \textit{nugae} speak to him of all the carnal pleasures that he is about to forsake.\textsuperscript{513} But then someone else speaks to him as well: the chaste dignity of continence (\textit{casta dignitas}

\textsuperscript{509} 4.7.12: \textit{quo enim cor meum fugeret a corde meo? quo a me ipso fugerem? quo non me sequerer?} Cf. Lucr. 3.1053-1075; Sen. Ep. 28.1; Hor. Carm. 2.16.18-20: \textit{patriae quis exsul se quoque fugit?} See also my discussion on p.104.

\textsuperscript{510} 4.9.14: \textit{lex tua veritas et veritas tu}. Cf. Ps. 118:142; Rom. 3:21.

\textsuperscript{511} For an analysis of the entire passage see the appendix.

\textsuperscript{512} Noting this repeated Catullan reference, after previous Catullan references in book 4, I think we might rightfully surmise that Augustine was well versed in lyrical poetry, e.g., Catullus. Cf. Bartelink (2002: 110): ‘De elegische dichters Tibullus en Propertius en ook Catullus lagen buiten Augustinus’ horizon’ (The elegiac poets Tibullus and Propertius as well as Catullus were beyond Augustine’s scope).

\textsuperscript{513} Augustine uses \textit{nugae} in a negative sense throughout the \textit{Confessions}, e.g., 1.9.15: \textit{maiorum nugae negotia vocantur, puerorum autem talia cum sint, puniuntur a maioribus}. O’Donnell (1992) on 8.11.26 points out one notable exception when Augustine uses \textit{nugari} to describe the pleasures of friendship that helped him ease the pain of the loss of his friend in book 4. McEvoy (2001: 3) sees this passage as a description of Augustine’s faulty, human friendship at that time, which would imply that \textit{nugari} also in that passage carries a negative connotation as a characteristic of a faulty relationship.
In this continence we can see the personification of the right balance, *continentia*, which Augustine the bishop has mentioned so often before.\(^{515}\)

This is the final confrontation. *Ista controversia* refers to the struggle he has been describing in the same way as *illa grandi rixa* (that grand struggle) at the beginning of the complication in 8.8.19, referring to the chastisement of himself that went before. The struggle in his heart has by way of a court case (*lis*) become a confrontation in his heart. The choice of words harking back to the beginning of the complication is a first indication that we are now returning to the point where we have left the two men sitting in the garden.

**Internal progress has come to a head: Augustine acts (8.11.27-8.12.30)**

**Orientation**
(NM) *Alypius affixus lateri meo inusitati motus mei exitum tacitus opperiebatur.*

**Complication**

*ubi vero a fundo arcano alta consideratio traxit et congesxit totam miseriam meam in conspectu cordis mei, oborta est procella ingens ferens ingentem imbrem lacrimarum. et ut totum effuderem cum vocibus suis, surrexi ab Alypio (DM) (solitudo mihi ad negotium flendi aptior suggerebatur) (NM) et secessi remotius quam ut posset mihi onerosa esse etiam eius praesentia. sic tunc eram, et ille sensit: nescio quid enim, (DM) *puto*, (NM) dixeram in quo apparebat sonus vocis meae iam fletu gravidus, et sic surrexeram.*

**Orientation**

Alypius stood quite still at my side, and waited in silence for the outcome of my unprecedented state of agitation.

**Complication**

From a hidden depth a profound self-examination had dredged up a heap of all my misery and set it in the sight of my heart. That precipitated a vast storm bearing a massive downpour of tears. To pour it all out with the accompanying groans, I got up from beside Alypius (solitude seemed to me more appropriate for the business of weeping), and I moved further away to ensure that even his presence put no inhibition upon me. He sensed that this was my condition at that moment. I think I may have said something which made it clear that the sound of my voice was already choking with tears. So I stood up.

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\(^{514}\) See for this personification and its classical antecedents Shanzer (1992).

\(^{515}\) Cf. Miller (2011: 388): ‘the correct measure in our commerce with the world.’ See my discussion on *continentia* in chapter 3.1 on pp.242-3. See for the impact of *continentia*, e.g., my discussion of KNE 6, the temptation of Alypius, on p.160.
At Alypius conveys an explicit shift of focal attention.\textsuperscript{516} After the elaborate description of the internal progress with full emphasis on Augustine,\textsuperscript{517} at Alypius brings us forcefully back to the interrupted scene, almost as if the camera suddenly turns away from the main character to remind us of the setting we are in and to mark the transition from internal to external action. Augustine resumes the complication as the progression of external action at the exact point where he left off (8.8.19). There is a number of references to that earlier passage to make the connection even stronger.\textsuperscript{518} He switches from the imperfect tense, which he used almost throughout the entire internal progress, to the perfect tense, better suited to express the sequence of events in the narrative mode. \textit{Vero} is a conversation management particle. It appeals to the narratee and might translate like ‘really’, ‘take my word for it’, ‘believe it or not.’\textsuperscript{519} Any emotional involvement is in accordance with what we are about to read. We are finally nearing a climax. Since they sat down in that garden something has indeed happened to Augustine. The choice of words (the enormous storm, the shower of tears), alliteration (\textit{miseriam meam} \ldots con spectu cordis), repetition and hyperbole (\textit{totam miseriam meam} \ldots \textit{totum effundere}; \textit{ingens} \ldots \textit{ingentem}) recall the implied emotion of the first part of the complication (8.8.19). Augustine even leaves Alypius. Crying, it seemed to Augustine at that point, was best done in solitude. This is of course in stark contrast with what he told us before: never could his solitude be broken by his friend’s presence.\textsuperscript{520} It is this presence he now calls troublesome. And never would Alypius leave him whilst seeing him in such a state of mind.\textsuperscript{521} Now, however, as Alypius senses Augustine’s emotional upheaval, he does let him go, he stays behind until Augustine will come back to him. Apparently, Augustine says, his voice drenched in tears told Alypius enough. Such a reaction by Alypius serves to emphasize the enormity of what is happening.\textsuperscript{522}

\textsuperscript{516} For this use of \textit{at}, see Kroon (1995, 1998a).
\textsuperscript{517} E.g., the forceful use of \textit{ego}, contrasting with the previous plural \textit{sedimus} (8.8.19), continued by ‘[a struggle] of myself against myself’ (8.11.27).
\textsuperscript{518} \textit{Aestus} – \textit{motus}; \textit{taceret} – \textit{tacitus}; \textit{attonitus} – \textit{stupens}; \textit{neque solita} – \textit{inusitati}; \textit{pedem post pedem} – \textit{affixus lateri meo}.
\textsuperscript{519} For this use of \textit{vero}, see Kroon (1995, 1998a).
\textsuperscript{520} 8.8.19: \textit{neque enim secretum meum non erat, ubi ille aderat}.
\textsuperscript{521} 8.8.19: \textit{aut quando me sic affectum deseret?}
\textsuperscript{522} Cf. Sluiter (2010: 320): ‘\textit{dat Alypius uit het verhaal wordt gehaald benadrukt nog eens Augustinus’ eenzaamheid}’ (‘Alypius being taken out of the story emphasizes Augustine’s loneliness once more’).
The repetition of *sic* (*sic tunc eram (...) sic surrexeram*) recapitulates and emphasizes the state Augustine is in. He has come to a point where he cannot even bear the presence of one of his best friends. This extraordinary behaviour serves to enhance the narratee’s growing feeling that something truly momentous is about to happen.

**Complication**

\[(NM)\] mansit ergo ille ubi sedebamus nimie stupens. ego sub quadam fici arbore stravi me nescio quomodo, et dimisi habenas lacrimis, et proruperunt flumina oculorum meorum, \[(IM)\] acceptabile sacrificium tuum, \[(NM)\] et non quidem his verbis, sed in hac sententia multa dixi tibi: \[(DiM)\] ‘et tu, domine, usquequo? usquequo, domine, irasceris in finem? ne memor fueris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum.’ \[(NM)\] sentiebam enim eis me teneri. iactabam voces miserabiles: \[(DiM)\] ‘quamdiu, quamdiu, cras et cras? quare non modo? quare non hac hora finis turpitudinis meae?’ \[(NM)\] dicebam haec et flebam amarissima contritione cordis mei.

**Complication**

In profound astonishment he remained where we were sitting. I threw myself down somehow under a fig tree, and let my tears flow freely. Rivers streamed from my eyes, a sacrifice acceptable to you, and (though not in these words, yet in this sense) I repeatedly said to you: ‘How long, O Lord? How long, Lord, will you be angry to the uttermost? Do not be mindful of our old iniquities.’ For I felt my past to have a grip on me. It uttered wretched cries: ‘How long, how long is it to be?’ ‘Tomorrow, tomorrow.’ ‘Why not now? Why not an end to my impure life in his very hour?’ This I was saying and weeping in the bitter agony of my heart.

So Alypius stays behind. By using *ergo* Augustine emphasizes that, given these circumstances, it was quite understandable that *even* Alypius would stay behind. Alypius is referred to either by name or by the anaphoric pronoun *ille* to bring out the individuality of Augustine (*ego*) and his friend. We have seen a similar use of *ille* in combination with the personal pronoun in the second KNE, when Augustine emphasized the individuality of himself and his friend who was about to die.\(^{523}\) Having reintroduced him into the narrative just a couple of lines before, Augustine almost instantly leaves him behind and throws himself under the branches of a fig tree. Alypius stays where they were, stupefied. Narrative mode continues in perfect tense (*stravi, dimisi*). Augustine gives in to the storm and starts crying. While rapidly approaching the climax, more and more details are skipped as apparently unimportant (*sub quadam fici arbore, nescio*).

\(^{523}\) 4.4.8: at ille ita me exhorruit ut inimicum (...). ego autem stupefactus atque turbatus, distuli omnes motus meos (...). sed ille abreptus dementiae meae, ut apud te servaretur consolationi meae.
quomodo, non quidem his verbis, sed in hac sententia: ‘under a fig tree, somehow, though not in these words, yet in this sense’). As a recurrent theme of memory lapse we have seen before that this, always at crucial moments, is an appeal to the narratee’s attention. There is one other instance in the Confessions where Augustine uses the expression of the ‘rivers of the eyes’. Describing his stealthy departure from Carthage in book 5, leaving his mother behind, he says that the Lord protected him during his perilous voyage only to eventually bring him to salvation so that the ‘rivers of his mother’s eyes’ might run dry. When at the very brink of conversion the rivers start to flow, the narratee will be reminded of that earlier passage and Augustine’s implicit salvation. The little sentence in book 5 could be regarded as a narratological seed.

Of course he called out like that, because (sentiebam enim) he still felt bound by the nugae of old. The perfect tense changes to imperfect tense; the narration slows down and reiterated action is implied. This time Augustine cites his direct speech, no connotation of vagueness here. There is repetition, alliteration, ellipsis, tricolon, climax, rhetorical question, all very well suited to convey his emotional state of mind.

Peak
(NM) et ecce audio vocem de vicina domo cum cantu dicentis et crebro repetentis, quasi pueri an puellae, nescio (DiM) ‘tolle lege, tolle lege.’

Peak
And suddenly I heard a voice from the nearby house chanting as if it might be a boy or a girl (I do not know which), saying and repeating over and over again ‘Pick up and read, pick up and read.’

Ecce calls for our full attention. There is astonishment in the speaker’s voice. The predicate follows immediately in present tense. The action has slowed down even further. We are witnessing the action as if it is taking place right now. The story world, reference time, and the world of the story-teller, the time of narration, seem to merge in pseudo-simultaneous narrative mode. At this point the present tense characterizes the first peak of this narrative. The young Augustine hears the mysterious words tolle

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524 Cf., e.g., 7.9.13: non quidem his verbis, in the context of his ‘other’ or intellectual conversion upon reading the Platonic books.
525 5.8.15: servans me ab aquis maris (...) usque ad aquam gratiae tuae, qua me abluto siccarentur flumina maternorum oculorum.
lege (pick up and read) and uncertainty \textit{(quasi pueri an puellae, nescio)} creeps in once again.\textsuperscript{527}

\textbf{Complication}

\textit{(NM) statimque mutato vultu intentissimus cogitare coepi utrumnam solerent pueri in aliquo genere ludendi cantitare tale aliquid. nec occurrebat omnino audisse me uspiam, repressoque impetu lacrimarum surrexi, nihil aliud interpretans divinitus mihi iuberi nisi ut aperirem codicem et legerem quod primum caput invenissem.}

\textbf{Complication}

At once my countenance changed, and I began to think intently whether there might be some sort of children’s game in which such a chant is used. But I could not remember having heard of one. I checked the flood of tears and stood up. I interpreted it solely as a divine command to me to open the book and read the first chapter I might find.

The complication resumes and after the dramatic present tense the action picks up speed again \textit{(coepi, surrexi)}. The young Augustine tries to dispel his uncertainty as to the details of what he has just heard. But I could not remember having heard of one. I checked the flood of tears and stood up. I interpreted it solely as a divine command to me to open the book and read the first chapter I might find.\textsuperscript{528}

The rivers of his eyes have run dry as he gets up from under the fig tree, suddenly sure about the meaning of what he has heard. Now we are finally about to see \textit{how} Augustine’s conversion came about. We have heard the mysterious words, with Augustine we have puzzled about their source. He tells us he understands all and gets up. But instead of telling us the solution straightaway, he interrupts the flow of his narration by a tiny analepsis.\textsuperscript{529}

\textbf{Complication}

\textit{(DM) audieram enim de Antonio quod ex evangelica lectione cui forte supervenerat admonitus fuerit, tamquam sibi dicetur quod legebatur: [DiM] ‘vade, vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelis; et veni, sequere me,’ (NM) et tali oraculo confestim ad te esse conversum. itaque concitus redii in eum}

\textsuperscript{527} Van der Horst (1998: 153) points out that the words would suggest the oracular practice of \textit{sortilegium} or cleromancy, consulting a text as an instant ‘lot’ oracle.

\textsuperscript{528} See Courcelle (1950: 190-202) for a summary of possible explanations of the ‘\textit{tolle lege}’. He points to a possible analogy with the \textit{vox infantis} which proclaimed Ambrose bishop. I would add the \textit{vox lectoris parvuli} which expresses the words of the Holy Spirit in Ambrose’s \textit{De excessu fratri sui Satyri} (c.61). This would then be one more reference to Ambrose’s book that we encounter in the \textit{Confessions}. Since most of the references occurred in and around the emotional second KNE in book 4, the Ambrosian reference here in the crucial eighth KNE in book 8 would add the same emotional overtone to this episode.

\textsuperscript{529} This is the only time we see Augustine return to one of his narrative episodes or explicitly refer to one in any way. Apart from Antony’s conversion, there are only three other instances in the \textit{Confessions} were Augustine explicitly returns to an earlier passage at all: his sickbed as a child and when he was in Rome (1.11.17-5.9.16); astrology and the Firminus episode (4.4.4-7.6.8); Monnica’s dream and the rule of faith (3.11.19-8.12.30).
locum ubi sedebat Alypius: (DM) ibi enim posueram codicem apostoli cum inde surrexeram.

Complication
For I had heard how Antony happened to be present at the gospel reading, and took it as an admonition addressed to himself when the words were read: ‘Go, sell all you have, give to the poor, and you shall have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me’. By such an inspired utterance he was immediately converted to you. So I hurried back to the place where Alypius was sitting. There I had put down the book of the apostle when I got up.

The narratee only at this point realizes that he did not know (although enim might suppose otherwise) what had exactly happened to Antony the Monk, mentioned earlier by Ponticianus.\(^{530}\) Now Augustine tells us what the two men in that humble house have read in the book they found there. The omission of that final detail about Antony’s conversion in the earlier narration can be seen as paralipsis: the speaker provides less information than he could in order to present it at some later stage.\(^ {531}\) The paralipsis here serves to spring the solution on the narratee as a complete surprise.\(^ {532}\)

It is the same effect we saw in the paralipsis in the *Vita Alypii* in book 6 (6.9.15), when the narratee suddenly understood that there had been a witness to the incident in the marketplace after all. Once again we see Augustine employ paralipsis to heighten the suspense and thus call for the narratee’s undivided attention.

Augustine runs back to Alypius, where he left the book of St. Paul. There might be another bit of paralipsis here, since there had been no mention of their bringing any books with them when they had first rushed into the garden. Alypius, who has last seen Augustine running away from him to face his final crisis on his own, now sees his friend come suddenly rushing back to him.

Peak
(NM) *arrüpi, aperüi, et legi in silentio capitulum quo primum coniecti sunt oculi mei*; (DiM) *‘non in comessationibus et ebrietatis, non in cubilibus et impudicitiiis,*

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\(^{530}\) See my previous analysis of the narrative episode on pp.176-7. Van der Horst (1998: 151) points out that Antony’s conversion by applying the words of the Gospel as an admonition to himself is the first unambiguous example of Christian sortilegium.

\(^{531}\) De Jong (2004: glossary), and De Jong (2014: 77-8).

\(^{532}\) Sluiter (2010: 321): ‘*Die (natuurlijk opzettelijke) omissie*’ (‘That (obviously premeditated) omission’).
non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis Providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.'

**Peak**
I seized it, opened it and in silence read the first passage on which my eyes lit: ‘Not in riots and drunken parties, not in eroticism and indecencies, not in strife and rivalry, but put on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh in its lust’.

Augustine completely ignores Alypius and grabs the book by his side. The predicates are in perfect tense once more and speed is implied by the alliteration, tricolon and climax. We see where all the suspense built up throughout the complication leads: Augustine finally finds the words of salvation. This is the second peak.533

Augustine the bishop’s earlier remarks about the oracular power of the written word,534 illustrated, e.g., by the Antony episode, and the numerous instances where we have seen people apply words uttered unwittingly to themselves,535 all, as narratological seeds, come to fruition here. These narratological seeds emphasize the force of the words Augustine is about to read and the effect they will have on him.

The references to and quotations from St. Paul are in an almost linear sequence taken from Romans 1.21-22 (8.1.1), to Romans 7:15-23 (the theme of two wills: 8.11.25), to Romans 13.12-13 (the text Augustine takes to heart) and Romans 14.1 (the text Alypius takes to heart).536 St. Paul is never very far from the action either. The book happened to be on the table, when Ponticianus came to pay a visit, and it had been in Augustine’s hands, when he had rushed into the garden, leaving it behind at Alypius’s side. Perhaps he had been turning away from St. Paul, in his final moment of crisis no longer able to bear the apostle’s continuous admonitions, only to be brought back to him by divine ‘command’.537

**Resolution**

(NM) nec ultra volui legere nec opus erat. (DM) statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae

533 A peak can convey surprise, shock or any strong emotion. See also chapter 1.4.2 on pp.40-1. Cf. Stienaers (2013: 14): ‘peaks represent the moments which the story is really about in the narrator’s eyes.’

534 See, e.g., my discussion on pp.76-8 of Vindicianus (4.3.5).

535 See, e.g., my discussion on pp.73-5 of Monnica (3.12.21), on pp.137-8 of Alypius (6.7.12), on pp.166-9 of Firminus (7.6.8-11).

536 For the Pauline theme, which explicitly started in book 7, when Augustine started reading St. Paul, see O’Donnell (1992) on 7.21.27.

537 Thanks go to Suzanne Adema (p.c.) for this valuable insight.
diffugerunt. (NM) tum interiecto aut digito aut nescio quo alio signo codicem clausi et tranquillo iam vultu indicavi Alypio.

**Abstract**
(DM) at ille quid in se ageretur (quod ego nesciebam) sic indicavit.

**Resolution**
(NM) petit videre quid legissem. ostendi, et attendit etiam ultra quam ego legeram. et ignorabam quid sequeretur: sequebatur vero: (DiM) ‘infirmum autem in fide recipite.’ (NM) quod ille ad se rettulit mihique aperuit. sed tali admonitione firmatus est placitoque ac proposito bono et congruentissimo suis moribus, quibus a me in melius iam olim valde longeque distabat, sine ulla turbulenta cunctatione coniunctus est. inde ad matrem ingredimur; indicamus: gaudet. narramus quemadmodum gestum sit: exultat et triumphat et benedicebat tibi,

I neither wished nor needed to read further. At once, with the last words of this sentence, it was as if a light of relief from all anxiety flooded my heart. All the shadows of doubt were dispelled. Then I inserted my finger or some other mark in the book and closed it. With a face now at peace I told everything to Alypius.

**Resolution**
What had been going on in his mind, which I did not know, he disclosed in this way.

**Resolution**
He asked to see the text I had been reading. I showed him, and he noticed a passage following that which I had read. I did not know how the text went on; but the continuation was ‘Receive the person who is weak of faith’. Alypius applied this to himself, and he made this known to me. He was given confidence by this admonition, however. Without any agony of hesitation he joined me in making a good resolution and affirmation of intention, entirely congruent with his moral principles in which he had long been greatly superior to me. From there we went in to my mother, and told her. She was filled with joy. We told her how it had happened. She exulted, feeling it to be a triumph, and blessed you.

We have seen the action develop leading up to the climax where Augustine gets the final push and finds the answer he has been looking for. Once that has happened, there is no need to read any further, because the message is absolutely clear to him. At this point we might expect the narration to come to an end. Next, he might enter upon an analysis of what has happened or what this means to him, as we have seen him do at the end of the second KNE, the story about the death of his friend in book 4, or after the anecdotes of Simplicianus and Ponticianus. But apparently not all has been told yet. And if we bear the previous narrative episodes from book 8 in mind, one essential element is indeed still lacking: we would expect a reaction from an internal audience. Now the full potential of Alypius’s presence comes into play.
With *tum* the action resumes. At the end of the sentence we run into Alypius again as Augustine shows him the text he has just read. *At* immediately followed by *ille* draws the narratee’s attention to Alypius. At is a signal that something, which is somehow contrary to expectation, is going to follow. Apparently something has been on Alypius’s mind (*quid in se ageretur*). Augustine had not noticed. This is a piece of abstract where the comprehensive *sic* points to what is about to follow. Alypius wants to see the text that Augustine has read. He reads on, since the particular words do not seem to apply to him; he was not plagued by Augustine’s *nugae* after all. Alypius then applies to himself what he reads next. This echoes the behaviour of the companion in the Ponticianus story who chose to follow the example of his friend, who had read about Antony’s conversion (8.6.15). And it fits in with how we have seen Alypius react before, when he had been Augustine’s student and applied his words about the amphitheatre directly to himself (6.7.12). Alypius is, thus, one more example of the reaction of an internal audience. Augustine did not know, he says, what came after the words he had read himself. While Alypius noticed every kind of expression, however subtle, on his friend’s face, interpreted it and acted accordingly, Augustine apparently had no clue of his friend’s worries. Perhaps he considered Alypius so far ahead of him already on the path to salvation as to have practically found the tranquillity he himself was still yearning for. The use of *sed* might also imply Augustine’s surprise: he would not have expected those words of St. Paul to have such an impact on Alypius. The result of St. Paul’s admonition is emphasized by the use of *infirmum* and *firmatus est*. Augustine says that he considered Alypius ‘greatly superior’ to himself ‘in his moral principles’. But apparently Alypius still thought of himself as weak of faith.

Next, they go to Monnica. The four predicates are all present tense. Other than in Augustine’s previous triple action, there is no hectic, frantic connotation here. The action is sober, and dispassionate. The asyndetical

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538 Cf. the use of *at* in combination with *ille* in the second KNE (4.4.8): *at ille ita me exhorruit ut inimicum (...). ego autem stupefactus atque turbatus, distuli omnes motus meos (...). sed ille abreptus dementiae meae, ut apud te servaretur consolationi meae.*


540 Cf. my discussions of the narrative episodes of Monnica and the bishop (3.12.21) on pp.73-5, and The Temptation (6.10.16) on pp.156-60.

541 *Vero* once more; see pp.191-2.

542 Cf. 6.12.21: *castissimus, contentissime.*

543 Because this use of *sed* is completely lost in Chadwick’s translation, I have added ‘however’ to the text.
construction serves to carry the action forward, speeding up the narrative as we have seen in the complication. The present tense here (ingredimur; indicamus, gaudet, narramus) serves, like the perfect tense, to speed up the narrative (asynedeton, ellipsis), as we have seen in the second KNE, the story about the friend in book 4.  

When they tell Monnica how (quemadmodum) it all came about, her reaction goes from being happy to sheer exuberance, for what they tell her is so much more than she has been praying for all those years. Here we see what Augustine said at the opening of book 8: the how seems even more important than the what. The tricolon and polysyndeton stress the individual predicates. In her moment of greatest joy Monnica immediately turns to God. This echoes the reaction of the internal audience in the Victorinus anecdote.

### Evaluation
(IM) qui potens es ultra quam petimus et intellegimus facere, (NM) quia tanto amplius sibi a te concessum de me videbat quam petere solebat miserabilibus flebilibusque gemitibus.

### Resolution
(DM) convertisti enim me ad te, ut nec uxor nec quae nec aliquid in saeculi huibus, stans in ea regula fidei in qua me ante tot annos ei revelaveras, et convertisti luctum eius in gaudium multo umerius quam voluerat, et multo carius atque castius quam de nepotibus carnis meae requirebat.

#### Evaluation
(you) who are powerful to do more than we ask or think. She saw that you had granted her far more than she had long been praying for in her unhappy and tearful groans.

#### Resolution
You converted me to yourself, so that I did not now seek a wife and had no ambition for success in this world. I stood firm upon that rule of faith on which many years before you had revealed me to her. You changed her grief into joy far more abundantly than she desired, far dearer and more chaste than she expected when she looked for grandchildren begotten of my body.

The book concludes with a final evaluation in discursive mode followed by the final resolution to Augustine’s conversion story, what kind of life he led afterwards. Of course the narratee understands (enim) Monnica’s reaction.

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544 4.4.8: Post paucos dies me absente repetitur febribus et defungitur.
545 8.1.1: quomodo dirupisti ea narrabo, et dicent omnes qui adorant te, cum audiant haec, benedictus dominus in caelo et in terra.
Not only does Augustine finally embrace Christianity, he also forsakes the *nugae* and the enticements of the flesh, something that Monnica had not dared to pray for, while she had still been looking for a suitable match for her son. The explicit reference to the dream Monnica had had about Augustine’s eventually coming around to her point of view rounds of the process and struggle Augustine has gone through from book 3 up until the opening of book 9, as did the reference to the rivers of her eyes just before the crucial conversion. Of the two things Monnica is happy about, Augustine’s conversion and his chastity, her reaction clearly shows that she ranks the latter higher (consider also the five comparatives in the last four lines).

The repetition as well as the position of *convertisti* in the final sentence of book 8, concluding in evaluation the long drawn out process of Augustine’s conversion, echoes the opening of the prayer to himself at the heart of book 4: ‘O God of hosts, turn (*converte*) us and show us your face, and we shall be safe’ (4.10.15). O’Donnell says of that passage: ‘For the extension and complexity of the development, this passage through paragraph 19 has nothing like itself anywhere else in *conf.*’. To that qualification I would add that *convertisti* at this point, considering all the references to turning/running away that I have pointed out in book 4 (all the different aspects of *vertere*), truly ‘answers’ Augustine’s struggle and pleading. As with the dream reference and the image of the rivers of the eyes this is yet one more element that indicates the conclusion of Augustine’s struggle. The perfect tense (*convertisti*) ‘completes’ the ongoing search described by so many imperfects that for so long had brought no solace and no solution.

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547 3.11.19: *vidit enim se stantem in quadam regula lignea.*
548 Cf. 5.8.15.
550 See my discussion on pp.115-6.
2.9  Book 9

2.9.1  Selective summary: 9.1.1-9.6.14

The autobiographical narrative continued (9.1.1)

The first chapter of book 9 with all its references and repetitions reads like a summing up. Now all lines that we have been following from the very opening of the *Confessions* seem to converge; conflict and struggle have come to an end, truth has been found. When I apply Labov’s model of narrative organization to the macrostructure of the *Confessions* as a whole, then the opening chapter of book 9 feels like the resolution to the story; now Augustine ‘wraps it all up’ by telling us how it all worked out afterwards. In that respect the narratee might not expect any new and important further developments.

Augustine puts an end to *ambitio saeculi* and plans to get away from it all: Cassiciacum (9.2.2-9.3.5)

Unlike his potential role model in this situation, Victorinus (8.2.3-5), Augustine chooses to end his secular career in a quiet and unobtrusive way, waiting for the start of the term holidays. This does seem slightly strange after his previously burning desire to follow in Victorinus’s footsteps. Now, when the time has finally come to do so, the young Augustine apparently

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551 See the references to the praise of God, which comes to pass once the knowledge of God has been achieved (1.1.1), and to the humility Augustine has now found, whereas its lack had been part of his ongoing struggle: e.g., 1.1.1, 3.3.6, 3.5.9, 7.18.24, 7.20.26. See also the references to his previous struggle and the progress he has made: 9.1.1: *omnia ossa mea dicant, domine, quis similis tibi* – 4.15.27: *non (…) exultabant ossa, quae humilata non erant*.

552 O’Donnell (2006: 59): ‘the ninth book, where he brings the threads of his story to a decorous theological end.’

553 For an alternative interpretation see O’Donnell (1992) on 8.12.28: ‘A reasonable case could be made that Bk. 9 is not mere narrative appendage, but essential climax–climax in baptism, set in the midst of narratives of death and rebirth, or alternatively climax in the vision of Ostia.’ For an application of Labov’s model to the macrostructure of the *Confessions* see Osseforth (to appear in 2017).
hesitates. He did not want to draw undue attention to his decision at the
time, the bishop says.\textsuperscript{554} Once having finished his teaching job, Augustine and those dear to him
withdraw in preparation of the eventual baptism. Verecundus offers them
the use of his estate at Cassiciacum.\textsuperscript{555} As an echo of Augustine’s previous
abortive plan to start some sort of commune with his friends (6.14.24), this
retreat to Cassiciacum emphasizes the progress the young men have made.
In book 6 the \textit{womenfolk} \textit{(mulierculae)} could hold them back, now we will
see Monnica herself join them.

Augustine the bishop then mentions Verecundus’s death a year later. This
narration of an event that will take place later than the point of the story where
we are, in narratology is called prolepsis.\textsuperscript{556} After relating the circumstances
of Verecundus’s death Augustine quite explicitly returns to the narration at
the point of their being at Cassiciacum. Apart from Augustine’s manifold
remarks and asides throughout the earlier books about his own eventual
conversion, this mention of Verecundus’s death is the first time Augustine
employs prolepsis as referring to another protagonist in his story. This, I
think, is in accordance with the character of book 9. There are not going to
be any loose ends after this. Within the macrostructure of the \textit{Confessions}
this might indeed qualify as the resolution.\textsuperscript{557}

\textbf{The absence and eventual death of Nebridius}
\textit{(9.3.6)}

Augustine then goes on to say that Nebridius, although sharing their
happiness, did not join them at Cassiciacum. Nebridius was still led on
by his \textit{curiositas}. This is as we have got to know Nebridius ever since the
description in book 6 (6.10.17), where the juxtaposition of Alypius and

\textsuperscript{554} There might have been other reasons for his hesitation at that time. The young Augustine was
facing a very real physical problem; his voice was failing him. See for this argument Thimme
(2004: 760). There might be a political point of conflicting loyalties as well between the young
Valentinian and the usurper Maximus. Cf. Brown (2012: 161): ‘Augustine must have been one
of many persons who (...) realized quickly that they had found the right job – but in the wrong
place and at the wrong time.’ See also McLynn (1994: 170, 218).

\textsuperscript{555} The exact location of Cassiciacum is still disputed. Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 102) mentions
present day Cassiago, near lake Como. O’Donnell (1992) on 9.3.5 discusses several options,
such as Cassago di Brianza, 30-40 km NNE of Milan, and Casciago c. 55 km NW of Milan.

\textsuperscript{556} Cf., e.g., my discussion of the proleptic elements in the narrative episode about Monnica and the
bishop (3.12.21) on pp.49-50 and 74-5.

\textsuperscript{557} De Jong (2014: 90): ‘\textit{closure} .. answering any remaining questions and resolving any tensions.’
Nebridius and their common liability to *curiositas* was such a prominent part of that passage. In this passage we learn that Nebridius was eventually converted. Augustine tells us that not long after his own baptism, Nebridius became a true Christian back on his family estate in Africa. Accentuating the *aequalitas* between the two friends once more, Augustine adds that Nebridius would achieve perfect chastity as well. There is an instance of prolepsis here, which, just as I pointed out above in the passage about Verecundus, is once more an element of the character of resolution of book 9: Nebridius dies.\(^{558}\)

In Africa the two friends conversed by writing letters, but never met again. McNamara argues that by not giving in to any personal desire to be with one of his dearest friends, Augustine shows how far he had come from any restrictive feelings of classical *amicitia* to the universal love of Christian brotherhood.\(^{559}\) I think that it also shows how in a true friendship, since they had both been gifted with *caritas*, *unitas* can exist without the friends actually spending any time together. *Unitas* implies that the friends are as one and that they complement each other.

Talking about Nebridius’s death Augustine’s emotional involvement is emphasized by the repetition of *vivit* (4x). Nebridius lives ‘in Abraham’s bosom’ (9.3.6).\(^{560}\) At the death of the other friend in book 4 we saw how Augustine’s misery stemmed from his inability to accept his friend’s death, which he can only see as his own personal loss. At that point Augustine the bishop introduced the theme of man’s mortality.\(^{561}\) That theme has now, after Augustine’s conversion, been brought to this: Augustine can love mortal man for what he is and can see how eternal life continues after physical death. It is clear proof of Augustine’s progress.

