

BI-MARCUS? THE TWO VARRONES OF AUGUSTINE AND NONIUS MARCELLUS*

The singular nature of Nonius' *De compendiosa doctrina* has seldom received the attention it deserves. As long as scholars were content to assume that the fourth-century grammarians (or individuals like Macrobius) were themselves engaged in original research among the books of the Republican authors, Nonius' "dictionary" seemed only the most extreme expression of a general trend towards the antique, and was implicitly (or occasionally explicitly) included in grand narratives that sought to position this fashion as a "pagan" cultural reaction to the political triumph of Christianity.¹

These narratives, and in their wake the religious motivations thought to underpin much of the secular literature and scholarship of the later fourth century, have been decisively challenged by Alan Cameron.² In the absence of such a convenient but mistaken paradigm, however, it is exceedingly difficult to give any satisfactory account for Nonius' project. Though dismissing the *De compendiosa doctrina* as the work of an isolated crank looks like an admission of defeat, it will appear from the following discussion that no other explanation is serviceable.

So strange does Nonius appear next to his fourth- or fifth-century contemporaries that a misguided attempt has been made to date him to the end of the Severan era, ca. AD 210-230.³ The latest authority Nonius cites is Septimius Serenus, whose presumed floruit is used to supply Nonius' own in Paul Keyser's revisionist dating. The earliest authors to use Nonius are Fulgentius and Priscian.⁴

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1. See e.g. H. Nettleship, *Nonius Marcellus*, in «Amer. Journ. of Philol.», III 1882, pp. 1-16, at p. 7, classifying Nonius alongside Macrobius as part of a Pagan «conservative» or «reactionary» movement.

2. A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome*, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2011.

3. P.T. Keyser, *Later Authors in Nonius Marcellus and Other Evidence of His Date*, in «Harvard Stud. Class. Philol.», xcvi 1994, pp. 369-89.

4. For Fulgentius' knowledge of Nonius: F. Bertini, *Nonio e Fulgenzio*, in *Studi Noniani*, II, Genova, Ist. filol. class. e med., 1972, pp. 33-60, *contra* W. von Strzelecki, *Zu Nonius und Fulgentius*, in «Hermes», lxxviii 1933, pp. 349-52. Nonius is explicitly cited at Prisc. *GL*, II pp. 35 20, 269 24, 499 20.

However, of the 41 sources identified by Wallace Lindsay that underpin the citations in Nonius' dictionary,⁵ some were traditional book rolls, some codices. Item 40 (see Table below) was a copy of Book I of Varro's *Res rusticae* (Lindsay's «Varro iv» source): as a lone *liber*, this was almost certainly contained in an old-fashioned papyrus *uolumen*, and was as much of the work as Nonius knew.⁶ But combinations of certain works in unitary sources identified by Lindsay (e.g. Cicero's *Orator* and *De oratore* in item 37, known as «Cicero vii») are found in medieval manuscript traditions,⁷ pointing to Nonius' use of early codices. This format was hardly known in the Severan period and unable to supplant papyrus rolls for the transmission of secular literature until the end of the fourth century.⁸ On this basis, and following various clues in Nonius' own language, Marcus Deufert convincingly argues that Nonius should be assigned a date ca. AD 400,⁹ though the impres-

5. W.M. Lindsay, *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin*, Oxford, Parker, 1901, pp. 7-10. Note that although Lindsay's model of Nonius' working practices has periodically been subject to revision, the list of 41 sources he uncovered remains fundamentally valid. See D. Churchill White, *The Method of Composition and Sources of Nonius Marcellus*, in *Studi Noniani*, VIII, Genova, Ist. filol. class. e med., 1980, pp. 111-211, and J. Velaza, *Nonio Marcelo y la historia del texto de Terencio*, in «Rev. de estudios lat.», VII 2007, pp. 21-38. For an overview, see also P. Gatti, *Introduzione a Nonio Marcello*, in *Prolegomena Noniana*, III, a cura di F. Bertini, Genova, D.AR.FI. CL.ET., 2004, pp. 5-20.

6. Among more than thirty citations of *rust.* I, there is one doubtful allusion to *rust.* II 8 6 (Non. p. 122 3 Mercerus, but cf. *ling.* IX 28): this was taken from one of Nonius' glossographical sources (Lindsay, op. cit., p. 47). On Varro's quotations in Nonius see G. Piras' article above.

7. P.L. Schmidt, 'De honestis et nove veterum dictis'. *Die Autorität der 'veteres' von Nonius Marcellus bis zu Matheus Vindocinensis*, in *Klassik im Vergleich*, herausgegeben von W. Voßkamp, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1993, pp. 366-88, at p. 370; M. Deufert, *Zur Datierung des Nonius Marcellus*, in «Philologus», CXLV 2001, pp. 137-49, at p. 148.

8. C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*, London, Oxford Univ. Press for British Academy, 1983.

9. Deufert, art. cit. See also A. Chahoud, *Antiquity and Authority in Nonius Marcellus*, in *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity*, edited by J.H.D. Scourfield, Swansea, Classical Press of Wales, 2007, pp. 69-96, at pp. 81-83, noting some additional fourth-/fifth-century technical vocabulary. A subscription to a copy of Persius' *Satirae* – dating to AD 402 – that occurs with an abbreviated version of Nonius' dictionary in ms. Montpellier 212, saec. X, France (R.A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1988, p. 418), has no value for determining a *terminus ante quem*. There is no way of establishing when the two texts were placed together, but the combination has every likelihood of being a creation of the Carolingian schools. A text of Persius with an identical subscription occurs in ms. Vat. Arch. S. Pietro H 36, saec. IX, France, alongside astronomical and rhetorical material: B. Munk Olsen, *Les poètes classiques dans les écoles au IX^e siècle*, in *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes: mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine*, comité éditorial: L. Holtz et J.-C. Fredouille, Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1992, pp. 197-210, at p. 200.

sionistic nature of the evidence might allow publication of the *De compendiosa doctrina* to be placed somewhere in the 50 years preceding or following this date.¹⁰

Sadly, Gigliola Maggiulli's attempt to establish a more precise *terminus post quem* for Nonius is insecure,¹¹ though recent attempts to identify the manuscript family from which Nonius' citations of Terence were drawn may prove decisive, once we know more about the textual history of that author.¹²

The few biographical details concerning Nonius are known from the *tituli* of the manuscripts: *Noni Marcelli Peripatetici Tubursicensis De compendiosa doctrina ad filium*. Quite what the epithet *peripateticus* is meant to signify is a mystery. No Aristotelian bearing this title is identifiable after ca. AD 250,¹³ and the contents of the dictionary betray no firm philosophical allegiance.¹⁴

10. Gatti, art. cit., p. 18, also notes that the widely differing lengths adopted for the individual books of Nonius' dictionary are more suited to composition in a codex than reflective of traditional book rolls.

11. G. Maggiulli, *Nonio Marcello e Arusiano Messio*, in *Studi Noniani*, VII, Genova, Ist. filol. class. e med., 1982, pp. 123-76, has argued that Nonius shows an awareness of Arusianus Messius' *Exempla elocutionum*, dedicated to Olybrius and Probinus, coss. AD 395. However, any similarity seems to be the result of chance, not design. The passages Nonius and Arusianus share from Cicero, Terence, Sallust and Vergil are overwhelmingly cited under different lemmata and follow separate textual traditions, requiring, as Maggiulli is forced to acknowledge, that they consulted the original texts independently (art. cit., pp. 166-67). Lemma, discussion and passage together agree on only ten occasions (nine for Vergil and one for Terence), suggesting recourse to shared commentaries or even common traditions of oral exposition in the schools. See also P.T. Keyser, *Nonius Marcellus' Quotations of Sallust*, in «Wiener Studien», CIX 1996, pp. 181-226, at pp. 200-5, demolishing any supposed link between the two authors' use of Sallust.

