Making of the Western Mind
Institute for the Study of Western Civilization
Week 11: Augustine

Tuesday, January 7, 2020
Augustine of Hippo, 354 - 430 (76)
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CHRISTIANS AND ROME
CHRISTIAN STORY HAPPENING IN CENTER
OF MOST IMPORTANT EMPIRE OF ALL TIME
Jesus "arrives" on scene at most important moment in all
time in most important international political structure of
all time.

this idea that Roman Empire a "once-in-all-time-time"
endures all way through Mid Ages and Renaissance

also: much stirring of subject peoples
Palestine the hottest spot in all empire
67-37 BC 150,000 dies in uprisings
Palestine most explosive province in empire
thus Jesus arrives into "revolutionary" moment
CHRISTIANITY VERSUS ROMAN AND GREEK GODS

Christianity bequeathed to Western culture a God who revealed himself definitively in the person of Jesus, and who continues to redeem the world by the work of the Holy Spirit.

Time itself was transformed:

Where the Greeks and Romans thought of the universe as fixed and eternal, Christianity building on the Hebrew prophets and their HISTORICAL VISION injected into Western consciousness the notion of the future as change and progress.

In the “fullness of time.” (Paul)
1. A new conception of God.
2. An inversion of values: vengence is bad, forgiveness good
3. A new conception of the community: caring vs “honor”
4. A new conception of the good life. service to poor, sick
5. A new emphasis on the INDIVIDUAL. The individual now had a personal connection to a personal God: Jesus.

To a world ruled by fate and the whims of 100s of capricious gods, Christianity brought the promise of Order and everlasting life
Paul the Apostle
5 AD to 65 AD
born in Tarsus
(Asia Minor)
died in Rome
First Council of Jerusalem, 49 AD
Nero’s Persecution of the Christians, 64 AD
Tacitus on Christ

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

The Roman historian Tacitus's evidence for the historical existence of Christ and early Christians is found in his *Annals* (written ca. 116 AD), book 15, chapter 44. Tacitus refers to Christ, Pontius Pilate, and mass executions of the Christians.[1] The passage contains an early non-Christian reference to the origin of Christianity, the execution of Christ described in the Canonical gospels, and the presence and persecution of Christians in 1st-century Rome.[2][3]

**English translation**

The passage, which has been subjected to much scholarly analysis, follows a description of the six-day fire that burned much of Rome in July 64 AD and was thought by some Romans to have been set by Emperor Nero himself.[2]

Consequently, to get rid of the report, Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilatus, and a most mischievous superstition, thus checked for the moment, again broke out not only in Judæa, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their centre and become popular. Accordingly, an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination, when daylight had expired.[4]
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Nero’s Persecution of the Christians, 64 AD
When were the Gospels Written? 60-70 AD?
Emperor Decius, (201-251)
Emperor 249-251
Emperor Diocletian, (245-311)
Emperor, 284-305, persecutions begin 303
Constantine the Great, 272-337
Emperor, 306-337
Edict of Milan 313
Council of Nicaea, 325 AD
Augustine, The Confessions

This outline of Augustine's Confessions is based on the Oxford World Classic edition translated by Henry Chadwick (Oxford University Press, 1991, ISBN 0192833723). The numbers in the left column are PAGE NUMBERS IN CHADWICK EDITION.

BOOK I: THE EARLY YEARS

7 Infancy.
10 Boyhood.
13 Almost baptized by his Christian mother Monica.
13 Grammar school at Madauros, 366-369 A.D.
15 Aug hated learning Greek.
17 Aug didn't like Homer, liked Virgil (Rome)

BOOK II: ADOLESCENCE
Augustine was born in the year 354 AD in the city of Thagaste (now Souk Ahras, Algeria) in the Roman province of Numidia. His mother, Monica was a devout Christian; his father Patricius was a Pagan who converted to Christianity on his deathbed. Monica was a key figure in his life and he believed she had led him to the true path after all his youthful wanderings.
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BOOK II: ADOLESCENCE
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26 Augustine returns to Thagaste. He is unoccupied and gets into trouble.