\(^{558}\) Cf. Miller (2011: 399): ‘We can only speculate as to why Augustine refrains from reflecting at length on his friendships—a crucially important feature of his life —until they cease. Starkly, strangely, Augustine frequently associates friendship with death(...) it is impossible to ignore how death shadows intimate friendships throughout Augustine's memoir.’ On the evidence from the KNE’s and the continuous descriptions of Augustine’s life with his friends throughout the first nine books, where death does not come into play, I must disagree with Miller’s observation.

\(^{559}\) McNamara (1958: 52). For the same argument see also McGuire (1988: 51-2).

\(^{560}\) Luk. 16:22.

\(^{561}\) Cf. 4.6.11: *ille, quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram.* 4.7.12: *o nescientem diligere homines humaniter.* *O stultum hominem immoderate humana patientem.* Cf. Miller (2011: 387-8): ‘According to Augustine, evil arises when we seek to overcome our fundamental lack as mortal creatures by attaching ourselves to changeable goods in excess of their quality and being.’
The baptism of Adeodatus
(9.6.14)

When the time of baptism comes around, they return to Milan. Augustine, Alypius, and Adeodatus, Augustine’s son, will be baptized together. The boy has only been mentioned very briefly once before in an ablative absolute. Augustine now describes him as bright, intelligent, and wise for his years. At the moment of baptism Adeodatus is about fifteen – he was twelve when his mother was sent back to Africa and his father got engaged to a ten-year-old girl, waiting for her to turn twelve so that he could marry her. Augustine had then ‘procured’ himself another woman to satiate his lust. Adeodatus, born in Carthage, had been part of Augustine’s household during the years of Augustine’s struggling with his temptations. The boy was there when Augustine’s friend died in Thagaste. He went to primary school when Augustine was submerged in all possible vices, as he describes it, in Carthage. When they moved to Rome, he was about ten. And never during the narration of all those years was there any mention of the young boy, nor of his education. The fact that Adeodatus could grow up to be such a promising boy, would be one more illustration, I think, of Augustine’s socially acceptable as well as ‘steady’ life; for all his emphasis on the nadir of the tempestuous life he had led, he had been in a monogamous relationship, steadily pursuing a respectable career. To all outward appearances he would have been a young man entirely in accord with the social conventions at the time.

As with Verecundus (9.3.5) and Nebridius (9.3.6), Augustine immediately adds Adeodatus’s demise, which would fit in with my previous remarks about Augustine rounding off his story in resolution.

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562 6.15.25: *relictum apud me naturali ex illa filio meo*. Cf. Augustine mentioning his father’s death two years after the fact in an identical impersonal ablative absolute: 3.4.7: *iam defuncto patre ante biennium.*

563 Cf. Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 27) on Augustine’s living with the woman as his concubine for 15 years: ‘It was a perfectly respectable arrangement for a budding professor in the Late Empire.’

564 For Augustine as an ordinary man compared to the image of the unbridled lifestyle which he seems to present, see, e.g., O’Donnell (2006: 38): ‘He was probably more rather than less restrained than most. (...) In the end nothing indicates that his conduct in adolescence could have called attention to itself in any way, save possibly for modesty and restraint.’ See also my discussion (p.73) of the second narrative episode, Monnica and the bishop (3.12.21), where the bishop sees no reason whatsoever to intervene and correct the young Augustine’s behaviour. See also Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 27): ‘Far from being the libertine that some authors have imagined (...), Augustine was, in reality, a young man who had cut the ebullience of his adolescence dangerously short.’
The baptism of Augustine: seemingly unimportant

About the actual baptism Augustine gives no further details other than the bare mentioning of the fact.\( ^{565} \) This of course is still in line with my previous remarks about the character of this book as the resolution after the peak of actual conversion in book 8. Here we read what happened afterwards. Baptism as such was the next logical step, but Augustine does not present it as the crowning, climactic experience of his former life. Once more, there is that remarkable difference between his own rather formal act of baptism and Victorinus’s decision to proclaim his faith in front of the entire congregation, although offered the chance to do so in private (8.2.5). One significant element in Victorinus’s proclamation was the effect upon the internal audience, an element that we have seen in the narrative episode of Ponticianus as well (8.6.14-16). The absence of any mention of such an effect of Augustine’s own baptism is remarkable. By presenting the ultimate moment of conversion in the garden as a dramatic narrative sequence, while barely mentioning the actual baptism, Augustine draws the narratee’s attention to the scene in the garden and the previous stages that brought him to it (the stories of Simplicianus and Ponticianus). Thus, the narratee’s attention focuses on the process (quomodo, quemadmodum), the way to his conversion, which the narratee is supposed to copy or follow, in accordance with the protreptic character of the Confessions.

2.9.2 Analysis of narrative episode: 9.7.15-16\( ^{566} \)

Protasius and Gervasius: a miracle in Milan

In the days of his baptism Augustine enjoyed listening to hymns and canticles. The practice of hymn singing, he says, started with Ambrose’s conflict with the young emperor Valentinian II and his mother Justina. The bishop and a multitude of the faithful occupied a church resisting the emperor’s soldiers who wanted to claim that church for the heretical Arians, to which the emperor and his mother adhered. During that occupation Ambrose and his adherents, Monnica among them, started to

\( ^{565} \) O’Donnell (1992) on 9.6.14: ‘The group was baptized in the night between 24-25 April 387, at the Easter vigil.’

\( ^{566} \) For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the seventeen narrative episodes in the Confessions, see the appendix.
Augustine also remarks upon his mother’s staunch adherence to a cause which is approved by an explicit sign from God, as we shall see. This, I think, is the important point in his mentioning this historical event at this moment: it prepares the narratee for the subsequently elaborate description of Monnica.

Augustine then tells an anecdote about a miracle which took place during that time in Milan, involving two martyrs, Protasius and Gervasius. God showed Ambrose in a vision where the bodies of the martyrs were to be found. Ambrose had the bodies transferred to his basilica. People started to come and see the bodies and a miraculous healing took place. Augustine says that the ensuing popular devotion put an end to Justina’s persecutions. The episode emphasizes how the hand of God working through Ambrose can work miracles to even stay the emperor’s persecutions. It also indicates Augustine’s progress, who had stayed uninvolved as it all happened, but who wept, after all he had gone through, when the hymns brought back the memory of it. Schematically the narrative episode may be read as follows.

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567 9.7.16: *unde et quo duxisti recordationem meam, ut haec etiam confiterer tibi, quae magna oblitus praeterieram?* Much has been said about the reference to this historical event at this point in book 9, instead of, chronologically more accurate, in books 7 or 8. E.g. O’Donnell (1992) on 9.7.15: ‘Why this episode is inserted here is not immediately evident’; Fuhrer (2012: 364-5): ‘Der kurze Bericht wird also nachgeschoben (...) [dar] der Kirchenstreit (...) nicht in das Narrativ der intellektuellen Entwicklung des Protagonisten past.’; Leppin (2012: 348): ‘Der Basilikenstreit wird zwar erwähnt, aber an einer überraschenden Stelle, eigentlich zu spät.’ See also my discussion on Augustine not mentioning the incident about the altar of Victory, involving Symmachus and Ambrose (5.12.22) on p.123.

568 Cf. God’s hand working through man, e.g., in the third KNE, Alypius and the Circus (6.7.12): *per me quidem illam [correctionem] operatus es*, and in the Firminus episode (7.6.8): *tu procurasti pervicaciae meae (...) procurasti ergo tu hominem amicum.*

569 9.7.16: *et tamen tunc (...) non currebamus post te (...) idéo plus flebam inter cantica hymnorum tuorum.*
Although the story has a potential for high drama, Augustine tells it without any emotional markers. The episode starts with a lengthy orientation; the setting of the scene is apparently of great importance. The story is mainly presented in narrative mode, with two brief insertions in informative mode and discursive mode. There are no conversation management particles. The voice of Augustine the bishop commenting upon and interrupting the narrative is practically absent.

2.9.3 Analyses of narrative episodes: 9.8.17-9.13.37

Vita Monnicae

After the baptism Augustine decides to return to Africa. While he is in Ostia, preparing for the crossing, Monnica dies. Without even the slightest hint as to her possible condition this comes as a total surprise and is all the more dramatic by its communication in the simplest terms: ‘While we were at Ostia by the mouths of the Tiber, my mother died’. We see Augustine then explicitly taking his time to talk about his mother. A lot

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570 For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the seventeen narrative episodes in the Confessions, see the appendix.
of things he omits, because he hurries forth, but not this time, he says.\footnote{9.8.17: \textit{multa praetereo, quia multum festino} (…) \textit{sed non praeteribo, quidquid mihi anima parturit de illa famula tua.}} This echoes book 3, where he was indeed skipping things for the sake of speed (3.12.21). In both cases he then takes his time to tell a story in greater detail, both times involving Monnica.\footnote{3.12.21: \textit{et dedisti alterum responsum interim quod recolo. nam et multa praetereo, propter quod propero ad ea, quae me magis urguent, confiteri tibi, et multa non memini. dedisti ergo alterum.}} Monnica’s is the fourth death Augustine mentions in book 9 (after Verecundus, Nebridius, Adeodatus),\footnote{O’Donnell (1992) in his introduction to book 9, calls it ‘the book of death and rebirth. Baptism stands at its center, and baptism is both death in Christ and rebirth.’} still in line with the ‘wrapping up’ character of this \textit{resolution}. Whereas the deaths of the other three were briefly mentioned and only in one case (Nebridius) emotionally coloured, the rest of book 9 will be about Monnica (9.8.17-9.13.37: more than half of the book).\footnote{Augustine mentions his father’s death in an ablative absolute in 3.4.7: \textit{iam defuncto patre}, and seemingly as an afterthought at that \textit{ante biennium}, which is in stark contrast to the elaborate description of his mother’s death and the emotions involved in that. It might indicate a strained relationship with his father. See also McNamara (1958: 28): ‘The few references to Patricius and their nature prove that there was no intimate friendship between father and son, but only a filial respect without deep personal feeling.’ On the other hand, the contrast might also serve to emphasize the position of Monnica, through a polarization between the ambitious father, the epitome of the ways of the old world and \textit{ambitio saeculi}, against the devout mother, the emblem of the Christian world and the Church that was beckoning.} In this Monnica passage, there are four narrative episodes: two about Monnica’s younger days, about her drinking wine and about her dealing with gossip, and two about Monnica and Augustine, their conversation in Ostia and her death. This series of four narrative episodes focusing on Monnica’s life and actions, echoing in its structure and content the series of narrative episodes about Alypius in book 6 (\textit{Vita Alypii}: 6.7.11-6.10.17), could be seen as a \textit{Vita Monnicae}.\footnote{Courcelle (1950: 36) qualifies this passage about Monnica as ‘tout à fait du même ordre que l\’opuscle sur Alypius’. I see even stronger references in this passage about Monnica, however, to the second KNE where friendship nearly turned into enmity in book 4. For my discussion and interpretation of these references see chapter 3.2 on pp.258-62.} The macrostructure of the entire passage functions as one coherent narrative episode. Schematically the passage (9.8.17-9.13.37) could be read as follows.\footnote{For a detailed analysis of the full texts of all the seventeen narrative episodes in the \textit{Confessions}, see the appendix.}
The passage is set off by ‘my mother died’ (9.8.17), a typical abstract in terms of Labov. In a first evaluation Augustine then praises the Lord for the kind of woman Monnica had turned out to be. After this we get the description of her childhood and character (9.8.17-9.9.22), which functions as orientation as it prepares the narratee for the complication. This orientation, which includes the first two embedded narrative episodes, is followed by a second abstract, which repeats the previous one: ‘The day was imminent when she was to depart from this life’ (9.10.23). This second abstract introduces the conversation in Ostia, which functions as the complication in this entire Monnica passage (9.10.23-26). This complication is rounded off by the fact that she falls ill (9.11.27), introducing the actual story of her death.
The third section, the actual deathbed scene of Monnica (9.11.27-9.12.33), dominates the entire passage, primarily by its narratological construction, as I will show in more detail below. This third section, by its dramatic effect and its being ‘announced’ in a repetitive abstract at the start of each section, is the peak of the entire passage. There is one final chapter in which Augustine states that his mother has not been perfect, but in which he, nevertheless, pleads for her and his father’s eternal peace, because of the good things they have done. This final chapter, where the narrator presents his opinion and judgement of his subject, is the evaluation.

**Analyses of two narrative episodes about Monnica’s life**

(9.8.17-9.9.22)

Augustine describes Monnica’s younger days. He tells how Monnica, although being raised a well-disciplined child in a Christian household, falls prey to one of the three temptations, *concupiscencia carnis*: *vinulentia*. She likes her wine. She only comes to her senses when a slave woman calls her a drunkard. The slave woman does this with the specific purpose of wanting to hurt her. Monnica, however, takes the insult to heart as if it had been a direct admonition and stops her secretive and excessive drinking. The slave woman is thus an example of the theme of *isciens*/deliberate/human – *nesciens*/non-deliberate/divine: the good the slave woman achieves she did not do deliberate. Augustine emphasizes that no one should pride himself on achieving someone else’s correction. Lasting conviction or conversion can only be worked by God, through man unwittingly. Schematically this first narrative episode could be read as follows.

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577 Cf. the slave woman’s part in this to, e.g., Firminus (7.6.8-11) telling Augustine about astrology, or to Augustine himself (6.7.11-12) telling Alypius about the circus.
Wine
(9.8.17-9.9.19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 9.8.17</td>
<td>DM, DeM, IM DiM</td>
<td>Monnica and the girls she grows up with are constantly warned against the dangers of wine by the old maidservant who takes care of their education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 9.8.18</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>Yet the desire for wine gets the better of Monnica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 9.8.18</td>
<td>NM, IM</td>
<td>Slowly she gets into the habit of secretly sipping wine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 9.8.18</td>
<td>DM, IM</td>
<td>Nothing would have been strong enough to save her except for the Lord working through others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract 9.8.18</td>
<td>DM</td>
<td>The Lord saved Monnica through the stinging remarks of a slave girl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 9.8.18</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM</td>
<td>The slave girl calls her a drunk to her face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 9.8.18</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Monnica immediately puts an end to her secret indulgence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation 9.8.18</td>
<td>DM, IM</td>
<td>Quarrelsome enemies bring correction. Unwittingly, the slave girl had been the instrument of Monnica’s salvation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda 9.9.19</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Monnica was brought up in modesty and sobriety.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Augustine then describes how Monnica, as a wife, tolerated her fiery tempered and cheating husband, whom she eventually even won over to the true faith on his deathbed. Other wives even followed her example. Once again we see the positive reactions of an internal audience. Then Augustine inserts a second narrative episode. He tells how Monnica quelled an incipient quarrel with her mother in law by cutting out the gossiping slaves.\(^{578}\)

\(^{578}\) O’Donnell (1992) on 9.9.20: ‘This paragraph has been unanimously ignored in the major secondary studies. Mother-in-law stories are interesting only if unflattering’.
Gossip
(9.9.20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complication</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Through Monnica’s patience and gentleness her mother-in-law turns against the slave women who speak ill of her; she asks her son to punish them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>The mother-in-law promises the same punishment to whomever would dare speak ill of Monnica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>They all live on in perfect harmony.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of narrative episode: 9.10.23-9.11.26

The conversation at the window in Ostia: Augustine’s second ecstasy

After these narrative episodes, which function as orientation within the macrostructure of the entire passage, Augustine returns to the main narrative, to the time shortly before Monnica’s death, when they were in Ostia, presumably waiting for their passage back to Africa. Augustine describes how he and his mother, standing at the window of the house where they were staying, start having a conversation which evolves into a Platonic ecstasy. Schematically the narrative episode about their conversation might be read as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation 9.10.23</td>
<td>NM, DM, DeM</td>
<td>Monnica and Augustine are in Ostia awaiting there voyage to Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 9.10.23-24</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM</td>
<td>They start talking about the eternal life of the saints and the pleasure of the bodily senses; they slowly ascend in ecstasy to the region of eternal abundance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 9.10.24</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>They reach the region where wisdom is eternal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolution 9.10.24</td>
<td>NM, DM, IM</td>
<td>They return to the noise of human speech.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Monnica and Augustine talk about the eternal life of the saints and, conversing with each other, progress along the lines of the Platonic ascension towards the Truth. They ascend ever more inwards where Truth lies and touch briefly upon the eternal wisdom: ‘we touched [eternal wisdom] in some small degree by a moment of total concentration of the heart.’ \textit{(atingimus eam modice toto ictu cordis)}. The present tense \textit{(atingimus)} is surrounded, by past tenses in the narrative mode \textit{(inhiabamus, perambulavimus, ascendebamus, venimus, transcendimus, suspiravimus, reliquimus, remeavimus, dicebamus)}. As an historical present it draws the narratee’s attention to this short sentence. It is a crucial moment, since this is what Augustine has been longing for, as he has stated at the outset of the \textit{Confessions}: to attain eternal wisdom.\textsuperscript{579} This present tense indicates a pseudo-simultaneous narrative mode: the narrator pretends that the time in which he relates the story coincides with the time in which the story takes place.\textsuperscript{580} The use of the present tense \textit{atingimus}, by its position (surrounded by past tenses) and its dramatic impact, emphasizes that this short sentence is the peak of this narrative episode.

This whole experience Augustine shares with his mother echoes his ecstasy in book 7.\textsuperscript{581} Once again we see Augustine use pagan philosophical thought to illustrate his progress. This time, since he has received \textit{caritas}, Christ is no longer absent, as he was in book 7. This time Augustine can sustain the ecstasy.

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Narratological category} & \textbf{Discourse mode} & \textbf{Synopsis} \\
\hline
Complication 9.10.25-26 & NM, DiM, IM & They yearn for the ecstasy to last. \\
\hline
Peak 9.10.26 & NM, DiM & Monnica says that she has nothing left to wish for: all her dreams and more concerning Augustine have come true. \\
\hline
Resolution 9.11.27 & DM & Augustine answers something which he cannot recall. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{579} 1.1.1: \textit{da mihi, domine, scire et intellegere}. The theme of knowing and not knowing is emphasized in 1.1.1: \textit{scire} (2x) – \textit{intellegere} – \textit{nesciens} (2x) – \textit{sciaris}. For Augustine’s emphasis on knowing God, see, e.g., also 10.1.1: \textit{cognoscam te, cognitor meus, cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum.}

\textsuperscript{580} Kroon (2007, 2010a); Adema (2008); Adema and Stienaers (2011).

\textsuperscript{581} 7.17.23: \textit{atque ita gradatim a corporibus ad sentientem per corpus animam atque inde ad eius interiorem vim, cui sensus corporis exterior nuntiaret.}
After this ecstasy Monnica admits that now there is nothing more for her to be desired in this life. Monnica’s sentiment echoes her elated reaction at the end of book 8 after Augustine’s conversion in the garden in Milan: the ecstasy in Ostia serves as a specific example of what progress Augustine had made and upon which event Monnica’s elation had been based.

**Analysis of narrative episode: 9.11.27-9.12.33**

**Monnica dies**

Within five days Monnica comes down with a fever and Augustine and his brother are summoned to her side. This is the last narrative episode in the *Confessions*. Schematically it would read as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narratological category</th>
<th>Discourse mode</th>
<th>Synopsis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complication 9.11.27-28</td>
<td>NM, DiM</td>
<td>Monnica asks her sons on her deathbed to bury her where she is; the place of burial is of no importance to her anymore. Augustine rejoices, because this illustrates her changed attitude.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 9.11.28</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Monnica dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complication 9.12.29-33</td>
<td>NM, DM, DeM, IM, DiM</td>
<td>Adeodatus cries, Augustine does not. When alone afterwards, he remembers the words of an Ambrosian hymn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peak 9.12.33</td>
<td>NM</td>
<td>Tears start to flow, not of sadness, but as a recompense for all the tears she had once shed for him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Monnica tells her sons to bury her where she is, Augustine rejoices, since in her attitude he recognizes how far she has progressed. She always said she wanted to be buried in her native soil, next to her husband. She is not afraid anymore that the Lord might not be able to find her on judgment day, she says.

The moment of Monnica’s death Augustine uniquely, given his general indifference towards dates and such details, mentions exactly: ‘On the ninth day of her illness, when she was aged 56 and I was 33’,\(^{582}\) thus,

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\(^{582}\) O’Donnell (1992) on 9.11.28: ‘a terminus ante quem of 13 November 387; terminus post quem is 25 April 387.’
emphasizing the enormous impact her death had on him. As he closes her eyes, his tears well up, but with an enormous effort he holds them back. Tears were not called for, because, Augustine says, Monnica’s death was not her final extinction; they ought to be happy for her, since in a very real sense she had not died at all.

As with Augustine’s mention of Nebridius’s death (9.3.6) his reactions at Monnica’s death explicitly show the progress Augustine has made since he mourned the loss of the friend in Thagaste in book 4: now he understands and accepts the true nature of mortal man; although the body will die, the soul will live forever. 583

Augustine being happy about Monnica’s calling him *pium* 584 is a classical reference. *Pius*, the epithet of Aeneas *par excellence*, serves to illustrate Augustine’s progress to the good instead of disqualifying him with a secular, thus pejorative allusion, as we have seen in Augustine’s use of classical allusions before his conversion. 585

At Monnica’s death, Augustine eventually does cry. His tears start to flow when, lying awake in bed one night, he remembers one of Ambrose’s verses. He suddenly recalls his mother as she was, the sound of her voice, and he breaks down and weeps in return for all those tears she has shed for him. To these tears he can now righteously give in, other than to the tears at the death of his friend in book 4, which he had shed at the loss of a friend whom he had loved as someone who would never die. 586

583 Cf. 4.6.11: *ille, quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram, mortuus erat*. Compare 4.6.11: *ideo forte mori metuebam, ne totus ille moreretur quem multum amaveram* to 9.12.29: *nec omnino moriebatur*. Compare Augustine’s emphasis at the death of the friend on misery in 4.5.10-4.6.11: *flere/plorare/lacrima* (7x), *miseria/miser* (9x) to 9.12.29: *at illa nec misere moriebatur*. See my discussion on pp.258-62.


585 See, e.g., the allusions to Sallust in the KNE of the pear theft (2.4.9 on pp.67-8) or the description of friendship after Augustine’s friend died in book 4 (4.6.11 on pp.94-100).

Augustine’s progress is illustrated by his changed attitude
(9.13.34-9.13.37)

Now the wound of the loss of his mother has been healed (sanato: 9.13.34),
echoing what Augustine said at his friend’s death in Thagaste, with the
telling difference that this wound, after his conversion, can be truly healed
and not just smoothed by time (lenitum: 4.5.10).\textsuperscript{587} In the very last chapter
of book 9, Augustine asks God to grant his mother peace. In contrast to the
death of the friend in book 4 Augustine does not mourn for himself, nor
about himself, but solely on her behalf. Looking at it that way, Augustine’s
request is an example of \textit{benevolentia} and \textit{caritas}.
Only now, in the penultimate sentence of the last of his autobiographical,
narrative books, does Augustine call his mother by her name. All those
who would read these \textit{Confessions}, he says, will forever, by remembering
her before the altar of the Lord, remember Monnica. This he can achieve
better by his \textit{Confessions} than by his prayers, he says.\textsuperscript{588} This remark of
Augustine’s indicates, I think, the protreptic character of the \textit{Confessions}:
by his \textit{Confessions}, in which he ‘shows’ rather than preaches, he reaches
his narratees and hopes to influence their conduct more (\textit{uberius}) than by
his prayers alone.

The function of book 9 within the \textit{Confessions} as a whole

Looking back on book 9, I conclude that the initial impression, based upon
the references and content of the first chapter,\textsuperscript{589} of a book that would read
as a resolution after the peak of book 8, is sustained on one level. It does
indeed ‘wrap up’ the story by summarily telling what happened afterwards:
he quit his job, they were baptised and moved back to Africa. And we are
told what happened to some of the main characters of Augustine’s story,
mainly disregarding chronology, looking a couple of years ahead.
But on another level, this book, by relating in great detail the death of
Monnica, adds new developments (the ecstasy and Augustine’s emotional
way of dealing with his mother’s death).

\textsuperscript{587} Cf. the wound at the loss of his partner, which festered: 6.15.25: \textit{nec sanabatur vulnus illud meum (...)}, sed (...) acerrimum putrescebat.

\textsuperscript{588} 9.13.37: \textit{meminerint cum affectu pio parentum meorum in hac luce transitoria (...)}, ut quod a me illa poposcit extremum uberius ei praestetur in multorum orationibus per confessiones quam per orationes meas.

\textsuperscript{589} See my discussion on p.202.
I would therefore argue that the main theme of book 9 is the enormous change that has come to pass after the garden scene that has brought about Augustine’s new attitude and state of mind, which is even carried through in Monnica’s new position towards her place of burial. With the death of Monnica the narratological story of Augustine’s eventual conversion has come to an end. It is as she herself said: all she had ever wanted him to become and more has come to pass. The fabula, however, the reconstructed sequence of events of his life, continues on into the time of narration, the time of Augustine writing the *Confessions* as bishop of Hippo, as we shall see in books 10 to 13.

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2.10 Books 10-13

2.10.1 Selective summary of book 10

A new beginning
(10.1.1)

With the death of Monnica book 9 ends and with that Augustine stops the narration of the life he has led and that he has left behind. His words ‘May I know you, who know me. May I know.’ echo the opening of book 1: ‘Grant me, Lord, to know and understand’ (1.1.1). He wants to confess, he says, to speak, which, after the narration of the previous nine books, where he did confess and speak, sounds like a renewal of the opening of book 1. The opening of book 10 with its echoes of the opening of book 1 thus seems to indicate a second beginning.

Why should Augustine confess before man?
(10.2.2-10.4.6)

Augustine asks himself why he confesses before ordinary people, while he realizes that they would rather be interested in somebody else’s troubles instead of actually trying to mend their own ways. But they who have become as one (unitas) shall believe him out of the love (caritas: 10.3.4) that makes them good people, when he recounts the Truth, he says. The weak will rejoice and realize that there is hope yet. The good will rejoice for recognizing the bad they have overcome. That way Augustine can see the good of his confessing to them what he has gone through. And by taking his example to heart they, as covert primary narratees, will act the way we have seen the internal audiences react throughout the Confessions. And thus, the protreptic character of the Confessions comes to the fore.

The fruit of his endeavours, Augustine says, is that he tells about who he is now, not only before God, but before those who accompany him, they

591 1.6.7: sine me loqui (...) sine tamen loqui.
592 10.3.3: caritas omnia credit inter eos utique quos conexos sibimet unum facit.
593 10.3.4: sed quis adhuc sim, ecce in ipso tempore confessionum meorum (...) quid ipse intus sim; 10.4.6: hic est fructus confessionum mearum, non qualis fuerim sed qualis sim (...) indicabo ergo talibus (...) non quis fuerim, sed quis iam sim et quis adhuc sim.
who share his way of life. It is their brotherly soul that will love what is to be loved and will reject what is to be rejected, that will rejoice and will pity. In the description of that soul’s characteristics benevolentia, aequalitas, unitas and dilectio are present. This brotherly soul is something inside of them, part of them and does not belong to those who speak out of vanity, which on the one hand refers to all those he has left behind (i.e. the Manichees) and on the other to the man he used to be. But whereas earlier on he would have called these kindred souls ‘friends’, here they are his ‘brothers’, echoing the previously mentioned brotherly soul, which calls to mind the brother of his heart, Alypius (9.4.7). This image of kinship is carried through by the reference to God as his father taking care of his small child. Only shortly after we have read in the previous book about the deaths of his mother, his son, and one of his best friends, do we now see a substitute family resurrected in his faith that in a sense emulates the one he lost, a multitude of brothers, even a host of sons (10.4.6), and an eternal and caring father. Near the end of the Confessions, this family of choice will be completed by a mother: mater caritas. This is his family of choice rather than one of kinship.

A classical reference: Vergil (10.4.6)

The diminutive parvulus (parvulus sum, sed vivit semper pater meus: I am but a child, but my Father ever lives) echoes Dido’s dramatic appeal to a parting Aeneas: ‘if only a little [parvulus] Aeneas were playing about my halls’ (Aen. 4.328). Such an echo, I think, is noteworthy at this point,

594 10.4.6: credentium filiorum hominum, sociorum gaudii mei et consortium mortalitatis meae, civium meorum et mecum peregrinorum, praecedentium et consequentium et comitum vitae meae.
595 10.4.5: fraternus animus .. animus ille fraternus .. fraternus ille .. de fraternis cordibus. See also my discussion of 13.18.22-13.19.24 on p.233, and my discussion of the evolution of amicitia into fraternitas in chapter 3.3 on pp.266-70.
596 10.4.5: gaudet (…) contristatur (…) respirent in bonis meis, suspirent in malis meis (…) quia sive approbet sive improbet me, diligit me.
597 10.4.6: parvulus sum, sed vivit semper pater meus et idoneus est mihi tutor meus. idem ipse est enim, qui genuit me et tuetur me.
598 13.6.7: dic mihi, obsecro te per matrem caritatem, obsecro te, dic mihi, quae causa fuerat, ut post nominatum caelum et terram invisibilem et incompositam et tenebras super abyssum tum demum scriptura tua nominaret spiritum tuum? For caritas as the spiritual bond between Father and Son, see O’Donnell (1992) on 13.6.7.
since we are on the brink of a passage that might be seen as containing the strongest Vergilian allusion in the *Confessions*.

**An allegorical approach to the concept of memory: the underworld of Odysseus and Aeneas (10.8.12-10.26.37)**

During his ascent to God to gain true knowledge Augustine reaches the ‘fields and vast palaces of memory’, where he finds the ‘treasures of innumerable images’ (*imagines*: 10.8.12). The choice of words implies wealth and abundance. Augustine then describes how he summons the *imagines*. Some eagerly comply, others need to be sought after, while yet others come forth in hosts and present themselves of their own accord, hoping that he might want them. He drives them away with his hand until the one he seeks stands out clearly from the darkening mists, whereas some may never come forth, absorbed by and ‘buried’ in oblivion. This echoes the scene of Odysseus in the underworld, waiting for Teiresias to appear.\(^{600}\) He is spontaneously approached by a host of others, who beg to be acknowledged in order to be granted a few moments of life. Odysseus, however, waves them away with his sword, while some still approach him that he was not prepared for.

In this description here in book 10 an element of neatness and of order appears,\(^ {601}\) which seems to point to the underworld which Aeneas visits, where every soul is apportioned its own place according to its cause of death.\(^ {602}\) Augustine’s description of the surroundings almost ‘as we go along’ bereft of details strongly resembles Vergil’s way of describing the underworld.\(^ {603}\) Finally, in this realm of memory which Augustine describes, one may also find ‘images’, that make it possible to look towards the future, just as Aeneas sees the shades of those dead as well as of those not yet born.

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\(^{601}\) 10.8.13: *ibi sunt omnia distincte generatimque servata, quae suo quaeque aditu ingesta sunt*.


The function of the underworld allegory: a tentative approach

Both underworld passages, in the Aeneid as well as in the Odyssey, mark a turning point in the narrative and divide the main story in two different parts. In the Aeneid we first see the ‘journey’ (virum: the man; books 1 to 6) and then the ‘war’ (arma: his deeds; books 7 to 12). In the Odyssey (ἀνδρα: the man) we first see the ‘journey’ (books 1 to 12) followed by the eventual ‘home-coming’ (books 13 to 24), which is no longer presented as a narrative episode recounting events from the past, but which relates the hero’s present. A reference to a visit to the underworld at the start of book 10 in the Confessions could very well be seen as a dividing line as well: between the ‘journey’ (virum/ἀνδρα) the story’s hero has accomplished (books 1 to 9, 134 chapters) and the eventual struggle (arma) still faced by the man he has become in the ‘here and now’ (books 10 to 13, 144 chapters).

Memory and abstract knowledge; another classical reference: Plato (10.9.16-10.12.19)

There is one category of imagines in the vast palace of memory, which Augustine singles out: abstract knowledge, which cannot be described as mere reflections, but as the things themselves. These things had always been in his mind, he says, as if hidden in some remote corner. They had lain there waiting for something to call them forth. Thus they had always been in his possession, he had known them before he had actually learned them, only to recognize them when the occasion called for them, to recognize them within himself. This gaining of (abstract) knowledge, by entering into the deepest recesses of his own mind, sounds remarkably like the description of his ecstatic experiences in books 7 and 9. This is, as I pointed out in those previous books, the (neo)Platonic way of gaining true knowledge. In this respect the description of the fleeting images as in

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605 See also Hübner (1981: 261): ‘Diese kompositionelle Vergilimitatio mag vielleicht dazu geeignet sein, die vieltraktierte Frage nach der Einheit der Confessiones von einer neuen Seite her anzugehen.’
606 10.11.18: per se ipsa intus cernimus.
608 Thimme (2004: 764) points out that Augustine does not talk about true Platonic anamnèsis (remembering knowledge) here, but about recognizing knowledge he did not know he had.
‘most secret caverns’ might also recall Plato’s allegory of the cave, where man surrounded by mere reflections works his way outward and upward towards the Ideas, the true essences, and eventually as to a sun shedding its light on all things, which is eternal Truth. As in that allegory, Augustine points out the difference between the mere reflections and the things by themselves that his memory is confronted with.