12. Velaza, *Nonio Marcelo*, cit., and M.L. De Seta, *Il testo di Terenzio nelle citazioni di Nonio*, in *Prolegomena Noniana*, IV, a cura di F. Bertini, Genova, D.AR.FI.CL.ET., 2005, pp. 5-32, independently conclude that Nonius' text belongs to the Σ family, Velaza arguing that it was probably one of the early descendants of γ . On the basis of these studies, J. Velaza, *Una propuesta de datación para Nonio Marcelo*, in *Perfiles de Grecia y Roma: Actas del XII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*, II, editadas por J.F. González Castro-J. de la Villa Polo, Madrid, Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos, 2010, pp. 1077-87, confidently claims that Nonius' text of Terence must date to the middle of the fifth century or later, but this is not supported by our currently knowledge of the early stages of the tradition, which still awaits a thorough re-evaluation. For an overview of the issues and the various solutions proposed, see M.D. Reeve, *Terence*, in *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 1982, pp. 412-20, and S. Monda, *Terence Quotations in Latin Grammarians: Shared and Distinguishing Features*, in *Terence between Late Antiquity and the Age of Printing*, edited by A.J. Turner - G. Torello-Hill, Leiden-London, Brill, 2015, pp. 105-37, at pp. 110-15, the latter summarising more recent work.

13. Keyser, *Later Authors*, cit., p. 381.

14. T. Mantero, *La inscriptio dei codici del De compendiosa doctrina e "Nonius Marcellus Peripateti-*

If Teresa Mantero is right to suggest that the term should be understood in a general sense, perhaps as equivalent to *magister*,¹⁵ it is hard to maintain the old view that the epithet signals Nonius' paganism (at least not in a straightforward manner).¹⁶ The only parallel for such a usage is found in Jerome, applied to the dramatist Hermippus and apparently with the sense of *doctus uir* (*uir. ill.* pr. 2).¹⁷ Here the label is retrospectively bestowed by a Christian on a non-Christian, and it seems pertinent to ask, given the nature of this solitary example and the confusion surrounding the meaning of the epithet by this late date, whether Nonius could ever have described himself thus. If *peripateticus* was a label used by Christians for pagan intellectuals, perhaps the epithet was bestowed posthumously on Nonius by an early Christian copyist. If so, this may only be an inference based upon the contents of the dictionary itself, and thus the term should be accorded no weight in determining Nonius' own religious views. As Cameron has forcibly argued in the case of Macrobius, the writing of secular works focusing exclusively upon the *ueteres* cannot be taken to imply pagan convictions.¹⁸ Nonius shows far less interest in the details of pagan religion than Macrobius.

Nonius' *patria* is given in the *tituli* as Thubursicum, and confirmed by *CIL*, VIII 4878, an inscription recording the restoration of the baths at Thubursicum Numidarum by a certain Nonius Marcellus Herculis in AD 324-333. Given what can be surmised of Nonius' floruit, he will have been a descendant of Herculis, perhaps his son or grandson.¹⁹

Thubursicum Numidarum lies 48 miles (three days' journey) almost due south of Hippo Regius, Augustine's home from AD 391. From Hippo a ship might reach Carthage, the provincial capital, in two days (the journey took nine or ten days from Thubursicum overland).²⁰ The widespread attestation of ethnonyms associated with authors from North Africa has often been remarked upon: Apuleius Madaurensis, Terentianus Maurus, Teren-

cus Thubursicensis," in *Studi Noniani*, III, Genova, Ist. filol. class. e med., 1975, pp. 123-88, at pp. 145-78.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

16. See Chahoud, art. cit., p. 71, resurrecting the suggestion of Nettleship, art. cit., p. 7.

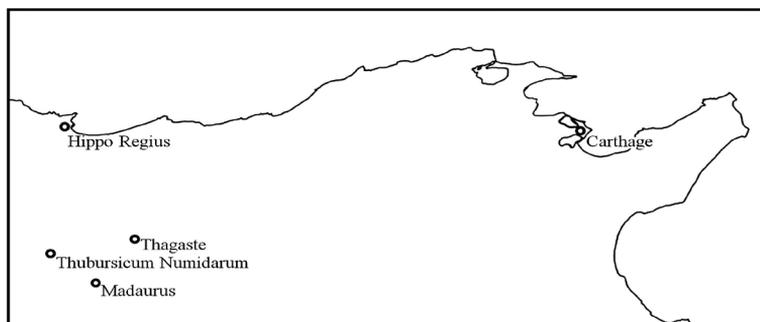
17. *ThL*, x 1 col. 1488 58-68.

18. Cameron, op. cit., pp. 265-72.

19. See Chahoud, art. cit., pp. 71-72, also noting another undatable fragmentary inscription, relating to the restoration of the Basilica, which has been restored as *Nonius Marcellus* (*ILAlg*, I 1287 fr. r).

20. Journey times taken from W. Scheidel and E. Meeks, *ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World*, <http://orbis.stanford.edu>, 2012.

tius Afer etc.²¹ As the examples of Apuleius and Terence suggest, there is little likelihood that Nonius spent all his life in this provincial town, though Jim Adams has recently confirmed the presence in his Latin of some words peculiar to the African dialect.²² Turning to the experiences of a contemporary, Augustine, born at Thagaste in AD 354 (only 17 miles east-north-east of Thubursicum along the Roman road), began his studies in the town of his birth, was later sent to Madaurus, and completed his education at Carthage, though only at considerable sacrifice to his family and friends.²³ Nonius' family, if the inscription is any guide, could well have afforded to send their son away for his higher education. Perhaps of significance for our assessment of the cultural accomplishments of Thurbursicum in this period, note that Madaurus – birthplace of Apuleius – is almost equidistant from Thagaste, lying to the south-south-west of this town and only 12 miles



Map of Nonius' and Augustine's North Africa.

21. See: Mantero, art. cit., pp. 144-45; Chahoud, art. cit., p. 71.

22. J.N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC-AD 600*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007, pp. 546-49, 569, correcting A.M.V. Contini, *Nonio Marcello e l'Africitas*, in *Studi Noniani*, XII, GENOVA, D.A.R.FI.CLE.T., 1987, pp. 17-26.

23. On Augustine's schooling: J.J. O'Meara, *The Young Augustine: The Growth of St. Augustine's Mind up to his Conversion*, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1954, pp. 33-60; P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, London, Faber and Faber, 2000², pp. 23-28. K. Vössing, *Augustins Schullaufbahn und das sog. dreistufige Bildungssystem*, in *L'Africa romana. Atti del IX convegno di studio, Nuoro, 13-15 dicembre 1991*, a cura di A. Mastino, Sassari, Gallizi, 1992, II pp. 881-900, and Id., *Saint Augustin et l'école antique: traditions et ruptures*, in *Augustinus Afer: saint Augustin, africanité et universalité. Actes du Colloque international, Alger-Annaba, 1-7 avril 2001*, Textes réunis par P.-Y. Fux-J.-M. Roessli-O. Wermelinger, Fribourg (Switzerland), Editions universitaires, 2003, I pp. 153-66, raises interesting questions regarding the curriculum and level of instruction pursued by Augustine at each of these centres.

south-east of Thurbursicum. In the 370s, the tutors of Thagaste apparently ranked higher in the estimation of Augustine's parents.

There is no way of knowing whether Nonius' dictionary was composed at Thurbursicum, but the family wealth implied by the bath-house inscription provides one reason why Nonius may have been drawn back home. The earliest authorities to use the dictionary, Fulgentius (Mythographus) and Priscian, were both North Africans. Though the latter probably wrote his great textbook in Constantinople, the former seems to have spent his productive years in the land of his birth.²⁴

Born a few miles up the road at roughly the right period, probably exposed to much the same education and with a similar readiness to return to original sources, Augustine forms a highly appropriate comparison for any study of Nonius, though rarely seems to have been noted as such. Despite being two of the few true scholars of Republican literature in late antiquity, despite having unparalleled access to selections of Varro's original works, and despite the distinct possibility that they lived much of their lives within 50 miles of one another (or at least within Latin-speaking North Africa), their reading is radically divergent.

Nonius relied on a store of 41 sources, some in papyrus *uolumina*, some in codices, for the composition of his dictionary. A large portion of his material was found in seven more-or-less mysterious glossaries, two divided between two volumes (items 1, 14, 26-28, 35a-b, 38a-b). One of these bipartite glossaries – 38A-B or «Gloss. v» in Lindsay's notation – seems to have been closely related to, if not identical with, Verrius Flaccus' *De uerborum significatione*,²⁵ while the recent work of Jarrett Welsh has shown that items 26-28 («Gloss. iii», «Alph. Verb.», «Alph. Adverb.») are also closely related, sharing a common method of citation.²⁶ In addition to these glossaries, Nonius also had access to thirty-two literary sources (initial numbers below correspond to their position in Lindsay's catalogue and order of consultation by Nonius; «Varro i-iii» are labels applied by Lindsay to the three sources used by Nonius for Varro's Menippeans).

