

THE AUGUSTINIAN SERIES

VOLUME 1

**The Life  
of  
Saint Augustine**

by

Possidius  
Bishop of Calama

Introduction and Notes

by

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AUGUSTINIAN PRESS  
1988

**Part I**

The Life and Activity of Augustine:  
A Chronological Account  
(Chapters 1 — 18)

## Augustine's Life from Birth to Baptism

1 Augustine was born,<sup>1</sup> then, at Thagaste<sup>2</sup> in the province of Africa.<sup>3</sup> His parents were people of good standing and Christians,<sup>4</sup> and belonged to the senatorial class.<sup>5</sup> They brought him up with great care, and went to the expense<sup>6</sup> of an education that concentrated on secular literature; that is, he was steeped in all the disciplines described as "liberal."<sup>7</sup>

2 And in fact he first taught grammar in his home town and then rhetoric at Carthage, the capital of Africa, and later on overseas at Rome and Milan, where the court of Valentinian II resided at that time.

3 The bishop of the latter city in those days was Ambrose, a priest very pleasing to God and outstanding even among the best. This preacher of God's word spoke very often in the church; Augustine was present in the congregation, listening with great interest and attention.<sup>8</sup>

4 At one time, when he was a young man at Carthage, he had been led astray by the errors of the Manicheans.<sup>9</sup> He was therefore more attentive than others to anything that might be said for or against that heresy. 5 And it happened by the mercy of God the Liberator, who touched the heart of his priest,<sup>10</sup> that certain questions regarding God's law were answered in a manner contradicting that error. As a result Augustine was gradually instructed, and little by little that heresy was, by God's mercy, driven from his soul. In a short time he was confirmed in the Catholic faith and conceived so ardent a desire of advancing in religion that he received the divine sacrament at the approaching holy days of Easter.<sup>11</sup>



*Augustine and Monica listen to the preaching of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, by Jaime Huguet (1415-1492), Catalunya Art Museum, Barcelona, Spain.*

## Notes

1. On 13 November 354.
2. Thagaste was a small town that became a free municipality under Septimus Severus. It has been identified with the modern Souk Ahras, which is about 250 kilometers (125 miles) southwest of Carthage and 80 kilometers (40 miles) southeast of Hippo.
3. Meant is Proconsular Africa, which corresponded to the northern part of Tunisia. This province was not part of the Roman "Diocese" of Africa but was directly under the authority of the emperor.
4. At the time of Augustine's birth only Monica, his mother, was in fact a Christian. His father, Patricius, did not become a catechumen until Augustine was in his teens (*Confessions* 2, 3, 6; see 1, 11, 17); he received baptism only shortly before his death (*Confessions* 9, 9, 22).
5. They were *curiales*, that is, members of the municipal *curia* or senate, which represented the town in dealings with the imperial administration.
6. Augustine speaks in *Confessions* 2, 3, 5, of the efforts his father made to acquire the money for his son's studies in Carthage; later on, Romanianus, a rich fellow townsman, helped Augustine (*Against the Academics* 2, 3).
7. Possidius is repeating the expression used by Augustine himself (Letter 101, 1, and especially *Confessions* 4, 16, 30); the saint sees an irony in the term "liberal" because while he was studying these disciplines he was himself a "slave" of his passions. In addition to what Possidius says here, Augustine tells us that after his initial studies in Thagaste (*Confessions* 1, 9, 14-15), he studied grammar at Madauros (about 30 kilometers [15 miles] from Thagaste) from the age of twelve or thirteen (*Confessions* 2, 3, 5), and at sixteen went to Carthage (3, 1, 1), where he devoted himself to philosophy and especially to rhetoric.
8. See Augustine's description in *Confessions* 5, 13, 23.
9. The Manicheans were named after their founder, Mani (also known to the Latins and Greeks as Manes and Manichaeus), a Persian who lived in the third century A.D. The Manicheans professed a set of gnostic teachings that had for their foundation a belief in two absolute principles: Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, God and Matter. Augustine joined the sect at 19 and remained in it, despite uncertainties and strong doubts, until he was 30.
10. The meaning is that although Ambrose was not trying to refute the Manicheans, divine providence inspired him with thoughts that would resolve Augustine's doubts; more particularly, they would help him in answering the objections of the Manicheans to the Mosaic Law or, if we take the term "Law" more broadly, in freeing himself from a grossly literal interpretation of the Old Testament; see Augustine, *Christian Instruction* IV, 39.
11. 24 April 387, as Augustine tells us in *Confessions* 9, 6, 14.

## CHAPTER 2

## He Renounces the World and Gives Himself to God

- 1 He immediately abandoned with all his heart every worldly ambition. No longer did he seek wife or children, wealth or worldly honors, but resolved, with his companions, to serve God and to be in and of that little flock to which the Lord was speaking when he said: *Fear not, little flock, for it has pleased your Father to give you a kingdom. Sell whatever you have and give alms; make for yourselves purses that do not grow old and a treasure in heaven that will not fail* (Luke 12:32-33), and so on.
- 2 This holy man also desired to do what the Lord said on another occasion: *If you wish to be perfect, sell all that you have and give to the poor and you will have treasure in heaven, and come, follow me* (Matthew 19:21). His desire was to build on the foundation of faith, not with wood, hay, and straw but with gold, silver, and precious stones.<sup>1</sup>
- 3 At that time he was over thirty;<sup>2</sup> the only one left to him was his mother, who stayed with him and found far greater joy in his resolve to serve God than in grandchildren.<sup>3</sup> His father was already dead by this time.<sup>4</sup>
- 4 He also told the students to whom he was teaching rhetoric that they should look for another instructor, since he was resolved to become a servant of God.<sup>5</sup>

## Notes

1. See 1 Corinthians 3:12. For Augustine's application of this passage to the ascetical life see *Expositions of the Psalms* 80, 20f.
2. He was thirty-three.
3. Possidius is echoing *Confessions* 8, 12, 30, where Augustine tells of his saintly mother's joy at learning that after her many prayers and tears during the long years when Augustine was astray he was now converted and intending to give himself wholly to God. "The only one" refers to his parents; he still had a brother, Navigius (see *The Happy Life* 6, 14; *Order* I, 5;

*Confessions* 9, 11, 27 and at least one sister, whom Possidius mentions further on (chapter 26, 1).

4. Patricius died when Augustine was seventeen and had recently gone to Carthage; see *Confessions* 3, 4, 7.

5. Augustine's official reason for resigning his chair was a chest ailment that weakened his voice (*Confessions* 9, 2, 13). His resignation came in the autumn of 386, before his baptism. The biographer is not concerned here with exact chronological order but is satisfied to recall the overall event of the conversion and the various incidents attendant upon it.

## CHAPTER 3

### Monastic Life and First Manifestations of Apostolic Zeal

1 Having received God's grace through the sacrament, Augustine decided that together with some fellow townsmen and friends who were likewise bent on serving God he would return to Africa and to his own house and property.

