

## PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

### PEOPLE ALMOST MENTIONED IN WALDEN:

#### ST. AUGUSTINE (AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS OF HIPPO)



"Neither future nor past exists."

— [Augustine](#), CONFESSIONS 11:20.26



"The past increases by the diminution of the future until, by the consumption of all the future, all is past."

— [Augustine](#), CONFESSIONS 11.27.36



"Things that are past do not themselves exist, but only certain signs of them as past, the sight or hearing of which makes it known that they have been and have passed away. And these signs are either situated in the places themselves, as for example monuments of the dead or the like; or exist in written books worthy of credit, as is all history that is of weight and approved authority; or are in the minds of those who already know them."

— [Augustine](#), ON THE TRINITY 14.8.11





THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS OF HIPPO

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN



"What difference does it make under what rule a man lives who is soon to die, provided only that those who rule him do not compel him to what is impious and wicked?"



— [St. Augustine](#)

GOD IN CONCORD by Jane Langton © 1992

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*Our whole life is startlingly moral.  
Walden, "Higher Laws"*

“F or you,” muttered Mary, reaching the telephone across the bed. It was six o’clock in the morning.

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I am cognizant of the fact that there are those who would object that a file of this sort contains irrelevant details of which no-one is desirous of being aware. They need no answer from me as they have already been answered by this Augustine: “*those things which have no significance of their own are interwoven for the sake of the things that are significant.*” [WORKS, Dids 1934 translation, II:108]



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WALDEN: The customs of some savage nations might, perchance be profitably imitated by us, for they at least go through the semblance of casting their slough annually; they have the idea of the thing, whether they have the reality or not. Would it not be well if we were to celebrate such a "busk," or "feast of first fruits," as Bartram describes to have been the custom of the Mucclasse Indians? "When a town celebrates the busk," says he, "having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old provisions they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire. After having taken medicine, and fasted for three days, all the fire in town is extinguished. During this fast they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed; all malefactors may return to their town.-"

"On the fourth morning, the high priest, by rubbing dry wood together, produces new fire in the public square, from whence every habitation in the town is supplied with the new and pure flame."

They then feast on the new corn and fruits and dance and sing for three days, "and the four following days they receive visits and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns who have in like manner purified and prepared themselves."

The Mexicans also practised a similar purification at the end of every fifty-two years, in the belief that it was time for the world to come to an end.

I have scarcely heard of a truer sacrament, that is, as the dictionary defines it, "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace," than this, and I have no doubt that they were originally inspired directly from Heaven to do thus, though they have no biblical record of the revelation.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

AUGUSTINE

WILLIAM BARTRAM

NOAH WEBSTER



## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

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WALDEN: But men labor under a mistake. The better part of the man is soon ploughed into the soil for compost. By a seeming fate, commonly called necessity, they are employed, as it says in an old book, laying up treasures which moth and rust will corrupt and thieves break through and steal. It is a fool's life, as they will find when they get to the end of it, if not before.

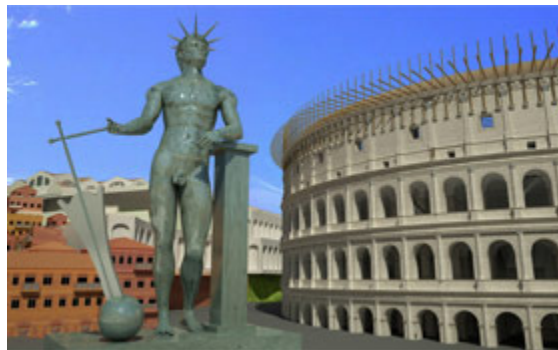
PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

AUGUSTINE

354 CE

November 13: Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo (AKA “St. Augustine”) was born in Tagaste in Numidia, a region of the North African coast that is now Souk Ahras, Algeria.<sup>1</sup> His parents, named Patricius and Monica, had middle-class aspirations but were forever short of money. Monica was a Christian and Patricius would accept baptism on his deathbed. With the help of an affluent family friend, Augustine would manage to get away to Madaura, a dozen miles away, where the 2nd-Century sophist and novelist Apuleius would be residing and where adequate schooling would be available.

Rome's Colossus Solis bronze statue was mentioned in the Chronography for this year (and would not again be mentioned in these Roman records):



1. Since the details of Augustine's early life come for the most part from his own CONFESSIONS, which are quite as highly selective as Franklin's MEMOIRES, what he has to offer about himself should always be compared and contrasted with the treatment in P. Brown, AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO (London, 1967). I might alert you also to the fact that you will see, here and there, the assertion that Aurelius Augustinus was a black man, so you should bear in mind that such assertions are based solely on his birth in a town which indisputably was situated on the coast of the continent of Africa — combined with some sort of absurd presumption that anybody who would get born in Africa would need to get born black — combined with a sort of curious political preference, that the guy would be ever so much more interesting, or perhaps relevant, if we could think of him as not just another DWM dead white man.



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**371 CE**

At the age of perhaps 17, [Aurelius Augustinus](#) moved from Madaura to Carthage, which had at this point been firmly within the Roman Empire for something like twenty generations of human life, and there took up with a young woman whose name is not of record with whom he would live for over a decade and who would bear him a child.

[China](#)'s Chien Wen emperor was relying upon Buddhist monks to exorcise the influence of evil stars over his empire.

**375 CE**

Gratian would rule as emperor in Rome from 375 CE to 383 CE, and Valentinian II from 375 CE to 392 CE. At roughly the age of 21, after some four years in the big city of Carthage, [Aurelius Augustinus](#) went back to his home town Tagaste to teach. He would remain, however, only a year.

For the following two decades the Huns would be attacking the Goths, who would implore the protection of the Roman emperor of the East. The Goths would be allowed to pass the Danube and settle in the Roman provinces. A war would soon break out between them and the Romans, and they would destroy the emperor Valens and his legions and ravage the Roman Asia Minor, after which the emperor Theodosius would reduce them to submission (they would retain settlements in Thrace and Asia Minor).

At about this point the city of Tiwanaku appeared on the shores of Lake Titicaca. This city was home to 20-40,000 people and is still famous for its monumental gateways and monoliths. While snuff and maize beer were clearly integral parts of Tiwanaku ritual, there is little to suggest major drug and alcohol dependency problems — the Tiwanaku economy was based on horticulture, herding, and trade rather than war, and the city would endure for centuries. From this point until 600CE, the city of Tiahuanaco would continue to develop until eventually 50,000 people lived there.

At about this point Eochaid Mugmedon became King of Midhe. At an unknown date, Belgic tribes of Munster migrated to south Wales and Cornwall, and the Ogham alphabet was introduced back into [Ireland](#) from colonies.



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**376 CE**

[Aurelius Augustinus](#) was back in Carthage again, where he had access to the more sophisticated teachers, and where he would remain — until he had an opportunity to travel to Rome, the navel of the known universe.

When Huns threatened the Visigoths, they sought the protection of the Roman Emperor Valens (the empire would attempt the tactic of allowing them to settle in Moesia, south of the Danube).

The beginning of the reign of Chandragupta II in India (the golden Gupta age).

**380 CE**

Having relocated from Carthage to [Rome](#), [Aurelius Augustinus](#) persuaded some Manichee friends to set up an interview for him with the prefect of the city of Rome, Symmachus, who was choosing a professor of rhetoric for the imperial court at Milan.<sup>2</sup> (He would be able to head north to take up this position in late 384.)

**384 CE**

By late in this year [Aurelius Augustinus](#) had joined a religious cult from Persia, Manicheism, which imagined the world torn between two contrary powers: a good creator who eventually would triumph and an evil destroyer who eventually would perish. Manichees, who sided with the good winning spirit, were to be rewarded with eternal bliss.<sup>3</sup> He remained under their influence until he met one of their sages, by the name of Faustus, who proved to be capable of little more than reciting a set of nonsense formulas. At this point Augustine became no longer willing to allow these Manichees to consider him to be one of them. Augustine became the professor of rhetoric for the imperial court at Milan. When his mother Monica joined him in Milan, he packed his mistress off to Africa while recording that “his heart ran blood” with grief, and allowed her to arrange a society marriage for him. (This mistress’s son by him, Adeodatus, would die in late adolescence.) Then, discovering that he would need to wait a couple of years for his fiancée to physically mature, he made a temporary liaison with a third woman. He was soon, however, trapped between Monica and the most influential Christian bishop of Milan, Ambrose. With the help of technical vocabulary borrowed from Platonic philosophy, Ambrose was proposing a solution that Augustine found convincing.

2. This was the Symmachus who was the last spokesperson for paganism in the western Roman empire: J. Matthews, *WESTERN ARISTOCRACIES AND IMPERIAL COURT*, A.D. 364-425 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) 12-17, 205-10.

3. Our knowledge of Manicheism has recently been in a state of flux; best is S.N.C. Lieu, *MANICHEISM* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1985) for the state of affairs in Africa see now F. Decret, *L'AFRIQUE MANICHÉENNE* (Paris: *Études augustiniennes*, 1978). A recently discovered life of Mani in Greek is offering new insight; see A. Henrichs, “The Cologne Mani Codex Reconsidered,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83(1979): 339-367; and L. Koenen, *Illinois Classical Studies* 3(1978): 154-195; the text if this is published by Henrichs and Koenen, *DER KÖLNER MANI-KODEX: ÜBER DAS WERDEN SEINES LEIBES* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1988) and has been translated by R. Cameron and A.J. Dewey (Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1979).



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386 CE

[Aurelius Augustinus](#)'s *DE BEATA VITA*, *EPISTULA (EPISTULAE)*, *DE ORDINE*, and *CONTRA ACADEMICOS*.

[Augustine](#)'s *OBIURGATIO*.

Summer: Not quite two years after his arrival in Milan, [Aurelius Augustinus](#) gave up his academic position on grounds of ill health and retired for the winter to a villa in the Cassiciacum countryside, loaned by a friend. He took along his friends and family (son Adeodatus, mother Monica, brother, and cousins), plus a couple of paying students who were the sons of friends. There has been much debate about the composition of the dialogues written during this period.<sup>4</sup>

During this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *SOLILOQUIA*.

387 CE

[Aurelius Augustinus](#)'s *DE DIALECTICA*, *DE GRAMMATICA*, and *DE IMMORTALITATE ANIMAE*.

Spring: [Aurelius Augustinus](#) and his friends returned to Milan for the 40 days of preparation for baptism that preceded Easter. Then at the Easter vigil service on the night of Holy Saturday Augustine was baptized by Ambrose.

During this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE LIBERO ARBITRIO* and *DE QUANTITATE ANIMAE*.

4. J. O'Meara, "The historicity of the early dialogues of Saint Augustine," *Vigiliae Christianae* 5(1951): 150-78



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**388 CE**

The Emperor Magnus Clements Maximus, Emperor of the West except for Italy, invaded Italy. Theodosius the Great, Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, defeated him and restored Valentinian II as Roman Emperor of the West.



[Aurelius Augustinus](#)'s *DE MORIBUS ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE ET DE MORIBUS MANICHAEORUM*.

IN THIS YEAR, OR AT SOME POINT BEFORE 391 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *DE GENESI CONTRA MANICHAEOS* and *DE MUSICA*.

IN THIS YEAR, OR AT SOME POINT BEFORE 397 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *DE DIVERSIS QUAESTIONIBUS LXXXIII*.

**389 CE**

[Augustine](#) returned to Tagaste in Africa with a few friends to form what we may be forgiven for referring to as a monastery.

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE MAGISTRO*.





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390 CE

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE VERA RELIGIONE*.

When the emperor Theodosius the Great ordered that some 7,000 citizens of Thessaloniki, Greece be exterminated because they had taken issue with him, he was excommunicated by Bishop Ambrose of Milan.

Apollinaris of Laodicea (born 310 CE), allowed that Jesus had a human body but a divine spirit.

Letters of Tyconius, Gregory of Nyssa, Didymus of Alexandria (church fathers).

391 CE

While on a visit to the coastal city of Hippo Regius, [Augustine](#) was seized upon by the locals and impressed into the priesthood. His new bishop, Valerius, granted him a little time to study for his duties.

During this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE DUABUS ANIMABUS CONTRA MANICHAEOS* and *DE UTILITATE CREDENDI*.

At some period prior to the year 396 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *DE LIBERO ARBITRIO*.

