

Groaning Creation in the theology of Augustine

In *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to Saint Augustine*, T. E. Clarke gives a list of references to Rom. 8, 19-23 in Augustine's Works. Among these he analyzes two where Augustine gives an extensive explanation of the pericope, namely, in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83,67 and in *Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45(53). Clarke maintains that all the other passages do not add significantly to these two.

St. Augustine dealt formally and in detail with Rom. 8, 19-23 in two works, one a series of *quodlibeta*, the other an exposition of selected passages from the Romans. These two writings are, roughly at least, contemporaneous, and the only notable difference concerns one curious detail, of which we shall speak later. Elsewhere he frequently cites or alludes to the Pauline passage. None of these passages adds significantly to the two main treatments¹).

Clarke's purpose in selecting Augustine's discussion of Rom. 8, 19-23 is to show that "it clearly demonstrates his consistent refusal to accept any real solidarity between man and cosmos in sin and redemption²). We shall take up the same discussion for the following reasons: (i) it is our conviction that the theme of groaning creation forms an integral part of the theme of hope in resurrection of the body; (ii) we expect to find an explanation additional to, if not different from, what Clarke gives; (iii) to show that Augustine differed from authors both before and contemporary to him.

To this end we shall divide our work into the following sections: (i) the compass of groaning creation in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67; (ii) the compass of groaning creation in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53); (iii) the compass of groaning creation in other works; (iv) Rom. 8, 20.

¹) T. E. CLARKE, *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to Saint Augustine*, Woodstock, Maryland, 1956, p. 2-3.

²) *Ibid.*, p. ii.

I. THE COMPASS OF GROANING CREATION IN *DE DIVERSIS QUAESTIONIBUS* 83,
67

Paul speaks of groaning creation in Rom. 8, 19-23:

(19) For the creation waits with eager longing for the revealing of the sons of God; (20) for the creation was subjected to futility, not of its own will but by the will of Him who subjected it in hope; (21) because also creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious freedom of the children of God. (22) We know that every creature has been groaning in travail together up to the present; (23) and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies.

We note that in the pericope the word *creatura* appears four times, while the words *omnis creatura* appear only once. Do the two refer to one and the same thing? Augustine identifies both with human beings. However, he sees in verse 23 the contrast that Paul makes between *creatura* and *nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes*. Where is the difference between the two?

Augustine attributes to a human being a varied compass. He is either a believer, or a nonbeliever, or a nonbeliever who is on the way to faith and who will become a believer. In which of these categories is a human being considered a *creatura*? At what stage is he considered to have stopped groaning? When do human beings stop groaning completely?

A. *Groaning creation stands for man, either a believer, or a nonbeliever, or a nonbeliever on the way to faith*

1. *The difficulties*

At the very outset Augustine warns us of the difficulties involved in interpreting the text.

This chapter is obscure because what he now calls creation does not appear here clearly enough. It is meant, however, according to the Catholic doctrine, that creation is whatever God the Father has made and created through the onlybegotten Son, in unity with the Holy Spirit. Therefore, not only the bodies, but also our souls and spirits are encompassed by the word "creation". However, it has been thus said, "Creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay unto the glorious liberty of the sons of God" (Rom. 8, 21). It

is as if we are not the creation, but the sons of God, into whose glorious freedom creation will be freed from servitude. Similarly, he says, "For we know that every creature has been groaning and suffering up to the present; not only the creation, but also we ourselves" (Rom. 8, 22); it is as if we and the whole creation are different. The whole chapter has therefore to be examined in a special way³).

We may phrase the two difficulties pointed out by Augustine in this text in the following manner: (i) The Catholic doctrine teaches that creation is whatever God the Father has created through the Son in unity with the Holy Spirit. This means that human beings are encompassed by the name "creation". However, verse 21 seems to contradict this by appearing to state that we are not the creation but the sons of God, into whose glorious freedom the creation will be freed from servitude; (ii) We seem to be excluded from the compass of creation, for in verse 23 Paul seems to make a distinction between us and the whole creation, i.e. between *creatura* and *nos*.

2. The context

It is important to note that in this work Augustine includes verse 18: "I consider that the suffering of this present time are not worth comparing with the glory that is to be revealed to us". This verse shows a reason for groaning creation to hope. It is a further development of the idea of hope expressed by Paul in the earlier verses, namely, verse 13: "If you live by the spirit, you put to death the deeds of the body and you will live" and verse 17: "However, if we suffer with Christ, we suffer in order that we may also be glorified with Him".

He says, "For I consider that the suffering of this present time are not worth comparing with the future glory, which will be revealed in us" (verse 18). This is evident. For he had said earlier, "However, if

³) "Hoc capitulum obscurum est, quia non satis hic apparet quam nunc vocet creaturam. Dicitur autem secundum catholicam disciplinam creatura, quicquid fecit et condidit Deus Pater per unigenitum Filium, in unitate Spiritus sancti. Ergo non solum corpora, sed etiam animae nostrae ac spiritus creaturae nomine continentur. Sic autem dictum est, *Ipsa creatura liberabitur a servitute interitus, in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei*: quasi nos non simus creatura, sed filii Dei, in quorum gloriae libertatem liberabitur a servitute creatura. Item dicit, *Scimus enim quia omnis creatura congemiscit et dolet usque adhuc; non solum autem illa, sed et nos ipsi*: tanquam aliud simus nos, aliud omnis creatura. Totum ergo capitulum particulatim considerandum est". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 1 PL 40, 66.

you have put to death the deeds of the flesh with the deeds of the spirit, you will live". This cannot be done without difficulty. Patience is necessary for it. What he had said a little earlier, "Nevertheless, if we suffer (*with Christ*), we suffer in order that we may be glorified with Him" (verse 13 and 17) pertains to this also⁴).

From this text it is clear that for Augustine what Paul is trying to say is this: Paul himself is giving the basic line of his theology of hope. We are suffering. But if we overcome our inclinations to evil by our inclinations to good, we shall live. And if we suffer in union with Christ's suffering we shall also be glorified with Him as He was glorified. Our future glory will much exceed our present suffering. This idea leads Augustine to identify the comprehension of *creatura* in verses 19-23.

B. *The identification of creatura*

In verse 19 and in verse 21 Augustine notices the contrast that Paul makes between *creatura* and *fili Dei*. With respect to verse 19 the Bishop of Hippo says that *creatura* is hoping for the revelation of the sons of God. Its hope is aroused by both an internal and external experience of suffering. What in us experiences suffering is called by Augustine *creatura*.

Therefore I think, with the statement, "For creation waits for the revelation of the sons of God" (verse 19), he is saying this. What suffers in us when we put to death the deeds of the flesh, that is, when we are hungry and thirsty by fasting; while we deprive ourselves of the pleasure in marital relations through chastity; while we bear with patience the wounds caused by injuries and the stings of affronts; while we labor without any selfish interest for the benefit of the Mother Church; whatever suffers in us in this and in similar toil is creation⁵).

⁴) "*Existimo enim, inquit, quod indignae sint passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quae revelabitur in nobis: hoc manifestum est. Dixerat enim superius, Si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis. Quod fieri non potest sine molestia, cui patientia necessaria est. Quo pertinet et quod paulo ante ait, Si tamen compatimur, ut et conglorificemur (Rom. 8, 13-17)*". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 2, PL 40, 66.

⁵) "Quod itaque ait, *Nam expectatio creaturae revelationem filiorum Dei expectat; hoc eum puto dicere. Nam et hoc ipsum quod in nobis dolet, cum facta carnis mortificamus, id est, cum esurimus aut sitimus per abstinenciam, dum frenamus delectationem concubitus per castitatem, dum injuriam lacerationes et contumeliarum aculeos per patientiam sustinemus, dum neglectis atque rejectis voluptatibus nostris pro fructu matris Ecclesiae laboramus; quidquid in nobis in hac atque hujusmodi attritione dolet, creatura est*". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 2. PL 40, 66-67.

The internal cause of suffering is the pain experienced in the practice of mortification and of cultivation of the spirit. The external cause is the pain inflicted by others. Augustine encourages us to overcome the pain which is inflicted by others by struggling to build the church (sc. human society). He maintains that pain is inevitable in this struggle when made without any selfish interest: *dum neglectis atque rejectis voluptatibus nostris pro fructu matris Ecclesiae laboramus*.

Although Augustine seems to point to the spirit as the part of human beings that suffers, he is actually referring to both the soul and the flesh in union. *Creatura*, therefore, stands for the whole human being.

For body and soul suffers (*dolet*) which is certainly creation. They hope for the revelation of the sons of God⁶).

Augustine gives another cause for the groaning of creation, namely, the call of God to glory. God's call makes creation groan the more because it makes it desire to be united fully with God. Augustine sees in this a reason for excluding the Son of God from the compass of *creatura*.

Creation hopes for the appearance of what has been called in glory, to which creation has been called. For since the only begotten Son of God cannot be called a creation, because everything that God had made has been made through Him, so also we are called creation in a distinct manner before the manifestation of glory, and in a distinct manner we are called the sons of God, since we merit this name by adoption, while He is the only begotten Son by nature⁷).

The revelation of the sons of God, which is the object of hope of groaning creation, is itself the manifestation in glory of creation. Augustine sees this in the light of 1 Jo. 3, 2.

Therefore, "the hope of creation", that is, our hope, "hopes for the revelation of the sons of God" (verse 19). That is to say, it hopes for the appearance of what has been promised when what we are now in hope will be manifested in reality itself. For "we are sons of

⁶) "Dolet enim corpus et anima, quae utique creatura est, et exspectat revelationem filiorum Dei ...". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 2, PL 40, 67.

⁷) "... exspectat quando appareat quod vocatum est in ea gloria ad quam vocatum est. Quia enim Filius Dei unigenitus non potest appellari creatura, quandoquidem per ipsum facta sunt omnia quaecumque Deus fecit, distincte etiam nos vocamur creatura ante illam evidentiam gloriae, et distincte vocamur filii Dei, quamvis hoc adoptione mereamur; nam ille unigenitus natura Filius est". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 2, PL 40, 67.

God, and it has not appeared yet what we shall be. We, however, known that when it has appeared, we shall be like Him, since we shall see Him as He is" (1 Jo. 3, 2)⁸⁾.

In this text Augustine makes the compass of *creatura* cover only the believers. This is clear from two points. First, he identifies the hope of creation with our hope: *expectatio creaturae, id est, expectatio nostra*. Second, by seeing the meaning of "the revelation of the sons of God" in the light of 1 Jo. 3, 2, he identifies *creatura* with the sons of God who will be transformed into a better state. This interpretation is in accordance with the thinking of Augustine, since for him only the sons (= the just) will merit transformation for the better. In many occasions he identifies the just with believers.

With respect to verse 20: "For creation has been subjected to vanity", Augustine does not speak expressly of the compass of *creatura*. However, it is clear enough that he applies the word to every human being. The human race is the *creatura* that has been subjected to vanity. He refers to this subjection in the light of the curse put on all humanity that is expressed in Gen. 3, 19: "In labor you shall eat your bread". This curse clearly applies to all human beings⁹⁾.

However, in connection with verse 21, he applies *creatura* only to the nonbelievers in search of truth and on the way to faith. Augustine bases his interpretation on the succeeding words, namely, "will be freed from the bondage of destruction". He understands these words to be the liberating function of faith. They indicate that these nonbelievers are on the way to liberation although they still do not possess faith. They are called *creatura* in contrast to those who already possess faith and are called the sons of God. This *creatura* however will become sons of God and like those who are already sons of God will finally reach ultimate glorification.

"Because also creation itself", that is, human kind itself after it had lost the seal of the image on account of sin, remained only a creation. Therefore, "also creation itself", that is, that too which is

⁸⁾ "Ergo *expectatio creaturae, id est, expectatio nostra, revelationem filiorum Dei expectat; id est, expectat quando appareat quod promissum est, quando re ipsa manifestum sit quod nunc spe sumus. Filii enim Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quid erimus. Scimus autem quoniam cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est* (1 Jo. 3, 2)". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 2, PL 40, 67.

⁹⁾ See *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 3, PL 40, 67.

not yet called the perfect form of sons, but is called only creation, "will be freed from the bondage of destruction" (verse 21). Therefore, in what he says, "also itself will be freed", he intends (*the words*) "also itself" to be understood as "us too", that is, one should not despair even of those who are not yet called sons of God, since they have not yet believed but are only creation. They also will believe and will be freed from the bondage of destruction like us who are already sons of God, although it has appeared not yet what we shall be (1 Jo. 3, 2). Therefore they will be freed from the bondage of destruction "into the freedom of the glory of the sons of God". That is to say, they will be liberated both from themselves and from being slaves, and from the dead they will be glorious in perfect life, which the sons of God will have¹⁰).

Augustine pays special attention to the word "also" (*et*) in the verse. For him this means the inclusion of *creatura* in the event of liberation. This likewise indicates that *creatura* is identified with human beings: *Quia et ipsa creatura, id est, ipse homo*:. This is further confirmed by his clarification in *Retractationes* 1, 25 of his statement above, namely, "Because also creation itself, that is, human kind itself, after it had lost the sign of image on account of sin, remained only a creation. In his *Retractationes* he makes clear that the statement above is to be accepted as meaning that man did not completely lose the seal of the image; otherwise he would have absolutely no chance of recovery from sin into a newness of life. With this explanation Augustine expresses clearly the identity between *creatura* and *homo*. He shifts from the former to the latter even when he refers to the same thing.

In the passage where I explained what has been written: "Also the creation itself will be freed from the bondage of destruction" (verse 21), I said, "also creation itself, that is, humankind itself after it had lost the seal of the image on account of sin, has remained only a creation" is not to be taken as though man had lost the whole seal

¹⁰) "*Quia et ipsa creatura, id est, ipse homo, cum jam signaculo imaginis propter peccatum amisso remansit tantummodo creatura: et ipsa itaque creatura, id est, et ipsa quae nondum vocatur filiorum forma perfecta, sed tantum vocatur creatura, liberabitur a servitute interitus. Quod itaque ait, et ipsa liberabitur, facit intelligi, et ipsa, quemadmodum et nos, id est, et de ipsis non est desperandum, qui nondum vocantur filii Dei, quia nondum crediderunt, sed tantum creatura: quia et ipsi credituri sunt, et liberabuntur a servitute interitus, quemadmodum nos qui jam filii Dei sumus, quamvis nondum apparuerit quid erimus. Liberabuntur ergo a servitute interitus, in libertatem gloriae filiorum Dei; id est, et ipsis erunt et servis liberi, et ex mortuis gloriosi in vita perfecta, quam habebunt filii Dei*". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 4, PL 40, 67-68.

which he had of the image of God. If he had lost it entirely, there would be no basis for saying "Be reformed in the newness of your mind" (Rom. 12, 2), and "We are changed into His likeness" (2 Cor. 3, 18); but again, if he had lost it entirely, there would no longer be reason to say, "although man lives in the image nevertheless in vain is he perturbed" (Ps. 38, 7)¹¹).