2 Thither he went and remained for about three years.<sup>1</sup> He then renounced the property and, with those who had joined him, lived for God in fasting, prayer, and good works and in meditating day and night on the law of the Lord (see Psalm 1:2). The truths which God revealed to his mind in meditation and prayer he communicated to present and absent alike, instructing them in sermons and books.<sup>2</sup>

3 It happened during this period that one of the people known as "imperial agents"<sup>3</sup> was residing in Hippo Regius<sup>4</sup> and learned of his good reputation and teaching. The man was a good God-fearing Christian and had a keen desire to see Augustine, telling himself that if he were only privileged to hear the word of God from his mouth, he would surely be given strength to set aside all worldly lusts and attractions.

4 Augustine learned of this from a reliable person and because he wanted this soul to be delivered from the dangers of the present life and from eternal death, he immediately went of his own accord to Hippo. He met the man, spoke with him often, and exhorted him as persuasively as he could with God's help to fulfill his promises to God. 5 Day after day the man kept promising to do so, but as long as Augustine remained there, he did not carry out his promise. Surely, however, he derived some benefit and fruit from what divine providence was now everywhere accomplishing through this purified and ennobled instrument

(see Romans 9:21) that was ready for the Lord's use in every good work (2 Timothy 3:17).

#### Notes

1. From the end of the summer of 386, when he landed in Africa, to the early months of 389, when he was ordained a priest.
2. To this period belong, in addition to some letters, the works *On Genesis*, *Against the Manicheans*, *Music* (in six books which he had begun in Milan), *The Teacher*, and *True Religion*.
3. *Agentes in rebus* were civil servants whose official duties were to carry imperial messages and supervise the postal service. In practice they served to keep the court informed about the activities of the provincial governors and the military commanders.
4. Hippo Regius was the city on the Numidian coast, about 2 kilometers (1 mile) southwest of the modern Bona, where Augustine was to serve as priest and bishop. See F. van der Meer (in bibliography), pages 16-20.

#### CHAPTER 4

### Compelled to Become a Priest

1 The bishop of the Catholic Church of Hippo at this time was the saintly Valerius.<sup>1</sup> The needs of the Church required him one day to speak urgently to the people about providing and ordaining a priest for the city. The Catholics already knew of Augustine's way of life and teaching and they seized upon him as he stood peacefully in the congregation, unaware of what was to happen (for, as he used to tell us,<sup>2</sup> when he was a layman he avoided only those churches that needed a bishop).

2 They therefore laid hold of him and, as is customary in these situations,<sup>3</sup> brought him to the bishop to be ordained. With complete unanimity they asked that this be done, and demanded it with fervent cries. Meanwhile Augustine wept copiously; there were some, he himself told us, who attributed these tears to pride and tried to console him by telling him that though he was worthy of better things, priesthood was at least a step toward a bishopric. 3 In fact, however, the man of God, as he told us, was applying a higher standard and was grieving at the many great dangers which the government and administration of the Church would bring upon him; that was the reason for his tears.<sup>4</sup> In the end, however, they had what they wanted.

#### Notes

1. "Holy man" or "saint" was an honorary title given to ecclesiastics and especially to bishops.
2. Augustine tells us this in Sermon 355, 2, which was probably preached at the beginning of 391.
3. Possidius knew of others who had been ordained against their wishes: for example, Saint Paulinus of Nola, who was ordained a priest at Barcelona by popular demand, as he himself recorded in a letter to

Alypius (Letter 24, 4, among the letters of Augustine); Paulinian, brother of Saint Jerome, who was compelled to accept ordination by Epiphanius (Jerome, Letter 51, 1); Nepotian, of whom Jerome writes in his Letter 60, 10. Possidius tells the same story of Fermus, a Manichean converted by Augustine (see chapter 15, 1). On a similar occasion, Augustine refused to yield to the urging of the populace, who wanted him to ordain Pinianus (Letter 126). On another occasion, a priest whom Augustine had chosen as bishop of Fussala refused the post and could not be ordained (Letter 209, 3).

4. Augustine expressed these sentiments in a letter to Valerian shortly after his ordination; he asked that he be allowed a period of withdrawal, until the next Easter, so that he might prepare himself for his new mission (Letter 21).

## CHAPTER 5

### He Finds a Monastery and Begins to Preach

1 Soon after his ordination he founded a monastery near the church and began to live there with the servants of God, following the way of life and rule that had been established under the holy apostles. The most important provision was that no one in that community was to have any property of his own, but rather they were to have all things in common, with each being given what he needed;<sup>1</sup> this was the course Augustine himself had adopted when he had returned home from overseas.

2 Valerius, the holy bishop who had ordained Augustine, was a devout and God-fearing man (see Acts 10:1-2). He rejoiced greatly therefore and thanked the Lord for hearing the prayers which, he tells us, he had so often raised that heaven would grant him a man capable of building the Lord's Church by preaching the word of God and salutary doctrine. Being himself a Greek by birth and insufficiently master of the Latin language and literature,<sup>2</sup> he recognized that he was not up to this work. 3 Contrary to the usual practice of the African Churches, he gave his priest permission to preach the gospel in church even when he himself was present and to hold frequent public discussions. For this reason some bishops were critical of him.<sup>3</sup> 4 This venerable and far-sighted man knew for sure, however, that this was the usual practice in the Eastern Churches. And because he had regard for the good of the Church, he was unconcerned about his detractors, provided only that he saw a priest accomplishing what he knew that he himself, though bishop, could not do. 5 As a result, a lamp lit and burning and raised on a candlestick was now giving light to all who were in the house (see John 5:35; Matthew 5:15).

News of this spread abroad, and, following the good example given, some other priests began with episcopal permission to preach to the people in the presence of their bishops.<sup>4</sup>

#### Notes

1. The allusion is to what the Acts of the Apostles has to say about the first Christians, who shared all their goods (Acts 2:44; 4:32-35). Augustine gave an extended and concrete description of his way of life in Sermons 355 and 356. See Van der Meer, 199-206.
2. Augustine complains about the poor grasp of Latin shown by the clergy of his diocese (Letter 84, 2).
3. Saint Jerome (Letter 62, 7) likewise deplored this practice. Socrates and Sozomen, Greek historians of the Church, say that it was followed in the Church of Alexandria; they trace it back in this case to the period when Arius, a simple priest, used sermons to spread his heresy. Some distinguished preachers who were simple priests: at Alexandria, Pierius in the third century (Eusebius, *History of the Church* VII, 32, 26-27); at Antioch, Dorotheus, who was heard by Eusebius himself (*History* VII, 32, 204), and later, John Chrysostom; at Nola, Saint Felix (Paulinus of Nola, *Poems* 16, lines 243-244); at Saragossa, Saint Vincent, a martyr, who was an assistant to Bishop Valerius and had a speech impediment.
4. At Carthage, for example; Augustine and Alypius congratulated Bishop Aurelius for introducing the practice there (Letter 41, 1). In his Sermon 20, 5 Augustine urges the people to listen gladly to the sermons of priests. On Augustine and preaching see Van der Meer, pages 405-467.