26 **Coming of age**: his father sees him in the bathhouse knows he is sexually mature.

This scene is Aug's way of introducing Book II which is a book about his coming of age sexually and his flirtation with chaos and destruction.

27 His mother Monica warns him against fornication.

28 Making his way through the streets of "Babylon" luxuriating in sexual indulgence.

28 "Such were the companions with whom I made my way through the streets of Babylon. With them I rolled in its dung as if rolling in spices and precious ointment."

29 Stealing the pears.

29 "I had no motive for my wickedness except **wickedness** itself. It was foul, and I loved it. I loved the self-destruction, I loved my fall .."(p.29)

"But my pleasure was not in the pears; it was in the crime itself."
Augustine, Confessions, The Pears
BOOK II, CHAPTER 8


But I did not realize this and went on my way headlong with such blindness that among my peer group I was ashamed not to be equally guilty of shameful behaviour when I heard them boasting of their sexual exploits. Their pride was the more aggressive, the more debauched their acts were; they derived pleasure not merely from the lust of the act but also from the admiration it evoked.

What is more worthy of censure than vice?

Yet I went deeper into vice to avoid being despised, and when there was no act by admitting to which I could rival my depraved companions, I used to pretend I had done things I had not done at all, so that my innocence should not lead my companions to scorn my lack of courage, and lest my chastity be taken as a mark of inferiority.

9 (8) Such were the companions with whom I made my way through the streets of Babylon. 10 With them I rolled in its dung as if rolling in spices and precious ointments (S. of S. 5. 4: 14).

To tie me down the more tenaciously to Babylon’s belly, the invisible enemy trampled on me (Ps. 55: 3) and I wanted to carry out an act of theft and did so, driven by no kind of need other than my inner lack of any sense of, or feeling for, justice.
Wickedness filled me. I stole something which I had in plenty and of much better quality.

My desire was to enjoy not what I sought by stealing but merely the excitement of thieving and the doing of what was wrong.

There was a pear tree near our vineyard laden with fruit, though attractive in neither color nor taste.

To shake the fruit off the tree and carry off the pears, I and a gang of naughty adolescents set off late at night after (in our usual pestilential way) we had continued our game in the streets. We carried off a huge load of pears.

But they were not for our feasts but merely to throw to the pigs. Even if we ate a few, nevertheless our pleasure lay in doing what was not allowed.

I had no motive for my wickedness except wickedness itself.

It was foul, and I loved it. I loved the self-destruction, I loved my fall, not the object for which I had fallen but my fall itself.

My depraved soul leaped down from your firmament to ruin.

12 I was seeking not to gain anything by shameful means, but shame for its own sake.

The fruit was beautiful, but was not that which my miserable soul coveted. I had a quantity of better pears. But those I picked solely with the motive of stealing. I threw away what I had picked. My feasting was only on the wickedness which I took pleasure in
The act has nothing lovely about it, none of the loveliness found in equity and prudence, or in the human mind whether in the memory or in the senses or in physical vitality. Nor was it beautiful in the way the stars are, noble in their courses, or earth and sea full of newborn creatures which, as they are born, take the place of those which die; 15 not even in the way that specious vices have a flawed reflection of beauty.

viii (16) ‘What fruit had I’, wretched boy, in these things (Rom. 6: 21) which I now blush to recall, above all in that theft in which I loved nothing but the theft itself?

The theft itself was a nothing, and for that reason I was the more miserable. Yet had I been alone I would not have done it— I remember my state of mind to be thus at the time— alone I would never have done it.

Therefore my love in that act was to be associated with the gang in whose company I did it.

I would not have needed to inflame the itch of my cupidity through the excitements generated by sharing the guilt with others. But my pleasure was not in the pears; it was in the crime itself, done in association with a sinful group.