It is important to take note here that Augustine is clearly speaking of the hope of creation for liberation. However, with respect to the early works of Augustine this interpretation is controversial, as J. E. Sullivan, in *The Image of God, The Doctrine of St. Augustine and its Influence*, points out. He states that some impute a neo-Platonic conception of image to Augustine. For Plotinus, according to him, "the image must always be turned toward its model, since an image has reality only insofar as it is in contact with the divine ideas". However, man broke his contact with God through original sin, that is, contact of the image with its model; so, the divine likeness in man tends to be completely lost. J. E. Sullivan, however, points out that about the year 412, Augustine changes his position against the Pelagians, who "have dared to assert, that grace is nature, in which we have been created, made to the image of God". But Augustine maintains that image is not identical with grace. He holds that after the commission of and the penalty for sin man still retains a vestige of the image of God in him, and this can be called an image¹²).

In the light of Sullivan's explanation we may say that for Augustine the term *creatura*, as spoken of in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67.4 in the context of *imago Dei*, would stand even for nonbelievers, regardless of whether they are in search of truth and on the way to faith or not,

¹¹) "Ubi cum exponerem, quod scriptum est: *et ipsa creatura liberabitur a servitute interitus*, dixi: *et ipsa creatura, id est ipse homo, cum iam signaculo imaginis propter peccatum amisso remansit tantummodo creatura*. Quod non ita est accipiendum, quasi totum amiserit homo, quod habebat imaginis dei. Nam si omnino non amisisset, non esset, propter quod diceretur: *reformamini in novitate mentis vestrae*, et: *in eandem imaginem transformamur*; sed rursus, si totum amisisset, nihil maneret, unde diceretur: *quamquam in imagine ambulat homo, tamen vane conturbatur*". *Retractationes* 1, 25 (26), CSEL 36, 126-127.

¹²) J. E. SULLIVAN, *The Image of God. The Doctrine of St. Augustine and its Influence*, Dubuque, Iowa, 1963, p. 42-44. A similar study was made by J. HEIJKE, "God in het diepst van de gedachte. De imago Deileer van Sint Augustinus", in *Bijdragen* 16 (1955) 357-376. G. B. LADNER, "St. Augustine's Conception of the Reformation of Man to the Image of God", in *Augustinus Magister* II, Paris, 1954, p. 867-878: The Greek Fathers hold that the transformation of man to a better image of God is a return to his pristine condition; Augustine maintains that it is a *renovatio in melius*.

since they too retain a vestige of the image of God. But, in this work mentioned above it is clearly explained by Augustine that *creatura* stands for those who are on the way to the possession of the true faith: *quia et ipsi credituri sunt ... quemadmodum nos qui iam filii Dei sumus*.

C. The identification of *omnis creatura*

The shift by Paul from *creatura* in verses 19, 20 and 21 to *omnis creatura* in verse 22 poses an added difficulty. It seems that *omnis creatura* encompasses also all other forms of creation. But Augustine does not think along these lines. Rather, he considers man as a microcosm, and accordingly fits into this conception the meaning of *omnis creatura*. For him, therefore, *omnis creatura* stands also for man.

However, Augustine does not speak of the actual presence of all the other creation in man. This is impossible. Instead, he conceives this presence in terms of the correspondence of the different natures in the other forms of creation with the different levels of life in man. In other forms of creation some are spiritual (*partim spiritualis est*), some are animate (*partim animalis*), and some are corporeal (*partim corporalis*). All these three kinds of creation are present *generatim* in a human being.

Every creature is present in man, not because all angels and heavenly Virtues and Powers are in him, or heaven and earth, and everything that exist in them, are in him, but because all of creation is partly spiritual, partly animate, partly corporeal¹³).

How does Augustine explain this kind of correspondence of other creatures in man? He does this by considering man in his physical constitution and in his biology, psychology, and moral life. If we consider the other creatures from the inferior to the superior, the corporeal creation (*corporalis creatura*) is that which is moved through places. The animate creation (*animalis creatura*) is that whose body is in union with its soul such that it gives it life. The spiritual creation (*spiritualis creatura*) is that which rules its animal instincts and consequently is itself subjected to God. In the first consideration, namely the biological and physical, corporeal creation in the other creatures cor-

¹³) "Omnis creatura in homine numeratur, non quod in eo sint omnes Angeli, et supereminentes Virtutes ac Potestates, aut coelum et terra et mare et omnia quae in eis sunt; sed quia omnis creatura partim spiritualis est, partim animalis, partim corporalis". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 5, PL 40, 68.

responds to man's ability to exist and to move physically through space. Animate creation corresponds to both man as an animate being and to man when he is unable to overcome the desires of sin: *Qui ergo vivit ex corpore, carnalis homo vel animalis vocatur*. Spiritual creation corresponds to man's life on a level where he obediently subjects himself, both in body and in spirit, to the dominion of God.

When we consider creation from the inferior, the corporeal creation extends through space; the animate, however, enlivens the corporeal; the spiritual rules the animate, and then it rules properly when in turn it subjects itself to the rule of God; when it transgresses His commandments it is implicated in the difficulties and troubles through those which it could rule. He, therefore, who lives by the body is called a carnal or an animal man; carnal because it follows what are carnal, animal because it bears the unloosed lasciviousness of his soul, which the spirit does not rule or force within the bounds of the natural order, because the spirit does not subject itself to God. He, however, who rules his soul with his spirit, and who rules his body with his soul, which cannot be done unless he has God as his ruler, because as a man is the head of a woman so Christ is the head of man (1 Cor. 11,3), is called spiritual¹⁴).

However, in considering the other creatures from the superior to the inferior, the spiritual creatures correspond to the spirit of man, the animate to soul, and the corporeal to the body.

And the higher angels live spiritually, but the lower angels in the manner of the animals, and the beasts and other animals live carnally. The body, however, does not live but it is made alive. Every creature is in a human being because he understands with his spirit, he feels with his soul, and moves in space with his body¹⁵).

¹⁴) "Quod ut ab inferioribus consideremus corporalis creatura per loca tenditur; animalis autem vicificat corporalem; spiritualis animalem regit, et tunc bene regit, cum ipsa regendam se subiecit Deo: cum autem transgreditur praecepta ejus, laboribus et aerumnis per eadem ipsa quae regere poterat implicatur. Qui ergo vivit ex corpore, carnalis homo vel animalis vocatur: carnalis, quia carnalia sectatur; animalis autem, quia fertur dissoluta lascivia animae suae, quam non regit spiritus, neque coerces intra metas naturalis ordinis; quia et ipse se non subdit regendum Deo. Qui autem spiritu animam regit, et per animam corpus (quod facere non potest, nisi Deum habeat et ipse rectorem, quoniam sicut caput mulieris vir ita caput viri Christus est (1 Cor. 11, 31), vocatur spiritualis". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 5, PL 40, 68.

¹⁵) "Et quoniam summi Angeli spiritaliter vivunt, infimi autem animaliter, bestiae vero et omnia pecora carnaliter, corpus autem non vivit, sed vivificatur; omnis creatura in homine est, quia et intelligit spiritu, et sentit anima, et localiter corpore movetur". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 5, PL 40, 68.

Augustine's conception of man as a microcosm comes from Plato and probably also the Manichees¹⁶). For Plato there is a close correspondence between the world as a whole, on the one hand, and the human creature, on the other hand. The world as a whole is the macrocosm; the human creature in particular is the microcosm. Since *omnis creatura* stands for man as a microcosm, thus it stands for man in general. Every creature is considered as groaning and suffering in man: *omnis itaque creatura in homine congemiscit et dolet*.

Augustine defends and clarifies his interpretation. He points out that Paul does not use *tota creatura* but *omnis creatura*. He maintains that if Paul had used *tota* then all other creatures would be encompassed by groaning creation. But since Paul uses *omnis* he therefore refers only to the generic presence of other creatures in man. We believe that Augustine is using for his interpretation the principle that a part can stand for a whole.

Therefore every creature groans and suffers in a human being. For Paul did not say whole (*totam*) but every (*omnem*). It is like someone says that all men (*omnes homines*) who are healthy see the sun, but not the whole of them (*non toti*) see it, because they see it only with their eyes. So every creature is in man because he understands, lives, and has a body. But the whole creation (*tota creatura*) is not in him, because besides him there are also angels, who understand and live and exist; there are beasts which live and exist; and there are bodies which only exist; since to live itself is better than not to live, and to understand itself is better than to live without understanding¹⁷).

Augustine's identification of *omnis creatura* with man in general becomes even clearer in the light of his interpretation of the words *usque adhuc* (verse 22). According to Paul every creature groans and suffers *up to the present*. Augustine asserts that Paul said this rightly. Why? Because

¹⁶) See H.-Ch. PUECH, *La Manichéisme. Son Fondateur. Sa Doctrine*, Paris, 1949, p. 85: Like the world, a human being is an amalgam of good and evil. He has to struggle to free himself from evil as the world does.

¹⁷) "Omnis itaque creatura in homine congemiscit et dolet. Non enim totam, sed omnem dixit: tanquam si quis dicat, quod solem omnes homines vident qui sunt incolumes, sed non toti vident, quia tantum oculis vident: ita in homine omnis creatura est, quia et intelligit et vivit et corpus habet; sed non tota creatura in ipso est, quia sunt praeter ipsum et Angeli, qui intelligant et vivant et sint, et pecora quae vivant et sint, et corpora quae tantummodo sint; cum ipsum vivere magis sit, quam non vivere, et ipsum intelligere magis sit, quam sine intellectu vivere". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 1, PL 40, 68.

even when creation ceases to suffer to a certain extent at its coming to faith and when some human beings are already in the bosom of Abraham, every creature can still be considered to exist in those men who are not yet liberated. Every creature *up to the present* groans and suffers in those who are not liberated entirely, that is, in spirit, in soul, and in body¹⁸). Since complete liberation happens only at the resurrection of the body, in my interpretation of Augustine, for him *omnis creatura* stands here for human beings in general, because he sees complete liberation in connection with the totality of man.

Therefore when a miserable human being groans and suffers, every creature groans and suffers up to the present. However, Paul said correctly "up to the present" because even if there are already some in the bosom of Abraham (Lk. 16, 23), and if that thief was established with the Lord in Paradise (Lk. 23, 43) on the day he believed, and ceased to suffer, nevertheless up to the present every creature groans and suffers, because every creature is in those who are not yet liberated as far as spirit, soul, and body are concerned¹⁹).

¹⁸) T. E. CLARKE, in *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to Saint Augustine*, p. 19, comments on this as follows: "After establishing at some length that *omnis creatura* is verified in man ... he identifies *omnis creatura* with those who are not yet liberated. From his previous comment on verse 21, where, as we have seen, this liberation was identified with the coming to faith and divine sonship, it is clear that he is still thinking of unbelieving man, as contrasted, with the sons of God who will, as we expect, be spoken of in verse 23". Clarke may be right here in his analysis. But the text of Augustine is not as clear as Clarke contends. For Augustine the spirit of the believers also groans in sympathy with the body. We do not have to go far to prove this. In *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 2 itself Augustine speaks of this. Although he does not make distinction between *spiritus* and *anima* it is clear that he speaks of the suffering of believers that permeates their entire selves. This idea became clear later. See *Contra Julianum* 6, 23, 70, PL 44, 865. In this work Augustine corrects his earlier view by saying to Julian that he now maintains that believers groan too to be freed from concupiscence. He bases his position on Rom. 7, 18-25, Gal. 5, 17, and Wis. 9, 15. Earlier he had maintained that on the basis of Rom. 7, 18-25 the unbelievers always obeyed the bidding of concupiscence. This position is expressed in *Ad Simplicianum* 1.1, *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ad Romanos* 41 and 42, and in *Expositio Epistolae ad Galatas* 47. The later opinion is expressed in *De Gratia Christi* 39, 43, *Contra Duas Epistolas Pelagianorum* 1. 17-25, *Retractationes* 1, 23, 24 and 2, 1, *Contra Julianum* 2, 3.

¹⁹) "Cum ergo miser homo congemiscit et dolet, omnis creatura congemiscit et dolet usque adhuc. Usque adhuc autem recte dixit: quia etiam si sint aliqui jam in sinu Abrahae (Lk. 16, 23), et latro ille cum Domino in paradiso constitutus (Lk. 23, 43), illo die quo credidit, dolere destiterit; tamen usque adhuc omnis creatura congemiscit et dolet, quia in iis qui nondum liberati sunt, omnis est, propter spiritum et animam et corpus". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 5, PL 40, 468.

D. *The identification of nos ipsi (verse 23)*

By making a shift from considering the compass of *omnis creatura*, i.e. *cum corpore* in verse 22 to considering the compass of *nos ipsi*, i.e. *spiritus et anima* (without the *corpus*) in verse 23, Augustine also makes a shift in the compass of groaning creation. From establishing it as encompassing every human being as groaning in spirit, soul, and body, he extends it to the believers, even to those who are already advanced in the practice of virtues. These believers still groan in soul and body, although they no longer groan in spirit. The reason that Augustine gives is this: the meaning that Paul gives to his words *primitias habentes spiritus* is that these believers have already offered their *spiritus* as a sacrifice to God, and these *spiritus* are already absorbed by the divine fire of love. In other words, their *spiritus* have already risen. However, they still groan (*congemiscunt*) in body because in faith there is still no complete offering of the whole human being: *nondum est holocaustum*. This will have to take place at the resurrection of the body, when death has been absorbed in victory (1 Cor. 15, 54-55).

He says, "Not only, however", does all creation groan and suffer (*congemiscit et dolet*), "But also we ourselves". That is to say, in man not only the body, the soul, and the spirit suffer at the same time by reason of the difficulties arising from the body, but also we ourselves taken separately from our bodies, "inwardly, who have the first-fruits of the spirit, we groan" (verse 23). And Paul rightly said, "who have the first-fruits of the spirit". These are those whose spirits have been already offered as a sacrifice to God and have been absorbed by the divine fire of love. The reason for this is that truth receives first our spirit in order that through the spirit the rest may be included. Therefore, he has already offered the first-fruits to God who says: "With my mind I serve the law of God, however, with my flesh I serve the law of sin" (Rom. 7, 25); and he who says, "God whom I serve with my spirit" (Rom. 1, 9). This is also true of him, of whom it is said: "The spirit is indeed willing, but the flesh is weak" (Mt. 26, 41). But since he says again "I am an unhappy man, who will deliver me from the body of this death" (Rom. 7, 24)? and to such people it is still said, "He will make alive also your mortal bodies through His Spirit that dwells in you" (Rom. 8, 11), there is no holocaust yet. There will be however, when death is absorbed in victory; when "Death, where is your strife? Death, where is your sting" (1 Cor. 15, 54-55) is asked of death²⁰).

