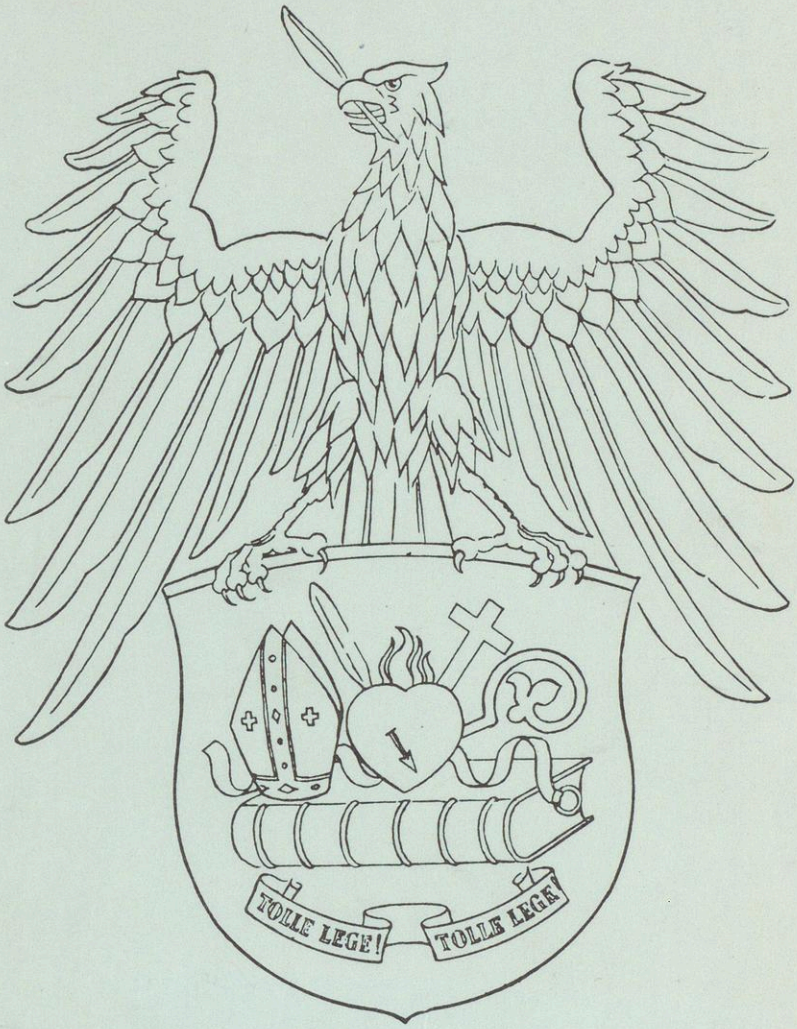
N12<518255138 021

ubTÜBINGEN

530 theol

AUGUSTINIANA

36.37



INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM AUGUSTINIANUM LOVANII

ANNUS 36 1986 FASC. 1-2

UB Tübingen
07. DEZ. 1987
208118
ZA 4578
ZDV

INHOUD—SOMMAIRE

T. J. VAN BAVEL, O.S.A., De la Raison à la Foi. La Conversion d'Augustin 5-27

L.-A. KENNEDY, C.S.B., A fourteenth-century Oxford Augustinian on the existence of God 28-47

E. PETERS, Aenigma Salomonis: Manichaean Anti-Genesis Polemic and the Vitium curiositatis in Confessions III. 6 48-64

E. COLLEDGE, O.S.A., The Augustine Screen in Carlisle Cathedral (with 23 reproductions) 65-99

L. CEYSSENS, Autour de la bulle Unigenitus: Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719) 101-154

Boekbespreking - Compte rendu 155-156

Ontvangen boeken - Livres reçus 157-159

AUGUSTINIANA

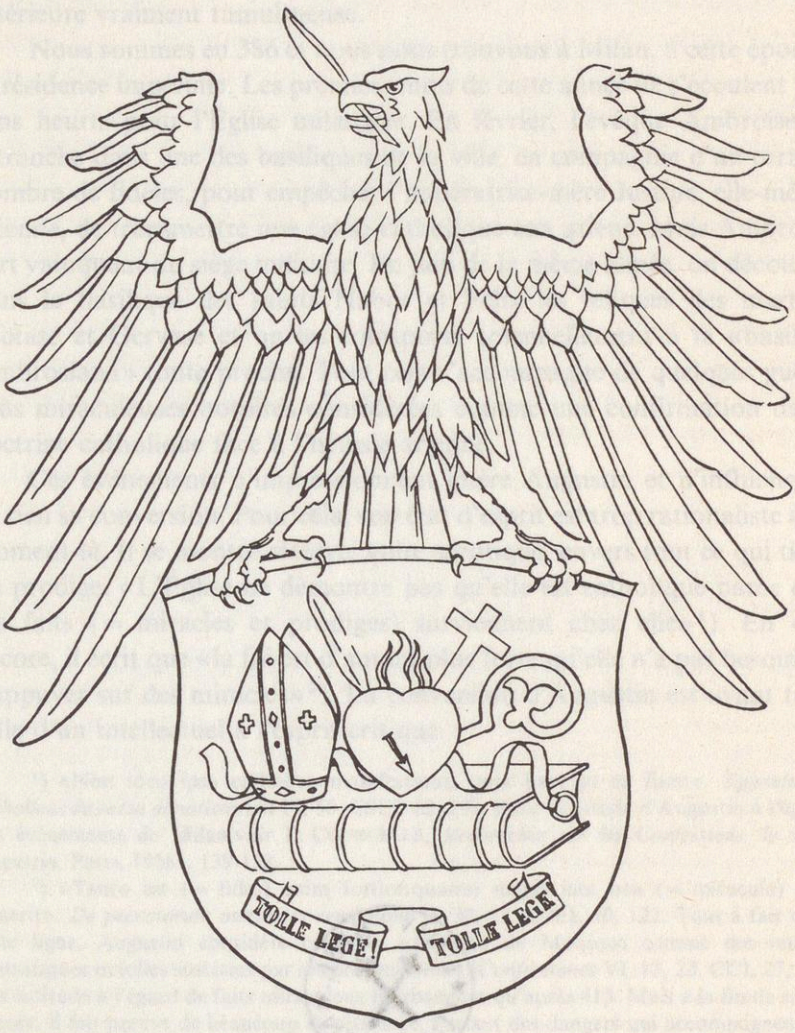
AUGUSTINIANA

TIJDSCHRIFT VOOR DE STUDIE VAN SINT AUGUSTINUS EN DE AUGUSTIJNENORDE

REVUE POUR L'ÉTUDE DE SAINT AUGUSTIN ET DE L'ORDRE DES AUGUSTINS

JAARGANG 36 ANNÉE

1986



INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM AUGUSTINIANUM LOVANII

UNIV. BIBL. TÜBINGEN

ZA 4578

De la Raison à la Foi

La Conversion d'Augustin

Début août de l'année 1986, il y aura seize siècles depuis la conversion d'Augustin au christianisme, après une période d'évolution intérieure vraiment tumultueuse.

Nous sommes en 386 et nous nous trouvons à Milan, à cette époque la résidence impériale. Les premiers mois de cette année ne s'écoulent pas sans heurts pour l'Église milanaise. En février, l'évêque Ambroise se retranche dans une des basiliques de la ville, en compagnie d'un certain nombre de fidèles, pour empêcher l'impératrice-mère Justine, elle-même arienne, de transmettre une église catholique aux ariens. Mais Ambroise sort vainqueur du siège militaire. En juin de la même année, on découvre dans la basilique des saints Nabor et Félix les reliques des martyrs Protase et Gervase et on les transporte solennellement à la «basilica Ambrosiana» toute proche. Tout cela s'accompagne de quelques guérisons miraculeuses notoires considérées comme une confirmation de la doctrine catholique face à l'hérésie arienne.

Ces événements n'impressionnent guère Augustin et n'influencent en rien sa conversion. Pour cela, son état d'esprit est trop rationaliste à ce moment-là. Il se montre réservé, voire sceptique, envers tout ce qui tient du prodige. «L'Église ne démontre pas qu'elle est catholique parce que ces faits (= miracles et prodiges) surviennent chez elle»[1]). En 412 encore, il écrit que «la foi est d'autant plus forte qu'elle n'a pas besoin de s'appuyer sur des miracles»[2]). La conversion d'Augustin est avant tout celle d'un intellectuel à l'esprit critique.

[1]) «Non ideo ipsa catholica manifestatur, quia haec in ea fiunt». *Epistula ad catholicos de secta donatistarum* 19, 50. CSEL 52, 298. Pour l'attitude d'Augustin à l'égard des événements de Milan,voir P. COURCELLE, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1968², 139-153.

[2]) «Tanto est (= fides) enim fortior,quanto magis iam ista (= miracula) non quaerit». *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* II, 32, 52. CSEL 60, 122. Tout à fait dans cette ligne, Augustin considère certaines «visions» de Monique comme des images fantastiques irréelles suscitées par ses propres désirs (*Confessiones* VI, 13, 23. CCL 27, 89). Son attitude à l'égard de faits miraculeux ne changera qu'après 415. Mais à la fin de sa vie encore, il fait preuve de beaucoup de réticence. Parlant des dangers qui accompagnent les invasions des Vandales, il déclare qu'on ne doit pas s'attendre à ce que Dieu fasse des miracles en toute circonstance. Et quand sur son lit de mort, on lui demande de guérir un

Et pourtant le revirement intérieur s'effectuera assez brusquement. Si en juin il se méfie encore de l'Église, deux mois après il se décidera au cours de la célèbre scène du «Prends et lis», dans le jardin derrière sa maison à Milan. Dans les *Confessions* il décrit cette décision comme un orage qui se lève et ne permet plus aucun délai: «Mais, dès que ma profonde méditation eut tiré du fond de ses retraites toute ma misère, et l'eut entassée sous les regards de mon cœur, il se leva une grosse tempête, chargée d'une grosse pluie de larmes ... et—— je ne garantis pas les termes mais c'est le sens — je te dis sans retenue ...: 'Dans combien de temps? Dans combien de temps? Demain, toujours demain. Pourquoi pas tout de suite?'» Une fois la décision prise, c'est le calme et la paix intérieure qui l'envahissent: «A l'instant même, en effet, avec les derniers mots de cette pensée, ce fut comme une lumière de sécurité déversée dans mon cœur, et toutes les ténèbres de l'hésitation se dissipèrent ... Puis, le visage désormais paisible, je mis Alypius au courant»[3]).

Toute conversion ne renferme-t-elle pas cet aspect radical, précisément parce qu'elle contient la décision de changer de vie? Pour Augustin, elle entraînera en tout cas le renoncement à tout désir d'argent (et non seulement de richesse!), l'abandon d'une carrière prometteuse et la rupture de tout lien sexuel. Et pourtant cette conversion avait été préparée pendant trente-deux ans.

I. Le rationalisme ébranlé

Augustin bébé ne fut pas baptisé, mais sa mère Monique le fit inscrire comme catéchumène. Au quatrième siècle, le baptême des

malade, il répond: «Si j'avais ce pouvoir, je me guérirais d'abord moi-même» (Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, c. 29, ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen, Verona, Mondadori, 1975, p. 212: «respondisse, si aliquid in his posset, sibi hoc utique primitus praestitisset». Cf. aussi c. 30, p. 228). La théorie augustinienne du miracle n'a jamais changé: un miracle n'est pas un événement qui va à l'encontre de la nature sans plus, mais seulement à l'encontre de la nature telle que nous la connaissons. Un miracle est le résultat d'un jeu de forces déjà présentes dans la nature lesquelles nous sont inconnues. Cela relativise le miraculeux et exalte la nature même comme miraculeuse.

[3]) «Vbi uero a fundo arcano alta consideratio traxit et congessit totam miseriam meam in conspectu cordis mei, oborta est procella ingens ferens ingentem imbrem lacrimarum ... et non quidam his uerbis, sed in hac sententia multa dixi tibi: ... «Quandiu, quandiu 'cras et cras'? Quare non modo?» ... Statim quippe cum fine huiusce sententiae quasi luce securitatis infusa cordi meo omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt. Tum ... tranquillo iam uultu indicaui Alypio». *Confessiones* VIII, 12, 28-30. CCL 27, 130-132.La traduction française des *Confessions* est celle d'E. Tréhorel et G. Bouissou, (Bibliothèque Augustinienne, 13 et 14), Desclée de Brouwer, 1962.

enfants était complètement tombé en désuétude. La raison c'était la grande sévérité de l'Église concernant le sacrement de pénitence et de réconciliation qu'on ne pouvait recevoir qu'une seule fois pendant la vie. Les chrétiens qui commettaient des péchés graves après leur baptême n'avaient donc que cette seule occasion de rentrer dans la communion de l'Église. Ceux qui retombaient dans de graves péchés, étaient considérés comme des gens qui ne prenaient pas au sérieux leur engagement chrétien. Ainsi fut instauré l'usage de remettre le baptême à l'âge mûr lorsque, supposait-on, les plus grands dangers étaient passés. Souvent ce délai se prolongeait jusqu'à la fin de la vie et on ne recevait le baptême que sur le lit de mort.

Le jeune Augustin dut être très doué intellectuellement. Sinon ses parents — vu leurs moyens matériels limités — ne se seraient pas tant efforcés de lui donner la possibilité de faire des études poussées. De plus, il n'aurait pas trouvé si aisément un mécène qui supporte les frais de ses études supérieures. Car Augustin voulut atteindre le degré social et scientifique le plus élevé de son temps: le poste de rhéteur dans la capitale de l'Empire. Ainsi l'accès à une carrière politique lui serait aussi ouvert. On peut même se demander si ce n'est pas à cause de ses dons intellectuels extraordinaires que le peuple le sollicita plus tard comme évêque.

Mais ces mêmes dons sont à la base de ses longues pérégrinations en quête de la vérité. Rétrospectivement Augustin se plaint de cette longue route dans les paroles bien connues: «Bien tard je t'ai aimée, ô beauté si ancienne et si nouvelle, bien tard je t'ai aimée!»[4]). Augustin lui-même signale suffisamment la cause de sa quête sans repos. C'est l'aspiration à l'autonomie, aspiration naturelle à tout homme. Dans ses jeunes années, il met toute sa confiance dans ses propres forces, et plus spécialement dans la puissance de la raison humaine. Celle-ci est alors pour lui l'ultime autorité et tout ce qu'il désire c'est comprendre et non pas croire. Sa propre intelligence lui permettra, croit-il, de résoudre tous les problèmes de la vie. Sur les choses invisibles il veut être aussi certain que sur le fait que sept et trois font dix[5]). Impossible pour lui d'accepter que la vérité se trouve dans les Écritures, et donc aussi dans l'Église catholique, car

[4]) «Sero te amaui, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam noua, sero te amaui!». *Confessiones* X, 27, 38. CCL 27, 175.

[5]) «Volebam enim eorum quae non uiderem ita me certum fieri, ut certus essem, quod septem et tria decem sint». *Confessiones* VI, 4, 6. CCL 27, 77. Concernant le rationalisme d'Augustin, voir J.-M. Le Blond, *Les conversions de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1950, 90-99.

toutes deux exigent la foi[6]). Ce qui l'empêche de croire, c'est la crainte de la contre-vérité, la peur d'être induit en erreur[7]). Et pourtant, tout ce qu'il désire, c'est, comme il le dit lui-même, la vérité et encore la vérité[8]).

Seulement cette vérité à laquelle il aspire, il veut s'en emparer et la conquérir; il tend à une vérité qu'il peut comprendre et dominer. C'est pourquoi la conversion d'Augustin est réellement une pérégrination du rationalisme à la foi. Car ce ne sont pas seulement les plaisirs matériels, surtout charnels, de ce monde qui le retiennent captif; il l'est davantage encore spirituellement. Il fait alors l'essai de la plupart des systèmes philosophiques de son époque jusqu'à ce qu'il éprouve personnellement la faiblesse fondamentale de l'homme. Pas à pas sa déception s'accroît en voyant comment toutes ses certitudes lui échappent et s'effondrent. Il fait alors l'expérience aiguë de l'incapacité humaine de trouver la vérité par la raison[9]). Tandis qu'une inquiétude grandissante se rend maître de son cœur, il comprend avec une lucidité croissante ce qui lui manque. Voilà la constante dans le cours de sa vie: la découverte progressive du chemin à suivre. Confronté à sa propre impuissance, il se rend laborieusement à la foi. Comme il l'exprime lui-même: «il dut plier le cou».

Pour mieux comprendre le cours de la vie d'Augustin, il faut tenir compte des différentes étapes de son développement, dont voici un aperçu schématique:

1. Sa seizième année est très importante pour Augustin. C'est le début d'une longue période dominée par la sexualité. Jusqu'à sa conversion il ne réussira pas à vivre sans femme. La séparation de la femme avec qui il vécut quinze ans d'amitié et de fidélité, ne le laisse pas indifférent comme en témoignent ses propres paroles: «Mon cœur, où elle adhérait, fut déchiré et blessé, et il portait une traînée de sang»[10]).

[6]) «Sed tamen familiaritas eorum (= les manichéens) ... pigrius me faciebat aliud quaerere praesertim desperantem in ecclesia tua, ... posse inueniri uerum, unde me illi auerterant». *Confessiones* V, 10, 19. CCL 27, 68. Voir aussi *Confessiones* VI, 4, 5. CCL, 27, 76-77.

