

Saint Augustine of Hippo

Conversion, Episcopacy, and the Work of Grace

A historical and hagiographic biography

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1 Conversion and Unfinished Work

Augustine's sanctity cannot responsibly be reduced either to a private conversion in a garden or to an abstract system called "Augustinianism." It took historical form in a life of prayer, intellectual labor, common life, preaching, sacramental ministry, institutional power, friendship, correction, and controversy. The same record that reveals unusual self-criticism also requires judgment about his defenses of religious coercion and the harsh social afterlife of some formulations.

2 Roman Africa: name, family, education, and desire

2.1 A Roman African, not a modern nationality

Augustine was born at Thagaste, an inland town in the Roman province of Numidia. Its usual association with modern Souk Ahras was not independently controlled by a geographic source in this revision. He belonged to the late Roman African world that had produced Tertullian, Cyprian, and a dense network of cities, estates, bishoprics, schools, markets, and roads. Latin was the language of his education and surviving work. *Confessions* 1.13–14 remembers difficulty with and dislike of Greek study. The extent of his later Greek competence and his use of Punic were not controlled at exact loci here and remain explicit language-profile questions.

His identity is sometimes recruited into modern arguments as securely "Berber," "European," or "Black." The ancient evidence does not document a genealogy or phenotype precise enough to settle those labels. "Roman African from Thagaste in Numidia" says more and claims less: it places him within Roman citizenship, African geography, local social realities, and a Latin literary culture without treating modern racial or national categories as timeless. His name was Aurelius Augustinus. "Aurelius" reflects Roman nomenclature; it does not provide a reliable key to ancestry.

Possidius places Augustine's parents among the local curial class, while the *Confessions* remembers a shortage of funds that interrupted an otherwise ambitious education. Patricius, Augustine's father, was not yet baptized during much of Augustine's youth and entered the Church before his death. Monnica, his mother, was a Christian whose prayer and moral authority dominate the *Confessions*. Augustine remembers both his father's ambition for his career and his mother's religious perseverance. His narrative is not a complete family archive. It mentions a brother and a sister, but the early sources used here do not supply the sister's name. Later naming traditions were not collated and are not printed as fact. The spelling *Monnica*, supported by ancient evidence, is preferable in source-sensitive discussion, though Monica is the familiar English form.

2.2 Schooling and the education of appetite

In *Confessions* 1 Augustine turns elementary schooling into an inquiry about desire, fear, language, and disordered praise. He remembers beatings, competition, and his delight in Latin stories, contrasting them with his resistance to Greek. The adult bishop's analysis should not be flattened into a clinical record of the child. He is asking how even ordinary education can train a person to seek applause and mastery. Yet the social outline is credible: local schooling at Thagaste, further literary study at Madaura, and advanced rhetoric at Carthage.

A shortage of funds interrupted his schooling around age sixteen. In *Confessions* 2 he places the famous theft of pears during that interval. The point of the remembered episode is not the value of the fruit. Augustine uses it to examine action performed for companionship in wrongdoing and for the pleasure of transgression itself. The story is early autobiographical evidence only in the qualified sense of A: a mature theologian interprets a youthful memory more than thirty years later. It cannot support every modern diagnosis of his adolescent psychology.

At Carthage Augustine entered a world of literary ambition, theater, courtship, and competitive students. He formed a partnership with a woman whose name he never gives. They remained together for well over a decade and had a son, Adeodatus. Calling the relationship merely promiscuous obscures its duration and social setting; calling it a modern marriage imports categories that Augustine's account does not supply and ignores his own distinction. His later sorrow when she was dismissed for a socially advantageous marriage is stark (*Confessions* 6.15.25). The absence of her name is a limit, not an invitation to supply one. Names supplied in later reception were not collated for this revision and are not used as biography.

Adeodatus—“given by God”—was intellectually gifted. He appears beside his father at baptism and as Augustine’s interlocutor in *De magistro*. Augustine later says in *Confessions* 9.6.14 that much of the dialogue’s thought was genuinely the boy’s and that Adeodatus was taken from life not long afterward. The exact year is unknown. His brief presence prevents Augustine’s life before ordination from becoming a solitary tale of ideas: conversion rearranged obligations to a son, a partner, a mother, friends, pupils, and patrons.

2.3 Cicero, Manichaeism, and the work of teaching

Around age nineteen, reading Cicero’s now fragmentary *Hortensius* awakened in Augustine a desire for wisdom (*Confessions* 3.4.7–8). The book redirected ambition but did not give him the Christian resolution he later desired. He found the style of Scripture unworthy by comparison and entered the Manichaean community as a “hearer.” Manichaeism offered an apparently rational account of evil, a cosmic drama of light and darkness, and a demanding Christian claim outside the Catholic Church. It also supplied social networks. Augustine remained associated with it for roughly nine years, long enough that later shorthand about a fleeting youthful error is misleading.

His questions accumulated. He expected the celebrated Manichaean bishop Faustus to answer difficulties about nature and doctrine, but found him eloquent rather than learned (*Confessions* 5.3–7). Augustine’s later anti-Manichaean works naturally narrate the movement from the standpoint of an opponent. They remain indispensable evidence for his intellectual formation, but Manichaeans should not be described only through the caricatures of a successful Catholic polemicist.

Meanwhile he taught grammar in Thagaste and rhetoric in Carthage. A friend’s death, recalled in *Confessions* 4.4–12, exposed both the depth of his attachments and the instability of making another mortal person bear the weight of permanence. In 383 he sailed to Rome, deceiving Monnica about the time of departure in order to evade her resistance (*Confessions* 5.8.15). The narrative does not excuse him. Rome promised disciplined students, but students avoided fees; illness nearly killed him. Through Manichaean and patronage connections he was recommended to Symmachus, prefect of Rome, and won the imperial chair of rhetoric at Milan. His new position placed him near the court and within reach of Ambrose, bishop of Milan. It was the high point of the career his family had imagined and the beginning of its collapse.

Claim: Augustine spent about nine years among the Manichaeans.

Witness: *Confessions* 3.6.10 and 5.6–7; his later anti-Manichaean corpus confirms the movement’s durable importance.

Limit: The count is Augustine’s retrospective organization. His writings reveal his experience and later critique more fully than they reveal Manichaeism on its own terms.