From Vergil to Plato: Augustine’s own progress

From his initial description of memory alluding to classical mythology (the imaginæ in the underworld) Augustine slowly progresses to philosophy and the way to true knowledge. We see the adventurous Odysseus and Aeneas firmly based in classical, pagan myth, led by (romantic) passions and temptations, evolve into the (neo-)Platonic philosopher. That development is similar to what we read happened with Augustine, who, wandering, seeking, misguided by his passions and misled by temptations, slowly saw the way out of his predicament. Thus he ‘ascended’ from his nadir to his zenith, freeing himself from the mundane enticements through philosophy to finally see the True light by heeding the words of St. Paul. We have seen here references to Aeneas and Odysseus before in the Confessions. Sometimes they were used as negative examples of pagan ideals, sometimes as unattainable rolemodels. After Augustine’s conversion, however, we have seen two positive references to Aeneas. This elaborate underworld reference, with its crucial position at the heart of the Confessions, emphasizes the positive aspect of the pagan, literary reference. It is as if Augustine the bishop, since he has received caritas, can turn these pagan heroes into harmless elements for his arguments, since he is no longer vulnerable to their arguably negative influence.

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609 10.10.17: cavis abditioribus; cf. 10.17.26: in antris et cavernis innumerabilibus.
612 For Aeneas see my discussions on, e.g., 5.8.14-15 Dido (pp.121-2), 6.7.11 Charybdis (pp.133-4), 9.12.30 pater pius (p.216). For Odysseus see my discussion on 6.8.13 and the Sirens (p.144).
613 9.12.30: pius; 10.4.6: parvulus.
Dealing with the temptations: the importance of moderation, *continentia* 
(10.28.39-10.29.40)

Augustine now accepts the right balance or moderation that he had shied away from before his conversion.\(^{615}\) Thus we see Augustine explicitly returning to a point he has made many times before: the intrinsic neutrality which will turn into a dangerous thing once the right balance is lost. We have seen the importance of moderation in several aspects of friendship, e.g. *vicissitudo* in the pear theft in book 2 and most prominently with *curiositas* in the entire *Vita Alypii* in book 6.\(^{616}\) It is moderation that makes us whole (*unitas*), Augustine says.\(^{617}\)

Augustine’s daily struggle with the three temptations 
(10.30.41-10.39.64)

Returning to the theme of the opening chapters of book 10, the description of who he is right now, Augustine says that, once he will commit himself with all his being to God, there will no longer be any pain or exertion. But that is something the bishop has not achieved yet: he is still torn between pleasures and pain. He struggles, he says, with the temptations inherent in food and drink on a daily basis. He must control them. But then again, he argues, what man will not be drawn, albeit ever so slightly, beyond what is seemly? Another example of his struggles concerns his greater love of music itself than for the words it conveys. Giving in to that love would be sinful, but, he says, that is just the way he is.

I find this attitude of acceptance and resignation of human weakness remarkable in Augustine the bishop. It might indicate that after the often frustrating struggles of the young man, the older man can put his dealings with temptations on a daily basis in a wider perspective, and can, thus, be somewhat more lenient towards them. I think that by Augustine’s ‘confession’ and acceptance of his continuing weakness the narratee is assured of what can realistically be achieved by an ordinary man. Thus,

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\(^{615}\) 10.29.40: *continentia* 4x. Cf. 8.7.17: *da mihi (...)* *continentiam, sed noli modo.*

\(^{616}\) See my discussion on the pear theft (2.4.9) on pp.65-6, and on the *Vita Alypii* (6.7.11-6.10.17) on pp.126-9.

\(^{617}\) 10.29.40: *per continentiam quippe conligimur et redigimur in unum.*
this leniency on Augustine’s part appears to be an element of the protreptic character of the *Confessions*, as well as of the realism of his theology.

**Finally: praise once more**

(10.43.70)

Book 10 ends with the same reference to St. Matthew (7.7) that we already saw in book 1 (1.1.1): ‘and they *praise* the Lord who seek him’. The future tense of 1.1.1 (laudabunt) has been replaced here by the present (laudant): the moment for praise has arrived. In the introductory chapters of book 1 Augustine asked questions that referred to all the insights and knowledge he was going to present in the course of the following books. The multitude of questions (some 75% of chapters two and three is made up of questions), as I pointed out in the summary of book 1, enables the narratee to identify with Augustine, making him even more eager to hear the eventual answers. The future tense answered that prospect best in book 1, whereas now in book 10, talking about the man he is at the time of writing, the present is called for.618

The emphasis on praise, which we have also seen at the beginning of books 8 and 9 and the explicit reference at this point to the very beginning of the *Confessions* marks the closure of the part of the *Confessions* which explicitly deals with Augustine, his previous life and the man he is right now. The next three books will show us yet another side of the bishop, continuing the description of himself on an implicit level.

### 2.10.2 Selective summary of book 11

**The bishop’s meditations: an illustration of who Augustine has become**

(11.2.2-4)

The subject of books 11 to 13 will be quite different from the previous books, as Augustine makes clear in the second chapter. He wants to spend the rest of his time meditating on Scripture in its entirety from the first act of creation until the second coming. He has been burning to do so for a long time, he says (*inardesco*: 11.2.2).619 In book 11 he will meditate on the

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618 It is a point entirely missed by Chadwick when he translates *laudant* in 10.43.70 as a future tense.

619 Cf. 8.5.10: the fire of his desire to follow in Victorinus’s footsteps (*exarsi ad imitandum*).
nature of time and eternity, in book 12 on the nature of heaven and earth, and in book 13 on the nature of the Trinity. There is a remarkable ellipsis here: Augustine does not mention how he became a bishop.\(^{620}\) His transition from converted Christian to the priesthood and even to episcopal office seems quite unexpected, considering the autobiographical narrative of books 1 to 9. The narratee might want to understand how this came about. Books 1 to 9 present Augustine’s personal struggle and gradual but eventual ascent to see the light. The description of his progress, as an aspect of protreptic, served to show the narratee the way, make him perhaps follow in his footsteps and not lose hope.\(^{621}\) But this exemplary aspect of Augustine’s story and the possible identification of the narratee with the narrator would definitely not have applied to the story of how he became a priest and a bishop: the continuous theme of ‘normalcy’ that runs through the *Confessions*, Augustine being just like any other man, would have been ruined by his becoming a bishop.

In books 1 to 9 he wanted to tell *how* he had achieved the things he had achieved,\(^{622}\) while in books 10 to 13 he wants to show the narratee *who* he is right now in his innermost self. In meditating on Scripture, he will implicitly show us by the way he works, the man he has become.\(^{623}\) We see him harnessing the dangerous temptation of *curiositas*, that has troubled him for so many years, finally to the benefit of his brothers. There is no danger, he says, that he will lose his balance and fall prey to *curiositas*, because he does not meditate for himself alone, but out of his love for the brethren (*usui esse fraternae caritati*:11.2.3). That, as we have seen in the previous book, makes all the difference between good or bad. It is *benevolentia* which originates from *caritas*. Instead of a personal phrase like ‘fellow man’, we see the abstract *fraterna caritas* as an *abstractum pro concreto* in the *dativus commodi*, the dative of benefit. The combination of adjective and substantive here is an example of the dominant use of the adjective; brotherly love thus reads as beloved brother. *Caritas*, as we

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\(^{620}\) See for Augustine skipping parts of his narrative 3.12.21, 9.8.17: *praetereo*. See my remarks on p.66 on Augustine’s memory lapses at crucial points in his narrative. Cf., e.g., 1.6.7, 1.6.10, 1.7.11, 1.7.12, 8.12.28-29. See also my discussion (p.123) of the ellipsis of the altar of victory controversy (5.12.22), and (p.147) of Augustine’s reference to the confrontation between Ambrose and the emperor (9.7.15) on pp.206-7.

\(^{621}\) 10.3.4: *excitant cor, ne dormiat in desperatione et dicat, non possum*.

\(^{622}\) 8.1.1: *quomodo dirupisti ea [vincula] narrabo*.

\(^{623}\) O’Donnell (1992) on 11.3.5: ‘This exegesis of Gn. 1:1 is certainly, and deliberately, exemplary. We see how the mind of the exegete works.’ Cf. 10.3.4: *quis ego sim (...) quid ipse intus sim*. 
have seen before (4.4.7), is the one element that makes friendship true. We already saw *fraternitas* in book 10 as the possible evolution of the friendship described in books 1 to 9. Here in book 11 we see one more example of a shift from *amicitia* towards *fraternitas*. After the personal struggle he has gone through in books 1 to 9 and the repeated emphasis on the first person singular, now the bishop at the time of writing is among his equals, his friends who are as brothers and who, instead of just listening to his life story, are now invited to participate in his meditations (*dicamus*).

He does not want to be betrayed in these meditations nor betray others, he says, which echoes his description of his tumultuous Carthage days, when as a Manichee temptations did rule his life. This is *vicissitudo*, which only by the right balance and the presence of *caritas* becomes a good influence. By thus setting an example for his brothers he will exert *vicissitudo* in the best possible way.

### 2.10.3 Selective summary of book 12

**The analytical theme of book 11 continues (12.2.2)**

In chapter 2 Augustine refers to the subject of the previous book, his meditations on the first sentence of Genesis. This brings him to the next sentence of Genesis. This exegetical progress is in line with what he stated as his goal, meditating on Scripture in its entirety from the first act of creation until the second coming (11.2.2), a task, if carried through in that vein, of truly impossible proportions.
The House of God is filled with friends
(12.11.11-13)

One of the things Augustine is absolutely certain of, he says, is of God’s ‘house’, which he describes as a pure mind, shared between the souls of saints and citizens of the heavenly city. This heavenly city he then describes with four aspects of *vera amicitia: unitas, benevolentia, aequalitas*, and *caritas*. That is where man’s soul longs to be. Of that also Augustine is certain, he adds for the third time.

Addressing those who are slightly mistaken
(12.14.17-12.19.28)

Augustine then differentiates between people opposing Genesis, whom he hates, and people praising Genesis, but who do not agree with Augustine’s explanations, to whom he will now address himself. He apparently does not want to go into polemics here with those who do not accept Genesis as God’s own word, but chooses to argue with those Christians who read and believe, yet differ in their interpretations. Thus, in the context of describing who he now is, Augustine will not show the narratee his belligerent side, but his episcopal exegesis amongst his own flock. At this point then we can clearly see the difference between what Kotzé calls the protreptic and the paraenetic character of the *Confessions*: ‘A protreptic aims to change both the world view and the conduct of the addressee, while a paraenetic presupposes a shared world view and aims at improving the conduct of the audience.’ The former would be addressing non-Christians, the latter Christians.

This is perfectly in line with what he said he would do in book 10: he would confess to those who would pray for him, his brothers in Christ, his true friends, whom he would serve.

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632 12.11.11-13: hoc in conspectu tuo claret mihi et magis magisque clarescat.


634 10.4.5: indicabo me talibus (2x); 10.4.6: indicabo ergo talibus.
Augustine’s brothers, who are as friends
(12.25.35)

Augustine calls on those who together with him find truth in Scripture and proclaim it, those he has come to indicate as brothers (fraternitas and aequalitas), to love each other (dilectio and vicissitudo) and God, and thus find true love (caritas). We see four of the six aspects of amicitia linked here to fraternitas. Once again caritas seems to be the most essential. The ‘brothers’ strive for and achieve caritas, while to the friends we have met in books 1 to 9 this was either not a goal or simply impossible to achieve.

Change of plan: brevity
(12.32.43)

In the last chapter of book 12 Augustine remarks upon the enormous task he has set himself to discuss all the books of Scripture (11.2.2). This is obviously not going to work. Therefore, he says, he is going to be more brief and selective. He will try to speak truthfully and well. Here we can distinguish between Augustine the author and Augustine the narrator; only the latter, in the dramatic setting of confessing in the presence of God for the benefit of the overt narratee can ‘suddenly’ come to the conclusion that what he had set out to do proves not to be feasible and decide to change his plan. The former, Augustine the author, having created the persona of the narrator, thus enhances the realism of the dramatic setting.

2.10.4 Selective summary of book 13

Exegesis continues
(13.1.1-13.2.3)

As we saw in the first chapters of books 11 and 12, Augustine explicitly focuses on the exegesis of the next verse of Genesis, interpreting

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635 See chapter 1.4.1 on p.37. See also McMahon (1989).
636 In Retract. 2.6.1 Augustine will point out that in the final three books he wrote about the seven days of creation: a primo usque ad decimum de me scripti sunt, in tribus ceteris de scripturis sanctis, ab eo quod scriptum est: ‘in principio fecit deus caelum et terram,’ usque ad sabbati requiem.
the creation of light in a spiritual sense. In this approach he implicitly follows Ambrose’s lead, which had been such an eye-opener to the young Augustine in book 6 and which had eventually prepared his way to the reading of St. Paul, in showing the young man how to interpret Scripture.

**Caritas as the gift of the Holy Spirit**

(13.7.8-13.9.10)

Augustine refers to the words of St. Paul who teaches the high road of love, which is ultimately the love of Christ: ‘The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us.’ All we have to do to be at rest is to lift up our hearts to God through caritas. This is a direct reference to the opening chapter of book 1. Now in book 13, nearing the end of the *Confessions*, having read what Augustine has gone through, seeing what has become of him, we return to those famous words. This ring-composition emphasizes once more their importance, as well as the process that lies between the two instances constituting the main body of the *Confessions*.

The reference to the words of St. Paul we have seen before, in the analysis of the key narrative episode about Augustine’s friend in book 4. There Augustine applied it to qualify true friendship; without divinely inspired caritas friendship could never be true and might eventually turn into its very opposite, enmity. We may conclude that raising our hearts in true friendship lifts us up to that place that is with God, where we find eternal peace. Caritas, Augustine says, makes all the difference: without it, man can gain no knowledge of God. Knowledge without caritas equals ignorance.

Through the Holy Spirit caritas lifts us up. Like fire it rises upwards, enflames Augustine and thus enables him to ascend to where his soul

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637 13.3.4: in creatura spiritali.
639 Rom. 5:5: caritas diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum.
640 13.7.8: ut sursum cor habeamus ad te; 13.8.9 ad beatam requiem.
641 1.1.1: et inquitum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.
642 4.4.7: quia non est vera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.
643 Cf. the paradoxical antithesis in 11.4.6: scientia nostra scientiae tuae comparata ignorantia est.
books. The image of fire is traditionally linked to the Holy Spirit, as in its reception at Pentecost. This fire echoes what Augustine said at the outset of his meditations on Scripture, where he was burning with desire to start. The fire that drives him to these meditations is thus a direct reference to the Holy Spirit, which is God’s gift.

An end to exegesis, a beginning of allegory (13.12.13)

At this point, Augustine breaks off his exegetical meditation on the opening verses of Genesis. He wants to move on now, he says, in his confession. For the rest of the book he will interpret the six days of creation as an allegory for the creation of the church. Since God’s eternal truth is as yet only a matter of faith rather than definite knowledge, the darkness still beckons. St. Paul calls out to those in the abyss: ‘do not cling to the ways of this world, but change your mind’ (Rom.12:2). These words recall the words of St. Paul (Rom.13:12-13) which brought about the final step of Augustine’s conversion (8.12.29). The exhortation essentially echoes the words of St. John: ‘do not love this world nor that which is of this world; the love of God is not in him who loves this world’ (1 Jn. 2:16). It all goes to emphasize the recurrent theme in the Confessions, which has been such a powerful element in Augustine’s struggle to arrive at God’s truth: clinging to the ways of the world excludes the love of God.

This once again implies the antithesis between what is acceptable in the eyes of the world and what is acceptable to God, the friction between social convention and Christian morals that we have seen illustrated time and again in Augustine’s life story in the first nine books of the Confessions.

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644 This ascension echoes the ecstacies we have seen in book 7 (7.10.16): vidi qualicumque oculo animae meae (...) supra mentem meam, lucem incommutabilem, and in book 9 (9.10.24): et adhuc ascendebamus interius cogitando et loquendo et mirando opera tua.

645 Acts 2:3-4: et apparuerunt illis dispersitae linguae tamquam ignis (...) et repleti sunt omnes spiritu sancto.

646 11.2.2: et olim inardesco meditari in lege tua; 11.22.28: exarsit animus meus nosse (...) studia mea flammanitia vehementer in scripturas tuas.

A friend of Christ
(13.13.14)

There is another reference to St. John here: ‘the bridegroom’s friend (...) shall rejoice greatly because of the bridegroom’s voice’ (Jn. 3:29). The bridegroom is Christ. Man sighs after him (suspirat), because man belongs to Christ’s bride, which is the church, but man longs for Christ (zelat), not for himself, because (enim) man is Christ’s friend (amicus) (13.13.14). This is a noteworthy distinction: the friend sighs after/loves, because he is as one with the church/the bride. Here we see unitas and dilectio. The emphatic enim presents this as a supposedly acceptable explanation to the narratee: it is a characteristic of friendship that friends act on the other’s behalf, not on their own. This is benevolentia. In such a relationship love can only be divine (caritas). Thus we see four aspects of true friendship in this description of the relationship between man and Christ.648

The devoted souls and the rest of the world as the dry land and the sea. The place of true friendship
(13.16.19-13.17.21)

Continuing the allegorical approach, Augustine then likens human society to the sea that God created, the community of the waters (societas una: 13.17.20), recalling the concept of unitas. Man’s soul, on the other hand, is like dry land, irrigated by God, and bears fruit.649 The fruit he then likens to the works of charity (opera misericordiae: 13.17.21), which recall God’s love (caritas). In Augustine’s subsequent description, ‘loving our neighbour (...) having in itself seed according to its likeness (...) we are moved to compassion (...) assisting them in the same way as we would wish to be helped if we were in the same distress’, we read dilectio, aequalitas, benevolentia and vicissitudo. It is a description which is strongly reminiscent of the words of St. Matthew.650 These devoted souls, who are

648 On friendship with God cf. 8.6.15: amicus autem dei, si voluero, ecce nunc fio. See also my discussion on friendship with God in chapter 3.3 on p.269.
650 Mt. 22:39: diligens proximum tuum sicut te ipsum; Mt. 7:12: omnia ergo, quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, ita et vos facite eis.
as the dry land, display all the aspects of true friendship, which we have seen Augustine the bishop attribute to his brothers in the church.

**True friends are like brothers in Christ, but in many different guises (13.18.22-13.19.24)**

These ‘brothers in Christ’ who are capable of these works of charity are God’s representatives on earth. Among them, however, there is a variety of sorts. He who achieves true wisdom is the greater light, shining upon those who rejoice in the light of Truth. Those who act as the moon and the stars serve to speak to those who are still more sensually than spiritually inclined, who are as uneducated children in Christ, not yet strong enough to bear the light of the sun; they are content in their darkness with the moon and stars of their simple faith. This image of the faithful struggling through darkness carefully progressing step by step towards the bright light of the sun recalls Plato’s allegory of the cave. It is an image that Augustine has alluded to before in describing his own moments of spiritual ascent.

**The nature of good works born from the sea, outside the Church: faulty friendship. (13.19.25-13.21.30)**

The sea, the world outside the Church, may bring forth good works, which are, however, of a lesser level than the good works born from the earth which is the Church. These ‘minor’ good works can be as the imperfect images of the truly good works in the Church. By their imperfection, which is in accordance with the inherent imperfection of the physical world, they will be understandable and acceptable to the general public. In this respect, worldly amicitia, lacking caritas, is one more example of these opera misericordiae of lesser status, as the imperfect mirror image of fraternitas.

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652 See chapter 3.1 on pp.241-2.

653 10.4.5: *fraternus animus .. animus ille fraternus .. fraternus ille .. de fraternis cordibus (...) quia sive approbet sive improbet me, diliget me*; 11.2.3: *fraternae caritati*. See also my discussion of the evolution of amicitia into fraternitas in chapter 3.3 on pp.266-70.


655 7.10.16, 7.17.23, 9.10.24.
The allegorical approach, Augustine says, is perfectly suitable to create understanding equally between those in the church and those outside. It serves to gently prepare the mind of man, hampered by its clinging to the physical world, to the higher level of understanding, and eventually to faith.

The role of the Lord’s servants on the dry land, in the community of pious souls; their example is to be followed, as one friend follows another: vicissitudo, aequalitas, continentia.

(13.21.30-31)

On the dry land, Augustine says, which is the community of pious souls, the Lord’s servants, by living what they preach, are as role models to the faithful.656 This echoes the influence of actions on an (internal) audience, as we have repeatedly seen in the first nine books, where people were inspired to follow the lead by what they saw or heard or read.657 It is in line with the protreptic character of the Confessions as a whole, as a realistic struggle and eventual achievement which would inspire the narratee to try and emulate it.658 Augustine emphasizes the exemplary function of the servants of God by quoting St. Paul: ‘Be as I am, since I also am as you are’ (Gal. 4:12), which illustrates aequalitas. The ‘living soul’, Augustine says, gains self-control ‘by modelling itself on the imitators of your Christ’.659 The self-control refers to the right balance, continentia, ultimately to be found with God.660 The exemplary function also explains why Augustine would pay so much attention to describing the man he has become:661 This

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656 13.21.30: vivendo coram eis et excitando ad imitationem; 13.25.38: praebentibus se ad imitandum in omni continentia.
657 Cf. 8.5.10: Augustine’s own reaction to the narrative episode about Victorinus’s conversion: sed ubi mihi homo tuus Simplicianus de Victorino ista narravit, exarsi ad imitandum.
658 See Kotzé (2004: 3) and Mayer (2007: 76) on the protreptic character of the Confessions. See also my discussion in chapter 3.3 on pp.263-66 of identification as an aspect of this protreptic character.
660 Cf., e.g., 10.29.40: ‘et cum scirem, ‘ait quidam, ‘quia nemo potest esse continens, nisi deus det, et hoc ipsum erat sapientiae, scire cuius esset hoc donum.’ per continentiam quippe conligimur et redigimur in unum, a quo in multa defluximus. See also my discussion of continentia in chapter 3.1 on p.173.
661 10.3.4: Quo itaque fructu (...) quo fructu, quaeo, (...) confiteor (...) quis ego sim, non quis fuerim.
impulse of imitation, Augustine now adds, comes natural to man, from one friend to another, which is once again an element of *vicissitudo*.\(^{662}\) Still, once man has turned away from all worldly things, there remains the second part of the exhortation of St. Paul referred to above: ‘Do not cling to the ways of this world, but change your mind and be renewed in the newness of your mind’ (Rom. 12:2). This new and ultimate mindset, Augustine says, cannot be achieved by imitating a friend or a minister, but solely by following Christ himself and by thus receiving the gift of God’s love, which is *caritas*.

**The fruits of the earth, the good works, can only be appreciated by man who is as the true friend**

(13.25.38-13.27.42)

Augustine then elucidates another point in Genesis: why did God give the fruits of the earth as sustenance to all creatures, but with the *exception* of the creatures from the sea (Gen. 1:29-30)? These fruits of the earth Augustine previously likened to the *opera misericordiae* of the highest level. They can only be truly enjoyed by those who consider them in the right state of mind, he says. The most important aspect of charity, to him, is not that it may assuage grief, but that it brings joy to the one receiving it, realizing the other’s faith and good work.\(^{663}\) This rejoicing on behalf of the other is *benevolentia*.

Thus, the fruits that God gave can only be nourishing when received in this vein. But a mind capable of such reception cannot be found among the creatures of the sea, Augustine says, among those people who are as yet outside the church where *caritas* is absent. Those uninstructed and unbelieving people (*hominis idiotae atque infideles*)\(^ {664}\) do not know, he says, why they should help the needy, because they lack *caritas*. The etymology of the word *idiota* from the Greek *ἰδιώτης* deriving from ἰδιός (‘private’, ‘one’s own’) adds to this contrast between those who care solely for themselves and do not partake of the true faith and those who do. In that way ἰδιός seems to be the antithesis of *vera* (*amicitia*), since it excludes

\(^{662}\) 13.21.31: *quoniam aemulatio viri ab amico est* – Ecl. 4:4: *quia aemulatio viri a sodali eius.*

Augustine’s substitution of *amicus* for *sodalis* points at the much more intimate relationship of friendship, other than *sodalitas*, that he wants to describe in the *Confessions*.

\(^{663}\) To this, one might add that a good deed ought to be wrought of one’s own free will, as Augustine said in 1.12.19: *nemo autem invitus bene facit, etiamsi bonum est, quod facit.*

\(^{664}\) Cf. 1 Cor. 14:22-23: *intrent autem idiotae aut infideles, nonne dicent quod insanitis?*
all its aspects, *benevolentia, dilectio, vicissitudo, unitas, aequalitas* and *caritas*. There can be no nourishment of the soul, the true aim of charity. Such nourishment brought forth by *caritas* can only be found among the pious, on dry land.

**The whole surpasses its separate parts: *unitas* and *caritas***

*(13.28.43-13.31.46)*

Returning to Genesis, Augustine then comes to the evening of the sixth day, when God looked upon all his works and saw that all was very good (cf. Gen. 1:31). Only now, Augustine says, surveying creation in its entirety, God saw that it was *very* good, whereas on the previous days each part seen on its own was merely ‘good’. Combining the separate elements into one whole brings out the best in them, which on their own they could never have achieved. This emphasizes the importance of *unitas* that we have seen Augustine stress so many times.

Yet another theme that we have seen throughout the *Confessions* is repeated in the next chapter: instead of clinging to the ways of the world, we must accept the Holy Spirit. Otherwise we might observe and praise the things around us merely in their own right, without acquiring God’s true love through them. For the third and last time in the *Confessions* Augustine quotes the words of St. Paul from Romans (Rom. 5:5): ‘The love of God is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us’ (*caritas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum*: 13.31.46). But it is only now, almost at the very end of the *Confessions*, on the very brink of a final summary of all his allegorical interpretations, that Augustine quotes St. Paul’s words in full by adding *dei* to *caritas*, explicitly emphasizing the true nature of *caritas*.

**An answer to 1.1.1: Augustine’s final admonition***

*(13.35.50-13.38.53)*

Peace is what Augustine finally prays for, peace without end, peace transcending our earthly existence. Once more he refers to Gen. 1 saying

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665 13.31.46: *spiritum huius mundi*; 1.13.21: *amicitia enim mundi huius fornicatio est abs te*; 13.21.29: *continere se ab amore huius saeculi*.
666 13.31.46: *spiritum, qui ex deo est*; 4.4.7: *per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis*.
667 Cf. 4.4.7 and 13.7.8.
that at the end of our life our mornings will have gone and night will have come. But as it says in Scripture that on the seventh day, which represents eternity, God rested (Gen. 2:2), so the faithful after their good works on the Sabbath of their lives, which will have no end, shall rest in God. The faithful are ready and willing to do these good works (*opera misericordiae*) because, as Augustine stresses once more, the Holy Spirit, together with *caritas*, will have entered their hearts. In addressing this eternal ‘rest’, Augustine in the ultimate chapters of book 13 refers directly to the opening chapter of book 1: ‘our heart is restless until it rests in you.’ (1.1.1). The whole of the *Confessions* is bookmarked by these two sentences; we have seen what Augustine has experienced and what he has become.  

Now it is clear to the narratee how and when that eternal peace, that at first may have seemed so elusive, can be found. He may understand that it is within his reach. Augustine himself is the example by describing the struggle he went through, that brought him to conversion, and by showing us the bishop he has become. He is one of the ‘servants’ who on dry land, in the community of pious souls, practice the *opera misericordiae* as a living example to the faithful (13.25.38). There is a personal dimension to the exegetical allegory in this book that we have not seen since book 10. Thus at the conclusion of the *Confessions* the focus is once more on Augustine himself, as it has been since the beginning.

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669 Cf. O’Donnell (1992) on 13.25.38: ‘in one sense Bk. 13 is the most personal and immediate of all conf., though to many readers it is just the opposite.’
Chapter 3

Conclusions
The principal question of this thesis (see introduction 1.2) was:

What is the function of the theme of friendship within the *Confessions* as a whole?

In order to answer this question I will now first present my conclusions to the subsidiary questions:

1. How can *amicitia* be characterized in the *Confessions*?

2. How is *amicitia* presented in the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*?
3.1 The characterization of amicitia in the Confessions

In the analysis of the narrative and non-narrative passages of the Confessions, as presented in chapter 2, I have employed the ‘model’ I have developed to identify friendship’s specific aspects. This ‘model’ is based on my own analysis of friendship as presented in two classical sources, Cicero’s Laelius, De Amicitia and Ambrose’s De excessu fratris sui Satyri, but also on existing analyses in modern research of friendship as Augustine presents it in his writings. Both Cicero and Ambrose have inspired Augustine’s concept of friendship, as has become clear by my analyses of the eight KNE’s and discussions of the first eight books of the Confessions in chapter 2.

Based on these analyses of the eight KNE’s as well as the selective summaries, I have constructed my own list of characteristics specifically relating to friendship in the Confessions. In what follows, I will argue for a set of six aspects of true friendship (amicitia vera): dilectio, benevolentia, vicissitudo, unitas, aequalitas and caritas.

The first five of these I would call constitutive aspects of amicitia, which, as I shall point out below, may have slightly different connotations in a classical or a Christian context of friendship. As Augustine presents them in the narrative episodes of the Confessions, they may all occur together or in specific combinations, depending on the particular type of friendship he is focussing on. In general they obtain a specific, Augustinian colouring. The addition of caritas to the complete set, however, works as a ‘catalyst’, turning amicitia into amicitia vera.

Augustine’s amicitia vera in the Confessions: six aspects

Based on my analysis of the narrative and non-narrative passages of the Confessions, I have come to the conclusion, which I will elaborate on below, that six aspects define true friendship (amicitia vera) in Augustine’s Confessions:

670 See chapters 1.2.2 and 1.3 on pp.22-35.
671 For Ciceronian references and allusions see, e.g., my discussion of 3.4.7 on pp.71-2, of 5.13.23 on pp.124-5, of 4.6.11 on p.96, and 4.8.13 on p.109. For Ambrosian references and allusions see, e.g., my discussion of 4.4.7 on p.84 and of 4.5.10-4.6.11 on pp.94-5. See also my discussion on Cicero and Ambrose influencing Augustine’s concept of friendship (chapter 1.3 on pp.25-31). See also my discussion on Augustine’s treatment of his pagan and Christian sources in chapter 3.3 (pp.266-8).
• **Benevolentia**: the friends unselfconsciously aim for each other’s best interest, rejoicing in each other’s well-being;
• **Dilectio**: the friends love each other for one another’s sake *(ab eis me diligi gratis sentiebam*; 6.16.26) in a dispassionate *(serenitas dilectionis*; 2.2.2) and human way *(diligere homines humaniter*; 4.7.12), which implies the acknowledgement of man’s transience;
• **Vicissitudo**: the friends influence each other, which, only in conjunction with all the other aspects, leads to positive peer pressure;
• **Unitas**: the friends are as one, complementing each other, for which it is not necessary to actually spend their lives together or in the same way *(ex consuetudine simul vivendi*; 9.12.30);
• **Aequalitas**: the friends are like each other; whereas they may be different in a number of ways, they all strive for humility before the face of God;
• **Caritas**: the love that stems directly from God, sent by way of the Holy Spirit.

All these aspects are qualified by what Augustine calls *continentia*, temperance and balance. In my opinion, this *continentia* is not a specific aspect of *amicitia*; rather, to Augustine, it is an essential aspect of the life of a Christian. We have seen him stress the importance of *continentia*, which stems from God, throughout the *Confessions*. As O’Donnell puts it: ‘Everything about *conf.* as literary artefact conspires to emphasize the place of *continentia* in A.’s view of his life and conversion.’ The importance of *continentia* implies that, when the true balance is lost, any one of these constitutive aspects would turn from good to bad. Without *continentia*, for instance, love *(dilectio)* would turn into lust *(libido)*.

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672 10.28.39: *inter haec medius locus, ubi non sit humana vita temptatio*. See also Miller (2011: 388): ‘the correct measure in our commerce with the world.’


674 O’Donnell (1992) on 10.29.40. O’Donnell (1992) on 10.37.61 also notes a much higher relative frequency in the appearance of *continentia* in the *Confessions* (22x) than all its appearances in Augustine’s other works combined (78x).

675 2.5.10: *amicitia quoque hominum caro nodo dulcis est propter unitatem de multis animis, propter universa haec atque huius modi peccatum admititur, dum immoderata in ista inclinatione, cum extrema bona sinit, meliora et summa deseruntur*. See also my discussion of 2.5.10 on pp.65-6.

676 See my discussion of 2.2.2 on pp.62-3.
Without *continetia* dilectio would be corrupted into loving the other person as if he were not a mortal being, thus transcending the natural bounds of love among humans. This is exactly what happened to Augustine when his anonymous friend died.  

677 *Vicissitudo* without the right balance would turn into the negative aspect of peer pressure, as we saw in the pear theft.  

678 In the peak of the sixth KNE about Alypius’s temptation (6.10.16) *continentia* was the one quality Alypius displayed which saved him at the time and showed the narratee the progress Alypius had made.  

679 In what follows I shall recapitulate the specific elements from the *Confessions* that have brought these six to my attention in the course of my research. In addition, I shall present my own observations and, in the process, reflect on the possible classical sources that may have influenced Augustine as well as on the prior research.  

680 Longing for each other’s well-being and loving each other: *benevolentia* and *dilectio*  

McNamara, as we have seen, supposes that Augustine uses the word *benevolentia* synonymously to love between friends.  