In Alexandria, [Egypt](#), which was under the control of Christianity, a hidden pagan temple was discovered. The contents of this temple were displayed to the public in a manner that was so mocking that the pagan worshipers were enticed into an attack. The Christian forces were able to rebuff this attack and the pagans took refuge in a temple dedicated to the Hellenistic/Egyptian deity Serapis that was being utilized as one branch of the great Library of Alexandria. That refuge was ordered to be destroyed by Theophilus, the Christian Patriarch of Alexandria, who dedicated its site as a church, and it is plausible that during this unrest a portion of the collection of scrolls of the Library of Alexandria got destroyed. Following this event, [Claudian](#) departed from the city.

By this point Ammianus Marcellinus had completed the 31 books of his history *RES GESTAE LIBRI XXXI*, only 18 of which are still extant.



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392 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *ACTA CONTRA FORUNATUM MANICHAEUM* and *SERMONES*.

At some period prior to 418 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *ENARRATIONES IN PSALMOS*.

Valentinian II, emperor of the western Roman empire, was murdered by General Arbogast, who set up Eugenius as his replacement. During the reign of Eugenius, which would persist only until 394 CE, [Claudian](#) would travel in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire, arriving eventually at Constantinople.

393 CE

By this point Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo ("St. [Augustine](#)") was preaching in place of his bishop Valerius, because the old man was a Greek speaker who had never been able to speak Latin without a thick accent. In COUNCILS, Augustine cited precisely 27 "New Testament" books. (This is what a religion scholar, comparing this number with what we have now, would call "a reality check.")<sup>5</sup>



5. A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: At some point (and I may as well insert the record here in the chronology, with Ambrose reaching his 60s and Augustine his 40s), Augustine came upon Ambrose while this elder was reading alone, and was impressed to notice that during this process Ambrose seemed to have no particular need to sound out the words he was reading off the parchment: "his voice and tongue were at rest." Augustine would make a record of this remarkable fact, in his *CONFESSIONS* (VI, 3):

*Sed cum legebat oculi ducebantur per paginas et cor intellectum rimabatur;  
vox autem et lingua quiescebant.*



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[Augustine](#)'s *DE FIDE ET SYMBOLO*.

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA ADIMANTUM*.

At some point prior to 397 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *DE SERMONE DOMINI IN MONTE*.

394 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *EXPOSITIO QUARUMDAM PROPOSITIONUM EX EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS* and *PSALMUS CONTRA PARTEM DONATI*.

During this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE CONTINENTIA*, *EPISTOLAE AD GALATAS EXPOSITIO*, *DE MENDACIO*, and *EPISTOLAE AD ROMANOS INCHOATA EXPOSITIO*.

395 CE

Bishop Valerius died and [Augustine](#) began to take over the church at Hippo Regius.

396 CE

Aurelius Augustinus ("St. [Augustine](#)") became the bishop at Hippo in North Africa. He would remain at this post until his death 34 years later, fighting a battle against Donatism.<sup>6</sup> Although he would begin his forgive-and-forget campaign with courtesy and caution, when they refused to forgive and forget he would have them suppressed by the government.<sup>7</sup>

Bishop [Augustine](#)'s *DE AGONE CHRISTIANO*, *DE DIVERSIS QUAESTIONIBUS VII AD SIMPLICIANUM*, and *CONTRA EPISTULAM QUAM VOCANT "FUNDAMENTI"*.

6. Donatism has gotten this name from a bishop at Carthage some 80 years before. The issue was whether it was proper to forgive and forget offenses, or to subject to discipline certain Christians who had renounced the faith during a previous period of pagan persecution and who had since seen the error of their ways (W.H.C. Frend, *THE DONATIST CHURCH*. Oxford, 1952).

7. P. Brown, "Saint Augustine's attitude to religious coercion," *Journal of Roman Studies* 54(1964): 107-116; R.A. Markus, *SAECULUM* (Cambridge, 1970; 2nd ed., 1988) 133-153



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397 CE

At some point between this year and 399 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA FAUSTUM MANICHAEUM*.

398 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA SECUNDINUM MANICHAEUM*, *DE NATURA BONI*, and *DE DISCIPLINA CHRISTIANA*.

399 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *ADNOTATIONES IN JOB*.

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE CONSENSU EVANGELISTARUM* (?) and *QUAESTIONES EVANGELIORUM*.

[Augustine](#)'s *DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS* (ON THE CATECHISING OF THE UNINSTRUCTED) began a line of thought that would eventuate in [Henry Thoreau](#)'s WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, in which a “sacrament” would be characterized as the “outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace”:



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WALDEN: The customs of some savage nations might, perchance be profitably imitated by us, for they at least go through the semblance of casting their slough annually; they have the idea of the thing, whether they have the reality or not. Would it not be well if we were to celebrate such a "busk," or "feast of first fruits," as Bartram describes to have been the custom of the Mucclasse Indians? "When a town celebrates the busk," says he, "having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old provisions they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire. After having taken medicine, and fasted for three days, all the fire in town is extinguished. During this fast they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed; all malefactors may return to their town."

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PEOPLE OF  
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AUGUSTINE

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XXVI.

50. *His dictis interrogandus est, an haec credat, atque observare desideret. Quod cum responderit, sollemniter utique signandus est et Ecclesiae more tractandus. De sacramento sane quod accipit, cum ei bene commendatum fuerit, signacula quidem rerum divinarum esse visibilia, sed res ipsas invisibiles in eis honorari; nec sic habendam esse illam speciem benedictione sanctificatam, quemadmodum habetur in usu quolibet: dicendum etiam quid significet et sermo ille quem audivit, quid in illo*



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*condiat, cujus illa res similitudinem gerit.* Deinde monendus est ex hac occasione, ut si quid etiam in Scripturis audiat quod carnaliter sonet, etiamsi non intelligit, credat tamen spiritale aliquid significari, quod ad sanctos mores futuramque vitam pertineat. Hoc autem ita breviter discit, ut quidquid audierit ex libris canonicis quod ad dilectionem aeternitatis et veritatis et sanctitatis, et ad delectionem proximi referre non possit, figurate dictum vel gestum esse credat; atque ita conetur intelligere, ut ad illam geminam referat dilectionem. Ita sane ut proximum non carnaliter intelligat, sed omnem qui cum eo in illa sancta civitate potest esse, sive jam, sive nondum appareat: et ut de nullius hominis correctione desperet, quem patientia Dei videt vivere, non ob aliud, sicut Apostolus ait, nisi ut adducatur ad paenitentiam [ROMANS 2:4].

### THE TEXT IN FULL

CHAP. 26.—OF THE FORMAL ADMISSION OF THE CATECHUMEN, AND OF THE SIGNS THEREIN MADE USE OF.

50. At the conclusion of this address the person is to be asked whether he believes these things and earnestly desires to observe them. And on his replying to that effect then certainly he is to be solemnly signed and dealt with in accordance with the custom of the Church. **On the subject of the sacrament, indeed, which he receives, it is first to be well impressed upon his notice that the signs of divine things are, it is true, things visible, but that the invisible things themselves are also honored in them, and that that species, which is then sanctified by the blessing, is therefore not to be regarded merely in the way in which it is regarded in any common use. And thereafter he ought to be told what is also signified by the form of words to which he has listened, and what in him is seasoned by that (spiritual grace) of which this material substance presents the emblem.** Next we should take occasion by that ceremony to admonish him that, if he hears anything even in the Scriptures which may carry a carnal sound, he should, even although he fails to understand it, nevertheless believe that something spiritual is signified thereby, which bears upon holiness of character and the future life. Moreover, in this way he learns briefly that, whatever he may hear in the canonical books of such a kind as to make him unable to refer it to the love of eternity, and of truth, and of sanctity, and to the love of our neighbor, he should believe that to have been spoken or done with a figurative significance; and that, consequently, he should endeavor to understand it in such a manner as to refer it to that twofold (duty of) love. He should be further admonished, however, not to take the term neighbor in a carnal sense, but to understand under it every one who may ever be with him in that holy city, whether there already or not yet apparent. And (he should finally be counselled) not to despair of the amendment of any man whom he perceives to be living under the patience of God for no other reason, as the apostle says, than



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that he may be brought to repentance.

400 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA EPISTULAM PARMENIANI* and *DE FIDE RERUM INVISIBILIUM*.

At about this point [Augustine](#) seems to have concluded that Matthew, the favorite evangelist of early Christians, wrote his Gospel first, followed by Mark, who wrote a condensation of Matthew, and then by Luke, who used both Matthew and Mark. An eighteenth-century scholar, Johann J. Griesbach, taking issue with Augustine, thought that Luke came second, and then Mark, who sometimes followed Matthew's text, sometimes Luke's (Matthew often disagrees with Mark on triple-tradition details where Luke agrees, and vice versa). The Griesbach hypothesis continues to have adherents to this day, including William R. Farmer, an emeritus New Testament scholar at Southern Methodist University. In the early 19th Century several German New Testament scholars –most notably Christian Hermann Weisse of the University of Leipzig– proposed a different theory: that Mark wrote first (“Marcan priority”), and that Matthew and Luke, each working independently and adding material of his own, used both Mark and some other written source, probably a collection of Jesus's sayings. This is known as the two-document hypothesis. In 1890 the hypothetical sayings source acquired the name Q. In its general outlines the two-document hypothesis has become mainstream teaching in New Testament circles, accepted by the overwhelming majority of scholars in Europe and America today. So commonplace is the basic Q theory that in a 1990 essay on the Gospels, John Updike simply asserted “Matthew = Mark + Q” as though the question of Synoptic authorship was so cut-and-dried that it could be reduced to a quasi-mathematical formula.

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE BAPTISMO CONTRA DONATISTAS*.

From about this point, and before 404 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA LITTERAS PETILIANI*.

401 CE

The Visigoths invaded Italy.

[Augustine](#)'s *DE BONO CONIUGALI*, *DE SANCTA VIRGINITATE*, and *DE OPERE MONACHORUM*.

AT SOME POINT FROM THIS YEAR UNTIL 415 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *DE GENESI AD LITTERAM*.





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404 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *ACTA CONTRA FELICEM MANICHAEUM*.

Death of [Claudian](#).

222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.  
260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.  
274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.  
306 Constantine the Great begins his reign.  
308 Cardinals first made.  
313 The tenth persecution ends by an edict of Constantine, who favours the Christians, and gives full liberty to their religion.  
314 Three bishops or fathers are sent from Britain to assist at the council of Arles.  
325 The first general council at Nice, when 318 fathers attended against Arius, where was composed the famous Nicene Creed, which we attribute to them.  
328 Constantine removes the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, which is thenceforwards called Constantinople.  
331 ——— orders all the heathen temples to be destroyed.  
363 The Roman emperor, Julian, surnamed the Apostate, endeavours in vain to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem.  
364 The Roman empire is divided into the eastern (Constantinople the capital), and western (of which Rome continued to be the capital), each being now under the government of different emperors.  
400 Bells invented by bishop Paulinus of Campagna.  
404 The kingdom of Caledonia, in Scotland, revives under Fergus.  
406 The Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, spread into France and Spain, by a concession of Honorius, emperor of the West.  
410 Rome taken and plundered by Alaric, king of the Vizi-Goths.  
412 The Vandals begin their kingdom in Spain.  
420 The kingdom of France begins upon the Lower Rhine, under Pharamond.  
426 The Romans reduced to extremities at home, withdraw their troops from Britain, and never return; advising the Britons to arm in their own defence, and trust to their own valour.

During this year or the following one a Christian monk named Telemachus attempted to stand between gladiatorial contenders in the [Flavian Amphitheater](#). The [Romans](#) were unamused by this impiety and beat him to death.

COLOSSEUM





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405 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE SECTA DONATISTARUM*.

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA CRESCONIUM GRAMMATICUM ET DONATISTAM*.

[Augustine](#)'s *EPISTULA AD CATHOLICOS*.

[Augustine](#)'s *PRAECEPTUM* (?).

[Augustine](#)'s *QUAESTIONES XVII IN MATTHAEUM* (?).

[Augustine](#)'s *DE OCTO QUAECTIONIBUS EX VETERI TESTAMENTO* (?).

[Augustine](#)'s *ORDO MONASTERII* (?).

[Augustine](#)'s *SERMO DE SYMBOLO AD CATECHUMENOS* (?).



## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

## AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS OF HIPPO

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

406 CE

In this year, or in 421 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *TRACTATUS IN EVANGELIUM IOHANNIS*.

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *TRACTATUS IN IOHANNIS EPISTULAM AD PARTHOS*.

Germanic tribes invaded the Western Roman Empire.

