From Cicero to Augustine: Three Styles in Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 69
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I. a. Plain Style (En. Ps. 69.3)¹

Ibi de persecutoribus ait quia non erat qui exquireret animam eius, hic autem: CONFUNDANTUR ET REVEREANTUR QUI QUAERUNT ANIMAM MEAM! Dolebat se non quaeri ad imitandum, gemebat se quaeri ad opprimendum. Quaeris animam iusti cum imitari cogitas, quaeris animam iusti cum occidere cogitas, quoniam duobus modis quaeritur anima hominis iusti: singuli singulis psalmis expressi sunt. Illic dolet quia non est qui requirat animam eius ad imitandum passionem eius, hic autem CONFUNDANTUR ET REVEREANTUR QUI QUAERUNT ANIMAM MEAM. Quaerunt animam eius, non ut duas habeant! Non enim sic quaerebant animam eius quomodo quaerit latro tunicam viatoris: ad hoc occidit, ut exspoliet, ut habeat. Qui autem persequitur ut occidat, excludit animam, non se vestit. QUAERUNT ILLI ANIMAM MEAM: occidere me volunt. Quid ergo tu illis optas? CONFUNDANTUR, ET REVEREANTUR.

There he says about the persecutors that there was not anyone who sought after his soul, but here: LET THEM BE CONFOUNDED AND STAND IN FEAR, WHO SEEK AFTER MY SOUL. It was sad that he was not sought to be imitated, he was mourning that he was sought to be oppressed. You seek the soul of a just person when you intend to imitate him, you seek the soul of a just person when you intend to kill him, for the soul of a just person is sought in two ways: each is expressed in a psalm. In the former, it is sad, because there is not anyone who seeks for his soul to imitate his suffering, but in the latter LET THEM BE CONFOUNDED AND LET THEM STAND IN FEAR WHO SEEK AFTER MY SOUL. They seek after his soul, not so that they may have two! For they were seeking his soul not as a thief seeks the tunic of a traveler: he kills for this reason, so that he might despoil, so that he might take possession. But one who persecutes in order to kill removes the soul and does not clothe himself with it. THEY SEEK MY SOUL: they want to kill me. What then do you wish for them? LET THEM BE CONFOUNDED AND STAND IN FEAR.

I. b. Example plain style passage in de Doctrina Christiana 4.107, from Gal. 4:21-26²

dicite mihi, sub lege volentes esse, legem non audistis? Scriptum est enim quod Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla et unum de libera, sed ille quidem qui de ancilla, secundum carnem natus est, qui autem de libera, per repromissionem. Quae sunt in allegoria: haec enim sunt duo testamenta, unum quidem a monte Sina in servitutem generans, quod est Agar. Sina enim mons est in Arabia, quae coniuncta est huic quae nunc est Hierusalem, et servit cum filiis suis, quae autem sursum est Hierusalem, libera est, quae est mater nostra...

Tell me, you who wish to be under the law, do you not listen to the law? It is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave and one by a free woman; the son of the slave was born according to the flesh, but the son of the free woman through God's promise. This is an allegory. These are in fact the two covenants: one, from Mount Sinai, by which people are born into slavery—this is Hagar. Sinai is a mountain in Arabia, which corresponds to the present Jerusalem; she is in slavery along with her sons. But the heavenly Jerusalem is the free woman, and she is our mother (translated by R.P.H. Green).

II. a. Middle Style (En. Ps. 69.1)

Gratias grano tritici, quia mori voluit et multiplicari: gratias unico filio dei domino et salvatori nostro Iesu Christo, qui mortem nostram subire non dedignatus est, ut nos vita sua dignos faceret. Ecce qui singularis erat donec transiret – sicut dixit in psalmo: *Singularis ego sum donec transeam* –, quia sic erat singulare granum, ut in se haberet magnam multitudinis fecunditatem; in quantis granis passionem eius imitantibus exsultamus, quando natalicia martyrum celebramus!

Thanks be to the grain of wheat, because it wished to die and to be multiplied: thanks to the only son of God, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, who was not unworthy to undergo our death, so that we might become worthy of his life. Notice him who was one, until he crossed over, as it said in the psalm: *I am one, until I cross over*—, because this grain was single in such a way as to have in itself the great fruitfulness of a multitude: in how many grains imitating his passion we exult, when we celebrate the feast days of the martyrs!