681 *Dilectio* (the non-corporeal aspect of love) and *benevolentia* are linked, according to Augustine. However, they are distinct aspects of *amicitia*. *Dilectio* is love without any ulterior motive other than *benevolentia* (4.9.14).  

682 *Benevolentia* is wanting the best for the other person, being concerned for the other person’s well-being.  

683 Rejoicing on behalf of the friend rather than on one’s own behalf is essential to *benevolentia*, as I have pointed out when discussing the
references to St. John. This self-effacement can even turn pride, which has so prominently plagued Augustine, into a legitimate sentiment, as long as it is pride in the other person’s achievement. Ambrose points out in *De excessu fratris sui Satyri*, that *benevolentia* would not even stop at self-sacrifice; his brother would gladly die in someone else’s place. Augustine expresses his own failure in this respect. Cicero points out that, as with love (*amor*), there is an element of reciprocity in *benevolentia* as well: ‘nothing gives more pleasure than the return of goodwill’. To Cicero *benevolentia* is of the utmost importance in friendship. He puts it on a par with *caritas*, which to Cicero is synonymous to love among friends. Cicero’s emphasis, however, on the return (*remuneratio*) of goodwill implies the idea of *quid pro quo*, which is alien to Augustine’s concept of acting unselfishly out of concern for the other’s well-being. The unselfish element we saw clearly in the peak of the seventh KNE, the episode about Firminus; the simple fact that Firminus was a friend (sent by God) and was, thus, implicitly acting not on his own behalf but on Augustine’s, sufficed to turn Augustine away from astrology.

In the *Confessions*, Augustine, as we have seen, clearly presents two aspects of love: *amor*, deriving from *concupiscientia carnis*, and *dilectio*, the tranquil, ‘in control’, aspect of non-corporeal love. Cicero does not make that distinction, neither does McNamara. As I have mentioned above, *amor* in a wider sense than *dilectio*; other than *dilectio* it can imply ‘good’ and ‘bad’ love. See also my discussion of 2.2.2 on pp.62-3.

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685 10.37.62: *utilitate proximi moveor in laudibus meis*.
686 Ambr., *De exc.fr.sui Sat.* c.2: *mallet occidi pro aliis, quam sibi vivere*.
687 4.6.11: *ita miser eram et habebam cariorem illo amico meo vitam ipsam miseram*. See also my discussion of Augustine’s ‘failure’ on pp.96-7.
689 Cic. *Lael.*, *De Am.* 5.19: *ex propinquitate benevolentia tolli potest, ex amicitia non potest; subleta enim benevolentia amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet*; 14.50: *necessariam benevolentiam, qui est amicitiae fons a natura constitutus*.
691 7.6.9: *his itaque auditis et creditis (talis quippe narraverat) omnis illa reluctatio mea resolute concidit*. See my discussion on pp.166-7.
692 For Augustine’s non-corporeal quality of love, see, e.g., 2.2.2: *modus ab animo usque ad animum quatenus est luminosus limes amicitiae*, and (ibid.) the opposition of *libido* (bad) to *dilectio* (good) in 2.2.2: *exhalabantur nebulae de limosa concupiscientia carnis et scatebra pubertatis, et obnubilabant atque obfuscabant cor meum, ut non discernetur serenitas dilectionis a caligine libidinis*. Dideberg (1986-1994: 294) argues that Augustine uses *amor* in a wider sense than *dilectio*; other than *dilectio* it can imply ‘good’ and ‘bad’ love. See also my discussion of 2.2.2 on pp.62-3.
she considers *amor/dilectio* to be identical to *benevolentia* in Augustine’s concept of friendship.  

Cicero presents *amor* as an aspect of *caritas*, which he considers reciprocal love between friends. He calls for an equal amount of love spent by the friends. This implies a similar element of *quid pro quo* as we saw above. To Augustine, friends love each other (*dilectio*) without expecting anything in return. He focuses on the intensity of love (*dilectio*) on the part of each friend, ensuring that he himself does not lose control. Ambrose also describes a reciprocity in love (*mutuus semper amor utrique*), but without any kind of restraint implied.

**You to me as I to you: vicissitudo**

Reciprocity (*vicissitudo*) is another important aspect of friendship in the *Confessions*. Augustine refers to Cicero by quoting the Ciceronian neologism *redamare*. *Vicissitudo* is a crucial aspect of the Ciceronian concept of friendship. In the narrative episodes, Augustine presents *vicissitudo* as an aspect of peer pressure, friends influencing each other. He is very explicit about the potentially negative aspect of this pressure, the *bad* influence of friends, as is illustrated in his analysis of what drove him to the theft of the pears. This bad influence, which is *vicissitudo* without the necessary *continentia*, can turn friendship into its very opposite (*o nimis inimica amicitia: 2.9.17*). On his own, he would never have done
it, he says (2.8.16). This echoes Cicero’s statement: ‘without associates no one attempts such mischiefs’.  

**Being as one and being like each other: unitas and aequalitas**

Another constitutive aspect of Augustine’s concept of friendship is *unitas*, being together and becoming as one. For Augustine *unitas* implies a togetherness on a metaphysical level, rather than on an everyday physical one. This togetherness, albeit metaphysical, is subject to the right balance, as we have seen with the other aspects of friendship. Nebridius, for example, being one of his two most intimate friends, was absent at the most crucial moments of Augustine’s life and during their final years in Africa they only communicated through letters. But for all those lengthy periods of separation and the lack of any physical *unitas*, their friendship was as close and as true as any Augustine ever experienced. On the importance of *unitas* as a unity of minds, rather than of actually being together, Augustine seems to be of accord with Cicero to the extent of virtually quoting him. This is the same quality of *unitas* as presented by Ambrose, and, as we have seen, pointed out by McNamara.

This specific aspect of ‘oneness in heart’ seems to be what Burt calls

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704 2.8.16: et tamen solus id non fecissem (sic recordor animum tunc meum), solus omnino id non fecissem.


706 E.g., 2.5.10, 4.6.11, 4.8.13. *Unitas* eventually even leads to the communal possession of worldly goods among true friends. See for the desire to start some sort of commune, my discussion of 6.14.24, on p.163, and for the eventual ‘getting away from it all’ in Cassiciacum, my discussion of 9.2.2-9.3.5 on pp.202-3. On its importance see also De Ord. 2.18.48: ‘the more they become as one, the more they become friends.’

707 Although it does not seem to be essential, friends still want to be together. Cf. 4.8.13: *desiderare absentes cum molestia*. McNamara (1958: 191) argues that to Augustine there would always remain a distance, however slight, between men. Complete union would only be possible with God, with whom there could not be any restrictions or barriers. See also my discussion of McNamara’s analysis in chapter 1.3 on pp.31-2.

708 10.29.40: *per continentiam quippe conligimur et redigimur in unum*. See also my discussion of 10.28.39-10.29.40 on p.224.

709 See my discussion of Augustine and Nebridius not being together (9.3.6) on pp.203-4.

710 Cf., e.g., 4.8.13: *confiare animos et ex pluribus unum facere* and Cic. Lael., De Am. 25.92: *amicitiae vis sit in eo ut unus animus fiat ex pluribus.*

711 Ambr., De exc.fr. sui Satyri c.73: *animorum imagines semper nobiscum erant, etiam quando non eramus una.*

712 See my discussion in chapter 1.3 on pp.31-2. McNamara (1958: 217) points out that, in Augustine’s view, separation cannot destroy friendship, since ‘the object of friendship, the mind of a friend, lives in one’s own mind’.
I think that *unitas*, however, as Augustine presents it in the *Confessions*, may cover both the physical and the metaphysical aspect, and should therefore be preferred to the word *concordia*.

Closely connected to *unitas* there is yet another aspect of friendship in the *Confessions*: the likeness of the friends to each other: *aequalitas*. Friends strive to imitate and complement each other, constituting one whole. Phrases like ‘half of my soul’ and ‘for he was my other self’ (4.6.11) seem to suggest that friends are each other’s equals. This equality, however, does not imply a complete likeness of the friends in any obvious way, as, for instance, on the basis of appearance, age, gender, social status or personal struggle. McNamara agrees with this equality not being a complete likeness when she considers fortune or condition to be ‘extrinsic’ to Augustine’s concept of friendship. In this respect, Augustine differs from the virtually physical *aequalitas* we saw with Ambrose. Although Augustine refers to Cicero concerning *aequalitas* and thus would seem to be in agreement with him, Cicero emphasizes a much stricter likeness between the friends more in accord with Ambrose. To Augustine the *aequalitas* between friends resides in their common drive and motivation

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713 See my discussion in chapter 1.3 on pp.33-4 of Burt (1999: ch.4).

714 See my discussion on pp.81-2 of the repeated emphasis on *aequalitas*, e.g., in the second KNE (4.4.7): *coaeum-conflorentem-mecum*(2x)-*pariter*(2x)-*parilium*; 4.8.13: *conloqui, conridere, vicissim, simul 3x, tamquam ipse homo secum, consensiones, invicem 2x, amantium et redamantium, conflare, ex pluribus unum facere, dissentire interdum sine odio tamquam ipse homo secum*. See also my discussion of 4.8.13-4.9.14 on pp.108-10 of *aequalitas* in Augustine’s faulty friendships after his friend had died. See also my discussion of a similar emphasis on *aequalitas* in the *Vita Nebridii* (6.10.17) on pp.126-9 and 161-2.

715 McNamara (1958: 213). However, she argues (1958: 75-6) that there had never been a true friendship between Augustine and Ambrose, *because* their fortune and condition had been much too different. This, I think, would indicate fortune and condition being ‘intrinsic’.

716 Cf., e.g., Ambr., *De exc.fr.sui Sat.* c.37: *corporis similitudine alter in altero videamur*. See also my discussion of Ambrose’s concept of friendship in chapter 1.3 on pp.29-31.

717 For the reference see, e.g., 4.6.11: *ille alter* and Cic. *Lael.*, *De Am.* 21.80: *alter idem*. For the emphasis on a much stricter likeness see, e.g., Cic. *Lael.*, *De Am.* 7.23: *amicum qui intuetur, tamquam exemplar aliquod intuetur sui*. For Cicero’s emphasis on equality in gender and social status, see, e.g., Williams (2012: 23-5).
to seek out the truth,\textsuperscript{719} free themselves from earthly temptations,\textsuperscript{720} and finally humble themselves before God,\textsuperscript{721} to eventually love each other in God.\textsuperscript{722} Augustine’s \textit{amicitia vera} (when all the six aspects, see above, are present) is not based on an achieved likeness, as Cassidy puts it, but on a desired likeness, not primarily between the partners, but on their respective likeness to God.\textsuperscript{723} The constitutive aspects of \textit{amicitia}, however, can very well be achieved, \textit{caritas} excepted, of course.\textsuperscript{724} \textit{Caritas}, the catalyst which turns ordinary friendship into \textit{amicitia vera}, cannot be achieved, since it is a gift from God (see below).

Alypius’s and Monnica’s relationships with Augustine are good examples to illustrate how \textit{aequalitas} can exist between people, who are at the same time unlike each other in many ways.\textsuperscript{725} Alypius is Augustine’s former student, his junior, mainly plagued by \textit{curiositas}, whereas Augustine presents \textit{concupiscientia carnis} as his own greatest weakness. Alypius is

\textsuperscript{719} Cf. 4.4.7: \textit{comparaveram amicum societate studiorum nimirum carum (…) sed tamen [amicitia] dulcis erat nobis, cocta fervore parilium studiorum.} See also my discussion of the common goal of the studies he friends share on pp.161-3 of 6.10.17 : \textit{nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanium venerat, nisi ut mecum viveret in flagrantissimo studio veritatis atque sapientiae.}

\textsuperscript{720} Cf. 6.14.24: \textit{detestantes turbulentas humanae vitae molestias paene iam firmaveramus remoti a turbis otiose vivere, id otium sic moliti ut, si quid habere possemus, conferremus in medium unamque rem familiam conflaremus ex omnibus, ut per amicitiae sinceritatem non esset aliud huius et aliud illius; 9.3.5: fidelis promissor reddis Verecundo pro rure illo eius Cassiciaco, ubi ab a estu saeculi requievimus in te, amoenitatem sempiterne virentis paradisi tui.}

\textsuperscript{721} Cf. 1.1.1: \textit{et laudare te vult homo (…) circumferens (…) testimonium quia superbis resistis; 7.20.26: ubi enim erat illa aedificans caritas a fundamento humilitatis, quod est Christus Jesus?} See also the echo of 4.15.27, which shows Augustine’s progress: \textit{non (…) exultabant ossa, quae humiliata non erant, in 9.1.1: omnia ossa mea dicant, domine, quis similis tibi. For the negative influence of pride see, see also my discussion of 4.12.19-4.15.27 on pp.113-5, and my analysis of the fourth KNE (6.8.13-6.9.14) about Alypius on pp.141-3.}

\textsuperscript{722} 4.9.14: \textit{beatus qui amat te et amicum in te et inimicum propter te. solus enim nullum carum amittit cui omnes in illo cari sunt qui non amittitur.} See also my discussion of 4.9.14 on pp.112-2.

\textsuperscript{723} Cassidy (1992: 136-7). On a general quality of friendship see Konstan (1997: 1): ‘Friendship is what anthropologists call an achieved rather than an ascribed relationship, the latter being based on status whereas the former is in principle independent of a prior formal connection such as kinship or ethnicity.’ Cf. Konstan (2010: 235), describing Roman friendship as ‘an elective affective bond.’ Cf. Williams (2012: 16): ‘Friendship even surpasses kinship to the extent that it is a matter of choice.’

\textsuperscript{724} See, e.g., my discussion on pp.107-12 of Augustine’s faulty friendship after his friend had died (4.8.13-4.9.14).

\textsuperscript{725} Konstan (2010: 238-40) considers Roman friendships between members of different classes exceptional: ‘If they [members of different classes] were [friends], they had managed to overcome a social barrier and establish a genuine parity between themselves, insofar as their personal affection and respect were concerned.’
completely chaste, while chastity, or rather its elusiveness, constitutes Augustine’s major obstacle to his final conversion (6.12.21).\footnote{See my discussion of Alypius’s character on pp.126-32. Cf. the elaborate description of Alypius by O’Donnell (2006: 104-106).}

Monnica is an example of \textit{aequalitas} between a woman and a man, mother and son.\footnote{On the nature of friendship between men and women in Roman society see also Konstan (1997: 146). Cf. also Reuling (2004: 254) who discusses the wide-spread influence of Priscillianism in the late fourth century A.D.: among Priscillians men and women could be equal, at least theoretically. Women could become brothers and men the brides in Christ. See also Williams (2012: 81-96) who concludes from literary evidence that the words \textit{amica} and \textit{amicus} refer to an erotic relationship, whereas the existence of friendship between the sexes is validated by the occurrence of the aspects of friendship in any given relationship. Curiously (2012: 96-7), the use of the words \textit{amicus} or \textit{amica} in inscriptions seems to carry no sexual overtones at all.} The similarities as well as the dissimilarities between the Monnica passage in book 9 and the episode about the friend in book 4 show that the aspects of friendship are what eventually define Augustine’s relationship with his mother.\footnote{See my discussion in chapter 3.2 on pp.258-62. See also my discussion on pp.163-4 of the similarities between Augustine’s description of the separation from his concubine and the death of his friend.} By the end of book 8, after Augustine’s conversion, he has become equal to her. This had been foretold to her in her first dream: ‘to see that where she was, there was I [Augustine] also’.\footnote{3.11.19: \textit{videret, ubi esset illa, ibi esset et me.} Cf. 3.11.20: \textit{non enim (...) ubi ille, ibi et tu, sed ubi tu, ibi et ille.} See also my discussion of 3.11.19 on p.72 and of 8.12.30: \textit{stans in ea regula fidei, in qua me ante tot annos ei revelaveras} on pp.200-1.} At that point there is \textit{aequalitas} and \textit{caritas} between them as illustrated and confirmed by the ecstasy in Ostia.\footnote{See my discussion on pp.213-5 of 9.10.23-9.11.26.} This equality is even further emphasized by the remarkable fact that Augustine shares such an ecstatic experience with anyone at all. Classical practice would dictate the privacy of any such moment.\footnote{See for this point Brown (2012: 166).}

\textbf{Caritas: the catalyst}

On the basis of my analyses in chapter 2, I consider \textit{caritas} to be the one and only aspect to turn \textit{amicitia} into \textit{amicitia vera}, as Augustine describes it.\footnote{Cf. Cassidy (1992: 129): ‘\textit{amicitia is necessarily subordinated to caritas.’} In the second KNE, where friends nearly turned into enemies, Augustine explicitly remarks on \textit{caritas} as the one thing which makes all the difference between the classical concept of \textit{amicitia} and the Christian \textit{amicitia vera:}\footnote{See my analysis of the second KNE (4.4.7) on p.82.}
non est vera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis. (4.4.7)

A true friendship which is not possible unless you bond together those who cleave to one another by the love which is poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit who is given us.

This notion of amicitia vera, Augustine expresses three times in the Confessions: in the second KNE (4.4.7), in his interpretation of Gen.1.2, as he describes the Holy Spirit as one aspect of the Trinity (13.7.8), and one last time at the end of book 13, quoted from St. Paul (Rom.5.5):

caritas dei diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis. (13.31.46)

The love of God is diffused in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given us.

While each of the first five aspects discussed above qualifies amicitia, the addition of caritas to the complete set works as a catalyst and turns amicitia into the Christian amicitia vera. To Cicero the catalyst to his ideal of classical amicitia was virtus, moral strength. Cicero’s timeframe of the late Republic with all its social and political upheavals would call for men displaying this virtus through their actions, while Augustine’s late fourth century would sooner call for men of inner strength, who might figure as moral and, to a certain degree, religious examples. Ambrose had already supplanted the classical virtus with the Christian virtues. In book 13 we saw Augustine, in his allegorical description of human society (societas una: 13.17.20), liken the aspects of amicitia vera to the works of charity (opera misericordiae: 13.17.21), as the fruit born from the

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734 See my discussion of 13.7.8-13.9.10 on pp.230-1.
735 See my discussion of 13.31.46 on p.236.
736 Cic., Lael., De Am. 6.20: Haec ipsa virtus amicitiam et gignit et continet, nec sine virtute amicitia esse ullo pacto potest. See also my discussion in chapter 1.3 on p.28.
737 Testard (1958: 339-42): ‘pensée et action, métaphysique et morale (...) Augustin qui entend subordonner cette action à une vérité qui la justifie (...) on reconnaît chez Cicéron un trait bien romain, dans ce sens de l’action et de la vie publique. Fredriksen (1988: 105): ‘Augustine had broken completely with the classical ideal of virtue.’ Van der Valk (2009: 125-6): ‘Augustine’s treatment of friendship (...) is representative of his transformation of the concern in the Western tradition with one’s social and political standing to one’s inner life.’
human soul. He considers caritas, the love of God, which permeates all the opera misericordiae, to be the catalyst of true friendship, instead of the Ciceronian virtus. And, thus, Augustine transforms the Ambrosian virtues into the works of charity.

We have seen McNamara and Van Bavel point out the great importance of caritas as a catalyst to Augustine’s concept of amicitia. Van Bavel, however, cites another catalyst for amicitia vera: fides, communal faith. He argues that friendship can only exist when friends recognize each other’s faith. This faith engenders caritas. Be that as it may, in the Confessions Augustine nowhere specifies the presence in each of the friends of faith as an essential element of amicitia.

Burt argues that caritas is the one aspect which makes all the other aspects possible. Augustine in the Confessions, however, shows time and again that even in a friendship which lacks caritas some or all of the other aspects can exist independently. Thus he accepts in a, to me, very realistic way the attractiveness and the relative good even in that which is, as a whole, imperfect. This realism makes it easier for the narratee to identify with Augustine’s situation and enables its function as an example for Augustine’s readership.

In chapter 1.3 I mentioned two additional aspects of amicitia: libertas (outspokenness among friends) and, related to that, veritas (truth). The importance of the first aspect, outspokenness, was emphasized by

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740 For my discussion of McNamara (1958) and Van Bavel (1970, repr. 1986), see chapter 1.3 on pp.31-3.

741 For my discussion of Burt (1999), see chapter 1.3 on pp.33-4.

742 See, e.g., my discussion of the pear theft (2.9.17-2.10.18) on pp.64-9, of Augustine’s friendship with his anonymous friend (4.4.7-4.4.8) on pp.78-104, my discussion of his friendship right after that friend had died (4.8.13-4.9.14) on pp.105-12, and my analysis of Augustine’s friendship with Alypius and Nebridius (6.11.17) on pp.126-9 and 160-2.

743 Cf., e.g., 1.20.31: amicitia mulcebar; 4.4.7: sed tamen dulcis erat nobis; 6.16.26: nec esse sine amicis poteram beatus, etiam secundum sensum quem tunc habebam in quantalibet affluentia carnalium voluptatum. See also my discussion of 6.16.26 on pp.164-5.

744 On identification as an aspect of the protreptic character of the Confessions, see chapter 3.3 on pp.263-6.
both Cicero and Ambrose.\textsuperscript{745} Burt linked the two inseparably.\textsuperscript{746} In the \textit{Confessions} Augustine twice mentions frankness explicitly.\textsuperscript{747} In the elaborate descriptions of \textit{amicitia} throughout the \textit{Confessions}, however, it is not a qualifying aspect for him. As we have repeatedly seen in the analyses and selective summaries, Augustine, instead of presenting one man confronting another with explicit exhortations, rather emphasizes man acting unwittingly. It is what I have called the theme of \textit{sciens-nesciens}, illustrating the hand of God implicitly working through the words or acts of man.\textsuperscript{748}

The second aspect, truth, is described in the \textit{Confessions} as a property of God.\textsuperscript{749} It is a necessary ingredient, by way of God’s love, in a true friendship.\textsuperscript{750} However, to Augustine, it appears to be an implied, rather than a defining or explicitly mentioned quality.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
  \item Cic. \textit{Lael.}, \textit{De Am.}\ 14.49: \textit{monere et moneri proprium est verae amicitiae}. See Konstan (1997: 149-56) on the importance of outspokenness in Christian friendship (e.g. Ambrose). See also my discussion of a Ciceronian and an Ambrosian concept of friendship in chapter 1.3 on pp.25-31.
  \item See my discussion of Burt (1999) on pp.33-4.
  \item See, e.g., my discussion of this theme in 4.3.4-6 on pp.76-8, or in 6.7.12 on pp.135-8. See Lane Fox (2015: 292-3): ‘If God had worked through misunderstandings, Augustine would merely have said that He worked providentially, as He had intended.’
  \item Cf., e.g., 2.5.10: \textit{domine deus noster, et veritas tua et lex tua}; 4.5.10: \textit{possunme audire abs te, qui veritas es, et admoveare aurem cordis mei ori tuo, ut dicam mihi cur fletus dulcis sit miseris?}; 4.9.14: \textit{et lex tua veritas et veritas tu}; 6.10.16: \textit{nec ullo modo erit inane, quod tuae veritatis ore processit}; 10.37.62: \textit{ecce in te, veritas, video (…) propter proximi utilitatem moveri oportere}.
  \item As we have seen in the analyses of the KNE’s \textit{caritas} is the catalyst for true friendship (see also above). Augustine equals \textit{caritas to veritas} as aspects of God: 7.10.16: \textit{O aeterna veritas et vera caritas et cara aeternitas, tu es dei mens}. In Truth which is God lies the basis for \textit{benevolentia}: 10.37.62: \textit{ecce in te, veritas, video (…) propter proximi utilitatem moveri oportere}.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
3.2 The presentation of *amicitia* in the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*

In order to answer the second subsidiary question (how is *amicitia* presented in the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*, most noticeably in the eight key narrative episodes, where friendship is an all-important aspect of the story), I have employed the analytic instrument which I described in chapter 1.4, combining insights from both discourse linguistics and narratology. These analyses I have presented in chapter 2. With these analyses I have brought to the fore how the specific presentation of these KNE’s in terms of their linguistic and narratological features supports the argument Augustine is making. This leads to a reconsideration of the ‘traditional’ evaluation of some of the KNE’s and of their function within the *Confessions* as a whole. In this respect, the *Vita Alypii*, for example, appears to be much more than a ‘mostly irrelevant narrative of Alypius’s earlier life’, and the *Vita Monnicae* appears to add more to Augustine’s story than mere biographical information about his mother. The importance of the theme of friendship, with all the specific aspects Augustine ascribes to it in the *Confessions*, appears as a significant element of the story he has to tell about his road to conversion.

Below I will discuss the results of the linguistic-narratological analyses of the KNE’s, pointing out similarities and dissimilarities between those narrative episodes. I will also compare the results of the analyses of the eight KNE’s to the results of the analyses of the narrative episodes which are not explicitly concerned with friendship, especially the narrative episodes about Monnica in book 9, in as far as such comparison might shed more light on Augustine’s presentation of friendship.

**Characteristics of the eight key narrative episodes (KNE’s)**

As we have seen in my analyses in chapter 2, the eight KNE’s are part of one coherent theme (as indicated by internal references, explicitly

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751 The pear theft in book 2, the death of the friend in book 4, the *Vita Alypii* in book 6 (containing four episodes), the Firminus story in book 7, and Augustine’s conversion in the garden in book 8.
753 See my discussion on pp.258-62.
The analyses show that the KNE’s are characterized by a higher degree of tension and suspense, and call for a higher degree of involvement of the narratee, than the other narrative episodes in the *Confessions*.<sup>755</sup> Thematically, they dominate their individual books: book 2 on peer pressure and doing wrong, book 4 on the ways of the world and the ways of God, book 6 on curiosity, book 7 on a prelude to conversion and book 8 on conversion. *Amicitia* runs through all these themes, illustrates them and brings them together. The intervening books 3 (Cicero’s *Hortensius* and Mani) and 5 (Faustus) are concerned with Augustine’s intellectual development leading up to his intellectual ‘conversion’ in the ecstasy of book 7, the acquisition of knowledge of God. Ambrose (book 5) and Augustine’s reading of St. Paul (book 7) will eventually lead Augustine to his ‘spiritual’ conversion. Friends and the aspects of friendship are present in these intervening books as well.<sup>756</sup> But it is only in those books which specifically deal with Augustine’s spiritual development (2, 4, 6, 7, 8), that we see *amicitia* play such a prominent and explicit role illustrated by these eight key narrative episodes.

My analyses as presented in chapter 2 have brought a number of similarities and cross-references to the fore which link the key narrative episodes to each other. For instance, the element of peer pressure in book 2 creates an explicit contrast with Augustine’s running away from Alypius in his moment of personal crisis in book 8.<sup>757</sup> This contrast goes to show the change that has come over Augustine since he had been a young boy entangled in faulty friendships. In general, book 2 is, just like book 4, about the ways of the world versus the ways of God, showing Augustine as a perfectly normal young boy and a perfectly normal young man, as far as the society of which he is a part is concerned.<sup>758</sup> In book 8, then, there are echoes of book 4 rounding off, as it were, Augustine’s drawn out process of conversion. There is, for example, his explicit identification as a ‘son of Adam’ (8.10.22), thus repeating the theme of mortality, which he had not been able to truly accept in book 4.<sup>759</sup> There is also the

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<sup>755</sup> See, e.g., for the dramatic appeal to the narratee of the story about the friend who died (4.4.7-8) McEvoy (1986: 49).

<sup>756</sup> E.g., 3.2.3, 3.3.6, 5.8.14-15.

<sup>757</sup> 2.8.16: *solus omnino id non fecisset*; 8.8.19: *neque enim secretum meum non erat, uni ille erat*; 8.12.28: *surrexi ab Alypio (...) et secessi remotius, quam ut posset mihi onerosa esse etiam eius praesentia*.

<sup>758</sup> For an interpretation of Augustine’s faulty friendships see Hadot (1986-94: 289).

<sup>759</sup> 4.4.7, 4.4.9: *homo*; 4.7.12: *humaniter*.
emphatic use of convertisti (‘you have turned us around’) right after his conversion scene, completing his ‘prayer to himself’ from book 4: *Deus virtutum, converte nos et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus* (‘O God of hosts, turn us and show us your face, and we shall be safe’). There is even a reference to the Manichees as the friends, who might turn into his enemies, almost literally recall the – to him – horrifying moment at his friend’s deathbed when friendship seemed to change into enmity.

In the eight KNE’s we also see a greater number of allusions to pagan, classical literature, both thematic (e.g., to Sallust in the pear theft, to Seneca in Alypius’s ‘Relapse’, or to Plautus and Horace in ‘The Thief’) and (more) literal (e.g., to Vergil and Homer in ‘The Relapse’, or to Catullus and Cicero in the garden).

The main characteristic which the eight KNE’s seem to share and which my narratological and linguistic analysis has brought out, is, as said, the much greater care Augustine takes to build up tension and suspense and, thus, to involve the narratee in the story he tells. This involvement is enhanced by the establishment of a ‘common ground’ between narrator (Augustine the bishop) and narratee. It would seem to be a small step to the narratee towards actually taking part in any kind of action regarding his own private situation following Augustine’s example. This involvement is an element of the protreptic character of the *Confessions*. Where friendship is concerned (in the KNE’s), the narratee’s attention seems to be more prominently called for than elsewhere. To achieve this effect Augustine employs all kinds of instruments, rhetorical, linguistic, and narratological. There is peripety, bringing about a sudden reversal either by God as *Deus ex Machina*, as we have seen, for example, with the friend who is suddenly converted and then dies, or in Alypius’s ‘The Circus’ and ‘The Thief’, when people act or speak doing God’s work unwittingly. There is paralipsis, as, for example, in ‘The Thief’, where we saw Augustine purposely withholding information about the identity

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760 4.10.15; cf. Ps. 79:8.

761 4.4.8: *at ille ita me exhorruit ut inimicum admonitque (…), ut, si amicus esse vellem, talia sibi dicere desinerem*; 8.2.4: *amicos enim suos reverberatur offendere (…) quorum (…) graviter ruaturas in se inimicitias arbitrabatur*.

762 See, e.g., also the use of conversation management devices (particles) and the frequent ‘interruptions’ of the narrative mode by discursive mode, which may also seem to play a role in the persuasive process.

763 For the limits of what man can individually achieve see my discussion on God’s omnipotence on pp.263-5.

764 4.4.7: *ecce abstulisti hominem*; 4.4.8: *sed ille abreptus*. 
of the true culprit, thereby enhancing the suspense. Paralipsis can also be seen in the garden in Milan: Antony’s story is alluded to, the point of the story being related in a delayed fashion at the very moment of Augustine’s conversion, while the story as such has already been told at the start of book 8. There is the open ending, when, for example, the death of his friend in book 4 leaves Augustine essentially flabbergasted, seeking his friends for comfort, but not finding any answers to what his friend’s death had really meant to him in that period of time. There is an open ending as well in The Relapse in book 6: when that story has ended, the narratee does not know how Augustine or Alypius in either case went on or whether Alypius ever bounced back from his relapse in the amphitheatre, which is all left entirely to the narratee’s imagination. Finally, there are a great number of interruptions to the story. These interruptions are much more numerous and emphatic than in the narrative episodes which are not concerned with friendship. They vary from single lines or a paragraph in discursive mode to whole chapters.

As we have seen in the individual analyses of all the narrative episodes in the Confessions, the KNE’s display a much greater variety in the sequence of narratological categories and in the use of discourse modes, which, as I would argue, enhances the dramatic impact of the story and the narratee’s involvement in the discourse. My application of Labov’s model of narrative structure to the narrative episodes, in combination with an analysis of Augustine’s use of (conversation management) particles and pronomina, has brought out the structure of the story Augustine the author presents to the narratee. We can now see clearly to what element of that story Augustine wants to draw the narratee’s attention. The second KNE (4.4.7-4.7.12), for example, is traditionally referred to as ‘the episode about the friend who died’. My analysis, however, has shown that the death of the friend admittedly may constitute the peak of the fabula,

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765 See the eighth KNE where we see four chapters between the moment when Augustine rushes into the garden (8.8.19) and the moment when he starts telling what happened in that garden (8.12.28).

766 For the schematic analyses of the KNE’s see the discussions in chapter 2, for the detailed analyses, see the appendix.

767 See my discussion of this model of seven narratological categories in chapter 1.4.2 on p.40-1: abstract, orientation, complication, peak, evaluation, resolution, coda.

