

**FINAL HONOUR SCHOOL  
OF MODERN HISTORY**

**SPECIAL SUBJECT 1**

**From Julian the Apostate to Saint Augustine,  
350–95**

**Bibliography**

## From Julian the Apostate to Saint Augustine, 350–95

(Modern History; Ancient and Modern History)

### The Conversion of Augustine

(Greats; Classics with Modern Languages)

Since these courses share some of the same reading and subject-matter, the teaching overlaps, but the difference is that historians read everything in translation: both *Confessions* 1–9 and a wider selection of texts than the classicists, who read their texts (principally *Confessions* 5–9) in Latin.

During the Long Vacation you should read all the prescribed texts for the first time, and explore as much of the background as you can.

**PRESCRIBED TEXTS** are listed in the *Examination Decrees and Regulations*, 2000, pp. 331 (Julian and Augustine), 263 (The Conversion). Those for Julian and Augustine can be found in the Modern History handbook for second and third years and on the web at: [http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/currentunder/honours/history/special/julian\\_to\\_augustine\\_texts.htm](http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/currentunder/honours/history/special/julian_to_augustine_texts.htm) Three items needed for ‘Julian and Augustine’ are not easily available, but I can provide copies: Jerome, *Letter* 70, is not in the Loeb *Letters*, but is translated by W.H. Fremantle in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series, vol. VI; the Symmachus *Letters* and the Inscriptions (Dessau and Diehl) I have translated myself. (I hope to make copies of certain other texts, notably Augustine, *Letters* 16–17; Symmachus, *Relatio* 3.) Do buy as many of the prescribed texts as possible: you can always sell them afterwards, and meanwhile you can bring them to the relevant class or lecture, refer to them at any time, and even annotate them for yourself. You should certainly own your own text of the *Confessions*, and I can recommend the Penguin translation of Ammianus Marcellinus, both for being in paperback, and for having an excellent introduction.

**AUGUSTINE** (especially for Classicists reading him in Latin). There are good plain texts of the *Confessions* by Knöll (*CSEL* series) followed by Gibb and Montgomery (Cambridge, 1908); by Skutella (Teubner Library, 1934), Verheijen (Corpus Christianorum series, 1981), and by O’Donnell in his great commentary (Oxford, 1992). The differences between them are unimportant at our level. I will use Skutella in the reading class, and it will make reference easier if you use it too, but uniformity is not essential. I recommend reading the *Confessions* in a plain text with the help of a separate translation: the best of these is by H.M. Chadwick (O.U.P. paperback, 1992), which is prescribed for historians. There is also a good Penguin translation by R.S. Pine-Coffin (Penguin). Do NOT buy the Loeb text and translation: they may look convenient, but the archaic translation is a menace.

The best introductions in paperback, which you should buy, are  
H.M. Chadwick, *Augustine* (O.U.P. Past Masters series, 1986), and  
Gillian Clark, *Augustine: The Confessions* (C.U.P., 1993), and  
Gillian Clark (ed.), *Augustine Confessions Books I–IV* (C.U.P., 1995).

There is unfortunately no brief historical commentary (something I will try to provide in the reading classes), but for detailed, wider-ranging commentary see  
Cohn Starnes, *Augustine’s Conversion: A Guide to the Argument of Confessions I–IX* (1990) or

J.J. O'Donnell's monumental 3-volume edition (O.U.P. 1992).

O'Donnell is perhaps too helpful, he knows so much: using his commentary has been likened to drinking from a fire hydrant. One more book to buy is

Peter Brown's classic biography, *Augustine of Hippo* (1967, in paperback).

I also recommend

J.J. O'Meara, *The Young Augustine: the Growth of St Augustine's Mind up to his Conversion* (1954).

**JEROME.** The five letters prescribed for the 'Conversion of Augustine' are most conveniently read in the Loeb translation, *St. Jerome: Select Letters* (tr. P.A. Wright, 1975). Buy it. (Historians taking 'Julian and Augustine', as I have said, also read *Letter 70*, and I can give them a copy.) There is an excellent biography by

J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: his Life, Writings, and Controversies* (1975).

**THE ALTAR OF VICTORY DEBATE** (which, like Jerome's *Letters*, is common to 'Julian and Augustine' and 'The Conversion'). The Latin text of Symmachus, *Relatio 3*, is on pp. 280–83 of Seeck's edition of Symmachus in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica series (AA VI.1, 1883, reprinted 1961), but it will be found more conveniently in

R.H. Barrow, *Prefect and Emperor* (1973), with an English translation.