[7]) «Sed, sicut euenire adsolet, ut malum medicum expertus etiam bono timeat se committere, ita erat ualetudo animae meae, quae utique nisi credendo sanari non poterat et, ne falsa crederet, curari recusabat». *Confessiones* VI, 4, 6. CCL 27, 77.

[8]) «O ueritas, ueritas, quam intime etiam tum medullae animi mei suspirabant tibi, cum te illi (= les manichéens) sonarent mihi frequenter et multipliciter uoce sola et libris multis et ingentibus! ... sed te ipsam, te, ueritas, in qua non est commutatio nec momenti obumbratio, esuriebam et sitiebam». *Confessiones* III,66, 10. CCL 27, 31.

[9]) «Ideoque cum essemus infirmi ad inueniendam liquida ratione ueritatem ...». *Confessiones* VI, 5, 8. CCL 27, 78.

[10]) «Cor, ubi adhaerebat, concisum et uulneratum mihi erat et trahebat sanguinem». *Confessiones* VI, 15, 25. CCL 27, 90. Sur la sensualité naissante d'Augustin, voir *Confessiones* II, 2, 2 - 3, 6. CCL 27, 18-20.

2. La profession de rhéteur occupe fort les jeunes années d'Augustin. Cette profession répond à son désir d'honneur et de gloire et lui donne au début beaucoup de satisfaction personnelle. Ce n'est que peu à peu qu'il se rend compte des dangers de l'art oratoire: la ruse, la tromperie et la violence qui se cachent si facilement derrière les mots. Finalement il décide de ne plus être «un vendeur de verbosité»[11]).
3. Augustin se découvre lui-même dans la philosophie. A l'âge de dix-neuf ans, il rencontre la philosophie pour la première fois en lisant l'*Hortensius* de Cicéron, écrit qui s'inspire d'Aristote. Ce qui impressionne Augustin, ce sont les paroles d'Aristote: «Si on doit philosopher, on doit pratiquer la philosophie; si on ne doit pas philosopher, on doit encore pratiquer la philosophie, car seule la philosophie permet de prouver qu'il est possible de se passer de la philosophie». Cicéron et Aristote (en ce temps-là Augustin lit aussi les *Catégories* de ce dernier) amènent le jeune rhéteur à aimer la sagesse et la vie spirituelle. Ainsi il finit par comprendre que la sagesse surpasse en valeur la richesse, la jouissance et les biens temporels et que la dignité de l'homme consiste en un usage maximum de ses capacités intellectuelles[12]).
4. Au cours de la même année il rejoint le manichéisme, auquel il s'attachera pendant neuf ans. Cette combinaison — étrange pour nous — de philosophie et de manichéisme, n'est pas aussi illogique qu'elle ne le paraît. Au fond, qu'est-ce qui poussa Augustin vers cette pousse tardive du gnosticisme et la forme la plus radicale du dualisme? Sans doute ce principe de base de tout gnosticisme: que la connaissance seule libère l'homme. Le salut consiste essentiellement dans la connaissance qui révèle à l'esprit humain sa véritable nature. Cet esprit humain n'est rien d'autre qu'une étincelle divine, égarée dans la matière et de celle-ci l'esprit doit être délivré. La matière, et donc aussi le monde, est tout à fait étrangère à Dieu et l'homme doit prendre conscience d'être exilé dans un milieu hostile. Ce n'est qu'en nous détachant de la matière que nous pouvons retourner à notre milieu originel. Ce qui attire Augustin surtout dans le manichéisme, c'est la promesse d'une connaissance supérieure, purement rationnelle, de l'existence humaine, sans faire appel à la foi. De plus, il venait de découvrir le monde de l'esprit. Un tel enthousiasme tout jeune entraîne aisément le dédain de tout ce qui est matériel. Enfin les manichéens ne prétendaient-ils pas pouvoir répondre à la question de l'origine du mal, un problème qui, à ce moment déjà, occupe fort Augustin à cause de son insatisfaction de son propre comportement?

[11]) «Victoriosam loquacitatem uictus cupiditate uendebam». *Confessiones* IV, 2, 2. CCL 27, 40.

[12]) «Viluit mihi repente omnis uana spes et immortalitatem sapientiae concupiscebam aestu cordis incredibili». *Confessiones* III, 4, 7. CCL 27, 30. Voir aussi *Confessiones* IV, 16, 28. CCL 27, 54.

Selon le manichéisme, le mal était un principe indépendant et éternel à côté de celui du bien; et tous deux étaient engagés dans un combat implacable. Le drame cosmique éternel du bien et du mal se répétait à petite échelle dans l'homme et le relevait, à certain égard, de sa responsibilité morale personnelle. Trois ans avant sa conversion, Augustin rompt avec le manichéisme: la promesse de connaissance et de vérité se révéla fausse; tout ce que le manichéisme exigeait c'était la foi[13]).

5. Après la rupture avec le manichéisme suit une période de scepticisme: l'homme ne dispose d'aucun critère lui permettant de distinguer entre le vrai et le faux; et donc il doit réserver tout jugement définitif. Mais comme il faut vivre et agir, il faut se contenter de ce qui est raisonnable et probable; la vérité même reste hors de portée. Cette crise illustre également le rationalisme d'Augustin en ce sens qu'en ce qui concerne la vérité, il exige une certitude quasi mathématique[14]).
6. La clef de voûte de l'évolution intellectuelle d'Augustin est la rencontre avec la philosophie néo-platonicienne, à l'âge de trente-deux ans. Le reste de ses jours il restera néo-platonicien, mais il transformera le néo-platonisme et le subordonnera à la foi chrétienne. Augustin est un chrétien néo-platonicien et non l'inverse. Les sermons d'Ambroise, qui subit l'influence d'Origène, le disposent à cette philosophie. Là il apprend que Dieu est esprit pur, que l'âme est incorporelle et que la volonté humaine est libre. Son enthousiasme se déchaîne quand il reçoit quelques ouvrages de Plotin: «Ce fut une chose incroyable, incroyable que l'incendie qui en résulta, et bien au-dessus de tout ce que tu peux penser, -que dire de plus? incroyable pour moi-même, quand j'y songe»[15]). A Plotin il doit surtout une méthode de connaissance de soi-même (par un retour en soi-même, l'homme est rendu à soi-même) et la conviction qu'au fond de l'esprit humain est donnée la relation avec le divin. L'accès au divin est le résultat non pas

[13]) «Et non mihi occurebat ratio nec solistitiorum et aequinoctiorum nec defectuum luminarium nec quidquid tale in libris saecularis sapientiae didiceram. Ibi autem credere iubebar, et ad illas rationes numeris et oculis meis exploratas non occurrebat et longe diuersum erat». *Confessiones* V, 3, 6. CCL 27, 60. La tension entre savoir et croire est un des thèmes centraux du gnosticisme, car ce n'est pas seulement l'ignorance qui s'oppose au savoir du gnostique, mais aussi la foi, parce que la foi ne procure aucune connaissance de l'être même de l'homme. Celui qui croit, fait preuve d'une attitude superficielle devant la vie, mais ne pénètre pas jusqu'à la vérité la plus profonde. C'est cette opposition entre savoir et croire qui fut l'enjeu de la controverse entre l'Église et le gnosticisme. Voir K. RUDOLPH, *Die Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1980², 64.

[14]) «Etenim suborta est etiam mihi cogitatio, prudentiores illos ceteris fuisse philosophos, quos Academicos appellant, quod de omnibus dubitandum esse censuerant nec aliquid ueri ab homine comprehendi posse decreuerant». *Confessiones* V, 10, 19. CCL 27, 68.

[15]) «Incredibile, incredibile et ultra quam de me fortasse et tu credis — quid amplius dicam? — etiam mihi ipsi de meipso incredibile incendium concitarunt». *Contra Academicos* II, 2, 5. CSEL 63, 26.

d'un raisonnement logique mais d'un mouvement ascendant qui trouve son accomplissement dans l'union intuitive avec le divin. Chez Plotin, Augustin discerne aussi une réponse au problème du mal: le mal est l'absence de quelque chose qui devrait y être, alors que nous restons libres et éthiquement responsables de nos actes. En comparaison avec le manichéisme, qui tenait le mal pour indestructible, c'est surtout l'optimisme de la philosophie néo-platonicienne qui attire Augustin. La conception néo-platonicienne de l'homme est à ses yeux tellement plus humaine. Mais Augustin n'assimile pas le néo-platonisme sans réfléchir. Dans les *Confessions* déjà son enthousiasme premier s'est tempéré. A côté de l'absence du nom de Jésus-Christ et de toute idée d'incarnation divine, il lui manque aussi, dans le néo-platonisme, le rôle de la foi, plus importante que la pensée spéculative, le rôle de la grâce divine, de la charité et de la rédemption. Il n'y trouve ni la mort sur la croix, ni le sacrifice d'un cœur contrit et humilié, ni la cité-épouse de Dieu (la Cité de Dieu ou l'Église?), ni la promesse de l'envoi du Saint-Esprit, ni le calice de notre salut (le sacrement de l'eucharistie)[16]).

II. Humiliation et humilité

Au moment où Augustin fait la connaissance du néo-platonisme, il a déjà trouvé une synthèse de la raison et de la foi. Pendant de longues années il ne fit confiance qu'à la raison comme source de connaissance. Même après avoir découvert la foi comme source supérieure de connaissance, la raison garde son importance. Il écrit: «Or tout le monde sait que nous sommes amenés à la science sous la double pression de l'autorité et de la raison. Aussi est-ce pour moi une certitude que je ne m'écarterai absolument sur aucun point de l'autorité du Christ, car je n'en trouve pas qui ait plus de poids. Quant à ce dont l'étude requiert des arguments subtils — car je suis désormais en des sentiments tels que je désire ardemment saisir la vérité, non seulement par la foi, mais encore par l'intelligence — j'ai confiance de pouvoir trouver, pour le moment, chez les platoniciens, des doctrines qui ne répugnent pas à nos mystè-

[16]) «Vbi enim erat illa aedificans caritas a fundamento humilitatis, quod est Christus Iesus? Aut quando illi libri (= les livres des néo-platoniciens) me docerent eam? ... Quid faciet miser homo? Quis eum liberabit de corpore mortis huius nisi gratia tua per Iesum Christum ...? Hoc illae litterae non habent. Non habent illae paginae uultum pietatis huius, lacrimas confessionis, sacrificium tuum, spiritum contribulatum, cor contritum et humiliatum, populi salutem, sponsam civitatem, arram spiritus sancti, poculum pretii nostri». *Confessiones* VII, 20, 26 - 21, 27. CCL 27, 110-111.

res»[17]). Cette rencontre de la raison et de la foi ne s'est pas réalisée sans «humiliation», c'est-à-dire sans qu'Augustin ait touché à ses propres limites.

Dans l'antiquité chrétienne, la théologie et la spiritualité forment encore une unité naturelle. Ce n'est que l'histoire ultérieure qui les séparera en faisant de la théologie une science autonome. J'ignore à quel moment précis cette séparation s'effectua; de toute façon, après le haut moyen âge. A l'époque patristique, l'expérience de la vie et la théologie se

[17]) «Nulli autem dubium est gemino pondere nos impelli ad discendum auctoritatis atque rationis. Mihi ergo certum est nusquam prorsus a Christi auctoritate discedere; non enim reperio ualentiorem. Quod autem subtilissima ratione persequendum est — ita enim iam sum affectus, ut quid sit uerum non credendo solum sed etiam intellegendo apprehendere impatienter desiderem — apud Platonicos me interim, quod sacris nostris non repugnet, reperturum esse confido». *Contra Academicos* III, 20, 43. CSEL 63, 80. Pour éviter qu'on ait l'impression qu'Augustin sous-estime la raison humaine, j'insiste sur le fait que, pour lui, la foi et l'intellect vont toujours de pair. C'est lui qui a dit: «Comprends pour croire; mais crois aussi pour arriver à comprendre» («Ergo intellege ut credas, crede ut intellegas». *Sermo* 43, 9. CCL 41, 512). Il n'y a pas deux vérités, une pour l'intellect et une pour la foi, non, mais l'intellect aussi bien que la foi nous font pénétrer toujours plus avant dans l'unique vérité: «Bien qu'en effet nul ne puisse croire en Dieu, s'il est dépourvu de toute intelligence; cependant la foi, par laquelle il croit, le guérit, afin d'augmenter son intelligence ... Notre intelligence s'accroît donc pour savoir ce qu'elle doit croire, et la foi pour croire ce qu'elle doit comprendre; et, pour que ces vérités soient de plus en plus comprises, l'esprit progresse lui-même en intelligence». («Quamvis enim, nisi aliquid intellegat, nemo possit credere in Deum; tamen ipsa fide qua credit, sanatur, ut intellegat ampliora ... Proficit ergo noster intellectus ad intellegenda quae credat, et fides proficit ad credenda quae intellegat; et eadem ipsa ut magis magisque intellegantur, in ipso intellectu proficit mens». *Enarratio 18 in psalmum 118*, 3. CCL 40, 1724-1725). La foi nous ouvre donc l'accès à une science plus profonde et l'intellect ouvre une perspective toujours plus large à la foi. Cet entrelacement dynamique de la foi et de la raison s'exprime encore plus nettement dans ce texte-ci: «On ne doit pas s'arrêter, tant que la recherche elle-même approfondit davantage le domaine de l'incompréhensible et qu'elle rend de plus en plus parfait celui qui est en quête d'un si grand bien qu'on ne cherche que pour le trouver, qu'on ne trouve que pour le chercher ... La foi cherche, l'intelligence trouve». («Cur ergo sic quaerit si incomprehensibile comprehendit esse quod quaerit nisi quia cessandum non est quamdiu in ipsa incomprehensibilium rerum inquisitione proficitur, et melior meliorque fit quaerens tam magnum bonum quod et inueniendum quaeritur et quaerendum inuenitur? ... Fides quaerit, intellectus inuenit». *De Trinitate* XV, 2, 2. CCL 50A, 461). Et à un correspondant qui trouve que raisonner est l'affaire d'un petit nombre de théologiens et qu'on doit s'en tenir à la simple foi, il répond: «Loin de nous, en effet, la pensée de croire que Dieu haïsse en nous cette faculté, par laquelle il nous a donné la prééminence sur tous les autres êtres vivants. Loin de nous, dis-je, la pensée de croire que la foi nous défend de chercher et de demander raison de ce que nous croyons, puisque nous ne pourrions pas même croire, si nous n'avions pas des âmes raisonnables». («Absit namque, ut hoc in nobis deus oderit, in quo nos reliquis animantibus excellentiores creauit. absit, inquam, ut ideo credamus, ne rationem accipiamus siue quaeramus, cum etiam credere non possemus, nisi rationales animas haberemus». *Epistula* 120, 1, 3. CSEL 34/2, 706).

tiennent encore de près. La théologie d'Augustin est indubitablement celle d'un converti, tout comme celle de son grand prédécesseur Paul, converti lui aussi. Ce n'est pas un hasard si c'est précisément un texte de Paul qui est au centre de l'histoire de la conversion d'Augustin: «Conduisons-nous honnêtement, comme en plein jour, sans ripailles ni beuveries, sans coucheries ni débauches, sans querelles ni jalousies. Mais revêtez le Seigneur Jésus-Christ et ne vous abandonnez pas aux préoccupations de la chair pour en satisfaire les convoitises» (Rom. 13, 13-14). Leur théologie à tous deux peut être nommée une théologie de résistance et d'abandon à Dieu, parce que la grâce y tient le rôle principal, la grâce qui amène l'homme de la rébellion à la reddition. Mais pour être en état de se rendre à Dieu, il faut d'abord s'ouvrir à Dieu qui se donne le premier, et cela n'est possible que si on s'estime petit et humble.

L'humilité est au centre de la théologie augustinienne. Sa reponse à la question de l'essence du christianisme ne laisse aucun doute là-dessus: «Je voudrais vous voir soumis avec toute la piété possible, sans songer à suivre d'autre voie, pour comprendre et posséder la vérité que celle qui a été ouverte par celui qui, comme Dieu, a vu la faiblesse et l'incertitude de nos pas. La première de ces voies, c'est l'humilité; la seconde, c'est l'humilité, et la troisième, c'est encore l'humilité, et je vous ferais toujours la même réponse si vous m'interrogiez»[18]). Pour Augustin, l'humilité n'est pas une vertu parmi tant d'autres; elle est le premier mouvement de l'amour, car elle seule rend l'homme ouvert et sensible à ce qui n'est pas lui, et l'arrache ainsi au repliement sur lui-même. Alors que l'orgueil, en tournoyant toujours autour du moi, mène en fait à l'appauvrissement de la personnalité, l'humilité au contraire en constitue un enrichissement. Car seulement là où on ose se détacher de soi-même, l'autre et les autres viennent compléter la pauvreté personnelle.