²⁰) "*Non solum autem, inquit, omnis creatura congemiscit et dolet, sed et nos ipsi: id est, non solum in homine corpus et anima et spiritus simul dolent ex difficultatibus*

Another reason that Augustine gives — and this is the main reason — is that God calls us to a complete liberation: *qua vocati sumus, totos nos liberatos*. The response of humanity to God's call will be accomplished when the body joins the spirit at the resurrection. Then the whole of a human being will be entirely and evidently adopted as a son of God. It is for this reason that not only all of the creation, that is, man in general, but also the believers and those advanced ones in the practice of virtues, groan for a complete liberation.

Now, therefore, he says, not only every creature, that is to say, together with the body, "but also we ourselves who have offered the first-fruits of the spirit", this means, we the souls, who have already offered our minds as firstfruits to God, inwardly we groan, that is, apart from our bodies. "We hope for the adoption, the redemption of our body", that is, in order that the body itself receiving the benefit of the adoption of sons (of God), with which we have been called, manifest that we have been completely liberated, having overcome all difficulties, and that we are sons of God in every respect²¹).

Why Augustine includes also believers, even those who are already advanced in the living of virtue, is that these all are in reality *not yet* fully saved. They are saved, however, *already* in hope. Augustine takes his explanation for this from Paul's statement in Rom. 8, 34: "For in hope we have been saved; hope, however, which is seen, is not hope". Thus, there still remains something for these believers to hope for and to groan

corporis, sed et nos ipsi, exceptis corporibus, in nobis ipsis congemiscimus, primitias habentes spiritus. Et bene dixit, *primitias habentes spiritus*: id est, quorum jam spiritus tanquam sacrificium oblatus sunt Deo, et divino charitatis igne comprehensi sunt. Hae sunt primitiae hominis; quia veritas primum spiritum nostrum obtinet, ut per hunc caetera comprehendantur. Jam ergo habet primitias oblatas Deo, qui dicit: *Mente servio legi Dei, carne autem legi peccati* (Rom. 7, 25). Et qui dicit: *Deus cui servio in spiritu meo* (Rom. 1, 9). Et de quo dicitur: *Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma* (Mt. 26, 41). Sed quoniam adhuc dicit, *Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius* (Rom. 7, 24)? et adhuc talibus dicitur. *Vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra propter Spiritum manentem in vobis* (Rom. 8, 11); nondum est holocaustum: erit autem, cum absorbebitur mors in victoriam; cum ei dicetur, *Ubi est, mors, contentio tua? ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus* (1 Cor. 15, 54-55)?". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 6, PL 40, 69.

²¹) "Nunc ergo, inquit, non solum omnis creatura, id est, cum corpore, *sed etiam nos ipsi primitias habentes spiritus*: id est, nos animae, quae jam primitias mentes nostras obtulimus Deo, *in nobis ipsis congemiscimus*, id est, praeter corpus: *adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri*, id est, ut et ipsum corpus accipiens beneficium adoptionis filiorum, qua vocati sumus, totos nos liberatos, transactis omnibus molestiis, ex omni parte Dei filios esse manifestet". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 6, PL 40, 69.

for. This will be achieved only at the transformation of our bodies after resurrection.

"For in hope we have been saved; hope, however, which is seen is not hope" (Rom. 8, 24). What now is hope will therefore be a reality then, "when it has appeared what we shall be", that is, "we shall be like Him since we shall see Him as He is" (1 Jo. 3, 2)²²).

In "*Primitiae spiritus. Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des Confessions de saint Augustin*", J. Pépin confirms our interpretation of Augustine's explanation of verse 23. He says that the word *habentes* in the phrase *primitias habentes spiritus* is to be understood in the sense of *dantes*²³); and *spiritus* is the human spirit. This word *spiritus* is not a partitive genitive; it is a genitive that functions in apposition to *primitias*. Our *spiritus* are therefore the *primitias*. Our *spiritus* that are being offered are our first offerings. Our second offering will be the body. This will take place at the resurrection of the body. J. Pépin justifies his interpretation of Augustine by several words which Augustine uses in the context in order to indicate that our present offering of the *spiritus* is an incomplete sacrifice. The words that he chooses that indicate this are the following: *caetera, nondum, holocaustum, totos, omnibus, ex omni parte*²⁴).

²²) "*Spe enim salvi facti sumus: spes autem quae videtur, non est spes. Tunc ergo erit res quae nunc spes est, cum apparuerit quid erimus; id est, similes illi, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est*". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 6, PL 40, 69. See also *Epistula* 130, 15. 28, CSEL 44, 73: *spes* is expressed as a *desiderium* inspired by God. This reference supports R. B. DONNA's description of Augustine's presentation of hope: "A moral force, which helps to uplift man, drawing him from evil and encouraging him in the performance of good". Cf. *Despair and Hope. A Study in Langland and Augustine*, Washington, D.C., 1948, p. 82.

²³) Pépin is right in saying that *habentes* is to be understood as *dantes*. We refer the reader to *En. in Ps.* 125, 2, CCL 40, 1845: "*Non solum autem, inquit, sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes, id est, qui iam spiritu Deo servimus, qui iam mente Deo credidimus, et in ipsa fide primitias quasdam dedimus, ut primitias sequamur ...*"; and to *De Fide et Symbolo* 10, 23, CSEL 41, 28: "*dedit tamen primitias spiritus, quia credidit deo et bonae iam voluntatis est*".

²⁴) J. PÉPIN, "Primitiae spiritus. Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des Confessions de saint Augustin", in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 140 (1951) 155-202, p. 183-184: "L'exégèse du v. 23 est subtile: nous souffrons tous comme l'incroyant; mais, tandis qu'il souffre également dans sa triple structure, nous ne souffrons, nous, que dans notre *anima* et notre *corpus*; car notre *spiritus*, nous en avons déjà offert le sacrifice à Dieu. Tel est le sens de *primitias habentes spiritus*; *habentes* a le sens actif de *dantes*; *spiritus* désigne l'esprit humain; grammaticalement, ce mot n'est rien moins qu'un génitif partitif; c'est un génitif qui a le sens d'une apposition: les *primitias*, qui sont notre *spiritus*; enfin, *primitias* est entendu dans un sens voisin du sens propre: première offrande, celle du

E. *Angels are not included among groaning creation*

Augustine says that some people think that Paul includes the angels among groaning creation in the apostle's statement: "All the creation groans and suffers"²⁵). Their reasons are the following: (i) angels share in our sufferings as long as we are not fully liberated, and (ii) angels are like the Son of God, who suffered with us in order to liberate us. Augustine thinks that this interpretation is erroneous. He maintains that angels should not be included in the compass of groaning creation for the following reasons: (i) if angels are to be included then they are in a pitiable condition: *ne miseri existimentur*, (ii) there is no need for good angels to be liberated from the bondage of destruction because they are not subject to it: *deinde liberandam eam dixit a servitute interitus; quo illos cecidisse, qui in coelis agunt vitam beatissimam, non possumus credere*, and (iii) those who are already in the "bosom of Abraham" are happy and liberated; they no longer groan: *feliciorque sit de numero nostro ille qui jam in Abrahae sinu requiescit*.

F. *Summary*

In *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67 Augustine identifies *creatura* with *omnis creatura*. Either of these concepts stands for human beings alone. And either word applies to a human being in his varied compass, namely, (i) man in general; (ii) nonbelievers; (iii) nonbelievers in search for and on the way to truth, (iv) believers. *Nos ipsi* is identified only with believers, including those who are advanced in the practice of virtues. All of them are within the compass of groaning creation. Other creatures are excluded.

spiritus, et attendant la deuxième, celle du *corpus*; le sens inchoatif et temporel de *primitiae* est accentué encore par tous les mots marquant un inachèvement: *caetera, nondum, holocaustum, totos, omnibus, ex omni parte*".

²⁵) "Hoc capitulum si hoc modo, ut tractatum est, aperiatur, non incidimus in illas molestias, quibus plerique homines dicere coguntur, omnes Angelos sublimesque Virtutes in dolore et gemitibus esse, antequam nos penitus liberemur, quoniam dictum est, *Omnis creatura congemiscit et dolet*. Quamvis enim adjuvent nos pro sua sublimitate, dum obtemperant Deo, qui pro nobis etiam unicum Filium suum dignatus est mittere; tamen sine gemitu et doloribus id facere credendi sunt ...". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 7, PL 40, 69.

II. THE COMPASS OF THE GROANING CREATION IN *EXPOSITIO QUARUNDAM PROPOSITIONUM EX EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS 45 (53)*

In "*Primitiae spiritus. Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des Confessions de saint Augustin*", J. Pépin maintains that there is a close affinity between Augustine's exegesis of Rom. 8, 19-23 in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67 and in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos 45 (53)*. In order to show this he made a synopsis of the two. He has found, however, that in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, Augustine uses a reading of Rom. 8, 23 that is different from that in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos 45 (53)*. In the former the reading is: ... *non solum autem illa, sed et nos ipsi ... in nobis ipsis congemiscimus, primitias habentes spiritus ...* In the latter we read: *Non solum autem (ipsi), sed et nos (ipsi) primitias spiritus habentes, et ipsi in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus ...*²⁶) Arguing from this difference and from the closer similarity between the reading in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos 45 (53)* and the reading in Augustine's later works, J. Pépin is inclined to believe that *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67 dates anterior to *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos 45 (53)*. Thus if the former was written in 395, the latter must have been written in 396²⁷).

Another reason we may give for the earlier date of *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67 is that in this work Augustine puts more effort into showing the identity of *creatura* and *omnis creatura* than in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos 45 (53)*. In this later work Augustine interchanges the two terms easily; their identity seems to be presumed.

In this section we wish to show the similarity and the difference between the two works we have mentioned above. Our main concern is to prove that for Augustine *creatura* or *omnis creatura* stands only for human beings.

A. *Omnis creatura stands for human beings*

Augustine treats Rom. 8, 19-23 for two reasons: (i) to correct a

²⁶) J. PÉPIN, "*Primitiae spiritus. Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des Confessions de saint Augustin*", p. 184-185.

²⁷) See T. E. CLARKE, *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to Saint Augustine*, p. 3 note 8.

Manichean error²⁸), and (ii) to correct an opinion that angels are within the compass of the creatures that are subject to corruption. He refers to a Manichean error as follows:

“And we also groan inwardly waiting for adoption, the redemption of our bodies”. This is to be understood in a manner that we may think that trees, and herbs, and stones, and other creatures of this kind do not have a sense for pain and suffering. For this is a Manichean error²⁹).

The Bishop of Hippo does not show how the Manichean teaching is erroneous. We suspect that he sees this as a part of their pantheistic teaching or implied in it. The Manicheans hold that “a part of God is everywhere mixed up in heaven and earth, in all bodies, dry and moist, in all seeds of trees, herbs, men and animals”³⁰). A part of God is present in these creatures, being “fettered, oppressed, polluted”, and therefore it is inflicted with pain and suffering, and through and in these creatures it groans “to be loosed and liberated ...”³¹). Augustine abhors this error as “sacrilegious and incredible turpitudes”³²). To say that a part of God is fettered, oppressed, and polluted is the same as saying that God Himself is fettered, oppressed, and polluted, because a part of God is

²⁸) See also P. PLATZ, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins*, Würzburg, 1938, p. 182: “Der Kampf gegen die Manichäer ist der Hauptgrund für die eigenartige Exegese, die uns Augustin hinterliess von Röm 8, 19-23, wo der Apostel das Sehnen der Natur nach der Offenbarung der Herrlichkeit der Kinder Gottes beschreibt”.

²⁹) “*Et ipsi in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus adoptionem expectantes redemptionem corporis nostri, sic intelligendum est, ut neque sensum dolendi et gemendi opinemur esse in arboribus et oleribus et lapidibus et ceteris huiusmodi creaturis — hic enim error Manichaeorum est ...*”. *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), CSEL 84, 26. The same Manichaean error is discussed in *De Quantitate Animae* 33, 71, PL 32, 1074. In *Confessiones* 3, 10, 18, CSEL 33, 59, Augustine confesses that he had embraced this error in the past.

³⁰) See *De Natura Boni* 44, CSEL 25 (2), 881: “Iam vero quod partem naturae dei dicunt permixtam in caelis, in terris, sub terris, in omnibus corporibus, siccis et humidis, in omnibus carnibus, in omnibus seminibus arborum, herbarum, hominum, animalium, non potentia divinitatis sine ullo nexu incoquinabiliter ...”.

³¹) See *De Natura Boni* 44, CSEL 25 (2): “... incorruptibiliter omnibus rebus administrandi regendisque praesentem, quod nos de deo dicimus, sed ligatam, obpressam, pollutam, quam solvi, liberari purgarique dicunt, non solum per discursum solis et lunae et virtutis lucis, verum etiam per electos suos ...”.

³²) See *De Natura Boni* 44, CSEL 25 (2): “... hoc genus nefandissimi erroris quam sacrilegas et incredibiles turpitudines eis suadeat, etiamsi non persuadeat, horribile est dicere”. Augustine finds this error and many others in a Manichean book called *Thesaurus*. The Manicheans esteemed this book as a certain kind of a scripture.

God Himself³³). For Augustine, therefore, the other lower forms of creatures are excluded from the compass of groaning creation.

Neither are the good angels included³⁴). They are not inflicted with pain and suffering since they were not made subject to corruption. Being not subject to it, they do not groan to be liberated. This reasoning by Augustine here in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* is exactly the same as in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67.

How is *omnis creatura* then to be understood? It is to be understood as man. Augustine illustrates this by showing the correspondence between the universe as a whole and man in particular.

Constituents of the universe

1. spiritual (angels are considered the highest)
2. animate (beasts are representative)
3. corporeal (anything visible and tangible)

Constituents of a human being

- spirit (*spiritus*)
- soul (*anima*)
- body (*corpus*)

The correspondence between the constituents of the universe as a whole and the constituents of a human being in particular that Augustine gives here in this later work is also the same as the correspondence between the universe as the *macrocosmos* and man as a *microcosmos* that he gives in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67. Every constituent of the universe as a whole is present *generatim* in every human being. This is how *omnis creatura* in verse 23 is to be understood.

For no creature can be anything other than either being spiritual, which is represented well in angels, or animate, which appears sufficiently also in the life of the beasts, or corporeal that can be seen and touched. However, all is also in a human being, because a human being is composed of a spirit, soul, and body³⁵).

³³) "Animam quippe Deum esse dicitis vel partem Dei. Nec video quomodo Deus non sit, quae pars Dei dicitur: nam et auri pars aurum ...". *De Moribus Manichaeorum* 11, 21, PL 32, 1354.

³⁴) "... neque angelos sanctos vanitati subiectos esse arbitremur et de his existimemus, quod liberabuntur a servitute interitus, cum interituri utique non sint, sed omnem creaturam in ipso homine sine ulla calumnia cogitemus". *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53). CSEL 84, 26.

³⁵) "Non enim creatura ulla esse potest nisi aut spiritualis, quae excellit in angelis, aut animalis quae etiam in vita bestiarum satis apparet, aut corporalis, quae videri aut tangi potest, omnis autem est etiam in homine, quia homo constat spiritu et corpore". *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), CSEL 84, 25.