3 Milan, conversion, baptism, and return

3.1 Ambrose and a newly intelligible Scripture

Augustine first approached Ambrose as an accomplished speaker. He found something more consequential than technique. Ambrose’s preaching showed how Scripture could be read spiritually without making the Old Testament a crude account of God in bodily form. Augustine did not become Ambrose’s intimate disciple; the *Confessions* repeatedly notes the bishop’s inaccessibility amid pastoral business. The relationship was nonetheless decisive. Ambrose embodied an intellectually serious Catholic Christianity and a bishop capable of confronting imperial power.

Milan also intensified Augustine’s social ambitions. Monnica arrived and worked toward a suitable marriage. Because the prospective bride was too young, the plan required delay. Augustine’s long-term partner returned to Africa after vowing continence, while Adeodatus remained with his father (*Confessions* 6.13–15). Augustine describes himself as wounded yet unable to embrace continence, taking another temporary partner. The scene deserves moral and social clarity. The unnamed woman bears the human cost of a career marriage project organized by others; the surviving narrative is Augustine’s, not hers. Monnica’s role in the plan also resists sentimental portraiture. Her faith was persistent, but her historical choices were those of a late Roman mother seeking a son’s advancement and Christian stability.

Augustine moved through Academic skepticism toward books he calls “Platonist,” probably Latin translations or adaptations of Plotinus and Porphyry. In *Confessions* 7 they gave him conceptual resources for thinking of God as immaterial and evil as a privation rather than an independent substance. They did not, in his later judgment, give the humility of the Incarnation or the grace to live what intellect could glimpse. Paul, especially Romans, then became central. This intellectual conversion cannot be separated from the moral crisis narrated in the next book, but neither should it be compressed into one instant.

3.2 The garden as remembered prayer

In late summer 386 Augustine visited the Christian elder Simplicianus and heard conversion histories involving Victorinus. The courtier Ponticianus later described Antony and ascetic conversions (*Confessions* 8.2–6). These narratives made a form of life imaginable and exposed Augustine’s division. In a garden at his lodging, with Alypius nearby, he wept under a fig tree. He reports hearing a child’s sing-song voice repeat *tolle lege*. Taking the words as a direction to pick up a book and read, he opened Paul’s letters and read Romans 13:13–14; Alypius joined the decision (*Confessions* 8.12.28–30).

The responsible historical sentence is “Augustine reports,” not “a child certainly sang for this purpose.” The scene is written as providential memory, with echoes of Antony’s conversion and biblical call narratives. Literary shaping does not make the event fictitious; it explains how Augustine wants the reader to perceive it. Earlier Cassiciacum dialogues confirm that a major redirection had occurred before the *Confessions* was composed. Modern attempts to identify an exact calendar day, often 15 August 386, go beyond Augustine’s text. “Late summer 386” preserves the secure sequence.

Augustine resigned his rhetorical post after the vacation period, explaining that illness and his new purpose converged. At the country estate called Cassiciacum, whose exact modern location remains disputed, a group including Monnica, Adeodatus, Alypius, relatives, pupils, and friends pursued philosophy, prayer, and common life. Dialogues such as *Against the Academics*, *On the Happy Life*, *On Order*, and the *Soliloquies* show a newly committed Christian still working with classical forms. Conversion did not switch off the intellectual past; it reordered it.

3.3 Baptism, Ostia, and loss

Augustine, Adeodatus, and Alypius enrolled for baptism under Ambrose. They were baptized at the Easter Vigil of 387 (*Confessions* 9.6.14). The checked source does not supply a modern civil-day conversion, so this revision does not add one. The later story that Ambrose and Augustine spontaneously composed the *Te Deum* at this baptism has no contemporary support and belongs to the tradition review.

The company began a return to Africa. At Ostia, Augustine and Monnica shared the contemplative conversation remembered in *Confessions* 9.10.23–26, ascending in speech from created things toward the wisdom beyond them. Soon afterward Monnica fell ill and died, about fifty-six years old (*Confessions* 9.11–13). Augustine reports both disciplined restraint and eventual tears. The episode is neither a modern stenogram nor disposable decoration. It is the literary and theological farewell through which the son who had long been the object of his mother’s prayer gives her a place within the Church’s hope.

Political and travel conditions delayed the African return. Augustine spent a period in Rome and wrote against Manichaeans before reaching Thagaste, probably in 388. There he sold or otherwise disposed of family property and formed a lay ascetic community with friends. “Monastery” is appropriate if it does not conjure a later medieval abbey. The community joined prayer, study, material sharing, and preparation for service. Adeodatus died during this early African period. Augustine’s desired life was now celibate and common, but it would not remain withdrawn.

Conversion in stages. The *Confessions* distinguishes a long intellectual reorientation, the garden decision, catechumenal preparation, baptism, bereavement, and the construction of a common life. Treating only the garden as “the conversion” makes a vivid scene replace the historical process Augustine himself narrates.

4 A monk made priest and bishop

4.1 Ordination against the intended plan

Around 391 Augustine visited Hippo Regius, a port city east of Carthage, in hope of recruiting a member for the Thagaste community. While Bishop Valerius was urging the congregation to seek a priest, the people seized on Augustine and pressed him toward ordination. Possidius presents the election as providential (*Life* 4); Augustine's Letter 21 to Valerius reveals his alarm. He confessed that he had not understood the dangers of ministry and asked time for scriptural preparation. The letter is not evidence that the ordination was invalid or entirely unwilling. It shows a late Roman mode of popular clerical selection and a convert discovering that learning did not equal pastoral readiness.

Valerius allowed Augustine to establish a monastery in the church garden and, unusually in Africa, permitted the presbyter to preach in his presence. Augustine's sermons became his largest contact with ordinary Christians. They were delivered amid noise, response, fatigue, feast days, legal anxieties, poverty, trade, illness, and family life. Shorthand reports preserve a speaker who adjusts to listeners rather than merely reciting polished treatises. He explains Scripture, rebukes exploitation, organizes almsgiving, treats the sacraments, and returns insistently to Christ's whole body in charity.

The new priest also entered public controversy. Possidius recounts a debate with the Manichaean Fortunatus in 392 (*Life* 6). The surviving minutes show Augustine returning to the problem of evil that had once held him. Other works challenged Manichaean exegesis and cosmology. His past gave him unusual access to an opponent's language, but polemical success could also encourage the confidence that later marked harsher disputes.