Le devoir d'humilité du chrétien découle de la vie de Jésus même. Au début des *Confessions* nous lisons déjà: «Tu es grand, Seigneur, ... Te louer, voilà ce que veut un homme, parcelle quelconque de ta création, et un homme qui partout porte sur lui sa mortalité, partout porte sur lui le témoignage de son péché, et le témoignage que tu résistes aux superbes ... Elle t'invoque, Seigneur, ma foi, que tu m'as donnée, que tu m'as inspirée

[18]) «Huic te ... ut tota pietate subdas uelim nec aliam tibi ad capessendam et obtinendam ueritatem uiam munias, quam quae munita est ab illo, qui gressuum nostrorum tamquam deus uidit infirmitatem. ea est autem prima humilitas, secunda humilitas, tertia humilitas et, quotiens interrogares, hoc dicerem». *Epistula* 118, 3, 22. CSEL 34/2, 685.

par l'humanité de ton Fils»[19]). Certains manuscrits portent: «par l'humilité de ton Fils», mais peu importe qu'on lise ici «humanité» ou «humilité»», car l'humilité était une des principales caractéristiques de l'Homme-Jésus.

Pour les raisons que je viens de citer, il me semble valoir la peine de relire le récit de la conversion d'Augustin en fonction des mots «humilité» et «humiliation», qu'on y rencontre à peu près cinquante fois. Une telle lecture donne un résultat surprenant, car ces termes conduisent toujours à trois thèmes, qui non seulement touchent à l'essence de la foi chrétienne, mais constituent aussi d'importants obstacles à la raison humaine: l'Écriture, l'incarnation et les sacrements. Devant tous les trois Augustin a dû plier le cou. La suite de cet article montrera, j'espère, comment ces trois thèmes sont liés entre eux.

A. *Incliner la nuque devant l'Écriture*

Comme nous l'avons vu, l'*Hortensius* de Cicéron a éveillé chez Augustin une aspiration intense à la sagesse même, quelle qu'elle puisse être, et à partir de ce moment il ne vise plus à la sagesse d'un système défini[20]). C'est alors qu'il se souvient du nom du Christ, entendu dans son enfance. C'est pourquoi il décide d'étudier les Écritures par lui-

[19]) «Magnus es, domine ... Et laudare te uult homo, aliqua portio creaturae tuae, et homo circumferens mortalitatem suam, circumferens testimonium peccati sui et testimonium, quia superbis resistis ... Inuocat te, domine, fides mea, quam dedisti mihi, quam inspirasti mihi per humanitatem filii tui». *Confessiones* I, 1, 1. CCL 27, 1. Voir aussi mon article *L'humanité du Christ comme lac parvulorum et comme via dans la spiritualité de saint Augustin*, dans: *Augustiniana* 7 (1957), 245-281.

[20]) «Hoc tamen solo delectabar in illa exhortatione (= l'*Hortensius* de Cicéron), quod non illam aut illam sectam, sed ipsam quaecumque esset sapientiam ut diligerem et quaererem et assequerer et tenerem atque amplexarem fortiter, excitabar sermone illo et accendebar et ardebam». *Confessiones* III, 4, 8. CCL 27, 30. Dans la même ligne, Augustin affirme, à plusieurs reprises, qu'aucune théologie — la sienne pas plus que n'importe quelle autre — ne coïncide avec la vérité: «Je ne veux pas toutefois qu'on soit toujours de mon avis, si ce n'est dans les choses où l'on verra que je ne me suis pas trompé. C'est pour cela que je m'occupe présentement d'un ouvrage où j'ai entrepris de revoir tout ce que j'ai écrit, afin de montrer que je ne me suis point fait une loi de me suivre toujours moi-même ... Si je disais même qu'à mon âge je suis arrivé à la perfection, sans pouvoir me tromper dans mes écrits, il y aurait dans mes paroles plus de présomption que de vérité». («Quamvis neminem velim sic amplecti omnia mea, ut me sequatur, nisi in iis in quibus me non errasse perspexerit. Nam propterea nunc facio libros, in quibus opuscula mea retractanda suscepi, ut nec me ipsum in omnibus me secutum fuisse demonstrem ..., quandoquidem arrogantius loquor quam verius, si vel nunc dico me ad perfectionem sine ullo errore scribendi jam in ista aetate venisse». *De dono perseverantiae* 21, 55. PL 45, 1027-1028).

même, pour voir de quel genre de livres il s'agit. Mais son cœur ne s'y ouvre pas encore: «Voici ce que je vois: une réalité qui ne se révèle pas aux superbes et ne se dévoile pas aux enfants, mais qui, humble à l'entrée, paraît, après l'entrée, sublime et enveloppée de mystères. Et moi je n'étais pas en état de pénétrer en elle, ou d'incliner la nuque pour progresser avec elle ... mais moi dédaigneusement je refusais d'être petit, et, gonflé de morgue, je me voyais grand»[21]). Pendant treize ans encore, il considérera les Livres saints comme une lecture pour esprits incultes. Il imputera cela à son orgueil, qu'il décrira plus tard comme l'amour pervers de sa propre puissance, comme le désir d'être son propre principe et comme le souhait de se suffire à soi-même; comme si l'homme était sa propre lumière[22]).

A l'âge de vingt-six ou vingt-sept ans, Augustin écrit son premier livre, *Du Beau et du Convenable*, qui s'est perdu. A ce sujet il remarque que, dans un curieux égarement, il prétendit alors être divin au plus profond de son être et que, pour cette raison, il regarda avec dédain les petits qui croyaient en Dieu. Il ne fut pas encore en état d'écouter la voix de Dieu, parce qu'il n'avait pas encore été humilié[23]). Ce passif «être humilié» est très significatif ici: il indique que Dieu devait d'abord l'humilier avant qu'il puisse lire les Écritures. Dieu devait lui faire sentir à quel point il était incapable de s'épanouir spirituellement et échouait en tant qu'homme dans son combat contre le mal. L'orgueil l'empêchait de se dégager de l'emprise des choses inférieures. Car l'orgueil est comme une blessure maligne, source de beaucoup de mal: «Mais comme, avec orgueil, je me dressais contre toi et courais contre le Seigneur sous le revers épais de mon bouclier, même ces choses inférieures s'élevèrent au-

[21]) «Et ecce uideo rem non compertam superbis neque nudatam pueris, sed incessu humilem, successu excelsam et uelatam mysteriis, et non eram ego talis, ut intrare in eam possem aut inclinare ceruicem ad eius gressus ... Sed ego dedignabar esse paruulus et turgidus fastu mihi grandis uidebar». *Confessiones* III, 5, 9. CCL 27, 31.

[22]) «Nec superbia uitium est dantis potestatem uel ipsius etiam potestatis, sed animae peruerse amantis potestatem suam potentioris iustiore contempta». *De civitate Dei* XII, 8. CCL 48, 363. «Quid est autem superbia nisi peruersae celsitudinis appetitus? Peruersa enim est celsitudo deserto eo, cui debet animus inhaerere, principio, sibi quodam modo fieri atque esse principium. Hoc fit, cum sibi nimis placet ... suum sibi principium per superbiam ... Plus autem appetendo minus est, qui, dum sibi sufficere deligit, ab illo, qui ei uere sufficit, deficit ... Illud itaque malum, quo, cum sibi homo placet, tamquam sit et ipse lumen, auertitur ab eo lumine, quod ei si placeat et ipse fit lumen ...». *De civitate Dei* XIV, 13, 1-2. CCL 48, 434-435.

[23]) «Non enim dabas auditui meo gaudium et laetitiam, aut exultabant ossa, quae humiliata non erant». *Confessiones* IV, 15, 27. CCL 27, 54.

dessus de moi, et elles m'opprimaient ... Et tout cela avait germé de ma blessure, parce que tu as humilié l'orgueilleux comme un blessé (Ps. 89, 11)»[24]). Dieu Lui-même devra briser l'orgueil d'Augustin et ainsi le rendre humble — «dompter» dit Augustin —, mais cela n'est possible qu'après le rabaissement de son rationalisme: «Il me devient doux de te confesser, Seigneur, par quels aiguillons intérieurs tu achevas de me dompter, et de quelle manière tu m'aplanis en abaissant les montagnes et les collines de mes pensées»[25]). Ce procès, Augustin ne l'a jamais considéré comme quelque chose de négatif; pour lui, il avait un sens positif: être arraché à l'étroitesse du moi.

Après une courte crise pendant laquelle Augustin désespère de jamais trouver la vérité, un profond bouleversement s'opère en lui. Ce tournant, on pourrait l'appeler le pas du rationalisme à l'acte de foi. C'est à dessein que je dis «acte de foi», parce qu'Augustin découvre l'acte de foi d'abord comme une réalité profane: l'expérience que croire est aussi une simple réalité humaine, aidera beaucoup Augustin dans son procès de conversion. Si on considère combien de croyance la vie ici-bas exige de nous dans tous les domaines, la foi chrétienne est-elle alors tellement étrange? La plupart des systèmes philosophiques promettent sans doute la science et se moquent de la crédulité de la masse, mais en fin de compte n'exigent-ils pas, eux aussi, la croyance dans leurs principes les plus fondamentaux, qu'ils ne sont pas non plus en mesure de prouver définitivement? Sur ce point, Augustin apprécie l'honnêteté du christianisme qui, dès l'abord et sans fausses promesses, demande de croire à des choses impossibles à prouver. Le christianisme au moins ne cache pas qu'il est fondé sur la foi.

Augustin vainquit son scepticisme en ne considérant plus l'acte de croire comme quelque chose d'inférieur ou d'exceptionnel. Le christianisme n'est pas du tout le seul phénomène dans la vie humaine qui faisait appel à la croyance. La foi chrétienne semble pour Augustin plutôt prolonger l'acte de foi comme loi fondamentale de l'existence. Car beaucoup plus qu'on ne le croit généralement, notre vie quotidienne

[24]) «Sed cum superbe contra te surgerem et currerem aduersus dominum in ceruice crassa scuti mei, etiam ista infima supra me facta sunt et premebant ... Et haec de uulnere meo creuerant, quia humiliasti tamquam uulneratum superbum». *Confessiones* VII, 7, 11. CCL 27, 100.

[25]) «Et dulce mihi fit, domine, confiteri tibi, quibus internis me stimulis perdomueris et quemadmodum me complanaueris humilitatis montibus et collibus cogitationum mearum». *Confessiones* IX, 4, 7. CCL 27, 137.

repose sur la croyance, à tel point même que, sans croire, on ne peut rien entreprendre, condamné qu'on est à l'inactivité. Le texte qui suit résume cela d'une façon frappante: «Peu à peu, toi, Seigneur, d'une main très douce et très miséricordieuse, tu maniais et disposais mon cœur, m'amenant à considérer l'infinité de choses, auxquelles je croyais sans les voir, ou sans avoir assisté à leur production: ainsi, tant de choses sur l'histoire des nations, tant de choses sur des lieux et des villes que je n'avais pas vus, tant de choses que sur la foi des amis, sur la foi des médecins, sur la foi de tels et tels autres nous croyons, sinon nous ne pourrions absolument rien faire dans la vie d'ici-bas. Enfin, avec quelle foi inébranlable n'étais-je pas bien assuré des parents dont j'étais issu, ce que je n'aurais pu savoir sans croire sur parole! Et par là, tu m'as persuadé que ce n'était pas ceux qui croyaient à tes Livres, ... mais ceux qui n'y croyaient pas, qu'il fallait accuser de faute»[26]).

Cette considération amène Augustin, dans d'autres ouvrages à peu près contemporains des *Confessions*, à la conclusion que toutes les relations humaines reposent sur la foi. Cela commence par la relation entre parents et enfant, mais cela vaut aussi pour l'amitié: sans foi en l'autre, toute amitié humaine serait impossible. L'amitié n'est-elle pas fondée sur la foi et la confiance en la sincérité de l'amour de l'autre, qui pourtant est invisible et impossible à démontrer? Sans foi, toute véritable relation entre époux, parents, membres de la même famille, amis et connaissances serait exclue, puisqu'elle aussi est soutenue par la foi en l'amour. Même dans le commerce, l'agriculture, la recherche d'un partenaire et l'éducation des enfants, la foi joue un rôle fondamental. Et acquérir de la connaissance ne serait-il pas impossible sans la confiance et la foi qui seules permettent qu'un autre nous instruise? Ce qui plus est, seule la foi nous met en mesure d'approuver celui qui nous interdit de croire, parce qu'une telle approbation nécessite la croyance au bien-fondé d'une interdiction pareille. Bref: éliminez la foi et toute la structure sociale de l'humanité s'effondre[27]).

[26]) «Deinde paulatim tu, domine, manu mitissima et misericordissima pertractans et componens cor meum, consideranti, quam innumerabilia crederem, quae non uiderem neque cum gererentur affuissem, sicut tam multa in historia gentium, tam multa de locis atque urbibus, quae non uideram, tam multa amicis, tam multa medicis, tam multa hominibus aliis atque aliis, quae nisi crederentur, omnino in hac uita nihil ageremus, postremo quam inconcusse fixum fide retinerem, de quibus parentibus ortus essem, quod scire non possem, nisi audiendo credidissem, persuasisti mihi non qui crederent libris tuis ..., sed qui non crederent esse culpandos». *Confessiones* VI, 5, 7. CCL 27, 78.

[27]) Voir *De utilitate credendi* 8, 20 - 17, 35. CSEL 25/1, 24-46. *De fide rerum quae*

Le fondement philosophique sous-tendant la relation entre autorité (foi) et raison, Augustin l'exprime ainsi: «Comprendre est affaire de raison, croire, d'autorité ... mais comprendre ne va jamais sans croire ... tandis que croire n'est pas toujours comprendre»[28]). La raison c'est que vérité et autorité sont toujours liées. L'autorité n'est jamais détachée de la vérité pour la simple raison que la véritable autorité est précisément le rayonnement de la vérité; c'est de la vérité qu'émane l'autorité.

Une fois convaincu des possibilités limitées de la raison humaine, Augustin change d'attitude à l'égard de l'Écriture et s'ouvre à la parole de Dieu. La Bible devient pour lui un aspect de l'humilité de Dieu Lui-même. Dieu n'est pas inaccessible, loin de notre histoire, mais Il est celui qui n'abandonne pas l'homme à lui-même. Il se communique en paroles simples et parle humblement, pour attirer le plus grand nombre d'êtres humains possible par son amour: «(L'Écriture) s'offre à tous ... afin d'accueillir tous les hommes dans son sein ouvert à tous ...»[29]). C'est la façon de parler de Dieu qui s'adresse non seulement à une petite élite de savants, mais aussi à la foule des gens simples, qui ne sont pas encore capables de comprendre le sens spirituel profond de la Bible. L'Écriture révèle des choses élevées dans un langage «humble»[30]).

Tout comme, dans un texte précédent, il employa le mot «dompter» (*perdomare*), ainsi il dit maintenant expressément qu'il «fut apprivoisé» (*mansuefacere*) par l'Écriture. Sa confiance en ses propres forces a été ébranlée et il a rencontré une parole plus forte que toutes les autres et qui lui a révélé plus de vérité qu'il ne pouvait en découvrir par ses propres

non videntur 1, 1 - 3, 5. CCL 46, 1-8. Le titre du premier ouvrage se traduit généralement par «De l'utilité de croire». Cela me paraît peu précis. «De l'importance de croire» serait un titre plus justifié. Le mots latins «uti» et «utilitas» ont une signification plus riche que «utilité», qui met trop l'accent sur la valeur utilitaire des choses. En latin, ces mots s'emploient aussi pour désigner les relations entre personnes, p.ex. fréquenter quelqu'un, avoir un commerce d'amitié avec quelqu'un. Il faut en tenir compte pour bien comprendre la doctrine de l'*uti/frui* d'Augustin, dont circulent beaucoup d'interprétations fausses.

[28]) «Quod intellegimus igitur, debemus rationi, quod credimus, auctoritati ... sed intellegens omnis etiam credit ... non omnis qui credit intellegit». *De utilitate credendi* 11, 25. CSEL 25/1, 32.

[29]) «Humillimo genere loquendi se cunctis praebens ... ut exciperet omnes populari sinu». *Confessiones* VI, 5, 8. CCL 27, 78-79.

[30]) «In quibus adhuc paruulis animalibus, dum isto humillimo genere uerborum tamquam materno sinu eorum gestatur infirmitas, salubriter aedificatur fides, qua certum habeant et teneant deum fecisse omnes naturas, quas eorum sensus mirabili uarietate circumspicit». *Confessiones* XII, 27, 37. CCL 27, 237. Et aussi: «quos tamen bonae spei paruulos haec uerba libri tui non territant alta humiliter et pauca copiose». *Confessiones* XII, 30, 41. CCL 27, 240.

moyens. En un certain sens il se réjouit même de n'avoir découvert les Écritures que tardivement. Autrement il les aurait peut-être comprises superficiellement ou bien leur signification se serait peut-être vidée de sa substance par la force de l'habitude. Il estime que c'était un avantage pour lui d'avoir fait la connaissance des livres des philosophes néo-platoniciens avant de rencontrer la Bible. Dans le cas inverse il n'aurait pas été impossible que ces ouvrages eussent miné la base solide de son amour de Dieu. De plus il aurait pu croire qu'il n'y avait aucune différence entre le platonisme et l'Écriture sainte. Or c'est la Bible même qui lui a appris à distinguer entre la présomption et la confession de sa dépendance de Dieu[31]). C'est pourquoi «l'humilité de sa langue» professera désormais la grandeur de Dieu[32]).