768 See, e.g., my discussion of the use of enim and ar in the second KNE (4.4.7-8) on pp.86-9, and in the eighth KNE (8.8.19-8.12.30) on pp.189-96. See also, e.g., my discussion of how Augustine’s use of ego and ille emphasizes the growing estrangement between the two friends in the second KNE (4.4.7-4.7.12) on pp.88-91.
but that the peak of the story, the way Augustine presents the narrative to the narratee, is the estrangement of the two friends who nearly turn into each other’s enemies.\textsuperscript{769} It is this estrangement which brings Augustine the bishop to reminisce about the character of friendship in an extensive resolution (4.4.9-4.4.7.12). The theme of worldly friendship and the young Augustine’s inability to love his fellow man as a fellow transient being (\textit{diligere homines humaniter}: 4.7.12) dominates the remainder of book 4. The application of Labov’s model has thus brought out the functionality of the narrative episode within the wider context of book 4 as an element of the theme of man’s clinging to the ways of the world which runs through the \textit{Confessions}.\textsuperscript{770}

Another example of the results of the application of this model is my analysis of the third to sixth key narrative episodes (6.7.11-6.10.17), that constitute the \textit{Vita Alypii}. This passage about Alypius is regarded by some as the biographical nucleus around which the \textit{Confessions} were conceived,\textsuperscript{771} and by others as irrelevant to the main story.\textsuperscript{772} The peaks of the four individual episodes, however, seem to indicate that Augustine the author wants to draw the narratee’s attention to \textit{curiositas} as the major temptation Alypius is struggling with and which he eventually puts to good use.\textsuperscript{773} The four KNE’s thus interrelated seem to function as a counterpart to the young Augustine’s personal struggle at that point in time, since his weakness was, as the bishop describes it, \textit{concupiscientia carnis}, not \textit{curiositas}.\textsuperscript{774} The analyses of the eight KNE’s have, moreover, also brought out, by their character, their position (books 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8), and their colouring of the books of which they are part, their function within the macrostructure of the \textit{Confessions}. The eight KNE’s seem to evoke a growing involvement of the narratee in the main discourse of the \textit{Confessions} (one man’s road to conversion) and build up tension towards what I would call the peak of the story, Augustine’s conversion in the garden in Milan.

\textsuperscript{769} See for the narratological concepts fabula and story my discussion in chapter 1.4 on p.38. Also De Jong (2014: 78). See my discussion of the ‘bipolar’ peak on pp.90-1.

\textsuperscript{770} 4.6.11: \textit{amicitia rerum mortalium}; 1.13.21: \textit{amicitia enim mundi huius}. See also my discussion of this theme on pp.94-5.

\textsuperscript{771} Courcelle (1950: 31-32).

\textsuperscript{772} O’Donnell (2006: 104). On the genesis of the \textit{Vita Alypii} see also p.126.

\textsuperscript{773} See my discussion on pp.128-9.

\textsuperscript{774} See my discussion of the character of Alypius on pp.126-9. Cf. the elaborate description of Alypius by O’Donnell (2006: 104-106). For Augustine’s lust see, e.g., 6.15.25: \textit{quia non amator coniugii sed libidinis servus eram, procuravi aliam, non utique coniugem}. 
Augustine’s relationship with Monnica in book 9: an implicit example of perfect friendship

Since none of the narrative episodes about Monnica in book 9 are in any explicit way about amicitia, the entire passage might be left out of the discussion here as having no direct bearing on my principal research question. There are, however, some important references in the Monnica passage to a number of KNE’s. I shall now summarize these references, both similarities and dissimilarities, which will bring out a connection of the Monnica passage to the theme of amicitia.

The latter part of book 9 is about Monnica (9.8.17-9.13.37) and essentially about the way she died. It is in line with the character of the first part of book 9 as a resolution, ‘wrapping up’ the story of Augustine’s life by telling the narratee what became of some of the characters. But Augustine tells much more than how she died. He gives a brief description of the woman she was and he tells about the ecstasy they shared in Ostia. Considering its size and structure the entire passage about Monnica (comprising four narrative episodes) is comparable, as a Vita Monnicae, to the Vita Alypii, the elaborate description of Alypius in book 6. There we see four KNE’s from Alypius’s life, showing us what kind of a man he was. In book 9 there are a number of episodes about Monnica in that same vein. But a comparison of the Monnica passage to the second KNE, the story about the friend who nearly turned into an enemy in book 4, is much more interesting.

As I have noted in the analysis of the story about the friend in book 4, there is a clear link between this narrative episode and the three passages that directly precede it, describing Augustine teaching in Carthage, his living together with his partner and his son (4.2.2), and his adherence to astrology (4.4.5). All four passages are explicitly linked by temporal markers, in a way similar to the repeated abstracts in book 9 foretelling Monnica’s death, thus linking the three main passages (Monnica’s youth, the shared ecstasy in Ostia and her eventual death). Thematically, we see Augustine

775 See also my discussion of the function of book 9 within the macrostructure of the Confessions on p.202. For an application of Labov’s model to the macrostructure of the Confessions see Osseforth (to appear in 2017).
776 This has also been observed by O’Donnell (1992) on 9.11.27: ‘The death of M. resembles and disresembles the death of A.’s friend at 4.4.7’.
777 See pp.76-7.
778 4.2.2: in illis annis (…) in illis annis; 4.3.5: eo tempore; 4.4.7: in illis annis.
779 See my discussion on pp.208-11 on the repeated abstracts linking the separate passages.
in all four instances in book 4 behaving well by conventional standards, while, as the bishop, he condemns the behaviour of his younger self. Thus, before the dramatic key narrative episode starts in book 4, the three passages serve to describe the kind of man Augustine is at that moment in time. In book 9 the two narrative episodes about Monnica’s childhood and character (9.8.17-9.9.22) serve a similar goal in describing the woman Monnica is, before we read about the dramatic conversation in Ostia and Monnica’s eventual death.\(^{780}\)

There also appear to be a number of textual references linking the Monnica passage to the passage about the friend in book 4. In the first narrative episode about Monnica in book 9 Augustine’s words ‘What did you do then, Lord?’ (\textit{quid tunc egisti, deus meus?}; 9.8.18) echo his words in book 4 (\textit{quid tunc fecisti, deus meus?}; 4.4.8), hinting similarly at an implicit question: ‘What was really going on?’ The other rhetorical question from the evaluation section in the second KNE in book 4, ‘Who on his own can recount your praises for the experiences of his life alone?’, is likewise echoed in book 9.\(^{781}\)

Augustine was asking himself, after his friend had died, where his sadness and confusion had come from, just as at his mother’s death he asks the Lord in similar confusion to alleviate his pain.\(^{782}\) In both instances he stresses the theme of man’s mortality and the pain involved in not accepting it.\(^{783}\)

One more similarity stands out. In the analysis of the second KNE I pointed out a ‘bipolar’ peak,\(^{784}\) consisting of the peak the narratee would be expecting and the one he would not be expecting. The peak he would be expecting is the death of the friend, announced in a previous abstract, the one he would not be expecting is the estrangement of the two friends, a theme introduced quite unobtrusively. This second peak, considering its unexpectedness, has much greater dramatic impact than the death of

\(^{780}\) Seelbach (2007: 25) recognizes in this description of Monnica’s younger days an effort by Augustine to make it easier to the narratee to identify with her. It is the same element that I have pointed out in Augustine’s ‘small scale selection’ of the episodes and trespasses from his own life.

\(^{781}\) 4.4.8: \textit{quis laudes tuas enumerat unus in se uno, quas expertus est}; 9.13.34: \textit{quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua?}

\(^{782}\) 4.4.9: \textit{interrogabam animam meam quare tristis esset et quare conturbaret me valde}; 9.12.32: \textit{mente turbata rogabam te, ut poteram, quo sanares dolorem meum}.

\(^{783}\) See the repeated reference in 4.4.7 and 4.4.9 to the friend with the word \textit{homo}, emphasizing his human transience; 4.7.12: \textit{o dementiam nescientem diligere homines humaniter}; 9.13.34: \textit{o si cognoscant se homines homines}.

\(^{784}\) See on my discussion on pp.90-1.
the friend which, to the narratee, merely appears to blandly wrap up the story: ‘and then he died.’ Looking at the Monnica passage as one narrative episode, the peak, her death, will be expected by the narratee, since it has been explicitly announced in the abstract. The narratee, however, is in no way prepared for what happens in the complication: the shared ecstasy in Ostia. It has such an impact on Monnica that she no longer has a reason to remain in this world, since all she has hoped for in Augustine has finally come true. The story of her subsequent death in its straightforward presentation rather reads as a piece of resolution than as a peak: ‘and then she died’.785 All these similarities seem to establish a connection between the two passages and draw the narratee’s attention to their content in comparison to each other. There also are, however, a number of differences between the story about the friend and the Monnica passage, which are even more important than the similarities. These differences apparently serve to illustrate Augustine’s progress from the struggling, ambitious young Manichee he was in book 4 to the converted, baptized and celibate private citizen he has become in book 9.786 And this progress towards his salvation, as an essential element of the protreptic character of the Confessions, is specifically illustrated by the differences between Augustine’s faulty friendship and the perfect unity he finally achieves with Monnica.787

In mourning his friend in book 4, to whom Augustine implicitly refers as one half of his soul and of whom he states that his own soul could not exist without him (4.4.7), Augustine says that by his death his soul was torn apart. By the death of his mother he then loses someone with whom he shared one life, while his wound stems from the abrupt end to that way of life. Other than in the case of his friend, Augustine’s life was completely torn apart by Monnica’s death, while his soul was – merely

785 We also see this technique in the peak in 4.4.8. See my discussion on pp.90-1.

786 See also McNamara (1958: 45): ‘If one compares his tranquil utterances at his mother’s death with the anguished cry of despair over that boyhood friend, one can see what his discovery of God had meant to him.’ Cf. Augustine’s misery in 4.5.10-4.6.11: flere/plorare/lacrima (7×), miseria/miser (9×) to 9.12.29: at illa nec misere moriebatur. Cf. Miller (2011: 391): ‘[At the death of Monnica] Augustine revisits love and the affections within a theocentric imagery, one that leads him to re-poetize friendship and to grieve in ways that express an altogether different emotional repertoire. At this later point in his life, he mourns in ways that are iconic rather than idolatrous [referring to Augustine’s Manichean as opposed to his Christian concept of God], motivated by a love of neighbour informed by caritas.’

787 Miller (2011: 392): ‘Augustine’s recollection of Monica’s death in Book 9, for which the death of his childhood friend serves as clear contrast in Confessions’ narrative.’
– wounded (9.12.30). This difference illustrates Augustine’s progress: the faulty interdependence with another mortal being, without whom he did not think he could survive, has ended. It is this difference Miller seems to be referring to when he describes the relationship between Augustine and Monnica as ‘a bonding as between two distinct persons; (...) [Augustine] is able to see Monica as other, independent of his own projections and points of self-reference.’ It is the ideal Christian relationship between individuals where caritas is the connecting element.

In book 4 Augustine’s wound is softened by time, in book 9 it is healed, because he has finally done away with what had troubled him most, his clinging to the physical world (9.13.34). In book 4 he spends his time after the death of his friend with friends on all sorts of distracting things, in book 9 he talks to those dear to him about his feelings after Monnica’s death. In book 4 he is shocked at the change his friend underwent, driving the two of them apart ever further, in book 9 he rejoices at the change he perceives in his mother’s attitude, bringing them ever closer in their faith. In book 9 he is happy as he finally understands that Monnica’s true self lives on, in book 4 he had been afraid of his own death, which would have made his friend’s death complete, since at that point in time the only ‘life after death’ he could envisage was in the memory of those left behind.

Thus, although the episodes about Monnica are not in any explicit way about amicitia, they do serve to emphasize the progress Augustine has made, by their references to the Vita Alypii in book 6 and, most importantly, to the episode about the death of the friend in book 4. They present Augustine’s eventual relationship with his mother defined by the aspects of true friendship, as there is aequalitas and caritas in their final ecstasy in Ostia. Their relationship had been characterized by unitas, their living together, benevolentia, the unselfish desire for the other’s well-being, and

788 Miller (2011: 401-2).
789 4.5.10: tempore lenitum est vulnus meum; 9.13.34: sanato corde ab illo vulnere. See also my discussion on pp.163-4 of the similarities in the description of the loss of Augustine’s concubine: nec sanabatur vulnus illud meum (...) sed post fervorem doloremque acerrimum putrescebat (6.15.25), as another example of how it was with Augustine when he was not yet converted.
790 9.12.29: nec omnino moriebatur. This change in Augustine’s attitude and the end of his struggle to accept man’s mortality (homo) we see for the first time right after his conversion at the death of Nebridius (9.3.6: ille vivit). See also my discussion on pp.203-4.
791 4.6.11: ne totus ille moreretur.
792 Cf. Williams (2012: 69) on Pliny’s description of the relationship between two women: ‘Placing no label on the women’s relationship with each other, Pliny skilfully appeals to ideals associated with amicitia – “wanting the same thing (idem velle),” “one soul in two bodies,” “another self (alter ego)” – without naming it.’
vicissitudo, the one influencing the other. The last two, benevolentia and vicissitudo, had been more explicit on Monnica’s side towards Augustine than the other way around. Augustine’s relationship with Monnica, as an example of true friendship, functions as a positive counterpart to the faulty friendship of his younger days.\footnote{On friendship between men and women see also p.249.}
3.3 The function of the theme of friendship within the *Confessions* as a whole

Characterization and presentation of friendship and the key function of the *Confessions*

Based on my conclusions as presented in the previous two sections of this chapter (3.1 and 3.2) regarding the character and presentation of friendship in the *Confessions*, I will now, in order to answer the principal question of this thesis, present the relation between these insights and what I see as a key function of the *Confessions*. This key function, brought to the fore by my analyses and selective summaries in chapter 2, seems to be to provide an example to the narratee of how an ordinary man can prepare himself for conversion. As such the *Confessions* can be seen as a protreptic. In the first nine books this protreptic character is illustrated by the process that brought Augustine to conversion, while in the final four books it is illustrated by the man Augustine has become.

I see two principles underlying Augustine’s characterization and presentation of friendship in the *Confessions*: identification and the evolution of mundane friendship into sublime brotherhood. These two principles may explain how Augustine’s characterization and presentation of friendship support the mentioned key function of the *Confessions*.

Identification

In the first nine books Augustine presents the life he used to lead as perfectly acceptable in the eyes of the world. The things he does are not only accepted by the secular, classical society he is part of, they are even expected of a young man of his background and in his position. The narrative episodes show the narratee how such an ordinary man eventually

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794 See also chapter 1.2.2 on pp.22-4.
795 See, e.g., 10.3.4: excitant cor, ne dormiat in desperatione et dicat, non possum; 13.21.30: sint forma fidelibus vivendo coram eis et excitando ad imitationem; 13.25.38: praebentibus se ad imitandum in omni continentia. Cf. also Plato, *Ep.* 7, 340b, for the impact of a protreptic example on the narratee: ‘For on hearing this (...) [the addressee] believes he has been shown a marvellous pathway and that he must brace himself at once to follow it.’
796 On the characteristics of a protreptic see Mayer (2007: 76); Kotzé (2004: 58, 70-85).
797 See Verboven (2011: 419): ‘A Roman’s personal identity was predominantly determined by the gaze of his or her community, and that gaze was very largely fixed on how that person dealt with his or her friends.’
came to embrace the true faith through God’s love,\textsuperscript{798} rather than explicitly \textit{tell} the narratee what to do.\textsuperscript{799} The emphasis on social acceptance may be taken as instrumental in bringing the narratee to identify himself with the character Augustine, and eventually follow in Augustine’s footsteps, thus contributing to the \textit{protreptic} character of the \textit{Confessions}.\textsuperscript{800} The narratee should start to believe in his own possibilities.\textsuperscript{801} In terms of Augustine’s theology, man’s influence on his personal road to conversion, however, is minimal: man is dependent on God’s grace. God’s influence on man’s actions is continuously emphasized by what I call the \textit{scienti-nesciens} theme in the \textit{Confessions}: man acts unwittingly as an instrument of God. We have seen many examples of people acting or speaking in a non-deliberate way, and others, while heeding these words or acts as if they were directly addressed to them, truly and lastingly changing their minds. Thus, the \textit{nesciens} – non-deliberate – element in man’s actions or

\textsuperscript{798} My analyses of the eight KNE’s have brought out the involvement of the narratee in the discourse by narratological and linguistic means, thus preparing the way for identification. See my discussion above on pp.253-7.

\textsuperscript{799} Cf. McGuire (1988: 56): ‘Augustine never wrote a formal \textit{De Amicitia}. Friendship was so much a part of his personal experience that his \textit{Confessions} contained the sum of what he had to say on the subject. (...) Augustine’s doctrine on friendship is an experiential one.’ See also Augustine’s attitude about the effectiveness of his \textit{Confessions} compared to sermons: 9.13.37: \textit{meninertint cum affectu pio parentum meorum in hac luce transitoria (…), ut quod a me illa poposcit extremum ubi rius ei praestetur in multorum orationibus quam per orationes meas.} For this preference of showing, not telling see also Augustine’s approach to an understanding of scripture through allegory: 6.4.6: \textit{dicentem Ambrosium laetus audiebam ‘littera occidit, spiritus autem vivificat (…) cum ea (…) remoto mystico velamento spiritualiter aperiret; 13.24.36; nec video, quid impediat ita me sentire dicta figurata librorum tuorum. Novi enim multipliciter significari corpus, quod uno modo mente intellegitur et multipliciter mente intellegi, quod uno modo per corpus significatur.} See for the element of ‘show, not tell’ as an aspect of protreptic also my discussion on p.18-9.

\textsuperscript{800} Cf. O’Connell (1969: 120): ‘[Augustine] has, he feels, told a story in which each of us can recognize himself.’; O’Connell (1969: 186): ‘Augustine, Everyman, Adam. This secret identity governs the subtle development of the \textit{Confessions}, harmonizes its themes, blends them into a symphonic unity, discloses their profoundest sense.’ See also Brunt (1988: 353): ‘In the \textit{Laelius} Cicero makes it clear that the good men who alone can enjoy true friendships are not necessarily philosophic sages but men (…) who are good in the plain man’s sense’, and Young (1997: 267): ‘The \textit{Confessions} makes his own [Augustine’s] life a paradigm of the life of ‘everyman’ (…) from being in Adam to being in Christ.’ Cf. Iambl. \textit{Protrept. 1}: ‘A protreptic [adhortation] must proceed from common things.’ See also O’Donnell’s observation (1992) on 4.9.14, where ‘the reader of conf. is beginning not merely to observe but to participate in the working of this text: but that was A.’s intention.’ On identification as a process that comes naturally to a narratee, see also the question Caroline Hammond asked her public at the presentation of her translation of Augustine’s \textit{Confessions} (Amsterdam, April 2016): ‘What does a donkey look for in the Bible? Other donkeys.’

\textsuperscript{801} Cf., e.g., 10.3.4: \textit{excitant cor, ne dormiat in desperatione et dicit, non possum.}
utterances illustrates the will of God.\footnote{See for this, e.g., my discussion on pp.50-1 of 3.12.21: \textit{quod illa se accepisse inter conloquia sua mecum saepe recordabatur, ac si de caelo sonuisset}, and my discussion on pp.135-6 of 6.7.12: \textit{per me quidem illam sed nesciensem operatus es. (…) scis tu, deus noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitaverim. at ille in se rapuit meque illud non nisi propter se dixisse credidit.} Cf. Karfíková (2012: 97): ‘Whatever men do with God’s help, God actually does in them.’

Still, the protreptic character of the \textit{Confessions} can aim at making man start preparing himself to become the recipient of \textit{caritas}, which is God’s gift, creating the perfect ambience, as it where, for true friendship to exist.\footnote{Fredriksen (1988: 105) denies even this minimalism, when she sees in the \textit{Confessions} a ‘denial’ of ‘man’s ability to do anything towards his own salvation.;’ see also Karfíková (2012: 96): ‘the contribution of man consisted in pitiable wandering.;’ and (2012: 337): ‘All that is really valuable, including the will to goodness and the will to believe, was given to men without their possessing any previous merits.’ Cf. also Nietzsche (1967) on his reading of the \textit{Confessions} in his letter to Franz Overbeck (589): ‘Übrigens sieht man, bei diesem Buche, dem Christenthum in den Bauch: ich stehe dabei mit der Neugierde eines radikalen Arztes und Physiologen.’}

It is with his friends that man should argue and with whom he should struggle with life’s questions, as it is among friends that he should seek solace in times of great need. In books 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8 Augustine highlights this by key narrative episodes (KNE’s) characterized by friendship. His use of quotations from and references to pagan literature, when describing this worldly friendship, emphasizes the social acceptance of that friendship.\footnote{Cf., e.g., 6.10.16: the conflict between socially accepted friendship with a corrupt magistrate and Alypius’s refusal of such a friendship in the sixth KNE, The Temptation.}

Reflecting on the positive elements within that worldly friendship Augustine uses quotations from Scripture.\footnote{See, e.g. 2.4.9, 4.6.11, 4.7.12, 4.8.13, 4.9.14}

It is the bishop as primary narrator who condemns his younger self’s lifestyle, since what may be acceptable in the eyes of the world, might be totally unacceptable to God.

Friendship would be much more easily recognized by the narratee as a common aspect of everyday life than high-flown ambition or lust.\footnote{See friendship as an aspect of Augustine’s ‘ordinary’ life see Miller (2011: 399): ‘Perhaps (…) friendship is part of Augustine’s being-in-the-world.’ See also McGuire (1988: 42): ‘[For the faithful] friendship formed the very breath of life, a point of departure for all spiritual life, and a necessary bond’}

Commonness as a basis for identification might also explain a seeming ordinarness in the subject matter of the anecdotes in the \textit{Confessions}. McEvoy points out Augustine’s habit in the \textit{Confessions} of linking his reflections to personal experiences: ‘[Augustine’s] conjoint form of loving and even (one might say) unremitting attention to the particular, together with his unerring ability to show the universal human quality as that was
mirrored in his own personal experience.'\textsuperscript{807} As Brown puts it: ‘these experiences summed up for him, the condition of ‘the human race.’’\textsuperscript{808} One might be hard put to consider the experiences Augustine presents, as, for example, a couple of young boys stealing pears, to be the epitome of faulty friendships gone awry, or to read about the grave dangers Alypius faces in book 6 with more than a shrug; Alypius’s eventual immunity to temptation, denying himself the opportunity to buy books, Augustine himself calls a ‘small thing’ (6.10.16). The point of all these instances, the inherent dangers they illustrate, might have been made much more explicitly and impressively by more dramatic and shocking anecdotes: not just a boyish prank of stealing pears, but assault and robbery or murder, not the delights of buying books, but the grittiest examples of human corruption and bribery. The intertextual references that the text displays adds significance to the rather mundane examples Augustine chooses: for example, the allusions to Catiline’s conspiracy in the pear theft, or Odysseus guarding himself against the Sirens in Alypius’s relapse in the amphitheatre.\textsuperscript{809} More importantly, the impact of any shocking transgression on the narratee might very easily have resulted in his turning away from the specific example, not applying the implied warning to himself as being utterly unrealistic to his personal experience and mind set.\textsuperscript{810} The exemplary function to the narratee of Augustine’s life’s story would then be nullified.

\textbf{The evolution of mundane friendship into sublime brotherhood}

As has been observed by various scholars, Augustine uses classical, pagan sources and adapts them to suit his argumentative goals.\textsuperscript{811} In the words of MacCormack, to Augustine ‘the new could not be thought of without reference to the old (…); the old was enshrined in the new, or even the new in

\textsuperscript{807} McEvoy (2001: 6).
\textsuperscript{808} Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 161).
\textsuperscript{809} See the analyses of 2.4.9-2.8.16 (Catiline) on pp.67-8 and of 6.8.13 (Odysseus) on p.144.
\textsuperscript{810} See, e.g., Bruggink (2010: 341) discussing the pear theft: ‘The incident is by itself so unimportant yet so recognizable that anyone would dare confess to have done something of the sort (…) [it would make Augustine] accessible and imitable.’
\textsuperscript{811} See Den Boeft (2010: 306): ‘adaptive usurpation’; Schelkle (1939: 4): ‘interpretatio christiana’; Shanzer (1992: 42): ‘Cynics might insinuate that he [Augustine] lends grandeur to his life by donning Biblical or epic cothurni, that these images are signs of vanity. The less cynical discern a way of teaching with exempla.’ Cf. for Augustine’s use of classical references, e.g., 2.4.9, 4.6.11, 5.8.15, 6.9.14-15; 8.11.25-26; see also the many echoes of Cicero’s Laelius, De Amicitia (see chapter 3.1 above), Vergil’s Aeneid (e.g. 10.8.12-10.26.37) and Plato (e.g. 10.9.16-10.12.19).
the old, in such a way that the two were inseparable’. Augustine was not the first to emulate or Christianize the pagan sources. McLynn mentions Ambrose’s ‘Ciceronian variations’ in his *De Officiis Ministrorum*: ‘What impressed Augustine was Ambrose’s self-confidence in appropriating for the church a concept [i.e. officiosus] that had seemed irremediably tainted by its secular connotations.’ McLynn adds a motif Ambrose might have had for doing that: ‘The best-known of Ambrose’s writings can also be construed as a signpost, a more complex exercise designed at once to make the church intelligible to the *saeculum* and to annex the latter’s traditional territory.’

My above analyses of the characterization and the presentation of friendship in the *Confessions* (3.1-2) show how Augustine specifically adopts the classical Roman concept of amicitia, as presented in its most iconic form in Cicero’s *Laelius, De Amicitia*, and by imitatio and aemulatio ‘Christianizes’ the aspects I have discussed in chapter 1.3. Whereas the classical vocabulary of friendship was traditionally clearly distinguished from Christian brotherhood or caritas by Christian writers, Augustine, in his *Confessions*, bridged the gap between secular and Christian vocabulary and imagery, gradually combining the best of both worlds. In doing so,

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812 MacCormack (1998: 229). See also McGuire (1988: 39): ‘[Augustine’s] way of thinking was renewed. But [his] rhetoric as well as [his] manner of forming human bonds remained those of the upper class culture.’ Augustine’s use of pre-existing elements could be described as an example of what Ineke Sluiter (2013, 2014) has identified as ‘anchoring innovation’: the way innovations always seem to be embedded in and attached to what is older, traditional, known.

813 McGuire (1988: 89): ‘On the foundation of classical tradition the structure of Christian friendship was built.’

814 McLynn (1994: 255-6). Cf. Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 74): ‘Nor did he [Ambrose] have any scruples about borrowing from the pagans: he gloried in being able to parade his spoils from the pulpit – this ‘gold of the Egyptians’ was fair prize. For references in Ambrose’s *De officiis* to Cicero, see also McGuire (1988: 42-4 ).’

815 Cameron (2011: 372) argues that the use of allusions to classical, secular literature in Symmachus’s correspondence with Christians would also serve to show ‘the more aggressive Christians’ that classical culture was not a ‘pagan reserve’, but something that ‘distinguished Christians valued and even emulated’.

816 See also McEvoy (1986: 73): ‘A purification and extension of amicitia effected through the interlacing with the central notions of charity and brotherhood.’


818 Brown (1967, repr. 2000: 158-9): ‘[a late Roman man] would have found them [the *Confessions*] a startling book: traditional forms of literary expression, that he had taken for granted, would flow into it only to be transformed beyond recognition.’ Cf. McCormack’s comparison (1998: 37) of this process of appropriation and adaptation to the reusing of pre-existing architectural elements, which, rearranged, express an entirely independent message.
he turned amicitia into amicitia vera, the single most important quality of the Catholic Christian as a member of the Church, a veritable sine qua non.\textsuperscript{819}

The Christianization of amicitia is complete in books 10 to 13 (which lack narrative episodes), where fraternitas becomes the dominant theme.\textsuperscript{820} Augustine describes this fraternitas with reference to the same aspects he uses to characterize ‘regular’, imperfect amicitia; the only difference between the two is caritas. In the description of fraternitas in book 10 there is vicissitudo, unitas and caritas as well as aequalitas.\textsuperscript{821} Fraterna caritas in combination with benevolentia is then mentioned in book 11.\textsuperscript{822} Thus, five of the six aspects of true friendship are linked in books 10 and 11 to fraternitas.

There is a similar description in book 12 where Augustine talks about the ‘house of God’, the community shared by the souls of saints and citizens of the heavenly city.\textsuperscript{823} That is where man’s soul longs to be (12.11.13), Augustine says. In its description there are unitas, dilectio, vicissitudo, benevolentia, aequalitas as well as caritas.\textsuperscript{824} In book 13 we then see the soul bringing forth the works of charity (opera misericordiae: 13.17.21), which all recall God’s love (caritas). Once again we see an enumeration of friendship’s aspects: dilectio, aequalitas, benevolentia and vicissitudo.\textsuperscript{825} Those who act upon these opera misericordiae are the ‘brothers in Christ’ who are God’s representatives on earth. As mundane friendship evolves into brotherhood and its aspects are likened to the works of charity, so ordinary friends become brothers in Christ. It is exactly this evolution of friendship that distinguishes Augustine’s presentation of friendship from

\textsuperscript{819} Van der Valk (2009: 142).
\textsuperscript{820} McNamara (1964: 220). Cf., e.g., 10.4.5: fraternus animus .. animus ille fraternus .. fraternus ille .. de fraternis cordibus (...) quia sive approbet sive improbet me, diliget me. See also my discussion of fraternitas on pp.226-7, 229.
\textsuperscript{821} 10.3.3: caritas omnia credit inter eos utique quos conexos sibimet unum facit; 10.4.6: credentium filiorum hominum, sociorum gaudii mei et consortium mortalitatis meae, civium meorum et mecum peregrinorum, praeecedentium et consequentium et comitum vitae meae.
\textsuperscript{822} 11.2.3: quoniam non mihi soli aestuat [desiderium meum], sed usui vult esse fraternae caritati.
\textsuperscript{823} 12.11.12: concordissime spiritum, civium civitatis tuae in caelestibus.
\textsuperscript{824} Cf. 12.25.35: corum fratribus meis (...) diligamus nos invicem pariterque diligamus te (...) usque ad finem caritatis. For friendship as a way to describe the brotherhood of the faithful, see Cassidy (1992: 135): [Augustine describes] ‘the community of the body of Christ as one constituted according to the ideal of friendship.’
\textsuperscript{825} Cf. Mt. 5:46: si enim diligitis eos, qui vos diligent, quam mercedem habeitis; Mt. 22.39: diligens proximum tuum sicut teipsum; Mt. 7:12: omnia ergo, quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, ita et vos facite eis.
that of others.\textsuperscript{826} The narrative episodes in books 1–9 of the \textit{Confessions} clearly serve to pave the way for the reader’s attaining this insight, by involving him in the narrative of Augustine’s own, very human journey from mundane to true friendship.

\textit{Caritas} is the catalyst of true friendship, as I have pointed out in section 3.1, as well as the catalyst of a brotherhood in Christ: to become a true friend in the Christian sense which Augustine presents in the \textit{Confessions}, and thereby become a brother in Christ, man first has to receive the gift of God’s love.\textsuperscript{827} Only by entering into a relationship of reciprocal love (\textit{caritas}) with God, can man be a true friend and brother to his fellow man. It might be this relationship Augustine is describing in the second narrative episode in book 8, when one of the friends about to be converted exclaims that he would forsake all worldly ambition for becoming a friend of God (\textit{amicus dei}: 8.6.15) instead.\textsuperscript{828} Thus, \textit{caritas dei} would equal \textit{amicitia dei}, which consequently would generate \textit{amicitia vera} and \textit{fraternitas}. An analysis of \textit{amicitia dei} is, however, beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it here to say that the ultimate concept of true Christian friendship between

\begin{itemize}
  \item Cassidy (1992: 140): ‘To Augustine [the bringing to fruition of the body of Christ] always remained the only true context within which the significance of friendship could be situated.’
  \item Konstan (1997: 153) describes Ambrose’s brotherhood as ‘a concern for a broader concord among communicants as such.’ Augustine’s first priority is the smaller group of individuals, implying the five aspects as illustrated by his description of \textit{amicitia}. See also Brunt (1988: 358) on Cicero’s exclusivity of true friendship (\textit{Lael., De Am.} 5.20): ‘the bonds of affection can unite only two or at most a few persons.’ Cf. Brown (2012: 155): Augustine ‘didn’t think big, as Ambrose had done’. See Konstan (1997: 156-7), for a discussion of other Christian authors presenting brotherhood as the ideal state. Cf. Lane Fox (2015: 146): ‘In due course, this high ideal of friendship [i.e. loving God in the friend] will underlie Augustine’s ideals for the life of monastic ‘brethren’.’ Reuling (2004: 248-9) points out that by the end of the fourth century A.D. the term \textit{frater} became closely associated with \textit{monachus}. She also discusses the parallel to \textit{frater: soror}, which she interprets as ‘a religious woman’.
  \item 4.4.7: \textit{non est vera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis}; Rom.5:5: \textit{charitas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis}.
  \item Cf 13.13.14: \textit{amicus est enim sponsi}, where the \textit{amicus} is the believer and the \textit{sponsus} is Christ.
\end{itemize}
humans as Augustine presents it in the *Confessions* seems to be a likeness of that sublime friendship with God.\footnote{McNamara (1958: 191) points out that perfect friendship, in Augustine’s view, could only be possible with God. See also McGuire (1988: 42): ‘[For the faithful] the transformation of self(...) provided fertile ground for the transformation of friendship from a purely natural phenomenon to a supernatural one: friendship in Christ.’ Konstan (1996: 96), however, discussing friendship between man and God in pagan as well as Christian sources, acknowledges the possibility of such a friendship, but supposes a natural distance between the two: ‘If friendship is available as a metaphor for a human being’s relationship with God, it nevertheless involves a profound sense of one’s distance from the divine.’; Konstan (1996: 101): ‘the very distance between mortals and the deity as conceived in Judaism and Christianity is so vast as to nullify any suggestion of equality in station or in excellence, whether proportional or otherwise.’ In my analyses in chapter 2 we have seen that Augustine presents a nuanced view on, e.g., *aequalitas* and *unitas*: the friends do not have to be each other’s equals in all respects, neither do they have to be together to be true friends. See also my discussion of these aspects in chapter 3.1 above. It is for these nuances that I think that to Augustine a perfect friendship with God is possible.} Thus, only one question remains to be answered, the principal question of this study:

**What is the function of the theme of friendship within the *Confessions* as a whole?**

In line with the conclusions and insights presented above in this chapter, I see friendship in the *Confessions* as one coherent theme, not only dominating the crucial books 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8, but also, in its perfect state as brotherhood, running through books 10 to 13.\footnote{McEvoy (1986: 43): ‘the two themes, friendship and the search for wisdom, in the *Confessions*. ’} My analyses have clearly brought out the aspects of friendship as Augustine characterizes it in the *Confessions* (chapter 3.1), as well as the particular way in which he presents its aspects in a number of key narrative episodes (chapter 3.2). This presentation appears to reveal a focus on friendship in the most dramatic of the narrative passages (chapter 3.2). I have also drawn attention to friendship as the key element of protreptic, as the primary experience with which the narratee can identify (chapter 3.3). Furthermore, we have seen a classical concept of *amicitia* evolving into true, Christian friendship (chapter 3.3); and an ordinary young man with ordinary friends, slowly changing into a man who moves closer to God’s truth, surrounded by true friends (chapter 3.3). And as they are all moving closer to God and to one another, they will all, eventually, become as brothers in Christ.
This leads to the general conclusion that friendship, as Augustine characterizes and presents it in the *Confessions*, functions to illustrate the way to conversion and, at the same time, constitutes conversion’s ultimate goal: to achieve, through mundane *amicitia*, true friendship which equals brotherhood as the perfect state for the Christian brethren in communion with God. And although final conversion to that state of brotherhood is, in Augustine’s theology, always seen as a gift from God, as *caritas* received through the Holy Spirit, the text encourages the reader to prepare himself for that ultimate gift both by longing for it and by engaging passionately in the dynamics of friendship, just like Augustine himself did.
Appendix

Analyses of the narrative in the *Confessions*:

I  The pear theft (2.4.9)

Abstract
(DM) et ego furtum facere volui et feci, nulla compulsus egestate nisi penuria et fastidio iustitiae et sagina iniquitatis. nam id furatus sum quod mihi abundabat et multo melius, nec ea re volebam frui quam furto appetebam, sed ipso furto et peccato.