4.2 Consecration and the episcopal household

Valerius arranged for Augustine to be consecrated as coadjutor. Possidius says that Augustine later judged an ordination while the sitting bishop still lived to have violated a conciliar prohibition that he had not known at the time. This study does not identify the exact canon more narrowly. The chronology crosses 395 and 396: the consecration and succession are conventionally placed within that interval. Possidius, who became bishop of nearby Calama, is the chief narrative witness (*Life* 8). Once responsible for Hippo, Augustine transferred the common life to the bishop's house. Members held possessions in common and clergy were expected to live with discipline. Sermons 355–356 are conventionally cited for a later public account after a property dispute, but their text and date were not collated here and carry no further claim in this revision.

The office was administratively relentless. Bishops received petitioners, interceded with civil authorities, cared for church property, redeemed captives, mediated disputes, and judged cases under the *episcopalis audientia*. Possidius describes Augustine hearing cases through long hours (*Life* 19). Augustine sometimes regretted time taken from study, yet pastoral judgment was not an interruption external to his theology. Questions about lying, marriage, coercion, property, clerical behavior, poverty, and mercy arose from persons at the door.

Possidius depicts a plain table, restrained clothing, hospitality, and a rule against malicious speech (*Life* 22–27). The picture is hagiographic in selection, but its institutional details fit Augustine's sermons and letters. Women did not live in the episcopal household, and visits were regulated according to ascetic safeguards characteristic of the period. Such discipline should be understood historically without turning women into temptations rather than participants in the African Church. Augustine corresponded with women including Proba, Juliana, and communities of consecrated women; his Letter 130 to Proba is a major reflection on prayer. Monnica, his unnamed partner, his sister, widows, patrons, petitioners, and female ascetics belong to the biography even though male-authored sources distribute speech unequally.

4.3 A networked African episcopate

Augustine was never a solitary ruler of African Christianity. Carthage had primacy in the regional episcopal system; Aurelius of Carthage, Alypius of Thagaste, Possidius of Calama, Evodius of Uzalis, and many others worked through councils, correspondence, visitation, and sometimes disagreement. Alypius, the friend who had shared Milan and baptism, became bishop of Augustine's home town. Possidius says that he knew Augustine for nearly forty years, but

that friendship does not make every colleague an extension of Augustine's will. Bishops navigated local constituencies, imperial law, rival Christian communions, and their own convictions.

Books and letters made Hippo a Mediterranean node. Augustine corresponded with Jerome about scriptural interpretation and the origin of souls (Letters 28/40/71/73/82 and 166/167 in the overlapping ancient collections), with Paulinus of Nola, officials, monks, bishops, and lay Christians. He and Jerome never met. Their early disagreement over Galatians 2 was substantive: Augustine feared that explaining Paul's confrontation with Peter as simulated would authorize pious falsehood in Scripture; Jerome defended an inherited exegetical solution before their relationship matured into alliance against Pelagian teaching.

Augustine formed communities and left directions concerning common life. Letter 211 addresses a women's community after conflict and gives a written discipline of common property, provision according to need, prayer, correction, and freedom under grace (211.5–16). The manuscript dossier nevertheless distinguishes that letter from the *Ordo monasterii* and *Praeceptum*; it does not yield one unchanged autograph behind every later use. Later institutions receive Augustine as a spiritual and legislative ancestor, but this study does not reconstruct their juridical descent or describe a thirteenth-century order as an institution he personally founded.

4.4 Pastor, preacher, and sacramental theologian

The bishop's thought was forged aloud as much as at a desk. He preached through psalms and the Gospel of John, on martyrs' feasts and civic emergencies, to catechumens and the baptized. His sermons often press hearers from admiration of Christ toward incorporation into Christ. On 1 John he used the compact Latin imperative *dilige et quod vis fac* (*In epistulam Ioannis ad Parthos* 7.8). The sentence does not bless impulse. The surrounding sermon describes charity capable of both tenderness and correction, and the source audit must travel with any reuse.

His sacramental teaching developed within a divided Christian landscape. In opposition to Donatist claims, Augustine argued that Christ, not the minister's personal holiness, is the effective giver of baptism; a sacrament can be real outside full Catholic unity while failing to bear its proper fruit without charity. This distinction protected believers from having to investigate a minister's secret worthiness. It also served a campaign for ecclesial unity that eventually enlisted coercive law. The theological achievement and the political danger belong in the same life.

5 Unity, coercion, grace, and the hard legacy

5.1 The Donatist division was not a footnote

When Augustine became a priest, African Christianity was divided between rival episcopal communions. Augustine and Possidius place compromised clergy, episcopal legitimacy, sacramental integrity, churches, violence, and the identity of the true Church inside the dispute, but they represent the Catholic side. Full collation of the surviving conference record and opponent dossiers is required before reconstructing Donatist self-understanding in equal detail. Terms such as *schismatic* and *circumcellion* are therefore reported as polemical classifications rather than allowed to substitute for that archive.

Augustine first argued for persuasion, debate, and patient demonstration. His anti-Donatist writings appealed to the worldwide communion, the distinction between sacramental validity and fruitful unity, and the mixed character of the Church before judgment. He participated in encounters with rival bishops, including Proculeianus of Hippo. Violence and intimidation did occur, but attribution in polemical sources requires case-by-case care. The beating of Possidius and attacks on Catholic clergy were real to Augustine's circle; Donatists likewise had reason to fear state force.

Imperial policy shifted toward suppression. The constitution now numbered *Codex Theodosianus* 16.5.38, issued on 12 February 405, expressly joined Donatists with Manichaeans under an enforced program of Catholic unity. That legal text does not explain every local action, but it establishes that Augustine's pastoral argument developed inside a coercive imperial regime. Augustine's own position changed. By Letter 93 to Vincentius, usually dated 407/408, he defended legal pressure because, he said, experience showed that coercion had brought some people to gratitude and unity. In that argument he invoked Luke 14:23 through the Latin imperative *compelle intrare*. Letter 185 to Boniface, around 417, gives the mature defense: discipline should aim at correction rather than vengeance, and the Church should prefer salvation to a freedom that leaves persons in destructive error. Augustine opposed execution

and sometimes interceded for offenders. Those limits matter, but they do not make coercion voluntary. Property penalties, exile, and state enforcement burdened real communities.

An imperially convened conference at Carthage in June 411 brought Catholic and Donatist bishops before the commissioner Marcellinus. The unique surviving manuscript of the *Gesta*, BnF lat. 1546, opens by naming Augustine among seven Catholic representatives and seven Donatist representatives; its incomplete three-session record survives through a ninth-century Lorsch copy. Possidius treats the event as decisive for the Catholic campaign (*Life* 13). The manuscript and CSEL critical edition now control the document's architecture, but this study does not turn an adversarial imperial trial into neutral dialogue or a complete archive of Donatist experience.