24. On Fulgentius' identity: G. Hays, *The Date and Identity of the Mythographer Fulgentius*, in «Journ. of Med. Lat.», xiii 2003, pp. 163-252. On his cultural background: Id., 'Romuleius Libicisque Litteris': *Fulgentius and the Vandal Renaissance*, in *Vandals, Romans and Berbers: New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa*, edited by A.H. Merrills, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004, pp. 101-32.

25. Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 101-3.

26. J.T. Welsh, *The Methods of Nonius Marcellus' Sources 26, 27 and 28*, in «Class. Quart.», lxii 2012, pp. 827-45, and Id., *Some Fragments of Republican Drama from Nonius Marcellus' Sources 26, 27 and 28*, ibid., lxiii 2013, pp. 253-76.

Table

2. Plautus: the twenty-one Varronian plays.
3. Lucretius.
4. Naevius: *Lycurgus*.
5. Accius: fifteen plays.
6. Pomponius: seven (or nine?) plays, titles begin P-.
7. Novius: four (or fifteen?) plays.
8. Accius: fourteen plays.
9. Lucilius: *Saturae* I-XX.
10. Ennius: two or more tragedies.
11. Turpilius: thirteen plays.
12. Pacuvius: four (or six?) plays.
13. [Cicero]:²⁷ *De republica*.
15. Varro: ca. thirty Menippean satires [«Varro i»].
16. [Cicero]: *De natura deorum* II.
- ?17. Accius: two plays.
18. Sallust: *Jugurtha, Historiae, Catilina*.
19. Afranius: four (or six?) plays.
20. [Cicero]: *De officiis* I.
21. Naevius: *Danae*.
22. Vergil.
23. Terence.
24. [Cicero]: *Ep. ad Caes., In Verrem, Philippicae*.
25. Lucilius: [*Saturae*] XXVI-XXX (not cited by title).
29. [Cicero]: *De officiis* II-III, *Hortensius, De senectute*.
30. Plautus: three plays, titles begin A-.
31. Varro: eighteen Menippean satires [«Varro ii»].
32. [Aulus Gellius] (never acknowledged).
33. Varro: four Menippean satires [«Varro iii»].
34. [Cicero]: *De finibus*.
36. Sisenna: *Historiae* III-IV.
37. Cicero: *Orator, De oratore*.
39. Cicero: *Academici libri, Tusculanae disputationes*.
40. Varro: *Res rusticae* I.
41. Varro: *De uita populi Romani, Catus uel de liberis educandis*.

The following discussion is heavily indebted to the minute examination of Augustine's classical reminiscences made by Harold Hagendahl and the re-examination of Hagendahl's conclusions conducted by James O'Donnell.²⁸ Of the eighteen authors whose original works were included in No-

27. [Cicero] = cited as M. Tullius.

28. H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, I-II, Göteborg, Acta Universitatis Go-

nus' reading, six – Accius, Afranius, Lucilius, Novius, Sisenna, and Turpilius – seem to be entirely absent from Augustine's *œuvre*. Five more – Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Plautus, and Pomponius – are extremely rare and cited from intermediary sources, usually Ciceronian works Augustine knew at first hand.²⁹ The fact that Augustine's quotations from the most famous Republican dramatists (excepting Terence, see below) are borrowed is important: it suggests that their works were not encountered by him in his school days or, for that matter, later in life.

The only authors directly utilised by Augustine and Nonius alike are Cicero, Aulus Gellius, Lucretius, Sallust, Terence, Varro, and Vergil. Four of these – Cicero, Sallust, Terence, and Vergil – were the major authors in the late-antique school curriculum. It would be shocking indeed to find any person in the fourth or early fifth centuries with some pretence to an education who was entirely ignorant of even one member of this quartet.³⁰

Lucretius, on the other hand, seems to have hovered at the edges of the school curriculum. Besides providing Arnobius with material for polemic, the fundamental role Lucretius played in the formation of his style suggests their first encounter was in the school-room.³¹ The poet was included by Jerome in a list of authors whose commentators Rufinus could be assumed to have read as a student (*Hier. adu. Rufin.* 116):

puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Vergilium et Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos eius et in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati aequae in Vergilium et aliorum in alios, Plautum uidelicet, Lucretium, Flaccum [*scil.* Horatium], Persium atque Lucanum

(I suppose that as a boy you read the commentaries of Asper on Vergil and Sallust, of Vulcatius on the orations of Cicero, of Victorinus on his dialogues as well as those of Donatus, my teacher, on the comedies of Terence and on Vergil, and of others on other writers, such as Plautus, to be sure, Lucretius, Flaccus, Persius, and Lucan).³²

thoburgensis, 1967; J.J. O'Donnell, *Augustine's Classical Readings*, in «Rech. aug.», xv 1980, pp. 144-75.

29. Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II p. 377.

30. Famously characterised as the *quadrige Messii* by Cassiodorus (*inst.* 115 7), the quartet maintained its hold well into the sixth century: P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth through the Eighth Century*, trans. J.J. Contreni, Columbia, Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1976, p. 40.

31. On Arnobius and Lucretius: H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and other Christian Writers*, Göteborg, Elanders boktr. aktiebolag, 1958, pp. 12-47; J.D. Madden, *Jesus as Epicurus. Arnobius of Sicca's Borrowings from Lucretius*, in «Civ. class. e crist.», II 1981, pp. 215-22.

32. Transl. J.N. Hritz, adapted.

Note that most of the primary authors mentioned here – Vergil, Sallust, Cicero (both his speeches and dialogues), Terence, Lucretius, Persius, and Lucan –, with the possible exception of Horace, were known to Augustine directly.³³ Augustine even includes Asper and Donatus on Vergil (plus Terence) in his own list of standard textbooks: *nulla inbutus poetica disciplina Terentianum Maurum sine magistro adtingere non auderes, Asper, Cornutus, Donatus, et alii innumerabiles requiruntur, ut quilibet poeta possit intellegi, cuius carmina et theatri plausus uidentur captare eqs. (util. cred. 17)*. Plautus was the only author that Augustine's African tutor(s) apparently dropped from the syllabus taught concurrently to Jerome in Italy.

Gellius was also widely read in this period: besides Macrobius' unacknowledged use of the *Noctes Atticae*, he is also extensively quoted by Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Priscian, and is occasionally cited in the Vergilian commentaries.³⁴ Our earliest surviving manuscript is roughly contemporary with Nonius and Augustine, if not a little earlier: ms. Vatican Pal. Lat. 24, dated to the fourth century (= *CLA*, I 74).

Standard texts are standard texts: the presence of many of the above authors in Nonius requires no explanation. Yet the two Cicerones who emerge from the works of Nonius and Augustine are subtly but significantly different. Augustine is only able to quote from the second act of the *Verriines*,³⁵ while Nonius had a complete copy of these speeches. Bound with this copy were the letters to Octavian and a set of the *Philippics*; Augustine quotes from neither. Besides the two great speech-cycles already noted, Nonius did not utilise the rest of Cicero's oratorical corpus directly. If Augustine's apparent ignorance of the *Philippics* is surprising, he certainly knew the *Catilinarians*, and could quote odd passages from a further eight speeches. One suspects, given his professional position as professor of rhet-

33. Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II pp. 378-474 (poets), 479-588 (Cicero), 631-49 (Sallust). On Augustine's knowledge of Horace, see also L. Alfonsi, *S. Agostino e gli autori latini*, in «Studi Romani», xxiv 1976, pp. 453-70, who notes that besides a selection of maxims – which might come from a florilegium –, most of Augustine's extensive quotations from Horace are found in the *De musica*, a work deeply indebted to ancient traditions of metrical scholarship (chiefly as represented by Terentianus Maurus) that rely extensively upon Horace for *exempla*. See also the comments of O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, cit., pp. 158-59, assessing the overall impression of Augustine's Horatian allusions and citations: «a poor harvest for any diligent cultivation of the author's poetry».

34. On Gellius' reception in antiquity: P.L. Schmidt, *Aulu-Gelle*, in *Nouvelle Histoire de la Littérature Latine*, iv. *L'Âge de Transition*, édité par K. Sallmann, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000, pp. 84-85, providing further bibliography.

35. Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II p. 481.

oric in Milan, that more than a few of these will have been read as continuous texts.³⁶ Of Cicero's dialogues, both Augustine and Nonius know the *De republica*, *De officiis*, *Hortensius*, *De finibus*, *Orator*, *De oratore*, *Academici libri*, and *Tusculanae disputationes*. But while Nonius alone had access to the *De senectute*, Augustine could cite the *De amicitia*, *De fato*, *Timaeus*, and *De inuentione*. Augustine knew the whole of the *De natura deorum*; Nonius only had a papyrus of Book II.³⁷

Remarkably, when we turn to Varro, we find no overlap whatsoever in their reading. Nonius had access to an outstanding collection of Menippeans. Augustine quotes only a single line in his youthful discussion of metrics, apparently taken from a grammatical intermediary.³⁸ Nonius also consulted an old papyrus roll containing Book I of the *Res rusticae*, and what must have been a codex of the four-volume *De uita populi Romani* bound with the *logistoricus* titled *Catus uel de liberis educandis*. Augustine knew none of these.

On the other hand, Augustine certainly had access to the *Disciplinarum libri* at Milan,³⁹ while for writing Books I-VI of the *De ciuitate Dei*, large portions of the *Res diuinae* and possibly the *logistoricus* titled *Curio de cultu deorum* (first explicitly mentioned in Book VII). In the later parts of this work are found the *De gente populi Romani* (Book XVIII) and *De philosophia* (Book XIX).⁴⁰

Though Nonius provides several quotations from the *Antiquitatum libri*, these come to him from his glossographical sources. At best, one of these sources (Lindsay's «Gloss. iv») apparently had direct access to Book XX of the *Res humanae*.⁴¹ Nonius otherwise cites Books I, II, III, XIV and XVI of the *Res humanae* once each and Book XXII twice.⁴² The single quotations from

36. *Ibid.*, II pp. 479-85.

37. For Augustine's knowledge of these philosophical and rhetorical treatises: *ibid.*, II pp. 486-588.

38. *Aug. mus.* IV 15 (= *Men.* 579 Astbury), a more complete version of the fragment found at *Arnob. nat.* VI 23 (= *Men.* 579b Astbury), presumably taken by both from some common source.

39. See D. Shanzer, *Augustine's Disciplines: Silent diutius Musae Varronis?*, in *Augustine and the Disciplines: From Cassiciacum to Confessions*, edited by K. Pollmann and M. Vessey, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2005, pp. 69-112; J.J. O'Donnell, *Augustine: Confessions*, II. *Commentary, Books 1-7*, *ibid.*, 2012, pp. 269-78.

40. See Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., I pp. 272-314 (testimonia), II pp. 589-630 (discussion).

41. G. Ranucci, *Il libro XX delle Res humanae di Varrone*, in *Studi Noniani*, II, cit., pp. 107-37.

42. *Non.* p. 52 11 Mercerus = *Gell.* XIII 17 3 (= *ant. hum.* I 1 Mirsch); *ibid.*, p. 75 16 (= *ant. hum.* II 19 M.); *ibid.*, p. 90 18 (= *ant. hum.* III 4 M.); *ibid.*, p. 479 12 (= *ant. hum.* XIV 1 M.); *ibid.*, p. 100 9

Books I and XVI were lifted from Gellius, XIII 17 and V 4, that from Book II is assigned by Lindsay to a glossary of verbs, arranged alphabetically (item 27, «Alph. Verb.»).⁴³ The origins of Nonius' references to Books III, XIV, and XXII, although not readily amenable to study using the «lex Lindsay», should probably be traced to some combination of his glossographical sources: the initial citation of Book XXII possibly belongs to «Gloss. iii» or «Gloss. v».⁴⁴ Nonius' knowledge of the *Res diuinae* is likewise patchy and derivative. Three quotations are taken from Book I, one each from Books II, III, IV, VI, VII, XII? and XVI, and two from Books XI and XIV; again, where the «lex Lindsay» can be applied, all can be traced straightforwardly to Nonius' glossographical sources or to Gellius.⁴⁵

Nonius can only show three short quotations from the *Disciplinarum libri*, again having to rely on his glossographical sources.⁴⁶ Finally, of significance in terms of the evidence provided by Ausonius and Symmachus for the contemporary European circulation of the *Hebdomades*,⁴⁷ Nonius can provide only two second-hand quotations from this work.⁴⁸ Augustine demonstrates no awareness of its existence.

Nonius and Augustine share a core of five “Golden-age” authors – Cicero, Lucretius, Sallust, Terence, and Vergil – prominent in the grammatical education of late antiquity, but even reading within this canon, their acquaintance with the Ciceronian corpus differs markedly. Beyond these classics, the only author they can truly be said to have held in common is the

(= *ant. hum.* XVI 1 M.); *ibid.*, p. 216 26, 29 (= *ant. hum.* XXIII [sic] 1-2 M.). On Nonius' use of these volumes, see generally Ranucci, *art. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

43. Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

45. Non. p. 156 7 Mercerus (= *ant. diu.* I 48 Cardauns, from «Gloss. i»: Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 57); p. 197 12, 14 (= *ant. diu.* I 49-50 C., from «Gloss. i, iii-v»: Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 60); p. 115 1 (= *ant. diu.* II 52 C., from «Gloss. i»: Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 45); p. 334 29 (= *ant. diu.* III 53 C.); p. 222 25 (= *ant. diu.* IV 57 C.); p. 197 5 (= *ant. diu.* V 64 C., from «Gloss. i, iii-v»: Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 60); p. 473 9 (= *ant. diu.* VII 75 C.); p. 194 17 (= *ant. diu.* XI 83 C., from «Gloss. v»: Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 59); p. 220 23 (= *ant. diu.* XI 84 C., from «Gloss. iii-v»: Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 63); p. 510 2 (= *ant. diu.* XII? 85 C.); p. 480 1 (= *ant. diu.* XIV 156 C., from «Alph. verb.»: Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 25); p. 50 11 (= *ant. diu.* XIV 194 C., from Gell. I 18); p. 318 28 (= *ant. diu.* XVI 284 C.).

46. Non. pp. 135 10, 435 8, 551 12 Mercerus. The first and last are traced to «Gloss. v» (Verrius Flaccus) by Lindsay, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 49.

47. Cf. Symm. *epist.* I 2 2, 2 8, 4 1-2; Auson. *Mos.* 306-7, *prof.* 20 9-10 (the last notice probably dependent on Varro's tally of his works in the preface of his *Hebdomades*, cf. Gell. III 10 17).

48. Non. pp. 145 4, 528 23 Mercerus. The second is possibly a marginal note from Nonius' second copy of Plautus. See Lindsay, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

markedly popular Gellius. Outside such conventional limits, their reading is entirely different. Where Augustine shows evidence of having read Silver Latin poets (Lucan, Persius, Juvenal),⁴⁹ in common with Jerome's imagined syllabus and as introduced into the Vergilian commentary tradition by Servius, Nonius, if he ever read such authors with his own *grammaticus*, decisively turned his back on the modernising impulses of the times.⁵⁰ He returned, above all, to the poets of the middle and late Republic and the fashion for archaism of the Antonines and Severans. However, to what extent Nonius was actively conscious of his position as heir to the second-/third-century archaist inheritance (beyond his silent plundering of Gellius) can only be answered by an in-depth study of his individual lemmata, and is not a subject that can be pursued here.

The absence of any overlap whatsoever in Nonius and Augustine's Varro is the most outstanding feature of the above comparison, regardless of the present study's Varronian focus. Here are two authors whose lives quite possibly overlapped, apparently born twenty miles apart, taking a deep interest in an author who formed no regular part of the school curriculum, read, if at all, in odd treatises – the *Hebdomades*, the *Disciplinarum libri* – and whose extensive Varronian reading shows no sign of commonality. Nonius cannot have had access to Augustine's books, nor Augustine to those of Nonius.

It may be possible, however, to infer something about the resource Augustine depended upon for his Varro, and by extension, something about that consulted by Nonius. Augustine began writing the *De civitate Dei* ca. AD 412; the first three books had already entered circulation by early AD 414, if not late in the previous year.⁵¹ Prior to this great apologetic project, Varro – like other secular authors – features only rarely in Augustine's *œuvre*.⁵² A

49. See Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II pp. 470-78.

50. On the late Augustan period as Nonius' temporal boundary: Keyser, *Later Authors*, cit., pp. 369-74. Citation of later authors (with the exception of Celsus, who is clearly held in suspicion: cf. Non. p. 195 5 Mercurus, *Cornelius Celsus, etsi minoris auctoritatis, posuit eqs.*) is inadvertent: Deufert, art. cit., pp. 139-43. See also: R. Mazzacane, *Nonio ed i 'veteres'*, in *Studi Noniani*, x, Genova, Ist. filol. class. e med., 1985, pp. 189-211; Schmidt, *De honestis et noue ueterum dictis*, cit.; Chahoud, art. cit.