B. *Creatura* stands for whatever struggles and is connected with corruption in man

For Augustine the word *creatura* in verse 19 (*creatura revelationem exspectat*) stands for human beings. From the context of his explanation we understand that he refers to human beings either in general or as believers. He shows this by shifting from the compass of *creatura* as standing only for believers to the compass of *creatura* as standing for human beings in general. We can illustrate this in the following manner: firstly, we note that Augustine associates this text with Col. 3-4 and with 1 Jo. 3, 2.

Therefore, "creation", that is, whatever struggles and is connected to corruption now in man, "hopes for the revelation of the sons of God" (Rom. 8, 19), namely, the manifestation of which the apostle says: "For you have died and your life is hidden with Christ in God; when Christ your life has appeared, then you will also appear with Him in glory" (Col. 3, 3-4). John also says: "Beloved, we are God's children now, and it does not appear yet what we shall be; we however know that when He appears we shall be like Him since we shall see Him as He is" (1 Jo. 3, 2)³⁶.

Because Augustine associates the three references, namely, Rom. 8, 29, Col. 3, 3-4 and 1 Jo. 3, 2, it is clear enough that *creatura* stands only for believers. He refers *creatura* here to those who are united now with Christ in God and will be glorified together with Christ. Secondly, we note that by shifting to verse 20, "for creation was subjected to vanity", Augustine inevitably shifts also to a broader compass of *creatura*. This is so since not only were the believers made subject to punishment, but the whole human race as well.

Creation, which is subject to vanity now in man so long as it is given to temporal things, which pass away as a shadow, hopes therefore for this revelation of the sons of God³⁷).

³⁶) "Ergo *creatura* revelationem filiorum dei exspectat, quidquid nunc in homine laborat et corruptioni subiacet, illam scilicet manifestationem, de qua idem dicit apostolus: *Mortui enim estis et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in deo; cum Christus apparuerit vita vestra, tunc et vos apparebitis cum illo in gloria*. Dicit et Iohannes: *Dilectissimi, nunc filii dei sumus et nondum apparuit, quid erimus; scimus autem, quia, cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est*". *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), CSEL 84, 26.

³⁷) "Hanc ergo revelationem filiorum dei exspectat *creatura*, quae in homine nunc vanitati subiecta est, quamdiu dedita est temporalibus rebus, quae transeunt tamquam umbra". *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), CSEL 84, 26.

Augustine's way of identifying the compass of *creatura* in this later work is the same as that in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67. 1. The only difference between the two is that in the later work, that is, *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), he integrates Col. 3, 3-4 with Rom. 8, 19, whereas in the earlier work he does not. However, this additional reference in the later work does not add anything substantial that would constitute a substantial difference between his interpretations in the two works. 1 Jo. 3, 2 alone shows that those who will be glorified with Christ will be transformed and will enjoy a beatific vision. Col. 3, 3-4 repeats this idea. Glorification with Christ, transformation, and beatific vision are the objects of human hope. These will be achieved at the revelation of the sons of God.

C. *The word creatura in verse 21 stands for nonbelievers on the way to true faith*

Augustine makes a distinction between *creatura* and *filii dei*. Possession of faith is the basis of their distinction. *Creatura* stands for nonbelievers on the way to faith. *Filii dei* stands for believers. We note that *creatura* stands for nonbelievers *on the way to faith*, and not any other kind of nonbelievers, because Augustine remarks on the connection that Paul gives between the word *creatura* and the following phrase: *liberabitur a servitute interitus, in libertatem gloriae filiorum dei*. This means that there is a progression from *creatura* towards *filii Dei*. In other words, nonbelievers who are called *creatura* by the very reason of the fact that they still do not possess the true faith are becoming *filii dei*, who are so called for the very reason that they possess the true faith. This distinction has to be remarked on, since for Augustine even those nonbelievers who are groping in error are included in the range of hoping creation. Augustine sees in them the future fulfillment of a complete liberation. He indicates this progress by using the words *nondum* and *erant adhuc credituri*. The word *adhuc* is stated by Paul himself in verse 22: *Scimus enim, quia creatura congemiscit et dolet usque adhuc*.

And he therefore says: "(For creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will but) by the will of him who subjected it in hope, because creation itself will be freed from the bondage of decay, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God" (Rom. 8, 20-21). This is to say, even (creation) itself which is called only *creatura*, and not yet (*nondum*) integrated through faith to the groups of the sons of God, the apostle nevertheless saw in them who would believe what he

says, because "creation will be freed from the bondage of decay" in order that it may not serve decay, which all sinners serve. For it has been said to the sinner: "You shall die" (Gen. 2, 17). However, "He will be freed into the glorious freedom of the sons of God" (Rom. 8, 21), that is to say, it will itself reach the glorious freedom of the sons of God through faith. When there was no faith in it, it was called only *creatura*. The following statement: "For we know that creation groans and suffers up to the present" (Rom. 8, 28) is also said to it. For those who were subject to difficult errors in spirit were still going to believe (*erant enim adhuc credituri*)³⁸.

D. *The compass of groaning creation also includes the believers*

While on the one hand Augustine marks the distinction between *creatura* and *filius dei* on the basis of nonpossession or possession of faith, on the other hand he considers them both under the same condition of a suffering creation, although they differ in nature and degree of suffering. The suffering of *creatura* arises from both flesh and spirit. The suffering of *filius dei* comes from troubles and other tendencies of our mortal nature. Augustine traces this suffering of the *filius dei* to the nature of the flesh while still a servant to the law of sin: *quia carne servitur legi peccati*. When flesh has been liberated from this slavery at its resurrection and transformation it will cease groaning.

But lest someone think that it (*sc. groaning and suffering*) has been said concerning only their (*sc. of the creatura*) difficulty, he adds (*a statement on groaning and suffering*) concerning those who had already believed. For although they served the law of God in spirit, this is, in mind, nevertheless because the law of sin is served by the flesh so long as we suffer the disturbances and troubles of our mortal nature, he therefore added the following statement: "However, not only (*creation*) but also we ourselves who have the firstfruits of the spirit groan within ourselves" (Rom. 8, 23). He

³⁸) "Et ideo: Propter eum, inquit, qui subiecit eam in spe, quia et ipsa creatura liberabitur a servitute interitus, in libertatem gloriae filiorum dei, id est, etiam ipsa, quae tantummodo creatura est, nondum per fidem aggregata numero filiorum dei, sed tamen in eis, qui credituri erant, videbat apostolus, quod dicit, quia creatura liberabitur a servitute interitus, ut interitui non serviat, cui serviunt omnes peccatores. Peccatori enim dictum est: *Morte morieris*. Liberabitur autem in libertatem gloriae filiorum dei, id est, ut et ipsa perveniat ad libertatem gloriae filiorum dei per fidem, quae fides cum in ea non erat tantummodo creatura dicebatur et ad ipsam refert, quod sequitur: *Scimus enim, quia creatura congemiscit et dolet usque adhuc*. Erant enim adhuc credituri, qui etiam spiritu subiacebant laboriosis erroribus". *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), CSEL 84, 27-28.

therefore says that not only what is called only *creatura* in human beings who have not believed yet and are therefore not yet numbered among the children of God, does groan and suffer, but also we ourselves, who believe and have the firstfruits of the spirit because we cling to God already in spirit through faith, and therefore are called no longer *creatura* but sons of God. Nevertheless, "we also groan within ourselves hoping for the adoption, the redemption of our bodies" (Rom. 8, 23)³⁹.

This statement of Augustine is no more than a summary of his own statement in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67. 5. However, while in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67. 5 he draws the attention of his listeners or readers to the future union of body and soul as a complete sacrifice (*holocaustum*) and the full liberation of human beings as their full adoption as sons of God (*ut et ipsum corpus accipiens beneficium adoptionis filiorum*), in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53) he points out to them the nature and joy of fully resurrected persons. This nature and joy consist in the following: (i) full adoption in spirit and body, (ii) transformation of the body, (iii) manifestation and enjoyment of perfect peace and everlasting rest.

For this adoption, which has already been made in spirit in those who believed, has not been made in body. Besides, the body has not yet been transformed into that heavenly unchangeability just as the spirit converted to God from errors has already been transformed by the reconciliation of faith. Therefore that manifestation, which will come at the resurrection of the body, which belongs to that fourth stage (*sc. in human history*) where peace will be perfect in every respect and rest will be everlasting since no corruption from any source fights against us, nor does disturbance trouble us — (*that manifestation*) is still hoped for also in those who have believed⁴⁰).

³⁹) "Sed ne quis putaret de ipsorum tantum labore dictum esse, subiungit etiam de his, qui iam crediderant. Quamquam enim spiritu, hoc est, mente servirent legi dei, tamen quia carne servitur legi peccati, quamdiu molestias et sollicitationes mortalitatis nostrae patimur, ideo addidit dicens: *Non solum autem sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes et ipsi in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus*. Non solum ergo inquit ipsa, quae tantummodo creatura dicitur in hominibus, qui nondum crediderunt et ideo nondum in filiorum dei numero constituti sunt, congemiscit et dolet, sed etiam nosmetipsi, qui credimus et spiritus primitias habemus, quia iam spiritu adhaeremus deo per fidem et ideo non iam creatura sed filii dei appellamur, tamen et ipsi in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus adoptionem expectantes redemptionem corporis nostri". *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), CSEL 84, 28.

⁴⁰) "Haec enim adoptio, quae iam facta est in his qui crediderunt spiritu non corpore facta est. Nondum enim etiam corpus reformatum est in caelestem illam immutationem,

III. THE COMPASS OF GROANING CREATION IN OTHER WORKS

It is our intention to investigate the same question as in the two previous sections. Our materials for investigation are the other works of Augustine. We shall, however, refer to the two previous works only for the purpose of comparing them.

A. *The compass of creatura in Augustine's work dating before 393 is not clearly defined*

Augustine refers for the first time to Rom. 8, 20 in *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, written in 388.

Not I but Paul himself claims this: "For creation has been subjected to vanity" (Rom. 8, 20). What has been subjected to vanity cannot sunder us from vanity and unite us to truth. But the Holy Spirit does this for us. Therefore it is not a creature. Because all that exists is either God or a creature⁴¹).

It is difficult to define the range of *creatura* from this text. Augustine is not concerned here with defining it but to show the helplessness of *creatura* in liberating itself. It is the Holy Spirit which frees it. However, from this same text we may still define the compass of *creatura*. There are three hints which may enable us to do this. First, Augustine gives the identity of *creatura*. He seems to make a tautology between *creatura* that has been subjected to vanity (*quod subjectum est vanitati*) and human beings (*nos*). This would mean that he identifies *creatura* with human beings. Second, Augustine identifies *creatura* with human beings by showing the helplessness of *creatura* to liberate itself from subjection to vanity. In doing this he expresses the contrast between *creatura*, which is helpless, and the Holy Spirit, which has the power to liberate. Augustine, however, is not concerned only with liberation but also with union to

sicut spiritus iam mutatus est reconciliatione fidei ad erroribus conversus ad deum. Ergo etiam in his, qui crediderunt, expectatur adhuc illa manifestatio, quae in corporis resurrectione proveniet, quae pertinet ad quartum illum gradum, ubi ex toto perfecta pax erit et quies aeterna nulla nobis ex aliqua parte corruptione resistente aut sollicitante molestia". *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), CSEL 84, 28-29.

⁴¹) "Creatura enim neque hoc ego, sed idem Paulus clamat, *vanitati subjecta est* (Rom. 8, 20). Neque nos potest a vanitate separare, veritatisque connectere, quod subjectum est vanitati. Et hoc nobis Spiritus sanctus praestat: creatura igitur non est. Quia omne quod est, aut Deus, aut creatura est". *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 12, 23, PL 32, 1321.

truth: *a vanitate separare, veritatis connectere*. A search for union with truth presumes possession of intelligence. Thus it would be more likely that Augustine is referring here only to human beings. Third, by an argument from internal probability we can establish for certain that Augustine identifies *creatura* only with human beings. If we consider the context of chapter 13 of *De Moribus Ecclesiae*, from which we have chosen the text quoted above, we see that Augustine is speaking only about human beings. Thus it would be inconsistent for us to think that he has other creatures/the remainder of creation in mind as well.

However, the very contrast that Augustine makes between the Holy Spirit and *creatura* serves to confuse us in knowing clearly the compass of *creatura*. The contrast between the Holy Spirit who is God and who is consequently not included among creatures and all the rest that exists as *creatures* does not at all demonstrate that *creatura* in Rom. 8, 20, "For creation has been subjected to vanity" is necessarily to be identified with human beings without the inclusion of the other creatures.

The only thing that is clear in *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 13, 23 is that the Holy Spirit, being God, is not a creature; and that the Holy Spirit liberates *creatura* from subjection to vanity.

B. *From 393 on, omnis creatura is clearly identified with human beings*

In *De Fide et Symbolo* 10, 23, written in 393, Augustine clearly identifies *omnis creatura* with human beings. This identification is made clear by his reference to the three components of human being, namely, the spirit, the soul, and the body.

But since there are three components of which a human being consists, spirit, soul, and body, which again are called two because soul is frequently called at the same time spirit — for its certain rational nature is called spirit, which beasts lack — our principal component is spirit. Then life, by which we are joined to the body, is called soul. Our ultimate component is the body itself since it is visible. However, "all this creation groans and is in travail (*ingemiscit et parturit*) up to the present" (Rom. 8, 22). Nevertheless it has given the firstfruits of the spirit to God since it has believed Him and it is already of good will⁴²).

⁴²) "Et quoniam tria sunt, quibus homo constat: spiritus, anima et corpus, quae rursus duo dicuntur, quia saepe anima simul cum spiritu nominatur — pars enim quaedam eiusdem rationalis, qua carent bestiae, spiritus dicitur — principale nostrum spiritus est; deinde vita, qua coniungimur corpori, anima dicitur; postremo ipsum corpus, quoniam

This identification with human beings is made even clearer by what Augustine adds to his statement on the components of a human being. He says: "Nevertheless it (sc. *omnis creatura*) has given the firstfruits of the spirit to God since it has believed Him and it is already of good will". With these words he not only identifies *omnis creatura* with human beings but also limits its identity to believers, namely, to those who have given the firstfruits to God. This interpretation becomes more clearly formulated later in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67 and in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53). Here, however, in *De Fide et Symbolo* he does not make any distinction between *creatura* and *filius dei*. Nor does he make faith the basis of their difference. This shows that this distinction between *creatura* and *filius dei* based on faith was made only in later years, that is, from c. 395 on.

That Augustine limits the compass of *omnis creatura* to human beings and more so to believers may be shown by his scriptural references. They are the following: (i) Rom. 1, 9: "For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit"; (ii) Rom. 7, 25: "I of myself serve the law of God with my mind"; (iii) 1 Cor. 15, 52: "For at the sound of the last trumpet, the dead will rise imperishable and we shall be changed". The first two texts refer clearly to believers, particularly to Paul himself after conversion. The last may also refer to man in general and even to nonbelievers. However, Augustine frequently makes a distinction between the result of transformation in believers and nonbelievers. We shall treat more of this in our later work in connection with 1 Cor. 15, 51.