B. *S'incliner devant l'humilité de Jésus*

Dieu est venu humblement à nous dans la parole de l'Écriture, mais ce n'est pas là le seul aspect de l'humilité de Dieu. Le point culminant de cette descente de Dieu vers nous est sans doute l'incarnation de son Fils. Ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'au moment de sa conversion, Augustin eût déjà une conception théologique élaborée de la personne de Jésus-Christ. Le sens profond de la parole «Et le Verbe s'est fait chair», c'est-à-dire l'aspect divin du Christ, lui échappe encore. Il considère Jésus comme un homme doué d'une sagesse unique et parfaite, mais non comme la sagesse incarnée. Jésus est pour lui un idéal et un modèle, qui apprend aux hommes comment vivre. Mais assez vite il corrigera cette conception. Quelques mois après sa conversion, Augustin prendra connaissance de la doctrine catholique sur Jésus-Christ. Mais son évolution en ce qui concerne la personne du Christ illustre combien il est difficile de penser l'union du divin et de l'humain[33]).

[31]) «In quos (= les livres des néo-platoniciens) me propterea, priusquam scripturas tuas considerarem, credo uoluisti incurrere, ut imprimeretur memoriae meae, quomodo ex eis affectus essem et, cum postea in libris tuis mansuefactus essem et curantibus digitis tuis contrectarentur uulnera mea, discernerem atque distinguerem, quid interesset inter praesumptionem et confessionem ... Nam si primo sanctis tuis litteris informatus essem et in earum familiaritate obdulcuisses mihi et post in illa uolumina incidissem, fortasse aut abripuissent me a solidamento pietatis, aut si in affectu, quem salubrem imbiberam, perstitissem, putarem etiam ex illis libris eum posse concipi, si eos solos quisque didicisset». *Confessiones* VII, 20, 26. CCL 27, 110.

[32]) «Humilitas linguae meae». *Confessiones* XII, 2, 2. CCL 27, 217.

[33]) Voir *Confessiones* VII, 19, 25. CCL 27, 108-109. Voir aussi l'analyse très profonde de G. MADEC, *Une lecture de Confessions VII, 9, 13 - 21, 27*, dans: *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 16 (1970), 79-137.

Ici aussi il y a un rapport entre humilité et amour. Si l'orgueil et le désir d'honneur et de gloire s'identifient avec l'amour de soi-même, l'humilité par contre oriente l'homme vers Dieu. Mais avant de pouvoir aimer Dieu, nous devons d'abord nous rendre compte que Dieu nous a aimés le premier du fait que son Verbe a voulu habiter parmi nous et s'est humilié jusqu'à mourir sur une croix[34]). Ces choses (et pour Augustin cela veut dire: l'humilité du Christ) sont cachées aux sages et ne sont révélées qu'aux tout-petits (Mt. 11, 25), car Dieu s'oppose aux orgueilleux, mais accorde sa grâce aux humbles (Pr. 3, 34; I P. 5, 5). Comme un refrain ces textes bibliques accompagnent le thème de l'incarnation. Mais en même temps, ils nous renvoient à l'ordre exact de l'amour, car de l'amour de soi orgueilleux il faut en arriver à l'amour, humble et désintéressé, de Dieu. En cet amour réside notre vraie joie et c'est en nous apprenant cet amour-là que Dieu nous a témoigné sa grâce[35]).

Dieu nous a aimés le premier en nous envoyant son Fils. Dans son enfance Augustin avait déjà entendu parler de la vie éternelle, qui nous a été promise par l'humilité du Seigneur notre Dieu, descendu vers notre orgueil[36]). C'est pourquoi le Christ humble sera au centre de sa conversion: jamais il n'a pu oublier complètement le nom de Jésus.

Mais nous pouvons nous demander pourquoi le Christ humble et non pas le puissant, le glorifié et le ressuscité. Je crois en trouver la raison dans l'orientation presque exclusive du manichéisme et du néo-platonisme vers le monde de l'esprit. Dans ces systèmes, seules les valeurs spirituelles possédaient la plénitude de l'être; la matière et le corps appartenaient à un rang inférieur. Comme philosophe de la fin du quatrième siècle, Augustin aussi avait de la peine à apprécier à sa juste valeur la matière et le corps. Etre obligé de consacrer de l'attention aux réalités terrestres et corporelles était comme une humiliation. Nous ne pouvons plus guère nous imaginer quel rôle important le christianisme a

[34]) Voir *Confessiones* VII, 9, 13-14. CCL 27, 101-102.

[35]) «Et primo uolens ostendere mihi, quam resistas superbis, humilibus autem des gratiam et quanta misericordia tua demonstrata sit hominibus uia humilitatis, quod uerbum tuum caro factum est et habitauit inter homines». *Confessiones* VII, 9, 13. CCL 27, 101. «Sed numquid ... hoc quoque tertium temptationis genus cessauit a me aut cessare in hac tota vita potest, timeri et amari uelle ab hominibus non propter aliud, sed ut inde sit gaudium, quod non est gaudium? ... Hinc fit uel maxime non amare te nec caste timere te, ideoque tu superbis resistis, humilibus autem das gratiam ... libeatque (adversarius) nos amari et timeri non propter te, sed pro te ... Gloria nostra tu esto; propter te amemur et uerbum tuum timeatur in nobis». *Confessiones* X, 36, 59. CCL 27, 187.

[36]) «Audieram enim ergo adhuc puer de uita aeterna promissa nobis per humilitatem domini dei nostri descendentis ad superbiam nostram». *Confessiones* I, 11, 17. CCL 27, 9.

joué en continuant d'accentuer la valeur de la matière et du corps, à l'encontre des tendances spiritualisantes de la culture de l'époque, surtout du gnosticisme, le grand concurrent du christianisme.

La valeur de la terre, de l'histoire et du corps s'impose à Augustin en partant de la vie terrestre de Jésus. Une vérité toute nouvelle se révèle à lui dans l'incarnation du Fils de Dieu, car elle l'oblige à porter la vue sur la terre, et non sur le ciel, sur la matière et non sur ce qui est immatériel, sur le corps et non sur l'esprit. Sa philosophie doit s'abaisser et se rendre humble. En cela l'homme Jésus lui est d'un grand secours. Même s'il ne réussit pas à se soustraire tout à fait à l'influence de la pensée de son temps (et qui en est capable?), il combat vigoureusement la thèse de Porphyre qu'«Il faut fuir tout ce qui est corporel pour que l'âme soit heureuse»[37]). Et dans son ouvrage *De civitate Dei* il reproche à Porphyre: «Mais, tu ne crois pas qu'elle (= l'intelligence du Père) est le Christ que tu méprises en effet à cause de son corps reçu d'une femme et de l'opprobre de la croix. Dédaignant et rejetant ces bassesses, tu te crois capable, évidemment, de cueillir sur les cimes la plus haute sagesse»[38]).

Si Dieu est présent dans la chair, s'il se révèle Lui-même dans un homme et si ce sont là les caractéristiques essentielles du christianisme, alors Augustin aussi doit abandonner «les cimes» pour prêter attention aux choses d'ici-bas. Et l'incarnation et la croix font partie de l'histoire de ce monde. Ainsi Dieu nous a montré la voie vers Lui et c'est une voie d'humilité: «Et je cherchais la voie, pour acquérir la vigueur qui me rendrait capable de jouir de toi; et je ne trouvais pas, tant que je n'avais pas embrassé le Médiateur entre Dieu et les hommes, l'Homme Jésus-Christ ... et la nourriture que par faiblesse je ne pouvais prendre, il la mélange à la chair, puisque le Verbe s'est fait chair, afin que pour notre enfance ta sagesse devînt du lait ... C'est que je n'étais pas, pour posséder mon Dieu, l'humble Jésus, assez humble, et je ne savais pas quel enseignement donne sa faiblesse. Car ton Verbe, l'éternelle Vérité, ...

[37]) «Si vult esse beata anima, corpus est omne fugiendum». *Sermo* 241, 7, 7. PL 38, 1137. «Hoc fortasse credere recusatis intuentes Porphyrium in his ipsis libris ... quos de regressu animae scripsit, tam crebro praecipere omne corpus esse fugiendum, ut anima possit beata permanere cum Deo». *De civitate Dei* X, 29, 2. CCL 47, 305. «Animas ... ut corpus omne fugientes beatae apud Patrem sine fine teneantur». *Ib.*, XIII, 19. CCL 48, 402. «Sed Porphyrius ait, inquiunt, ut beata sit anima, corpus esse omne fugiendum». *Ib.*, XXII, 26 (-28). CCL 48, 853 (-856).

[38]) «Hunc autem Christum esse non credis; contemnis enim eum propter corpus ex femina acceptum et propter crucis opprobrium, excelsam uidelicet sapientiam spretis atque abiectis infimis idoneus de superioribus carpere». *De civitate Dei* X, 28. CCL 47, 303.

dans les parties inférieures il s'est bâti une demeure avec notre limon, pour que la confiance en eux-mêmes ne les (= les humains) fasse pas s'écarter davantage, mais que plutôt ils deviennent faibles, en voyant à leurs pieds la divinité affaiblie»[39]). C'est en Jésus qu'Augustin découvrit le lien essentiel entre le divin et l'humain et désormais Jésus sera pour lui la Voie. Si Dieu est humble, l'homme n'a plus aucune raison d'être orgueilleux[40]).

D'une autre manière encore l'amour et l'humilité vont la main dans la main. Celui qui ne poursuit que des valeurs spirituelles, exclut de son amour une large part de la réalité. Il ne témoignera guère d'intérêt aux faibles et aux petites gens avec leurs besoins matériels. L'orgueilleux se considère lui-même comme le centre du monde et d'admet pas que les autres soient le vrai centre de sa vie. Même s'il aspire à quelque chose de plus élevé que lui-même, il ne portera pas d'intérêt aux êtres qu'on dit inférieurs ou de moindre importance. Et pourtant l'exemple de Jésus, doux et humble de cœur (Mt. 11, 29), nous apprend l'amour des faibles et des méprisés. C'est en cette lumière qu'il faut lire la question qu'Augustin pose aux néo-platoniciens: «Je m'enflais de ma science. Où était en effet cette charité qui édifie sur le fondement de l'humilité, le Christ Jésus? Et quand donc ces livres me l'auraient-ils enseignée?»[41]).

Un dernier aspect qu'Augustin met toujours en rapport avec l'humilité du Verbe incarné, c'est que Jésus, justement en tant qu'homme, est le médiateur entre Dieu et les hommes. Un médiateur, pour qu'il y ait véritable échange, doit avoir quelque chose de commun

[39]) «Et quaerebam uiam comparandi roboris, quod esset idoneum ad fruendum te, nec inueniebam, donec amplecterer mediatorem dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum ... et cibum, cui capiendo inualidus eram, miscentem carni, quoniam uerbum caro factum est, ut infantiae nostrae lactesceret sapientia tua ... Non enim tenebam deum meum Iesum humilis humilem nec cuius rei magistra esset eius infirmitas noueram. Verbum enim tuum, aeterna veritas ... in inferioribus autem aedificauit sibi humilem domum de limo nostro ... ne fiducia sui progrederentur longius, sed potius infirmarentur uidentes ante pedes suos infirmam diuinitatem». *Confessiones* VII, 18, 24. CCL 27, 108. Voir aussi *Ib.* VII, 9, 13-14. CCL 27, 101-102. Il y a d'autres endroits où Augustin insiste sur le fait que la foi chrétienne suppose la soumission au temps et à l'histoire, puisque le dynamisme du salut divin s'inscrit dans le temps: «Pour le moment, nous donnons donc notre foi aux faits accomplis pour nous dans le temps, nous nous purifions par elle». («Nunc ergo adhibemus fidem rebus temporaliter gestis propter nos, et per ipsam mundamur». *De Trinitate* IV, 18, 24. CCL 50, 191).

[40]) «Jam humilis Deus et adhuc superbus homo?». *Sermo* 142, 6, 6. PL 38, 781-782.

[41]) «Insuper et inflabar scientia. Vbi enim erat illa aedificans caritas a fundamento humilitatis, quod est Christus Iesus? Aut quando illi libri me docerent eam?». *Confessiones* VII, 20, 26. CCL 27, 110.

aussi bien avec Dieu qu'avec l'humanité. C'est un trait caractéristique de la théologie augustinienne de toujours avancer, dans ce contexte, l'humanité du Christ, et non sa divinité: «C'est en effet en tant qu'homme qu'il est médiateur; mais en tant que Verbe, il n'est pas intermédiaire puisqu'il est égal à Dieu»[42]). Car le Verbe divin n'a rien de commun avec nous et si l'on commence par le haut, par la divinité de Jésus, il ne touche pas la terre. Comme Verbe de Dieu, Jésus ne peut pas se situer au milieu; comme homme, il le peut, mais à condition de nous surpasser en justice. Sa fonction médiatrice réside donc en son humanité.

Mais accepter un homme comme médiateur suppose encore une grande humilité. «Quant au véritable médiateur, que dans ta secrète miséricorde tu as montré aux humbles (certains manuscrits portent: aux hommes) et envoyé pour leur apprendre aussi par son exemple l'humilité même, ce médiateur de Dieu et des hommes, l'homme Jésus-Christ est apparu entre les pécheurs mortels et le Juste immortel, mortel avec les hommes, juste avec Dieu»[43]). L'emploi répété de «humble» («montré aux humbles pour leur apprendre l'humilité») pose un problème car quelqu'un qui est déjà humble, comment doit-il encore apprendre l'humilité? La suite du texte donne la réponse. Là on lit que ce médiateur fut déjà montré ou annoncé aux saints qui vécurent avant la naissance de Jésus. Pleins d'humilité, ils étaient tournés vers la venue future du Messie. Mais après sa venue, les croyants peuvent s'inspirer beaucoup plus concrètement encore de l'humilité dont Jésus a fait preuve pendant sa vie terrestre. Qu'il s'agisse de la foi dans le médiateur promis qui viendra ou de la foi dans le médiateur apparu comme homme parmi nous, cette foi en un médiateur humain repose toujours sur l'humilité.

C. *Assez petit pour les sacrements*

Une dernière fois que le thème de l'humilité revient, c'est en rapport avec les sacrements. Cette pensée ne nous est pas familière, elle nous semble plutôt étrange. Mais, au fond, cette combinaison n'est pas aussi

[42]) «In quantum enim homo, in tantum mediator, in quantum autem uerbum, non medius, quia aequalis deo». *Confessiones* X, 43, 68. CCL 27, 192.

[43]) «Verax autem mediator, quem secreta tua misericordia demonstrasti humilibus et misisti, ut eius exemplo etiam ipsam discerent humilitatem, mediator ille dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus, inter mortales peccatores et immortalem iustum apparuit, mortalis cum hominibus, iustus cum deo.. *Confessiones* X, 43, 68. CCL 27, 192. Voir G. Remy, *Le Christ médiateur dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, Paris, Librairie H. Champion, 1979.

extraordinaire qu'elle le paraît, car il y a un lien profond entre l'incarnation et les sacrements chrétiens. Dieu nous offre le salut d'une manière humaine non seulement dans l'Homme-Jésus mais aussi dans les sacrements. C'est pourquoi les sacrements sont comme un prolongement de l'œuvre du Jésus historique. Pour Augustin, les sacrements c'est la grâce divine dans des actes terrestres renvoyant à Dieu. La rédemption divine ne toucherait pas les humains dans leur existence concrète si elle restait purement spirituelle. C'est pour cette raison qu'elle doit toujours «s'incarner», c'est-à-dire se réaliser d'une manière humaine. L'accord fondamental entre incarnation et sacrement c'est que tous deux sont l'expression du salut sous une forme humaine. Finalement les sacrements se rattachent toujours à Jésus, parce que chaque sacrement peut être considéré dans la perspective de l'imitation de Jésus. Chaque sacrement engage le croyant à suivre, d'une manière particulière, l'exemple de l'Homme-Jésus. Le baptême, cet engagement solennel à placer toute sa vie sous l'inspiration de Jésus, en est l'expression la plus claire[44]).

Si croire en l'incarnation suppose de l'humilité, selon Augustin cela vaut également pour les sacrements parce qu'eux aussi sont des formes humaines du salut divin. Et tout comme on est tenté de fuir dans le monde de l'esprit en pensant à l'incarnation, on est également enclin à le faire quand il s'agit des sacrements. Régulièrement on entend cette objection-ci: croire avec le cœur n'est-ce pas suffisant? Que viennent y faire les sacrements ou l'Église? N'est-il pas possible d'être de bons croyants sans église et sacrements?

La réponse d'Augustin à une telle objection serait à peu près celle-ci: la communauté ecclésiale et les sacrements jouent un rôle irremplaçable parce que nous ne sommes pas des êtres purement spirituels, mais des hommes de chair et de sang. Et en tant que tels nous vivons notre existence dans tous ses aspects — pensée, sentiments, amour, foi, espérance — nécessairement en signes et symboles matériels. Or, souvent on a tendance à considérer ces signes et symboles comme des formes d'existence inférieures. Mais n'est-ce pas sous-estimer la réalité terrestre

[44]) C'est Tertullien qui introduisit en théologie le mot «sacrement» qu'il emprunta à la langue profane et auquel il donna le sens d'«engagement solennel». Voir: D. MICHAÉLIDÈS, *Sacramentum chez Tertullien*. Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1970. Bien qu'Augustin ait reporté plus tard l'accent principal en théologie sacramentaire sur la notion 'signe-symbole', le sens originel est encore bien présent chez lui. Sur le rapport entre les sacrements et Jésus vivant sur terre, voir mon article: *Sacrament als engagement*, dans: *Tijdschrift voor Geestelijk Leven* 29 (1973), 433-449.

et surestimer la nature humaine? C'est pourquoi une juste estimation de l'incarnation et des sacrements implique aussi l'appréciation et l'acceptation de leurs formes «humbles».