51. G. Bardy, *Introduction générale à La Cité de Dieu*, in G. Bardy-G. Combès, *La Cité de Dieu, Livres I-V: Impuissance sociale du paganisme*, Bruges, Desclée de Brouwer, 1959, pp. 9-163, at pp. 18-22; G. O'Daly, *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, Oxford, Oxford Univ. Press, 2004², pp. 27-33.

52. Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II pp. 445-55, 570-73, 703-6; O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, cit.

handful of early references concern Varro's *Disciplinarum libri*,⁵³ encountered at Milan in or before AD 386. In addition to such passages, five notices relating to religious questions occur in the *De consensu euangelistarum*, traditionally dated ca. AD 400-405.

Now, the nature of the material found in the *De consensu euangelistarum* suggests that it may ultimately have derived from Varro's *Antiquitatum libri*, a work that exercised a decisive influence on the *De ciuitate Dei*. Might the *De consensu euangelistarum* provide a *terminus post quem* for Augustine's acquaintance with Varro's treatise? The question is of key importance, but unfortunately has been muddled by James O'Donnell, who used the presence of Varronian religious material in this treatise as an argument for establishing the *terminus post quem* of the work itself: if Augustine's familiarity with the *Antiquitatum libri* can otherwise only be demonstrated in the *De ciuitate Dei*, he believed that the *De consensu euangelistarum* must date to the same general period.⁵⁴ The recent work of Pierre-Marie Hombert, however, has reaffirmed the traditional early dating of Augustine's treatise, providing good grounds for placing this ca. AD 403-404, and in any case prior to AD 406.⁵⁵

O'Donnell was right to be suspicious of such isolated testimonia to a Varronian work or works otherwise attested solely in the *De ciuitate Dei*, but drew incorrect conclusions. A re-examination of the Varronian material in the *De consensu euangelistarum* provides scant support for the notion that this results from first-hand familiarity with Varro, whatever date we choose for Augustine's quoting work. Unfortunately, O'Donnell has fallen into the trap of assuming that because an author at some point had demonstrable access to a text, any and all references to that text, no matter when and where they fall in an author's corpus, must be the result of direct reading.

Of these five Varronian citations, three merely record Varro's identification of the god of the Jews with Jupiter, relating little more than the bare fact of the equation itself.⁵⁶ This topic had already attracted attention: the Severan scholar Cornelius Labeo, for one, discussed the same question in de-

53. Aug. *ord.* II 12 35, 20 54; *quant. anim.* 19 33; *doctr. Christ.* II 17 27.

54. O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, cit., pp. 173-75.

55. P.-M. Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000, pp. 81-87.

56. Aug. *cons. euang.* I 22 30 (= *ant. diu.* I 16 C.) *Varro ... deum Iudaeorum Iouem putauit, nihil interesse censens, quo nomine nuncupetur, dum eadem res intellegatur ... cum animaduerteret Iudaeos summum deum colere, nihil aliud potuit suspicari quam Iouem.* Cf. Aug. *cons. euang.* I 23 1 *merito ergo et Varro Iouem opinatus est coli a Iudaeis; I 27 42 si deum Israhel Iouem putant, sicut Varro scripsit eqs.*

tail, almost certainly with reference to Varro (cf. *Macr. Sat.* I 18 19-20; *Lyd. mens.* IV 53 [= *ant. diu.* I 17 C.]).⁵⁷

Another passage imputes to Varro euhemeristic tendencies (*Aug. cons. euang.* I 23 33):

sed fuerit et Cicero Academicus incertior quam poetae, qui sepulchra deorum commemorare ausus est litterisque mandare, quamuis hoc non ex opinione propria praesumserit, sed ex ipsorum sacrorum traditione commemorauerit. numquid et Varro uel tamquam poeta fingit uel tamquam Academicus dubie ponit, quod dicit talium deorum [*scil.* Ioui, Saturni, Mineruae, Veneris] sacra ex cuiusque eorum uita uel morte, qua inter homines uixerunt uel obierunt, esse composita? numquid et Leon ille sacerdos Aegyptius poeta uel Academicus fuit, qui Macedoni Alexandro diuersam quidem a Graecorum opinione istorum deorum originem uerum tamen ita prodit, ut eos homines fuisse declaret?

(But it may be said that Cicero, the Academic sage, who has been bold enough to make mention of the sepulchres of their gods, and to commit the statement to writing, is a more doubtful authority than the poets; although he did not presume to offer that assertion simply as his own personal opinion, but put it on record as a statement contained among the traditions of their own sacred rites. Well, then, can it also be maintained that Varro either gives expression merely to an invention of his own, as a poet might do, or puts the matter only dubiously, as might be the case with an Academician, because he declares that, in the instance of all such gods, the matters of their worship had their origin either in the life which they lived, or in the death which they died, among men? Or was that Egyptian priest, Leon, either a poet or an Academician, who expounded the origin of those gods of theirs to Alexander of Macedon, in a way somewhat different indeed from the opinion advanced by the Greeks, but nevertheless so far accordant therewith as to make out their deities to have been originally men?).⁵⁸

The material regarding Leon was argued by Friedrich Pfister to have come to Augustine's notice from Varro's *De gente populi Romani*,⁵⁹ and thus Hagen-

57. See: K. Buresch, *Ἀπόλλων Κλάριος. Untersuchungen zum Orakelwesen des späteren Altertums*, Dissertation, Univ. Leipzig, 1889, pp. 49-50; P. Mastandrea, *Un neoplatonico latino: Cornelio La-beone*, Leiden, Brill, 1979, pp. 159-61, 164 n. 21.

58. Transl. S.D.F. Salmond.

59. F. Pfister, *Ein apokrypher Alexanderbrief. Der sogenannte Leon von Pella und die Kirchenväter* (1964), repr. in Id., *Kleine Schriften zum Alexanderroman*, Meisenheim a.G., Hain, 1976, pp. 104-11. On Leon, see P.T. Keyser, *Leon of Pella (659)*, in *Brill's New Jacoby*, General Editor I. Worthington (<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/leon-of-pella-659-a659>), 2013.

dahl and (less cautiously) O'Donnell treat Augustine's accusation of euhemerism as a testimonium to this work.⁶⁰ Pfister's reasoning, however, is unsound.⁶¹ In fact, the only firm link between Leon and Varro is their juxtaposition here and in a second passage from the *De ciuitate Dei*, which tends to shed new light on the matter (Aug. *ciu.* viii 5 pp. 327 24 sq. Dombert and Kalb):

in eo genere sunt etiam illa, ut aliquid de Numa mitius suspicemur, quae Alexander Macedo scribit ad matrem sibi a magno antistite sacrorum Aegyptiorum quodam Leone patefacta, ubi non Picus et Faunus et Aeneas et Romulus uel etiam Hercules et Aesculapius et Liber Semela natus et Tyndaridae fratres et si quos alios ex mortalibus pro diis habent, sed ipsi etiam maiorum gentium dii, quos Cicero in Tusculanis tacitis nominibus uidetur adtingere, Iuppiter, Iuno, Saturnus, Vulcanus, Vesta et alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes siue elementa transferre, homines fuisse produntur.

(We may regard Numa somewhat more charitably, since in the same class of writings belongs a letter of Alexander of Macedon to his mother reporting what a certain Egyptian high priest called Leo divulged to him. In it, apart from Picus, Faunus, Aeneas and Romulus, or, for that matter, Hercules, Aesculapius, Liber the son of Semele, the twin sons of Tyndareus and any other mortals who have been deified, even the gods of higher lineage, to whom Cicero in his Tusculans seemed to allude without mentioning their names, Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Vulcan, Vesta and many others, whom Varro attempts to interpret figuratively as the parts or elements of the universe, are exposed as having been men).⁶²

In the much earlier *De consensu euangelistarum*, Augustine laboured under the misapprehension that Varro had treated the major deities (Jupiter, Saturn, etc.) to euhemeristic rationalisation. There is no unambiguous evidence

60. Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., 1 p. 315; O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, cit., p. 174.