The judgment required. It is anachronistic to call Augustine the founder of the medieval Inquisition. It is equally misleading to make his anti-execution pleas erase his theological defense of coercive law. He developed that defense under pastoral, social, and imperial pressures, intended correction rather than annihilation, and helped give later Christians a scriptural rationale capable of uses far beyond his immediate limits.

5.2 Pelagius, inherited sin, and the priority of grace

After the sack of Rome, Augustine entered a controversy that his own works associate with Pelagius, Caelestius, and, later, Julian of Eclanum. This revision has not collated their surviving fragments, the conciliar and Roman dossiers, or a checked modern reconstruction of the controversy's external phases. It therefore does not make "Pelagianism" a transparent summary of every opponent's exact position or assign secure dates to each turn.

The biographically controlled center is Augustine's argument. In *Confessions* 10.29.40 he asks God to grant what God commands and then to command what God wills. His anti-Pelagian works develop that priority of grace through arguments about human solidarity in Adam, damaged desire, baptism, freedom, perseverance, and predestination. The person genuinely wills and acts, in Augustine's account, but every saving movement, including healed freedom, begins in gift. The source audit names the works used; a specialist edition-level review remains necessary before presenting a finer doctrinal sequence or an opponent's position in the opponent's own voice.

In works against Julian, Augustine joins inherited sin and concupiscence to a defense of marriage, procreation, and the created body. This biography records that tension without reconstructing the uncollated exchange line by line. Later Christian reception is not identical with every line of Augustine's polemic, and this source set is not sufficient to decide how particular Greek or Latin predecessors, African baptismal practice, or the Latin text of Romans 5:12 shaped each formulation. Those are review questions, not claims carried by unseen modern books.

5.3 Jews, pagans, and the Christian Roman order

Augustine wrote in a society where imperial Christianity had acquired legal power while traditional cults, Jewish communities, and rival Christian groups remained present. His *City of God* rejected the claim that abandonment of the old gods caused Rome's sack and denied that any earthly commonwealth could be the final city of God. This desacralized Roman success without creating modern religious neutrality. Augustine accepted Christian imperial government, supported restrictions in some religious conflicts, and imagined law as capable of corrective service.

His treatment of Jews combined harmful theological subordination with a notable argument against their annihilation. He read Jewish dispersion as a providential witness to the Scriptures Christians received. This "witness doctrine" could restrain forced disappearance while fixing living Jews inside a Christian account of their unbelief. It should be described as an ambiguous late-antique legacy, not praised as modern tolerance or reduced to the worst later policies carried out in different circumstances.

Augustine addressed a society structured by wealth, poverty, and slavery. In *City of God* 19.15 he traced domination to sin while accepting servitude within household order in the fallen world. The sources collated for this revision do not support a fuller account of his interventions in kidnapping, slave trading, or captive redemption, so no additional claim is made here. The gap between theological diagnosis and social transformation remains part of the hard legacy.

5.4 Disagreement without a single final system

Augustine wrote for more than forty years after baptism and revised his language in response to new questions. A sentence from an early dialogue, a Donatist letter, a late anti-Pelagian treatise, and a sermon to catechumens do not automatically form one simultaneous system. In the *Retractationes* he revisited his books in sequence, noting errors, clarifications, and places where a reader could misunderstand him. The title means a reconsideration or review, not wholesale repudiation.

His self-review is a form of humility and also an act of authorial control. He wanted readers to encounter a corrected corpus in a chosen order. Possidius's *Indiculus* catalogued books, letters, and sermons, helping preserve a literary Augustine. Modern editions also identify bodies of material commonly called the Divjak letters and Dolbeau sermons. Their edition-level content was not collated for this biography; they are mentioned only to mark that the surviving and edited corpus has not always been a closed list.

Claim: Augustine came to defend legal coercion of Donatists as corrective.

Witness: Letters 93.5.17–19 and 185.6.21–7.30; Possidius, *Life* 9–14; *Codex Theodosianus* 16.5.38; and the 411 *Gesta*. The full legal sequence and complete proceedings still require specialist collation.

Limit: His opposition to capital punishment and his stated medicinal aim qualify, but do not cancel, the coercive character. Donatist testimony and the unequal imperial setting remain necessary counterweights.

6 A life written through books

6.1 From dialogues to pastoral interpretation

Augustine's books are events in his biography. The Cassiciacum dialogues of 386–387 display a convert testing how classical disciplines, philosophical argument, and Christian authority might coexist. *On the Immortality of the Soul*, *On Music*, and *On the Teacher* continue questions about mind, signs, learning, and inward illumination. They do not yet contain every later formulation, and their dramatic speakers cannot always be equated without remainder with Augustine's settled voice.

After ordination, Scripture and controversy increasingly governed the work. *On Christian Teaching*, composed in more than one stage, joined interpretation with formation in charity and instruction in effective communication. The famous distinction between things and signs is not an invitation to decode texts apart from the Church's rule of faith and the double command of love. Augustine also authorized the use of learning found outside Christianity, comparing it to Israel's appropriation of Egyptian goods (*On Christian Teaching* 2.40.60). The image has generated a long tradition of Christian humanism, though it belongs to a late-antique argument, not a modern theory of neutral disciplines.

His expositions of the Psalms and tractates on John grew from preaching and revision. They show a characteristic habit: Christ speaks as head and body, so the psalm can become the prayer of the whole Christ. This ecclesial reading connects exegesis, sacrament, poverty, martyrdom, and moral transformation. Augustine's interpretive imagination is often more visible here than in isolated doctrinal propositions.

6.2 The *Confessions*: memory addressed to God

The thirteen books of the *Confessions*, composed after Augustine became bishop, are not simply the first nine books of autobiography. Books 1–9 remember the journey to baptism and Monnica's death. Book 10 examines memory, temptation, and the still-unfinished converted self. Books 11–13 interpret Genesis, creation, time, and the Church. The movement prevents the reader from treating conversion as the end of moral struggle. The same "I" who narrates the garden confesses present distraction and asks how a temporal creature hears the eternal Word.

The work's truth is inseparable from its addressee. Augustine speaks to God before the reader. Praise, confession of sin, confession of faith, biblical allusion, remembered dialogue, and philosophical inquiry interpenetrate. Modern biographers may recover much from it, but a seamless factual digest destroys the form of the evidence. The pear

theft, Monnica's visions, the voice in the garden, and the Ostia conversation are remembered because they serve an argument about providence and desire.