Let us examine a later work: *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum*, written in 399. In paragraph 8 Augustine's statement reads:

visibile est, ultimum nostrum est. Haec autem *omnis creatura* ingemiscit et parturit usque nunc; dedit tamen primitias spiritus, quia credidit deo et bonae iam voluntatis est". *De Fide et Symbolo* 10, 23, CSEL 41, 28. This conception of *creatura* is similar to that given in *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 12, 20, PL 32, 1320: "Non, inquit, separat alia creatura (Rom. 8, 39). O altissimorum mysteriorum virum! Non fuit contentus dicere creatura; sed alia, inquit, creatura, admonens etiam idipsum quo diligimus Deum, et quo inhaeremus Deo, id est animum atque mentem creaturam esse. Alia ergo creatura corpus est: et si animus res quaedam est intelligibilis, id est quae tantum intelligendo innotescit, alia creatura est omne sensibile, id est quod per oculos, vel aures, vel olfactum, vel gustum, vel tactum, quasi quamdam notitiam sui praebebat; atque id deterius sit necesse est, quam quod intelligentia sola capitur". We note here that Augustine is commenting on *creatura* as found in Rom. 8, 39 and not in Rom. 8, 19-23. If Augustine thought also of this conception of *creatura* in Rom. 8, 20 in his later reference to it in *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 13, 23, then this would serve to bolster our arguments.

For in connection with this (*sc. question*) the Apostle says: "All creation has been subjected to vanity not by its own will" (Rom. 8, 20), because all (*sc. creation*) is also in man. Certainly there is in man both the invisible which conforms to his soul and the visible which conforms to his body. But every creature is partly visible and partly invisible. Nevertheless not all is present in a beast which has not intellectual mind⁴³).

We see in the text that Augustine is working with a reading of Rom. 8, 20 with *omnis creatura* instead of *creatura*. This is the first occurrence of this reading. The second is to be found in *Epistula* 55, 11. 20⁴⁴). By using the reading with *omnis creatura* instead of *creatura* — which he already knew, as we can see in his earlier works — Augustine seems to suggest to us that he assumes the identity of the two words and what they stand for. Thus both *omnis creatura* and *creatura* stand for human beings alone. In this work Augustine does not give the different categories of human being, while he does do so in his other works. This is so because he is working with Rom. 8, 20; and consequently it would be superfluous to mention these categories because all human beings have been subjected to vanity. Another reason is that he is showing the correspondence between creation as a whole and the human being as a particular creation. This demonstration is similar to the previous ones in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67. 5 and *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53), 4. And the final reason is that the context of the whole discussion is the justice and mercy of God for the first human being who sinned voluntarily. There is no mention of a syndrome including the consequence of man's voluntary sinning and its effect on other creatures.

From 406 on, Augustine is no longer concerned with investigating the compass of *omnis creatura* and *creatura*. Neither does he distinguish these two terms. His shift from one to the other manifests this. We notice this in *En. in Ps.* 125, 2, written in 406.

He said that every creature (*omnem creaturam*) is also in human

⁴³) "Hinc enim ait apostolus: *omnis creatura vanitati subiecta est non sponte*, quia et in homine omnis est. Inest quippe homini et invisibile quid secundum animum et visibile secundum corpus; omnis autem creatura partim est visibilis, partim invisibilis, nec tamen omnis in pecore, cui mens intellectualis non inest". *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum* 8, CSEL 25 (2), 916.

⁴⁴) *Epistula* 55, 11. 20, CSEL 34 (2), 191.

beings who do not believe but nevertheless will believe; creation (*creatura*) groans in struggle. Is creation only in those who do not believe yet? But does it not groan or travail (*non gemit, nec parturit*) in those who have believed? He said: "However, not only (*creation*) but also we ourselves who have the firstfruits of the spirit", that is to say, we who have already served God in spirit, we who have already believed God in mind and in faith itself, have given certain firstfruits in order that we follow our firstfruits. Therefore, "we groan inwardly, hoping for adoption, the redemption of our body" (Rom. 8, 23)⁴⁵).

In this text it is clear that Augustine not only identifies *omnis creatura* with *creatura*, and both of them with human beings as a whole, but also applies *omnis creatura* or *creatura* even to those who have already believed: *Numquidnam in his tantum, qui nondum crediderunt? Iam vero in his qui crediderunt non gemit, nec parturit creatura?* This interpretation clearly differs from that in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53) 13, 14, 18, where he makes a distinction between *creatura* and *filii dei*. The former is either a nonbeliever in general or one on the way to faith. The latter is a believer.

In this homily on the Psalms Augustine sees the cause of the groaning of creation from a different perspective. A human being groans because he is in captivity. He desires to be liberated and to dwell in a new world, the eternal Jerusalem. Augustine likewise points out that a human being is able to groan by virtue of the Holy Spirit's presence in him. Paul himself is a typical example of this groaning creation.

However, let us ask the Apostle Paul how human being came into captivity. He himself particularly groans in this captivity, sighing for the eternal Jerusalem. And he taught us to groan because of the Holy Spirit because he too was filled with it and groaned. For he says this: "All creation groans and suffers until now" (Rom. 8, 22). And he likewise says: "For creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will but by the will of Him who subjected it in hope" (Rom. 8, 20)²⁶).

⁴⁵) "Omnem creaturam dixit in hominibus etiam non credentibus, sed tamen credituris, ingemiscere creaturam in laboribus. Numquidnam in his tantum, qui nondum crediderunt? iam vero in his qui crediderunt non gemit, nec parturit creatura? *Non solum autem, inquit, sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes*, id est, qui iam spiritu Deo servimus, qui iam mente credidimus, et in ipsa fide primitias quasdam dedimus ut primitias nostras sequamur; ergo *et nos ipsi in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus, adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri*". En. in Ps. 125, 2, CCL 40, 1845.

⁴⁶) "Quomodo autem homo venerat in captivitate, Paulum apostolum interrogemus. Etenim ipse praecipue gemit in ista captivitate, suspirans aeternae Jerusalem; et

The assurance of liberation that is sighed for is guaranteed because it has been demonstrated by Jesus' resurrection. Jesus Christ's resurrection is the *exemplum*. The resurrection of body is the final redemption of the just.

Which redemption do they hope for? It is the redemption of their body which precedes in the Lord, who rose from the dead and ascended into heaven. Before this comes upon us it is necessary that we, who are not only believers and hoping, groan⁴⁷).

Later we shall go deeper into this theme of *Christus exemplum*. Meanwhile let us give here Augustine's general formulation of the dynamics of hope.

Look at the reason why we groan and how we groan. It is because the thing which we are hoping for is precisely the same thing which we are waiting for; but we do not possess it yet. But we sigh for it now until we possess it because we desire the thing which we do not possess yet. Why? Because "in hope we were saved" (Rom. 8, 24)⁴⁸).

In hope, as Augustine is saying here, there is the aspect both of the *already* and the *not yet*. This is precisely the reason why a human being continuously groans.

C. *In his later years does Augustine admit that other creatures are included in the compass of groaning creation?*

In Consultatio Orosii ad Augustinum de Errore Priscillianistarum et

docuit nos gemere ex ipso Spiritu quo et ille impletus gemebat. Hoc enim ait: *Omnis creatura congemiscit et dolet usque nunc*, ait, *non sponte*, sed propter eum qui subiecit in spe". *En. in Ps.* 125, 2, CCL 40, 1845.

⁴⁷) "Quam redemptionem expectant? Corporis sui, quae praecessit in Domino, qui resurrexit a mortuis, et adscendit in caelum. Hoc nobis antequam reddatur, necesse est gemamus, etiam fideles, etiam sperantes". *En. in Ps.* 125, 2, CCL 40, 1845.

⁴⁸) "Ecce quare gemimus, et quomodo gemimus; quia quod speramus, iam quidem expectamus, sed nondum tenemus, et donec teneamus, in tempore suspiramus, quia desideramus, quod nondum tenemus. Quare? Quia *spe salvi facti sumus*". *En. in Ps.* 165, 2, CCL 40, 1845. Augustine in speaking here particularly of those who are in close union with Christ: "Ideo sequitur ibi, et dicit; cum diceret: *Et ipsi in nobismetipsis ingemiscimus, adoptionem expectantes, redemptionem corporis nostri*; quasi diceretur ei: Quid tibi ergo profuit Christus, si adhuc gemis; et quomodo Salvator saluum te fecit? qui gemit, adhuc aegrotat; subiunxit et ait: *Spe enim salvi facti sumus. Spes autem quae videtur, non est spes: quod enim videt quis, quid sperat? Si autem quod non videremus speramus, per patientiam expectamus*". *En. in Ps.* 125, 2, CCL 40, 1845.

Origenistarum Orosius consults Augustine on a certain interpretation of the Origenists concerning Rom. 8, 19-23. This school believes that the sun, the moon, and the stars, are included in the compass of *creatura* that is subject to corruption.

They said that creation which has no will must be understood to be also subjected to corruption, namely, the sun, the moon, and the stars. And these are not elementary shining bodies but powers with reason. However, they show a subjection to corruption by the will of Him who subjected it in hope (Rom. 8, 20)⁴⁹).

Origen thinks that there was a preexistence of rational spirits. Sin caused their union with material bodies. In *De Civitate Dei* 11, 23, Augustine states that Origen sets out this notion in *περὶ ἀρχῶν*.

... but they said that souls are indeed not parts of God, but were made by God. They sinned by withdrawing from the Creator. In proportion to the diversity of their sins, in various stages they were sent from heaven to earth to dwell in different bodies as in chains. And the reason why this world exists and why this world was created was not in order that good might be established but in order that evil be restrained. Origen is justly reproached for this. For in the books which he calls *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, that is, concerning principles, he thought and wrote this⁵⁰).

In *Commentaria in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* 7, 4 Origen explains how these spirits share in the lot of the *creatura*. They animate the sun, the moon, and the stars. These bodies act upon the other creatures that are at the service of human beings. Accordingly angels are included since they also were sent to minister to human beings.

If it is apparent from these examples, proceed also to consider the superior bodies and see the services of the sun itself, of the moon, and of the stars of heaven, and of the whole world, how they have

⁴⁹) "Creaturam quoque subjectam corruptioni, non volentem, intelligendam esse dicebant, solem et lunam et stellas; et haec non elementarios esse fulgores, sed rationales potestates: praebere autem servitium corruptioni, propter eum qui subiecit in spe (Rom. 8, 20)". *Consultatio Orosii ad Augustinum de Errore Priscillianistarum et Origenistarum* 3, PL 42, 668-669.

⁵⁰) ". sed animas dicunt, non quidem partes Dei, sed factas a Deo, peccasse a Conditoris recedendo et diversis progressibus pro diversitate peccatorum a caelis usque ad terras diverse corpora quasi vincula meruisse, et hunc esse mundum eamque causam mundi fuisse faciendi, non ut conderentur bona, sed ut mala cohiberentur. Hinc Origenes iure culpatur. In libris enim, quod appellat *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, id est de principiis, hoc sensit, hoc scripsit". *De Civitate Dei* 11, 23, CSEL 40 (1), 544-545.

been subjected to vanity and serve corruption. They indeed nourish the field for the use of human beings; they produce the fruits of trees and the plants of the fields. They turn the cycles of the year. For they recover what pass away and they allow to pass away again what has been recovered. Understand that angels themselves administer something and are also subjected to this corruption, if you consider the statement of Paul which runs as follows: because "they all are ministering spirits sent forth to serve for the sake of those who obtain the inheritance of salvation" (Heb. 1, 14). I believe that these did not will it but by the will of Him who subjected them in hope (Rom. 8, 20). "For who resists His will?" (Rom. 9, 19)⁵¹).

Origen believes that angels and archangels groan and suffer out of love and affection for human beings even when they themselves did not commit sin. They therefore are encompassed by the term *creatura*: *Creatura enim, licet non volens subjecta sit, tamen quoniam voluntati cedit ejus qui subjecit, etiam affectum quemdam et charitatem circa eos exhibit, pro quibus videtur esse subjecta, et pro doloribus eorum dolet, et pro gemitibus gemit*⁵²). However, Origen does not believe that all creatures groan:

"For we know that every creature groans and suffers" (Rom. 8, 20) can be understood in this way: because not every creature is indeed that which groans and suffers, that is to say, that which is subject to the necessity of the perishable body. However, every creature is that which suffers with those who suffer and that which groans with those who groan⁵³).

⁵¹) "Sed ab his, si videtur, exemplis etiam ad superiora conscende, et vide ipsius solis, et lunae, ac stellarum coeli, et totius mundi ministeria quomodo subjecta sunt vanitati, corruptionique deserviunt. Ad usus namque hominum alunt segetes, arborum fructus producant, herbamque camporum: atque eosdem in se revertentes anni circulos volvunt. Reparant enim quae praetereunt, et praeterire rursum quae reparata sunt, sinunt. Ipsos quoque angelos, si ad sententiam Pauli respicias quae dicit, quia *omnes ministeriales sunt spiritus ad ministerium nisi propter eos qui haereditatem capiunt salutis* (Heb. 1, 14), intelliges tale aliquid gerere, et huic corruptioni esse subjectos: credo etiam ipsos non volentes, sed propter eum qui subjecit eos in spe. *Voluntati enim illius quis resistit* (Rom. 9, 19)". *Commentaria in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* 7, 4, PG 14, 1111. This work exists only in a Latin version which is claimed by some to be unreliable.

⁵²) *Commentaria in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* 7, 4, PG 14, 112.

⁵³) "*Scimus enim quoniam omnis creatura congemiscit, et condolet* (Rom. 8, 22): potest sic intelligi, quia non omnis quidem creatura est quae ingemiscit et dolet, hoc est quae necessitati corporis corruptibilis subjacet: omnis autem creatura est quae dolentibus condolet, et quae gementibus congemiscit". *Commentaria in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* 7, 4, PG 14, 1113. Origen believes that higher forms of living creatures share in our joys and sorrows: "Omnis autem creatura superior agones et certamina nostra spectat, et dolet cum vincimur, cum vero vincimus gaudet; et multo plus quam nobis, illis inest gaudere cum gaudentibus et dolere cum dolentibus". *Commentaria in Epistolam S. Pauli ad Romanos* 7, 4, PG 14, 1113.

In this text Origen clearly differs from Augustine in interpreting the meaning or compass of *omnis creatura*. We have already shown how Augustine rejects the theory that angels are included in the compass of groaning creation. Later in a response to Orosius given in *Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas*, written in 415, he does not take this up again. He considers instead an Origenist theory that the heavenly bodies are within the range of the term *creatura*. Unlike Origen Augustine consistently maintains that only human beings groan. *Omnis creatura* is to be understood as the presence in *genus* of all the other creatures in a human being: *quoniam in unoquoque homine est omnis creatura ... generatim quodam modo*⁵⁴). The bishop gives a detailed explanation of this in the above-mentioned work. However, to a certain extent, he seems to concede that other creatures are possibly included in the compass of groaning creation.