222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.  
260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.  
274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.  
306 Constantine the Great begins his reign.  
308 Cardinals first made.  
313 The tenth persecution ends by an edict of Constantine, who favours the Christians, and gives full liberty to their religion.  
314 Three bishops or fathers are sent from Britain to assist at the council of Arles.  
325 The first general council at Nice, when 318 fathers attended against Arius, where was composed the famous Nicene Creed, which we attribute to them.  
328 Constantine removes the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, which is thenceforwards called Constantinople.  
331 ——— orders all the heathen temples to be destroyed.  
363 The Roman emperor, Julian, surnamed the Apostate, endeavours in vain to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem.  
364 The Roman empire is divided into the eastern (Constantinople the capital), and western (of which Rome continued to be the capital), each being now under the government of different emperors.  
400 Bells invented by bishop Paulinus of Campagna.  
404 The kingdom of Caledonia, in Scotland, revives under Fergus.  
406 The Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, spread into France and Spain, by a concession of Honorius, emperor of the West.  
410 Rome taken and plundered by Alaric, king of the Vizi-Goths.  
412 The Vandals begin their kingdom in Spain.  
420 The kingdom of France begins upon the Lower Rhine, under Pharamond.  
426 The Romans reduced to extremities at home, withdraw their troops from Britain, and never return; advising the Britons to arm in their own defence, and trust to their own valour.



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407 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE DIVINATIONE DAEMONUM*.

408 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE UTILITATE IEIUNII*.

410 CE

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE UNICO BAPTISMO CONTRA PETILIANUM*.

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## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

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August 23: Yet another altercation involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): in the Sack of [Rome](#), the Visigoths under Alaric defeated the Romans, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).



What  
goes  
around  
keeps  
coming  
around  
and  
around  
and  
around...







## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

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Edward Gibbon notwithstanding, the main importance of this event is that it effectively severed the Western Roman Empire from the Eastern Roman Empire.



The Visigoths had previously obtained 3,000 pounds of **pepper** as a ransom for Rome, and two years later would begin to extract an annual tribute of 300 pounds from the city.

SPICE

- 222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.
- 260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.
- 274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.
- 306 Constantine the Great begins his reign.
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It is customary to say that shock waves ran throughout the Roman world at this event, but actually it is more correct to say that shock waves ran through those citizens of the Roman world prosperous enough to care about expensive symbols of Roman grandeur. A fair number of wealthy Romans fled the city to country estates in Campania, in Sicily, and in north Africa. Enough of them showed up in Hippo for [Augustine](#) to warn his flock that they should receive the refugees with open arms and charity.

Not long after the refugees settled on their African estates and began to frequent the salons of Carthage, the more intellectual among them began to wonder aloud whether their new religion might not be to blame for the disaster they had suffered. After all, the argument ran, Rome had been immune from capture for fully eight centuries; but now, just two decades after the formal end of public worship of the pagan gods (commanded by the emperor Theodosius in 391 CE), the city had fallen to the barbarians. Perhaps it was true what pagans had said, that the new Christian god with ideas about turning the other cheek and holding worldly empires in low esteem was not an efficient guardian of the best interests of the ruling class. Most of the people who indulged in these idle speculations were themselves Christian. The “paganism” of these people was no revival of ancient religion, but only the persistence of the ancient notion of religion as a bargain you struck with the gods in order to preserve your health, wealth, and complacency.

[Augustine](#) was invited by the imperial commissioner Marcellinus, who was in Africa to look into the Donatist quarrel for the emperor, to respond to these charges. He knew that it was more than a question of why Rome fell; here were Christians who still did not know what Christianity was about, how it differed from the Roman religions it had replaced. His response was a masterpiece of Christian apologetics, *DE CIVITATE DEI* (THE CITY OF GOD), whose composition stretched over fifteen years. The first books, consoling those the Visigoths had frightened, were published quickly and seem to have done their job. But the work as a whole continued to come forth in installments, revealing a broad vision of history and Christianity.

411 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *BREVICULUS CONLATIONIS CUM DONATISTIS, GESTA CONLATIONIS CARTHAGINIENSIS, SERMO DE EXCIDIO URBIS ROMAE*, and *CONTRA PARTEM DONATI POST GESTA*.

An imperial commissioner conducted a detailed hearing into the facts of the controversy between the orthodox and the Donatists, attended by hundreds of bishops from both factions, and decided in favor of the orthodox group. From this time on Donatism would be illegal and, though the schismatic community apparently showed some signs of life in remote parts of Africa until the Moslem invasions centuries later, the back of the movement had been broken, and at least the security and position of the orthodox party had been guaranteed.

The principle for which [Augustine](#) had fought deserves emphasis. Christianity was not, he claimed, something



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external and visible; it was not to be found in obedience to certain clearly-defined laws. Christianity was a matter of spirit rather than law, something inside people rather than outside. Most important, the church had room within itself for sinners as well as saints, for the imperfections of those in whom God's grace was still working as well as for the holiness of the blessed. Augustine drew the boundary of the church not between one group of people and another but rather straight through the middle of the hearts of all those who belonged to it. The visible church contained the visible Christians, sins and all; the invisible church, whose true home lay in heaven, held only those who were redeemed. Charity dictated that the visible church be open to all, not lorded over by a few self-appointed paragons choosing to admit only their own kind.



In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *DE PECCATORUM MERITIS ET REMISSIONE ET DE BAPTISMO PARVULORUM AD MARCELLINUM*.

At this point [Pelagius](#), one of those who were trying to transform practical Christianity into a form of religious athleticism, sailed away from Rome permanently, and landed on the coast of North Africa near Hippo. Per [Augustine](#)'s *DE PECCAT. ORIG.* he had lived in Rome for "a very long time," so presumably he had been there at least since the reign of Pope Anastasius (398-401CE). During his period in Rome this ascetic monk had composed:

- *DE FIDE TRINITATIS LIBRI III* (lost)
- *ECLOGARUM EX DIVINIS SCRIPTURIS LIBER UNUS*, of which we have a number of fragments because they were preserved in [Augustine](#)'s responses
- *COMMENTARII IN EPISTOLAS S. PAULI*, a work known to [Augustine](#)

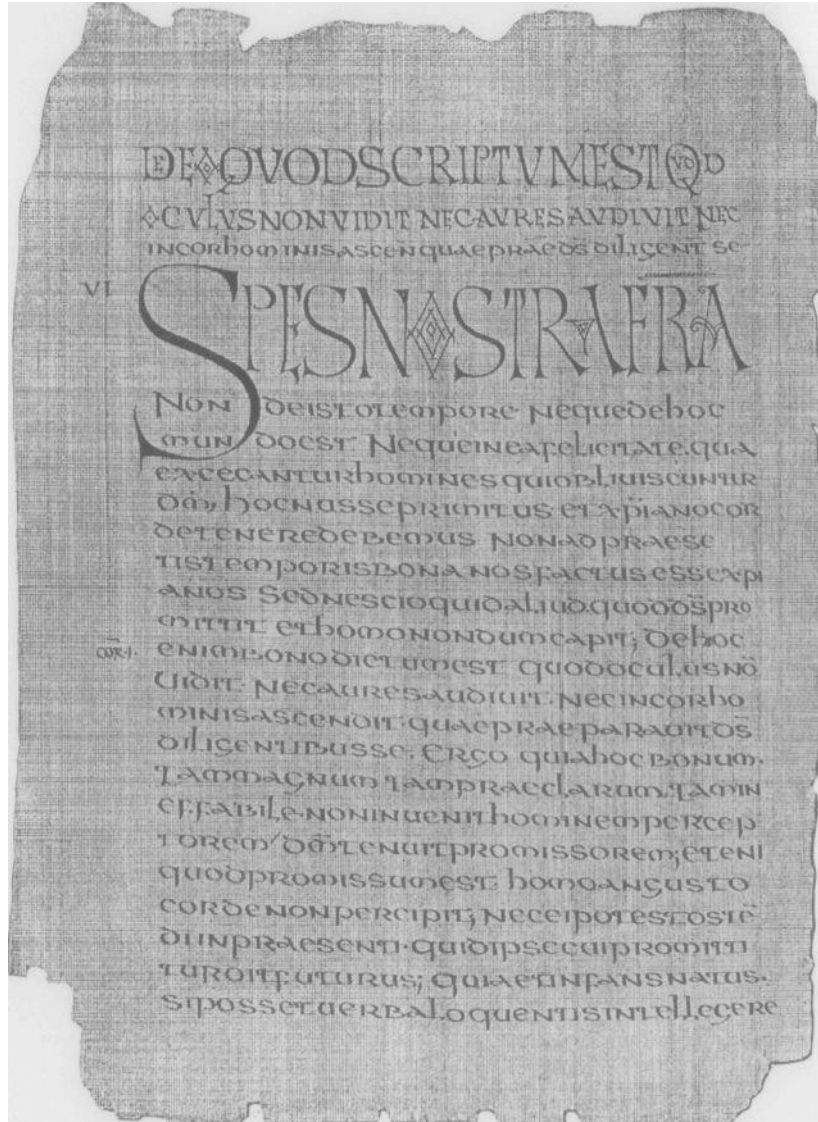
[Pelagius](#) thought Bishop [Augustine](#) to be excessively pessimistic in his view that humankind was sinful by nature and needed to rely totally upon grace for salvation. Instead he offered that human beings have a natural capacity to reject evil and seek God, that Christ's admonition, "Be ye perfect," presupposes this capacity, and that grace is the natural ability given by God to seek and to serve God. Rejecting the doctrine of original sin, he suggested that little children are innocent of the sin of Adam and do not need baptism in order to attain grace. He denied the primitive state in paradise and original sin, insisted on the naturalness of concupiscence and the death of the body, and ascribed the actual existence and universality of sin to the bad example which

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Adam set by his first sin.



Such ideas were deeply rooted in Stoicism rather than in Christianity: he regarded the moral strength of man's will (*liberum arbitrium*), when steeled by asceticism, as sufficient in itself to desire and to attain the loftiest ideal of virtue. The value of Christ's redemption was, in his opinion, limited mainly to instruction (*doctrina*) and example (*exemplum*), which the Saviour threw into the balance as a counterweight against Adam's wicked example, so that nature retains the ability to conquer sin and to gain eternal life even without the aid of grace. By justification we are indeed cleansed of our personal sins through faith alone, but this pardon (*gratia remissionis*) implies no interior renovation or sanctification of the soul. For that period, Pelagius would have been announcing nothing novel, since the Antinomists of the early Apostolic Church were already familiar with "justification by faith alone." In a later culture, this *sola-fides* doctrine would obtain the assent of Martin Luther.

[Pelagius](#) and a traveling companion would pass on into Palestine and Ephesus without actually meeting Bishop [Augustine](#).

412 CE

Bishop [Augustine](#) published *DE PECCATORUM MERITIS ET REMISSIONE LIBRI III* and *DE SPIRITU ET LITTERA* in opposition to the spiritual influence of the teacher monk [Pelagius](#) in the vicinity of Carthage.

413 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE FIDE ET OPERIBUS*.



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From this year until 426 CE, Bishop Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo would be writing away at both *DE CIVITATE DEI* (THE CITY OF GOD)<sup>8</sup> and his *CONFESSIONS*. “St. [Augustine](#)” disposed of the problem of human slavery once and for all by pointing out that it wasn’t of primary importance whether somebody else had control over one’s body — what happened to the body was not so important as what happened to the soul — therefore what was of primary importance was whether one had mastery over oneself: “Thus, a good man, though a slave, is free; but a wicked man, though a king, is a slave. For he serves, not one man alone, but, what is worse, as many masters as he has vices.” So, never mind, [slaves](#), your problems are the same as the problems of the free man.



“This, indeed, is true, that the soul is not the whole man, but the better part of man; the body not the whole, but the inferior part of man.”



— [Augustine](#), THE CITY OF GOD

8. It has been commented that Christians have no idea what the word “eternity” means, tending to think of it as if it were merely a very long time without change at the end of world time, or at the end of one’s life time. Of course they have excellent warrant to suppose this ridiculous supposition, because for their “St. [Augustine](#)” in this classic text eternity was “nothing else than endless duration” (XII, 12). Christianity does not seem to attract good philosophers: “Time does not exist without some movement and transition, while in eternity there is no change” (XI, 6). For Augustine “that is really real which remains immutable” (*CONFESSIONS* 7.11.17) and therefore eternity is real because unchanging, time unreal because changing.



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(This may have been of cold comfort to the slave, but what is interesting is the manner in which this argument would be brought forward over the centuries, as a racial component would come to be added to the institution of slavery. As it would become predominantly the black human being who was the slave and the white human being who was the master, the argument would develop that the person of color needed to be enslaved by the white human being because the person of color was lacking in the self-control department, whereas the white human being had self-control in abundance. The white man represented soul, the black man body, precisely as men represented soul and women represented body. The end position for this argument of Augustine's, in the American South, would be "The niggers are spontaneous and sexy, like animals, and need to be kept in their place." — And I bet you didn't know that this sort of thinking originated with Saint Augustine!)