But had I been alone, it would have given me absolutely no pleasure, nor would I have committed it. Friendship can be a dangerous enemy, a seduction of the mind lying beyond the reach of investigation. 16 Out of a game and a jest came an avid desire to do injury and an appetite to inflict loss on someone else without any motive on my part of personal gain, and no pleasure in settling a score. As soon as the words are spoken ‘Let us go and do it’, one is ashamed not to be shameless.
This is one of the most important sections in the whole of *The Confessions*. Here Augustine challenges the whole of Greco-Roman ethics as summarized in Cicero's *On Duties* (De Officiis). Cicero following the Greek philosophers believed that the human being would not knowingly do evil. Wrongdoing is always a matter of insufficient knowledge. Augustine says here with his account of the incident of the pears, that the human being not only will do evil, the human being on occasion will LOVE doing evil exactly for the thrill of doing evil. This insight into human nature from this Christian theologian stood at the center of all Western ethics for the next 1400 years.

33 Alone and in groups.

Here is another insight that turns all of classical ethics on its head. Aug says he would not have done it alone. Thus the group makes us behave WORSE! (Hitler would agree) For more on this from the point of view of a modern writer see Eric Hoffer's *The True Believer*.

Aristotle and Cicero would be scandalized. Their idea was that society (groups) make us behave better.
At the age of 17, through the generosity of his fellow citizen Romanianus, Augustine went to *Carthage* to continue his education in rhetoric. It was while he was a student in Carthage that he read Cicero's dialogue *Hortensius* (now lost), which he described as leaving a lasting impression and sparking his interest in philosophy. Although raised as a Christian, Augustine left the church to follow the Manichaean religion, much to his mother's despair. As a youth Augustine lived a hedonistic lifestyle for a time, associating with young men who boasted of their sexual exploits.
Marcus Tullius Cicero
3 January 106 BC – 7 December 43 BC)
Assassination of Cicero by Mark Antony’s Soldiers, December 7, 43 BC
BOOK III: STUDENT AT CARTHAGE

35 In 376 A.D, Augustine is now in CARTHAGE, a graduate student pursuing advanced studies in rhetoric, the philosophical path we would now call the liberal arts.

35 He arrives in Carthage with a mistress and a newborn child: Adeodatus (gift of God).

35 His life in Carthage is full of philosophy and love.

35 He says he was "in love with love."

35 These are his days of love, lust, sex, bodies.

35 Living the life of love, he loves Virgil, the poet of the great tragic love affair of Aeneas and Dido.

37 He loves the theater of Carthage

Early Christians always worried about the theater, the power of drama.

37 He wonders whether we love suffering; that we go to the theater to see suffering and to suffer vicariously.

38 He is at the top of his class. "inflated with conceit."
College life: Augustine in love; hot sex ("Dear God, make me chaste; but not yet.")
Loves Virgil: loves the lovers in the *Aeneid*: Aeneas and Dido
extraordinary it is to think about the fact that Cicero is the key figure in the life of young Augustine.

first encounters with the Bible. Doesn't like it.

BOOK IV CARTHAGE AND MANICHAEANS

Manichaeans. Augustine, age 19 (373) and his friend Honoratus join the Manichaeans founded by a Persian philosopher Mani (215-276) and only recently introduced into North Africa.

Augustine is now a teacher of rhetoric. Public speaking. He is a brilliant natural speaker all his life. His sermons become internationally famous.

Augustine's girlfriend. She remains unnamed. (Garry Wills in his very fine little Penguin biography names her "Una" ie number one. It is a good idea and I like it so I will call her "Una" too.) They are living together and have a child. All this of course scandalized his mother Monica so it is helpful to see that young Augustine was a "radical" ie unafraid to scandalize. And this continues all his life. He is very courageous about living and preaching according to his own ideas. At this point he is a sexy, brilliant young man living with his girlfriend and outraging his loving mother in the process. Sounds sort of like a 1960's kid off at UCB Berkeley turning into a "radical."

Reading Aristotle's Categories.
Augustine wrestles with God and the Categories.
Manichaeism was a major religious movement that was founded by the Iranian prophet Mani (Latin: Manichaeus) c. 216–276).