Orientation
(NM) arbor erat pirus in vicinia nostrae vineae pomis onusta nec forma nec sapore inlecebrosis.

Complication
(NM) ad hanc excutiendam atque asportandam nequissimi adulescentuli perreximus nocte intempesta (quousque ludum de pestilentiae more in areis produceramus) et abstulimus inde onera ingentia, non ad nostras epulas sed vel proicienda porcis, etiamsi aliquid inde comedimus, (DM) dum tamen fieret a nobis quod eo liberet quo non liceret.

Evaluation
(DM) ecce cor meum, deus, ecce cor meum, quod miseratus es in imo abyssi. dicat tibi nunc, ecce cor meum, quid ibi quaebat, ut essem gratis malus et malitiae meae causa nulla esset nisi malitia. foeda erat, et amavi eam. amavi perire, amavi defectum meum, non illud ad quod deficiebamus, sed defectum meum ipsum amavi, turpis anima et dissiliens a firmamento tuo in exterminium, non dedecore aliquid, sed dedecus appetens.

II  Monnica and the bishop (3.12.21)

Abstract
(DM) et dedisti alterum responsum interim quod recolo. nam et multa praetereo, propter quod propper ad ea quae me magis urguent confiteri tibi, et multa non memini.
dedisti ergo alterum per sacerdotem tuum, (DeM) quendam episcopum nutritum in ecclesia et exercitatum in libris tuis.

Complication
(NM) quem cum illa femina rogasset ut dignaretur mecum conloqui et refellere errores meos et dedocere me mala ac docere bona (faciebat enim hoc, quos forte idoneos invenisset), noluit ille,

Evaluation
(DeM) prudenter sane, quantum sensi postea.

Complication
(NM) respondit enim me adhuc esse indocilem, eo quod inflatus essem novitate haeresis illius et nonnullis quaestiorum iam multos imperitos exagitassem, sicut illa indicaverat ei. (DiM) ‘sed’ (NM) inquit (DiM) ‘sine illum ibi. tantum roga pro eo dominum. ipse legendo reperiet quis ille sit error et quanta impietas.’ (NM) simul etiam narravit

Complication
se quoque parvulum a seducta matre sua datum fuisse manichaeis, et omnes paene non legisse tantum verum etiam scriptitasse libros eorum,

Peak
sibique apparuisse nullo contra disputante et convincente quam esset illa secta fugienda:

Resolution
itaque fugisse.
quaecum ille dixisset atque illa nollet adquiescere, sed instaret magis deprecando et ubertim flendo, ut me videret et mecum dissereret, ille iam substomachans taedio,

Peak
(DiM) ‘vade’ (NM) inquit (DiM) ‘a me. ita vivas: fieri non potest, ut filius istarum lacrimarum pereat.’

Resolution
(NM) quod illa ita se accepisse inter conloquia sua mecum saepe recordabatur, ac si de caelo sonuisset.

III The friend who was turning into an enemy (4.4.7-4.7.12)

Orientation
(NM) In illis annis, quo primum tempore in municipio, (IM) quo natus sum, (NM) docere coeperam, conparaveram amicum (DeM) societate studiorum nimis carum,
coaevum mihi et confloretm flore adulescentiae. mecum puer creverat et pariter in scholam ieramus pariterque luseramus. sed nondum erat sic amicus,

Evaluation
(DM) quamquam ne tum quidem sic, uti est vera amicitia (IM), quia non est vera, nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter haerentes sibi caritate diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis.

Orientation
(DeM) sed tamen dulcis erat nobis, cocta fervore parilium studiorum. (DM) nam et a fide vera, quam non germanitus et penitus adulescens tenebat, deflexeram eum in superstitiones fabellas et perniciosas, propter quas me plangebat mater. (DeM) mecum iam errabat in animo ille homo, et non poterat anima mea sine illo.

Abstract
(DM) Et ecce tu (IM) inminens dorso fugitivorum tuorum, deus ultionum et fons misericordiarum simul, qui convertis nos ad te miris modis, (DM) ecce abstulisti hominem de hac vita, cum vix explevisset annum in amicitia mea, suavi mihi suavem super omnes suavitates illius vitae meae.

Evaluation
(IM) quis laudes tuas enumerat unus in se uno, quas expertus est?

Abstract
(DM) quid tunc fecisti, deus meus,

Evaluation
(IM) et quam investigabilis abyssus iudiciorum tuorum?

Complication
(NM) cum enim laboraret ille febribus, iacuit diu sine sensu in sudore laetali, et cum desperaretur, baptizatus est nesciens, me non curante, et praesumenter id retinere potius animam eius quod a me acceperat, non quod in nescientis corpore fiebat. longe autem aliter erat. nam recreatus est et salvus factus, statimque, ut primo cum eo loqui potui (DM) - potui autem mox, ut ille potuit, quando non discedebam et nimirum pendebamus ex invicem - (NM) temptavi apud illum inriedere, tamquam et illo inrisuro mecum baptismum, quem acceperat mente atque sensu absentissimus. sed tamen iam se accepisse didicerat.

Peak
(NM) at ille ita me exhorruit ut inimicum, admonuitque mirabili et repentina libertate, ut, si amicus esse vellem, talia sibi dicere desinerem. ego autem stupefactus atque
turbatus, distuli omnes motus meos, ut convalesceret prius, essetque idoneus viribus valetudinis, cum quo agere possem quod vellem.

Abstract
(DM) sed ille abraptus dementiae meae, ut apud te servaretur consolationi meae.

Peak
(NM) Post paucos dies me absente repetitur febribus et defungitur.

Resolution

Evaluation
(DM) Et nunc, Domine, iam illa transierunt, et tempore lenitum est vulner meum.

Excursus
(DM) possunme audire abs te, (IM) qui veritas es, (DM) et admove cre aurum cordis mei ori tuo, ut dicas mihi cur fletus dulcis sit miseris? an tu, quamvis ubique adsis, longe abiectisti a te miseriam nostram, et tu in te manes, nos autem in experimentis volvimur? et tamen nisi ad aures tuas ploraremus, nihil residui de spe nostra fieret. unde igitur suavis fructus de amaritudine vitae carpitur, gemere et flere et suspirare et conqueri? an hoc ibi dulce est, quod speramus exaudire te? recte istuc in precibus, quia desiderium perveniendi habent. num in dolore amissae rei et luctu, quo tunc operiebar? (NM) neque enim sperabam revivescere illum aut hoc petebam lacrimis, sed tantum dolebam et flebam. miser enim eram et amiseram gaudium meum. (DM) an et fletus res amara est et, prae fastidio rerum quibus prius fruebam et tunc ab eis abhorremermus, delectat?

Resolution
quid autem ista loquor? non enim tempus quaerendi nunc est, sed confitendi tibi. (NM) miser eram, (IM) et miser est omnis animus victus amicitia rerum mortalium, et dilaniatur cum eas amittit, et tunc sentit miseriam qua miser est et antequam amittat eas. (NM) sic ego eram illo tempore et flebam amarissime et requiescebam in amaritudine. ita miser eram et habebam cariorem illo amico meo vitam ipsum miseram. nam quamvis eam mutare vellem, nollem tamen amittere magis quam illum, et nescio an vellem vel pro illo, (IM) sic: de Oreste et Pylade traditur, si non fingitur, qui vellent pro invicem vel simul mori, qua morte peius eis erat non simul vivere. (NM) sed in me nescio quis affectus nimis huic contrarius ortus erat, et taedium vivendi erat in me gravissimum et moriendo metus. (DM) credo, (NM) quo magis illum amabam,
hoc magis mortem, quae mihi eum abstulerat, tamquam atrociissimam inimicam oderam et timebam, et eam repellente consumpturam omnes homines putabam, (DM) quia illum potuit. (NM) sic eram omnino, (DM) memini. ecce cor meum, Deus meus, ecce intus. vide, quia memini, spes mea, (IM) qui me mundas a talium affectionum immunditia, dirigens oculos meos ad te et evellens de laqueo pedes meos. (NM) mirabar enim ceteros mortales vivere, quia ille, quem quasi non moriturum dilexeram, mortuos erat, et me magis, quia ille alter eram, vivere illo mortuo mirabar. (IM) bene quidam dixit de amico suo: ‘dimidium animae’ suae. (NM) nam ego sensi animam meam et animam illius unam fuisse animam in duos corporibus, et ideo mihi horribi erat vita, quia nolebam dimidius vivere, et ideo forte mori mea, ne totus ille moreretur quem multum amaveram. (IM) o dementiam nescientem diligere homines humaniter! o stultum hominem immoderat humana patientem! (NM) quod ego tunc eram. itaque aestuabam, suspirabam, flebam, turbabar, nec requies erat nec consilium. portabam enim concisam et cruentam animam meam im patientem portare, et ubi eam ponerem non inveniebam. non in amoenis nemoribus, non in ludis atque canibus, nec in suave olentibus locis, nec in conviviis apparatis, neque in voluptate cubilis et lecti, non denique in libris et carminibus. horrebam omnia et ipsa lux, et quidquid non erat quod ille erat improbum et odiosum erat praeter gemitum et lacrimas: (IM) nam in eis solis aliquantula requies. (NM) ubi autem inde aufereretur anima mea, non inveniebam. sed in luctu et doloribus, et ideo mea, cum de te cogitabam, non enim tu eras, sed vanum phantasma et errore eratque reus, si conabam eam ibi ponere ut requiesceret, per inane labebatur et iterum ruebat super me, et ideo mihi remanseram infelix locus, ubi nec esse possem inde recedere. (DM) quo enim cor meum fugeret a corde meo? quo a me ipso fugerem? quo non me sequerer?

Coda
(NM) et tamen fugi de patria. minus enim eum quaerere oculi mei ubi videre non solebant, atque a Thagastensi oppido veni Carthaginem.

IV Faustus (5.3.3 (...) 5.6.10-5.7.13)

Abstract
(DM) proloquar in conspectu dei mei annum illum undetricensimum aetatis meae.

Orientation
(NM) iam venerat Carthaginem quidam manichaeorum episcopus, Faustus nomine, (DM) magnus laqueus diaboli, (NM) et multi implicabantur in eo per inlecebram suaviloquentiae. quam ego iam tametsi laudabam, discernebam tamen a veritate rerum quarum discendarum aedium eram, nec qualis vasculo sermonis, sed quid mihi scientiae comedendum apponeret nominatus apud eis ille Faustus intuebar. fama enim de illo
praecocuta mihi erat (DeM) quod esset honestarum omnium doctrinarum peritissimus et apprime disciplinis liberalibus eruditus.

Excursus (5.3.3-5.5.9)
et quoniam multa philosophorum legeram (.) sed ad fidem mean illius auctoritatem propter creditam sanctitatem praeponerem.

Orientation
(NM) et per annos ferme ipsos novem quibus eos animo vagabundus audivi nimirum extento desiderio venturum expectabam istum Faustum. ceteri enim eorum in quos forte incurrisset, qui talum rerum quaestionibus a me objectibus deficiebant, illum mihi promittebant, cuius adventu conlatoque conloquio facilli mihi haec et si qua forte maiora quaeratorum etodatissime expediretur. ergo ubi venit, expertus sum hominem gratum et iucundum verbi et ea ipsa (IM) quae illi solent dicere (NM) multo suavius garrientem.

Abstract
(DM) sed quid ad mean sitim pretiosorum poculorum decentissimus ministrator?

Evaluation
(NM) iam rebus talibus satiatæae erant aures meae, nec ideo mihi meliora videbantur quia melius dicebantur, nec ideo vera quia diserta, nec ideo sapiens anima quia vultus congruus et decorum eloquium. illi autem qui eum mihi promittebant non boni rerum existimatores erant, et ideo illissi videbatur prudens et sapiens, quia delectabat eos loquens. sensi autem aliud genus hominum etiam veritatem habere suspectum et ei nullæ adquirere, si commodo atque uterque sermon promeretur. me autem iam docueras, deus meus, miris et occultis modis (DM) et propterea credo quod tu me docueris, (IM) quoniam verum est, nec quisquam præter te alias doctor est veri, utricumque et unde cumque claruerit), (NM) iam ergo abs te didiceram nec eo debere videri aliquid verum dici, quia eloquentem didicit, nec eo falsum, quia incomposite sonant signa laborum; rursus nec ideo verum, quia impolite enuntiatur, nec ideo falsum, quia splendidas sermo est, sed perinde esse sapientiam et stultitiam sicut sunt cibi utiles et inutiles, verbi autem ornatis et inornatis sicut vasibus urbanis et rusticis utrosque cibos posse ministri.

Complication
(NM) igitur aviditas mea, qua illum tanto tempore expectaveram hominem, delectabatur quidem motu affectuque disputantis et verbi congruentibus atque ad vestiendas sententias facile occurrentibus. delectabar autem et cum multis vel etiam præ multis laudabam ac ferebam, sed moleste habebam quod in coetu audientium non sinigerer ingerere illi et partiri cum eo curas quaestionum meorum conferendo familiariter et accipiendo ac reddendo sermonem. quod ubi potui et aures eius cum familiaribus meis eoque tempore occupare coepi quo non dedeceret alternis disserere, et protuli quaedam quae me movebant,

Peak
(NM) expertus sum prius hominem expertem liberalium disciplinarum nisi grammaticaæ atque eius ipsius usitato modo. et quia legerat aliaque tullianæ orationes
et paucissimos Senecae libros et nonnulla poetaetum et suae sectae si qua volumina latine atque composite conscripta erant, et quia aderat cotidiana sermocinandi exercitatio, inde suppetebat eloquium, quod fiebat acceptius magisque seductorium moderamine ingenii et quodam lepore naturali.

**Evaluation**

(DM) itane est, ut recolo, domine deus meus, arbiter conscientiae meae? coram te cor meum et recordatio mea, qui me tunc agebas abdito secreto providentiae tuae et inhonestos errores meos iam convertebas ante faciem meam, ut viderem et odissem.

**Resolution**

(NM) nam posteaquam ille mihi imperitus earum artium quibus eum excellere putaveram satis apparuit, desperare coepl posse mihi eum illa quae me movebant aperire atque dissolvere; quorum quidem ignarus posset veritatem tenere pietatis, sed si manicheaeus non esset. (IM) libri quippe eorum pleni sunt longissimis fabulis de caelo et sideribus et sole et luna; (NM) quae mihi eum, quod utique cupiebam, conlatis numerorum rationibus quas alibi ego legeram, utrum potius ita essent ut Manichaei libris continebantur, an certe vel par etiam inde ratio redderetur, subtiliter explicare posse iam non arbitrabar. quae tamen ubi consideranda et discutiendi protuli, modeste sane ille nec ausus est subire ipsam sarcinam. (DM) noverat enim se ista non nosse nec eum puduit confiteri. (DeM) non erat de talibus, quales multos loquaces passus eram, comantes ea me docere et dicentes nihil. iste vero cor habebat, etsi non rectum ad te, nec tamen nimis incautum ad se ipsum. non usquequaque imperitus erat imperitiae suae, et noluit se temere disputando in ea coartare unde nec exitus ei ullus nec facilis esset reditus: etiam hinc mihi amplius placuit. (IM) pulchrior est enim temperantia confitentis animi quam illa quae nosse cupiebam. (DeM) et eum omnibus difficilirobus et subtilioribus quae istoibus talem inveniebam. (NM) refracto itaque studio quod intenderam in Manichaei litteras, magisque desperans de ceteris eorum doctoribus, quando in multis quae me movebant ita ille nominatus apparuit, coepti cum eo pro studio eis agere vitam, quo ipse flagrabat in eas litteras quas tunc iam rhetor Carthaginis adulescentes docebam, et legere cum eo sive quae ille audita desideraret sive quae ipse tali ingenio apta existimarem. ceterum conatus omnis meus quo proficere in illa secta statueram illo homine cognito prorsus intercidit, non ut ab eis omnino separarer sed, quasi melius quicquam non inveniens, eo quo iam quoquo modo inrueram contentus interim esse decreveram, nisi aliquid forte quod magis eligendum esset eluceret.

**Coda**

ita ille Faustus, qui multis laqueus mortis extitit, meum quo captus eram relaxare iam coeoperat, nec volens nec sciens. manus enim tuae, deus meus, in abdito providentiae tuae non deserebant animam meam, et de sanguine cordis matris meae per lacrimas eius diebus et noctibus pro me sacrificabatur tibi, et egisti mecum miris modis. tu illud egisti, deus meus, nam a domino gressus hominis diriguntur, et viam eius volet. aut quae procuratio salutis praeter manum tuam reficientem quae fecisti?
Vita Alypii (6.7.11-6.10.17)

Orientation
(NM) Congemescebamus in his, qui simul amice vivebamus, et maxime ac familiarissime cum Alypio et Nebridio ista conloquebar. (IM) quorum Alypius ex eodem quo ego eram ortus municipio, parentibus primatibus municipalibus, me minor natu. (NM) nam et studuerat apud me, cum in nostro oppido docere coepi, et postea Carthaginii: et diligebat multum, quod ei bonus et doctus viderer, et ego illum, propter magnam virtutis indolem, quae in non magna aetate satis eminebat.

I The Circus

Orientation
gurges tamen morum Carthaginiensium, (IM) quibus nugatoria fervent spectacula, (NM) absorberat eum in insaniam circensium. sed cum in eo miserabiliter volveretur, ego autem rhetoriam ibi professus publica schola uterer, nondum me audiebat ut magistrum propter quandam simultatem, quae inter me et patrem eius erat exorta. et compereram, quod circum exitiabiliter amaret, et graviter angebar, quod tantam spem perditurus vel etiam perdidisse mihi videbatur. sed monendi eum et aliqua coercitione revocandi nulla erat copia, vel amicitiae benivolentia vel iure magisterii. putabam enim eum de me cum patre sentire, ille vero non sic erat. itaque postposita in hac re patris voluntate, salutare me coeperat veniens in auditorium meum, et audire aliquid atque abire. Sed enim de memoria mihi lapsum erat agere cum illo, ne vanorum ludorum caeco et praecipiti studio tam bonum interimeret ingenium.

Abstract
verum autem, domine, tu, (IM) qui praesides gubernaculis omnium, quae creasti, (NM) non eum oblitus eras, futurum inter filios tuos antistitem sacramenti tui: et ut aperte tibi tribueretur eius correctio, per me quidem illam, sed nescientem, operatus es.

Complication
nam quodam die cum sederem loco solito, et coram me adessent discipuli, venit, salutavit, sedit, atque in ea quae agebantur intendit animum. et forte lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem opportune mihi adhibendum aequalitas circensium, quo illud quod insinuabam et iucundius et planius fieret, et cum irisatione mordaci eorum, quos illa captivasset insania. (DM) scis tu, deus noster, quod tunc de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitaverim.

Peak
(NM) at ille in se rapuit, meque illud non nisi propter se dixisse credidit; et quod alius acciperet ad suscensendum mihi, accepit honestus adulescens ad suscensendum sibi, et ad me ardentius diligendum.

Evaluation
(DM) dixeras enim tu iam olim et innexueras litteris tuis: corripe sapientem, et amabit te. At ego illum non corripiarum, sed utens tu omnibus et scientibus et nescientibus,
ordine quo nosti - et ille ordo iustus est – de corde et lingua mea carbones ardentes operatus es, quibus mentem spei bonae adureres tabescentem ac sanares. taceat laudes tuas, qui miserationes tuas non considerat, quae tibi de medullis meis confitentur.

Peak
(NM) etenim vero ille post illa verba proripuit se ex fovea tam alta, qua libenter demergebatur et cum mira voluptate caecabatur, et excussit animum forti temperantia, et resiliuerunt omnes circensium sordes ab eo, ampliusque illuc non accessit.

Resolution
deinde patrem reluctantem evicit, ut me magistro uteretur: cessit ille atque concessit. et audire me rursus incipiens, illa mecum superstitione involutus est, amans in Manichaeis ostentationem continentiae, quam veram et germanam putabat.

Evaluation
(IM) erat autem illa vecors et seductoria, pretiosas animas captans nondum virtutis altitudinem scientes tangere, et superficie decipi faciles, sed tamen adumbratae simulataeque virtutis.

II The Relapse

Orientation
Non sane relinquens incantatam sibi a parentibus terrenam viam, Romam praecesserat, ut ius disceret,

Abstract
et ibi gladiatorii spectaculi hiatu incredibili et incredibiliter abreptus est.

Complication
cum enim aversaretur et detestaretur talia, quidam eius amici et condiscipuli, cum forte de prandio redeuntibus pervium esset, recusantem vehementer et resistentem, familiari violentia duxerunt in amphitheatrum crudelium et funestorum ludorum diebus, haec dicentem: (DiM) ‘si corpus meum in locum illum trahitis, nunquid et animum et oculos meos in illa spectacula potestis intendere? adero itaque absens, ac sic et vos et illa superabo.’ (NM) quibus auditis illi nihil setius eum adduxerunt secum, id ipsum forte explorare cupientes, utrum posset efficere. quo ubi ventum est
et sedibus quibus potuerunt locati sunt, fervebant omnia immanissimis voluptatibus.
ille clausis foribus oculorum interdixit animo, ne in tanta mala procederet.

**Evaluation**
(DM) atque utinam et aures obturavisset!

**Complication**
(NM) nam quodam pugnae casu, cum clamor ingens totius populi vehementer eum
pulsasset, curiositate victus, et quasi paratus, quidquid illud esset, etiam visum
contemnere et vincere,

**Peak**
aperuit oculos. et percussus est graviore vulnere in anima quam ille in corpore, quem
cernere concupivit, ceciditque miserabilius quam ille, quo cadente factus est clamor:
**Evaluation**
(DM) qui per eius aures intravit et reseravit eius lumina, ut esset, qua feriretur et
decercetur audax adhuc potius quam fortis animus, et eo infirmior, quo de se
praesumserat, qui debuit de te.

**Complication**
(NM) ut enim vidit illum sanguinem, inmanitatem simul ebibit; et non se avertit, sed
fixit aspectum, et hauriebat furias et nesciebat, et delectabatur scelere certaminis, et
cruenta voluptate inebriabatur. et non erat iam ille, qui venerat, sed unus de turba, ad
quam venerat, et verus eorum socius, a quibus adductus erat.

**Resolution**
quid plura? spectavit, clamavit, exarsit, abstulit inde secum insaniam, qua stimularetur
redire, non tantum cum illis, a quibus abstractus est, sed etiam prae illis et alios
trahens. (DM) et inde tamen manu validissima et misericordissima eruisti eum tu, et
docuisti eum non sui habere, sed tui fiduciam; sed longe postea. (NM) Verum tamen
iam hoe ad medicinam futuram in eius memoria reponebatur.
III The Thief

Abstract
(NM) nam et illud, quod,

Orientation
cum adhuc studeret iam me audiens apud Carthaginem, et medio die cogitaret in foro quod recitaturus erat, (IM) sicut exerceri scholastici solent,

Abstract
(NM) sivisti eum comprehendi ab aeditimis fori tamquam furem,

Evaluation
(DM) non arbitror aliam ob causam te permisisse, deus noster, nisi ut ille vir tantus futurus iam incipieret discere, quam non facile in noscendis causis homo ab homine damnandus esset temeraria credulitate.

Orientation
(NM) quippe ante tribunal deambulabat solus cum tabulis ac stilo,

Complication
cum ecce adulescens quidam ex numero scholasticorum, (DM) fur verus, (NM) securim clanculo apportans, illo non sentiente, ingressus est ad cancellos plumbeos, (IM) qui vico argentario desuper praeminent, (NM) et praecidere plumbum coepit. sono autem securis audito submurmuraverunt argentarii, qui subter erant, et miserunt qui apprehenderent quem forte invenissent. quorum vocibus auditis, relictus instrumento, ille discessit timens, ne cum eo teneretur. Alypius autem, qui non viderat intrantem, exeuntem sensit et celeriter vidit abeuntem, et causam scire cupiens ingressus est locum; et inventam securim stans atque admirans considerabat,

Peak
cum ecce illi, qui missi erant, reperiunt eum solum ferentem ferrum, cuius sonitu exciti venerant: tenent, attrahunt, congregatis inquilinis fori tamquam furem manifestum se comprehendisse gloriandur, et inde offerendus iudiciis ducebatur.

Abstract
(DM) sed hactenus docendus fuit. statim enim, domine, subvenisti innocentiae, cuius testis eras tu solus.

Complication
(NM) cum enim duceretur, vel ad custodiam vel ad supplicium, fit eis obviam quidam architectus, cuius maxima erat cura publicarum fabricarum. gaudent illi eum potissimum occurrisse, cui solebant in suspicionem venire ablatarum rerum, quae perissent de foro, ut quasi tandem iam ille cognosceret, a quibus haec ferebant. (IM) verum autem viderat homo saepe Alypium in domo cuiusdam senatoris, ad quem salutandum ventitabat; (NM) statimque cognitum manu apprehensa semovit a turbis, et tanti mali causam quarens, quid gestum esset, audivit, omnesque tumultuantes, qui aderant, et minaciter freementes iussit venire secum. et venerunt ad domum illius
adulescentis, qui rem conmiserat. (DeM) puer vero erat ante ostium, et tam parvus erat, ut nihil exinde domino suo metuens facile posset totum indicare; (DM) cum eo quippe in foro fuit pedisecus. (NM) quem posteaquam recoluit Alypius, architecto intimavit. at ille securim demonstravit puero quaerens ab eo, cuius esset.

Peak
qui confestim (DiM)'nostra’ (NM) inquit;

Resolution
deinde interrogatus aperuit cetera. sic in illam domum translata causa, confusisque turbis, quae de illo triumphare iam coeperant, futurus dispensator verbi tui, et multarum in ecclesia tua causarum examinator, experientior instructiorque discussit.

Complication
Hunc ergo Romae inveneram, et adhaesit mihi fortissimo vinculo, mecumque Mediolanium profectus est, ut nec me desereret, et de iure, quod didicerat, aliquid ageret secundum votum magis parentum quam suum. et ter iam adsederat mirabili continentia ceteris, cum ille magis miraretur eos, qui aurum innocentiae praeponteren.

IV The Temptation

Abstract
(NM) temptata est quoque eius indoles, non solum inlecebra cupiditatis sed etiam stimulo timoris.

Orientation
Romae adsidebat comiti largitionum Italicianarum. erat eo tempore quidam potentissimus senator, cuius et beneficiis obstricti multi et terrori subditi erant.

Complication
voluit sibi licere nescio quid ex more potentiae suae, quod esset per leges inlicitum;

Peak
restitit Alypius. promissum est praemium; inrisit animo. praetentae minae; calcavit,

Resolution
mirantibus omnibus inusitatam animam, quae hominem tantum, et innumerabilibus praestandi nocendique modis ingenti fama celebratum, vel amicum non optaret vel non formidaret inimicum. ipse autem iudex, cui consiliarius erat, quamvis et ipse ficeri nollet, non tamen aperte recusabat, sed in istum causam transferens ab eo se non permittit adserebat, quia et re vera, si ipse faceret, iste discederet. hoc solo autem paene iam inlectus erat studio litterario, ut pretiis praetorianis codices sibi conficiendos curaret; sed consulta iustitia, deliberationem in melius vertit, utiliorem iudicans aequitatem, qua prohibebatur, quam potestatem, qua sinebatur.

Evaluation
(DM) parvum est hoc; sed qui in parvo fidelis est, et in magno fidelis est, nec ullo modo erit inane, quod tuae veritatis ore processit: si in iniusto mammona fideles non
fuistis, verum quis dabit vobis? et si in alieno fideles non fuistis, vestrum quis dabit vobis?

Resolution
(NM) talis ille tunc inhaerebat mihi, mecumque nutabat in consilio, quidnam esset tenendus vitae modus.

Complication
Nebridius etiam,

Orientation
qui
relict patria vicina Carthagin atque ipsa Carthagine, ubi frequentissimus erat,
relict paterno rure optimo,
relict domo
et non secutura matre,
nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanium venerat,
nisi ut mecum viveret in flagrantissimo studio veritatis atque sapientiae,
Complication
pariter suspirabat pariterque fluctuabat, beatae vitae inquisitor ardens et quaestionum difficillimarum scrutator acerrimus.

Coda
(NM) et erant ora trium egentium et inopiam suam sibimet invicem anhelantium et ad te expectantium, ut dares eis escam in tempore opportuno.

VI Firminus (7.6.8-11)

Abstract
(NM) iam etiam mathematicorum fallaces divinationes et impia deliramenta reieceram.
(DM) confiteantur etiam hinc tibi de intimis visceribus animae meae miserationes tuae, deus meus! (NM) tu enim, tu omnino

Evaluation
(1M) (nam quis alius a morte omnis erroris revocat nos nisi vita quae mori nescit, et sapientia mentes indigentes inluminans, nullo indigens lumine, qua mundus administratur usque ad arborum volatica folia?),

Abstract
(NM) tu procurasti pervicaciae meae qua obluctatus sum Vindiciano acuto seni et Nebridio adulescenti mirabilis animae, illi vehementer adfirmanti, huic cum dubitatione quidem aliqua sed tamen crebro dicenti non esse illam artem futura
praevindicendi, coniecturas autem hominem habere saepe vim sortis et multa dicendo
 dici pleraque ventura, nescientibus eis qui dicerent sed in ea non tacendo incurrentibus
 procurasti ergo tu hominem amicum,

Orientation
(DeM) non quidem segnem consultorem mathematicorum nec eas litteras bene
callem sed, ut dixi, consultorem curiosum et tamen scientem aliquid quod a patre
suo se audisse dicebat: quod quantum valeret ad illius artis opinionem evertendam
ignorabat.

Complication
(NM) is ergo vir nomine Firminus, (DeM) liberaliter institutus et excultus eloquio,
(NM) cum me tamquam carissimum de quibusdam suis rebus, in quas saecularis spes
eius intumerat, consuleret, quid mihi secundum suas quas constellationes appellant
videretur, ego autem, qui iam de hac re in Nebridii sententiam flecti coeperam, non
quidem abnuerem conciere ac dicere quod nutanti occurrebat, sed tamen subicerem
prope iam esse mihi persuasum ridicula illa esse et inania, tum ille mihi narravit

Orientation
patrem suum fuisse librorum talium curiosissimum et habuisse amicum aequa illa
simulque sectantem. qui pari studio et conlatione flatabant in eas nugas ignem
cordis sui, ita ut mutorum quoque animalium, si quae domi parerent, observarent
momenta nascentium atque ad ea caeli positionem notarent, unde illius quasi artis
experientia conligerent. (DM) itaque dicebat audisse se a patre quod, (NM) cum
eundem Firminum praegnans mater esset, etiam illius paterni amici famula quaedam
pariter utero grandescabet, quod latere non potuit dominum, qui etiam canum suarum
partus examinatiassima diligentia nosse curabat; atque ita factum esse, ut cum iste
coniugis, ille autem ancillae dies et horas minutioresque horarum articulos cautissima
observatione numerarent, enixae essent ambae simul, ita ut easdem constellationes
usque ad easdem minutias utrique nascenti facere cogerentur, iste filio, ille servulo.
nam cum mulieres parturire coepissent, indicaverunt sibi ambo quid sua cuiusque
domo agetur, et paraverunt quos ad se invicem mitterent, simul ut natum quod
parturiebatur esset cuique nuntiatum: quod tamen ut continuo nuntiaretur, tamquam
in regno suo facile effecerant.