Although [Henry Thoreau](#) would incorporate this nasty Augustinian phrase "the better part of man" into [WALDEN](#) — our guy would accomplish this with supreme irony, **appropriating the phrase only to explain that it is a mistake and to deliberately purge it of all viciousness:**

[WALDEN](#): But men labor under a mistake. The better part of the man is soon ploughed into the soil for compost. By a seeming fate, commonly called necessity, they are employed, as it says in an old book, laying up treasures which moth and rust will corrupt and thieves break through and steal. It is a fool's life, as they will find when they get to the end of it, if not before.

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WALDEN

AUGUSTINE

414 CE

At about this period Bishop [Augustine](#) was originating the orthodox Christian use of the term "nature" as the counterpoise of "grace," in *DE NATURA ET GRATIA*.

[Augustine](#)'s *DE BONO VIDUITATIS*.

During this year or the next Bishop [Augustine](#) would publish *DE PERFECTIOE JUSTITIAE HOMINIS* in opposition to [Pelagius](#). In none of these works would he so much as mention the name of the person whose influence he was combatting.

415 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA PRISCILLIANISTAS ET ORIGENISTAS* and *DE PERFECTIOE IUSTITIAE HOMINIS*.



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July: [Pelagius](#) had issued a work now lost, *DE NATURA*, in which he attempted to support his doctrine by appeal not only to the authority of Hilary and Ambrose but also to the earlier writings of his opponents [Augustine](#) and Jerome, and [Augustine](#) had immediately responded in *DE NATURA ET GRATIA*, to which Jerome responded with *DIALOGUS CONTRA PELAGIANOS*. In this month therefore a diocesan council imposed silence upon all parties, until a decision could be reached.

416 CE

[Pelagius](#) published *DE LIBERO ARBITRIO LIBRI IV*, an address to Pope Innocent I (he had not been informed of this pope's death) in which although he did not explicitly renounce earlier assertions he seemed to be verging toward [Augustine](#)'s conception of grace, etc. Clearly, he was not as interested as the bishop was, in provoking any confrontation.

Fall: The 67 bishops of Proconsular Africa assembled in a synod at Carthage, and the 59 bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Numidia, to which Bishop [Augustine](#)'s See of Hippo belonged, assembled in a synod in Mileve, to repudiate the doctrines of [Pelagius](#).

417 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE GESTIS PELAGII*. IN THIS YEAR OR THE FOLLOWING ONE, HIS *DE PATIENTIA*.

January 27: Bishops [Augustine](#), Aurelius, Alypius, Evodius, and Possidius had sent a joint letter to [Pelagius](#), detailing their collective understanding of the church's doctrines of original sin, infant baptism, and Christian grace, and on this date the pope prepared three separate letters excluding Pelagius from communion pending his coming to his senses (*donec resipiscant*) about the nature of original sin and the nature of grace.

September 23: In regard to the [Pelagius](#) controversy, [Augustine](#) announced from his pulpit that "*Jam de hac causa duo concilia missa sunt ad Sedem apostolicam, inde etiam rescripta venerunt; causa finita est.*"<sup>9</sup> The announcement was premature because although the defined doctrine had been condemned, it had not yet been firmly established that Pelagius actually held this condemned doctrine. Pope Zosimus would give the African prelates two months to establish this connection.

9. "Two synods having written to the Apostolic See about this matter; the replies have come back; the question is settled."



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418 CE

In this year the Franks took Gaul.

[Augustine](#)'s *SERMO AD CAESARIENSIS PLEBEM, DE GESTIS CUM EMERITO DONATISTARUM EPISCOPO*, and *DE GRATIA ET LIBERO ARBITRIO*. IN THIS YEAR OR THE FOLLOWING ONE, HIS *CONTRA SERMONEM ARRIANORUM*.

From this year into the following one would be the short *floruit* of the anti-Pope Eulalius.

419 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA GAUDENTIUM DONATISTARUM EPISCOPUM, QUAESTIONES IN HEPTATEUCHUM*, and *LOCUTIONES IN HEPTATEUCHUM*. In this year or the following one, his *DE NATURA ET ORIGINE ANIMAE*. In this year or the following one, or perhaps in 421 CE, his *DE NUPTIIS ET CONCUPISCENTIA*.

420 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE ADULTERINIS CONIUGIIS, CONTRA ADVERSARIUM LEGIS ET PROPHETARUM*, and *CONTRA MENDACIUM AD CONSENTIUM*. In this year or the following year, his *CONTRA DUAS EPISTULAS PELAGIANORUM*.

421 CE

At this point, or during the following year, [Augustine](#)'s *CONTRA IULIANUM*.

422 CE

The [Flavian Amphitheater](#) in [Rome](#) was damaged in an earthquake.

COLOSSEUM

[Augustine](#)'s *DE CURA PRO MORTUIS GERENDA* (?) and *ENCHIRIDION AD LAURENTIUM DE FIDE ET SPE ET CARITATE*. From this year into 425 CE, his *DE OCTO DULCITI QUAESTIONIBUS*. In 399 CE, and from this year into 426 CE, his *DE TRINITATE*:



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"Things that are past do not themselves exist, but only certain signs of them as past, the sight or hearing of which makes it known that they have been and have passed away. And these signs are either situated in the places themselves, as for example monuments of the dead or the like; or exist in written books worthy of credit, as is all history that is of weight and approved authority; or are in the minds of those who already know them."



— [Augustine](#), ON THE TRINITY 14.8.11



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426 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE GRATIA CHRISTI ET DE PECCATO ORIGINALI*.

IN THIS YEAR OR THE NEXT, HE COMPLETED HIS *DE CIVITATE DEI* WHICH HAD BEEN BEGUN IN 413 CE, HIS *RETRACTATIONES*, AND HIS *DE CORREPTIONE ET GRATIA*. DURING THIS YEAR AND THE NEXT HE WOULD COMPLETE WORK ON *DE GENESI AD LITTERAM IMPERFECTUS LIBER*, WHICH HE HAD ALSO WORKED ON IN 393/394 CE.

222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.  
260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.  
274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.  
306 Constantine the Great begins his reign.  
308 Cardinals first made.  
313 The tenth persecution ends by an edict of Constantine, who favours the Christians, and gives full liberty to their religion.  
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427 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *SPECULUM*. HE COMPLETED *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA*, WHICH HE HAD WORKED ON IN 396 CE. DURING THIS YEAR AND THE FOLLOWING YEAR, HE WOULD CREATE *CONTRA MAXIMUM ARRIANUM* and *CONLATIO CUM MAXIMINO ARRIANORUM EPISCOPO*.

AT ABOUT THIS POINT Ashi, head of Sura Yeshiva, "Rabbana," began compilation of the Babylonian Talmud.

The Koguryo kingdom moved its capital to Pyongyang. When not building monuments to itself, the Koguryo state was attacking its neighbors, which would prompt its Korean enemies to unify and organize themselves along Chinese bureaucratic lines (Silla, for instance, would in 517 CE establish an office of war organized along Confucian bureaucratic lines).

When Niall died, probably during a raid on Brittania, his son Loegaire became King of Midhe.

IRELAND

428 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *DE HAERESIBUS*. DURING THIS YEAR AND THE FOLLOWING ONE, HIS *ADVERSUS IUDAEOS*, *DE PRAEDESTINATIONE SANCTORUM*, and *DE DONO PERSEVERANTIAE*.

429 CE

In this year and the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *OPUS IMPERFECTUM CONTRA IULIANUM*.

430 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *EPISTULA (EPISTULAE)* and *SERMONES*.





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Summer: By this point a band of north-woods barbarians had found its way even to Africa. The Vandals, who had first come from Germany into Roman Gaul in 406 and later passed through Gaul into Spain, had been invited into Africa by a Roman governor who had been in rebellion against the emperor. The Vandals, like the Saxons later in the same century, proved to be deadly allies. By this summer they were besieging the city of Hippo Regius as Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo (“St. [Augustine](#)”), lay dying within.



Shortly after his death they would capture the city. They would then capture Carthage as well, and establish a kingdom that would last a century.

431 CE

Pope Celestine sent Palladius to [Ireland](#) to be its initial Bishop.

Nestorian Christianity was condemned at the 3d ecumenical congress, known as the Council of Ephesus (while Nestorians were describing Christ’s divinity and his humanity as separate, the winning faction of the Christian hierarchy were describing them as coequal, and what was at stake was whether the Church should derive its leadership from Alexandria, Constantinople, or Ravenna). [Augustine](#) and [Pelagius](#) were dead and gone, but their dispute had lingered. Pelagianism was, however, being eradicated from at least the eastern half of the Church. Mary was proclaimed as the Mother of God (*Theotokos*).

Letters of Nonnus of Panopolis, and John Cassian.

The Egyptian Christians, lacking military power, were forced from Alexandria into Syria and Iraq, where they would begin translating Greek scriptures into Syriac. Syrian Christianity split into an Eastern group known as “Nestorian” and a Western group known as “Jacobites.”



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**597 CE**

Christianity was established among the Anglo-Saxons in Kent by [Augustine](#) (this Roman import to England was of course not the Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo in Africa who had been in the ground already for some seven generations — and therefore he is referred to sometimes as “St. Augustine the Less”), who in this year became the 1st Archbishop of Canterbury, and one of the things this meant was that fruit orchards would be established for the monasteries. Despite repeated Viking attacks many of these survived. The monastery at Ely (Cambridgeshire) would be particularly famous for its orchards and vineyards.

**604 CE**

May 26, 604: [Augustine](#) died (this Roman import to England was of course not the Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo in Africa who had been in the ground already for some seven generations — and therefore he is referred to sometimes as “St. Augustine the Less”), and Laurentius succeeded him as Archbishop of Canterbury.



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745 CE

At about this point, during the battle for control of Central Asia, the Kirghiz Turks defeated the Uighur Turks (the technologically advanced Kirghiz culture was closely linked to China, and is believed to have been responsible for the creation of the Turkish runic script).

**Chronological observations of America**

*Boniface* Bishop of *Mens* a City in *Germany*, was accused before Pope *Zachary* in the time of *Ethelred* King of the *East-Angles* for Heresie, &c. in that he averred there were Antipodes. St. *Augustine* and *Lactantius* opinion was that there were none.

BY John Josselyn Gent.

From the year of the World

to the year of Christ 1673.

AUGUSTINE

1140

During this year the monk Gratian was compiling the canon law. Despite the fact that *concordia* derives etymologically from *cor*, *cordis*, “the heart” and thus refers to “an agreement of hearts, peace, order,” Gratian placed primary emphasis on its similarity with *chorda*, “string,” when he gave to his *Decretum* the full title *CONCORDIA DISCORDANTIUM CANONUM*, a title which might be translated as “Harmonization of Discordant Canons.” Concord thus became not only an agreement of hearts but also a musical “harmony of tones,” the term having been granted “a poetic ambivalence which allows for a kind of metaphysical punning.” It is possible to find, not only in Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo (“St. [Augustin](#)”) and in Boethius, but also in the Vulgate, contexts in which the terms “consonance” and “concord” are used interchangeably. Gratian’s thought has thus sounded musical overtones down through the centuries. (But then, so has Abelard’s love affair.)

CONCORD

CONCORD



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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

**1659**

[John Evelyn](#) published several Royalist pamphlets, such as a witty piece on the “Character of England,” a critique of sloppy habits during the Interregnum.<sup>10</sup> He also put out the first English translation of THE GOLDEN BOOK OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, on the proper education of children.<sup>11</sup> This latter effort was his memorial to his son Richard who had died at age 5 in 1658, so the bereaved father added an Epistle packed with quotes from a small section of the CONFESSIONS OF [AUGUSTINE](#) and extracting freely from a secondary source for the letters of Jerome. However, this author had not yet begun to lard his prose with Latin quotes.



A SPIRITUAL JOURNEY OF A YOUNG MAN TOWARDS THE LAND OF PEACE, TO LIVE THEREIN ESSENTIALLY IN GOD, WHO MET IN HIS JOURNEY WITH THREE SORTS OF DISPUTES ... ALSO, A SPIRITUAL DIALOGUE, WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED A ROUND OR CHORUS-DANCE, WHEREUNTO THE VAIN HEATHENISH LUSTS ... DANCING HAND IN HAND, SKIP AND JUMP TO HELL. Translated out of Dutch, in London, in this year (since a copy of this would be inventoried in [Bronson Alcott](#)’s library at the point of his death, it is very possible that [Henry Thoreau](#) at some point was able to consult it).