## CHAPTER 6

### Debate with Fortunatus the Manichean

- 1 In the city of Hippo the Manichean plague had at that time deeply infected many, both citizens and foreigners; they were attracted to it and being led astray by one Fortunatus, a priest of that heresy who was residing there and carrying on his activities.
- 2 Meanwhile, the Christian citizens and foreigners of Hippo, Catholics and Donatists<sup>1</sup> alike, went to their priest Augustine and asked him to meet the Manichean priest, whom they regarded as a learned man, and to discuss the Law of God<sup>2</sup> with him.
- 3 Augustine was ready, as the scripture says, to give answer to all who asked the reason for his faith and hope in God (1 Peter 3:15), and quite able to encourage people in sound doctrine and refute its opponents (Titus 1:9). He did not refuse the request, therefore, but asked whether the other was also ready.
- 4 The petitioners went straight to Fortunatus with the message, and requested and urged and demanded that he also not refuse. But Fortunatus had already known Saint Augustine in Carthage when the latter was still caught in the same error, and he now feared such a meeting.
- 5 Compelled however by the insistence of his own followers and by shame as well, he promised to meet Augustine in person and engage him in debate.
- 6 They met therefore at the appointed time and place<sup>3</sup> in the presence of a great many interested people and a throng of the curious. The stenographers opened their notebooks,<sup>4</sup> and the debate began that day and ended on the next.
- 7 According to the record, the Manichean teacher was unable either to refute the Catholic arguments or to prove that the Manichean sect was based on truth. When his final

answer failed, he went on to say that he would discuss with his superiors the arguments he had not been able to refute; if even they could not give him satisfaction on these points, he would take heed for his own soul. Thus all who had thought of him as a great and learned man could now see that he was utterly unable to make a case for his sect.

8 After being shown up in this way, Fortunatus left Hippo and never returned. Thus, due to our man of God the hearts of all who had been present or who had learned of the event were freed from the Manichean error and were penetrated and conquered by the genuine Catholic faith.

#### Notes

1. The Donatists derived their name either from the originator of the schism: Donatus, Bishop of Casae Nigrae, or, more probably, from another Donatus, Bishop of Carthage, who was its most authoritative and energetic leader. Both men were active in Africa in the first half of the fourth century and cut themselves off from the unity of the Church by professing erroneous doctrines on the constitution of the Church and on the sacraments and by causing serious and frequent disturbances. See Willis (in bibliography); Van der Meer, pages 79-117; Frend (in bibliography), especially pages 227-243.
2. As is clear from chapter 19 of the minutes which Augustine published under the title of *Debate with Fortunatus the Manichean*, the debate focused on the basic tenets of Manicheanism; Augustine summed these up later on as concerned with the problem of the origin of evil (*Revisions I*, 16, 1). The "Law" was discussed at times on the second day (chapters 21-22). But perhaps Possidius is referring here to the broader question of the Old Testament, which was so often the subject of controversy between Manicheans and Catholics.
3. On 28 and 29 August 392, at the Baths of Sossius; see the beginning of the minutes.
4. The wax-covered tablets on which the stenographers wrote were held together by cords or rings, like the pages of a book. The use of stenographers (*notarii*) in debates or in important public addresses was widespread, as is clear from other passages in Possidius (14, 6; 16, 1). 7, 3 shows that in addition to official stenographers others might be employed by private individuals.

## CHAPTER 7

### He Aids the Church by His Speaking and Writing

- 1 In private and in public, at home and in the church Augustine was preaching and teaching the word of salvation (Acts 13:26) with complete freedom (Acts 4:29) against all the African heretics, especially the Donatists, the Manicheans, and the pagans. He did so in carefully wrought books and in extemporaneous addresses and to the utter admiration and praise of Christians, who did not remain silent about all this but noised it abroad wherever they could.
- 2 The result was that by the grace of God the Catholic Church of Africa began to lift its head after having long been prostrated, led astray, weighed down and oppressed, while the heretics were growing stronger, especially the Donatists who were rebaptizing the majority of Africans.
- 3 These books and sermons, which flowed from the marvelous grace of God who inspired him, were filled with abundant arguments and based on the authority of the sacred scriptures. Even the heretics joined the Catholics in listening to him with great enthusiasm, and anyone who wished and had the means could have his words taken down by stenographers.
- 4 From Hippo this outstanding doctrine and the sweet fragrance of Christ (2 Corinthians 2:15; Ephesians 5:2) were diffused and made known throughout Africa, and the Church overseas rejoiced when it heard of this. For just as all the members suffer when one of them is hurt, so all the members rejoice when one of them is honored (1 Corinthians 12:26).



## He Is Unwillingly Ordained Coadjutor Bishop of Hippo



*Ordination of Augustine as bishop* by Jaime Huguet (1415-1492), Catalunya Art Museum, Barcelona, Spain.

1 The blessed old man Valerius rejoiced more than anyone at all this and thanked God for the special blessing that had been bestowed on him. Being only human, however, he began to fear that Augustine might be sought out and taken from him to be bishop in another Church that had lost its own. That indeed is precisely what would have happened if Valerius, on discovering such a plan, had not seen to it that Augustine withdrew to a secret location and thus prevented his being found by those who were looking for him.

2 This incident increased the venerable old man's fears. Realizing, moreover, that he himself had been greatly weakened by bad health and age, he secretly wrote to the bishop of Carthage,<sup>1</sup> primate of all Africa, and, alleging his bodily weakness and the burdens of age, asked him that Augustine might be ordained a bishop for the Church of Hippo. What he wanted however was not so much a successor as a fellow bishop here and now. His wish and insistent request elicited a favorable answer.

3 He now asked Megalius, Bishop of Calama<sup>2</sup> and at that time Primate of Numidia, to pay a visit to the Church of Hippo. Bishop Valerius now revealed his unexpected plan to the other bishops who happened to be present,<sup>3</sup> and to all the clergy and people of Hippo. All who heard him expressed their joy and shouted enthusiastically that it should be done, but our priest refused to go against the practice of the Church and accept the episcopate while his own bishop was still living. 4 Appealing to instances in Churches abroad and in Africa, they tried to convince him that this was in fact common practice. He finally yielded to pressure and accepted ordination to the higher rank.<sup>4</sup>

5 Later on, however, Augustine said both orally and in writing<sup>5</sup> that they should not have ordained him a bishop in the lifetime of his own bishop, because it had been forbidden by a general council,<sup>6</sup> although he himself became aware of this only after his ordination. Nor did he want to see done to others what he regretted had been done to him. He therefore worked to have episcopal councils<sup>7</sup> decree that ordaining bishops must make known to priests, whether ordained or to be ordained, all episcopal statutes concerning them.

