

**THE SOURCES OF THE
FIRST TEN
BOOKS OF AUGUSTINE'S
DE CIVITATE DEI**

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The sources of the first ten books of Augustine's *De civitate dei* by S. Angus

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S. ANGUS

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DE CIVITATE DEI**

THE SOURCES
OF THE FIRST TEN BOOKS OF
AUGUSTINE'S DE CIVITATE DEI

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

✓
By S. ANGUS, M.A.

Exspectabat enim fundamenta habentem
civitatem cuius artifex et conditor Deus.

PRINCETON

1906.

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SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS USED.

BE—Benedictine Edition (in Migne).

DCD—De Civitate Dei.

RD—The last sixteen books (Rerum Divinarum) in Varro's
Antiquitates.

NOTE.

The following treatise—the work of three happy years—was not at first intended as a thesis for a doctor's degree, but has been converted from its original purpose.

It was started in the first place at the suggestion of Professor A. F. West, and it is due to his personal encouragement that it has been completed. I wish to offer him my sincere thanks for having read through all my work in MS, for calling my attention to some things I had overlooked, and for the help derived from his own MS notes. Thanks are also due to Professors Winans and Westcott for suggestions; also to Dr. E. C. Richardson, Librarian of Princeton University, and to Rev. J. H. Dulles, Librarian of Princeton Theological Seminary, for having procured for me so many books I wished to consult.

S. A.

Classical Seminary,
Princeton University,
March, 1906.

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1. In preparing this thesis it was necessary to read of Augustine's writings the following entire: *De Civitate Dei*, *Confessiones*, *De Doctrina Christiana*, *De Urbis Excidio*, *Retractiones*, and all his exegetical and controversial works; and in part also the *Epistulae* (especially the letters to Jerome, Marcellinus and Paulinus) and *Sermones*; also the following entire: Livy (with the *Epitomes*), Florus and Eutropius, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Sallust, Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical works, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Orosius, and the remains of Varro and Porphyry; also most of Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Plotinus, Hyginus, and parts of Plutarch, Plato, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyprian, Rufinus, Paulinus of Nola, Eusebius, Ambrose, Ausonius, Symmachus, Procopius, Sozomen and Socrates; beside consulting other ancient writers incidentally.

2. The list given below excludes standard writers of general reference, such as Zeller, Mommsen, Milman, Gibbon, Villemain, Gregorovius, Ozanam, Boissier and Bury; as well as editions of Augustine and the other ancient writers consulted. An asterisk is prefixed to a few which have been found to be of especial importance.

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INTRODUCTORY.

This thesis has three parts. The first attempts to exhibit completely, and in detail under each author, all the ascertainable literary sources, except the Bible, used by Augustine in the first ten books of *The City of God*. This part on the *Literary Sources* has been written to include the sources as given by Dombart and Hoffmann, and in addition the conclusions I have worked out in the second part of this thesis,—the *Annotations to Books I-X*. In order to do so I have gone over every case where a literary source is required, and have searched all the extant sources to which Augustine could have had access, and several to which he could not, or did not, have access. In the *Annotations*, which are almost exclusively restricted to the sources not specified in Dombart, when I quote from, or refer to, the writings of Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Julius Obsequens, also to Plutarch, Porphyry, Plotinus and Plato in Greek, and others *not mentioned in the part on the Sources*, it is not to be supposed that these are suggested as sources for Augustine's knowledge. They are given simply for fulness of detail, or because they have preserved for us information once found in sources used by Augustine but now no longer extant. For example when Plutarch is quoted, it is because he either confirms Livy (Augustine's source for the particular place), or because he has preserved for us information which was found in portions of Livy now lost, and of which we have only the later epitomes.

Similarly Julius Obsequens has been quoted to confirm Livy's own work or to supply the missing part required.

The Annotations on books I-X contain matter which could not be treated of in the part on the Sources. The fact that the Annotations has partly the same aim as the part on the Sources may excuse the frequent cross-references, and the perhaps too frequent repetition of the same Latin passages. These latter have been given for the sake of fulness and for convenience of the reader. Each part is intended to supplement the other. Biblical passages and references have not been touched upon, as Dombart gives them almost complete. I have, however, added one instance which he has not recorded.

The text adopted as the basis for working has been that of Dombart (2 vols., Leipzig, 1877-'92), not without reference to Hoffmann's text. The former is referred to by *page* and *line* throughout the notes; and the pair of heavy-faced numbers given at the edge of the page before each note also refers to Dombart's text.

In the Annotations I have not mentioned any of the references given in Dombart, except occasionally for some particular purpose. As Dombart did not make any special study of the sources, there are but few cases where there is occasion to quote his references, and all such I hope have been acknowledged. Dombart himself took his references chiefly from Duebner as we learn from his own words: *Notas locorum ab Augustino ex aliis libris allegatorum prope omnes ex editione Duebneri, qui in hac operis parte diligentissime versatus est, mutuatus sum. Ad fontes unde Augustinus hauriebat accuratius indagandos, cum mihi neque tempus neque vires suppetere, hoc negotii aliis relinquendum putavi (praef. p. x).*

For the acknowledged fragments of Varro, where nothing more could be added, reference is made the editions of