Mani of Iranian origin, was the prophet and the founder of Manichaeism, a religion of late antiquity which was widespread. Mani was born in or near Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Babylonia, at the time still part of the Parthian Empire. Six of his major works were written in Syriac. He died in Gundeshapur.

Dualism: light and dark, good and evil. Good is up in heaven, dark is down here with us in our physical world. We should strive to escape this dark world.
BOOK V  CRISIS OVER MANICHAEAN TEACHINGS; AUGUSTINE GOES TO ROME (383)

77 Augustine examining Manichaean doctrines. Waiting for the coming of the brilliant teacher Faustus. Faustus comes and is charming and learned but unable to answer Augustine's needs. A Crisis of belief.

82 Augustine goes to Rome (383). Augustine's family has connections in Rome. Aug quickly establishes a reputation as a brilliant teacher of rhetoric.

87 Augustine goes to Milan. (October 384) It is one of the amazing events of early Christian history that the most brilliant theologian of early Christian thinking should come to Milan and meet and be influenced by and be baptized by the other great leader in early Christianity: Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. With Jerome who was translating the Bible into Latin, these three contemporaries form the central doctrine and practices of the early Christian church.
383: Augustine comes to Rome
To do advanced study and teach.
Finds Rome dull.
313: Edict of Milan, Christianity legal
"By now my evil and wicked youth was dead." (Age 30)

Augustine begins extensive study of Plato and the Christian followers of Plato called "Neoplatonists," most important of whom was Plotinus (205-270).

Aug discovered he could bring Neoplatonism and Christianity together into a coherent philosophy.

Augustine struggles with belief and unbelief in the garden.

"Pick up and read." Romans 13:13-14. "Not in riots and drunken parties, not in eroticism and indecencies, not in strufe and rivalry, but put on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh in its lusts."

Baptism by Bishop Ambrose in the Cathedral of Milan. Easter 387.

Death of Monica.

The moment of Monica's death and Augustine's grief.
Saint Ambrose of Milan
b. 340
d. Milan 397
buried in Sant’Ambrogio mosaic portrait
now in Sant’Ambrogio
Saint Ambrose and Milan

340 born in Trier Germany
372 education in Rome
374 made Bishop of Milan
375-383 Emperor Gratian close to Ambrose
386 Ambrose writes De officiis ministrorum (like Cicero)
387 baptizes Augustine
390 Excommunicates Emperor Theodosius
391-3 in Florence (San Lorenzo)
394 back in Milan triumphant
(Church-State fight: Henry Becket 1164)
397 died in Milan
buried Sant’ Ambrogio
Saint Ambrose

Why is he important?

1. Classical tradition
2. Roman state
3. Judeo-Christ
4. New Bishop
5. Forms of Worship
De officiis ministrorum. 386

Uses Cicero Book as model Choice of Cicero tells us how “Roman” Ambrose is. The “duties” of Christian clergy Synthesizes Roman morality with Christian ideas Ambrose aspires to demonstrate that Christian values not only match but also exceed the moral standards advocated by Cicero. His book hints at new role of Bishop Leader of the Community
300-400 Church goes from persecution to Triumph
Final Triumph of Christians Over Arians in the Imperial Family

Saint Ambrose of Milan, 340-397 AD
Emperor Thedosius I (347-395)
Basilica of Sant' Ambrogio
**Conversion and Christian Growth**

**Table 1.1**

Christian Growth Projected at 40 Percent per Decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Christians</th>
<th>Percent of Population(^a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0.0017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>1,400</td>
<td>0.0023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>7,530</td>
<td>0.0126</td>
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<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>40,496</td>
<td>0.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>217,795</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>1,171,356</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>6,299,832</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>350</td>
<td>33,882,008</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Based on an estimated population of 60 million.
BOOK VII PLATO AND NEOPLATONISM

111 "By now my evil and wicked youth was dead." (Age 30)

121 Augustine begins extensive study of Plato and the Christian followers of Plato called "Neoplatonists," most important of whom was Plotinus (205-270).

Aug discovered he could bring Neoplatonism and Christianity together into a coherent philosophy.