#### Notes

1. Aurelius was Bishop of Carthage from 391 to about 430. Confirmation of elections was usually sought from the primate and was all the more necessary in this case because, as Possidius goes on to remind his readers, the ancient (but often not followed) custom that was reaffirmed in the eighth canon of Nicaea permitted only one bishop in any city. As Augustine wrote a short time later to Paulinus and Terasia (Letter 31, 4), it was precisely the exceptions that induced him (ignorant as he was at the time of the formal conciliar prohibition) to yield to the entreaties of Valerius.
2. Megalius, Possidius' own predecessor as bishop, died in 397. He was initially opposed to Augustine's ordination as bishop, because (it seems) he believed an accusation of erotic witchcraft which the Donatists falsely brought against Augustine; he quickly changed his mind, however.
3. They were gathered for a local council.
4. Opinions vary on the precise date: the beginning of 395; June or July of 395; at the end of 396 (Valerius died in the following year).
5. In Letter 213, 4, which records the election of Eraclius as coadjutor and successor of Augustine, but with the condition that he not be actually ordained until after Augustine's death.
6. Council of Nicaea, canon 8. In Hefele and Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* I, 1, pages 576ff., it is pointed out that in his Letter 213 Augustine reads too much into the canon when he interprets it as forbidding the appointment of coadjutor bishops.
7. Third Council of Carthage (397), canon 3.

## CHAPTER 9

### Work for the Conversion of the Donatists

- 1 As a bishop Augustine preached the word of eternal salvation (Acts 13:26) even more diligently and fervently and with even greater authority than before. And he did so, not in one area only but eagerly and fervently wherever he was asked to go, and the Lord's Church grew and prospered. He was always ready to give seekers an account of his faith and hope in God (see 1 Peter 3:15). The Donatists especially, whether they lived in Hippo or a neighboring town, used to bring his sermons and notes taken at them to their bishops.
- 2 On hearing of what he had said, these bishops would sometimes issue replies. These, however, were either rejected by their own followers or were reported to the holy Augustine. After studying their answers, he would patiently and gently and, as it is written, with fear and trembling, work for the salvation of all (see Philippians 2:12) by showing that those bishops were not willing or able to refute him and how true and evident on the contrary are the things which the faith of God's Church holds and teaches. All this he did perseveringly day and night.
- 3 He also wrote letters to eminent bishops of the sect and to lay persons as well, giving his reasons for admonishing and exhorting them either to correct their error or at least to come and debate with him. 4 But these men were not confident of their own cause and were never willing even to answer him; instead they vented their anger and loudly claimed in private and in public that he was a seducer and deceiver of souls. They would say and preach that in defense of the flock he must be killed; having no fear of God or shame before their fellow mortals they even said that God would undoubtedly forgive all the sins of any who could

succeed in doing so. Augustine worked to make everyone aware of their distrust in their own cause, and when they met on public occasions they did not dare to come to grips with him.

## CHAPTER 10

## Victories and Persecutions

1 In almost all of the Donatist churches there was a novel class of perverse and violent men who professed continence and were known as Circumcellions.<sup>1</sup> There were large throngs of them scattered throughout almost all the districts of Africa. 2 Evil teachers taught them an arrogant boldness and a reckless disregard for law; they spared neither their coreligionists nor outsiders. Against all law and right they interfered in the operation of justice; those who disobeyed them suffered serious losses and injuries, for these men, armed with weapons of all kinds, raged through fields and estates and were not afraid even of shedding blood. 3 Moreover they made war without cause on those who zealously proclaimed the word of God and tried to make peace with these haters of peace (see Psalm 120:7).

4 As truth made headway against their teachings, those who were willing and able broke away from the sect openly or secretly, and gave their allegiance to the peace and unity of the Church, along with any they could bring with them.

5 Seeing their heretical congregations decreasing in numbers, and envious of the growth of the Church, the Circumcellions were inflamed to utter fury and began an intolerable persecution of those loyal to the unity of the Church; by day and night they attacked even the Catholic bishops and ministers and robbed them of all their goods. 6 They beat and crippled many of God's servants; they threw lime mixed with vinegar in the eyes of some and killed others. As a result, these Donatist rebaptizers came to be hated even by their fellows.

## Notes

1. These were bands of fanatical peasants to whom the Catholics gave the name "Circumcellions" because they went about attacking the *cellae* or isolated farmhouses; see Augustine, *Expositions of the Psalms* 132, 3, where they are also called *circelliones* in scorn; this word, derived from *circellus* ("little ring"), may have been the original form. See Willis 11-13 and *passim* (see the Index). In "Circoncillions d'Afrique," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* 12 (1951) 837-839, J. Ferron approvingly cites a new interpretation of the Circumcellion phenomenon: that the rebellion of these peasants was "an episode in the economic decline of Africa and belongs to the economic history of that that province rather than to its religious history." But Frend 173 calls attention to the phrase "who professed continence" and emphasizes the ascetical tendencies of the movement, which he understands as a preparation for martyrdom.

## CHAPTER 11

## The Monastery of Hippo, a Forge of Apostles

### Writings of Augustine

1 While the divine teachings were achieving success, some of the men who were serving God in the monastery with and under the direction of holy Augustine began to be ordained clerics for the Church of Hippo. 2 Thus the truth of the preaching of the Catholic Church became daily better known and more evident, and so did the way of life of these holy servants of God with their continence and austere poverty. Other Churches therefore began eagerly to ask and obtain bishops and clerics from the monastery that owed its origin and growth to this memorable man, with the result that the Church was established and consolidated in peace and unity.

3 I myself know of about ten holy and venerable men of continence and learning, some of them quite outstanding, whom blessed Augustine gave upon request to the various churches.<sup>1</sup> These men, inspired by the ideals of that holy community and being now scattered among the Churches of the Lord, founded monasteries in their turn; as zeal for the spread of God's word increased, they prepared brothers for the priesthood and then advanced them to other Churches.

4 The Church's teaching on saving faith, hope, and love thus became known through many and among many, not only in all parts of Africa but also in regions overseas.<sup>2</sup> By means of published books, which were translated into Greek,<sup>3</sup> all this teaching was able, with God's help, to make its way from this one man and through him to many.

5 Consequently, as it is written, sinners saw and were angered; they gnashed their teeth and wasted away (see Psalm 112:10). But your servants, as it is said, kept peace

with those who hated peace, and when they spoke they were attacked without cause (Psalm 120:7).

#### Notes

1. In addition to Possidius himself and Alypius of Thagaste, who had already been a close friend and follower of Augustine when the latter was professor of rhetoric, we know of Severus of Milevi (Augustine, Letter 31, 9, where he also mentions Peregrinus, a deacon who had come from the monastery of Hippo), Urbanus of Sicca (Letter 149, 34), Evodius of Uzalis, Profuturus of Cirta, Privatus, and Servilius (Letter 33, 2; 158, 9 and 11), Paul of Cataqua (Letter 85, 1), Anthony of Fussala (Letter 209, 3).
2. This statement is very important, for it shows Augustine to have been restorer of the African Church, and indeed not of the African alone.
3. This statement too is noteworthy as pointing to a rare phenomenon, since the Greeks usually did not think they had anything to learn from the Latins. We know from other sources that the work *The Acts of Pelagius* was translated into Greek; Possidius probably has this alone in mind even though he uses a rhetorical plural.