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

[Samuel Pepys](#) went along with Montagu on a voyage to the Sound. In this year he secured a clerkship of £50 per annum in the office of George Downing, one of the tellers of the Exchequer (the teller after whom Downing Street would later be named). It would be while clerking in Downing’s office, and living in a small house in Axe Yard, that at the start of the following year he would begin his famous diary.

10. A CHARACTER OF ENGLAND: AS IT WAS LATELY PRESENTED IN A LETTER TO A NOBLE MAN OF FRANCE. Londons [i.e. London]: Printed for Jo. Crooke..., 1659.

11. THE GOLDEN BOOK OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, CONCERNING THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN / TRANSLATED OUT OF THE GREEK BY J.E., ESQ. London: Printed by D.M. for G. Bedel and T. Collins.... (Saint John Chrysostom had deceased as of 407CE. He is famous for something.)



## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

## AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS OF HIPPO

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1662

September: The Episcopal of England obtained enactment of the Clarendon Code, requiring that their BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER be used at all religious services.

Here's a strange thing! This Episcopal BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER incorporated St. [Augustine](#)'s injunction that a sacrament amounted merely to an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace."

**WALDEN:** The customs of some savage nations might, perchance be profitably imitated by us, for they at least go through the semblance of casting their slough annually; they have the idea of the thing, whether they have the reality or not. Would it not be well if we were to celebrate such a "busk," or "feast of first fruits," as Bartram describes to have been the custom of the Mucclasse Indians? "When a town celebrates the busk," says he, "having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old provisions they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire. After having taken medicine, and fasted for three days, all the fire in town is extinguished. During this fast they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed; all malefactors may return to their town.-"

"On the fourth morning, the high priest, by rubbing dry wood together, produces new fire in the public square, from whence every habitation in the town is supplied with the new and pure flame."

They then feast on the new corn and fruits and dance and sing for three days, "and the four following days they receive visits and rejoice with their friends from neighboring towns who have in like manner purified and prepared themselves."

The Mexicans also practised a similar purification at the end of every fifty-two years, in the belief that it was time for the world to come to an end.

I have scarcely heard of a truer sacrament, that is, as the dictionary defines it, "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace," than this, and I have no doubt that they were originally inspired directly from Heaven to do thus, though they have no biblical record of the revelation.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

AUGUSTINE

WILLIAM BARTRAM

NOAH WEBSTER

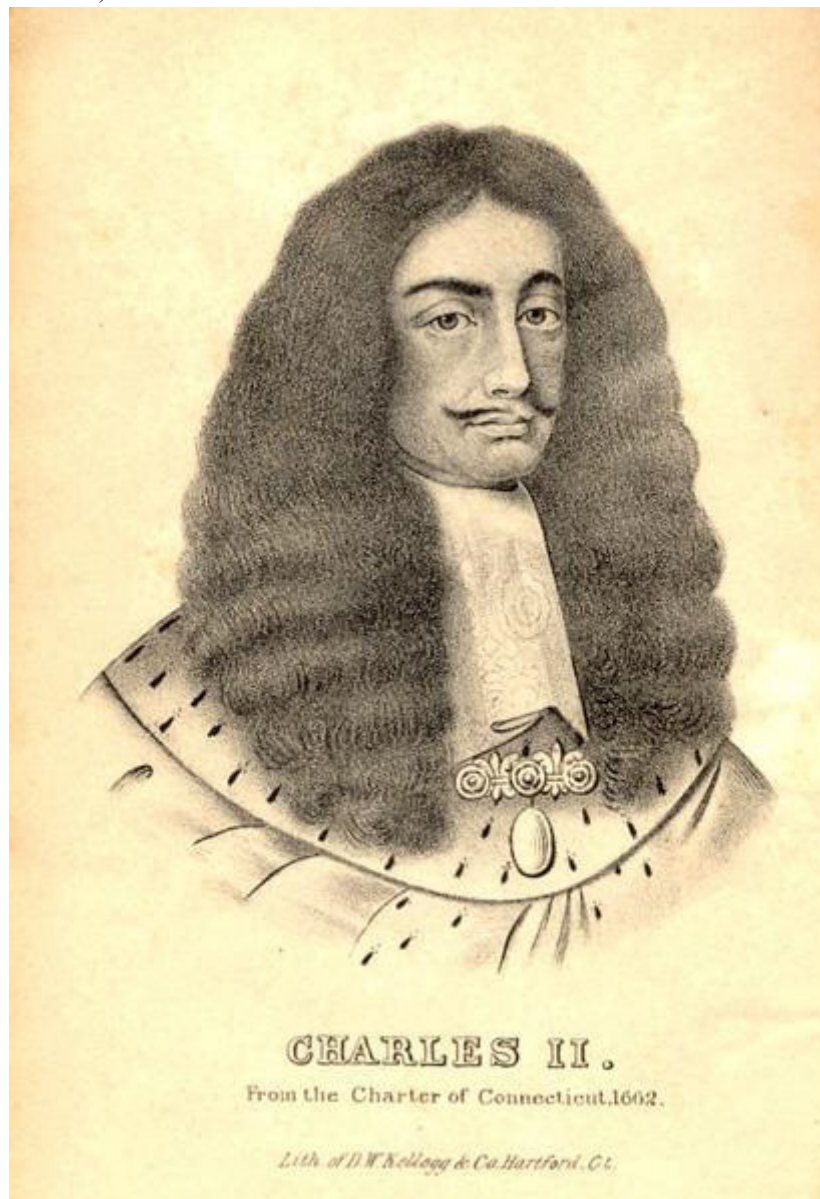


## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

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That is, there was no magic potency whatever to a sacrament, it being merely a form of sign language. Nevertheless, participation in these outward signs was to be mandatory. The English members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), since they openly rejected such forms, were of course be persecuted. Also, King Charles II let it be known to the American colonies that despite his previous sympathies, he now had come to understand about these Quakers and how they needed to be suppressed — and anything the colonial authorities wanted to do with their American [Quakers](#) was now quite all right with him: he had no intent “to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers.” He was “well contented” that they should be ruthlessly suppressed. (In the following month, in [Boston](#), the vicious Cart and Whip Act would be reinstated.)





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### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1714

After so many millennia of human wandering and wondering, it was Herr Professor G.W. von Leibnitz who in this belated year made himself the initial one of our philosophers, ever to become so utterly besotted by the vagaries of language syntax as to marvel “Why is there something rather than nothing?” [St. Augustine](#) had pointed out that we should begin our inquiries neither at the beginning of things nor the end of things, but instead, we should begin where we are at, but Augustine’s concern had to do with a methodology of inquiry rather than with the vagaries of the ontology of the concept of nothingness. Leibnitz went well beyond Augustine’s reasonable concern for procedure. And what do we have nowadays? Nowadays we have the pseudoscientific cosmogony cosmetics of Jim Holt’s WHY DOES THE WORLD EXIST? AN EXISTENTIAL DETECTIVE STORY, and we are waiting for someone to inventively label an off-Broadway production “Much Ado About Nothing,” acted entirely without raising the stage curtain!

In 1697 in ON THE ULTIMATE ORIGINATION OF THE UNIVERSE Leibnitz had argued that “Besides the World, that is, besides the aggregate of finite things, there is some dominant unit...[that] not only rules the world, [but] also makes or creates it. It is superior to the world and, so to speak, beyond the world, and is therefore the ultimate reason for things. Neither in any single thing, nor in the total aggregate and series of things, can the sufficient reason for their existence be discovered. Let us suppose a book...to have existed eternally, one edition having always been copied from the preceding: it is evident then that, although you can account for the present copy by reference to a past copy which it reproduces, yet, however far back you go ... you can never arrive at a complete [explanation], since you always will have to ask why at all times these books have existed, that is, why there have been any books at all and why this book in particular. What is true concerning these books is equally true concerning the diverse states of the world, for here too the following state is in some way a copy of the preceding one (although changed according to certain laws). However far you turn back...you will never discover in any or all of these states the full reason why there is a world rather than nothing, nor why it is such as it is. ... You may well suppose the world to be eternal; yet what you thus posit is nothing but the succession of its states, and you will not find the sufficient reason in any one of them, nor will you get any nearer to accounting rationally for the world by taking any number of them together: the reason must therefore be sought elsewhere. Things eternal may have no cause of existence, yet a reason for their existence must be conceived. Such a reason is, for immutable things, their very necessity or essence; while in the series of changing things, even though this series itself may be supposed a priori to be eternal, this reason would consist in the very prevailing of inclinations. For in this case reasons do not necessitate (that is, operate with absolute or metaphysical necessity, so that the contrary would imply contradiction), but only incline. Hence it is evident that even by supposing the world to be eternal, the recourse to an ultimate cause of the universe beyond this world, that is, to God, cannot be avoided. ... The reasons [sufficient, full, complete] for the world are therefore concealed in some entity outside the world....Thus we must pass from the physical or hypothetical necessity, which determines the later states of the world by the earlier, to something endowed with absolute or metaphysical necessity, for which no reason can be given. For the actually existing world is necessary only physically or hypothetically, but not absolutely or metaphysically....Since therefore the ultimate root of the world must be something which exists of metaphysical necessity, and since furthermore the reason for any existent can be only another existent, it follows that a unique entity must exist of metaphysical necessity, that is, there is a being whose essence implies existence. Hence there exists a being which is different from the plurality of beings, that is, from the world; for it has been granted and proved that the world does not exist of metaphysical necessity.” It was in this year the Leibnitz developed his Principle of Sufficient Reason and his Argument for the Existence of God. In THE MONADOLOGY he argued that “... we can find no true or existent





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fact, no true assertion, without there being a sufficient reason why it is thus and not otherwise, although most of the time these reasons cannot be known to us. ... There is an infinity of figures...of minute inclinations....Now, all of this detail implies previous or more particular contingents, each of which again stands in need of similar analysis to be accounted for, so that nothing is gained by such analysis. The sufficient or ultimate reason must therefore exist outside the succession of series of contingent particulars, infinite though this series be. Consequently, the ultimate reason of all things must subsist in a necessary substance, in which all particular changes may exist only virtually as in its source: this substance is what we call God.” In THE PRINCIPLES OF NATURE AND GRACE, BASED ON REASON, also issued during this year, Leibnitz argued that “... now we ... make use of the great ... principle that nothing takes place without a sufficient reason; in other words, that nothing occurs for which it would be impossible for someone who has enough knowledge of things to give a reason adequate to determine why the thing is as it is and not otherwise. This principle having been stated, the first question which we have a right to ask will be, ‘Why is there something rather than nothing?’ ... Further, assuming that things must exist, it must be possible to give a reason why they should exist as they do and not otherwise.... Now this sufficient reason for the existence of the universe cannot be found in the series of contingent things.... Although the present motion ... arises from preceding motion, and that in turn from motion which preceded it, we do not get further however far we may go, for the same question always remains. The sufficient reason, therefore, which needs not further reason, must be outside of this series of contingent things and is found in a substance which...is a necessary being bearing the reason for its existence within itself; otherwise we should not yet have a sufficient reason with which to stop. This final reason for things is called God.”

This poser 1st posed by Leibnitz, “Why is there something rather than nothing?” is not a deep poser, but sophomoric, and can readily be demonstrated to be sophomoric. The opposite of “everything that is” cannot be “nothing at all,” for “everything that is,” if it is what it says it is, would of necessity include everything, and “nothing at all,” were it something, were it anything at all, would of necessity be a part of that. It would not be excluded but would be included. Since this nothingness would of necessity be a part of everything, it could not ever either philosophically or scientifically be considered to be an alternative to everything as Leibnitz’s poser supposes. What then is the real opposite of the something that is the universe? The real opposite of something is always and ever, everywhere, something else. It is a fact of our life experienced every day without exception, that when we eliminate something, something else always comes along. That is, all our experience assures us that the real alternative to anything always happens to be something else.

It comes as a surprise to many of us, that in all the history of philosophy, what many of us now consider to be the “1st question of philosophy” happens to be a question that was never even formulated prior to the 18th Century. This should not come as a surprise. What should come as a surprise is that someone considered to be as important to the development of academic philosophy as Leibnitz, someone who is studied by everyone who makes any formal study of philosophy, should have been the person to have propounded such an inane poser. Also, it should come as a surprise to us, that anyone ever took Leibnitz seriously about this. I mean, it does not really take any great deal of sophistication, to grasp that if the word “nothingness” has a meaning by standing for something, then whatever it is that it stands for must be part of the concept “everything that is,” and conversely, if this word does not have meaning by standing for something or everything that exists, then it cannot function in our discourse as an alternative for existence.