L'objection que nous venons de signaler ne s'explique que par le fait qu'on ne voit plus la relation qu'il y a entre croire en Jésus et les sacrements (ou l'Église). Ce manque de compréhension n'est pas un phénomène tellement moderne. Dans les *Confessions* Augustin s'arrête longuement au récit de la conversion du célèbre philosophe néo-platonicien Marius Victorinus, où il souligne avec force la relation entre sacrement et humilité. C'est le prêtre milanais Simplicianus qui lui raconta cette histoire, apparemment non sans intention cachée, car Augustin écrit: «Pour m'engager à l'humilité du Christ, ..., il évoqua le souvenir de Victorinus lui-même: à Rome, il l'avait connu très intimement»[45]). A un âge avancé, Victorinus éprouvait de la sympathie pour le christianisme. Il avouait même que dans son cœur il se sentait chrétien depuis longtemps déjà. Mais il n'en parlait jamais en public, mais seulement dans le cercle de ses intimes. Il n'osait pas le reconnaître publiquement pour ne pas désobliger ses nombreux amis païens et ne pas s'attirer leur animosité.

Chaque fois que Victorinus parlait de sa conversion intérieure, Simplicianus lui répondait immanquablement ceci: «Je n'y croirai et je ne te compterai parmi les chétiens que lorsque je t'aurai vu dans l'Église du Christ». Victorinus tournait cette remarque en ridicule en demandant: «Alors ce sont les murs qui font les chrétiens?»[46]). Une réponse bien flegmatique, nous semble-t-il. Mais considérée de près, elle trahit une attitude bien spiritualiste. Car elle présente l'acte de croire intérieur comme le seul qui importe et réduit l'acte extérieur à une futilité. Mais il est assez remarquable (ou plutôt logique?) que Victorinus comprit bien vite son erreur. Il commença à s'inquiéter et à se sentir coupable envers le Christ en continuant «à avoir honte des sacrements de l'humilité du Verbe divin».

[45]) «Deinde, ut me exhortaretur ad humilitatem Christi sapientibus absconditam et reuelatam paruulis, Victorinum ipsum recordatus est, quem, Romae cum esset, familiarissime nouerat». *Confessiones* VIII, 2, 3. CCL 27, 114.

[46]) «Non credam nec deputabo te inter christianos, nisi in ecclesia Christi uidero». Ille (= Victorinus) autem inridebat dicens: «Ergo parietes faciunt christianos?» *Confessiones* VIII, 2, 4. CCL 27, 115.

Alors Victorinus décida d'aller à l'église pour se faire inscrire comme catéchumène, se faire baptiser ensuite et réciter sa profession de foi devant toute la communauté rassemblée.

Toute cette histoire illustre clairement comment les sacrements sont en relation avec le Verbe de Dieu incarné et comment cette relation se traduit de nouveau par le terme «humilité». Augustin, en guise de conclusion, dit: «Ce vieillard possédait une immense culture et une connaissance consommée de tous les arts libéraux ... il avait instruit tant de nobles sénateurs! ... et pourtant, il n'a pas rougi d'être l'esclave de ton Christ et le petit enfant de ta fontaine, de baisser le cou sous le joug de l'humilité et de soumettre son front à l'opprobre de la croix»[47]). Remarquons que dans ce passage l'expression «le joug de l'humilité» se trouve dans un contexte baptismal car le mot «fontaine» aussi bien que le signe de la croix donné sur le front renvoient au rite baptismal.

Dans les *Confessions*, Augustin mettra sacrement et humilité encore une fois en rapport dans la description de sa préparation à son propre baptême, qu'il reçut en même temps que son fils Adéodat et son ami intime Alype. Parlant de ce dernier il dit: «Il était déjà revêtu de l'humilité qui convient à tes sacrements»[48]).Le sens de cette phrase nous est révélé par l'histoire de la conversion de Victorinus. Et bien qu'il ne s'agisse que d'Alype seul, il est hors de doute qu'à ce moment-là Augustin lui-même avait acquis l'humilité nécessaire à la réception des sacrements d'initiation: baptême, confirmation et eucharistie, qui, dans l'Église ancienne, étaient administrés ensemble au cours de la nuit pascale.

Conclusion

La conversion d'Augustin n'était rien d'autre qu'un abandon en toute confiance à l'autorévélation divine à trois niveaux: l'Écriture, l'Homme-Jésus et les sacrements. Pourquoi ces trois niveaux-ci? Parce que tous les trois témoignent d'un même mouvement de Dieu se

[47]) «Ille doctissimus senex et omnium liberalium doctrinarum peritissimus ... doctor tot nobilium senatorum ... non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui et infans fontis tui subiecto collo ad humilitatis iugum et edomita fronte ad crucis opprobrium». *Confessiones* VIII, 2, 3. CCL 27, 115.

[48]) «Placuit et Alypio renasci in te mecum iam induto humilitate sacramentis tuis congrua». *Confessiones* IX, 6, 14. CCL 27, 140-141.

communiquant d'une manière humaine. Trop facilement on s'imagine Dieu comme celui qui est loin de nous, le tout autre, l'absent. Mais le Dieu de la tradition judéo-chrétienne veut être proche de nous, avec nous en toute circonstance. La raison humaine, fière de sa propre autonomie, ne peut comprendre comment il est possible que Dieu soit ainsi, car admettre l'unité de Dieu et de l'homme lui paraît impossible, un mythe. Augustin, qui avait découvert la grandeur de l'esprit humain et l'admirait énormément, n'avait pas appris à allier l'esprit avec la matière. C'est le christianisme qui lui montra que Dieu, l'homme et le monde sont inséparables.

Mais l'abandon à la triple incarnation de Dieu n'est possible que si on a conscience de n'être ni sa propre origine ni sa propre fin. Ce n'est qu'ainsi qu'on est capable de dépasser ses propres limites et de mettre sa confiance dans la source de la vie même. Une telle humilité ne signifie pas la destruction de soi-même aboutissant au néant, mais la suprême plénitude, ce qu'Augustin traduit par ce beau paradoxe: «ô mon Dieu qui es l'élévation de mon abaissement et le repos de mon labeur»[49]). Ne pas se suffire et s'abandonner à quelqu'un d'autre impliquent humilité et amour: «Aussi, est-ce par un humble amour qu'on retourne en toi»[50]). Ce retour commence d'ores et déjà parce que Dieu veut habiter et être actif sur terre, en nous et par nous. Car les humbles de cœur sont la maison du Très-Haut: «Oh! que tu es élevé! Et ce sont les humbles de cœur qui sont ta maison»[51]).

T.J. van Bavel O.S.A.

[49]) «Deus meus, celsitudo humilitatis meae et requies laboris mei». *Confessiones* XII, 26, 36. CCL 27, 236.

[50]) «Itaque pietate humili reditur in te». *Confessiones* III, 8, 16. CCL 27, 36.

[51]) «O quam excelsus es, et humiles corde sunt domus tua!». *Confessiones* XI, 31, 41. CCL 27, 216.

A fourteenth-century Oxford Augustinian on the existence of God

An anonymous Augustinian composed at Oxford, about 1360, seven articles dealing with God. These exists in a single manuscript[1]), though an abridgement of the first article can be found in two other manuscripts[2]). These manuscripts were discovered by Zenon Kaluza, who has also discovered what is known of their author[3]).

The titles of the articles are as follows:

1. Utrum aliquid esse, fore, vel fuisse, possit Deus intelligere contingenter
2. Utrum aliquam essentiam esse simpliciter necessariam a catholico sit credendum
3. Utrum Deum non esse contradiccionem inferat manifestam
4. Utrum Deus sit perfectior infinitis
5. Utrum unica sit natura necessaria et penitus independens
6. Utrum creatura tres personas divinas videns clare contingenter fruatur eisdem, stante illa visione
7. Utrum omnipotens Pater Filium et Spiritum Sanctum eternaliter producit a se personaliter condistinctos

It seems certain, from Kaluza's text, that the writer of these articles was an Augustinian. The table of matters listing the articles indicates this. F. 116r says: Quidam augustinensis subtilis infra scripta tractat. And f. 117v: Et sic finitur illa questio et dicta illius augustinensis. Another note, indicating the contents of the whole manuscript, and referring to the seven articles above, says (f. 130v): Item tres sisterni questionum quarundum anglicanarum tractatarum a quodam subtili augustinensi in studio Euxoniensi. And there is written, on the same page, referring to the table of matters of these seven questions: Item duo sisterni continentes materias tabulatas contentorum in tribus sisternis predictis predicti augustinensis.

[1]) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 16 535, ff. 75-110, 116-117.
[2]) Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 16 408 (ff. 31r-34v) and 16 409 (ff. 60v-66).
[3]) Zenon KALUZA, *Thomas de Cracovie* (Wroclaw, etc., 1978) 72.

The "Euxoniensi" should be "Oxoniensi". As for the date of the work, it is later than 1358, but probably not much later. Thomas Bradwardine is referred to as Archbishop of Canterbury, which he became in 1349[4]). And Nicholas of Aston is referred to as *Magister*, and he received his doctorate in theology at Oxford, 1358[5]).

It is not clear whether the author belonged to the Hermits of St. Augustine or the Canons of St. Augustine. It is much more likely that he belonged to the former, however, since, though both communities had numerous houses in England in the fourteenth century, the Hermits were much more involved with university teaching.

The writer is frequently called *subtilis*. And, since we do not know his name, and this description is well earned, as we shall see, we shall refer to him as Subtilis.

It is proposed here to transcribe and analyze the third of Subtilis' articles: Whether "God does not exist" implies a manifest contradiction (ff. 85v-88v). This question, answered affirmatively by Subtilis, was similarly answered by several of his older contemporaries at Oxford. I have shown elsewhere that at this time in England there was a deep and widespread scepticism concerning man's ability to know physical substances or to know causes[6]), but that many philosophers, denying or abandoning proofs for God's existence based on the existence and nature of the physical universe, thought they could prove that God existed by showing that "God does not exist" involves a contradiction[7]).

Subtilis teaches that "God does not exist" does not imply a contradiction in so many words; his claim is that a contradiction can be deduced from it (1,45)[8]).

Two arguments are given to show that "God does not exist" implies a contradiction. The first is handled briefly, the second at great length. The first is this: since God is a necessary being, a person admitting that God can not-exist has also to admit that God cannot not-exist, which involves a contradiction (11).

[4]) A. B. EMDEN, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford, 1957-59) 245.

[5]) *Ibid.*, 68.

[6]) L. A. KENNEDY, "Philosophical Scepticism in England in the Mid-Fourteenth Century", *Vivarium*, XXI (1983) 35-57.

[7]) L. A. KENNEDY, "Oxford Philosophers and the Existence of God, 1340-1350", *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 52 (1985) 192-208.

[8]) These numbers in brackets, and others that follow, refer to sections of the transcription of article 3 at the end of this paper. The numbering is not in the manuscript.

The second argument will occupy us for some time. It begins with St. Augustine's teaching that truth is eternal because, if truth ceased to be, it would be true that it ceased to be, and hence truth would not cease to be. Everyone knows that God is the first, necessary, truth. So, if God did not exist, truth would cease to be; and yet, as has just been explained, it cannot cease to be. Hence a denial of God's existence leads to a contradiction (12).

The teaching of St. Augustine is reinforced by a similar argument of St. Anselm (13). But both these saints are opposed by the erroneous writer (*Falsigraphus*) who denies God's existence and teaches that all things and all truths are contingent. Falsigraphus is no doubt fictional, but his position must be answered. This position is that there are only contingent beings, and that therefore no contradiction follows from the non-existence of any being; that there are only contingent truths, and that they are not true in virtue of a single universal truth. If a contingent event, V, takes place, it was true that it would come about, but this was not true in virtue of an eternal, necessary, truth; it was not known by an omniscient, eternal, mind (14)[9]).

Subtilis presents an argument against Falsigraphus. For, once V takes place, it has a precise truth. Now, it had that truth while it was still future. Thus there is an eternal truth (15, 16).

But some of Subtilis' contemporaries (*Moderni*) deny the force of this rebuttal of Falsigraphus by making a distinction between the truth of a proposition and the state of affairs accounting for that truth. For example, if nothing existed it would be true that nothing existed, but it would not be true that "things are such that nothing exists" (17).

Subtilis, however, thinks that the Moderns are wrong. For "nothing exists" is an impossible proposition, and from such a proposition anything follows. Hence "things are such that nothing exists" follows from it (18). Also, the antecedent, "nothing exists", cannot be true unless the consequent, "things are such that nothing exists", is true (19).

The Moderns however would respond by holding that this consequent is not true because it is contradictory (20). But Subtilis counters that it follows validly from the antecedent. To deny this leads to a

[9]) The term *falsigraphus*, and its meaning, come from Nicholas ASTON, *Sentences*, art. 1; in J. L. BENDER, *Nicholas Aston: A Study in Oxford Thought after the Black Death* (Xerox University Microfilms: Ann Arbor, 1979) 499-502.

contradiction. And Subtilis shows that he is making the same point as St. Augustine, that, even if nothing exists, something (namely truth) exists (21).

Having shown that there would have to be an ontological basis for "nothing exists" being true, Subtilis discusses the same problem concerning a future event, V. He makes an all-important distinction between "V will be true" and "things are such that V will be true". Though one admits that the former is true, it still has no ontological status. It is nothing, and does not exist in any way (22). On the other hand, "things are such that V will be true" has an ontological status, since something must account for the furture truth about V.

Now, what accounts for this must be V itself, something other than V or God, or God. It cannot be V since nothing of V exists yet (26). And it cannot be a cause other than V or God, because no such cause could be essential to V's coming to be; V could come to be even if this cause did not exist (27). The cause then must be God.

But one might argue that God cannot be the cause of V coming to be since V is contingent, and what comes from God comes about necessarily (24); and V is changeable (it comes to be and passes away), and what comes from God is immutable (25).

However, this argument will not hold up, because the necessity and immutability of God are compatible with the contingency and mutability of events. It could have been eternally true, for example, that V was to be, and, when it came to be, this was no longer true, and yet God remained the same throughout. God, then, is the ontological ground of the truth of future events (37, 40).

But how is God the ground of this truth? Is "things are such that V will be", considered ontologically, God Himself, or something God wills, or something God knows? It is not God Himself because God, considered absolutely, has no reference to a creature nor to action. Nor can it be something God wills, for V could be a future sin, and God does not will sin (38). Hence it is something God knows (39).

If one were to take the position that there is *no* cause of V coming to be, he would have to say that a contingent future truth, such as "V will be", has no present ontological status, that it does not signify *as things are* but only *as things will be*. Subtilis attributes this position to Walter Billingham (28), who must be Richard Billingham, a fellow of Merton

College, Oxford, from 1344 to 1361. He was regent Master of Arts there in 1349, and obtained his Bachelor of Theology degree[10]).

Like contingent future truths, negative truths can also be said not to signify as things are. If they did so, it would be on the part of the subject or the predicate. But, if we take "Socrates is not an ass" as an example, we see that this is not true because of Socrates, since it would be true even if Socrates didn't exist. For a similar reason it is not true because of any ass. Thus this proposition does not signify as things are (29).

Another example of a proposition said to signify as things are is "nothing is causing". If we assume that every cause ceases its action at the present instant, we realize that an instant ago things were different; hence we must explain the different state of affairs at this instant. If it is created, God has caused it, and the assumption is contradicted. If it is uncreated, it is God; but God cannot change from one instant to the next; hence again the assumption is contradicted. Thus "nothing is causing" signifies other than things are (30).

Arguments of this kind, Subtilis states, led Nicholas Aston to say that no true necessary proposition signifies as things are (31). Subtilis is correct in attributing this position to Nicholas. Aston was a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, from 1350 to 1362, becoming a Master of Arts, a Doctor of Theology (1358), and Chancellor of the University (1359-61). He died c. 1368[11]). He was looking for the same kind of proof of God's existence as Subtilis accepted, but Aston finally came to the conclusion that it could not be used because true propositions concerning the past or the future, true negative propositions, and true necessary propositions, do not signify as things are; they are true but are not true *veritate rei*; no *res* corresponds to them[12]).

Having explained these positions that certain kinds of propositions do not signify as things are, Subtilis now opposes them. His conviction is

[10]) A. B. EMDEN, *op. cit.*, 188. This position is not to be found in Billingham's *Speculum Puerorum* or *De Sensu Composito et Diviso*, published in *Studi Medievali* 3ª serie, X (1969), vol. 111, 297-397.

[11]) See n. 4. Also BENDER, *op. cit.*, 5-18.

[12]) *Sentences*, art. 1 and art. 3; in Bender, *op. cit.*, 290-291 and 384. John BURIDAN (c. 1300-c. 1360) teaches, too, that a proposition dealing with the future or the past does not signify as things are; and adds that a negative proposition does not do so either when the subject of the proposition is non-existent. See *Sophisms on Meaning and Truth*, Chap. 11, B (2) (New York, 1966) 86-87.

that every true proposition must signify as things are (32), and this applies to every true necessary proposition (33)[13]).