#### CHAPTER 12

### Attacks on Augustine and Possidius

1 At times the armed Circumcellions even lay in wait by the roads for the servant of God, Augustine, when he happened to be going by invitation to visit, instruct, and exhort Catholic congregations — something he did quite frequently. 2 On one occasion, though out in full force, they missed their prey, because by the providence of God who used the error of a guide the bishop and his companions reached their destination by a different route; he learned later on that because of this mistake he had escaped the hands of the wicked, and he and all the others gave thanks to God their deliverer. As the public records show, the Circumcellions typically spared neither laity nor clerics. 3 In this context I must not pass over what this man, so illustrious in the Church, undertook and carried through by his diligence and his zeal for God's house<sup>1</sup> against the Donatist rebaptizers. 4 As one of those bishops<sup>2</sup> whom he had sent forth from among the clergy of his monastery was visiting the diocese of Calama that had been entrusted to his care, and for the peace of the Church was preaching what he had learned in opposition to this heresy, it happened that midway on his journey he ran into an ambush set by the Circumcellions. He and his companions escaped, but they were robbed of their animals and baggage, and the bishop himself was seriously injured and wounded. 5 The defender of the Church,<sup>3</sup> who had the law on his side,<sup>4</sup> would not remain silent lest the peace and growth of the Church be further hindered. As a result, Crispinus, the Donatist bishop of Calama and the neighboring region, a well-known, elderly, and learned man, was sentenced to pay a fine in gold as prescribed in the laws of the state against heretics.<sup>5</sup> 6 He

objected, however, appeared before the proconsul, and denied he was a heretic. The defender of the Church withdrew from the case,<sup>6</sup> and it became necessary for the Catholic bishop to represent the opposition and prove that Crispinus really was what he denied being. For if the latter succeeded in hiding his real character, the ignorant might assume from his denial that the Catholic bishop was the real heretic; Augustine's failure to appear would thus have been an occasion of scandal to the weak (see 1 Corinthians 8:9; Romans 14:13).

7 At the insistence, therefore, of Bishop Augustine of esteemed memory, these two bishops of Calama met for debate (this was the third clash between the two on the differences between their communions). A great multitude of Christians in Carthage and throughout Africa waited upon the outcome of the case. In a written judgment of the proconsul Crispinus was declared a heretic. 8 But the Catholic bishop intervened with the judge for him and asked that the fine not be applied; this favor was granted him. The ungrateful Donatist however appealed to the most merciful sovereign, but the required response to the petition brought this answer: it was decreed that the Donatist heretics should not be allowed to exist anywhere and that they were everywhere to be bound by all the laws passed against heretics.<sup>7</sup> The decree also obliged the judge and the court and Crispinus himself each to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold for not having earlier required the fine of Crispinus. But the Catholic bishops, and especially Augustine of sacred memory, promptly took steps to have the ruler pardon all three and withdraw the sentence; this was accomplished with the Lord's help. The Church's growth was greatly advanced by this vigilance and holy zeal.

#### Notes

1. Psalm 69(68):10; John 2:17. This incident, which Augustine mentions in his *Handbook on Faith, Hope, and Charity* 17, 19, occurred in 404.
2. The bishop in question is Possidius himself, who modestly conceals his name. The same incident is narrated in greater detail by Augustine in

Letter 105, 4, and especially in his *Against Cresconius* 3, 50-52. See Willis 50.

3. The *defensor* (or *advocatus*) *Ecclesiae* was usually a layman, appointed by the emperor after nomination by the bishop; he represented the Church and churchmen before courts and magistrates.

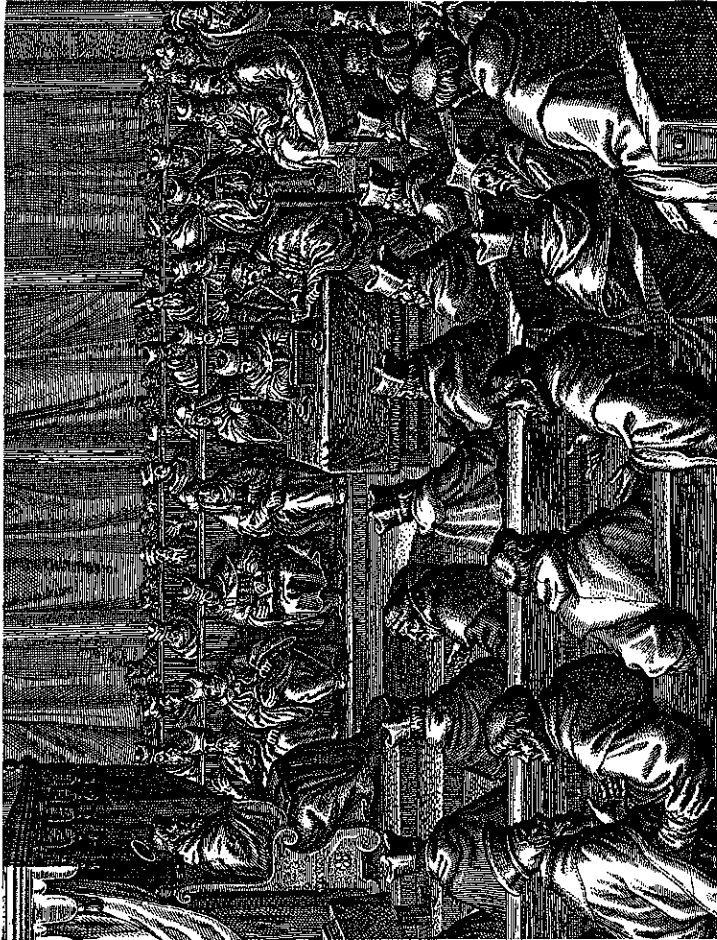
4. The reference seems to be specifically to the law promulgated by Theodosius on 15 June 392, which levied a fine of ten pounds of gold against heretics who ordained clerics or accepted clerical office; see the *Theodosian Code* XVI, 5, 21.

5. Ten pounds of gold, in accordance with the law mentioned in note 4; see Augustine, Letter 105, 4; *Against Cresconius* 3, 51.

6. As a layman, he had no competence to pronounce in doctrinal matters.

7. Other incidents besides the one recounted here led the Catholic episcopate to ask the emperor to apply the laws against heretics to the Donatists, who engaged in every kind of violence; this application was made in a series of decrees (*Theodosian Code* XVI, 5, 37-38; 6, 4-5; 11, 2). See Willis 50; Frend, *passim*.

## Growth in Unity and Peace



Augustine presides at the conference of bishops in Carthage, North Africa  
(Bolswert Engravings, 1624).