The concept of a vacuum, of empty space, has in the history of science represented a problem for particle physics. Our physicists now hypothesize that actually, in deep space, matched pairs of particles are always popping into existence and out of existence. In a patch of deep space for instance, under certain conditions, a matched pair of particles, a positron and an electron, will pop into existence heading with equal velocities in precisely opposite directions — and will then a tiny fraction of a second later pop back out of existence. Our physicists have discovered that emptiness isn’t empty, scientific fact, and yet in public lectures and





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planetarium presentations somehow they need to get this fact to pop into the consciousness of members of a lay public whose heads are full of emptiness. The lay public does understand that it is a scientific fact that nature abhors a vacuum, but they suppose this somehow to be related to their human fear of loss, of losing, of needing to do without. But it has no connection with that. As this poser by Leibnitz demonstrates, nature abhors a vacuum simply because there is something intrinsically mistaken about this “vacuum” concept we hold so near and dear. Emptiness is not prior to existence, it does not need an explanation, it does not come first. First there was nothing and then there was everything, and that needs to be explained by positing a deity who by fiat brought that everything into being? Get a clue! The universe didn’t ever go from nothing into something. The “big bang” does not need a philosophical nudge. We don’t ever go from something to nothing. It’s a category mistake.

Not only did everything not come from nothing, we are not going into nothing. Dying is not existing and then not existing. As Wittgenstein pointed out, there are such things as corpses but there’s no such thingie as “you dead.” Thinking about death is fraught, because we suppose ourselves to be thinking about an opposite to being alive. However, death isn’t the opposite of life. If death were the opposite of life then life would be the opposite of death. However, what death is, is the opposite of birth. Since it is the opposite of birth (life and birth being distinct thingies), it cannot be the opposite of life. Take the case of suicide. Suicide is considered to be the death act. However, suicide is not a death act but an act of life. It’s a life act in precisely the same manner as orgasm (la petit mort) is a life act and then smoking a cigarette is a life act and having breakfast pancakes is a life act, and studying philosophy is a life act. The thing that is the very most similar to dying is falling asleep, and going to sleep is well understood to be a part of life, a part that in fact is happening to us over and over. We practice every evening. So suicide actually is a continuation of life just as falling asleep is a continuation of life. We don’t go anywhere when we die, what happens is that we begin to lie very still and pretty soon they stick us in a hole and cover us with dirt — because we have ceased forever from going anywhere at all. Beethoven was a composer and then became a decomposer, and what’s problematic about that?



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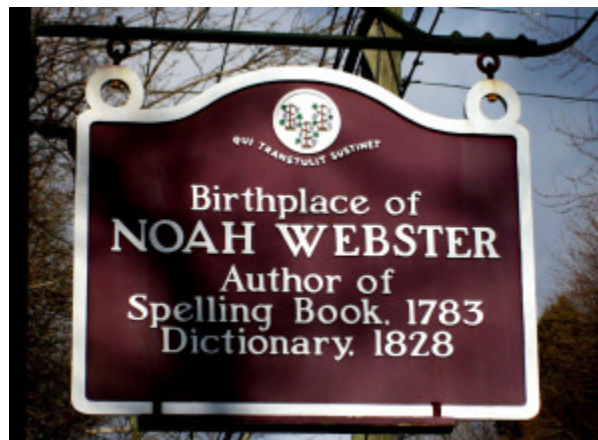
### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

1828

➡ April 21, Monday: [Noah Webster](#) provided a sequel to his 22-year-old COMPENDIOUS DICTIONARY, as AN AMERICAN DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, in two large quarto volumes for \$20.<sup>00</sup>, in an edition of 2,500 copies. (Other sources allege that this happened on April 14th, and during November.) Webster was 70 years old and the preparation for this had required two full decades of his life. The publication contained 70,000 words, which would be 12,000 more than JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY as presented by Todd.

### SEARCH FOR A WORD

This is the original “Webster’s Dictionary” ancestral to the one now published by the Merriam-Webster Company of Springfield. It was notable for sponsoring “Americanisms” such as deviations from accepted English spellings for common words (*e.g.* color for colour) and for the inclusion of words of local origin (*e.g.* applesauce, revolutionary, skunk). The new authority explained that “The **dinner** of fashionable people would be the **supper** of rustics.”





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Mr. Webster accepted the definition of "sacrament" originated by [St. Augustine](#) as it was applied in the English Episcopal BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER:

**WALDEN:** The customs of some savage nations might, perchance be profitably imitated by us, for they at least go through the semblance of casting their slough annually; they have the idea of the thing, whether they have the reality or not. Would it not be well if we were to celebrate such a "busk," or "feast of first fruits," as Bartram describes to have been the custom of the Mucclasse Indians? "When a town celebrates the busk," says he, "having previously provided themselves with new clothes, new pots, pans, and other household utensils and furniture, they collect all their worn out clothes and other despicable things, sweep and cleanse their houses, squares, and the whole town, of their filth, which with all the remaining grain and other old provisions they cast together into one common heap, and consume it with fire. After having taken medicine, and fasted for three days, all the fire in town is extinguished. During this fast they abstain from the gratification of every appetite and passion whatever. A general amnesty is proclaimed; all malefactors may return to their town.-"

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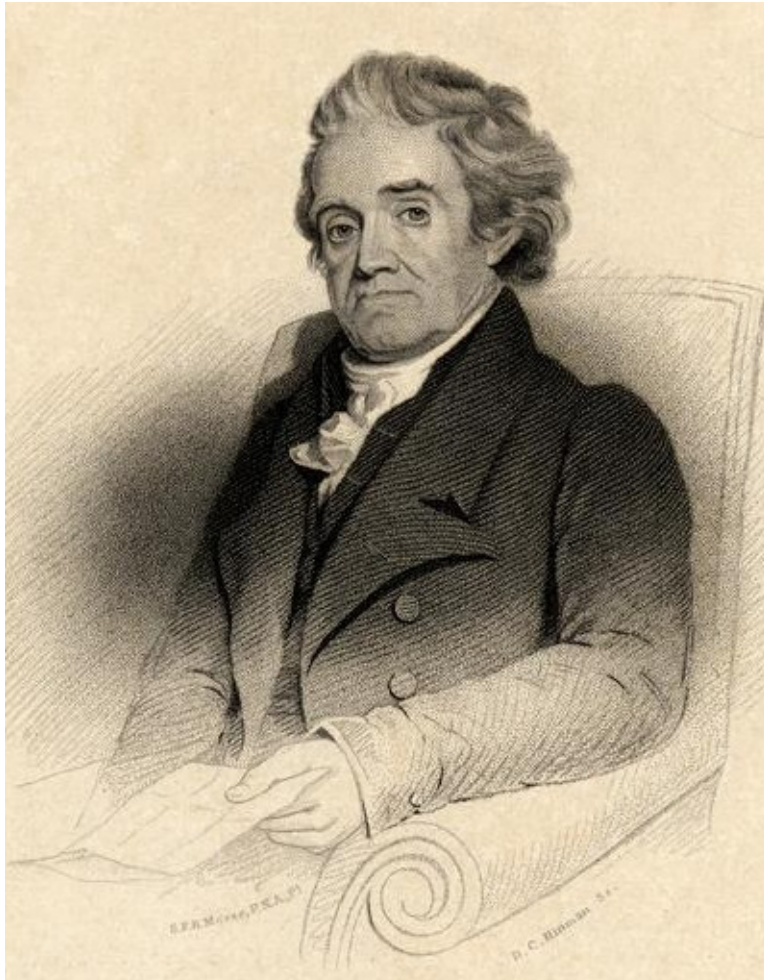
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One may interrogate this dictionary at:

<<http://www.christiantech.com/>>



Noah Webster defined the term “hybrid” as “a mongrel or mule; an animal or plant, produced from the mixture of two species.”

(This year marked the first use of the advice “stay on the fence” and marked the origination of the term “long drink” — however, such usages were not at that point considered to be suitable for inclusion in something so dignified and commodious as a dictionary.)

Thoreau would use the term “fictile” in WALDEN. Here is how that term was defined in this dictionary:

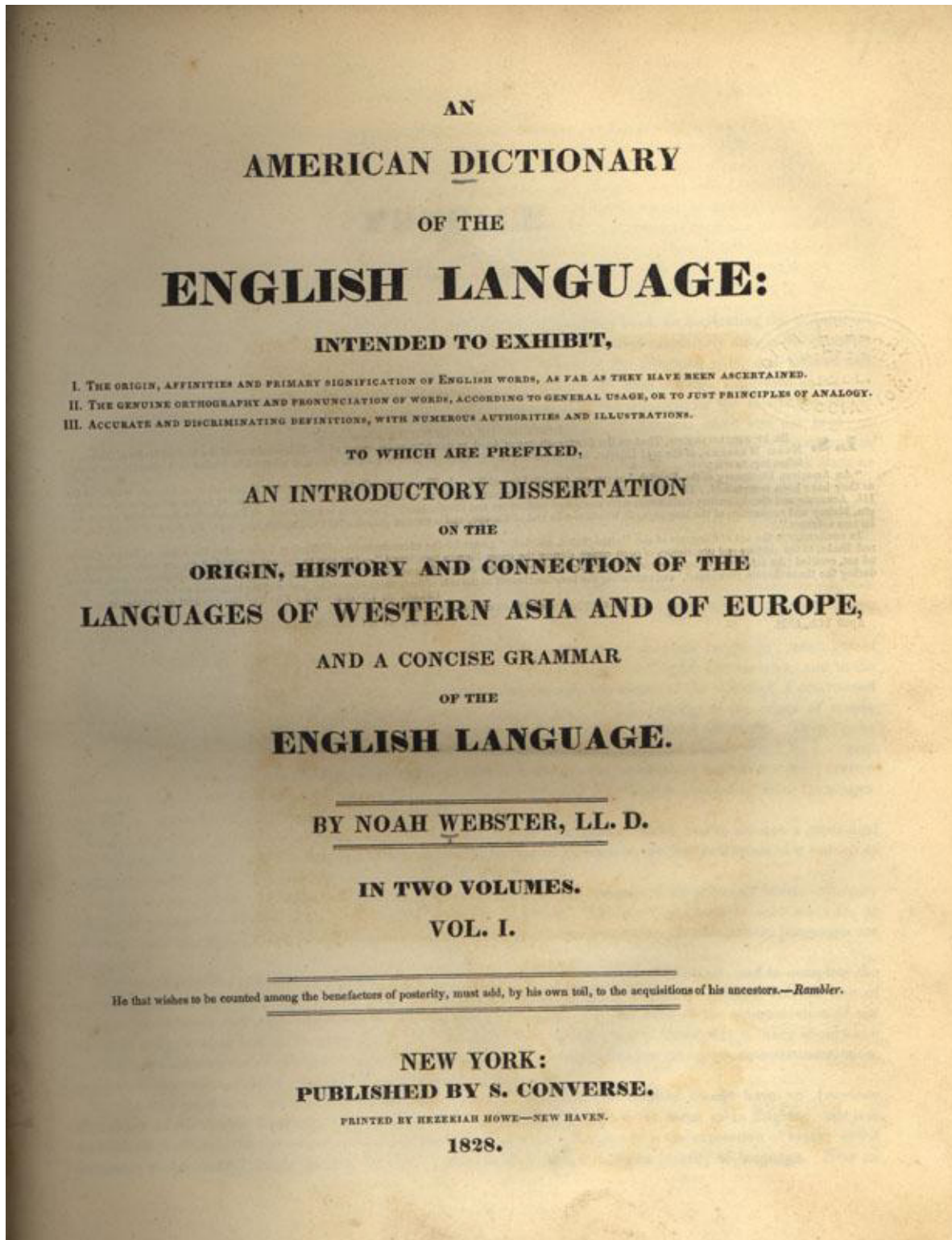
FIC'TILE, a. [L. *fictilis*, from *fictus*, *fin*go, to feign.]  
Molded into form by art; manufactured by the potter.  
Fictile earth is more fragile than crude earth.



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## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

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**1841**

December: [Henry Thoreau](#) copied two poems by [Vincent Bourne](#), “Hymn” and “On the Feast of Pentecost,” from MISCELLANEOUS POEMS: CONSISTING OF ORIGINALS AND TRANSLATIONS (London: W. Ginger, 1772) into his 1st Commonplace Book.