Peak
atque ita qui ab alterutro missi sunt tam ex paribus domorum intervallis sibi obviam
factos esse dicebat, ut aliam positionem siderum aliasque particulas momentorum
neuter eorum notare sineretur.

Resolution
et tamen Firminus ampto apud suos loco natus dealbatores vias saeculi cursitabat,
augebatur divitiis, sublimabatur honoribus, servus autem ille conditionis iugo
nullatenus relaxato dominis serviebat, ipso indicante qui noverat eum.

Peak
his itaque auditis et creditis (DM) (talis quippe narraverat) (NM) omnis illa reluctatio
mea resoluta concidit, et primo Firminum ipsum conatus sum ab illa curiositate
revocare, cum dicerem, constellationibus eius inspectis ut vera pronuntiarem, debuisse me utique videre ibi parentes inter suos esse primarios, nobilium familiam propriae civilitatis, natales ingenuos, honestam educationem liberalesque doctrinas; at si me ille servus ex eisdem constellationibus (quia et illius ipsae essent) consuluisse, ut eidem quoque vera proferrem, debuisse me rursus ibi videre abiectissimam familiam, conditionem servilem et cetera longe a prioribus aliena longeque distantia. unde autem fieret ut eadem inspiciens diversa dicerem, si vera dicerem, si autem eadem dicerem, falsa dicerem, inde certissime conlegi ea quae vera consideratis constellationibus dicerentur non arte dici sed sorte, quae autem falsa, non artis imperitia sed sortis mendacio.

Resolution
hinc autem accepto aditu, ipse mecum talia ruminando, ne quis eorundem delirorum qui talem quaestum sequerentur, quos iam iamque invadere atque inrisos refellere cupiebam, mihi ita resisteret, quasi aut Firminus mihi aut illi pater falsa narraverit, intendi considerationem in eos qui gemini nascuntur, (IM) quorum plerique ita post invicem funduntur ex utero ut parvum ipsum temporis intervallum, quantamlibet vim in rerum natura habere contendant, conligi tamen humana observatione non possit litterisque signari omnino non valeat quas mathematicus inspecturus est ut vera pronuntiet. (DM) et non erunt vera, quia easdem litteras inspiciens eadem debuit dicere de Esau et de Iacob, sed non eadem utrique acciderunt. falsa ergo diceret aut, si vera diceret, non eadem diceret: at eadem inspiceret. non ergo arte sed sorte vera diceret. (IM) tu enim, domine, iustissime moderator universitatis, consulentibus consultisque nescientibus occulto instinctu agis ut, dum quisque consulit, hoc audiat quod eum oportet audire occultis meritis animarum ex abysso iusti iudicii tui. (DM) cui non dicat homo, (DiM)’quid est hoc?’ ‘ut quid hoc?’ (DM) non dicat, non dicat; homo est enim.

Coda
(NM) iam itaque me, adiutor meus, illis vinculis solveras,

VII Simplicianus (8.2.3-8.5.11)

Complication
(NM) perexi ergo ad Simplicianum, patrem in accipienda gratia tunc episcopi Ambrosii et quem vere ut patrem diligebat. narravi ei circuitus erroris mei. ubi autem commemoravi legisse me quosdam libros platonicorum, quos Victorinus, (IM) quondam rhetor urbis Romae, (DM) quem christianum defunctum esse audieram, (NM) in latinam linguam transtulisset, gratulatus est mihi quod non in aliorum philosophorum scripta incidisset plena fallaciae et delectionum secundum elementa huius mundi, in ists autem omnibus modis insinuari deum et eius verbum. deinde, ut me exhortaretur ad humilitatem Christi sapientibus absconditam et revelatam parvulis, Victorinum ipsum recordatus est, quem Romae cum esset familiarissime noverat, deque illo mihi narravit (DM) quod non silebo.

Abstract
(DM) habet enim magnam laudem gratiae tuae confitendam tibi, quemadmodum ille (DeM) doctissimus senex et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus quique
philosophorum tam multa legerat et diiudicaverat, doctor tot nobilium senatorum, qui etiam ob insigne praeclarii magisterrii, quod cives huius mundi eximium putant, statuam Romano foro meruerat et acceperat, usque ad illam aetatem venerator idolorum sacrorumque sacrelegorum particeps, quibus tunc tota fere Romana nobilitas inflata spirabat, popiliosiam et omnigenuem deum monstra et Anubem latratores, quae aliquando contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam tela tenuerat et a se victis iam Roma supplicabat, quae iste senex Victorinus tot annos ore terribrepo defensitaverat, (NM) non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui et infans fontis tui, subiecto collo ad humilitatis iugum et edomita fronte ad crucis opprobrium. (DM) o domine, domine, qui inclinati caelos et descendisti, tetigisti montes et fumigaverunt, quibus modis te insuausti illi pectori?

Complication
(NM) legebat, (DM) sicut ait Simplicianus, (NM) sanctam scripturam omnesque christianas litteras investigabat studiosissime et perscrutabatur, et dicebat Simpliciano, non palam sed secretius et familiares, (DiM) ‘noveris me iam esse christianum.’ (NM) et respondebat ille, (DiM) ‘non credam nec deputabo te inter christianos, nisi in ecclesia Christi videro.’ (NM) ille autem inridebat dicens, (DiM) ‘ergo parietes faciunt christianos?’ (NM) et hoc saepe dicebat, iam se esse christianum, et Simplicianus illud saepe respondebat, et saepe ab illo parietum inrisio repetebat. amicos enim suos reverebatur offendere, superbos daemonicolas, quorum ex culmine Babylonicae dignitatis quasi ex cedris Libani, quas nondum contriverat dominus, graviter ruituras in se inimicitias arbitrabatur. sed posteaquam legendo et inhando hausit firmatatem timuitque negari a Christo coram angelis sanctis, si eum timeret coram hominibus confiteri, reusque sibi magni criminis apparuit erubescendo de sacramentis humilitatis verbi tui et non erubescendo de sacris sacrilegis superborum daemoniorum, quae imitator superbus acceperat, depuduit vanitati et erubuit veritati subitoque et inopinatus ait Simpliciano, (DM) ut ipse narrabat,

Peak
(DiM) ‘eamus in ecclesiam: christianus volo fieri.’

Complication
(NM) at ille non se capiens laetitia perrexit cum eo. ubi autem imbutus est primis instructionis sacramentis, non multo post etiam nomen dedit ut per baptismum regeneraretur, mirante Roma, gaudente ecclesia. superbi videbant et irascebant, dentibus suis stridebant et tabescebant. servo autem tuo dominus deus erat spes eius, et non respiciebat in vanitates et insanias mendaces. denique ut ventum est ad horam profitendi fidei, (IM) quae verbi certis conceptis retentisque memoriter de loco eminentiore in conspectu populi fidelis Romae reddi solet ab eis qui accessuri sunt ad gratiam tuam, oblatum esse (DM) dicebat (NM) Victorino a presbyteris ut secretius redderet, sicut nonnullis qui verecundia trepidaturi videbantur offerri mos erat; illum autem maluisset salutem suam in conspectu sanctae multitudinis profiteri. non enim erat salus quam docebat in rhetorica, et tamen eam publice professus erat. quanto minus ergo vereri debuit mansuetum gregem tuum pronuntians verbum tuum, qui non verebatur in verbis suis turbas insanorum? itaque ubi ascendit ut redderet, omnes sibimet invicem, quisque ut eum noverat, istrepuerunt nomen eius strepitu gratulationis (DM) (quis autem ibi non eum noverat?) (NM) et sonuit presso

**Excursus (8.3.6-8.4.9)**
(DM) Deus bone, quid agitur in homine (..) et aptari in honorem tuum et fieri utilia domino ad omne opus bonum.

**Peak**
(NM) sed ubi mihi homo tuus Simplicianus de Victorino ista narravit, exarsi ad imitatandum: (DM) ad hoc enim et ille narraverat.

**Resolution**
(NM) posteaquam vero et illud addidit,

**Orientation**
quod imperatoris Iuliani temporibus lege data prohibiti sunt christiani docere litteraturam et oratoriam.

**Resolution**
quam legem ille amplexus, loquacem scholam deserere maluit quam verbum tuum, quo linguas infantium facis disertas.

**Evaluation**
(DM) non mihi fortior quam felicior visus est, quia invenit occasionem vacandi tibi, cui rei ego suspirabam, ligatus non ferro alino sed mea ferrea voluntate. (NM) velle meum tenebat inimicus et inde mihi catenam fecerat et constrinxerat me. (IM) quippe ex voluntate perversa facta est libido, et dum servitur libidini, facta est consuetudo, et dum consuetudini non resistitur, facta est necessitas. (NM) quibus quasi anulis sibimet innexis ((DM) unde catenam appellavi) (NM) tenebat me obstrictum dura servitus. voluntas autem nova quae mihi esse coeperat, ut te gratis colerem fruique te velle, deus, sola certa iucunditas, nondum erat idonea ad superandum priorem vetustate roboratam. ita duae voluntates meae, una vetus, alia nova, illa carnalis, illa spiritualis, conflegebant inter se atque discordando dissipabant animam meam.

**Coda**
sic intellegebam me ipso experimento id quod legeram, quomodo caro concupisceret adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem (..)

**VIII Ponticianus (8.6.14-16)**

**Complication**
(NM) quodam igitur die (DM) (non recolo causam qua erat absens Nebridius) (NM) cum ecce ad nos domum venit ad me et Alypium Ponticianus quidam, (DeM) civis noster in quantum Afer, praecclare in palatio militans: (NM) nescio quid a nobis volebat. et consedimus ut conloqueremur. et forte supra mensam lusoriam quae ante
noscit quando se et tres alios contubernales suos, nimirum apud Treveros, cum imperator promeridiano circensium spectaculo teneretur, exisse deambulatum in hortos muris contiguos atque illic, ut forte combinati spatioabantur, unum secum seorsum et alios duos itidem seorsum et pariterque digressos;
iam declinasset dies. at illi, narrato placito et proposito suo quoque modo in eis
talis voluntas orta esset atque firmata, petiverunt ne sibi molesti essent si adiungi
recusarent. isti autem nihilo mutati a pristinis fleverunt se tamen, (DM) ut dicebat,
(NM) atque illis pie congratulati sunt, et commendaverunt se orationibus eorum et
trahentes cor in terra abierunt in palatium,

Resolution
illi autem affigentes cor caelo manserunt in casa. et habebant ambo sponsas quae,
posteaquam hoc audierunt, dicaverunt etiam ipsae virginitatatem tibi.

Coda
narrabat haec Ponticianus.

IX The garden in Milan (8.8.19-8.12.30):

Complication
(NM) tum in illa grandi rixa interioris domus meae, quam fortiter excitaveram cum
anima mea in cubiculo nostro, corde meo, tam vultu quam mente turbatus invado
et caelum rapiunt, et nos cum doctrinis nostris sine corde, ecce ubi volutamur in carne
et sanguine! an quia praecesserunt, pudet sequi et non pudet nec saltem sequi?’ (NM)
dixi nescio qua talia, et abripuit me ab illo aestus meus, cum taceret attonitus me
intuens. neque enim solita sonabam. plus loquebantur animus meum meum frons, genae,
oculi, color, modus vocis quam verba quae promebam.

Orientation
(DeM) hortulus quidam erat hospitii nostri, quo nos utebamur sicut tota domo: nam
hospes ibi non habitabat, dominus domus. (NM) illuc me abstulerat tumultus pectoris,
ubi nemo impediret ardentem litem quam mecum aggressus eram, donec exiret (DM)
- qua tu sciebas, ego autem non: sed tantum insaniebam salubriter et moriebar vitaliter,
gnarus quid mali essem et ignarus quid boni post paululum futurus essem.

Complication
(NM) abscessi ergo in hortum, et Alypius pedem post pedem. neque enim secretum
meum non erat, ubi ille aderat. aut quando me sic affectum desererat? sedimus
quantum potuimus remoti ab aedibus.
ego fremebam spiritu, indignans indignatione turbulentissima quod non irem in
placitum et pactum tecum, deus meus, in quod eundum esse omnia mea mea clamabant
et in caelum tollebant laudibus. et non illuc ibatur navibus aut quadrigis aut pedibus,
quantum saltem de domo in eum locum ieram ubi sedebamus. nam non somum ire
verum etiam pervenire illuc nihil erat aliud quam velle ire, sed velle fortiter et integre,
non semisauciam hac atque hac versare et iactare voluntatem parte adsurgente cum
alia parte cadente luctantem. denique tam multa faciebam corpore in ipsis cunctationis
aestibus, (DM) quae aliquando volunt homines et non valent, si aut ipsa membra
non habeant aut ea vel conligata vinculis vel resoluta languore vel quoquo modo
impedita sint. si vulsi capillum, si percussi frontem, si consortis digitis amplexatus
sum genu, quia volui, feci. potui autem velle et non facere, si mobilitas membrorum
non obsequeretur. (NM) tam multa ergo feci, ubi non hoc erat velle quod posse: et
non faciebam quod et incomparabili affectu amplius mihi placebat, et mox ut vellem possem, quia mox ut vellem, utique vellem. (IM) ibi enim facitum ea, quae voluntas, (NM) et ipsum velle iam facere erat; et tamen non fiebat, faciliusque obtemperabat corpus tenuissimae voluntati animae, ut ad nutum membra moverentur, quam ipsa sibi anima ad voluntatem suam magnum in sola voluntate perficiendam.

Excursus
unde hoc monstrum? et quare istuc? luceat misericordia tua, et interrogem, si forte mihi respondere possint laterae poenarum hominum et tenebrosissimae contritiones filiorum Adam.
unde hoc monstrum? et quare istuc? imperat animus corpori, et paretur statim; imperat animus sibi, et resistitur. imperat animus ut moveatur manus, et tanta est facilitas ut vix a servitio discernatur imperium: et animus animus est, manus autem corpus est. imperat animus ut velit animus, nec alter est nec facit tamen.
unde hoc monstrum? et quare istuc, inquam, ut velit qui non imperaret nisi vellet, et non facit quod imperat? sed non ex toto vult: non ergo ex toto imperat. nam in tantum imperat, in quantum vult, et in tantum non fit quod imperat, in quantum non vult, quoniam voluntas imperat ut sit voluntas, nec alia, sed ipsa. non itaque plena imperat; ideo non est quod imperat. nam si plena esset, nec imperaret ut esset, quia iam esset. non igitur monstrum partim velle, partim nolle, sed aegritudo animi est, quia non totus adsurgit veritate consuetudine praegravatus. et ideo sunt duae voluntates, quia una carum tota non est et hoc adest alteri quod deest alteri. percaet a facie tua, deus, sicuti percuti, vaniloqui et mentis seductores qui, cum duas voluntates in deliberando animadverterint, duas naturas duarum mentium esse adseverant, unam bonam, alteram malam. ipsi vere mali sunt, cum ista mala sentiunt, et idem ipsi boni erunt, si vera sensorint verisque consenserint, ut dicat eis apostolus tuus, `fuistis aliquando tenebrae, nunc autem lux in domino.' illi enim dum volunt esse lux, non in domino sed in se ipsis, putando animae naturam hoc esse quod deus est, ita facti sunt densiores tenebrae, quoniam longius a te recesserunt horrenda arrogantia, a te vero lumine inluminante omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. attendite quid dicatis, et erubescite et accedite ad eum et inluminamini, et vultus vestri non erubescent.

Complication
(NM) ego cum deliberabam ut iam servirem domino deo meo, sicut diu dispositueram, ego eram qui volebam, ego qui nolebam: ego eram. nec plene volebam nec plene nolebam. ideo mecum contendebam et dissipabar a me ipso, et ipsa dissipatio me invito quidem fiebat, nec tamen ostendebat naturam mentis alienae sed poenam meae. et ideo non iam ego operabar illam, sed quod habitabat in me peccatum de supplicio liberioris peccati, quia eram filius Adam.

Excursus
nam si tot sunt contrariae naturae quot voluntates sibi resistunt, non iam duae sed plures erunt. si deliberet quisquam utrum ad conventiculum eorum pergat an ad theatrum, clamant isti, `ecce duae naturae, una bona hac ducit, altera mala illac reducit, nam unde ista cunctatio sibimet adversantium voluntatum?’ ego autem dico ambas malas, et quae ad illos ducit et quae ad theatrum reducit. sed non credunt nisi bonam esse qua itur ad eos. quid si ergo quisquam noster deliberet et secum altercantibus duabus voluntatibus fluctuet, utrum ad theatrum pergat an ad ecclesiam nostram, nonne et isti
quid respondeant fluctuabunt? aut enim fatebuntur quod nolunt, bona voluntate pergi in ecclesiam nostram, sicut in eam pergunt qui sacramentis eius imbuti sunt atque detinuntur, aut duas malas naturas et duas malas mentes in uno homine configere putabunt, et non erit verum quod solent dicere, unam bonam, alteram malam, aut convertentur ad verum et non negabunt, cum quisque deliberat, animam unam diversis voluntatibus auestuare. iam ergo non dicant, cum duas voluntates in homine uno adversari sibi sentiunt, duas contrarias mentes de duabus contrariis substantiis et de duobus contrariis principiis contendere, unam bonam, alteram malam. nam tu, deus verax, improbas eos et redarguis atque convincis eos, sicut in utraque mala voluntate, cum quisque deliberat utrum hominem veneno interimat an ferro, utrum fundum alienum illum an illum invadat, quando utrumque non potest, utrum emat voluptatem luxuria an pecuniam servet avaritia, utrum ad circum pergat an ad theatrum, si uno die utrumque exhibeatur; addo etiam tertium, an ad furtum de domo aliena, si subest occasio; addo et quartum, an ad committendum adulterium, si et inde simul facultas aperit; si omnia concurrant in unum articulum temporis pariterque cupiantur omnia quae simul agi nequeunt, discerpunt enim animum sibimet adversitantibus quattuor voluntatibus vel etiam pluribus in tanta copia rerum quae appetuntur, nec tamen tantam multitudinem diversarum substantiarum solent dicere. ita et in bonis voluntatibus. nam quoquer ab eis utrum bonum sit delectari lectione apostoli et utrum bonum sit delectari psalmo sobrio et utrum bonum sit delectari evangelium disserere. respondebunt ad singula: 'bonum.' quid si ergo pariter delectent omnia simulque uno tempore, nonne diversae voluntates distendunt cor hominis, dum deliberatur quid potissimum arripiamus? et omnes bonae sunt et certant secum, donec eligatur unum quo feratur tota voluntas una, quae in plures dividebatur. ita etiam cum aeternitas delectat superius et temporalis boni voluptas retentat inferius, eadem anima est non tota voluntate illud aut hoc volens et ideo discerpitur gravi molestia, dum illud veritate praeponit, hoc familiaritate non ponit.

Complication

(NM) sic aegrotabam et excruiciabar, accusans memet ipsum solito acerbius nimis ac volvens et versans me in vinculo meo, donec abrumperetur totum, quo iam exiguous tenebar, sed tenebar tamen. et instabas tu in occultis meis, domine, severa misericordia, flagella ingeminans timoris et pudoris, ne rursus cessarem et non abrumperetur id ipsum exiguum et tenue quod remanserat, et revalesceret iterum et me robustius alligaret. dicebam enim apud me intus, (DiM)'ecce modo fiat, modo fiat,' (NM) et cum verbo iam ibam in placitum. iam paene faciebam et non faciebam, nec relabeebam in pristina sed de proximo stabam et respirabam. et item conabar, et paulo minus ibi eram et paulo minus, iam iamque attingebam et tenebam. et non ibi eram nec attingebam nec tenebam, haesitans mori morti et vitae vivere, plusque in me valebat deterius iniquum quam meius insolitum, punctumque ipsum temporis quo alius futurus eram, quanto proprius admovebatur, tanto ampliore incutiebat horrorem. sed non recutiebat retro nec avertebat, sed suspendebat. retinebant nugae nugarum et vanitates vanitantium, antiquae amicae meae, et succutiebant vestem meam carneam et submurmurabant, (NM) 'dimittisne nos?' (NM) et (DiM)'a momento isto non erimus tecum ultra in aeternum' (NM) et (DiM)'a momento isto non tibi licet hoc et illud ultra in aeternum.' (DM) et quae suggerebant in eo quod dixi (DiM)'hoc et illud,' (DM) quae suggerebant, deus meus, avertat ab anima servi tui misericordia tua! quas sordes suggerebant, quae dedecora! (NM) et audiebam eas iam longe minus
quam dimidius, non tamquam libere contradicentes eundo in obviam, sed velut a
dorso musitantes et discedentem quasi furtim vellicantes, ut respicerem. tardabant
tamen cunctantem me abripere atque excutere ab eis et transire quo vocabar, cum
diceret mihi consuetudo violenta, (DiM) ‘putasne sine istis poteris?’ (NM) sed iam
tepidissime hoc dicebat. aperiabatur enim ab ea parte qua intenderam faciem et
quo transire trepidabam casta dignitas continentiae, serena et non dissolute hilaris,
honeste blandiens ut venirem neque dubitare, et extendens ad me susciendum
et amplexandum pias manus plenas gregibus honorum exemplorum. ibi tot pueri et
puellae, ibi iuventus multa et omnis actas, et graves viduae et virgines anus, et in
omnibus ipsa continentia nequaquam sterilis, sed fecunda mater filiorum gaudiorum
de marito te, domine. et intrideo me inrisione hortatoria, quasi diceret, (DiM) ‘tu non
poteris quod isti, quod istae? an vero isti et istae in se ipsis possunt ac non in domino
deo suo? dominus deus eorum me dedit eis. quid in te stas et non stas? proice te in
eum! noli metuere. non se subtrahet ut cadas: proice te securus! excipiet et sanabit
te.’ (NM) et erubescebam nimis, quia illarum nugarum murmura adhuc audiebam, et
Luxvacandus pendebam. et rursus illa, quasi diceret, ‘obsurdesce adversus immunda
illa membra tua super terram, ut mortificentur. narrant tibi delectationes, sed non sicut
lex domini dei tui.’ ista controversia in corde meo non nisi de me ipso adversus me
ipsum.

Orientation
at Alypius affixus lateri meo inusitati motus mei exitum tacitus opperiebatur.

Complication
ubi vero a fundo arcano alta consideratio traxit et conspectum totam miseriam meam in
conspectu mei, oborta est procella ingens ferens ingenientem imbrem lacrimarum.
et ut totum effuderem cum vocibus suis, surrexi ab Alypio (DM) (solitudo mihi ad
negoctium flendi aptior suggerebat) (NM) et secessi remotius quam ut posset mihi
onerosa esse etiam eius praesentia. sic tunc eram, et ille sensi: nescio quid enim,
(DM) puto, (NM) dixeram in quo apparebat sonus vocis meae iam fletu gravidus, et
sic surrexeram. manus ergo ille ubi sedebamus nimie stupens. ego sub quadam fi
arbore stravi me nescio quomodo, et dimisi habebam lacrimes, et proruperunt flumina
oculorum meorum, (IM) acceptabile sacrificium tuum, (NM) et non quidem his
verbis, sed in hac sententia multa dixi tibi: (DiM) ‘et tu, domine, usquequo? usquequo,
domine, irasceris in finem? ne memor fueris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum.’
(NM) sentiebam enim eis me teneri. iactabam voces miserabiles: (DiM) ‘quamdiu,
quamdiu, cras et cras? quare non modo? quare non hac hora finis turpitudinis meae?’
(NM) dicebam haec et flebam amarissima contritione cordis mei.

Peak
et ecce audio vocem de vicina domo cum cantu dicentis et crebro repetentis, quasi
pueri an puellae, nescio: (DiM) ‘tolle lege, tolle lege.’

Complication
(NM) statimque mutato vultu intentissimus cogitare coepi utrumnam solerent pueri in
aliquo genere ludendi cantitare tale aliiquid. nec occurrebat omnino audisse me uspiam,
repressoque impetu lacrimarum surrexi, nihil aliud interpretans divinities mihi iuberi
nisi ut aperirem codicem et legerem quod primum caput invenissem. (DM) audieram
enim de Antonio quod ex evangelica lectione cui forte supervenerat admonitus fuerit, tamquam sibi diceretur quod legebatur: (DiM) ‘vade, vende omnia quae habes, et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelis; et veni, sequere me,’ (NM) et tali oraculo confestim ad te esse conversum. itaque concitus redii in eum locum ubi sedebat Alypius: (DM) ibi enim posueram codicem apostoli cum inde surrexeram.

**Peak**

(NM) arripui, aperui, et legi in silentio capitulum quo primum coniecti sunt oculi mei: (DiM) ‘non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitias, non in contentione et aemulatione, sed induite dominum Iesum Christum et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.’

**Resolution**

nec ultra volui legere nec opus erat. (DM) statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt. (NM) tum interiecto aut digito aut nescio quo alio signo codicem clausi et tranquillo iam vultu indicavi Alypio.

**Abstract**

(DM) at ille quid in se ageretur (quod ego nesciebam) sic indicavit.

**Resolution**

(NM) petit videre quid legissem. ostendi, et attendit etiam ultra quam ego legeram. et ignorabam quid sequeretur. sequebatur vero: (DiM) ‘infirmum autem in fide recipite.’ (NM) quod ille ad se rettulit mihiique aperuit. sed tali admonitione firmatus est placitoque ac proposito bono et congruentissimo suis moribus, quibus a me in melius iam olim valde longeque distabat, sine ulla turbulenta cunctatione coniunctus est. inde ad matrem ingredimur, indicamus: gaudet. narramus quemadmodum gestum sit: exultat et triumphat et benedicebat tibi,

**Evaluation**

(IM) qui potens es ultra quam petimus et intellegimus facere, (NM) quia tanto amplius sibi a te concessum de me videbat quam petere solebat miserabilibus flebilibusque gemitibus. (DM) convertisti enim me ad te,

**Resolution**

ut nec uxorem quacerem nec aliquam spem saeculi huius, stans in ea regula fidei in qua me ante tot annos ei revelaveras, et convertisti lucem eius in gaudium multo uberi quam voluerat, et multo carius atque castius quam de nepotibus carnis meae requirebat.

**X Protasius and Gervasius (9.7.15-16)**

[quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis, suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter! voces illae influebant auribus meis, et eliquabatur veritas in cor
meum, et exaestuabat inde affectus pietatis, et currebant lacrimae, et bene mihi erat cum eis.]

**Orientation**

(NM) non longe coeperat Mediolanensis ecclesia genus hoc consolationis et exhortationis celeberrare magno studio fratrum concinentium vocibus et cordibus. nimirum annus erat aut non multo amplius, cum Iustina, Valentini regis pueri mater, hominem tuum Ambrosium persequeretur haeresis suae causa, qua fuerat seducta ab arrianis. excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia, mori parata cum episcopo suo, servo tuo. ibi mea mater, ancilla tua, sollicitudinis et vigiliarum primas tenens, orationibus vivebat. nos adhuc frigidi a calore spiritus tui excitabamur tamen civitate attonita atque turbata. tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus maeroris taedio contabesceret, institutum est, (IM) ex illo in hodiernum retentum multis iam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus.

**Complication**

(NM) tunc memorato antistiti tuo per visum aperuisti quo loco laterent martyrum corpora Protasii et Gervasii, quae per tot annos incorrupta in thesauro secreti tui recondideras, unde opportune promeres ad cohercendam rabiem femineam sed regiam. cum enim propalata et effossa digno cum honore transferrentur ad ambrosianam basilicam, non solum quos immundi vexabant spiritus confessis eisdem daemonibus sanabantur, verum etiam quidam plures annos caecus civis civitatique notissimus, cum populi tumultuante laetitia causam quaesisset atque audisset, exilivit coque se ut duceret suum ducem rogavit, quo perductus impetravit admitti ut sudario tangeret feretrum pretiosae in conspectu tuo mortis sanctorum tuorum;

**Peak**

quod ubi fecit atque admovit oculis, confestim aperti sunt.

**Resolution**

inde fama discurrens, inde laudes tuae ferventes, lucentes, inde illius inimicae animus etsi ad credendi sanitatem non applicatus, a persequendi tamen fure ore compressus est.

**Evaluation**

(DM) gratias tibi, deus meus! unde et quo duxisti recordationem meam, ut haec etiam confiterer tibi, quae magna oblitus praeterieram? et tamen tune, cum ita fragraret odor unguentorum tuorum, non currebamus post te.

**Coda**

(NM) ideo plus flebam inter cantica hymnorum tuorum, olim suspirans tibi et tandem respirans, (IM) quantum patet aura in domo faenea.

**XI Monnica (9.8.17-9.13.37):**

**Abstract**

(NM) et cum apud Ostia Tiberina essemus, mater defuncta est. (DM) multa praeterreo, quia multum festino: accipe confessiones meas et gratiarum actiones, deus meus, de rebus innumerabilia etiam in silentio. sed non praeteribo quidquid mihi anima...
parturit de illa famula tua, quae me parturivit et carne, ut in hanc temporalem, et
corde, ut in aeternam lucem nascerer. non eius sed tua dicam dona in eam,

**Evaluation**

neque enim se ipsa fecerat aut educaverat se ipsam. tu creasti eam (nec pater nec mater
sciebat qualis ex eis fieret) et erudivit eam in timore tuo virga Christi tui, regimen
unici tui, in domo fidei, bono membro ecclesiae tuae.

**Orientation**

(DeM) nec tantam erga suam disciplinam diligentiam matris praedicabat quantum
famulae cuiusdam decrepitae, (DM) quae patrem eius infantem portaverat, (IM) sicut
dorso grandiuscularum puellarum parvuli portari solent. (DeM) cuius rei gratia et
propter senectam ac mores optimos in domo christiana satis a dominis honorabatur.
unde etiam curam dominicarum filiarum commissam diligenter gerebat et erat in
eis cohercendis, cum opus esset, sancta severitate vehemens atque in docendis
sobria prudentia. (NM) nam eas, praeter illas horas quibus ad mensam parentum
moderatissime alabatur, etiamsi exardescerent siti, nec aquam bibere sinebat,
praecvens consuetudinem malam et addens verbum sanum: (DiM) `modo aquam
bibitis, quia in potestate vinum non habetis; cum autem ad maritos veneritis factae
dominae apothecarum et celliariorum, aqua sordebit, sed mos potandi praevalebit.’
(NM) hac ratione praecipiendi et auctoritate imperandi frenabat aviditatem tenerioris
aetatis et ipsam puellarum sitim formabat ad honestum modum, ut iam nec liberet
quod non deceret.

**Abstract**

(DM) et subrepserat tamen, sicut mihi filio famula tua narrabat, subrepserat ei
vinulentia.

**Complication**

(NM) nam cum de more tamquam puella sobria iuberetur a parentibus de cupa vinum
depromere, submissa poculo qua desuper patet, priusquam in lagunculam funderet
merum, primoribus labris sorbebat exiguum, quia non poterat amplius sensu recusante.
non enim ulla temulenta cupidine faciebat hoc, sed quibusdam superfluentibus etatis
excessibus, (IM) qui ludicris motibus ebulliunt et in puerilibus animis maiorum
pondere premi solent. (NM) itaque ad illud modicum cotidiana modica addendo (IM)
quoniam qui modica spernit, paulatim decidit) (NM) in eam consuetudinem lapsa
erat ut prope iam plenos mero caliculos inhianter hauriret.

**Evaluation**

(DM) ubi tunc sagax anus et vehemens illa prohibitio? numquid valebat aliquid
adversus latentem morbum, nisi tua medicina, domine, vigilaret super nos? (IM)
absente patre et matre et nutitoribus tu praesens, qui creasti, qui vocas, qui etiam per
praepositos homines boni aliquid agis ad animarum salutem.
Abstract
(DM) quid tunc egisti, deus meus? unde curasti? unde sanasti? nonne protulisti durum et acutum ex altera anima convicium tamquam medicinale ferrum ex occultis provisionibus tuis et uno ictu putredinem illam praecidisti?

Peak
(NM) ancilla enim, (DeM) cum qua solebat accedere ad cupam, (NM) litigans cum domina minore, (IM) ut fit, (NM) sola cum sola, obiecit hoc crimen amarissima insultatione vocans ’merribulum’.

Resolution
quo illa stimulus percussa respexit foeditatem suam confestimque damnavit atque exuit.

Evaluation
(IM) sicut amici adulantes pervertunt, sic inimici litigantes plerumque corrigunt. nec tu quod per eos agis, sed quod ipsi voluerunt, retribuis eis. (DM) illa enim irata exagitare appetivit minorem dominam, non sanare, et ideo clanculo, aut quia ita eas invenerat locus et tempus litis, aut ne forte et ipsa periclitaretur, quod tam sero prodidisset. at tu, domine, rector caelitum et terrenorum, ad usus tuos contorquens profunda torrentis, fluxum saeculorum ordinate turbulentum, etiam de alterius animae insania sanasti alteram, ne quisquam cum hoc advertit, potentiae suae tribuat, si verbo eius alius corrigatur quem vult corrigi.