1 For all that Augustine had done for the peace of the Church the Lord gave him the palm in this life and stored up a crown of righteousness for him in heaven (2 Timothy 4:8). Meanwhile, with Christ's help, unity in peace and the brotherhood of God's Church *grew and multiplied* (see Acts 12:24).

2 This was especially true after the conference at which all the Catholic bishops met with the Donatist bishops in Carthage<sup>1</sup> at the command of the most glorious and devout emperor Honorius. The emperor also sent Marcellinus, a secretary at the court, to be his representative and act as judge in the matter.<sup>2</sup>

3 In this debate the Donatists were utterly refuted by the Catholics and shown to be in error, and were then sentenced by the judge; the wicked appealed, but in the answer of the most benevolent ruler they were condemned as heretics.

4 As a result a greater number than usual of their bishops, clergy, and people returned to communion and, because they were now at peace with the Church, had to endure numerous persecutions from the Donatists, including even the loss of limb or life. And this entire good work was begun and carried to completion by that holy man, with the approval and cooperation of our fellow bishops.<sup>3</sup>

## Notes

1. 1-8 June 411. See Willis, 70-76; Frend, 275-289.
2. Augustine dedicated several of his works to Marcellinus: *The Merits and Forgiveness of Sins* (411), *The Spirit and the Letter* (probably at the end of 412), and *The City of God* (413).
3. Possidius may be referring to the seven representatives chosen by the Catholic bishops; see the Introduction to this translation. According to Frend, "the unity which Augustine restored [in the struggle with the Donatists] was deceptive and short-lived" (242).

their property and temporal well-being, if he could refute the Catholic claims. 6 But he was neither willing nor able to say anything more than was in the acts of the conference; he simply kept repeating: "It is already clear from the minutes of the meeting of the bishops in Carthage whether I won or was defeated."<sup>6</sup>

7 On another occasion,<sup>7</sup> the secretary warned him to reply, but he said only "Do as you wish"; his silence made clear to all his lack of confidence in his position, and the Church of God grew and was more firmly established.

8 Those desirous of appreciating more fully the zeal shown by Augustine of blessed memory in laboring for the Church of God may read the minutes of that encounter. They will find there the number and kind of arguments with which Augustine challenged and exhorted that learned, eloquent, and well-known man to say whatever he wished in defense of his party, and they will see how the latter suffered defeat.

#### Notes

1. See Augustine, *Proceedings with Emeritus* 2.
2. The modern Cherchel (or Shershel), on the coast about 100 kilometers (50 miles) west of Algiers; it was the capital of the province of Mauretania Caesariensis.
3. Augustine speaks of this journey in Letter 190, 1; 193, 1. He undertook it on behalf of Pope Zosimus, but does not say what his business there was. The "fellow bishops," in addition to Deuterius, Metropolitan of Caesarea, and the other bishops of that province, were Alypius of Thagaste, Possidius, Rusticus of Cartenna, Palladius of Tigava, and others who are not named; see *Proceedings with Emeritus* 1.
4. One of the seven whom the Donatist bishops had chosen to represent them and defend their case; see Augustine, *Revisions* 2, 51.
5. As Augustine says (*Proceedings with Emeritus* 2), almost all the Donatists of Caesarea had re-entered the Catholic communion.
6. The reply as given in the minutes of the discussion (*Proceedings with Emeritus* 3) is more complete: "The minutes show whether I have been defeated or have won; and whether I have been defeated by the truth or overwhelmed by force."
7. If the passage is thus understood, Possidius would seem to be in error. Here is how the facts stand as reported in the document to which he refers the reader in section 8 (below) but which he must not have had

before him as he was writing (as is clear from the way in which he cites Emeritus' reply; see note 6). On 17 September 418, Augustine and Emeritus met in the square, and Emeritus readily entered a church at Augustine's invitation. The latter hoped that Emeritus, like almost all the other Donatists, would be willing to return to the Catholic communion. In fact, however, he elicited from him only a few ambiguous words and became convinced that the man was a stubborn schismatic. Augustine then addressed an exhortation to the people; a further meeting was arranged for Friday, the 19th, in the main basilica. It was at the latter meeting that Emeritus gave the answer which Possidius has just quoted, in a variant form, in section 6; Augustine then asked him: "Why, then, have you come here?"; Emeritus answered: "To reply to your questions"; Augustine insisted and at this point Emeritus said to the secretary: "Just do it" (that is, "write it down"). Augustine says nothing about any admonition by the secretary; Possidius probably inferred the admonition from Emeritus' answer. See Willis, 81f.; Frend, 294-296.



### Augustine Digresses and Firmus Sees the Light

1 I recall, as do other brothers and fellow servants who were living with us and that holy man in the Church of Hippo, how on one occasion when we were at table together, he said: 2 "You will have noticed that when I was preaching in the church today I began and ended differently than usual: I did not explain fully the subject I had proposed but left it hanging." 3 We answered: "Yes, we did notice and we remember being surprised." He went on: "I think the reason was that the Lord, in whose hands we and our words are (Wisdom 7:16), intended that some straying member of the congregation should be taught and healed by my distraction and my wandering from the point. 4 It was when I was dealing with certain aspects of my proposed topic that I digressed and veered off into another subject; I did not fully explain and conclude my topic but ended up arguing against the errors of the Manicheans, though I had no intention of saying anything at all about this."

5 A day or two later, if I remember correctly, a businessman named Firmus came and in our presence threw himself on his knees at the feet of holy Augustine, who was sitting in the monastery. The man was weeping as he asked the bishop to join the saints in interceding with the Lord for his, Firmus', sins. He confessed that he had been a Manichean and had lived in that sect for many years and that consequently he had wasted a very great deal of money on the Manicheans and their "Elect," as they are known. But, a few days earlier in the church, he had been converted by God's mercy and Augustine's arguments and had become a Catholic. 6 Venerable Augustine and the rest of us who were present



*Augustine converts Firmus (Wandereisen Engravings, 1631).*

carefully inquired what it was specifically in the sermon that had satisfied him. When he told us, and we recalled the sequence of thoughts in that discourse, we were filled with wonder and dumbfounded at God's profound plan for human salvation. We praised and blessed his holy name (Psalm 102:1), because he brings about the salvation of souls when and as he wills and by whatever instruments he wills, whether or not these realize what they are doing.<sup>1</sup>

7 From that time forward Firmus abandoned his business and made his own the way of life of the servants of God. He made progress as a member of the Church and in another country was asked and indeed compelled to become a priest by God's will. He kept meanwhile to his holy way of life and is perhaps still living in this world overseas.

#### Notes

1. Possidius may have had in mind here the passage in *Confessions* 6, 7, 12, in which Augustine tells how a comparison he himself had happened to make in the course of a lecture delivered Alypius from his passions for the spectacles in the arena.