### ON THE FEAST OF PENTECOST.

\*\*\*\*\* S Babel's lofty towers proudly rise,  
 \* A \* With bold design aspiring to the skies ;  
 \* \* \* The foolish builder's project God confounds,  
 \* \* \* With various languages and different sounds.  
 But when to build his Church th' Almighty came,  
 (Tho' differing the event, the means the same)  
 The gift of languages he did afford  
 To them, whom he ordain'd to preach his word :  
 As knowing that to man he thus had given  
 A surer, better way, to reach at heaven.



### MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

He copied an anonymous poem “Upon a Small Building in Gothic Taste” from a set of volumes edited by Robert Dodsley and printed for J. Dodsley in Pall Mall in 1775, entitled A COLLECTION OF POEMS IN SIX VOLUMES. BY SEVERAL HANDS.

He copied from a compilation in the library of [Waldo Emerson](#), [John Gilchrist](#)'s A COLLECTION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN SCOTTISH BALLADS, TALES, AND SONGS, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS. IN TWO VOLUMES (Edinburgh: Printed by Gilchrist & Heriot, Printers, Leith for William Blackwood: and Baldwin, Craddock, & Joy, Paternoster-row, London).





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From this month into the following March, [Thoreau](#) would be reading in the 8 volumes of the 1829 Oxford edition of THE WORKS OF [SIR WALTER RALEGH, KT.](#), NOW FIRST COLLECTED: TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED THE LIVES OF THE AUTHOR BY OLDYS AND BIRCH. It appears that after studying the first 7 volumes in the Harvard Alcove (for instance, THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD in Volume II), on December 10th he withdrew Volume VIII for home study. From that last volume he would derive an Ovid quote which eventually he would situate in the early pages of his [WALDEN](#) ms:

[WALDEN](#): It is said that Deucalion and Pyrrha created men by throwing stones over their heads behind them:-

Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,  
Et documenta damus quâ simus origine nati.

Or, as Raleigh rhymes it in his sonorous way,-

“From thence our kind hard-hearted is, enduring pain  
and care,  
Approving that our bodies of a stony nature are.”

So much for a blind obedience to a blundering oracle, throwing the stones over their heads behind them, and not seeing where they fell.

DEUCALION

PYRRHA

OVID

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WALTER RALEIGH

For his interest in Sir Walter during this period, refer to his [Journal](#), I, 314, 318ff., 332-334.



St. Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was said to have laughed at his birth, when all other children weep; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attained unto.

AUGUSTINE

ZOROASTER

#### SECT. V.

That man is, as it were, a little world: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or model, or brief story of the universal: in whom God concluded the creation and work of the world, and whom he made the last and most excellent of his creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which he might contemplate and serve his Creator, after whose image he was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of reason and other abilities, that thereby also he might govern and rule the world, and all other God's creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of living natures, to wit, angelical, rational, and brutal; giving to angels an intellectual, and to beasts a sensual nature, he vouchsafed unto man both the intellectual of angels, the sensitive of beasts, and the proper rational belong unto man, and therefore, saith Gregory Nazianzene, *Homo est utriusque naturae vinculum*; “Man is the bond and chain which tieth together both natures;” and because in the little frame of man's body there is a representation of the universal, and (by allusion) a kind of participation of all the parts thereof, therefore was man called microcosmos, or the little world. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum, in brevi magnum, atque exiguo totum, in terris statuit*; “God therefore placed in the earth the man whom he had made, as it were another world, the great and large world in the small and little world.”

For out of earth and dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heavy and lumpish; the bones of his body we may compare to the hard rocks and stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which Ovid:

*Inde genus durum sumus, experiensque laborum,*



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*Et documenta damus qua simus origiae nati.*

From thence our kind hard-hearted is,  
Enduring pain and care,  
Approving, that our bodies of  
A stony nature are.

His blood, which disperseth itself by the branches of veins through all the body, may be resembled to those waters which are carried by brooks and rivers over all the earth; his breath to the air; his natural heat to the enclosed warmth which the earth hath in itself, which, stirred up by the heat of the sun, assisteth nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties which the earth bringeth forth; our radical moisture, oil, or balsamum, (whereon the natural heat feedeth and is maintained,) is resembled to the fat and fertility of the earth; the hairs of man's body, which adorns, or overshadows it, to the grass, which covereth the upper face and skin of the earth; our generative power, to nature, which produceth all things; our determination, to the light, wandering, and unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds.; our eyes to the light of the sun and moon; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the sun's heat, dry up and wither away, or the fierce puffs of wind blow them from the stalks; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of angels; and our pure understanding, (formerly called *mens*, and that which always looketh upwards,) to those intellectual natures which are always present with God; and, lastly, our immortal souls (while they are righteous) are by God himself beautified with the title of his own image and similitude.

And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous, (for, *sin angelis deprehensa est stultitia*, "Behold, he "found folly in his angels," saith Job;) yet, with such a kind of difference as there is between the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodness in man; which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man the image and similitude of his own righteousness. In this also is the little world of man compared, and made more like the universal, (man being the measure of all things; "*Homo est mensura omnium rerum*," saith Aristotle and Pythagoras,) that the four complexions resemble the four elements, and the seven ages of man the seven planets; whereof our infancy is compared to the moon, in which we seem only to live and grow, as plants; the second age to Mercury, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third age to Venus, the days of love, desire, and vanity; the fourth to the sun, the strong, flourishing, and beautiful age of man's life; the fifth to Mars, in which we seek honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travel to ambitious ends; the sixth age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we begin to take account of our times, judge of ourselves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to Saturn, wherein our days are sad, and overcast, and in which we find by dear and lamentable experience, and by the loss which can never be repaired, that of all our vain passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth; our attendants are sicknesses and variable infirmities; and by how much the more we are accompanied with plenty, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when time hath made unsociable to others, we become a burden to ourselves: being of no other use, than to hold the riches we have from our successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternal habitation, which we pass on unto with many sighs, groans, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life; towards which we always travel both sleeping and waking; neither have those beloved companions of honour and riches any power at all to hold us any one day by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soever we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doors lie open at all hours and to all persons.

For this tide of man's life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetual ebb and falling stream, but never floweth again; our leaf once fallen, springeth no more; neither doth the sun or the summer adorn us again, with the garments of new leaves and flowers.

*Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus aetas:*

*Ergo non homini, quod fuit ante, reddit.*



## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

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To which I give this sense.  
The plants and trees made poor and old  
By winter envious,  
The spring-time bounteous  
Covers again from shame and cold:  
But never man repair'd again  
His youth and beauty lost,  
Though art, and care, and cost,  
Do promise nature's help in vain.

And of which Catullus, Epigram 53  
*Soles occidere et redire possunt:*  
*Nobis com semel occidit brevis lux,*  
*Nox est perpetua una dormienda.*

The sun may set and rise:  
But we contrarywise  
Sleep after our short light  
One everlasting night.

For if there were any bating place, or rest, in the course or race of man's life, then, according to the doctrine of the Academics, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in natural living things, and as the sap and juice, wherein the life of plants is preserved, doth evermore ascend or descend; so it is with the life of man, which is always either increasing towards ripeness and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottenness and dissolution.

Thoreau's penciled note: "There is an ~~undefinable~~ flowing musical sweetness and rhythm — lie the rippling ~~flow~~ flow of rivers, in his prose hardly to be matched in any prose or verse."

*"Recte quidem bonum definierunt, quod omnia expetunt;* Rightly have some men defined good or goodness, to be that which all things desire."

[*"History of the World,"* Bk. II, ch. III, WORKS, III, 110]

How the Greeks viewed their danger from the tide of Philip.

"And, indeed, it was not in their philosophy to consider that all great alterations are, storm-like, sudden and violent; and that it is then overlate to repair the decayed and broken banks when great rivers are once swollen, fast running, and enraged. No; the Greeks did rather employ themselves in breaking down those defences which stood between them and this inundation, than seek to rampart and reinforce their own fields; which, by the level of reason, they might have found to have lain under it."

[*"History of the World,"* Bk. IV, ch. I, WORKS, V, 280.]

The prospect of the Roman period.

"By this which we have already set down, is seen the beginning and end of the three first monarchies of the world; whereof the founders and erectors thought that they never would have ended. That of Rome, which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field, having rooted up or cut down all that keep it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But, after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughs and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off; her limbs wither; and a rabble of barbarian nations



## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

## AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS OF HIPPO

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

enter the field and cut her down.”

[“History of the World,” Bk. V, ch. VI, WORKS, VII, 898.]

[Copied into the Literary Note-Book at the Library of Congress, pages 2-4 and 130-141:]

“[To make soldiers serviceable consisteth in good choice and good discipline; the one at this day little regarded:] *Emunt militem, non legunt.* Liv.”

[“The Cabinet-Council,” WORKS, VIII, 71.]

“[Abstinence is also fit for all soldiers; for thereby guided they refrain from violence and insolency; by that rule also they are informed to govern themselves civilly in the country where they serve, and likewise in their lodgings; never taking any thing from the owner, nor committing any outrage:] *Vivant cum provincialibus jure civili, nec insolescat animus qui se sensit armatum.*”

[“The Cabinet-Council,” WORKS, VIII, 74.]

“To the perfections of men three things are necessarily required; nature, nurture, and use.”

[“The Cabinet-Council,” WORKS, VIII, 86.]

“Whose desireth to know what will be hereafter, let him think of what is past; for the world hath ever been in a circular revolution; whatsoever is now was heretofore; and things past or present are no other than such as shall be again; *Redit orbis in orbem.*

[“The Cabinet-Council,” WORKS, VIII, 102.]

“Men for the most do use rather to judge by their eyes than by their hands; for every one may see, but few can certainly know.”? Machiavel –

[“The Cabinet-Council,” WORKS, VIII, 104-105.]

“It hath been long observed, and is a rule which rarely faileth, that he shall be ever suspected of the prince in possession, whom men account worthy to be a prince in reversion.” Raleigh

[“The Cabinet-Council,” WORKS, VIII, 112.]

He calls astrology “star-learning”.

[“The Cabinet-Council,” WORKS, VIII, 112.]

“We labour hard to publish our abilities and conceal our infirmities: and our inquiry into ourselves is so slight and partial, that few men are really what they appear to themselves to be.”

[“Discourse of War,” WORKS, VIII, 282.]

“And when we say we are fallen into bad times, we mean no otherwise but that we are fallen amongst a wicked generation of men. For the sun, the mediate vivifying cause of all things here below, and constant measurer of time, keeps its steady course. The condition of the public grows worse, as men grow more wicked; for in all ages, as the morals of men were depraved, and vice increased, the commonwealth declined.”

[“Discourse of War,” WORKS, VIII, 282.]

“*Delores omnes ex amore animi erga corpus nascuntur*” – Plato.

[Kenneth Walter Cameron has been unable to locate this in Raleigh’s WORKS]

“But no senate nor civil assembly can be under such natural impulses to honor and justice as single persons —



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[i.e., ...] For a majority is nobody when that majority is separated, and a collective body can have no synteresis, or divine ray, which is in the mind of every man, never assenting to evil, but upbraiding and tormenting him when he does it: but the honor and conscience that lies in the majority is too thin and diffusive to be efficacious; for a number can do a great wrong, and call it right, and not one of that majority blush for it. – This must be the reason why a Roman senate should act with less spirit and less honor than a single Roman would do.”  
Discourse of War in General.

[WORKS, VIII, 282.]

“The ordinary theme and argument of history is war;” Beginning of Raleigh’s “Discourse &c”

[“A Discourse of the Original and Fundamental Cause of War,” WORKS, VIII, 253]

“And it is more plain there is not in nature a point of stability to be found; every thing either ascends or declines: when wars are ended abroad, sedition begins at home, and when men are freed from fighting for necessity, they quarrel through ambition.”

[“A Discourse of the Original and Fundamental Cause of War,” WORKS, VIII, 293]

“We must look a long way back to find the Romans giving laws to nations, and their consuls bringing kings and princes bound in chains to Rome in triumph; to see men go to Greece for wisdom, or Orphir for gold; when now nothing remains but a poor paper remembrance of their former condition.”

We may note in the lengthy extracts above that there is a significant reference from “Discourse of War in General” to one of Thoreau’s main political themes, the “majority of one,” which Thoreau extracted as follows:

But no senate nor civil assembly can be under such natural impulses to honor and justice as single persons – [i.e., ...] For a majority is nobody when that majority is separated, and a collective body can have no synteresis, or divine ray, which is in the mind of every man, never assenting to evil, but upbraiding and tormenting him when he does it: but the honor and conscience that lies in the majority is too thin and diffusive to be efficacious; for a number can do a great wrong, and call it right, and not one of that majority blush for it. – This must be the reason why a Roman senate should act with less spirit and less honor than a single Roman would do.