61. In addition to Aug. *cons. euang.* 1 23 33 and *ciu.* viii 5, which name Leon and Varro together, Leon is also named alone at *ciu.* viii 27, and presumably stands behind the reference to an «Egyptian priest» at Aug. *ciu.* xii 10. In the last chapter (significantly removed from the Varroian books of the *De ciuitate Dei*) Augustine takes issue with Egyptian chronology, contrasting that of the Greeks. Pfister claimed Augustine's competing chronology was based upon Castor of Rhodes, as utilised by Varro in the *De gente populi Romani*, and concluded that Augustine must have taken his discussion from Varro. The link to Castor was not demonstrated in detail; in fact, Augustine's dates closely match those found in the Christian chronographer Sex. Iulius Africanus: Keyser, *Leon of Pella*, cit., fr. 3. Moreover, the *De gente populi Romani* will have paid no attention to the eastern kingdoms dated by Augustine: Varro's chronology was synchronous with Greece, not universal. See P. Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani: De gente populi Romani libri IV*, Padua, Angelo Draghi, 1907, pp. 82-228.

62. Transl. D.S. Wiesen.

that Varro provided a ny euhemeristic treatment of the major Olympian deities of the Graeco-Roman pantheon in either the *Antiquitatum libri* or *De gente populi Romani* – rather the contrary –,⁶³ and this is not a line of polemic that Augustine will pursue against Varro in the *De ciuitate Dei*. However, the acknowledged humanity of the gods is the focus of much of Tertullian’s chaotic discussion in *nat.* II 7, 9, 12-14, deliberately framed as closely dependent on Varro (cf. *nat.* II 1 8). While Varro did use a historicising approach to various accessory myths, demigods and minor deities (many attributed to archaic ruler-cult), Tertullian tendentiously weaves his discussion in such a way as to implicate Varro in euhemeristic interpretations of the major divinities themselves.⁶⁴ Augustine quite likely formed the erroneous impression of Varro found in the *De consensu euangelistarum* from Tertullian; following his detailed research in Varro for the *De ciuitate Dei*, however, he deftly altered his earlier unfair accusation.

63. For the limits of Varro’s euhemerism, cf. e.g. *gent. pop. Rom.* II 18 Fraccaro. Key here is Aug. *ciu.* XVIII 8: Mercury and Minerva are said to have lived as mortals long before the flood of Ogyges, and to have been deified on their deaths for their respective benefactions to mankind. Augustine gives very vague references for this material (*quod uulgatiores etiam litterae personant; constat inter historicos graues*), and concludes his discussion by pointing out that *Varro inde exorsus est librum, cuius mentionem superius feci, et nihil sibi, ex quo perueniat ad res Romanas, proponit antiquius quam Ogygi diluuium, hoc est Ogygi factum temporibus* (= *gent. pop. Rom.* I 3 F.). The deification of Minerva and Mercury is dated by Augustine to long before the flood, and must be intruded from elsewhere. The fragments of the *De gente populi Romani* otherwise note Graeco-Roman ruler cults associated with the mythical kings Telexion, Thuriacus, Phoroneus, Argus, Homogyrus, Melantomice, Phorbas, Iasus, Sthenel(-as/-eus/-us), Dionysus (the association of Dionysus with Liber pater at Aug. *ciu.* XVIII 12 p. 270 10 Dombert and Kalb, printed as part of *gent. pop. Rom.* II 22 by Fraccaro, is not Varronian: Liber pater was one of Varro’s *dii selecti* [et sempiterni] [cf. *ant. diu.* XVI 260-62 C.]; the correct identification belongs with the son of Semele [cf. Aug. *ciu.* VIII 5, quoted above; *ant. diu.* I 32 C.]), Stercus, Picus, Faunus, Diomede, Aeneas, Sancus, Codrus, Aventinus, and Romulus. Such gods are not what Augustine has in mind in *cons. euang.* I 23 33. In *ant. diu.* XVI, Jupiter, Saturn, Minerva, Venus etc. belong to the *dii selecti* and are treated as described in Aug. *ciu.* VIII 5 (quoted above). Note also the distinction made in Serv. auct. in *Aen.* VIII 275 (= *ant. diu.* I 32 C.), *deos alios esse, qui ab initio certi et sempiterni sunt, alios qui immortales ex hominibus facti sunt eqs.*

64. Tertullian’s key passage regarding the mortal rule of Saturn (*nat.* II 12 26-29) is referred to Cassius Severus, the Cornelii (Nepos and Tacitus), Diodorus, *quiae alii antiquitatum canos collegerunt*. The provision of a reference is itself unusual. One might assume that Varro’s name was hidden in the last item, but while Tertullian’s narrative does include Varronian details (for *mons Saturnius* cf. *ling.* V 42), there is no way of knowing how much is traceable to his own readings in the *Antiquitatum libri*. Tertullian is not following Varro alone here, but (as the string of later references suggest) is partly or even wholly dependent upon some later version of the story: a meeting between king Saturn and king Janus is reported, of which the first traces are only found in Ovid (*fast.* I 229-48) and Hyginus (ap. Macr. *Sat.* I 7 18-19).

The last of the five passages to be considered (*cons. euang.* I 23 35) cites Varro (and Cicero) in an argument *ex silentio*. The etymological explanations of Chronos/Saturn advanced by certain *Platonici, qui iam Christianis temporibus fuerunt* are not truly ancient: neither Varro nor Cicero note them. Tertullian provides an implicitly Varronian explanation of Chronos/Saturn's names at *nat.* II 12 17-18, but Augustine need have known nothing of Varro's own discussions, only something of the history of the claim in question: he plainly associated its origins with the neo-Platonists, which would exclude Varronian and Ciceronian testimonia on purely chronological grounds.

These passages are not a secure basis on which to erect theories of Augustine's early awareness of Varro. None of this material is provided in direct quotation, even though Augustine is willing in the same chapters to recite portions of Cicero (*Aug. cons. euang.* I 23 32, cf. *Cic. Tusc.* I 29) and various passages of Vergil (note e.g. *Aen.* VIII 320-24 at *Aug. cons. euang.* I 23 33). Augustine's memory seems to have been the chief resource relied upon to supply classical quotations and allusions in the period between his baptism and commencement of the *De ciuitate Dei*,⁶⁵ but even if he had only come across a copy of the *Antiquitatum libri* in his youth, it was well within his powers to commit at least some of the more interesting passages to memory and recall them years later. He did not do so.

In essence, from the vast resource represented by Varro's antiquarian and theological researches, Augustine prior to AD 412 shows passing awareness that Varro equated Jupiter with Jehovah, knew that he wrote too early to have come across neo-Platonic etymologies of Chronos/Saturn, and assumed that Varro had provided euhemeristic explanations of the major deities. Tellingly, the last point was subsequently corrected in the *De ciuitate Dei*.

The importance of manuals and doxographies in Augustine's learning is rightly insisted upon by Aimé Solignac.⁶⁶ The detail regarding Jehovah probably came to Augustine via some indirect channel: the identification had long aroused comment, and not only among Christians. The *argumentum ex silentio* is exceedingly nebulous: supposing Augustine's note is based on hard knowledge of Varro's preferred etymology for Chronos/Saturn and is not simply a chronological inference, this is more than likely to have

65. O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, cit.

66. A. Solignac, *Doxographies et manuels dans la formation philosophique de saint Augustin*, in «Rech. aug.», I 1958, pp. 113-48.

been related in some grammarian or Christian commentator. Nothing in the *De consensu euangelistarum* requires direct knowledge of the *Antiquitatum libri* or any other Varronian work, and at least one of the passages surveyed above, with its mistaken accusation of euhemerism, weighs heavily against first-hand familiarity.

Such is the evidence for Augustine's acquaintance with Varro before ca. AD 413-414 and the publication of the first books of the *De ciuitate Dei*. Though Augustine was familiar with Varro's *Disciplinarum libri* in his youth, and actually started work on his own cycle of *disciplinae* in AD 386 at Cassiciacum,⁶⁷ the country villa belonging to Verecundus, a Milanese *grammaticus*, the work was put aside soon after his return to Africa in AD 388 (*Aug. retr.* 1 6). Thereafter, Varro's work seems to have lost its fascination: the *disciplinae* were abandoned by Augustine as a protreptic device by the time of the *De doctrina Christiana*, begun ca. AD 396.⁶⁸ The nature of the above material hardly suggests that the *Antiquitatum libri* or any of the other Varronian works utilised in the *De ciuitate Dei* were constantly by his side in this period, even if, suspending disbelief, one still wished to maintain some prior familiarity. As many scholars have already concluded, Augustine must have made a special effort to become acquainted with Varro specifically for the composition of his great apologetic project.⁶⁹

Now, the library resources as regards secular literature in Hippo do not seem to have been particularly impressive in the early fifth century (if they ever had been). In AD 410, the student Dioscorus wrote to Augustine from Carthage requesting help with his reading of Cicero's *De natura deorum*, but Augustine demurred with the excuse that a copy was not to be found at Hippo (*epist.* 118 9).⁷⁰ Many of the more definite allusions to, and short quotations from the work found in this reply probably depend on the materials

67. See Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II pp. 593-94. Varro's work is never explicitly mentioned, but see *Aug. retr.* 1 6 with Licent. *car. ad. Aug.* 1-14, a poem from a fellow guest at Cassiciacum who admits his confusion on trying to (re-)read Varro's treatise by himself, and requests Augustine's own *De musica* for guidance: D. Shanzer, *Arcanum Varronis iter: Licentius' Verse Epistle to Augustine*, in «*Rev. étud. aug.*», xxxvii 1991, pp. 110-43.