It is printed with Ambrose, *Letters 17 and 18*, in the Budé edition (by M. Lavarenne, 1948) of Prudentius, vol. iii; in J. Wytzes, *Der letzte Kampf des Heidentums* (1977); and in

R. Klein, *Der Streit um den Victoriaaltar* (1972).

Ambrose's letters are translated in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers series, vol. X, St. Ambrose, but look for

B. Croke and J. Harries, *Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Rome* (Sydney University Press, 1982).

This very useful collection of documents in translation includes the *Relatio* and Ambrose's two letters, but it was published as an over-priced paperback, and copies are hard to find. I will try to copy the Altar of Victory texts for you.

**LIBRARIES.** The Modern History Faculty (the old Indian Institute at the east end of Broad Street; note the gilded elephant wind-vane) has single copies of the prescribed texts and some of the essential reference works, but they cannot be borrowed. Books can be borrowed from the Classics Lending Library (37 Wellington Square) or the Sackler Library, St John's Street). The latter is a research library, one of the world's major collections of Classics and Archaeology, and you will need a note from your tutor to enroll there. Relevant books can also be borrowed from the Theology Faculty library (41 St Giles). Many items can be read in the Radcliffe Camera (downstairs) and in the Theology and Classics reading rooms in the Old Bodleian (first floor). Most Christian writers of the fourth century are translated in two series, the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* and the *Fathers of the Church*, both of them on open shelves in the Camera A useful book is

F.R. Hoare, *The Western Fathers* (1954), which translates the ancient lives of Augustine and Ambrose, essential background reading.

**WORDS OF ENCOURAGEMENT.** An earlier version of ‘Julian and Augustine’ was taught by Peter Brown, a living legend, who wrote in his *Augustine of Hippo*: ‘Every year, the enthusiasm and fresh interest with which a handful of undergraduates of the Modern History School of Oxford, crosses that rather lonely and precarious bridge flung out by their syllabus, between ancient and medieval history, between the disciplines of the historian, the theologian and the philosopher, have reinforced me in my own fascination with Augustine and his age.’ But classicists who now study the ‘Conversion’, if they sample the fascinating cultural world of the later fourth century, may fall off that bridge. Mark Pattison, the original of George Eliot’s Casaubon in *Middlemarch*, wrote a posthumous *Memoirs* which is in the *Confessions* class; and E.R. Dodds, Regius Professor of Greek, has left a sensitive but sad picture of his Oxford career in *Missing Persons*. Mark Pattison wrote: ‘Of the world of wisdom and sentiment – of poetry and philosophy, of social and political experience, contained in the Latin and Greek classics, and the true relation of the degenerate and semi-barbarous Christian writers of the fourth century to that world – Oxford, in 1830, had never dreamt’. And E.R. Dodds declared: ‘That fuller and serener virtue which the Greeks name σοφροσύνη, that happy co-ordination of every faculty and every instinct, remained, I believe, for Augustine, as for all men of divided soul, an unattainable ideal.’

You will enjoy the privilege of proving these great men wrong.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY.** The books I have already mentioned contain valuable brief bibliographies; and for the Roman Empire in the fourth century, see especially Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire* (1993), ‘Further Reading’ (pp. 209–27).

The History Faculty offers an excellent annotated bibliography for General History Period I, 285–476. I list some book-titles here, through which you will gain access to the very extensive secondary literature in periodicals, and to the abundant primary sources of which the prescribed texts are only a selection. The ‘Julian and Augustine’ texts in particular have been chosen for their cross-bearings, the way in which they catch the same person or idea from two different angles.

### Reference

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F.L. Cross (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd edn., 1997).  
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G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown, O. Grabar, *Late Antiquity: a guide to the postclassical world* (1999).  
F.van der Meer, C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (1958).

### Introduction

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### Julian and Augustine

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### Religion and Society

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### Literature and Culture

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- H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, esp. III 9.
- J.F. Matthews, *Political Life and Culture in Late Roman Society* (1985).
- R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (1968).

**Useful anthologies of translated texts**

- Michael Mans, *Readings in Late Antiquity* (2000).
- A.D. Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity* (2000).
- S.N.C. Lieu, *The Emperor Julian: Panegyric and Polemic* (1986).
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R.S.O. Tomlin