## CHAPTER 16

### He Unmasks and Converts Manicheans

1 It happened in Carthage that a man named Ursus, a Catholic and an administrator in the royal palace, came upon some of the male and female Manicheans known as the "Elect"; he took them to the church, where they were questioned by the bishops in the presence of stenographers.<sup>1</sup>

2 Among the bishops was Augustine of holy memory, a man who had a better knowledge than anyone else of that accursed sect. Citing passages from books which the Manicheans themselves accepted, he laid bare their horrible blasphemies and persuaded them to confess them. The ecclesiastical records also make clear, from the confession of these "elect" women, the base and shameful things they are accustomed to doing among themselves. 3 The vigilance of pastors thus helped the Lord's flock to grow and provided an appropriate defense against thieves and robbers.

4 Augustine also debated publicly in the Church of Hippo with a certain Felix, who was likewise one of the Manichean "Elect"; the people were present and stenographers took down what was said. After the second or third session the Manichean, seeing the emptiness and error of his sect unmasked, converted to our faith and Church, as can be seen by consulting the record.<sup>2</sup>

#### Notes

1. This examination, which Augustine reports in greater detail in his *Heresies*, 46, took place in 421.

2. *The Debate with Felix the Manichean*, in two books, is published among the works of Augustine. The date of the meeting is indicated at the beginning of the record: 7 December 404. After the first debate, the continuation was put off until 12 December.

### Debates with Two Arians, Pascentius and Maximinus



*Augustine the teacher* by Jaime Huguet (1415-1492), Catalunya Art Museum, Barcelona, Spain.

1 There was also a certain Pascentius, a count in the royal palace<sup>1</sup> and an Arian. As an extremely energetic collector of imperial taxes he used his authority for a cruel and unrelenting attack on the Catholic faith. He employed biting wit and his official powers to harass and disturb many priests of God who were living lives of simple faith. Through the mediation of some honored<sup>2</sup> men of noble rank he challenged Augustine to a public meeting in Carthage.

2 The heretic adamantly refused, however, to allow notebook and pen to be present before and during the meeting, as our teacher urgently wished. He feared the laws of the state, he said, and did not want to endanger himself by having anything in writing.<sup>3</sup> When Augustine saw that his episcopal colleagues present wanted a private and unrecorded debate to be held, he agreed, but he predicted what in fact did happen: that since there would be no record, everyone would be free after the meeting to claim that he had said what he had not and that he had not said what he had.

3 Augustine joined in the debate; he stated what he believed, and listened to the other's tenets. Using solid arguments and the authority of scripture he explained and demonstrated the foundations of our faith; he also explained and refuted the claims of Pascentius as having no basis in truth or in the authority of the sacred scriptures.

4 When the two parties to the debate had gone their ways, Pascentius grew increasingly enraged. He threw out many lies in defense of his erroneous faith and proclaimed that he had defeated the widely acclaimed Augustine. 5 All this could not be kept quiet, and Augustine was forced to write to

Pascentius,<sup>4</sup> although he omitted the names of the disputants out of respect for Pascentius' fears.<sup>5</sup> In these letters he gave a faithful account of what the two sides had said and done; he was ready to prove the accuracy of his account, if it were denied, by numerous witnesses, namely, the honored men of rank who were present at the meeting. 6 To these two letters Pascentius for his part sent an answer that hardly deserved the name. In it he was able only to offer insults rather than a defense of his sect. This is attested by those willing and able to read.<sup>6</sup>

7 At the desire and request of many, and in the presence of eminent persons, Augustine also debated at Hippo<sup>7</sup> with one Maximinus, an Arian bishop who had come to Africa with the Goths;<sup>8</sup> the statements of both sides were taken down in writing.<sup>9</sup> 8 If those interested will read the record carefully, they will surely discover the claims which this clever but irrational heresy uses to attract and deceive, as well as what the Catholic Church holds and preaches about the divine Trinity. 9 After returning from Hippo to Carthage, however, the heretic lied and boasted that because of his vast outpouring of words in the debate he had come away victorious. Those ignorant of the divine law could not easily examine these matters and pass judgment. Later on, therefore, venerable Augustine summed up in writing<sup>10</sup> the individual objections raised and answers given in the course of the entire debate; he showed that Maximinus had been unable to answer the objections raised against him, and added some points which could not be introduced and written down in the limited time available at the conference. As a matter of fact, that malicious fellow had managed to extend his final and by far his lengthiest speech throughout the remaining hours of the day.

#### Notes

1. "Count" (*comes*) was a title given to many imperial officials, whose functions were indicated by a further description: "Count in charge of . . ." It could also be a purely honorary title.

2. In the Late Empire the official title of *Honoratus* was given to citizens who had filled important civil or military offices.

3. In point of fact, during the morning debate Pascentius had accepted Augustine's invitation to continue the meeting in the afternoon and in the presence of stenographers who would take the minutes; when the time came, however, Pascentius withdrew his assent (Augustine, Letter 238, 1-2.6-7, and 9; Letter 239, which Possidius must have had before him). The date of the meeting, like that of the letters, is uncertain: perhaps about 406.

4. The two letters mentioned in note 3.

5. More accurately, he omitted only Pascentius' name, but gave his own name and that of Alypius; see Letter 238, 4, 26, 27, and 28.

6. Pascentius' letter, which has come down to us among the letters of Augustine (Letter 240), is indeed insulting in its tone; Augustine sent a calm and objective reply (Letter 241).

7. According to Tillemont, the most probable date for the conference is 428; but Zarb correctly notes that the chronological indication given by Prosper in his *Chronicle* for 427 obliges us to say that it took place in that year.

8. This is probably the Maximinus who composed a *Dissertation against Ambrose* (383) and various other writings (about 40 sermons and three pieces of polemics), which have come down to us under other names and especially as the work of Saint Maximus of Turin. See E. Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Third edition; Steenbrugge: Abbatia Sancti Petri), nos. 692ff.