68. See I. Hadot, *Arts libéraux et philosophie dans la pensée antique: contribution à l'histoire de l'éducation et de la culture dans l'Antiquité*, Paris, Vrin, 2005², p. 137. For the date of this work: F. Cavallera, *La date de la première édition incomplète du De doctrina christiana*, in «*Bull. littérature ecclésiastique*», xxxi 1930, pp. 122-23.

69. E.g. H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique*, Paris, Éditions de Boccard, 1958⁴, p. 129; Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II p. 628; O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, cit., pp. 165-66.

70. Hagendahl, *Augustine*, cit., II pp. 712-13.

sent by Dioscorus himself, which included not only his lost covering letter, but also some sheets of notes or excerpts (termed *membranae: epist.* 118 34).

By the early books of the *De ciuitate Dei*, however, Augustine is able to quote accurately an extended passage from the treatise (Cic. *nat. deor.* II 70-72, cf. Aug. *ciu.* IV 30). Though Augustine might have committed this material to memory long before, and plainly did not expend as much effort on Cicero as he did on Varro in his research for the *De ciuitate Dei*, it seems more likely than not that he took the trouble to find a text of the *De natura deorum* in the intervening years.⁷¹ To supply what Hippo lacked, his most natural recourse will have been to the libraries of Carthage, not only the second city of the Latin West, but also the place where Dioscorus had received instruction in this very text only a few years previously. Carthage was a great centre of learning and literature, second only to Rome in the western empire.⁷² Besides Dioscorus, Augustine not only finished his higher studies here, but also began his own teaching career in rhetoric. We know of at least one public library (Apul. *flor.* 18 25-26).⁷³

Augustine frequently visited Carthage on Church duties throughout his mature years, but made a long sojourn to this city in the winter of AD 412-413 during an apparent lull in official business, contrary to his usual practice of travelling in the more clement months.⁷⁴ Books I-III of the *De ciuitate Dei* were already in circulation in late AD 413 or early 414, and must have been commenced at roughly the same period as the trip to Carthage.⁷⁵ Apparently lacking any other motive, Othmar Perler has made the pleasing suggestion that this winter visit to Carthage was spent by Augustine in the libraries of the city prior to embarking upon his great work.⁷⁶ Augustine returned to Carthage in the summer of AD 413, but in the wake of Heraclian's rebellion, the prospects for quiet, private study were far from ideal: Augustine's great friend Marcellinus was executed in September, and Augustine left Carthage

71. See: *ibid.*, II pp. 517-22; O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, cit., p. 155.

72. The fullest account is found in K. Vössing, *Schule und Bildung im Nordafrika der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bruxelles, Latomus, 1997, pp. 252-557. Cf. Aug. *epist.* 188 9 *duae tantae urbes, Latinarum litterarum artifices, Roma atque Carthago*.

73. For discussion of its possible location and size: K. Vössing, *Die öffentlichen Bibliotheken in Africa*, in *L'Africa romana. Atti del x convegno di studio, Oristano, 11-13 dicembre 1992*, a cura di A. Mastino e P. Ruggeri, Sassari, Archivio Fotografico Sardo, 1993, pp. 169-83.

74. For the dates of this stay: O. Perler - J.-L. Maier, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, Paris, Études augustiniennes, 1969, pp. 314-15. Impassable roads, rough seas, and weak health usually dissuaded Augustine from undertaking long journeys in winter: *ibid.*, pp. 45-56.

75. Bardy, art. cit., pp. 18-22; O'Daly, op. cit., pp. 27-33.

76. Perler-Maier, op. cit., p. 315.

desolate, vowing to stay away.⁷⁷ Until September AD 416 he seems to have stood by this decision.⁷⁸ In the meantime, Book IV of the *De ciuitate Dei* was completed in AD 415, the first to show sustained engagement with Varro's *Antiquitatum libri*. By AD 417 he had reached Book X, with Books VI-VII – key Varronian volumes – completed at some point in this or the preceding year.⁷⁹

If not Carthage, one might ask where Augustine gained access to the Varronian works used in these early volumes.⁸⁰ He certainly never left North Africa again after his return from Italy in AD 388. Between AD 410 and 413, besides Carthage, he seems to have made only considerable stays at Hippo Diarrhytus, Utica and Fussala – all towns in the provincial capital's hinterland – and a potential visit to Cirta in AD 412, to attend the council of Numidia.⁸¹

Besides the *De gente populi Romani*, *Curio*, and *De philosophia* of Varro, Hagedahl notes that Livy, Florus, Eutropius, Justinus, Cornelius Labeo, Cicero's *De fato* and *De diuinatione*, and Sallust's *Historiae*, all make their first and only appearance in the *De ciuitate Dei* (Varro's *Antiquitatum libri* should now be added to this list).⁸² Prior to AD 413, allusions to secular literature are rare in Augustine's theological works, and prior to ca. AD 412, when his mind was already turning towards the *De ciuitate Dei*, allusions in his other writings are largely confined to material remembered from his school-days.⁸³ The only hint we have of a personal library containing such literature is found in *epist.* 15 2 (sent in AD 390, before Augustine's ordination), apparently dealing with a promise to give or lend a copy of Cicero's *De oratore* and other unspecified works to Romanianus, but the context is quite obscure.⁸⁴

77. Aug. *epist.* 151 13.

78. The Pelagian controversy finally drew him back: Perler-Maier, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-34.

79. For the chronology of the various volumes, see the overviews of: Bardy, *art. cit.*, pp. 22-35; O'Daly, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

80. For now, I exclude the *De gente populi Romani* and *De philosophia*, which first appear in Books XVIII and XIX respectively of the *De ciuitate Dei* (published in AD 424 or later: O'Daly, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80).

81. See the summary table of journeys in Perler-Maier, *op. cit.*, pp. 452-62.

82. Hagedahl, *Augustine*, *cit.*, II p. 705.

83. See: *ibid.*, II pp. 704-5; O'Donnell, *Classical Readings*, *cit.* The latter raises the important question of when should Augustine be imagined to have read this material, and concludes that there was little or no re-reading (let alone new reading) in the "Classics" between his ordination in AD 391 and the preparations made for writing the *De ciuitate Dei*.

84. Hagedahl, *Augustine*, *cit.*, II pp. 712-13. The studies of B. Altaner, *Die Bibliothek Augustins* (1948), repr. in *Id.*, *Kleine patristische Schriften*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1967, pp. 174-78,

Doubtless Augustine as the rhetor of Milan owned a small collection of books as suited his profession (though his lowly means rule out a grand library), and it is thus significant that the only work named in the above letter is Cicero's *De oratore*. The notion that Augustine bothered to add to this collection once he had put aside the idea of writing his own cycle of *disciplinae* and had drawn away from secular literary studies, however, seems most unlikely. He might even have given his books away: the letter to Romanianus was written in AD 390, at about the time that Augustine's projected cycle of *disciplinae* was abandoned and just before his ordination.⁸⁵

If, as seems the likeliest explanation, Augustine found the texts required for the *De ciuitate Dei* at Carthage, it follows that Nonius did not rely upon the same resource. While one could argue that Augustine may have seen copies of the Menippeans and rejected them as not suitable for his purposes (although note that other Varronian texts known to Nonius, chiefly the *De uita populi Romani*, surely did include potentially useful material), it is much harder to find excuses that allow Nonius to have encountered the Varronian texts used by Augustine and yet to have ignored them in writing up his dictionary. Why quote Book xx of the *Res humanae* via fragments preserved in a glossographical source, but ignore the actual text of the *Res diuinae*?