We see further that the sun and moon and other planets are heavenly bodies. We do not see that they have souls. But we believe that (*this account*) may be read outside the Holy Scriptures. However, the testimony from the Epistle of Paul that you put forward as being habitually said by them can also (*etiam potest*) be taken for human beings alone. The reason for this is that every creature is in each human being, not in a universal manner as the heaven and earth and everything that exist in them, but in a certain generic way⁵⁵).

Augustine goes on to explain what he means by *generatim quodam modo*. His explanation is no more than that of the correspondence of the universe, on the one hand, as the macrocosm and human being, on the other hand, as a microcosm. Here in this later work he likewise analyzes how each constituent of the universe is present in a human being.

Despite Augustine's consistency and insistence we feel that the bishop partly concedes that other creatures are possibly included. We note the words *etiam potest* in the text cited above. These words and this manner of expressing his idea are not present in his earlier writings where

⁵⁴) The reader is referred to note 55.

⁵⁵) "Porro de sole et luna caeterisque sideribus, quod coelestia sint corpora videmus; quod animata sint non videmus. De divinis hoc Libris legatur, et credimus. Nam testimonium ex Apostoli Epistola quod ab eis dici solere posuisti, etiam de solis hominibus intelligi potest; quoniam in unoquoque homine est omnis creatura, non universaliter sicut est coelum et terra omnia quae in eis sunt, sed generatim quodam modo". *Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas* 8, 11, PL 42, 675.

he is more categorical. In *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67. 5 he is saying: *Omnis creatura in homine numeratur ... omnis creatura in homine est*. He writes similarly in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53): *omnis autem est etiam in homine*. There is therefore a shift from *est* or *est etiam* to *etiam potest*.

We can present another reason for our position. Later in the same work he admits a possibility of a better interpretation of the same passage, namely, Romans 8, 22-23. However, he insists that he does not believe that from these very same words one can deduce that heavenly bodies groan.

And if the same passage of the apostolic letters can be better understood in another way, nevertheless it does not follow that we believe that the sun, and the moon, and the planets groan until they are freed from the bondage of corruption at the end of the world⁵⁶).

Here again Augustine is using the expression *potest intelligi*. This shows that in later years he does not completely rule out the position of some Fathers.

D. Other Fathers on the compass of creatura

In *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to Saint Augustine*, T. E. Clarke gives the names and notions of the different Fathers who maintain that other creatures are included in the compass of the groaning creation⁵⁷). Apollinaris of Laodicea takes

⁵⁶ "Et si quo alio modo melius potest idem locus apostolicarum Litterarum intelligi: non tamen ex eisdem verbis consequens est ut solem et lunam et sidera congemiscere credamus, donec in saeculi fine a corruptionis servitute liberentur". *Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas* 8, 11, PL 42, 675.

⁵⁷ Clarke gives the following references for the different authors: Apollinaris of Laodicea: K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 15, Münster, 1933, p. 65 f; Irenaeus of Lyons: *Adversus haereses* 5, 32, 1; 5, 36, 3 (PG 7, 1210, 1224; ed. Harvey 2, 413 f., 429); Methodius of Olympus: *De resurrectione* 8 (PG 18, 273-276; GCS 27, 298 f.); John Chrysostom: *In epistolam ad Romanos* 14, 4-6 (PG 60, 529-531) and *Ad populum Antiochenum* 10, 5 (PG 49, 117-118); Ambrosiaster: *Commentaria in XII epistolas B. Pauli*, PL 17, 130-132; B. LEEMING, "The Mysterious Ambrosiaster", in *Downside Review* 73 (1955) 263-276; C. MARTINI, *Ambrosiaster: de auctore, operibus, theologia*, Rome, 1944; Diodorus of Tarsus: K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, p. 93-95; Theodore of Mopsuestia: K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, p. 137-139; PG 66, 823-828; H. B. SWETE, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, Cambridge, 1880, vol. I, p. lxxix-lxxxv, 128-131, 143 f., 267-272; Origen: *Commentaria in Epistolam S. Pauli*

ktisis (*creatura*) in Rom. 8, 20 to be the material world exclusive of man. Human beings, however, since they are the adopted sons of God, exercise hegemony over the material universe. In his *Adversus Haereses* Irenaeus of Lyons in two passages makes an allusion to Rom. 8, 19-23 and maintains that in this pericope Paul is speaking of the material world alone. However, the justice of God demands that the just be rewarded in the material world when it is restored to its pristine state and freed from the bondage of decay. Methodius of Olympus maintains that the material world is subject to corruption. It groans for the sake of human beings and works for their deliverance from corruption. The material world will be restored to a better state too and will rejoice over the liberated children of God. John Chrysostom believes that there is a strict parallelism between the material world and the human race. The sin of human-kind which caused its corruption also brought about the corruption of the material world. At the glorification of human beings in the resurrection the material world will be transformed to a better state. *Ktisis*, which refers to the material world, is a personification. Ambrosiaster identifies *creatura* with the material world. Its elements labor in their cosmic function until human-kind is completely redeemed. Other Fathers reject the notion that *creatura* stands for the material world. Diodorus of Tarsus maintains that the material world does not have a soul. *Creatura* stands for powers placed by God over creation. Thus for him *creatura* applies to angels. Theodore of Mopsuestia holds the same theory as Diodorus of Tarsus, but adds, however, that there is a unity of the cosmos that is centered in man. His conception of man as a microcosmos is not as exclusive of man as Augustine thinks. The rest of creation is ordered to man. Origen belongs to this latter school, as we have already shown. Others who belong to the same school are Clement of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa. Even Pelagius himself subscribes to this notion. Only Ambrose comes close to Augustine. For him, in his first two letters, namely, *Epistolae* 34 and 35, the term *omnis creatura*

ad Romanos 7, 4 (PG 14, 1111 and 1113; Clement of Alexandria: *Quis dives salvetur* 29, PG 9, 636; GCS 17, 179; Gregory of Nyssa: *Contra Eunomium* 4, 3 (PG 45, 636); Pelagius: A. SOUTER, *Pelagius' Exposition of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, Texts and Studies 9, Cambridge, 1926, vol. II, p. 65 f.; Ambrose: *Epistola* 34 (PL 16, 1119-1123); *Epistola* 35 (PL 16, 1123-1127). We would like to mention that Clarke seems mistaken in saying that Methodius of Olympus maintains that only the "visible world exclusive of man" is subject to corruption. We have checked the work mentioned above and found that Methodius includes man. The visible world participates in the suffering of humanity.

congemiscit stands primarily for the human soul. It groans because it is confined in the human body. However, Ambrose applies the phrase also to the sun, moon, and stars, and even to angels. Augustine differs from these Fathers because he believes that angels do not die and the material world has not been subjected to punishment. But his position stands close to the position of an anonymous author⁵⁸), who makes a commentary of the old Latin Pauline text sometime between 396 and 405 in the district of Aquileia. For this author *creatura* in Rom. 8, 19 stands for *rationabilis creatura* and not for *irrationabilis vel insensibilis creatura*. *Creatura* stands more specifically for Adam and Eve who still wait to receive adoption from God⁵⁹). The compass of *omnis creatura* includes too the just before Christ who hoped to receive the reward promised by God⁶⁰). This author argues for his interpretation on the basis of Rom. 8, 23: *Non solum, sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes*. According to him these words show that Paul is speaking of human beings in Rom. 8, 19-23 since only human beings share a life in the Holy Spirit. This is true with the disciples of Moses and particularly with the just and with the disciples of Christ⁶¹). We suspect that if Augustine knew this commentary it is possible that his interpretation was influenced by it. Or if Augustine had written his commentaries ahead of this author, it is also

⁵⁸) A. SOUTER identifies this author as a Pelagian interpolator known as pseudo-Jerome. See *Pelagius' Exposition of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, 3, 16.

⁵⁹) "Item: Dicens: *Si tamen conpatimur, ut et conglorificemur*, et inferens: *Expectatio creaturae*, de rationabili 'creatura' sermonem facit et non, sicut quidam aestimant, de irrationabili vel insensibili, quae ad servitutem hominum creata est et post haec peritura, quando *sol obscurabitur et luna dabit lumen suum, et stellae caeli cadent super terram* (Mt. 24, 29), 'et tunc' (cf. Mt. 24, 30) erit 'novum caelum et nova terra' (Ap. 21, 1). 'Creatura' autem Adam est et Eva, quae adhuc 'expectat' se a 'deo' 'recipere adoptionem'". H. J. FREDE, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*, Band II: Die Texte der *Vetus Latina*, Freiburg, 1974, p. 58.

⁶⁰) "Hic 'omnem creaturam' iustos homines significat qui post Adam usque ad adventum Christi fuerunt cum Adam et Eva pariter 'dolentes', donec 'filiorum dei' promissam recipiant 'adoptionem'". H. J. FREDE, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*, p. 59.

⁶¹) "Item: Dicens: *Non solum, sed et nos ipsi primitias spiritus habentes*, manifeste edocuit quia non de irrationabili vel insensibili creatura sermonem fecerit, quia non participatur 'spiritum' sanctum, sed de sanctis dicit qui 'deo placuerunt' naturali lege, similiter et Moysi discipuli. Discipuli autem Christi 'primitias' dicuntur 'habere', prima et praeclara charismata, per quae ditaverunt omnem terram; non enim tanta fuit gratia ante legem et in lege Moysi. Et quia ampliores sint discipulis Christi, Hebraeis scribens docet: *Sed et hi omnes, testimonio fidei probati, non acceperunt repromissionem, deo pro nobis melius aliquid providente, et ne sine nobis consummarentur* (Heb. 11, 39-40)". H. J. FREDE, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar*, p. 59.

possible that this author's position was influenced by that of Augustine. It was also between 395 and 396 that Augustine gave his detailed treatment of Rom. 8, 19-23⁶²).

IV. ROM. 8, 20: "FOR CREATION WAS SUBJECTED TO VANITY, NOT OF ITS OWN WILL BUT BY THE WILL OF HIM WHO SUBJECTED IT IN HOPE"

Here we wish to present Augustine's different conceptions of vanity and his understanding of how man is subject to vanity. Accordingly, this section is a study of Rom. 8, 20 and its different parallels, which Augustine himself gives⁶³). More attention is given to Ecclesiastes 1, 2-3: "Vanity of the vain, Ecclesiastes said, vanity of the vain, and all is vanity. What does a human being gain in all his toil, at the toil he does under the sun?". Augustine frequently makes this text as the basis of his interpretation of Rom. 8, 20⁶⁴). It is to be noted that Augustine works with this reading of Ecclesiastes 1, 2-3 in his early works. The reading is "vanity of the vain" (*vanitas vanitantium*). Later he found out that the Greek reading and the best Latin codices have "vanity of vanities" (*vanitas vanitatum*). However, he insists that his interpretations of that reading, even when it is faulty, are self-evident⁶⁵).

A. *Vanitas is the oposite of veritas*

Vanitas is synonymous with *fallacia* or *mendacium*. We find this

⁶²) We are arguing here only for Augustine's detailed treatment of Rom. 8, 19-23, which is found in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67 and in *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53). These works were written, as we have indicated, around 395/396. We have, however, shown that even in earlier works Augustine gives the identity of *creatura* as human beings.

⁶³) In *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, PL 40, 67, Augustine gives as parallel texts of Rom. 8, 20 the following: Ecclesiastes 1, 2-3 and Gen. 3, 17: "In toil you shall eat your bread". In *Expositio Quarundam Propositionum ex Epistola ad Romanos* 45 (53) he gives the following: Ecclesiastes 1, 2-3, Ps. 4, 3: "Why do you love vanity and seek lie?", Ps. 43, 4: "Man was made similar to vanity. His days pass away like a shadow". He adds to these texts Gen. 2, 17: "You shall die".

⁶⁴) "*Vanitati enim, inquit, creatura subjecta est. Hoc est illud: Vanitas vanitantium, et omnia vanitas. Quae abundantia est homini in omni labore suo, quem ipse laborat sub sole (Eccl. 1, 2-3)?*".

⁶⁵) "Item quod posui de libro Salomonis: *vanitas vanitantium, dixit Ecclesiastes, in multis quidem codicibus legi, sed hoc graecus non habet; habet autem: vanitas vanitatum, quod postea vidi, et inveni eos latinos esse veriores, qui habent vanitatum, non vanitantium. Ex occasione tamen huius mendocitatis quaecumque disserui, vera esse ipsis rebus apparet*". *Retractationes* 1, 6 (7), 4, CSEL 36, 30-31.

conception of *vanitas* in Augustine's early works. In *De Quantitate Animae* 33, 76, written in 388, he teaches that one will come to realize that the material creation is deceptive when one is in close union with God.

I dare now to tell you this plainly. If we embrace firmly the way that the Lord commands us and accept it as it must be embraced, we shall pass through the Power and Wisdom of God to the ultimate cause or the ultimate author or the ultimate principle of all things, or in whatever other manner such a great thing can be more fittingly named. Once this is understood we shall truly see how everything under the sun is a vanity of the vain (Ecclesiastes 1, 2). For vanity stands for what is deceitful; the vain however are understood as the deceived or those deceiving, or both⁶⁶).

What Augustine is saying here is that fidelity to God's command makes one closer to Him and enables one to see that God is to be preferred above material creation. God is the ultimate whom one can hold on to definitely, whereas material creation can easily deceive one, for material creation passes away. This is the reason why Augustine maintains that true happiness does not consist in the possession of material things. They slip easily. They deceive as a lie (*mendacium*) and what deceives cannot make people truly happy. This conception is clearly expressed in *En. in Ps.* 4, 3, written in 392. This time Augustine is commenting on the word "vanity" as used in Ps. 4, 3 in the light of Ecclesiastes 1, 2-3.

"Why do you love vanity and seek for a lie" (Ps. 4, 3)? Why do you wish to be happy with the basest things? Only truth, from which everything is true, makes human beings happy. Because vanity is of the vain, and all is vanity. What does a human being gain in all his toil at which he toils under the sun"? (Ecclesiastes 1, 2-3). Why are you held back by love of material things? Why do you seek after the last as the first, because it is a vanity and a lie? For you wish everything that pass away like a shadow to abide with you⁶⁷).

⁶⁶) "Illud plane ego nunc audeo tibi dicere, nos si cursum quem nobis Deus imperat, et quem tenendum suscepimus, constantissime tenuerimus, peruenturos per Virtutem Dei atque Sapientiam ad summam illam causam, vel summum auctorem, vel summum principium rerum omnium, vel si quo alio modo res tanta congruentius appellari potest: quo intellecto, vere videbimus quam sint omnia sub sole vanitas vanitatum. Vanitas enim est fallacia, vanitantes autem vel falsi, vel fallentes, vel utrique intelliguntur". *De Quantitate Animae* 33, 76, PL 32, 1076-1077.