6.3 *The Trinity*, grace, and inward relation

Augustine worked on *The Trinity* across many years; this revision does not assign the individual books an independently checked modern chronology. Early books defend Nicene faith and interpret Scripture; later books seek images of triune relation in the human mind. Memory, understanding, and will are not a proof that contains God. They are created vestiges whose inadequacy becomes part of the ascent. The work's long composition matters: it belongs to a bishop interrupted by controversy, administration, and unauthorized circulation, not to an isolated speculative career.

His theology of grace likewise cannot be detached from prayer. In *Confessions* 10.29.40 he asks God to grant what God commands and then to command what God wills. Its logic is already biographical: the converted person obeys genuinely, but obedience itself is enabled by gift. Later anti-Pelagian works sharpened the priority of grace and the mystery of election. Catholic reception drew deeply from this teaching while continuing to debate how best to speak of freedom, predestination, and God's universal saving will.

6.4 *The City of God* after the sack of Rome

Alaric's sack of Rome in 410 shocked the Mediterranean and sent refugees to Africa. Some blamed Christianity for weakening Rome's ancestral protections. Augustine began *The City of God* after the sack and completed its twenty-two-book argument before reviewing the work in *Retractationes* 2.43; a finer year-by-year chronology was not controlled here. The books exceed the occasion. The first part criticizes pagan claims about divine protection and philosophical beatitude; the second traces two cities formed by different loves through biblical history toward distinct ends.

The "earthly city" is not simply the state, and the "city of God" is not identical in every respect with the visible Church. The two are intermingled in history. Political peace is a real, limited good that Christians can share; no empire becomes the eschatological kingdom by success. Yet Augustine did not write a blueprint for liberal democracy, theocracy, or cultural withdrawal. Later political Augustinianisms select and extend different elements. A biography should locate the book within refugee crisis, episcopal government, Roman fragility, and Augustine's biblical horizon before recruiting it into later ideologies.

6.5 Speech, correspondence, and collaborative production

Augustine's surviving corpus depended on stenographers, scribes, messengers, libraries, patrons, readers, and clerical colleagues. Letters could become public dossiers. Sermons might circulate without final authorization. Books were dictated, revised, excerpted, and transported across dangerous roads and sea lanes. Possidius's remark that Augustine left the Church books and a library (*Life* 31) gives material weight to the intellectual legacy.

His correspondence reveals a range hidden by the canonical masterpieces: questions from lay readers, requests for intercession, disciplinary crises, arguments over biblical translation, and anxious efforts to keep communities together. Modern editions include collections commonly called the Divjak letters and Dolbeau sermons, but their contents were not collated for this biography and are not used to support a new portrait. The already cited correspondence is sufficient reason to resist a hierarchy in which the "real" Augustine is only the author of a few timeless books and pastoral paperwork is background noise.

6.6 Author, authority, and Doctor of the Church

Augustine's authority grew during his life through networks and controversy. It grew after death through manuscript copying, florilegia, monastic rules, theological disputes, councils, liturgy, medieval schools, Reformation controversy, modern philosophy, and papal teaching. The Catholic title Doctor of the Church receives his eminent service to doctrine; it does not canonize each historical inference or rhetorical strategy. Benedict XVI's audience of 9 January

2008 presents Augustine as a companion in the search for truth and as a theologian whose conversion remained lifelong. That is official reception (M), not independent evidence for the precise date of a fourth-century event.

Augustine's own practice offers a more demanding model of authority than quotation collecting. He argued, changed, re-read, and submitted his work to the truth he believed exceeded him. The most faithful historical reading is therefore neither automatic agreement nor dismissal. It identifies which Augustine is speaking, to whom, under what pressure, and with what later correction.

7 Final years, death, burial, and received memory

7.1 Age, succession, and an unfinished controversy

By the middle 420s Augustine was an old bishop in ancient terms, still preaching and dictating while arranging succession. In 426 the people of Hippo received the presbyter Heraclius as the person who would bear increasing pastoral responsibility. The minutes preserved as Letter 213 show Augustine managing the transition publicly rather than treating the see as private property. He asked that his remaining time be protected for work on Scripture, but correspondence and controversy continued.

Late in Augustine's episcopate, the *Retractationes* reviewed his books from the earliest post-conversion works onward; this revision does not assign its beginning an independently checked exact year. Augustine intended also to review letters and sermons, a project he did not complete. At his death he was still answering Julian of Eclanum; the *Unfinished Work against Julian* bears its condition in its title. The unfinished page is biographically fitting. The author whom later ages sometimes make into a closed theological monument died amid argument, correction, and invasion.

The western imperial order in Africa was collapsing. Vandal forces crossed from Spain in 429 under Geiseric and advanced through the provinces. Possidius describes devastated churches, displaced populations, and bishops driven from their sees (*Life* 28). His language is lament and should not be treated as a neutral military survey, but the catastrophe was real. Hippo became one of the principal besieged cities in 430. Refugee bishops, including Possidius, were present with Augustine.

7.2 Illness and death during the siege

Possidius says that Augustine fell ill with a fever during the third month of the siege. In his last days he had penitential psalms copied and placed where he could see and read them from bed; he asked for privacy except at medical or meal times (*Life* 31). This scene is a near-contemporary friend's hagiographic account, but its spirituality agrees with the lifelong *Confessions*: the bishop dies not as someone beyond repentance but addressing God in need.

Possidius reports that Augustine lived seventy-six years and spent almost forty as priest or bishop, then was buried after the sacrifice offered for him. Ancient inclusive age-counting and Augustine's November birthday mean modern usage calls him seventy-five. Possidius does *not* state an exact civil day in the surviving narrative. Prosper of Aquitaine's near-contemporary *Chronicle*, however, says at the 430 entry that Augustine died *V kalendas Septembris*—28 August—while answering Julian's books amid the Vandal assault (MGH AA 9, p. 473). The date is therefore more than a feast-derived inference, while the compressed chronicle notice still differs from Possidius's fuller eyewitness-shaped narrative.

Possidius also recounts reports of healings connected with Augustine's prayer, including a sick man said to have been healed when Augustine laid hands on him at the request of a visitor (*Life* 29). He presents these as signs of holiness and notes Augustine's reluctance to claim extraordinary power. This study reports the witness and its genre; it neither declares the medical event supernaturally authenticated nor removes it from the life because modern methods cannot repeat the inquiry.