Coda
(NM) educata itaque pudice ac sobrie potiusque a te subdita parentibus quam a parentibus tibi,

Orientation
(NM) ubi plenis annis nubilis facta est, tradita viro servivit veluti domino et sategit eum lucrari tibi, loquens te illi (DeM) moribus suis, quibus eam pulchram faciebas et reverenter amabilere atque mirabilem viro. (NM) ita autem toleravit cubilis iniurias ut nullam de hac re cum marito haberet unquam simulatatem. expectabat enim misericordiam tuam super eum, ut in te credens castificaretur. (DeM) erat vero ille praeterea sicut benivolentia praecipuus, ita ira fervidus. sed noverat haec non resistere irato viro, non tantum facto sed ne verbo quidem. (NM) iam vero refractum et quietum cum opportunum viderat, rationem facti sui reddet, si forte ille inconsideratus commotus fuerat. denique cum matronae multae, quorum viri mansuetiores erant, plagarum vestigia etiam dehonesta facie gererent, inter amica conloquia illae arguebant maritorum vitam, haec earum linguam, veluti per iocum graviter admonens, ex quo illas tabulas quae matrimoniales vocantur recitari audissent, tamquam instrumenta quibus ancillae factae essent deputare debuisse; proinde memores condicionis superbire adversus dominos non oportere. cumque mirarentur illae, scientes quam ferocem coniugem sustineret, numquam fuisset audita qui aliquo indicio clariusse quod Patricius cecciderit uxorem aut quod a se invicem vel unum diem domestica lite dissenserint, et causam familiariter quaererent, docebat illa institutum
Appendix

suum, (DM) quod supra memoravi. (NM) quae observabant, expertae gratulabantur; quae non observabant, subiectae vexabantur.

Complication
socrum etiam suam primo susurris malarum ancillarum adversus se inritatam sic vicit obsequiis, perseverans tolerantia et mansuetudine, ut illa ultro filio suo medias linguas famularum proderet, quibus inter se et nurum pac domestica turbabatur, expeteretque vindictam. itaque posteaquam ille et matri obtemperans et curans familiae disciplinam et concordiae suorum consulens proditas ad prodentis arbitrimum verberibus cohercuit,

Peak
promisit illa talia de se praemia sperare debere, quaecumque de sua nuru sibi, quo placeret, mali aliquid loqueretur,

Resolution
nullaque iam audentie memorabili inter se benivolentiae suavitate vixerunt

Orientation
(DeM) hoc quoque illi bono mancipio tuo, in cuius utero me creasti, deus meus, misericordia mea, munus grande donaveras, quod inter dissidentesque atque discordes quaslibet animas, ubi poterat, tam se praebet pacificam ut cum ab utraque multa de invicem audiret amarissima, qualia solet eructare turgens atque indigesta discordia, quando praesenti amicae de absentie inimica per acida conloquia cruditas exhalatur odiorum, nihil tamen alteri de altera proderet nisi quod ad eas reconciliandas valeret. (DM) parvum hoc bonum mihi videretur, nisi turbas innumerabiles tristis experirer (nescio qua horrenda pestilentia peccatorum latissime pervagante) non solum iram inimicorum iratis inimiciis dicta prodere, sed etiam quae non dicta sunt addere, cum contra homini humano parum esse debeat inimicitias hominum nec excitare nec augere male loquendo, nisi eas etiam exinguere bene loquendo studuerit: (DeM) qualis illa erat (DM) docente te magistro intimo in schola pectoris. (NM) denique etiam virum suum iam in extrema vita temporali eius lucrata est tibi, nec in eo iam fideli planxit quod in nondum fideli toleraverat: (DeM) erat etiam serva servorum tuorum. quisquis eorum noverat eam, multum in ea laudabat et honorabat et diligebat te, quia sentiebat praesentiam tuam in corde eius sanctae conversationis fructibus testibus. fuerat enim unius viri uxor, mutuam vicem parentibus reddiderat, domum suam pie tractaverat, in operibus bonis testimoniwm habebat. nutrimerat filios, totiens eos parturiens quotiens abs te deviare cernebat. postremo nobis, domine, omnibus, (IM) quia ex munere tuo sinis loqui, servis tuis, qui ante dormitionem eius in te iam consociati vivebamus percepts gratia baptismi tui, ita curam gessit quasi omnes genuisset, ita servivit quasi ab omnibus genita fuisset.

Abstract
(DM) impendente autem die quo ex hac vita erat exitura (quem diem tu noveras ignorantibus nobis),
Appendix

Complication
Orientation

(NM) provenerat, (DM) ut credo, procurante te occultis tuis modis, (NM) ut ego et ipsa soli staremus, (DeM) incumbentes ad quandam fenestram unde hortus intra domum quae nos habebat prospectabatur, illic apud Ostia Tiberina, ubi remoti a turbis post longi itineris laborem instaurabamus nos navigationi.

Complication
(NM) conloquebamur ergo soli valde dulciter et, praeterita obliviscentes in ea quae ante sunt extensi, quaeremus inter nos apud praesentem veritatem, (IM) quod tu es, (NM) qualis futura esset vita aeterna sanctorum, (DM) quam nec oculus vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit. (NM) sed inhiabamus ore cordis in superna fluenta fontis tui, fontis vitae, (IM) qui est apud te, (NM) ut inde pro captu nostro aspersi quoquo modo rem tantam cogitaremus. cunque ad eum finem sermo perducetetur, ut carnalium sensuum delectatio quantalibet, in quantalibet luce corporea, prae illius vitae iucunditate non comparatione sed ne commemoratone quidem digna videretur, erigentes nos ardentiore affectione et mirando opera tua. et venimus in mentes nostras et transcendimus eas, ut attingeremus regionem ubertatis indeficientis, (IM) ubi pascis Israhel in aeternum veritate pabulo, et ibi vita sapientia est, per quam fluent omnia ista, et quae fuerunt et quae futura sunt, et ipsa non fit, sed sic est ut fuit, et sic erit semper. quin potius fuisse et futurum esse non est in ea, sed esse solum, quoniam aeterna est: nam fuisse et futurum esse non est aeternum.

Peak
(NM) et dum loquimur et inhiamus illi, attingimus cern modice toto ictu cordis.

Resolution
et suspiravimus et reliquimus ibi religatas primitias spiritus et reameamus ad strepitum oris nostri, (IM) ubi verbum et incipitur et finitur. (DM) et quid simile verbo tuo, domino nostro, in se permanenti sine vetustate atque innovanti omnia?

Complication
(NM) dicebamus ergo, (DiM) `si cui sileat tumultus carnis, sileant phantasiae terrae et aquarum et aeris, sileant et poli, et ipsa sibi anima sileat et transeat se non se cogitando, sileant somnia et imaginariae revelationes, omnis lingua et omne signum, et quidquid transeundo fit si cui sileat omnino ((IM) quoniam si quis audiat, dicunt haec omnia, (DiM) `non ipsa nos fecimus, sed fecit nos qui manet in aeternum’), his dictis si iam taceant, quoniam ererunt aurem in eum qui fecit ea, et loquatur ipse solus non per ea sed per se ipsum, ut audiamus verbum eius, non per linguam carnis neque per vocem angelii nec per sonitum nubis nec per aenigma similitudinis, sed ipsum quem in his amamus, ipsum sine his audiamus (sicet nunc extendimus nos et rapida cogitazione attingimus aeternam sapientiam super omnia manentem), si continuetur hoc et subtrahantur aliae visions longae impres generis et haec una rapiat et absorbbeat et recondat in interiura gaudia spectatorem suum, ut talis sit sempiterna vita quale fuit hoc momentum intellgentiae cui suspiravimus, nonne hoc est: `intra
in gaudium domini tui’? et istud quando? an cum omnes resurgimus, sed non omnes
immutabimur?’ (NM) dicebam talia, etsi non isto modo et his verbis, tamen, domine,
tu scis, quod illo die, cum talia loqueremur et mundus iste nobis inter verba vilesceret
cum omnibus delectationibus sui,

**Peak**
tunc ait illa, (DiM) ‘fili, quantum ad me attinet, nulla re iam delector in hac vita. quid
hic faciam adhuc et cur hic sim, nescio, iam consumpta spe huius saeculi. unum erat
propter quod in hac vita aliquantum immorarum cupidiam, ut te christianum catholicum
viderem priusquam morerer. cumulatius hoc mihi deus meus praestitit, ut te etiam
contempta felicitate terrena servum eius videam. quid hic facio?’

**Resolution**
(DM) ad haec ei quid responderim non satis recolo,

**Abstract**
(NM) cum interea vix intra quinque dies aut non multo amplius decubuit febribus.

**Peak**
Complication
(NM) et cum aegrotaret, quodam die defectum animae passa est et paululum subtracta
a praesentibus. nos concurrusmus, sed cito riddita est sensui et aspexit astantes me et
fratrem meum, et ait nobis quasi quaerentii simulis, (DiM) ‘ubi eram?’ (NM) deinde nos
intuens maore attonitos: (DiM) ‘ponitis hic’ (NM) inquit (DiM) ‘matrem vestram.’
ego silebam et fletum frenabam, frater autem meus quiddam locutus est, quo eam non
in peregre, sed in patria defungi tamquam felicius optarent. quo audito illa vultu anxio
reverberans cum oculis, quod talia saperet, atque inde me intuens: (DiM) ‘vide’ (NM)
ait (DiM) ‘quid diciti.’ (NM) et mox ambobus: (DiM) ‘ponite’ (NM) inquit (DiM)
‘hoc corpus ubicumque. nihil vos eius cura conturbet. tantum illud vos rogo, ut ad
domini altare memineritis mei, ubi ubi fueritis.’ (NM) cunque hanc sententiam verbis
quibus poterat explicasset, conticuit et ingravescente morbo exerceretur. ego vero
cogitans dona tua, deus invisibilis, (IM) quae immittis in corda fidelium tuorum, et
proveniunt inde fruges admirabiles, (NM) gaudebam et gratias tibi agebam, recolens
quod noweram, quanta cura semper aestuasset de sepulchro quod sibi providet et
praeparaverat iuxta corpus viri sui. quia enim valde concorditer vixerat, id etiam
volebat, (IM) ut est animus humanus minus capax divinorum, (NM) adiungi ad illam
felicitatem et commemorari ab hominibus, concessum sibi esse post transmarinam
peregrinationem ut conjuncta terra amborum coniugum terra tegeteretur. quando autem
ista inanitas plenitudine bonitatis tuae coaperat in eius corde non esse, nesciebam et
laetabam, admirans quod sic mihi apparuisse (quamquam et in illo sermone nostro ad
fenestram, cum dixit, (DiM) ‘iam quid hic facio?’ non apparuit desiderare in patria
mori). audivi etiam postea quod iam cum Ostiis esserum cum quibusdam amicis meis
materna fiducia conloquebatur quodam die de contemnu vitae huius et bono mortis,
ubi ipse nonaderam, illisque stupentibus virtutem feminae (quoniam tu dederas ei)
quaeerentibusque utrum non formidaret tam longe a sua civitate corpus reliquere,
Appendix

(DeM) nihil’ (NM) inquit (DiM) ‘longe est deo, neque timendum est, ne ille non agnoscat in fine saeculi unde me resuscitet.’

Peak

(NM) ergo die nono aegritudinis suae, quinquagesimo et sexto anno aetatis suae, tricesimo et tertio aetatis meae, anima illa religiosa et pia corpore soluta est.

Complication

premebam oculos eius, et confluebat in praecordia mea maestitudo ingens et transfluebat in lacrimas, ibidemque oculi mei violento animi imperio resorbebant fontem suum usque ad siccitatem, et in tali lutamine valde male mihi erat. tum vero ubi effavit extremum, puer Adeodatus exclamavit in planctu atque ab omnibus nobis cohercitus tacuit. hoc modo etiam meum quiddam puerile, quod labebatur in fletus, juvenali voce cordis coherencebatur et tacebat. neque enim decere arbitrabamur funus illud questibus lacrimosis gemitibusque celebrare, quia his plerumque solet deplorari quaedam miseria mortuorum aut quasi omnimoda extinctio. at illa nec misere moriebatur nec omnino moriebatur. hoc et documentis morum eius et fide non ficta rationibus certis tenebamus. quid erat ergo quod intus mihi graviter dolebat, nisi ex consuetudine simul vivendi, dulcissima et carissima, repente dirupta vulnus recens? gratulabar quidem testimonio eius, quod in ea ipsa ultima aegritudine obsequeis meis interblandiens appellabat me pium et commemorabat grandi dilectionis affectu numquam se audisse ex ore meo iaculatum in se durum aut contumeliosum somnus. sed tamen quid tale, deus meus, (IM) qui fecisti nos, (NM) quid comparabile habebat honor a me delatus illi et servitus ab illa mihi? (DeM) quoniam itaque deserebam tam magni eius solacio, sauciat anima et quasi dilaniabatur vita, quae una facta erat ex mea et illius. (NM) cohibito ergo a fletu illo puer, psalterium arripuit Evodius et cantare coepit psalmum. cui respondebamus omnis domus: (DiM) ‘misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, domine.’ (NM) audito autem quid ageretur, convenerunt multi fratres ac religiosae feminae et, de more illis quorum officium erat funus curantibus, ego in parte, ubi decenter poteram, cum eis qui me non deserendum esse censebant, quod erat temporis congruum disputabam eoque fomento veritatis mitigabam cruciatum tibi notum, illis ignorantibus et intente audientibus et sine sensu doloris me esse arbitrantibus. (DeM) at ego in auribus tuis, ubi eorum nullus audiebat, increpabam mollitiam affectus mei et constringebam fluxum maeroris, cedebatque mihi paululum. rursusque impetu suo ferebatur non usque ad eruptionem lacrimarum nec usque ad vultus mutationem, sed ego sciebam quid corde premerem. et quia mihi vehementer displacebat tantum in me posse haec humana, quae ordine debito et sorte conditionis nostrae accidere necesse est, alio dolore dolebam dolorem et duplici tristitia macerabar. (NM) cum ecce corpus elatum est, imus, redimus sine lacrimis, nam neque in eis precibus quas tibi fudimus, cum offerretur pro ea sacrificium pretii nostri iam iuxta sepulcrum, posito cadavere priusquam deponeretur, sicut illic fieri solet, nec in eis ergo precibus flevi, sed toto die graviter in occulto maestus eram et mente turbata rogabam te, ut poteram, quo sanares dolorem meum, nec faciebas, (DM) credo commendans memoriae meae vel hoc uno documento omnis consuetudinis vinculum etiam adversus mentem, quae iam non fallaci verbo pascitur. (NM) visum etiam mihi est ut irem lavatum, quod audieram inde balneis nomen inditum quia graeci balanion dixerint, (IM) quod anxietatem pellat ex animo. (DM) ecce et hoc consuetudines misericordiae tuae, pater orphanorum, (NM) quoniam lavi et talis eram qualis priusquam lavissem, neque
enim exudavit de corde meo maeroris amaritudo. deinde dormivi et evigilavi, et non parva ex parte mitigatum inveni dolorem meum atque, ut eram in lecto meo solus, recordatus sum veridicos versus Ambrosii tui. (DiM) ‘tu es enim, deus, creator omnium polique rector vestiens diem decoro lumine, noctem sopora gratia, artus solutos ut quies reddat laboris usui mensques fessas allevet luctuque solvat anxios.’ (NM) atque inde paulatim reducem in pristinum sensum ancillam tuam conversationemque eius piam in te et sancte in nos blandam et morigeram, qua subito destitutus sum,

Peak
et libuit flere in conspectu tuo de illa et pro illa, de me et pro me. et dimisit laclimas quas continentem, ut effluere quantum vellent, substernens eas cordi meo. et requievit in eis, quoniam ibi erant aures tuae, non cuitusquam hominis superbe interpretantis plorumatum meum.

Evaluation
(DM) et nunc, domine, confiteor tibi in litteris: legat qui volet, et interpretetur ut volet, et si peccatum invenerit, flevisse me matrem exigua parte horae, matrem oculis meis interim mortuam quae me multos annos fleverat ut oculis tuis viverem, non inrideat sed potius, si est grandi caritate, pro peccatis meis fleat ipse ad te, patrem omnium fratrum Christi tui. ego autem, iam sanato corde ab illo vulnere quae in Adam mortitur. quamquam illa in Christo vivificata etiam nondum a carne resoluta sic vixerit, ut laudetur nomen tuum in fide moribusque eius, non tamen audeo dicere, ex quo eam per baptismum regenerasti, nullum verbum exisse ab ore eius contra praeceptum tuum. et dictum est a veritate filio tuo, (DiM) ‘si quis dixerit fratri suo, “fatue”, reus erit gehennae ignis’; (DM) et vac etiam laudabili vitae hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam! quia vero non exquisiri delicta vehementer, fiducialiter speramus aliquem apud te locum. quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? o si cognoscant se homines homines, et qui gloriatur, in domino glorietur! ego itaque, laus mea et vita mea, deus cordis mei, sepositis paulisper bonis eius actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meae deprecor te. exaudi me per medicinam vulnerum nostrorum, quae peependit in ligno et sedens ad dexteram tuam te interpellat pro nobis. scio misericordi eoperatam et ex corde dimisisse debita debitoribus suis. dimitte illi et tu debita sua, si qua etiam contraxit per tot annos post aquam salutis. dimitte, domine, dimitte, obscoro, ne intres cum ea in iudicium. supereuxultet misericordia iudicio, (IM) quoniam eloquia tua vera sunt et promissisti misericordiam misericordibus. (DM) quod ut essent tu dedisti eis, (IM) qui misereberis cui misertus eris, et misericordiam praestabis cui misericors fueris. (DM) et credo, iam feceris quo te rogo, sed voluntaria oris mei approba, domine. namque illa imminente die resolutionis suae non cogitatavit suum corpus sumptuose contegi aut condiri aromatis aut monumentum electum concupivit aut curavit sepulchrum patrui. non ista mandavit nobis, sed tantummodo memoriam sui ad altare tuum fider desideravit, cui nullius diei praetermissione servierat, unde scint dispensari victimam sanctam qua letum est chirographum quod erat contrarium nobis, (IM) qua triumphatus est hostis computans delicta nostra et quaerens quid obiciat, et nihil inveniens in illo, in quo vincimus. quis ei refundet
innocentem sanguinem? (DM) quis ei restituet pretium quo nos emit, ut nos auferat ei? ad cuius pretii nostri sacramentum ligavit ancilla tua animam suam vinculo fidei. nemo a protectione tua dirumpat eam; non se interponat nec vi nec insidiis leo et draco. neque enim respondebit illa nihil se debere, ne convincatur et obtineatur ab accusatore callido, sed respondebit dimissa debita sua ab eo cui nemo reddet, quod pro nobis non debens reddidit. sit ergo in pace cum viro, (DeM) ante quem nulli et post quem nulli nupta est, cui servivit fructum tibi afferens cum tolerantia, ut eum quoque lucraretur tibi. (DM) et inspira, domine meus, deus meus, inspira servis tuis, fratribus meis, filiis tuis, dominis meis, quibus et corde et voce et litteris servio, ut quotquot haec legerint, meminerint ad altare tuum Monnicae, famulae tuae, cum Patricio, (IM) quondam eius coniuge, per quorum carnet introduxisti me in hanc vitam, quemadmodum nescio. (DM) meminerint cum affectu pio parentum meorum in hac luce transitoria, et fratrum meorum sub te patre in matre catholica, et civium meorum in aeterna Hierusalem, cui suspirat peregrinatio populi tui ab exitu usque ad reditum, ut quod a me illa poposcit extremum uberius ei praestetur in multorum orationibus per confessiones quam per orationes meas.
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Finally, I return to the personal questions about friendship which I asked myself in the foreword. I mentioned four men who have been my best friends for the greater part of my life. I consider our friendship to be a true friendship. I wonder whether I might apply the aspects of the Ciceronian, Ambrosian, and Augustinian concepts of friendship, which I have discussed in this research, to my own modern friendship, and try to see what it is that makes it true?

Here is a friendship between five men, who have been friends for more than forty years. We aim for each other’s best interests unselfishly (benevolentia). We influence each other (vicissitudo). We become as one, although we hardly see each other on any kind of regular basis these days, since we live far apart, each in our own corner of the country (unitas). We love each other (dilectio), consider each other our other selves (aequalitas), although we are not each others equals when it comes to physical appearances, relationships, jobs, financial circumstances or family backgrounds. We speak as freely to each other as we would to ourselves (libertas), although we do not agree on all things (consensio). We are prone to all three temptations, of which curiosity would be the most powerful. Yet, none of them ever dominates us or our friendship, nor turns any singular aspect into a bad influence, since we keep the right balance in all things (continentia).

Thus analysing our friendship, it seems to agree with the classical concepts of friendship I mentioned above. But to qualify as true friendship, as we have seen, the aspects of virtus (Cicero), virtutes (Ambrose), or caritas (Augustine) would have to be present. I do not feel that the love of God is an explicit aspect of the friendship between my four friends and me. I would rather recognize moral strength (virtus) as an aspect which underlies our friendship. Thus, it would seem that this friendship between the five of us agrees with the classical, Ciceronian concept of amicitia. In that respect it can be called true friendship. But what about the Christian virtues? Are they wholly absent? I have argued that Augustine transforms the Ambrosian virtues into the works of charity, whose description he then likens to the aspects of friendship. And although I would hesitate to call the five of us virtuous, I honestly think we are charitable. Again, according to Augustine, God’s love suffuses the works of charity; without caritas there can be no opera misericordiae. Looking at it that way, God’s love is present in the
friendship between my four friends and myself after all, implicitly through who we are and what we do.

An analysis of this ordinary, twenty-first century friendship according to classical and Christian concepts seems to indicate that these concepts might help to describe and perhaps begin to understand the concept of friendship in a wider context. On a more personal level such an analysis tells me how this friendship between the five of us can be so strong and of so long life: it is a true friendship. And such a friendship, according to Augustine, turns into brotherhood. For that I thank you, Wim Daalhuizen, Jean Schleipen, Roel Mans and Martin Reijans, my friends, true brothers of my heart.

831 Williams (2012: 18) remarks on ‘definitions and minimum standards’ of friendship: ‘Although these are implicitly proposed as definitions with a potentially universal validity, interrogation of their key terms reveals the contingency and partiality of each, and the remarkable range itself illustrates the difficulty of the very undertaking of definition.'
Friendship in Saint Augustine’s *Confessions*

Between social convention and Christian morals

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Summary

In 397 A.D. Aurelius Augustinus, *Augustine*, wrote the *Confessions*. In this book we see the bishop trying to bridge the gap between ‘the two worlds’ that were about to merge in his days, the pagan Roman Empire and a Christian society. As Michael McCarthy puts it: ‘The Confessions reflects a literary space in which ancient Roman classics intermingle with the new Christian classics.’ And Augustine, who as professor of rhetoric at the imperial court in Milan had been at the apogee of secular ambition, and who as bishop of Hippo Regius in the Roman province of Africa was the voice of a thriving Catholic Church, seemed especially qualified to try to bridge that gap. Of all the books Augustine wrote, the *Confessions* are arguably his most popular work. Its appeal seems to some extent to derive from the author’s voice and ‘dramatic’ presentation of the narrative. In James O’Donnell’s words: ‘The opening [of the *Confessions*] can give rise to the disconcerting feeling of coming into a room and chancing upon a man speaking to someone who isn’t there. He gestures in our direction and mentions us from time to time, but he never addresses his readers.’ Presented as a monologue with God as primary addressee and virtual interlocutor, the *Confessions* seem to be the most intimate place to hear Augustine’s voice from up close.

Throughout the first nine books the author presents seventeen narrative episodes, which make a dramatic appeal to the reader. The subject matter of the most popular or ‘iconic’ of these episodes, where the author seems to call most emphatically for the reader’s attention (eight out of seventeen), is friendship. These eight episodes, which I call key narrative episodes

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834 1. The pear theft (2.4.9); 2. The friend who nearly turned into an enemy (4.4.7-4.7.12); 3-6. Alypius and Nebridius (6.7.11-6.10.17); 7. Firminus (7.6.8-11); 8. The garden in Milan (8.8.19-8.12.30).
(KNE’s) in this study, are embedded in numerous non-narrative chapters in which Augustine analyses friendship. In view of this preponderance of the theme of friendship at what seem to be dramatic focal points in the presentation of the text, I have formulated the following principal question:

**What is the function of the theme of friendship within the Confessions as a whole?**

In order to answer this question I have formulated two complementary (and partially interrelated) subsidiary questions, one more general (How can the concept of friendship be characterized in the Confessions?; see subsidiary question 1 below) and one more specific (How is friendship presented in the narrative episodes in the Confessions?; see subsidiary question 2 below):

**Subsidiary question 1: How can the concept of friendship be characterized in the Confessions?**

To answer this first subsidiary question I have used a combined and multi-stage method. On the one hand I have made an analysis of friendship as presented in (i) two classical sources, secular (Cicero) as well as Christian (Ambrose); and (ii) modern research on the composite notion of friendship in the Augustinian corpus as a whole. This part of the research, and the overview obtained of the various components of amicitia, is reported in chapter 1.3. Methodologically, this overview functions as a guiding principle for the analysis of both the narrative and the non-narrative passages of the Confessions, the former of which have been analysed by means of a relatively novel close-reading method (see subsidiary question 2 below). This analysis of the Confessions (chapter 2) comprises the body of the research. Together, the ‘model’ presented in 1.3 and the results of the analyses in chapter 2 lead to a quite specific picture of the multi-faceted concept of amicitia as Augustine uses it in the Confessions as well as of the

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835 This method has already been successfully applied by Paula Rose to Augustine’s *De Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda* (Rose 2013).
sophisticated way in which Augustine presents the theme of amicitia in the
narrative episodes of the work.
The analyses in chapter 2 have brought out, among other things, a set of six
aspects of true friendship (amicitia vera) as Augustine describes it in his
book (see chapter 3): dilectio, benevolentia (aiming for each other’s best
interest), vicissitudo (influencing each other), unitas (complementing each
other), aequalitas (being like each other), and caritas (the love of God).
The first five of these I would call constitutive aspects of amicitia, which
may have slightly different connotations in a classical and in a Christian
context of friendship. As Augustine presents them in the narrative episodes
of his Confessions (cf. subsidiary question 2 below), they may all occur
together or in specific combinations, depending on the particular type of
friendship he is focusing on. In general they obtain a specific, Augustinian
colouring. The addition of caritas to the complete set, however, works as a
‘catalyst’, turning amicitia into amicitia vera (‘true friendship’).
All these aspects are qualified by what Augustine calls continentia,
temperance and balance. This continentia is not a specific aspect of amicitia;
rather, to Augustine, it is an essential aspect of the life of a Christian. The
importance of continentia implies that, when the true balance is lost, any
one of these constitutive aspects would turn from good to bad. In chapter
3.1 I give, by way of conclusion, a detailed presentation of the aspects of
friendship as they come to the fore in the Confessions.
My analyses in chapter 2 of the presentation of friendship in the
Confessions show how Augustine specifically adopts the classical Roman
concept of amicitia, as presented in its most iconic form in Cicero’s De
Amicitia, and by imitatio and aemulatio ‘Christianizes’ every aspect of it.
In doing so, he turns amicitia into the single most important quality of the
catholic Christian as a member of the Church, a veritable sine qua non.
The Christianization of amicitia is complete in books 10 to 13 (which lack
any narrative episodes), where fraternitas becomes the dominant theme.
Augustine describes this fraternitas with reference to the same aspects
he uses to characterize ‘regular’, imperfect amicitia; the only difference
between the two is caritas. Through caritas mundane friendship evolves
into true friendship (vera amicitia) which equals brotherhood, so ordinary
friends become brothers in Christ. It is exactly this evolution of friendship
that distinguishes Augustine’s presentation of friendship from that of others.
The narrative episodes in books 1–9 of the Confessions clearly serve to
pave the way for the reader’s attaining this insight, by involving him in the narrative of Augustine’s own, very human journey from mundane to true friendship. This brings us to the second subsidiary question.

**Subsidiary question 2: How is friendship presented in the narrative episodes in the *Confessions*?**

As said, the body of research in chapter 2 focuses on the analyses of the seventeen embedded narratives, and on eight of them concerning friendship in particular, in their respective contexts. The analytic instrument I employ here is of an eclectic nature and combines insights from both discourse linguistics and narratology. The instrument has been developed by a number of classicists in Amsterdam, and incorporates elements from (i) a model of narrative structure initially developed by William Labov for natural narrative (Labov 1972), (ii) a model of linguistic discourse modes as e.g. proposed by Carlota Smith (Smith 2003), and (iii) Irene de Jong’s approved model of narratology (e.g. De Jong 2014).

The instrument typically has a strong focus on discourse-linguistic devices, such as the use of tenses and the use of particles (e.g., *sed, nam, autem, at, igitur*), which reflect different principles of textual advancement and textual coherence. Attention is also paid to a separate group of particles which primarily aim for speaker authority and hearer commitment (e.g. *vero, modo, enim, ergo*), and might therefore be called ‘conversation management particles’. Where relevant, I also discuss the rhetorical use of anaphoric pronouns, especially the pronoun *ille* as a means to indicate and emphasize the relations between referents. In chapter 1.4 I describe the details of the close-reading instrument I have employed to answer the second subsidiary question.

My analyses, as presented in chapter 2, show, among other things, how the author in the narrative episodes draws the reader’s attention to the narrative by means of various linguistic and narratological devices, and thus involves him, as it were, in its content. Thus, the narrative episodes enhance the drama of the discourse and the protreptic character of the *Confessions*, a protrepticus being a literary genre primarily serving as an exhortation to the study of philosophy. Cornelius Mayer, calls the *Confessions* ‘a pastorally motivated protrepticus’. The addition of ‘pastoral’ implies the pastor’s

concern for the road to conversion which leads through the heart to Christ. The subject matter of the episodes are ‘small scale’, everyday anecdotes, which are very realistic and enable the narratee to identify with the character Augustine. Everything that had happened to him had happened by the will of God. In the Confessions we see man act as an instrument of God and thus, unwittingly, help others proceed towards the truth. The author makes the character Augustine accessible and imitable: Augustine was a man just like any other, and whatever had happened to him, could have happened to anyone. The Confessions’ happy end would arouse in readers the expectation of a similar experience.

The analyses of the eight key narrative episodes have also brought out, by their character, their position (in books 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8), and their colouring of the books of which they are part, their function within the macrostructure of the Confessions. These episodes seem to evoke a growing involvement of the narratee in the main discourse of the Confessions (one man’s road to conversion) and build up tension towards what I would call the peak of the story, Augustine’s conversion in the garden in Milan in book 8.

In order to answer my principal question (What is the function of the theme of friendship within the Confessions as a whole?), I show in this study how the particular close-reading instrument introduced in 1.4. is able, in combination with the inventory of aspects presented in 1.3, to identify the various specific aspects of friendship as they obtain in the Confessions. The analyses in chapter 2 thus contribute to the answer of subsidiary question 1. I also demonstrate, among other things, how the particular presentation and formulation of the key narrative episodes are to be explained in terms of (and contribute to) the protreptic character of the text as a whole (subsidiary question 2). This leads to the conclusion that friendship, as Augustine describes and presents it in the Confessions, illustrates the way to conversion and, at the same time, constitutes conversion’s ultimate goal: to achieve, through mundane amicitia, true friendship which equals brotherhood as the perfect state for the Christian brethren in communion with God. And although final conversion to that state of brotherhood is, in Augustine’s theology, always seen as a gift from God, as caritas received through the Holy Spirit, the text encourages the reader to prepare himself for that ultimate gift both by longing for it and by engaging passionately in the dynamics of friendship, just like Augustine himself did.
Math Osseforth was born in Sittard on October 12, 1963. After primary school, under the auspices of the Zusters Augustinessen van Sint-Monica, he enrolled in the grammarschool at the Bisschoppelijk College St. Joseph, also in Sittard. He graduated in 1982 (cum laude). In August of that year he started with Greek and Latin Languages and Cultures at the Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht and graduated at the same university in 1987 (cum laude) with a thesis on the key function of Cicero’s Laelius, De Amicitia. From 1986-1987 he took part in the propedeuse programme of Theology at the Katholieke Theologische Hogeschool Utrecht, from 1987-1988 he completed the first year programme of English at the Katholieke Leergangen in Sittard (cum laude).

In August 1987 Math Osseforth started teaching Latin, Classical Greek and Ancient history at his former grammarschool in Sittard. In 2002 he became deputy headmaster, first at a comprehensive school in Rotterdam, eventually, in 2005, at the Gymnasium Camphusianum in Gorinchem, where he still works.

From 1995-2000 he was a member of the committee, installed by the Dutch Department of Education, to develop a new subject for highschools (VWO): Klassieke Culturele Vorming (KCV). Since 2006 he is chairman of the Belangengroep Gymnasiale Vorming (BGV), a national organization for the furtherance of classical education in secondary schools (VWO). From 2008-2010 he was a member of the Verkenningscommissie Klassieke Talen, installed by the Dutch Department of Education, to analyse the problems concerning the efficiency of classical education, specifically Latin, in secondary education, and to suggest improvements. As chairman of the BGV he initiated a research programme and helped develop a toolkit (The Gouden Standaard: 2014) for maintaining the highest possible standard of classical education in secondary schools.

In september 2010 Math Osseforth started his PhD education at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. In September 2013 he presented his first paper at a post-graduate conference at Oxford University, and again in November of that same year at the OIKOS linguistics conference in Katwijk:
‘Augustine’s Confessions: a linguistic-narratological analysis’, focusing on the narrative episode about Augustine’s friend who died (4.4.7-8). In August 2015 he presented a paper at the International Patristics Conference at Oxford University: ‘Augustine’s Confessions: A Discourse Analysis’, applying the linguistic-narratological instrument to the macrostructure of the Confessions. This paper will appear in the Studia Patristica in 2017.