II. b. Example middle style passage in de Doctrina Christiana 4.113, from Rom. 13:12-14

nox praecessit, inquit, dies autem appropinquavit. Abiciamus itaque opera tenebrarum et induamus arma lucis. Sicut in die honeste ambulemus, non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et impudicitiis, non in contentione et aemulatione; sed induite Dominum Iesum Christum, et carnis providentiam ne feceritis in concupiscentiis.

The night is far gone, and the day is at hand. So let us throw off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light. Let us behave honourably, as in the day, not in revels and drunkenness, not in debauchery and vice, not in quarrelling and jealously. Put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and do not give thought to the flesh by indulging passionate desires (translated by R.P.H. Green).

III. Grand Style (En. Ps. 69.9)

Noli ergo tu sic, noli sic! Time verbum domini dicentis: *Mementote uxoris Lot!* Et ipsa in via, iam liberata de Sodomis, retro respexit; ubi respexit, ibi remansit. Facta est statua salis, ut condiat te: exemplo enim tibi data est, ut tu sursum cor habeas, non remaneas fatuus in via. Adtende remanentem, et transi; adtende respicientem retro, et tu *in anteriora extentus* esto sicut Paulus. Quid est non respicere retro? *Quae retro oblitus* inquit. Ideo sequeris vocatus ad supernam palmam, de qua postea glorieris, quia idem apostolus dicit: *Superest mihi corona iustitiae*, *quam mihi reddet dominus in illo die iustus iudex*.

So do not be like this! Do not be! Fear the word of the Lord, who says: *Remember Lot's wife!* And on this journey, as soon as she had been freed from Sodom, she looked back; where she looked back, there she remained. She became a statue of salt, so that she might season you: for she was given to you as an example, so that you may have a heart lifted up, so that you may not remain tasteless on the journey. Pay attention to the one who remains, and cross over; pay attention to the one who is looking back, and you be *stretched out towards the things that lie ahead* like Paul. What does it mean not to look back? *Having forgotten the things which are behind*, he says. And so you will follow, since you have been called to the heavenly palm from which afterwards you will glory, because the same Apostle says: *The crown of justice is upon me, which the Lord, the just judge, will return to me on that day*.

III. b. Example grand style passage in de Doctrina Christiana 4.123, from Gal. 4:10-20

Dies, inquit, observatis et menses et annos et tempora. Timeo vos, ne forte sine causa laboraverim in vos. Estote sicut ego, quoniam et ego sicut vos. Fratres, precor vos, nihil me laesistis. Scitis quia per infirmitatem carnis iam pridem evangelizavi vobis, et temptationem vestram in carne mea non sprevistis neque respuistis, sed sicut angelum dei excepistis me, sicut Christum Iesum. Quae ergo fuit beatitudo vestra? Testimonium vobis perhibeo, quoniam si fieri posset oculos vestros eruissetis et dedissetis mihi. Ergo inimicus factus sum vobis verum praedicans? Aemulantur vos non bene, sed excludere vos volunt, ut eos aemulemini. Bonum est autem aemulari in bono semper, et non solum cum praesens sum apud vos. Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio donec Christus formetur in vobis. Vellem autem nunc adesse apud vos et mutare vocem meam, quia confundor in vobis.

You observe days and months and years and seasons. I fear that perhaps I have laboured for you in vain. Be as I am, just as I became like you. Brethren–I implore you—you have done me no injury. You know that it was through physical weakness that I preached the gospel to you long ago, and you know that you did not despise or shrink from the trials that you had over my physical condition but welcomed me like an angel of God, like Christ Jesus. How great was your happiness! I bear witness to you, that had it been possible you would have torn out your own eyes and given them to me. So have I become your enemy by preaching the truth to you? They are envious of you, but not with an honest envy; they want to exclude you, so that you will envy them. It is a good thing to feel envy, but always in an honest matter, and not only when I am present with you. My dear sons, with whom I am once again in labour, until Christ is formed in you—I wish I could now be present among you and change my tone. I am amazed at you (translated by R.P.H. Green).

¹ Text of *En. Ps.* 69 edited by Hildegund Müller. Unpublished manuscript. The translations of *En. Ps.* 69 are my own.

² Text and translation taken from Augustine. *de Doctrina Christiana*. Translated with introduction and notes by R.P.H. Green. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

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