Subtilis comes back to his contention that there is a world of difference between the true proposition "V will be" and "things are such that V will be". The former is nothing; it does not exist in any way. But it is quite different with the latter; it has an ontological status. Thus it must be really in God's mind, since it could not exist eternally anywhere else (35). Thus God accounts for the present truth of true contingent propositions concerning the future.

Having explained that "things are such that V will be" is part of God's knowledge, Subtilis indicates that this is not true of "Socrates will read" or "Plato will run", though it is true of "Antichrist will be". He does not explain the basis of the distinction; presumably the truths about Socrates and Plato are contingent while the truth about Antichrist is necessary because God has revealed it[14]). Subtilis claims that "Socrates will read" does not exist in any way, but "Antichrist will come" does. Presumably, then, even if the former is in a sense eternally true, this does not necessitate positing an eternal mind; but the eternal truth of the latter does. The truths "things are such that Socrates is not an ass" or "nothing is causing" (if it were to be true) would also require the existence of an eternal mind (41).

Subtilis now deals with the contention, mentioned earlier, that "nothing is causing" signifies other than as things are. In accord with his teaching that every true proposition signifies as things are, he wants to show that this proposition also can do so. If God alone caused (by creation), and then ceased causing for an instant, "nothing is causing" would signify as things are. There would be no need to account for the change in things from the previous instant, since, Subtilis simply states without explanation, there would be no change (42, 43).

[13]) Walter BURLEIGH (1275-c. 1345) also teaches that every true proposition signifies as things are. See Jan PINBORG, "Walter Burleigh on the Meaning of Proposition", *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XXVIII (1967) 394-404.

[14]) This is the distinction made by Robert GROSSETESTE in his *De Scientia Dei* concerning these sentences: "Si Deus scit antichristum ... fore, antichristus ... erit. Sed antecedens est necessarium. Ergo et consequens est necessarium ... Posito per impossibile quod cursum Socratis cras futurum nunc viderem praesentem, in me statum verum et necessarium esset me vidisse cursum Socratis futurum. Et tamen cursus Socratis adhuc esset contingens". The text is in L. BAUR, "Die philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, IX (1912) 145-146. See this same point in N. KRETZMANN, tr., *William of Sherwood's Treatise on Syncategorematic Words* (Minneapolis, 1968), p. 101, n. 70.

Subtilis has now finished his second argument that "God does not exist" leads to a contradiction. He began with the argument of St. Augustine and then defended it against Falsigraphus and the Moderns. His defense was the contention that certain truths are eternally true in such a way as to require an eternal ontological foundation. These eternal truths signify "as things are". Hence they require an eternal grounding in a reality; that is, they necessitate an eternal mind.

It remains for Subtilis to answer other objections to his teaching that "God does not exist" leads to a contradiction. One objection is that, if God does not exist, nothing exists, and so no contradiction exists (2). Subtilis' answer is a simple denial of the argument (46). No doubt he thinks that the body of the article has taken care of this objection.

A second objection is that "God does not exist" is a negative proposition, that a contradiction requires an affirmative proposition also, and that an affirmative proposition cannot follow formally from a negative proposition, and that therefore "God does not exist" does not lead to a contradiction (3).

This objection has force only if "God exists" and "God does not exist" are considered to be contingent propositions, since Subtilis has shown, in his first argument in this article, that, if "God exists" is a necessary proposition, "God does not exist" leads to a contradiction. Now, some logicians contemporary with Subtilis held that "God does not exist" is a contingent proposition, in accordance with Aristotle's definition of one, since no affirmative proposition can be deduced from it to contradict it (4).

Subtilis' answer to them is that God is a necessary being and hence "God exists" and "God does not exist" are not contingent propositions, a position bolstered by the teaching of Thomas Bradwardine (5, 6). It is true that no contingent affirmative follows from a contingent negative, but from an impossible negative anything follows; thus a necessary affirmative follows from it (7). Therefore "God exists" follows from "God does not exist", and a contradiction results (8, 47).

Subtilis admits that, *de vi vocis*, "God exists" is not a necessary proposition. However, it can be shown that it means the same as "a necessary being exists", and then it is seen to be formally a necessary proposition (44).

A third objection to Subtilis' teaching is that "God does not exist" would imply a contradiction only if God differed infinitely from His non-being. But, if creatures differed only finitely from God, they would be

less than perfect, and hence not be God. But creatures differ from non-being only to the extent that they differ from the non-being of God, since they would not exist if God did not exist. Now, creatures are only finitely distant from non-being. So they are only finitely different from God's non-being. And, if God is only finitely distant from creatures, He is only finitely distant from non-being. So "God does not exist" does not imply a contradiction (9).

Subtilis' answer to this is that God is infinitely distant from non-being because He contains virtually and eminently every possible degree of perfection, and these degrees are infinite in number. And it is, besides, unthinkable that a creature be only finitely less perfect than God (48).

A final objection is that there is no distance between God and non-being because the distance would have to be created or uncreated. If created, it is infinite, and there is an infinite creature, which is impossible. If uncreated, it is God; but God cannot be between Himself and something else (10).

Subtilis simply denies that God is between Himself and non-being, without explaining further (49, 50).

Subtilis therefore has followed other English philosophers just prior to him (Thomas Bradwardine, Thomas of Buckingham, Roger of Nottingham, Nicholas Aston) in claiming that "God does not exist" involves a contradiction[15]).

L. A. Kennedy C.S.B.
Center for Thomistic Studies
Houston, U.S.A.

[15]) See n. 7.

Following is a transcription of Ms. lat. 16,535 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, ff. 85 v-88 v.

ARTICLE THREE

85v Utrum Deum non esse contradiccionem inferat manifestam.

1. Quod non, arguitur sic: Deum non esse non est; igitur Deum non esse nullam contradictionem infert. Consequentia patet, et antecedens ex hoc quod hec est falsa: Deum non esse est. Nam sequitur:

Deum non esse est; igitur Deus non est. Consequens falsum quia hec sunt contradictio: Deum non esse est, et Deum non esse non est. Igitur etc.

2. Secundo sic: ex Deum non esse nulla sequitur contradictio; igitur etc. Arguitur antecedens sic: ex Deum non esse sequitur quod nulla contradictio est; igitur. Illud antecedens arguitur sic: Deus non est; igitur nihil est; et, sicut nihil est, igitur nulla contradictio est. Igitur a posito sequitur Deus non est; igitur nulla contradictio est.
3. Tertio sic: ista negative "Deus non est" necessarie negativa est; igitur, ex ista, nulla affirmativa formaliter sequitur; et impossibile est contradictionem inferri sine affirmativa, eo quod contradictio est ex affirmatione et negatione sibi opposita contradictorie; igitur ex ista "Deus non est" nulla sequitur contradictio. Consequentia patet, et maior sic: nam, dato opposito maioris, sequitur quod ista "Deus non est" non est contradictoria illius "Deus est", consequens falsum.
4. Pro isto articulo et alio precedenti, dicitur quod, per 85v/86r alicos modernos logicos, quod hec "Deus non est" non est impossibilis. Persuadent sic: ex ista posita et admissa[1]), nullum accidit contradictorie impossible, eo quod hec mere negativa est, et per consequens ex ea nullum sequitur immossibile; igitur per diffinitionem possibilis, primo Priorum[2]), sequitur quod hec "Deus non est" non est impossibilis. Et ideo consequenter dicunt quod hec "Deus est" non est necessaria.
5. Contra istam responsionem arguitur sic: "Deus est" est[3]) vera necessaria; igitur necesse est Deum esse; et illa propositio "Deus est", que per eos non est necessaria sed contingens, significat precise quod Deus est; igitur aliqua propositio contingens significat precise sicut necesse est esse, consequens absurdum secundum bonam logicam. Et, quod "Deus est" est[4]) vera necessaria, superius est probatum.
6. Eodem modo arguitur quod ista propositio "Deus[5]) non est", que secundum eos est possibilis, significat precise sicut possibile est esse, quod non videtur verum. Ad evidentiam illius opinionis dicitur

[1]) admissa / amissa *ms.*
[2]) Aristotle, *Prior Analytics*, 1, 13; 32a 19-21.
[3]) est *omittit ms.*
[4]) est *omittit ms.*
[5]) Deus *omittit ms.*

quod[6]) "Deus non est" sequitur impossibile, quia talis "Deus non est", secundum Cantuariensem, c. 12 primi libri De Causa Dei[7]), est primum impossibile complexum, et suum oppositum primum verum complexum.

7. Et tunc ad argumentum (hec "Deus non est" est mere negativa; igitur ex ea nulla sequitur affirmativa, et per consequens nulla contradictio): pro isto dicitur quod prima consequentia non videtur. Nam, ex negativa simpliciter impossibili, sequitur quodlibet; et, ultra, ex negativa impossibili sequitur affirmativa necessaria. Nam ex impossibili sequitur quodlibet; ita necessarium sequitur ad quodlibet. Unde pro secunda communi consequentia (dicitur quod ex mere negativa non sequitur affirmativa) dico quod debet intelligi quod ex mere negativa contingenti non sequitur affirmativa contingens; et hoc est verum.
8. Et, sic solvendo evidentiam illius opinionis, solvitur argumentum tertium, cuius solutio alias ponenda fuisset in fine questionis.
9. Quarto, principaliter, sic: Deus solum finite repugnat non-esse; igitur "Deum non esse" non[8]) infert repugnantiam. Consequentia patet per hoc quod ideo potest quelibet creatura non esse absque contradictione quia solum finite distat a non-esse et, ex consequenti, solum finite sibi repugnat non-esse. Antecedens arguitur sic: tantum sibi precise repugnat non esse quantum distat a non-esse; igitur etc. Minor arguitur sic: tantum precise distat a non-esse quantum distat a non-esse Dei nam, ex hoc quod non esset Deus, sequitur eam non esse simpliciter; sed solum finite distat a non-esse Dei; igitur etc. Minor arguitur sic: si per solam latitudinem finitam esset aliquid minus perfectum quam Deus, illud non esset Deus; igitur solum per latitudinem finitam distat Deus a non-esse Dei.
10. Confirmatur: Deus nullo modo distat a non-esse; igitur etc. Antecedens arguitur: nam, opposito dato, quero primo an ista distancia sit creata vel increata; si increata, tunc est Deus; igitur inter Deum et non-esse esset Deus; si creata, cum illa distancia sit infinita, sequitur quod aliquod creatum esset infinitum.
11. Ad oppositum questionis, arguitur sic. Supponendo quod hoc

[6]) negandum *addit ms.*

[7]) Thomas Bradwardine, *De Causa Dei*, lib. 1, cap. 12 (London, 1618; Frankfurt, 1964) 200-202.

[8]) non *omittit ms.*

nomen "Deus" significet unum necesse esse, arguitur sic: Deus est necesse esse; igitur necesse est Deum esse; et, ultra, igitur impossibile est Deum non esse; igitur, si quis, mediante obligatione, concedat Deum non esse, concedit non esse quod impossibile est non esse. Et, ex hoc quod admittit[9]) Deum non esse, contra eum sequitur quod possibile est Deum non esse; igitur simul concedere habet sic respondens quod possibile est Deum non esse et quod impossibile est Deum non esse, quod est contradictio.

12. Secundo sic: veritatem non esse contradictionem infert; et Deus est veritas prima et necessaria; igitur etc. Consequentia patet. Et antecedens per beatum Augustinum, secundo Solilo- 86r/86v quiorum[10]), ubi probat quod impossibile est veritatem interire vel occidere. Arguitur sic: veritas occidit; igitur verum, scilicet veritatem occidisse; et, per consequens, si veritas occidit, veritas est; et, si veritas occidit, veritas non est; igitur simul veritas est et veritas non est, quod est contradictio.
13. Item, Anselmus, Monologion et De Veritate[11]), arguit quod aliqua est veritas eterna que non potest desinere esse. Primo arguit ad probandam aliquam veritatem eternam sic: semper fuit verum quod aliquid erit, et semper erit verum quod aliquid fuit; igitur alica veritate semper sic fuit verum et erit; et, ultra, igitur alica veritas est eterna. Et exponit istum modum loquendi "semper fuit verum quod aliquid erit" non quia talis propositio "aliquid erit" semper fuit, sed semper fuit ita sicut ista significat. Et ita ex alia parte arguit etiam quod veritas nedum semper erit set etiam quod non potest non esse, deducens contradictionem ex hoc quod veritas non foret. Arguit sic: veritas non erit; igitur verum est quod veritas non erit; et, ultra, igitur alica veritate verum erit quod veritas non erit; et, per consequens, igitur, si veritas non erit, veritas erit, quod est apud eum contradictio.
14. Hic respondet falsigraphus qui teneret quod omnis natura est contingens et quod nulla est vel fuit necessaria, dicens quodlibet semper fuit ita quod V̀ erit; multa tamen non[12]) unica veritate sic semper fuerunt sed, secundum diversitatem naturarum sibi contin-

[9]) quod admittit / amittit ms.
[10]) St. Augustine, *Soliloquia*, lib. II, cap. 2.
[11]) St. Anselm, *Monologion*, cap. 9, 10; *De Veritate*, cap. 1, 10, 13.
[12]) non *omittit ms.*

genter succedentium, diversibus veritatibus sic fuerunt, et ita plures modi discendi[13]) ita sic sit quod V erit.

15. Sed contra hoc arguitur sic, medio veri notabili: tam simplicitate et unitate ita fuit quod V erit quam simplicitate et unitate V cum et V fuerit actualiter existens; sed, cum V fuerit actualiter presens sic erit quod V semel et non pluries est, et quod unico modo sic est quod V est; igitur non diversis modis sic fuit quod V erit. Minor nota est, et maior patet sic: taliter precise fuit V futurum qualiter V erit; igitur etc. Antecedens arguitur ponendo quod V adhuc sit futurum. Tunc sic: taliter fuit precise V futurum qualiter precisse V est futurum; sed V precise[14]) est futurum qualiter V erit, cum idem sit dicere V erit futurum et V erit; igitur etc.
16. Sed forte conceditur quod V semper taliter fuit futurum qualiter V erit, sed non semper fuit taliter "quod V fuit futurum" qualiter nunc est "quod V est futurum". Contra, si alio[15]) modo nunc est quod V est futurum quam prius fuit quod V fuit futurum, igitur alio modo V est futurum quam V fuit futurum.
17. Sed moderni aliter respondent, negando omnes tales consequentias: nihil est, igitur sic est quod nihil est; veritas interiit, igitur sic est quod veritas interiit. Negant etiam tales consequentias: V erit, igitur sic est quod V erit; V fuit, igitur sic est quod V fuit.
18. Sed contra istam responsionem arguitur pro omni parte, primo, quod illa consequentia est bona: nihil est, igitur sic est quod nihil est. Nam ex impossibili sequitur quodlibet et, sicut superius fuit ostensum, antecedens est simpliciter impossibile. Igitur etc.
19. Confirmatur: impossibile est sic esse sicut significatur per antecedens nisi sic fuerit sicut significatur per consequens; igitur etc.
20. Hic dicerent negando consequentiam ultimam. Nam secundum eos, etsi possibile 86v/87r esset quod nihil esset, non tamen possibile sic esse sicut ista "nihil est" significat. Iam hec propositio claudit repugnantiam, "sic esse quod nihil est". Unde dicerent quod oportet quod impossibile sit sic non esse sicut antecedens significat nisi ita esset sicut consequens significat, ad hoc quod consequentia illa sit bona.
21. Contra: per hoc non respondetur; nam impossibile est sic non esse

[13]) discendi / discentis *ms.*
[14]) V *addit ms.*
[15]) alio / alico *ms.*

sicut per antecedens significatur nisi sic fuerit sicut significatur per consequens. Igitur consequentia est bona. Antecedens arguitur: nam, opposito dato, ponatur quod sic non sit sicut significatur per antecedens, cum hoc quod non sic sit sicut significetur per consequens. Tunc arguitur sic: non sic est sicut significetur per istam "nihil est", et per istam significatur precise quod nihil est; igitur sic non est quod nihil est. Et tunc arguitur sic: non sic est quod nihil est; igitur sic non est quod nihil est. Et tunc arguitur sic: non sic est quod nihil est; igitur non sic est quod non aliquid est. Et, ultra, igitur sic est quod aliquid est. Prima consequentia tenet quod illa incomplexa convertuntur, "nihil" et "non aliquid". Et, per positum, secundum intellectum istorum, "nihil est". Igitur simul est "aliquid est" et "nihil est". Et ex "aliquid est et nihil est" sequitur ista "sic est quod nihil est" tamquam ex impossibili. Igitur etc. Et taliter potest probari consequentia Augustini, secundo Soliloquiorum (veritas occidit; igitur verum veritatem occidisse)[16]).