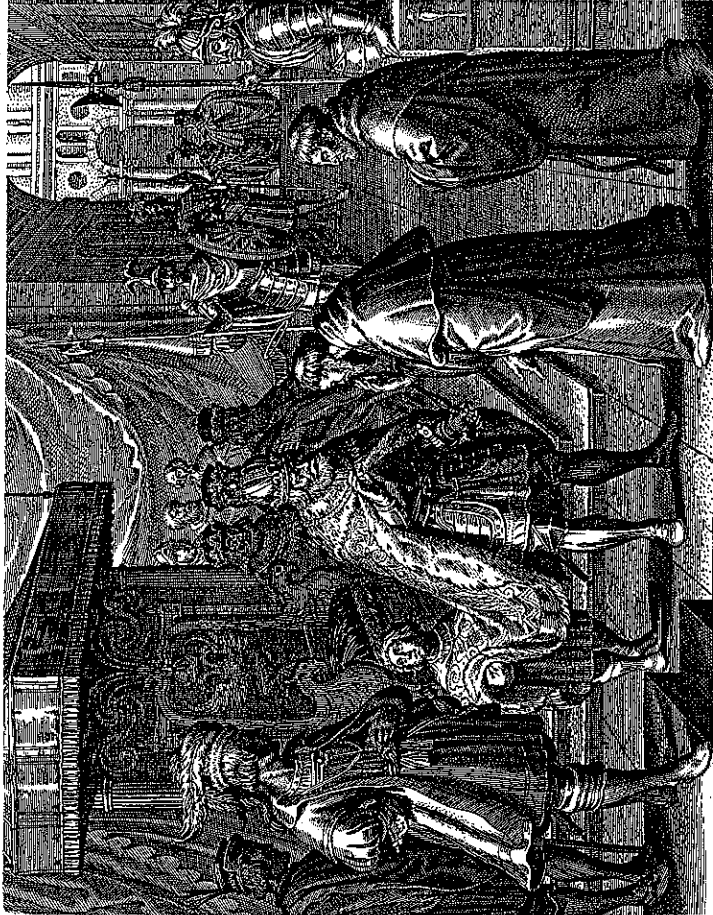
9. In the *Debate with Maximinus, an Arian Bishop* (PL 42:709-742).

10. In his *Two Books against Maximinus, a Heretic and Arian Bishop* (PL 42:743-814). As Possidius says below, at the end of the debate Maximinus deliberately dragged out his final speech in order that Augustine might have no time to answer; the latter therefore proposed that the meeting continue the next day; Maximinus refused, claiming his return to Carthage was urgently needed. Augustine then pledged himself to put in writing the answer he had not had time to give orally, and Maximinus promised to reply to each point. Augustine kept his promise, but his adversary did not.

## Opposition to the Pelagians

### Fruits of His Labors

### Writings



*Augustine with the Emperor Honorius (Bolswert Engravings, 1624).*

1 Against the Pelagians too, those new heretics of our time,<sup>1</sup> Augustine labored for almost ten years.<sup>2</sup> They were skillful debaters and still more subtle and destructive in their writings and in the talking they did everywhere, in public and in people's homes. Augustine composed and published numerous books against them and preached very frequently to the people in church regarding that error. 2 And because these perverse men were attempting by flattery to have their heresy accepted by the Apostolic See, African councils of holy bishops<sup>3</sup> urgently tried to convince the holy pope of the City, first the venerable Innocent and then his successor, the holy Zosimus, that this sect deserved to be abhorred and condemned by believing Catholics. 3 The bishops of that great see did in fact at various times brand these men as heretics and cut them off from the members of the Church. They sent letters to the African Churches of both West and East, decreeing that they were to be anathematized and shunned by all Catholics.<sup>4</sup>

4 Furthermore, the devout Emperor Honorius, after hearing of the judgment pronounced on these men by the Catholic Church, likewise condemned them in his laws and decreed that they were to be regarded as heretics.<sup>5</sup> 5 Some of them therefore returned to the bosom of holy Mother Church, from which they had withdrawn; others are still returning, as the truth of the orthodox faith becomes better known and prevails over that detestable error.

6 That memorable man, Augustine, a leading member of the Lord's body,<sup>6</sup> was always solicitous and most vigilant for the good of the universal Church. 7 And God granted him the enjoyment, even in this life, of the fruits of his labors, first in the diocese of Hippo, which had been especially entrusted to him and in which he established unity and peace, and then also in other parts of Africa. There he saw the Church put forth buds and increase, whether through his personal efforts or through those of others, including men whom he had sent to those Churches as their bishops. He also had the joy of seeing the Manicheans, Donatists, Pelagians, and pagans largely disappear and become members of God's Church. 8 He also fostered the undertakings and zeal of all and took delight in everything good. He showed a kind and holy toleration of less disciplined brethren and lamented the wickedness of evil men, whether within the Church or outside of it. For, as I said, the gains made by the Lord always gave him joy, while the losses saddened him.

9 So many are the works he dictated and published, so many the sermons he preached in church and then wrote down and revised — whether directed against heretics or devoted to interpreting the canonical books for the building up of the Church's holy children — that even a student would hardly have the energy to read and become acquainted with all of them. 10 Nevertheless, in order not to cheat in any way those who are eager for the word of truth, I have decided to append to the present little work a short list of those books, sermons, and letters. In this way, those who love God's truth more than temporal riches will be able to choose the ones they wish to read and become acquainted with; then they may apply to the Church of Hippo to make a copy, or they may visit the library in Hippo, where they may find more correct copies, or may make inquiry wherever they can, and, having found what they want, may make a copy and keep it, and generously allow others to copy it in turn.<sup>7</sup>

## Notes

1. Pelagius, a Breton monk, denied the necessity of God's grace and replaced revealed Christianity with a system of rationalistic naturalism.
2. Augustine was engaged in the struggle with Pelagianism from 411, when he published his three books on *The Merits and Forgiveness of Sins*, to the close of his life. Some scholars think that when Possidius speaks of "ten years" he is looking upon the battle as won when Pope Zosimus issued the first condemnation of Pelagianism in his *Epistola tractoria* of 418. This explanation seems unacceptable for two reasons: first, the biographer could not have overlooked the many antipelagian writings of the period after 418; second, since 411, when Pelagius landed in Africa, must be the starting point, Possidius' "almost ten years" is hardly still applicable. Another forced explanation is that Possidius is here thinking only of the major antipelagian works, which appeared in rapid succession from 412 to 421, and not of those published, after an interval, between 426 and 429. The only explanation left is that the text has been altered by the dropping of an "X" and that it should read "XX" (twenty) and not "X" (ten). If Possidius actually wrote "XX" he would be in substantial agreement with Prosper who, writing between 432 and 434, says that the Catholic army had been fighting for twenty or more years, under Augustine's leadership, against the enemies of God's grace.
3. In 411 or 412 a Council of Carthage had already condemned Caelestius; in 416 Caelestius and Pelagius were condemned at the Council of Carthage and then at the Council of Milevi. Another assembly seems to have met in Carthage in the autumn of 417 to study the letter in which Pope Zosimus favored Pelagius (see note 4). Still another council was held on 1 May 418, at which the bishops took formal note of the same pope's subsequent condemnation of the heretics and formulated Catholic teaching on original sin and grace.
4. Pope Innocent did so in a letter of 27 January 417 (Letter 182 among the letters of Augustine). Pope Zosimus, who succeeded Innocent on 17 March of that same year, initially showed himself vexed by the conduct of the African bishops and undertook to protect Caelestius and Pelagius; but by the spring of 418 he was writing to these same bishops to excommunicate the heresiarchs, and in his *Epistula tractoria*, an encyclical letter to all the Churches, he solemnly condemned the Pelagian heresy.
5. Edict of 9 June 419, which is Letter 201 among the letters of Augustine.
6. A Pauline image, very familiar to Augustine, as is the whole Pauline doctrine of the mystical body.
7. This catalogue, which Possidius himself says in his conclusion is anything but complete, has come down to us.