Hippo did not fall and burn on the day Augustine died. The siege continued, and the city's later fate belongs to the longer Vandal conquest. Possidius emphasizes that Augustine's church, library, and books survived the immediate devastation (*Life* 31). The survival of texts was not automatic. Copying and movement through North African, Italian, Gallic, and later monastic networks made the bishop available to ages that no longer inhabited Roman Hippo.

7.3 Burial and the limits of the relic itinerary

Possidius gives burial in the setting of besieged Hippo. Paul the Deacon, writing in the late eighth century, reports that King Liutprand obtained in Sardinia remains said to have been moved there earlier because of barbarian devastation and translated them to Ticinum, or Pavia (*History of the Lombards* 6.48). This establishes an early-medieval translation tradition, not the date or witness for the first move, an unbroken custody chain, or the identity and present condition of particular remains.

Augustine's memory was never limited to one tomb. The 28 August commemoration, circulation of Possidius's life, and use of Augustine's works formed a liturgical and textual memory. Later communities claimed him as a father in different senses, but their institutional histories were not collated here and must not be backdated into a foundation charter Augustine never issued.

7.4 Doctor, contested ancestor, and global reader

In the Latin West, Augustine became an authority on grace, sacraments, Trinity, Church, time, memory, interpretation, and political pilgrimage. Medieval theologians did not read one uniform Augustine; neither did Reformation and Catholic controversialists. Competing parties cited him on grace and freedom. Modern philosophers have read his account of time and interiority; psychologists and memoirists have claimed the *Confessions*; political thinkers have recruited the two cities. Any reception that treats him only as a European schoolman, detached from Roman Africa's soil, conflicts, and multilingual Christianity, suppresses the setting established by the ancient sources.

Ecclesial reception calls him saint and Doctor without requiring an unhistorical portrait. His holiness is remembered in conversion, common life, pastoral endurance, love of Scripture, care for unity and the poor, penitence, and a mind given to seeking understanding. The same communion can acknowledge that his defense of coercion, his rhetoric against opponents, and some social assumptions require criticism. Ecclesial veneration is not a claim that power left no scar.

7.5 Visual memory and patronage

No securely identified contemporary portrait in the checked source set supplies Augustine's facial appearance. Later art gives him episcopal dress, books, hearts, and sometimes the child-and-sea motif. This revision has not established the earliest controlled use of those attributes, so it treats them only as later visual reception, not dated evidence for his appearance or possessions. Specific patronage lists are likewise omitted until their item-level histories and official status can be checked. The book remains a responsible general attribute because writing, preaching, revision, and the preservation of a library are directly attested in the life.

8 Tradition under review

Later tradition is not an embarrassing appendix to a "real" life. It shows what communities loved, feared, taught, and sought to imitate. The following traditions remain worth telling when their historical status travels with them.

8.1 The child, the shell, and the Trinity

The familiar story places Augustine on a shore while composing *The Trinity*. A child tries to pour the sea into a small hole and tells the bishop that the task is no more possible than containing the Trinity in the human mind. No instance was located in Augustine or Possidius. This audit has not established the story's earliest medieval recension or the route by which the motif became attached to Augustine. It is therefore retained only as an explicitly unverified later tradition, not biographical evidence.

The legend nevertheless expresses something close to the work's disciplined failure: created images direct the mind toward God without comprehending the divine essence. Art can use the child and shell as a theological emblem if it does not call the meeting a documented event.

8.2 Ambrose, Augustine, and the *Te Deum*

Later narratives say that Ambrose and the newly baptized Augustine improvised alternating lines of the *Te Deum*. Augustine names baptism and Ambrose but says nothing of such a composition (*Confessions* 9.6.14). This audit has not located the tradition's earliest witness. The scene is therefore not placed in the reconstructed Easter Vigil; it remains an unverified later image of baptism, episcopal teaching, and the Church's praise.

8.3 Names supplied to silent persons

Augustine does not name Adeodatus's mother, and the early sources used here do not name his sister. The names "Floria Aemilia" and "Perpetua" belong to later reception whose precise transmission was not collated for this revision. They are not used as biographical fact. Naming can feel like restoration, but invented certainty overwrites precisely those persons whose speech the archive has already lost.

8.4 Founder of every Augustinian community

Augustine formed communities at Thagaste and Hippo and left directions about common life. Later institutions receive him as father, but their documentary and juridical histories were not collated for this revision. The biography therefore uses "spiritual and legislative ancestor," not a claim that a later order was personally organized by the bishop of Hippo.

8.5 A single fixed *Rule*

Letter 211.5–16 gives Augustine's own written governance of a women's community. The inspected manuscript catalogue separately maps the *Obiurgatio* identified with that letter, the *Ordo monasterii*, and the *Praeceptum*. Those controls establish plurality but do not settle priority, adaptation, or later institutional descent. One authentic rule-bearing letter therefore cannot be inflated into one unchanged autograph behind every later Rule.

8.6 Portrait, complexion, and modern identity

No securely contemporary portrait fixes Augustine's face or complexion. European, North African, and global artists have pictured him through their own visual languages. Modern insistence that one image discloses an ancient racial classification exceeds the evidence. The absence of certainty should not whiten Roman Africa out of his life: geography, language contact, local church conflict, and imperial marginality are documented even when phenotype is not.

8.7 The relic journey as an unbroken eyewitness chain

Possidius reports burial in the setting of Hippo. Paul the Deacon's late-eighth-century *History of the Lombards* 6.48 reports Liutprand's translation from Sardinia to Pavia of remains already said to have come from Africa. The large evidentiary gaps are part of the tradition: the first translation lacks a checked witness here, Paul is not contemporary with the reported act, and no current custody or scientific identification follows from his narrative.

8.8 Famous sentences without their arguments

Augustine is especially vulnerable to quotation drift.

- The Latin imperative *dilige et quod vis fac* is genuine (*In epistulam Ioannis* 7.8), but its love is formed charity whose actions, including correction, flow from love; it is not permission for arbitrary desire.
- Augustine retrospectively remembers praying for chastity while asking that it not yet be given (*Confessions* 8.7.17). He does not offer the episode as a lifelong motto or comic indulgence.

- *Confessions* 1.1.1 describes the human heart as restless until it rests in God. Its grammar is corporate as well as personal; no one English wording is presented here as the uniquely authorized translation.
- Attractive internet aphorisms attributed to Augustine without work and locus should remain unverified until located in the Latin or a controlled edition.