BOOK VIII CONVERSION

146 Augustine struggles with belief and unbelief in the garden.

"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 lusts."

163 Baptism by Bishop Ambrose in the Cathedral of Milan. Easter 387.

BOOK IX DEATH OF MONICA

166 Death of Monica.

174 The moment of Monica's death and Augustine's grief.

BOOK X MEMORY
As he sat there in the garden, he says, he heard a child's voice "from a nearby house" repeating the singing words, "pick up and read, pick up and read". Hearing this as a divine command to open his Bible, Augustine did so and read a letter of Paul with an injunction against "indecencies," a command to "put on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh in its lusts." This was enough to convert Augustine immediately and finally, and he hurried to tell the good news to Alypius (who was in the garden and who joined Augustine in his decision to convert) and to his mother Monica (who was thrilled). Augustine had finally arrived at his goal.
387 Bishop Ambrose baptizes Augustine (age 35)
Baptismal Font of original Cathedral of Milan where Ambrose baptized Augustine on April 25, 387.
“What does Athens have to do with Jerusalem?”

“Quid Athenae Hierosolymis?”

400 AD
The Empire in 390’s: Ambrose and Theodosius
Theodosius makes Christianity the religion of the empire

Emperor Theodosius the Great
347-395
Invasions of the Roman Empire
100 - 500 CE

Western Roman Empire

Eastern Roman Empire

Rome

Carthage

Chalons 451

Hun Capital

Adrianople 378

Constantinople

Angles, Saxons

Franks

Goths

Visigoths

Ostrogoths

Huns

Vandals

Angles

Angles

Saxons

Saxons

Franks

Franks

Goths

Goths

Vandals

Vandals

Visigoths

Visigoths

Ostrogoths

Ostrogoths

Huns

Huns

Carthage

Carthage

Rome

Rome

Chalons 451

Chalons 451

Hun Capital

Hun Capital

Adrianople 378

Adrianople 378

Constantinople

Constantinople

Western Roman Empire

Western Roman Empire

Eastern Roman Empire

Eastern Roman Empire
August 24, 410, Sack of Rome
Goths in Rome
by
Paul Jamin
France, 1853-1903
Emperor’s daughter Galla Placidia Captured by the Goths
Ataulf, King of the Goths
Jan. 1, 414, Galla Placidia marries King Ataulf
In the aftermath of the sack of Rome 410, Augustine sits down to write the most influential work of Christian theology of all time.
Augustine created a theology of the self in *The Confessions*, and in *The City of God* he initiates a theology of history.
Romans claimed that the gods had abandoned Rome because many Romans had forsaken them and taken the new faith. They said the Christian God had failed to protect Rome, as he should have done, since Constantine had declared him to be the one true God. The angry wrangling between the two communities prompted Augustine to begin writing The City of God.

First ten books of The City of God, which make up the first part of the work, refute the pagans’ charges that Christians brought about the fall of Rome.
The Earthly and the Heavenly City

Book XI begins the second part of The City of God, where Augustine describes the doctrine of the two cities, one earthly and one heavenly. In the next three books he details how these two cities came about, based on his reading of the Bible. The next four books explain the prehistory of the city of heaven, from Genesis to the age of Solomon. In book XVIII, Augustine undertakes a similar process of portraying the prehistory of the city of the world, from Abraham to the Old Testament prophets. Augustine focuses on how the two cities will end in book XIX, and in the process he outlines the nature of the supreme good. He emphasizes the idea that the peace and happiness found in the heavenly city can also be experienced here on earth. Book XX deals with the Last Judgment.
Augustine and the Two Cities

The City of God became the most influential work of theology in the whole Christian tradition.

The argument of the book encouraged Christians to view SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE as a cornerstone of Western political thinking.
c. 400
Theodosius makes Christianity the religion of the empire.
Theodosius often confuses his political motives with religious ones.

This was exactly what Aug saw as the danger to the church.

Aug's position made the Western church and its political allies unique in the world.
Making of the Western Mind
Institute for the Study of Western Civilization
Week 11: Augustine
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