Little positive can be said about the collection(s) to which Nonius had access. Any or all of the books consulted may have belonged to Nonius himself, to a friend (or friends), or public libraries. The inflexible order in which his forty-one sources are cited has led many to suspect that Nonius began by creating lists of interesting vocabulary from each source and consulted these, rather than the original texts, for the actual composition of the dictionary.⁸⁶ If this was Nonius' methodology, then plainly the forty-one sources utilised need never have been physically gathered together in one place: Nonius could have originally gone to them. This makes it even more

and J. Scheele, *Buch und Bibliothek bei Augustinus*, in «Bibliothek und Wissenschaft», XII 1978, pp. 62-78, take it for granted that Augustine's library contained a large number of secular works (suffering from a tendency to assume that quotation implies physical possession of a text). Their unsupported conclusions are undermined by the whole pattern of Augustine's citations, not to mention the reply to Dioscorus. To anticipate my argument, the only Varroniana ever likely to have been found at Hippo will have been the *Disciplinarum libri* (brought from Milan) and the excerpts Augustine made while researching material for the *De ciuitate Dei* – and both may well have been discarded once interest waned or they had served their purpose. Note also that Possidius' thorough description of the library Augustine bequeathed to posterity contains no mention of secular works: *uita Aug.* 18, 34.

85. See *Aug. retr.* 1 6.

86. See Churchill White, art. cit., pp. 118-26.

difficult to say anything sensible about the resources he may have called upon: were the three manuscripts containing Varro's *Menippeans* found in one collection, or spread between two or even three? Was Nonius lucky enough to have inherited some or all of these books, did he buy or make copies for himself, or did he take down excerpts in the homes of friends or the reading-rooms of public libraries? Was his work put together after a few months spent in his personal library, or from collections made over many years, the fruits of many wanderings both near and far? We simply cannot say.

One potential resource to bear in mind for both Nonius and Augustine, however, might be the baggage of refugees arriving in North Africa to escape the Visigothic horde that ravished Italy from AD 408 and sacked Rome in August 410. The outstanding range of early Latin literature available to the apparently provincial Nonius has always caused disquiet, and is usually explained by invoking the parallel of Probus (who shocked first-century Rome with his knowledge of the old authors still studied as school-texts in Beirut: Suet. *gramm.* 24 2), and a supposedly natural tendency towards literary conservatism at the margins of the Roman world. It is worth recalling, however, Fronto's lament that he was not exposed to the archaic authors in his African school days,⁸⁷ and we have already discussed the parallel evidence for the entirely conventional curriculum of Augustine's schooling.

On the other hand, we have ample evidence for the arrival in Africa of large numbers of wealthy and even aristocratic refugees fleeing before the advancing Alaric.⁸⁸ Books were valuable and highly portable commodities. Though it is difficult to estimate their monetary value in the early fifth century, the price edict of Diocletian provides some indication of their relative value. Based on this document, Robert Marichal has calculated that a new, high quality copy of the *Aeneid* should have cost 3,400 *denarii*, one of lesser quality 2,600 *denarii*; the same edict lays down a fee for rhetorical instruction of 250 *denarii* per pupil per month.⁸⁹ On these terms, Augustine would have had to have taught more than 10 students for a month to buy even a second-class and incomplete copy of Vergil. To society's wealthiest the price of new books will have been almost immaterial, but a second issue should be

87. Front. pp. 19 15 sq. van den Hout *iam enim non ita tecum ago ut te duos et uiginti annos natum cogitem, qua aetate uixdum quicquam ueterum lectione attigeram.*

88. See P.P. Courcelle, *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions germaniques*, Paris, Études augustiniennes, 1964³, pp. 56-67.

89. R. Marichal, *L'écriture latine et la civilisation occidentale du I^{er} au XVI^e siècle*, in *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples, XXI^e Semaine de Synthèse*, Paris, A. Colin, 1963, pp. 199-247, at p. 215.

borne in mind. If one left one's Turpilius, or collection of Menippean satires to their barbarous fate, where were the *exempla* to be found for their replacement? Though a new *Aeneid* could be picked up almost anywhere, many of the texts Nonius saw will have had great rarity value by the early fifth century. It may well be the case, then, that some of the Varronian works used by Nonius or Augustine had arrived in North Africa only relatively recently. Might this chaotic process, finally, explain how the *De gente populi Romani* and *De philosophia* are able to make a delayed entry into the later volumes of the *De ciuitate Dei*?⁹⁰

This suggestion comes with a range of interpretative consequences and opens up new avenues for further research. Rather than see Nonius' work as part of some cultural reaction to the triumph of Christianity, it might be more fruitfully thought of as instantiating a wider anxiety about the survival and transmission of Roman civilization itself.⁹¹ In September 410, Rufinus wrote the preface of his translations of Origen's homilies on Numbers from a Sicilian villa, whence he had been forced to flee with his books by the advancing tide of barbarians. As he wrote, he watched the burning of Rhegium across the narrow straits of Messina as Alaric assembled a fleet to invade Africa.⁹² Augustine may have been the beneficiary of this cultural dislocation in terms of access to new stores of literature; he certainly began the *De ciuitate Dei* as a response to Rome's sack, defending Christianity from accusations that the abandonment of the old gods had precipitated Rome's fall.⁹³ Nonius too may have benefitted, paradoxically, from a trauma that his work attempted to heal. Given the uncertainty over Nonius' date and the danger of succumbing to the biographical fallacy, it may appear frivolous to associate the machine-like regularity of his compositional method with what a modern psychologist might term a coping mechanism, but other explanations advanced for Nonius' severely mechanical practices have so far failed to satisfy.⁹⁴ Until the rediscovery of the work's preface, we will have to keep guessing. In any event, a more extensive study of the cultural life of

90. See n. 80.

91. Compare the concluding observations of Chahoud, art. cit., p. 83.

92. Rufin. *Orig. in num. praef.*

93. Aug. *retr.* II 43.

94. Lindsay, op. cit., draws a picture of a narrow-minded pedant, Churchill White, art. cit., of a shallow seeker of quantity over quality. A.L. Llorente Pinto, *La 'Compendiosa doctrina' de Nonio Marcelo*, in «Helmantica», LX 2009, pp. 15-72, at p. 50, more generously, attributes Nonius' peculiarly regular habits to «el espíritu práctico que el mundo cultural romano dotó a todos los ámbitos de la vida».

early fifth-century North Africa and the other havens sought by the refugees may well uncover traces of transplanted books from the ravaged villas and libraries of Italy, enriching new shores and new readers. War and barbarian invasion need not always result in cultural destruction, and our knowledge of fragmentary Republican literature in general, and Varro in particular, may have been immeasurably poorer without Alaric.

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Come sono riusciti Nonio Marcello e s. Agostino nell'Africa settentrionale tardoantica ad avere accesso ad una eccezionale serie di opere varroniane? Il confronto della loro conoscenza della letteratura classica mostra una considerevole divergenza che induce ad indagare sulle modalità della formazione scolastica di Agostino e a formulare una nuova interpretazione delle prove precoci della sua conoscenza di Varrone. La domestichezza di Agostino e Nonio Marcello con tali ricchi filoni della letteratura latina repubblicana richiede una spiegazione. Propongo cautamente, sulla base delle circostanze in cui fu composto il *De ciuitate Dei*, che una soluzione del problema possa essere trovata nella crisi dei rifugiati accelerata dall'invasione dell'Italia da parte di Alarico nel 408 d.C. e dal sacco di Roma nel 410. Le conseguenze culturali delle invasioni barbariche e lo spostamento di libri durante la confusione che ne seguì possono costituire un campo fruttuoso per future ricerche.

*How did Nonius Marcellus and St. Augustine gain access to an outstanding range of Varro's works in late-antique North Africa? A comparison of the two authors' knowledge of classical literature shows a remarkable misalignment, prompting an investigation of the curriculum of Augustine's early schooling and a new interpretation of the early evidence for his knowledge of Varro. The acquaintance of Augustine and Nonius Marcellus with such rich veins of Republican Latin literature requires an explanation, and I tentatively propose, following consideration of the circumstances in which the *De ciuitate Dei* was written, that a solution to the problem might be found in the refugee crisis precipitated by Alaric's invasion of Italy in AD 408 and his sack of Rome in 410. The cultural consequences of the barbarian invasions, and the dislocation of books in the accompanying chaos, may form a fruitful avenue for future research.*