8.9 Miracle stories and holy death

Possidius's healing reports are N in date but hagiographic in genre; later miracles at tombs or through relics are later cult evidence. Neither class should be mocked or silently promoted to modern clinical proof. Their responsible significance lies first in what witnesses claimed about prayer, intercession, charity, and sanctity. Augustine's last use of the penitential psalms is much better controlled than many picturesque legends because Possidius says he was present during the final illness. Even there, proximity and edifying selection coexist.

Responsible reception. A late story may be spiritually apt without being early; an early report may be sincere without answering every modern historical question. The proper remedy for confusion is classification, not either ridicule or indiscriminate certainty.

9 A sanctity of conversion and unfinished work

Augustine's life has a strong narrative arc because he gave it one: restless desire is gathered by grace into praise. Historical biography must both receive and interrupt that arc. It receives the convert's testimony that God acted through Scripture, friendship, sacrament, intellect, grief, and the Church. It interrupts any temptation to make the narrator omniscient. His partner's name is lost; opponents speak through unequal archives; coercive policies affected persons outside the bishop's intended medicinal theory; and the books later called timeless were made amid local emergencies.

The deepest continuity in the life is not a perfect doctrine possessed at Milan. It is the practice of return: to Scripture after intellectual pride, to common life after career, to the congregation after the study, to correction after publication, and to penitential prayer at death. Augustine's sanctity, as the Church receives it, includes extraordinary gifts of mind but is not identical with brilliance. It is a converted use of those gifts in sacrament, preaching, friendship, argument, service, and repentance.

His historical importance is correspondingly double. Few authors have opened the interior life, biblical time, grace, ecclesial sacrament, and political pilgrimage with comparable power. Few ancient bishops have supplied later Western power with a more influential rationale for compelling religious unity. A mature reception need not choose between gratitude and judgment. Augustine himself teaches readers to revisit a corpus, name what needs correction, and continue toward a truth no author owns.

Unresolved questions remain: the exact boundaries of his ancestry and language world; details of the episcopal succession; the dating of some sermons and letters; the textual history of the Rule; lost Donatist voices; the precise relic itinerary; and how newly discovered texts may alter the balance again. These limits do not empty the life. They keep a historical saint from becoming an instrument made entirely in the reader's image.

A Scope, Chronology, and Evidence

Augustine of Hippo (354–430) is unusually knowable for an ancient person. He wrote about childhood, ambition, friendship, desire, intellectual error, conversion, pastoral burdens, controversy, aging, and the revision of his own books. A friend and fellow bishop, Possidius of Calama, survived him and wrote a life that preserves the shape of Augustine's public ministry and final illness. Augustine's sermons, letters, and treatises place him in the institutions and conflicts of Roman Africa; conciliar records and opponents' fragments would add controls but were not comprehensively collated for this revision. Even the checked abundance creates its own danger. The *Confessions* is a prayer composed after Augustine became bishop and well after the Milanese conversion it narrates; the conventional c. 397–401 range lacks a checked modern chronological locus in this revision. It is neither a diary nor a court transcript. Possidius

writes an exemplary episcopal life, emphasizing Catholic unity, virtue, and a holy death. Augustine’s polemics state real convictions but present opponents through controversy.

This biography therefore asks not merely, “What happened?” but, “What kind of witness says that it happened, when, and for what purpose?” It treats Augustine as a Roman African Christian, rhetor and philosopher, monk, priest, bishop, Father, and Doctor of the Church. Its geographical center is late Roman North Africa, with necessary journeys to Italy; its linguistic center is Latin, though Greek, Punic, and the multilingual world of the Mediterranean matter. It follows the life chronologically, embeds the writings in the pressures that produced them, and gives sustained attention to the coercion of Donatists, anti-Pelagian controversy, gender and patronage, and the difference between Augustine himself and later “Augustinian” institutions.

A.1 Evidence key

Code	Meaning
A	Subject-authored evidence: Augustine’s books, letters, sermons, and retrospective self-account, interpreted according to genre and date.
N	Near-contemporary external witness: especially Possidius and, when separately collated, proceedings, laws, and correspondence not controlled by Augustine alone.
E	Early received tradition: late-antique and early-medieval memory, including Prosper’s death-date notice and Paul the Deacon’s relic-translation report, each limited to what its checked witness says.
L	Later hagiographic or devotional tradition: legends, relic narratives, iconographic conventions, and institutional memory.
M	Official ecclesial reception: liturgical, papal, conciliar, or institutional acts, limited to what the act establishes.
K	Modern critical reconstruction: a named scholarly conclusion, including alternatives and degree of confidence.
S	Source-grounded project synthesis: an editorial connection supported by named evidence rather than attributed to one witness.

These codes describe kinds of evidence, not a ladder from unbelief to faith. Augustine’s report of grace in his conversion is the testimony of a Christian subject to God’s action. Historical criticism can locate the report, its literary design, and its relationship to earlier evidence; it cannot repeat the experience as an experiment or disprove it by relabeling it psychology. Likewise, Possidius’s accounts of healing are reported as Possidius reports them (*Life* 29), without this study independently certifying a miracle or inventing a natural explanation.

A.2 Chronological orientation

Date	Place	Event and evidence	Status
354	Thagaste, Numidia	Born to Patricius and Monnica on 13 November; Augustine gives the birthday in <i>De beata vita</i> 1.6, while the year is secured by the converging ancient chronology.	Well attested
c. 365–370	Madaura / Thagaste	Grammar and literary education; a financially constrained interval at home precedes advanced study. <i>Confessions</i> 1–2 is the retrospective source.	Approximate