⁶⁷) "Utquid diligitis vanitatem, et quaeritis mendacium? Utquid vultis beati esse de infimis? Sola veritas facit beatos, ex qua vera sunt omnia. Nam vanitas est vanitatum, et omnia vanitas. Quae abundantia homini in omni labore suo, quo ipse laborat sub sole? Utquid ergo temporalium rerum amore detinemini? Cupitis enim permanere vobiscum, quae omnia transeunt tamquam umbra". *En. in Ps.* 4, 3, CCL 38, 15.

It is made clear by this text that vanity is the opposite of *veritas*. For clinging to what is considered vain does not make one happy; whereas clinging to what is considered true does make one happy. Truth in this particular case stands for God⁶⁸): *veritas facit bonos, ex qua vera sunt omnia*. To seek for what deceives and to be deceived by it is to be vain. It is to be subject to vanity. In terms of ability to make people happy *vanitas* is therefore opposed to *veritas*.

B. *Vanitas is synonymous with mutabilitas*

If material creation deteriorates it is because of its ability to change. In *De Vera Religione* 18, 35, written in 389/391, Augustine attributes this changeability to its manner of existence. It is not the highest degree of being: *quia non summe sunt*. It is the opposite of the manner of existence of its creator: *qui summe est*⁶⁹). In *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum* 8, written in 399, Augustine traces this mutability of the material creation to its origin from nothing: *ex nihilo*.

Therefore when I ask you, from what was the whole creature created, although of its own kind it is good, it is nevertheless lower than its creator, while He is permanently unchangeable it is itself changeable, — you will not find an answer, except to confess that it was created from nothing⁷⁰).

Being created *ex nihilo* the material creation tends to deteriorate. Man, however, should have enjoyed an exemption from this tendency had he not sinned. In his pristine condition he was given the possibility not to die: *posse non mori*. However, he did not retain that privilege because he

⁶⁸) See also the following works: *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 13, 23, PL 32, 1321, *En. in Ps.* 143, 11, CCL 40, 2081, *De Vita Beata* 4, 24, CCL 29, 84. Truth is identified with Christ in *En. in Ps.* 118, *Sermo* 12, 1, CCL 40, 1700. Christ himself is the opposite of vanity.

⁶⁹) "Sed dicis mihi: Quare deficiunt? Quia mutabilia sunt. Quare mutabilia sunt? Quia non summe sunt. Quare non summe sunt? Quia inferiora sunt eo, a quo facta sunt. Quis ea fecit? Qui summe est. Quis hic est? Deus incommutabilis trinitas, quoniam et per summam sapientiam ea fecit et summa benignitate conservat. Cur ea fecit? Ut essent. Ipsum enim quantumcumque esse bonum est, quia summum bonum est summe esse". *De Vera Religione* 18, 35, CCL 32, 208-209.

⁷⁰) "Quapropter cum abs te quaero, unde facta sit universa creatura quamvis in suo genere bona, creatore tamen inferior atque illo incommutabili permanente ipsa mutabilis, non invenies quid respondeas, nisi de nihilo factam esse fatearis". *Contra Secundinum* 8, CSEL 25 (2), 916.

sinned⁷¹). Augustine calls this act of sinning an act of choosing vanity instead of maintaining union with truth. As a consequence it acquired a tendency to deteriorate: *vergere ad nihilum*.

And therefore when that creature — or at least its part which can sin — sins, it can verge toward nothingness not such that it is reduced to nothing but such that it becomes less capable and weaker. But to be less capable and weaker, if you take this consciously to its conclusion (*means that*) nothing remains⁷²).

In this text Augustine seems to show as well the close union between the material world and human beings. He seems to say that by man's sinning the material world is also implicated in its consequence. The tendency to deteriorate came as a punishment not only upon human beings but also upon the rest of creation: *et ideo potest vergere ad nihilum, quando peccat illa creatura, et portio, quae potest peccare*. The *illa creatura* apparently refers to the *universa creatura* in the earlier statement⁷³) which Augustine is speaking of as having been created from nothing (*ex nihilo*). *Portio* clearly refers to human beings. *Potest vergere ad nihilum* seems to refer to a characteristic both of the material world and human beings, which primarily arises from their nature, since they were created *ex nihilo*, but became a punishment for rational creatures. Augustine, however, does not elaborate on this notion. Instead he shifts to consider human being as a microcosm that corresponds to the universal creature as a macrocosm. We suspect that he makes this shift because he does not like to appear to have given credit to the position of Secundinus, who, being a Manichean, holds that all creatures have something evil in them.

The first human being could have chosen to maintain union with truth. But he did not. Instead he separated from it. Augustine describes this separation as a willful self-subjection to vanity: *diligit ergo sponte vanitatem*. And he equates "vanity" here with uncertainty (*opinabilia*)

⁷¹) "Aliud est autem posse non mori, secundum quem modum primus homo creatus est immortalis, quod ei praestabatur de ligno vitae, non de constitutione naturae: a quo ligno separatus est, cum peccasset, ut posset mori, qui nisi peccasset posset non mori". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 6, 25, CSEL 28 (1), 197.

⁷²) "Et ideo potest vergere ad nihilum, quando peccat illa creatura, et portio, quae potest peccare, non ut nihil sit, sed ut minus vigeat minusque firma sit. Nam minus vigere et minus valere, si animo perducas ad ultimum, remanet nihil". *Contra Secundinum* 8, CSEL 25 (2), 916. The edition of Maurini has the reading *si omnino perducas* instead of *si animo perducas*.

⁷³) The reader is referred to note 70.

and changeability (*mutabilia*). This deliberate abandoning of truth for a love for the changeable brought about changeability that rebounded onto human beings.

It therefore deliberately loves vanity when after breaking solidarity with truth it follows the uncertain, that is, the changeable. However, when it expiates the punishment it deserved from that (*break*), it is subjected to vanity, not of its own will as happens in a human being who sins. For this reason the apostle says: "All creation was subjected to vanity not of its own will" (Rom. 8, 20) because it is also all in a human being⁷⁴).

In *De Genesi ad Litteram* 6, 25, written around 401, Augustine describes this subjection of human beings to vanity as the transition of the human condition from *posse non mori* to *posse mori*. This way to death, however, can be overcome. How? In *Contra Secundinum* 8 Augustine maintains that God because of His goodness subjected human-kind to vanity "in hope".

He (*sc. Paul*) says that it (*sc. omnis creatura*) has been subjected to hope by the mercy of (*God*) who liberates through remission of sins and adoption by grace.⁷⁵).

While being subjected to vanity in hope human beings are actually subjected to changeability. There is a dialectical tension in them between the force of mortality and the tendency to immortality. This characterizes the human condition that is subject to vanity in hope. Thus vanity is synonymous with mutability. This notion is expressed clearly in *En. in Ps.* 143, 11, written in 412. This time Augustine is commenting on Ps. 143, 4: "Man was made similar to vanity. His days pass away like a shadow". By sinning human beings became like time, and like shadow and smoke that vanish.

⁷⁴) "Diligit ergo sponte vanitatem, cum deserta soliditate veritatis opinabilia sequitur, it est mutabilia. Cum autem inde meritas poenas luit, subicitur non sponte vanitati, sicut subiecta est in homine peccante. Hinc enim ait apostolus: *omnis creatura vanitati subiecta est non sponte*, quia et in homine omnis est". *Contra Secundinum* 8, CSEL 25 (2), 916.

⁷⁵) "In spem sane subiecta esse dicit propter misericordiam liberantis per remissionem peccatorum et adoptionem gratiae". *Contra Secundinum* 8, CSEL 25 (2), 916. The same idea is expressed in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, 67, 3, PL 40, 67: "Non ergo sponte creatura subiecta est vanitati: *sed propter eum qui subiecit eam in spe*; id est, propter ejus justitiam adque clementiam, qui neque impunitum reliquit peccatum, neque insanabilem voluit esse peccantem".

"Man was made similar to vanity" (Ps. 143 4). Which vanity? Time which passes by and flies away. For vanity is called this in comparison with truth that always stays and never deteriorates. But this creature has its own place. For as it has been written, "God filled the earth with His good things" (Sir. 16, 30). What is meant by "his"? Those which belong to Him. But all these earthly, fleeting, transitory things, if compared to that truth concerning which it has been said, "I am who am" (Ex. 3, 14), — the whole of this is called vanity. For it vanishes through time as smoke into the air. What shall I say further, other than what the Apostle James said when he wanted to humiliate proud men? He said: "For what is your life? It is a vapor that appears for a little time and then vanishes" (Jas. 4, 15). Therefore, "Man was made similar to vanity". By sinning "he was made similar to vanity". But when he was first created, he was made similar to truth. But because he sinned "he was made similar to vanity" because he received what he deserved⁷⁶).

Augustine's use of the word "similar" does not have the significance only of resemblance between the material creation on the one hand and the life of human beings on the other. It means the reduction of human life to vanity itself⁷⁷). In *Enchiridion* 24 Augustine adds other consequences of sin, namely, ignorance . concupiscence for what is harmful, error, and pain⁷⁸). He considers these consequences as the source of all

⁷⁶) "*Homo vanitati similis factus est. Cui vanitati? Temporibus praeterlabentibus et praeterfluentibus. Vanitas enim ista dicitur in comparatione semper manentis et numquam deficientis veritatis. Nam et ista creatura est loci sui. Implevit enim Deus terram, sicut scriptum est, bonis suis. Quid est: suis? Sibi congruentibus. Sed haec omnia terrena, volatica, transitoria, si comparantur illi veritati, ubi dictum est: Ego sum qui sum; totum hoc quod transit, vanitas dicitur. Evanesce enim per tempus, tamquam in auras fumus. Et quid dicam amplius, quam id quod apostolus Iacobus dixit, volens homines superbos ad humilitatem redigere? Quae est enim, inquit, vita vestra? Vapor est ad modicum apparens; deinceps exterminabitur. Ergo, homo vanitati similis factus est. Peccando vanitati similis factus est. Nam quando est primum conditus, veritati similis factus est; sed quia peccavit, quia recepit digna, vanitati similis factus est". En. in Ps. 143, 11, CCL 40, 2081. In *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6, 27, PL 45, 1272 Augustine associates Ps. 143, 4 with Wis. 9, 15: "For the flesh weighs down the soul".*

⁷⁷) Augustine gives in *De Civitate Dei* 20, 3 a good description of the vain and vanity by associating with Ecclesiastes 1, 2-3 other texts of the same biblical book, namely, Ecclesiastes 2, 13 f.: "Then I saw that wisdom excels folly as light excels darkness. The wise man has his eyes in his head, but the fool walks in darkness; and yet I perceived that one fate comes to all of them". Ecclesiastes 8, 14: "There is a vanity which takes place on earth, that there are righteous men to whom it happens according to the deeds of the righteous. I said that this also is vanity".

⁷⁸) "Hoc primum est creaturae rationalis malum, id est, prima privatio boni: deinde jam etiam nolentibus subintravit ignorantia rerum agendarum, et concupiscentia noxiarum; quibus comites subinferuntur error et dolor: quae duo mala quando imminetia sentiuntur, ea fugitantis animi motus vocatur metus. Porro animus cum adipiscitur

human misery: *ex his morborum, non ubertatis, sed indigentiae tanquam fontibus omnis miseria naturae rationalis emanat*. For this reason in *En.* in Ps. 38, 10, written in 412, he describes the life even of those who have set their hope in the Lord as vain. He supports this position with Ps. 38, 6: *universa vanitas omnis homo vivens*.

Look, I have already jumped over everything that is mortal, I have disdained the basest, I have crushed the earthly, I have risen to the delight of the law of the Lord, I am uncertain of the number of the days (*in dispensatione numerorum* or *nummorum* or *nummorum*) given by the Lord, I have also desired that end which has no end, I have desired the number of my days that truly is because the number of these days now has no real being. Look, this is how I am. I have jumped over so much. Under these circumstances I long for things that abide. "Nevertheless" in the state in which I am, so long as I am here, so long as I am in this world, so long as I bear mortal flesh, so long as the life of man on earth is a temptation (Job 7, 1), so long as I breathe among causes of offense, so long as while I stand I fear lest I fall, so long as both my good and my ill are uncertain to me, "every living human being is altogether vanity" (Ps. 38, 6)⁷⁹.

Later in the same work and in the same context Augustine goes on to attribute this sort of life to live under the sun in the light of Ecclesiastes 1, 2 and 3. Human life itself and all the other created things are vanity because they all are under the sun, that is. they all are mutable and mortal. They all tend to change and to vanish. Unlike the theological virtues and other virtues such as kindness (*benignitas*) and holy fear (*timor castus*), which in themselves do not die out because they are not "under the sun", all the other things that pertain to man tend to change

concupita, quamvis pernicioosa vel inania, quoniam id errore non sentit, vel delectatione morbida vincitur, vel vana etiam laetitia ventilatur. Ex his morborum, non ubertatis, sed indigentiae tanquam fontibus omnis miseria naturae rationalis emanat". *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 24, PL 40, 244.

⁷⁹) "Iam ecce transilivi mortalia omnia, et ima contemsi, calcavi terrena, adscendi ad delectationem legis Domini, fluctuavi in dispensatione numerorum dierum dominicorum, desideravi etiam finem illum, cuius non est finis; desideravi numerum dierum meorum qui est quia numerus dierum istorum non est; ecce iam talis sum, tanta transilivi, in ea quae stant sic inhio: *Verumtamen*, sic quomodo hic sum, quamdiu hic sum, quamdiu in hoc saeculo sum, quamdiu carnem mortalem porto, quamdiu tentatio vita humana est super terram, quamdiu inter scandala suspiro, quamdiu timeo ne cadam qui sto, quamdiu mihi incerta sunt et mala mea et bona mea, *universa vanitas omnis homo vivens*". *En.* in Ps. 38, 10, CCL 38, 411. Variations of *nummorum* are given by the editor in the note.

and to decay. These things embrace both the biological and psychological needs of human being.

I say "every", both clinging to and jumping over, and Idithun⁸⁰ himself belongs still to entire vanity (*universam vanitatem*) because all is vanity and vanity of the vain: what does a human being gain in all his toil, at which he toils under the sun (Eccl. 1, 2-3). Is Idithun too under the sun? He has something under the sun; he has other things beyond the sun. Under the sun he has the ability to keep awake, to sleep, to eat, to drink, to hunger, to thirst, to grow strong, to become tired, to grow to childhood, to youth, and to old age, to have uncertainty in what he wishes and fears. Idithun himself has all these under the sun, even when he jumps over them all. How then does he jump over them? From this desire: "Lord, let me know my end" (Ps. 38, 5). For this desire is beyond the sun; it is not under the sun. Everything visible is under the sun. Whatever is not visible is not under the sun. Faith is not visible. Neither is hope, nor charity, nor kindness. Lastly that holy fear which abides for eternity is not visible. Idithun has sweetness and consolation in all this and dwells beyond the sun because his commonwealth is in heaven. He groans from what he has still under the sun. He both despises this and suffers. He burns in that which he desires. He spoke about the former (*sc. despicable things*). Let him speak about the latter (*sc. desirable things*). You have heard about things that must be longed for. Listen to what must be despised. "Nevertheless, every living human being is altogether a vanity" (Ps. 38, 6)⁸¹.