22. Sed nunc cum maiori diligentia oportet recitare evidencias pro evidencia et, arguendo contra opinionem, evidencias solvere. Evidencia probatur quia negatur hec consequentia, "V erit; igitur sic est quod V erit". Et, quia conceditur hec conclusio esse possibilis ("et V erit, et tamen non sic est quod V erit"), est hec ("V fore"), sumendo prout distinguitur contra esse. Et, si "V erit" nihil est nec aliqualiter, et si conceditur hec propositio de V futuro, non de presenti, "sic est quod V erit", oporteret consequenter dicere quod "V fore" est "sic esse[17]) quod V erit", quod falsum est, nam "V fore" non est aliqualiter esse. Igitur "V fore" non est "sic esse quod V erit".
23. Item. Sic ponatur quod V erit, et quod nihil quod est ipsius V sit. Tunc, si conceditur hec "sic est quod V erit", arguitur sic: sic est quod V erit; aut igitur sic est a parte Dei quod V erit, aut sic est a parte ipsius V quod V erit, aut sic est a parte alterius cause quod V erit. Si primum, contra: tunc "V fore" esset aliqualiter a parte Dei; igitur per idem "Sortem esse lecturum" et Platonem esse cursurum" esset "V fore"; consequens falsum, quia si Sor numquam esset lecturus nec Pertrus cursurus, staret adhuc V fore, vel esse futurum.
24. Item sic. Qualitercumque a parte Dei est, necessario est. Sed, ex impossibili, "V fore" aliqualiter a parte Dei est. Igitur "V fore seu

[16]) See n. 10.
[17]) esse *omittit ms.*

esse futurum" necessario est, et per consequens V necessario erit. Et per hoc argumentum posset probari quod nihil contingenter esset. Consequens falsum.

25. Item, si "V fore" esset aliqualiter a parte Dei, per idem "V esse" esset aliqualiter a parte Dei. Consequens manifeste falsum, nam "V esse" mutabiliter erit, et, qualitercumque a parte Dei est, immutabiliter est et erit. Igitur etc.
26. Si autem dicitur secundum membrum divisionis, scilicet quod a parte V sic est quod V erit, contra: nihil ipsius V est; igitur non aliqualiter a parte V est; et, ultra, igitur non sic est a parte V quod V erit; igitur etc.
27. Nec tertium membrum dari potest. Nam quelibet alia causa ita indifferens est ipsi V quod, si illa nec esset nec foret nec fuisset, adhuc staret V fore.
28. Propter talia argumenta concedit Magister Walterus[18]) Billingham quod aliqua propositio vera significat aliter quam est. Nam, accepta tali propositione "Antichristus erit", dicit eam esse veram; sed, contra, illa significat aliqualiter qualiter non est; igitur etc. Antecedens arguit sic: illa significat quod Antichristus erit, et taliter non est "quod Antichristus erit", sicut patet per argumenta superius facta; igitur etc.
29. Consimili argumento, quod nulla propositio negativa, etiam vera, significat sicut est. Nam talis 87r/87v scilicet est[19]) "Sor non est asinus", et ista non significat sicut est. Igitur eadem ratione nec aliqua alia significat sicut est. Antecedens arguitur quoad minorem quia maior nota est: sic non sic est sicut illa significat; igitur illa non significat sicut est. Consequentia patet, et antecedens arguitur sic: nam, opposito dato (scilicet, sic est sicut illa significat), queritur aut sic est a parte Sortis aut a parte asini. Quod non a parte Sortis, arguitur sic: si igitur non esset, non esset aliqualiter a parte Sortis; et, si Sortes non esset, staret illam esse veram "Sortes non est asinus" sicut significando precise sicut nunc significat; igitur etc. Et per consimile argumentum potest probari quod non sic est a parte asini quod Sor non est asinus.
30. Item, ponatur quod in presenti instanti desineat omnis causa per remotionem de presenti. Tunc accipio talem propositionem "nihil

[18]) *ms.* Wals.
[19]) est *omittit ms.*

causat". Tunc[20]) sic : hec est vera ; et hec non significat sicut est ; igitur etc. Minor sic arguitur: hec significat quod nihil causat, et non sic est ; igitur etc. Et, quod non sic est, arguitur: Nam, opposito dato, sic est quod nihil causat, et non immediate ante presens instans fuit; consequens falsum, nam causatur esse qualiter non erat immediate ante hoc; aut est creatum aut non creatum; si primum detur, tunc conceditur illud quod est contra casum; si secundum, tunc taliter esse est esse Dei, et per consequens taliter esse fuit immediate ante hoc, quod est contra datum.

31. Propter ista argumenta concedit Magister Nicolaus de Aston[21]) quod nulla propositio necessaria vera significat sicut est.
32. Volo igitur conclusiones negare est eorum argumenta solvere. In primis, nego quod alica propositio vera significat aliter quam est. Ymo, sicut alias dixi, impossibile est alicam veram[22]) propositionem significare aliter quam est.
33. Nego etiam quod nulla propositio necessaria significat sicut est. Teneo nam quod omnis propositio vera significat sicut est.
34. Et tunc ad argumenta, incipiendo a primo, quando ponitur quod V erit et quod nec[23]) V, nec aliquid sui, ipsius sit causa. Admitto[24]) causam, et omnis "V erit" vel[25]) "V fore" nihil est nec aliqualiter est, et "sic esse quod V erit" est "V fore", si sic sit quod V erit; igitur etc. Conceditur maior, et negatur minor.
35. Unde, in declarando falisitatem istius minoris, respondebo ad proximum argumentum sequens. Arguitur igitur quod "sic esse quod V erit" non est "V fore". "Sic verum esse quod V erit" est "sic esse quod V erit". Sed "verum esse quod V erit" non est "V fore". Igitur etc. Minor arguitur sic: "verum esse quod V erit" realiter est in Deo, sed "V fore" non est realiter in Deo, eo quod "V fore" non est aliqualiter. Igitur etc. Maiorem istius argumenti ponit Augustinus, Contra Faustum, dicens diffuse quod in Deo verum esse "futurum fore" et "preteritum fuisse", et non alibi est verum esse quod

[20]) Tunc / n̄ *ms.*
[21]) Aston / Astoñ *ms.*
[22]) veram *omittit ms.*
[23]) nec *omittit ms.*
[24]) Admitto / amitto *ms.*
[25]) erit" vel / dr̄ *ms.*

futurum erit vel quod preteritum fuit[26]) quam in Deo[27]). Ex quibus patet quod dicere habeo quod "sic esse quod V erit" est in Deo, quod fuit primum membrum argumenti in oppositum.

36. Sed arguitur quod necessario et immutabiliter sic est quod "V erit", eo quod, qualitercumque a parte Dei, immutabiliter et necessario est; et tunc, per idem, de futuro quodlibet concedendum esset quod necessario sic est quod illud erit; et, per consequens, nihil contingenter esset futurum, consequens falsum.
37. Ad istud dicitur negando primam consequentiam. Nam, licet qualitercumque sit a parte Dei, necessario et inmutabiliter est, et "sic esse quod V erit" sit in Deo, stat tamen quod contingenter sic scit "esse quod V erit", non tamen propter alicam contingentiam a parte Dei possibilem, sed propter hoc quod V posset esse, una cum hoc quod, postquam sic fuerit et postea esse de- 87v/88r sierit, numquam post sui desitionem V esset futurum, ita quod successive iste due propositiones erunt verifiabiles, "V erit" et "V numquam erit", non propter contingentiam vel mutabilitatem Dei sed propter hoc quod taliter V poneretur in esse et de esse laberetur in preteritum cum negatione sue futuritionis postea.
38. Et, si queretur a me (de "sic esse quod V erit", vel quocumque alio futuro[28]), ex quo est in Deo) utrum "sic esse quod V erit" sit simpliciter necessarium, et absolute Deum esse, vel sic Deum velle V fore (quia hoc secundum maxime videretur quibusdam esse, quod primum duarum non potest quia nam "Deum esse" sic accepta ad creaturam non refurtur nec ad aliquod agere etc., et "sic esse in Deo quod V erit" refertur ad V, igitur etc.): secundum duarum non potest nam, si V erit unum peccatum contingenter futurum, Deus non vult V fore; igitur "sic esse quod V erit" non est Deum vele V fore. Et per idem argumentum potest ostendi quod, de nullo alio futuro, "sic esse quod illud erit" est Deum velle illud fore.
39. Unde concedo "sic esse quod V erit" nec est simpliciter nec absolute Deum esse, nec simpliciter et absolute Deum velle V fore. Relinquitur igitur quod "sic esse quod V erit" est "Deum intelligere V fore" quia, licet non omne futurum vult Deus fore, tamen omne futurum intelligit Deus fore, quod concedo.

[26]) fuit / p^t *ms.*
[27]) St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, lib. XXVI, cap. 5.
[28]) quocumque alio futuro / quodcumque alium futurum *ms.*

40. Unde conformiter loquentes iuxta conclusiones primam et tertiam in tertio articulo recitatas concederent[29]) hanc conclusionem esse possibilem, "necesse est sic esse quod Sor peccavit, peccat, et peccabit, A peccato", et tamen summe contingens est Sortem esse peccaturum, peccare, vel peccasse, A peccato. Probatur sic: accipio illam consequentiam "Deus intelligit Sortem esse peccaturum, peccare, vel peccasse; igitur Sor peccabit, peccavit, vel peccat, A peccato"; et, iuxta conclusionem tertiam primi articuli, antecedens est necessarium, et consequens contingens, et per consequens necessarium est Deum intelligere Sortem peccare, vel peccasse, A peccato; igitur, cum "Deum sic intelligere" sit "sic esse quod Sor peccabit, peccavit, vel peccat, A peccato", sequitur quod necesse est sic esse (Sor sic peccavit, peccat, vel peccabit, A peccato); et tunc sequitur superius Sortem contingenter esse peccaturum, et est summe contingens Sortem peccare vel peccasse, A peccato; igitur etc. Et, si aliquis arguet contra conclusionem sic ("necesse est sic esse quod peccat etc.; igitur Sor necessario peccat, peccabit, vel peccavit, A peccato"), negarem consequentiam.
41. Concedo etiam quod, si Sor sit lecturus, et Plato cursurus, tunc "sic esse quod Antichristus sit" est "sic esse quod Sor leget et Plato curret". Nam, cum omnino quoad primum patet sic Deum intelligere quod Antichristus erit est Deum intelligere quod Sor leget et Plato curret, et[30]) Deum sic intelligere quod Antichristus erit etc. est sic esse quod Antichristus[31]) erit, ut patet ex predictis[32]), non tamen "Sortem esse lecturum" est "antichristum esse futurum", quia nec "Sortem[33]) esse lecturum" nec "Platonem esse cursurum"[34]) aliqualiter est, sed "Antichristum esse futurum" aliqualiter est. Consequenter etiam dico quod "sic esse quod Sor non est asinus vel quod nihil causat" est Deum intelligere quod Sor non est asinus vel quod nihil causat.
42. Per hoc dicitur ad argumentum magistri alterius in hoc instanti presenti: sic est quod nihil causat et non immediate ante instans presens sic erat quid nihil causat; igitur nunc aliter est quam

[29]) concederent / concederet *ms.*
[30]) et / est *ms.*
[31]) quod *repetitur.*
[32]) igitur etc. *addit ms.*
[33]) Sortem / Sor *ms.*
[34]) Platonem esse cursurum / Antichristum esse futurum *ms.*

inmediate ante hoc fuit. Dico igitur quod de vi vocis, sumendo instans presens pro instante[35]) corporis creati, sicut credo eum accipere, casus est impossibilis. Et negatur illa consequentia (sic est nunc quod nihil causat, et non immediate ante presens instans sic erat quod nihil causat; igitur etc.). Nam, posito quod per unam horam preteritam nihil preter Deum causet (fuissent tamen multa in eadem dispositione se habencia continue usque ad presens instans inclusive), et quod Deus creasset per totam istam horam alias[36]) creaturas que tamen post sui mutationem non fuissent usque ad presens instans inclusive mutate in isto casu, una cum hoc quod posset esse instans aliquod sine sui presenciali causasione, totum antecedens erit verum istius consequentie nuper facte. Et consequens falsum; nam a parte Dei non esset aliter quam inmediate ante presens instans fuit; 88r/88v nec a parte creature (probatur, nam sit talis creature A que[37]) nunc esset aliter quam immediate ante presens instans erat). Et arguitur sic: A nunc aliter est aperte quam immediate ante presens instans erat; igitur aut quoad suum esse quod habuit immediate ante hoc instans aut quoad suum non-esse; non primum quia hoc est contra casum; nec secundum quia nihil aliter est quando est quam quando non fuit nam, opposito dato, sequitur quod aliqualiter fuit quando non fuit, quod est impossibile; etiam sequitur A inmediate ante hoc presens instans non fuit, et A nunc est; igitur aliquid causat nunc, quod est contra casum.

43. Sed quia hic fuit dubitatio numquid posset instans presens presentialiter causare, fiat argumentum de Creatore, et ibi nulla est dubitatio. Et arguatur sic: posito quod Deus per totam istam horam creasset et pro nunc nihil creet, tunc sic est quod Deus nihil creat, et immediate ante hoc sic non erat quod Deus nihil creat; igitur nunc aliter est quam immediate ante hoc instans presens erat. Negatur consequentia.

44. Hiis peractis, sciendum quod de vi vocis nulla talis consequentia valet: "ista propositio est necessaria; igitur necesse est sic esse sicut significatur per eam". Probatur sic: hec propositio non est necessaria[38]); igitur non est ita sicut hec propositio significat; consequentia

[35]) instante *omittit ms.*
[36]) alias / aliam *ms.*
[37]) que / cuius *ms.*
[38]) necessaria *omittit ms.*

est bona; et antecedens est possibile; igitur et consequens. Et, si arguitur contra sic (hec propositio "Deus est" significat precise sicut "necesse est esse"; istius propositionis sententiam homines communiter intendunt quando inferunt tale consequens; igitur necesse est sic esse sicut hec significat): cum[39]) iste due propositiones eundem habeant[40]) intellectum secundum communem acceptationem hominum, una conclusio[41]) tamen de vi vocis falsa est, et alia est vera, sicut non valet hec de vi voicis, loquendo de propositione vocali vel scripta: "hec est impossibilis; igitur impossibile est ita esse sicut ista significat". Nam arguitur sic de eadem propositione: hec significat precise quod Deus est; igitur ita est sicut ista significat; consequentia est bona; et antecedens est possibile; igitur et consequens. Intellectus tamen quem homines communiter intendunt est satis sanus, sicut patet ex predicis.

45. Hiis premissis, descendo ad solutionem questionis. Et dico quod pars affirmativa questionis de vi vocis falsa est, sicut probat primum argumentum. Potest tamen habere alium intellectum solidum, ut sit iste sensus: numquid ex responsione concedentis Deum non esse deduci poterit contradictio. Et dico quod sic ex hiis dictis solutum est primum argumentum.

46. Pro secundo argumento nego istam consequentiam: ex illa "Deus non est" vel ex responsione conceditur Deum non esse; sequitur quod nulla contradictio; igitur ex illa "Deus non est" vel ex responsione conceditur "Deum non esse" nulla sequitur contradictio.

47. Ad quartum dicitur quod infinitum[42]) infinite repugnat ad non-esse, et Deus infinite distat a non-esse, et hoc secundum sanum intellectum quem postea explicabo. De vi vocis, tamen, hec est falsa, et quelibet talis: Deus distat a non-esse. Nam simpliciter non-esse non est. Igitur Deus non distat a non-esse, et antecedens patet quia hec includit contradictionem, "non-esse est". Sanus intellectus est iste, sicud dicimus: quod gradus summus caliditatis tantum distat a non-gradu caliditatis (vel a gradu summo frigiditatis, quod idem est) quanta est latitudo caliditatis, eo quod tantam istam latitudinem virtualiter continet gradus summus. Ita sane dici potest quod Deus tantum

[39]) cum / unde *ms.*
[40]) habeant / habent *ms.*
[41]) conclusio *omittit ms.*
[42]) vel *addit ms.*

distat a non-gradu entitatis quantum possibilis[43]) est alica latitudo creaturarum in perfectione essentiali specifica, eo quod omnem talem latitudinem virtualiter et eminenter continet Deus. Et, quia infinita potest esse latitudo creaturarum in perfectione essentiali, ideo dici potest quod Deus distat a non-gradu entitatis, et a qualibet alia creatura distat Deus, infinite. Ad intellectum datum bene patet istam minorem esse inymaginabilem, scilicet quod aliquid quod non est Deus solum per finitam latitudinem esset Deo[44]) minus perfectum. Dico igitur quod Deus se ipso infinite distat a non-gradu entitatis.

49. Et quando arguitur in confirmacione (igitur Deus personaliter esset inter seipsum et non-gradum entitatis) nego consequentiam.

50. Ex hiis patet responsio ad questionem et ad argumenta.

[43]) possibilis / possibile *ms.*

[44]) Deo / Deus *ms.*

Aenigma Salomonis: Manichaean Anti-Genesis Polemic and the Vitium curiositatis in Confessions III. 6

Book III of St. Augustine's *Confessions* depicts the bleakest moments in a willful and erring life and, in two important places, the first signs of change in that life. After the description of his vicious student conduct in Carthage in III. 1-3, Augustine describes his conversion to *philosophia* after reading Cicero's *Hortensius* (III. 4), his turning to scripture and failure to understand it (III. 5), and his subsequent fall into Manichaean sympathies (III. 6-10). Book III concludes with the second sign of change, after the conversion to *philosophia*, the hopes expressed in the dream of Monica and the promise of the nameless bishop: *fieri non potest, ut filius istarum lacrimarum pereat* (III. 11-12). The narrative structure of Book III thus consists of the two courses of sin, at Carthage and among the Manichaeans, punctuated by the first conversion and concluded by the hope of a second conversion. Although the conversion to *philosophia* divides the two courses, it does not dissolve the link between them. The link is structural, and it had been established in the meditation on the psychology of sin in Book II (II. 4-10).