Date	Place	Event and evidence	Status
371–383	Carthage and Africa	Rhetorical studies, a long partnership, birth of Adeodatus, teaching, adherence to Manichaeism, and growing dissatisfaction; Cicero’s lost <i>Hortensius</i> redirects his desire for wisdom (<i>Confessions</i> 3–5).	Sequence secure; dates partly approximate
383–386	Rome / Milan	Moves to Rome, then receives the imperial rhetoric chair at Milan; hears Ambrose, encounters Platonist books, and abandons a court marriage project after his partner’s dismissal.	Well attested in A
386–387	Milan / Cassiciacum	Conversion crisis in late summer 386; withdrawal to Cassiciacum; baptism with Adeodatus and Alypius at the Easter Vigil of 387.	Event secure; exact conversion day reconstructed
After 387	Ostia / Rome / Africa	Monnica dies at Ostia; Augustine eventually returns to Africa and establishes a lay ascetic community at Thagaste.	Relative sequence secure; return date unresolved
391	Hippo Regius	Ordained presbyter by Bishop Valerius after visiting Hippo; establishes a monastery and begins sustained preaching and controversy.	Well attested
395/396	Hippo Regius	Consecrated coadjutor and succeeds Valerius as bishop.	Year boundary disputed
After episcopal succession—411	Roman Africa	Composes the <i>Confessions</i> ; expands pastoral and anti-Donatist work; participates in the 411 Conference of Carthage.	Relative sequence secure; work dates partly unresolved
Later episcopate, after 410	Hippo and wider networks	Anti-Pelagian writing, long works on the Trinity and the two cities, extensive correspondence, and preaching.	Relative sequence; detailed work chronology uncollated
426	Hippo	Designates the presbyter Heraclius to assume pastoral burdens; Letter 213 records the event. Late in his episcopate he begins reviewing his books in the <i>Retractationes</i> .	Heraclius dated; self-review start year unresolved
28 Aug. 430	Hippo Regius	Dies during the Vandal siege, aged seventy-five by modern reckoning, and is buried locally. Possidius gives the siege context, age, death, and burial; Prosper supplies the civil day.	Death and day directly controlled in N/E

A.3 Publication boundary

This Triptych study was prepared from Augustine’s writings, Possidius’s near-contemporary *Life*, selected official Catholic reception, and the specifically audited reference controls. Books listed for future specialist review are not treated as verified evidentiary support. Sources and mutable claims were checked through 15 July 2026.

This is a source-first historical and hagiographic synthesis, not a critical edition, magisterial act, authentication of relics, or substitute for specialist historical and theological judgment. Augustine’s remembered experience, later Christian memory, and modern reconstruction are distinguished; unresolved dates and contested legacies remain visible.

A.4 Quotation, rights, and review boundary

Sustained English prose in this biography is project-created paraphrase and synthesis. Brief Latin identifiers such as *tolle lege*, *compelle intrare*, and *dilige et quod vis fac* remain in Latin and are tied to their exact work loci. English summaries of those phrases are commentary, not unmarked quotations from a modern translation. No direct Scripture quotation remains in this revision. The public-domain Latin and Possidius edition identified in the references are not relicensed by the project, and no text in this study is offered as a translated prayer or ritual text for recitation.

Ancient Latin and the 1919 Possidius edition are public-domain source material. Modern CSEL/CCSL apparatus, modern translations, scholarship, and Vatican web translations retain their own rights. The modern books identified in the references as bibliographic leads were not used or paraphrased. This working biography has not received independent patristic, historical, theological, North-African linguistic, archaeological, or rights review. The source audit records which claims still require edition-level collation before publication maturity can advance.

A.5 Detailed chronology

Date	Place	Event and evidence	Status
13 Nov. 354	Thagaste	Birth to Patricius and Monnica. Birthday: <i>De beata vita</i> 1.6; year: ancient chronological convergence.	Attested / reconstructed
c. 365	Madaura	Advanced grammar and literary schooling begins.	Approximate
c. 370–371	Thagaste	Education pauses for lack of funds; pear theft belongs to Augustine’s retrospective account of this interval.	Approximate / A
371–372	Carthage	Studies rhetoric; begins long partnership; Adeodatus born around 372.	Approximate / A
373	Carthage	Cicero’s <i>Hortensius</i> awakens the desire for wisdom; Augustine joins Manichaean hearers.	Approximate / A
374–383	Thagaste / Carthage	Teaches grammar and rhetoric; remains in Manichaean networks; death of close friend; meets Faustus.	Sequence attested
383	Rome	Secret departure from Carthage; illness and teaching in Rome.	Attested in A
384	Milan	Appointed imperial professor of rhetoric through Symmachus; begins hearing Ambrose.	Well attested
385–386	Milan	Marriage negotiations; unnamed partner returns to Africa; Platonist reading and Pauline study.	Sequence attested
late summer 386	Milan	Garden conversion with Alypius as narrated in <i>Confessions</i> 8.12.	Season probable; exact day unresolved
386–387	Cassiciacum / Milan	Philosophical-retreat dialogues; catechumenate.	Well attested
Easter Vigil 387	Milan	Baptized by Ambrose with Adeodatus and Alypius.	Event attested; exact civil day not supplied here
387	Ostia	Contemplative conversation and death of Monnica.	Attested in A
After 387; date unresolved	Rome	Delayed before African return; anti-Manichaean writing.	Relative sequence only
after c. 389; year unknown	Thagaste / Africa	Lay common life; Augustine says Adeodatus was taken from life not long after the dialogue associated with him.	Relative sequence only
391	Hippo Regius	Ordained presbyter by Valerius; monastery and preaching ministry established.	Well attested A/N
392	Hippo	Public debate with Fortunatus.	Dated record
395/396	Hippo	Consecrated coadjutor and succeeds Valerius.	Competing year placement
After becoming bishop	Hippo	Composes <i>Confessions</i> ; <i>Retractationes</i> 2.6 supplies the relative corpus position.	Exact span not controlled here
Across many episcopal years	Hippo	Long composition of <i>The Trinity</i> .	Exact span not controlled here

Date	Place	Event and evidence	Status
By Letter 93	Roman Africa	Augustine defends corrective legal pressure against Donatists.	A; conventional 407/408 date not edition-checked
June 411	Carthage	Imperially convened conference; the unique surviving <i>Gesta</i> manuscript names Augustine among seven Catholic representatives and preserves an incomplete three-session dossier.	A/N adversarial record; not neutral dialogue
After 410	Africa / Mediterranean	Augustine’s anti-Pelagian writings develop; opponent, council, and imperial dossiers remain uncollated.	A-side sequence only
After Rome’s sack; before late self-review	Hippo	Composes <i>City of God</i> .	Relative A chronology
426	Hippo	Public designation of Heraclius; Letter 213 records proceedings.	Dated record
Late episcopate	Hippo	Begins <i>Retractationes</i> .	Exact start year not controlled here
429	Roman Africa	Vandals cross into Africa; refugee and military crisis.	External chronology
430	Hippo	Siege; Augustine becomes ill in its third month.	Possidius N
28 Aug. 430	Hippo	Death and burial during the siege are described by Possidius; Prosper’s <i>Chronicle</i> supplies <i>V kalendas Septembris</i> .	N death and burial; near-contemporary E exact day

B References

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