The biological needs of human beings are expressed by the following

⁸⁰) Idithun is a personification of the virtuous, especially of those who put their trust in the Lord. For a description of the characteristics of Idithun, see the following works: *En. in Ps. 38*, 1-22, CCL 38, 401-422; *En. in Ps. 71*, 1-18, CCL 39, 772-787; *En. in Ps. 76*, 1-5, 20, CCL 39, 1052-1056, 1064; *En. in Ps. 80*, 2, CCL 39, 1122.

⁸¹) "*Omnis*, inquam, et haerens et transiliens, et ipse Idithun ad universam vanitatem adhuc pertinet; quia omnia vanitas, et vanitas vanitantium: quae abundantia homini in omni labore suo, quo ipse laborat sub sole? Numquid et Idithun sub sole adhuc est? Habet aliquid sub sole, habet aliquid ultra solem. Sub sole habet evigilare, dormire, manducare, bibere, esurire, sitire, vigere, fatigari, puerascere, iuvenescere, senescere, incerta habere quae optat et timet; haec omnia sub sole habet et ipse Idithun, etiam ipse transiliens eos. Unde ergo transiliens? Ex illo desiderio: *Notum fac mihi, Domine, finem meum*. Hoc enim desiderium ultra solem est, non est sub sole. Sub sole omnia visibilia; quidquid visibile non est, sub sole non est. Non est visibilis fides, non est visibilis spes, non est visibilis caritas, non est visibilis benignitas, non est visibilis postremo timor ille castus permanens in saeculum saeculi. In his omnibus dulcedinem habens consolationemque Idithun, et ultra solem conversans, quia conversatio eius in caelis est, ex his quae adhuc habet sub sole, gemit; et ista contemnit et dolet, in illa inardescit quae desiderat. Locutus est de illis, loquatur et de istis. Audistis concupiscenda, audite contemnenda. *Verumtamen Verumtamen universa vanitas omnis homo vivens*". *En. in Ps. 38*, 10, CCL 38, 411-412.

words: "to keep awake", "to sleep", and so on. The psychological needs are expressed by this: "to have uncertainty in what he wishes and fears". The life of man is "vanity" so long as he has these needs.

C. *The material world, although considered a vanity, is not evil*

Augustine holds consistently that the material world is good. The general reasons that he gives are the following: (i) the material world itself and everything that it contains were created by God⁸²); (ii) they are admirable and beautiful in themselves⁸³); (iii) no substance is evil⁸⁴); (iv) although inferior to its creator, nevertheless it is good of its own kind⁸⁵); (v) the material world and all it contains belong to God⁸⁶).

Why is the material world called vanity? Augustine gives two general reasons. Firstly, it is because the material world is transitory; when compared with God who is truth, the material world deceives human beings⁸⁷). Secondly, because it is inferior to man; man's choice to serve it instead of God reverses the order⁸⁸). Because of these reasons, it is apparent that the material world is not evil in itself but only in relation to man⁸⁹). In the work mentioned T.E. Clarke calls this the extrinsic denomination of vanity "because it is by man's vain will that material things are called vanity"⁹⁰). What is vanity in the proper sense of the word is that vain human being who has chosen to abandon unity with God and serve what is inferior to him. Augustine describes this as "conformation or configuration with the world" as opposed to "con-

⁸²) *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 13, 23, PL 32, 1321. This was taught too by Plato, see *Timaeus* 30f.

⁸³) *De Quantitate Animae* 33, 76, PL 32, 1077.

⁸⁴) *De Vera Religione* 20, 38, CCL 32, 210.

⁸⁵) *Contra Secundinum* 8, CSEL 25 (2), 916.

⁸⁶) *En. in Ps.* 143, 11, CCL 40, 2081.

⁸⁷) *En. in Ps.* 143, 11, CCL 40, 2081.

⁸⁸) *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 13, 23, PL 32, 1321.

⁸⁹) "Est autem vitium primum animae rationalis voluntas ea faciendi, quae vetat summa et intima veritas. Ita homo de paradiso in hoc saeculum expulsum est, id est ab aeternis ad temporalia, a copiosis ad egena, a firmitate ad infirma. Non ergo a bono substantiali ad malum substantiale, quia nulla substantia malum est, sed a bono aeterno ad bonum temporale, a bono spirituali ad bonum carnale, a bono intellegibili ad bonum sensibile, a bono summo ad bonum infimum. Est igitur quoddam bonum, quod si diligit anima rationalis peccat, quia infra illam ordinatum est. Quare ipsum peccatum malum est, non ea substantia, quae peccando diligitur". *De Vera Religione* 20, 38, CCL 38, 210. See also *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 21, 39, PL 32, 1328.

⁹⁰) T.E. CLARKE, *The Eschatological Transformation of the Material World According to Saint Augustine*, p. 26-27.

figuration with God"⁹¹). It is the subjection of the human being of himself to what has been made subject to him by divine law. In other words, it is the reversal of the natural order. Accordingly, vanity is a human being who is intrinsically vain when he chooses to enjoy the world instead of referring it to God by using it for the service of humanity in order to enjoy God⁹²). However, it seems that for Augustine the material world is not completely exempt from the classification "vain" because of its union with cursed humanity. Augustine believes that the material world began to bring forth "thorns and thistles" when man was cursed as a consequence of sin.

⁹¹) "Fit ergo per charitatem et conformemur Deo, et ex eo conformati atque configurati, et circumcisi ab hoc mundo, non confundamur cum iis quae nobis debent esse subjecta". *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholica* 13, 23, PL 32, 1321.

⁹²) "Fruimur enim cognitis in quibus voluntas ipsis propter se ipsa delectata conquiescit; utimur vero eis quae ad aliud referimus quo fruendum est. Nec est alia vita hominum vitiosa atque culpabilis quam male utens et male fruens, de qua re non est nunc disserendi locus". *De Trinitate* 10, 10. 13, CCL 50, 327. Augustine elaborates on this theme is his distinction between *frui* and *uti*. For more relevant texts we refer the readers to the following works: *De Trinitate* 10, 11. 17, CCL 50, 330: "Uti est enim assumere aliquid in facultatem voluntatis; frui est autem uti cum gaudio non adhuc spei sed iam rei". On the love for neighbors, the following references are useful: *De Doctrina Christiana* 1, XXII. 22. 40, CSEL 80, 18: "Itaque magna quaestio est, utrum frui se homines debeant an uti an utrumque. Praeceptum est enim nobis ut diligamus invicem, sed quaeritur, utrum propter se homo ab homine diligendum sit an propter aliud. Si enim propter se, fruimur eo; si propter aliud, utimur eo". *De Doctrina Christiana* 1, XXXV. 69. 85. CSEL 80, 30: "Hoc ergo ut nossemus atque possemus, facta est tota pro nostra salute per divinam providentiam dispensatio temporalis qua debemus uti, non quasi mansoria quadam dilectione et delectatione, sed transitoria potius tamquam viae, tamquam vehiculorum vel aliorum quorumlibet instrumentum, aut si quid congruentius dici potest, ut ea quibus ferimur propter illud ad quod ferimur diligamus". *De Doctrina Christiana* 1, XXXIII. 37. 79, CSEL 80, 28. Here Augustine analyzes Philemon 20: "Ita, frater, ego te fruar in domino". He warns against confusing *frui* with *uti* on the basis of this scriptural reference, although the two words are very close in meaning: "Quamquam etiam vicinissime dicitur frui cum dilectione uti". Augustine applies the distinction of the two words to human norm for relating with the external world. For this theme we find a text in *De Doctrina Christiana* 1, IV. 4. 8, CSEL 80, 10: "utendum est hoc mundo, non fruendum". With these texts we mentioned above we find a good support for J. Moltmann's statement: "In the realms of play where modern society provides release, there can therefore be a rebirth of experience of transcendence. Since wide areas of neighbourly love have been socialized, we can arrive at the rebirth of the love of God, free of any ulterior purpose. For a long time people needed 'God' in order to enjoy the world or at least to cope with it; But God will by no means disappear from a world where he is no longer 'needed'. On the contrary, we shall arrive at the Augustinian reversal that we 'need' the world in order to enjoy 'God'". *The Future of Creation*, London, 1979, p. 8.

D. "Thorns and thistles"

Before the fall our first parents enjoyed close affinity with nature. In his interpretation of Gen. 2, 15 in *De Genesi ad Litteram* 8, 8, Augustine says:

For what can be a greater and a more wonderful spectacle, or where can human reason speak in a more intimate manner with nature than when after he has sown the seeds, planted the shoots, transferred the shrubs, and grafted the slips, he appears to ask himself "what can the strength of the roots support and what can it not? In what kind of ground can it do it and in which ground can it not? What value has the interior and invisible potency of numbers in these things, and what is the value of the exterior care that is given to them? In this consideration see that it is "neither he who plants nor he who waters anything, but only God who gives the growth" (1 Cor. 3, 7). The work that is added exteriorly is given by man, whom God created, leads, and rules invisibly⁹³).

Earlier, in the same context, Augustine describes this work of our first parents as done voluntarily and with delight.

Therefore farming has everything delightful, especially then (*sc. before the fall*) when nothing harmful came upon it from either the earth or from the sky. For there was not the pain of labor but joy of a free action ...⁹⁴)

After the fall however, the relationship between our first parents and nature has been wounded.

Finally since man did not like anymore to remain subjected (*to God*) by protecting the likeness of Paradise in himself which he cultivated, he received a field similar to his cursed condition. God said: "(The field) shall bring forth to you thorns and thistles" (Gen. 3, 18)⁹⁵).

⁹³) "Quod enim maius mirabilisque spectaculum est ubi magis cum rerum natura humana ratio quodammodo loqui potest, quam cum positis seminibus, plantatis surculis, translatis arbusculis, insitis malleolis tamquam interrogatur quaeque vis radices et germinis quid possit quidve non possit, unde possit, unde non possit, quid in ea valeat numerorum invisibilis interiorque potentia, quid extrinsecus adhibita diligentia, inque ipsa consideratione perspicere, quia *neque qui plantat est aliquid neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat, deus*, quia et illud operis, quod accedit extrinsecus, per illum accedit, quem nihilominus creavit et quem regit atque ordinat invisibiliter deus?". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 8, 8, CSEL 28 (1), 243.

⁹⁴) "Quidquid ergo deliciarum habet agricultura, tunc utique longe amplius erat, quando nihil accidebat adversi vel terrae vel caelo. Non enim erat laboris adfectio, sed exhilaratio voluntatis ...". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 8, 8, CSEL 28 (1), 243.

⁹⁵) "Denique, quoniam similitudinem a se culti paradisi in se ipso custodire subditus

Later, in *Contra Julianum Opus Imperfectum* 6, 27, written in 429/430, Augustine discusses with the Pelagian Julian. The theme is the meaning of Gen. 3, 17-19: "Cursed is the field because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life. Thorns and thistles it shall bring forth to you; and you shall eat the plants of the field. In the sweat of your face you shall eat bread till you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust and to dust you shall return". Augustine uses a part of this reference, namely, "in toil you shall eat", to explain the meaning of Rom. 8, 20: "For creation was subjected to vanity".

Julian and Augustine maintain contradictory positions. Julian believes that the material world was not implicated by the sinning of the first human being.

It has not been said here, "I will multiply your thorns or your sweat". But they are said to have been created at that moment in the beginning⁹⁶).

And later he goes on as follows:

Therefore that unproductivity of the trees, that abundance of thistles, that increased difficulty of painful childbirth, are imputed to individual persons and not to the human race⁹⁷).

In the work mentioned above Augustine does not give his own position. He simply reduces Julian's interpretation *ad absurdum*.

It is as though God, when he said this, did not give him punishment for his sin but gave him a reward as well⁹⁸).

noluit, similem sibi agrum damnatus accepit. *Spinās, inquit, et tribulos pariet tibi*". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 8, 10, CSEL 28 (1), 246.

⁹⁶) "Hic non est dictum, Multiplicabo spinas tuas, aut sudores tuos: sed quasi tunc primum creata dicuntur". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6, 27, PL 45, 1568.

⁹⁷) "Illa ergo sterilitas arborum, illa veprium ubertas, illa aegri partus aucta calamitas, personis hominum sunt illata, non generi". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6, 27, PL 45, 1568.

⁹⁸) The whole statement of Augustine against Julian runs as follows: "Ut ergo non videatur grande peccatum, quo potuerit in deterius natura mutari, leve ac prope nullam supplicium esse contendis quod meruit. Hinc est quod maledictam terram in operibus praevaricatoris retorques ad tui dogmatis pravitatem: hinc est quod spinas et tribulos, et antequam homo peccaret, fuisse asseris institutos; cum Deus haec inter sua primitus instituta non nominet, sed in peccatoris supplicio comminetur: Hinc est quod sudorem laborantis, ut non satis ad aerumnam pertinere videretur, etiam naturale adjumentum esse dixisti, ut scilicet operantium artus sudore recreentur; tamquam Deus ista dicens non irrogaret supplicium pro peccato, sed daret insuper praemium". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6, 27, PL 45, 1569.

But in *Contra Julianum* 6, 20. 65 in a similar discussion with Julian, while reducing his adversary's argument *ad absurdum*, Augustine mentions at the same time that God's curse on the human race implicated the material world as a punishment for man.

You could say that farmers resist God and disturb his order by ridding the fields of thorns and thistles which he (*sc. God*) commanded to bring forth to sinners as a punishment⁹⁹).

We believe that this text does not give us a clear basis for our interpretation of Augustine's later thought on the implication of the material world. However, the very fact that we cannot find a later text which speaks clearly on this subject seems to be no accident¹⁰⁰). Augustine apparently evades this question. We suspect that he does not want to appear to Julian as still having some traces of Manicheism in him. For otherwise it would have appeared that the world for him would also be evil. This is a Manichean doctrine.

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⁹⁹) "Posses dicere, Deo resistere agricolas, ejusque ordinem perturbare, purgando agros a spinis et tribulis, quae ille peccatoribus nasci jussit in poenam (Gen. 3, 18)". *Contra Julianum Pelagium* 6, 20. 65, PL 44, 863.

¹⁰⁰) Other references on the theme "thorns and thistles" are the following *En. in Ps.* 102, 17, CCL 40, 1467: "thorns and thistles" stand for scourge and corruption in the mortal condition. *En. in Ps.* 102, 17, CCL 40, 1468: they stand for toil and struggle. *En. in Ps.* 137, 3, CCL 40, 1987: they stand for all human suffering as a consequence of sin. In his last reference Augustine juxtaposes Gen. 3, 17 with Rom. 7, 25 and Rom. 8, 23. *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6, 21, PL 45, 1549: no one is exempted from the pain of work after the curse.