It was in the course of this 1841 reading, also, that [Thoreau](#) became aware that [Raleigh](#) had opposed astrology by insisting that “the souls of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it self, whereof the suns clarity, and that of the stars, is by *Plato* called but a shadow. *Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen luminus*; Light is the shadow of God’s brightness, who is the light of light.” This is of course material which he would rework in his Draft F for the conclusion to [WALDEN](#), as “**The light which puts out our eyes is darkness to us.**”



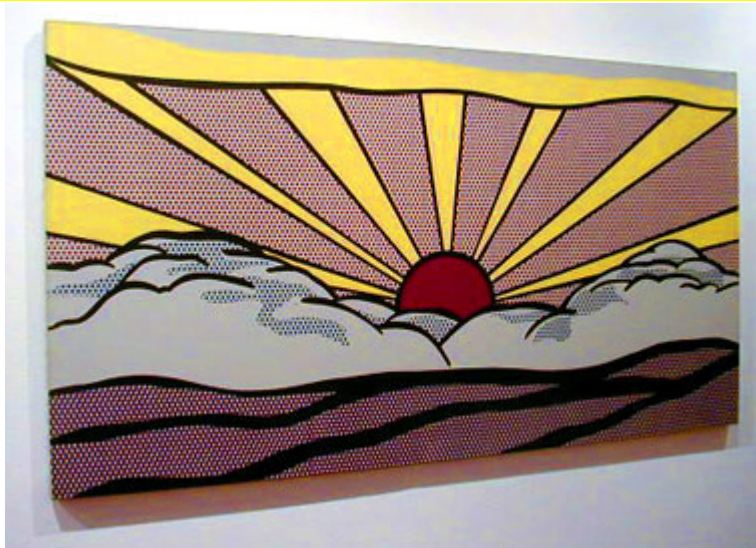
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WALDEN: I do not say that John or Jonathan will realize all this; but such is the character of that morrow which mere lapse of time can never make to dawn. The light which puts out our eyes is darkness to us. Only that day dawns to which we are awake. There is more day to dawn. The sun is but a morning star.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN



"JOHN" (BULL)

"JONATHAN"

This is from the 2d draft of Thoreau's essay on Sir Walter:

But alas! What is truth? That which we know not – What is Beauty? That which we see not – What is heroism? That which we are not. It is in vain to hang out flags on a day of rejoicing, fresh bunting bright and whole, better the soiled and torn remnant which has been borne in the wars. We have considered a fair specimen of an English man in the 16<sup>th</sup> century but it behooves us to be fairer specimens of American men in the 19<sup>th</sup>. The Gods have given man no constant gift but the power and liberty to act greatly.

How many wait for health and warm weather to be heroic and noble! We are apt to think there is a kind of virtue, which need not be heroic and brave – but in fact virtue is the deed of the bravest – and only the hardy souls venture upon it – for it deals with what we have no experience; – and alone does the rude pioneer work of the world. In winter is its campaign – and it never goes into quarters. "Sit not down," said Sir Thomas Browne, "in the popular seats and common level of virtues, but endeavor to make them heroical. Offer not only peace offerings but holocausts unto God."





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1849

July: [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Isaac Hecker](#) from London: "...And could yr intelligence take in this view of truth that catholicity alone gives you would add yr testimony to that of St Augustine of fourteen centuries past: "Too late, have I known thee O ancient & ever new Truth! Too late, have I loved Thee o ancient & every new Beauty!"

AUGUSTINE

CATHOLICISM

Dear friend,  
I should like to provoke you  
a little knowing as I do, that you far from  
Catholicity as you actually are, can be no nearer  
the realization of yr dreams of a holier life  
than when first they awoke you to a higher &  
more beautiful world. Their influence  
upon yr heart has lost perhaps already  
its freshness & holy delight And you have  
become a more sober & industrious individual.  
If not so, resting where you are, you must  
always suffer thirst & hunger like Tantalus  
but self-doomed, within the reach of the water & fro bread of eternal  
life. I remember of  
having read the life of a saint who by taking  
the place of slaves & by his holy conduct win-  
ning the good will of his masters freed in his  
heroic christian career of Abolitionism no small  
number of his fellow men. Now I have a  
kindred feeling for you, I would like marvellous-  
ly to free yr soul by placing it in the  
light of catholicity that heretic discession has  
robbed it of; And so that the costs shd not go  
beyond the life of the body I would want them  
only as the price of love's labour.

Page 2

Why indeed my brother, should you beat  
out yr brains against th prison bars of  
error or sink back into helpless inanity  
or utter despair of finding this fountain source  
do not of all truth? The way out for those who ^  
prefer reigning in hell— rather than serving  
in heaven, is plain & easy. Its gate lies  
at yr feet—humility—& as soon as you



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*will get down upon yr knees & knock &  
ask looking up it will of itself open. Ah  
my dear brother, could I induce you to bend yr  
knees once in solitude & silence before God then  
new life would spring up into yr heart, then  
would yr soul be kindled afresh with vigor  
to virtue and the heavens open above yr head,  
and angels be seen who chant, and a sun of love  
& glory appear that never is or shall be  
obscured. Strange creatures we, the first thing  
we should do is always the last we try or  
seldom not at all. We are like the flies upon  
the windows who after they have spent all  
their strength endeavoring to escape find  
their way out through the opening below  
even without aid of their wings. Pride &  
self-will imprison us with our own  
strength.*

*What is this to be wondered at my God,  
that man helpless, poor except in miseries  
should get down upon his [/] ugly kness & lift*

Page 3

*his hands up to heaven & say to Thee, "Thy hands  
O Lord have made me, & fashioned me wholly  
round about: Thou hast clothed me with skin  
& flesh: Thou hast put me together with bones  
& sinews: Thou hast granted me life & mercy,  
& Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit.  
Incline thy ear therefore and hear me for I  
am needy & poor. Conduct me in thy way,  
& I will walk in truth." Yet there are  
heroic men too if one is simple enough to  
beleive them, who dare not venture upon  
such an act. And why? because of some  
secret fear[/] of despicable self-love or of  
sacrifices that truth demands. How little  
must such appear in Gods presence &  
in the sight of the whole court of heaven!  
Are [these] men heroic, why they dare not  
do what paddy their footman or brigdget their  
kitchen maid make without reflection—  
an act of religion. There is no heroism but  
something that secretly flatters of our self-esteem*



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*in measuring [ourselves] with nature & men  
and declaring ourselves her master & mans equal all over, but to  
look with a steadfast  
& fearless eye upon the things above us  
& acknowledge our inferiority, or to compare  
ourselves with Him who made us & declare with the propet “Sub-  
stantia mea tanquam*

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*nihil est ante Te” there is in this something  
indeed akin to the heroic if not it itself.  
For in what [was] its heroism except in a  
deathless adherence to truth & especially then  
& there where men most fear it. And  
what is it that men most fear, is it not  
that the truth should be known of themselves?  
And forsooth—ought not this be the first to  
be confessed seeing that it lies nearest  
ourselves? Now the first condition of all  
heroism is our fidelity to the prime truth  
—God—and now what is prayer else than  
the recognition of our true relations with God?  
And what is humility except the voluntary  
acceptation of that place in God universe  
where the our true relations with all things  
shall place us? Virtues without which  
our pretended truthfullness is a sham &  
our heroism a mockery; virtues without  
which we become like whitened sepulchres  
beautiful without, but within full of  
dead mens bones & rottenness.*

*My dear friend Thorough, yr letter told  
me this, that you have seen too much of  
truth & desire I hope, too earnestly to  
embrace it not to free yrself. True,  
protestanism has made such sad work  
with the hearts & heads of men some that they really think them-  
selves at the*

Page 5

*summit of intelligence & holiness in  
having become nothing more than mere  
pagans. Well, this is progress indeed,  
if you consider it solely as the unlearning*



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*of ones errors, but to him who holds the  
truth it is but its starting point. But  
you are too young to remain there, you  
cannot do it without violence to yr nature,  
yours is to build upon this vantage  
ground. You have a future. But  
how? & what? This question has but  
one answer. Of those who were where  
you are and have not gone back and  
are not doomed to the self same [revelation]  
but who still live, love & hope with  
greater energy [&] the peaceful conscious-  
ness & repose that truth alone in [its]  
fullness can give, where are they?  
Where are they? Ah could I exchange  
my heart for yours an instant never  
after then would come acrost yr  
mind a doubt of their place of habitation.  
And could yr intelligence take in this  
view of truth that catholicity alone gives  
you would add yr testimony to  
that of St Augustine of fourteen*

Page 6

*centuries past: "Too late, have I  
known thee O ancient & ever new Truth!  
Too late, have I loved Thee o ancient  
& every new Beauty!"  
Voila my say, my very dear Friend,  
& may yr heart be as well disposed  
to recieve it as mine is in writing it.  
I am now at London where I have  
been nearly one year— How long  
I shall remain still I don't know  
nor care. If you know whether  
Chrls Lane has returned & his address,  
you will do me a kindness in telling  
me when you shall write.  
I remember always with pleasure  
my stay in Concord & especially the kindness  
of yr dear mother & other members of yr  
family— Remember me cordially to each  
one & to G.W.B. & R.W.E. I should  
like G.W.B to see this letter—*



## THE PEOPLE OF WALDEN:

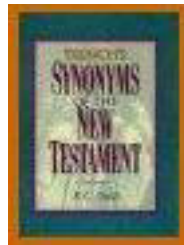
AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS OF HIPPO

### PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

*I embrace you with a hearty  
hug & undiminished affection  
St Mary's Yrs  
Park Road I Hecker  
Clapham. London.*

1854

The Reverend Richard Chenevix Trench's SYNONYMS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; also, "The Sermon on the Mount, as Illustrated from St. [Augustine](#)," "Sacred Latin Poetry," "St. [Augustine](#) as an Interpreter of Scripture."



October 8, Sunday: A review of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), titled "Letter from a Lady Correspondent" and presumably by Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard, appeared in the [Daily Alta California](#), 5:279.

#### TIMELINE OF WALDEN

In Plymouth, Massachusetts, Thoreau for the 1st time delivered his lecture "MOONLIGHT". Well, actually, the full title of the lecture Thoreau delivered at Leyden Hall on this occasion was:

#### **"Moonlight (Introductory to an Intended Course of Lectures)"**

According to Pliny, there is a stone in Arabia called Selenites, "wherein is a white, which decreases and increases with the moon." My journal for the last year or two has been selenitic in this sense.

PLINY

In his "Moonlight" lecture, [Henry Thoreau](#) made a reference to [Augustine](#):

As S Augustine says, "Deus regit inferiora corpora per



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superioria”



Although he would continue to work on this essay for a few days, Thoreau would begin to pay more attention to “Walking, or the Wild.” The two new lectures he planned to generate from this earlier lecture presumably were to become the 2d and 3d lectures in his “Intended Course of Lectures” (refer to William L. Howarth’s “Successor to WALDEN? Thoreau’s ‘Moonlight—An Intended Course of Lectures’,” page 101).

1963

Pope Paul VI (Giovanni Battista Enrico Antonio Maria Montini).

[Augustine](#)’s THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE (Mentor Books).<sup>12</sup>

12. [Augustine](#). THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE. NY: Mentor Books, 1963.





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1973

Gordon V. Boudreau, in his article “‘Remember Thy Creator’: Thoreau and St. [Augustine](#),” offered his own take on the parable of the hound, the bay horse, and the turtle-dove that Thoreau had related in [WALDEN](#).<sup>13</sup>



Had he not hinted such speculative obtuseness in remarking, “I long ago lost a hound, a bay horse, and a turtle-dove, and am *still* on their trail” (WALDEN, page 17; emphasis added [by Boudreau])? And isn’t “still” particularly paradoxical in this context? Suggesting that while he is ever moving on their trail, he is profoundly arrested in speculation over their trailings? For Thoreau was not hounded out to Walden Pond. Rather, he was the hound who, sensing that every aspect of nature had concealed meanings, called attention to them by going “on point” with every fiber of his being – “*still* on their trail” – in a manner to demonstrate that “Sympathy with Intelligence” (THE WRITINGS OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, VOLUME V, EXCURSIONS AND POEMS, page 239) he prized more than knowledge itself.



The  
WALDEN  
parable

The  
other  
analyses


13. Gordon V. Boudreau. “‘Remember Thy Creator’: Thoreau and St. [Augustine](#).” [ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance](#) 19 (1973):149-60



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: December 7, 2013



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AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS OF HIPPO

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

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