Book III. 4-5 and *Sermo* 51 describe the illumination and fear that combine, for the first time, to instill hope and a more complex sense of purpose in the young and successful student [1]). Having imbibed the name of Jesus with his morther's milk and determined that *philosophia* and Jesus must be one and the same, Augustine turns to scripture, whose truth he fails to perceive because of its lack of *Tulliana dignitas*. The student of rhetoric, brought to Cicero by the requirements of the study of rhetoric, is struck, not by Cicero's rhetoric, but by his great message, and, turning to that place where wisdom is in fact to be found, misses it because of his intellectual unpreparedness and superficial rhetorical expectations.

[1]) This was illustrated by Pierre COURCELLE, *Recherches sur les Confessions de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1950), 60-67, and developed by A. SOLIGNAC in his introduction to the *Confessions*, *Œuvres de saint Augustin*, Vol. 13, *Les Confessions, livres I-VII* (Paris, 1962), 125-132.

It is no wonder that Augustine then succumbs to the "empty language", "glib delirium", and "vain fables" of the Manichaeans. He does not say whether they offered *Tulliana dignitas* (although he later mentions Faustus' pleasing speech), but they certainly offered something as inviting and persuasive to both his pride and his anxiety[2]). Specifically, they offered a resolution of Augustine's problem of the identity of *philosophia* and Jesus in a way that did not disturb his inability to perceive spiritual meaning in scripture. They discarded, repudiated, or allegorized those parts of scripture which had offended Augustine in III. 5 and dressed the remainder and their own explanatory writings in fable and myth. Manichaean "solutions" to the problems of the two genealogies of Christ, the Genesis creation narrative, the anthropomorphic depiction of the deity, the wickedness of the patriarchs, and the divine and human natures of Christ are noted in the *Confessions* and in other early writings of Augustine[3]). In the *Confessions*, Book III. 6 discusses Manichaean cosmology and cosmogony, and III. 7 considers Manichaean theodicy.

As Peter Brown has pointed out, "in [the *Confessions*] one constantly senses the tension between the 'then' of the young man and the 'now' of the bishop"[4]). Book III. 8-10 constitutes just one example of the bishop's mind at the time of writing rushing in to deal directly with the problems of justice, goodness, and evil that Manichaean teachings contain, as if it were not satisfied by the exposition in the *De Gen. c. Man.*, the *De moribus Man.*, or other anti-Manichaean writings. The two final sections indeed raise the hope of conversion, appropriately enough, not in the mind of the young Augustine, but in the tears of Monica and in the promises of Christ and the bishop.

Of the two courses of sin divided by the ambiguous conversion of III. 4, the second is both more and less serious than the first. Following the conversion to *philosophia*, Augustine falls into greater, because more intellectual error concerning God among the Manichaeans, but at the same time he is at least moving the right direction. He is seeking the right thing, *philosophia*, in the right place, the name of Jesus. By a long and

[2]) *Conf.* V. 6; cf. SOLIGNAC, 131.

[3]) SOLIGNAC, 128-9. For the two genealogies, see *Sermo* 51; on anthropomorphism, *De Gen. c. Man.* I. 17. 27-8, *Conf.* III. 7. 12; on the sins of the patriarchs, *C. Faust* VI. II, *Conf.* III. 7. 13, V. 10. 19, V. 14. 24; on Creation, *De Gen. c. Man.* I. II. 3; *Conf.* XI-XIII; and as this article argues, *Conf.* III. 6.

[4]) Peter BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 164.

circuitous route, he will eventually find it, and the rest of the *Confessions* constitutes a description and verification (in the last three books) of that journey.

The appropriateness of the final three books of the *Confessions*, the exposition of the opening verses of Genesis, has been debated many times. Modern scholarly consensus has determined, rightly, I think, that the Genesis-exposition is indeed an integral part of the work and not an appendage. This study proposes to suggest the place of *Confessions* III. 6, or rather the events unclearly described therein, in Augustine's later studies on Genesis, and in fact in Augustine's attitude toward Genesis throughout the rest of his life as a Christian thinker and teacher. Its thesis is that *Confessions* III. 6, neither the clearest nor the most explicit part of the work, is a criticism and description of Manichaean attacks on Genesis and Christian cosmogony and cosmology, just as III. 7 is clearly a critique of Manichaean theodicy.

There are important links between III. 1-3 and III. 6-7, most notably in Augustine's virtuoso use of the *vitium curiositatis* to describe both his earlier and later sympathies and affections. The Manichaeans are, structurally at least, parallel to the *eversores*; they too are "overturners" and "wreckers". They too attract the weak and the morbid interest of those who, like Augustine himself, can admire, if not wholeheartedly join them. The admirer of the *eversores* and the "Hearer" of the Manichaeans is the same man, and the final lack of commitment to the former may prefigure an eventual lack of commitment to the latter. There are indeed a few rays of hope in Book III, but they are not many, and they are not soon realized.

To be converted to a life of *philosophia* in fourth-century North Africa, whether by the *Hortensius* or anything else, was to be converted to a way of life, a religious calling to free the soul from earthly attachments so that it might know its true nature and mount up to its celestial home[5]). Manichaeism, like Gnosticism before it, rejected any alternative cosmology, particularly the Jewish and Christian cosmology and cosmogony as told in Genesis and referred to elsewhere in scripture and haggadah[6]). Although Augustine fell in with a group of particularly

[5]) BROWN, *Augustine*, 40-45; Anne-Marie MALINGREY, *Philosophia. Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grècque des Présocratiques au IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris, 1961); Solignac, 86.

[6]) These themes may be traced in the work of FESTUGIÈRE, PUECH, A. H. ARMSTRONG, Georges VAJDA, and others. Much of it is cited in my study, "What Was God Doing Before He Created the Heavens and he Earth?" cited below n. 22.

intellectualist Manichaeans, his story is not a warning simply to any bright young man with a yearning for philosophical wisdom. For Augustine regarded his conquest by the Manichaeans as something to which he was particularly vulnerable precisely at the moment he met them. The encounter, and the beginning of the Manichaean theme that extends through Books Three, Four and Five, does not occupy a separate book, but takes up the second part of a book that details at its outset a notably distinctive and personal set of experiences, from Augustine's return to Carthage to his fascination with the *eversores*. In Augustine's mind the two episodes are connected. The conversion to *philosophia* and the prophecies at the end of the book punctuate, but do not dissolve the unity of conscience and the powerful and accusatory sense of self that works in the book from beginning to end. It remains to determine exactly what kind of conscience and sense of self that Augustine regarded himself as having brought, first to the conversion, and then to the Manichaeans.

A close reading of Book III. 1-2 reveals that it is not only the sins of lust, voyeurism, and academic pride that Augustine confesses, but his own psychological preparedness for and enjoyment of them. Anticipating the later sections, III. 1 begins with a description of the young Augustine searching madly and unsatisfactorily for love, as he was later to search for *philosophia*. Dreams of love, "fables and fictions", and the illusions of the theater reveal a young man who is guilty not simply of lust and voyeurism, but one who is attracted to these expressions of sin because of a particular personality history that finds these as the natural and adequate expressions of its fault. The fault, in III. 3, is *sacrilega curiositas*, a vice, I will argue, that Augustine regards as especially characteristic of his own moral condition, not to the exclusion of pride and *concupiscentia carnis*, but in his own case as an organizing and dominant vice, linking his student rioting with his inability to understand scripture and finally with his fascination for and vulnerability toward the fables of the Manichaeans.

Augustine's concept of *curiositas* is the subject of a respectable literature. He was, in fact, the third Latin writer, after Apuleius and Tertullian, to make extensive use of the term[7]). Arguments deriving

[7]) H.-I. MARROU, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938), 148-57, 277-80, 350-52; Hans BLUMENBERG, "Augustins Anteil an der Geschichte des Begriffs der theoretischen Neugierde", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 7 (1961), 35-70; idem, "*Curiositas* und *veritas*. Zur Ideengeschichte von Augustin, *Confessiones* X. 35", *Studia*

Augustine's concept and usage of the term from either or both of his fellow North African writers (whose work he knew) have not, however, been uniformly persuasive. Moreover, most Augustinian scholarship focuses upon Augustine's use of the term in *Confessions* V. 3, where he finally condemns Manichaean cosmological speculations as well as pagan astronomy generally, and X. 35, where Augustine emphatically links *curiositas* with *concupiscentia carnis* and *superbia vitae* as the three great sins catalogued in 1 John 2. 16. The extensive scholarship of Hans Blumenberg on the subject has focused chiefly upon Augustine's condemnation of astrological and astronomical speculation, and although Heiko Oberman has emphasized the individual moral dimension of *curiositas* in Augustine and his relation in this to earlier Christian writers, Greek and Latin, few writers on the Augustinian sense of *curiositas*, except for the purpose or cataloguing Augustine's usage of the term, have considered *Confessions* III. 3 and III. 6[8]).

As I hope to argue elsewhere, Augustine's usage of *curiositas* from its first occurence in the *De musica* (VI. 13. 39) to the passages concerning his own youth in the *Confessions* are specialized and personal. They may derive somewhat from Apuleius and Tertullian (particularly the former), but in these early works, particularly those written about the Manichaean period during the Neoplatonist period, *curiositas* is not yet the broad vice that it becomes in later Augustinian and general Christian usage. The later bishop deals with the term as a category of moral theology and describes it in ways that are applicable to Christians generally. But not all, nor most Christians will be as vulnerable to the vice as was the young Augustine. The spiritual autobiographer is specific and individual; he knows himself as he was, and the keys to his own soul.

From the end of *Confessions* V, Augustine is guided, first by the example of Monica and then by the example and preaching of Ambrose,

Patristica 6 (1962), 294-302; Pierre COURCELLE, *Les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition litteraire* (Paris, 1963), 101-109; Hans BLUMENBERG, *Die Legitimität der Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1966), Part III; idem, *Der Prozess der theoretischen Neugierde* (Berlin, 1973), Heiko Augustinus OBERMAN, *Contra vanam curiositatem* (Zurich, 1973). André LABHARDT, "*Curiositas*. Notes sur l'histoire d'un mot et d'une notion", *Museum Helveticum* (1960), 206-224, is a catalogue rather than an analysis. R. JOLY, Curiositas, *L'Antiquité Classique* 30 (1961), 33-44. H. J. METTE, Curiositas, *Festschrift Bruno Snell*, München, 1956, 227-235. And see below, n. 18.

[8]) An exception in this regard is Robert J. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, A.D. 286-391* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 146-183. Cf. COURCELLE, *Les Confessions*, 100-109.

further and further away from his Manichaean sympathies, from which he had originally begun to be dislodged by his own intellectual abilities, critical intelligence, and conscience. Although he confessed to a tendency toward *curiositas* at later periods in his life, that *curiositas* is treated more as a tendency towards distraction and thoughtless preoccupation, a somewhat generalized intrusion of the senses upon the mind[9]). Thus, Augustine seems to be essentially freed from the most personal and destructive consequences of the vice when he is freed from the Manichaeans. The *curiositas* peculiar to the young Augustine is a dominant theme only during the nine years between his student days at Carthage and the drawn-out final years of the tiring hearer of the Manichaeans. *Curiositas* in III. 3-6 is not the later, generalized vice applicable to the Christian Everyman, but the unique state of mind and morals, sense impressions and intellect, of the young North African rhetorician and pupil of Manichaean *philosophia*.

The reluctance of some modern commentators on the *Confessions* to appreciate Augustine's sense of the character of his personal moral state in Book III has sometimes led to their underestimating his catalogue of sins in Carthage, just as it has sometimes led to an underestimation of his obsession with the theft of the pears. Augustine, according to these views, is confessing relatively trivial and routine actions of a privileged fourth-century student at Carthage, perhaps out of an overscrupulous converted conscience. But Augustine seems not to be confessing specific acts as much as he confesses his own psychological sympathies with the evils those acts represent. He is drawn to them because of his temperament. His temperament creates a particular attitude toward them, and that attitude and the ensuing vulnerability it creates is Augustine's concern.

Confessions III. 3. 5 contains Augustine's indictment of his actions described in the immediately preceding sections:

> *Et circumvolabat super me fidelis a longe misericordia tua. In quantas iniquitates distabut et sacrilega curiositate secutus sum, ut deserentem te deduceret me ad ima infida et circumventoria obsequia daemoniorum, quibus immolabam facta mea mala, et in omnibus flagellabas me.*

These are not new and otherwise unspecified sins, but the *curiositas* behind the lust, voyeurism, and academic pride that he has already

[9]) Cf. *Conf.* X. 35; BROWN, *Augustine*, 180.

recounted; these are his "sacrifices" to demons. Scholarly pride lies behind his rejection of scripture, and scholarly pride and hunger for *philosophia* (an ambivalent *curiositas*, both good and evil) make him prey to the *curiositas* of the Manichaeans.

These parts of *Confessions* III are, as Courcelle remarked, "*peu clair*". But several points ought to be remembered as one approaches them. First, as all Augustinian *curiositas* scholarship on *Confessions* V. 3 and X. 35 agrees, both the separation from Manicheism, and the later conviction of the importance of 1 John 2. 16 are associated particularly with the kind of errors Manichaeans make. It is not, given Augustine's style and method, unlikely, then, that the beginning of his association with Manicheism will also deal with *curiositas* and that *curiositas* is a personal link between the sins of Carthage in the academy and those with the Manichaeans. Indeed, *Confessions* III. 8. 16 already explicitly remarks the triadic sin of 1 John:

> *Haec sunt capita iniquitatis, quae pullulant principandi et spectandi et sentiendi libidine aut una aut duabus earum aut simul omnibus, et vivitur male adversus tria et septem, ...*[10])

With these suggestions in mind, and the reference to 1 John 2. 16 already clearly set out in Book III, we may approach III. 6 with an eye to both *curiositas* and the problem of Genesis.

Augustine, on the proper track of *philosophia* and Jesus, failed to find wisdom in Scripture, because:

> *tumor meus refugiebat modum eius et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius.*

Pride as a scholar and rhetorician and intellectual inadequacy combined to deflect Augustine from the proper search for truth. For Scripture did not open itself to the wisdom of the world, which Augustine had applied to it, and it concealed deep truths and veiled mysteries behind apparent rough texture and simple narrative. Thus the Manichaeans became the perfect guides for such a personality, driven by *bona curiositas* and misled by *mala curiositas*. The pride of the scholar is indeed *superbia*, but it does not necessarily lead to the worst or most characteristic forms of *superbia vitae*, the *libido dominandi* or *principandi* of the political man. Nor is the

[10]) Evidence elsewhere in Book III is noted in R. J. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Confessions: The Odyssey of a Soul* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) 51 f.

scholar's lust simply for the flesh of others. In the academic *curiosus* these become subordinated to that one of the three great vices that most effectively enables them to injure the soul, *curiositas*, the lust for and pride in knowledge that points to nothing beyond itself, the desire vicariously to experience not merely the flesh, but the emotions of others, real or imagined, desirous of learning the secrets of the universe and the soul but improperly equipped and disciplined for learning that for which pride and lust drive him on. Such was Augustine when he met the Manichaeans[11]).

Arthur Darby Nock pointed out some years ago the interest that gnostics and Manichaeans took, precisely in those parts of scripture which Jewish scholarship had reserved for the study only of those with mature minds[12]). The opening verses of Genesis, the vision of Ezekiel, and other strategic parts of the Old Testament were not to be discussed before the uninitiated or immature. For these, one required age and experience. But these were often the very first targets of gnostic and later Manichaean exegesis. Irenaeus and Tertullian had cautioned both Christians and heretics to avoid putting questions to certain parts of scripture and, in the case of Irenaeus, to leave certain questions to God which someday, perhaps, He may see fit to divulge to humans in another state, "so that God may everlastingly teach, and men may everlastingly learn"[13]). Augustine's own lament in *Confessions* III. 7-9 is precisely over his own intellectual and spiritual incapacity to perceive the Manichaeans' presumptuous and erroneous treatment of these difficult questions and texts.

Augustine's first observation about the Manichaeans concerns their proud and carnal talkativeness. The snares of the devil were in their mouths, and although they mixed the syllables of the names of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, these were merely mixings of sounds from their mouths, not sentiments from their hearts. They spoke of Truth, but truth was not in them, merely a word in their many and clever books. Here Augustine, the proud rhetorician, hears his own unredeemed

[11]) SOLIGNAC, Introduction, 126-8.

[12]) Arthur Darby NOCK, "Gnosticism", in NOCK, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Zeph STEWART, Vol. II (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 947-8.

[13]) IRENAEUS, *Adv. Haer* II. 28. 2. See W. C. VAN UNNIK, "Theological Speculation and Its Limits", in William R. SCHOEDEL and Robert L. WILKEN, eds., *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition in Honorem Robert L. Grant* (Paris, 1979), 33-44; and Jean DANIÉLOU, "Recherche et tradition chez les pères", *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975), 3-13.

language, in Colish's phrase, echoed in the equally fallen language of the Manichaeans[14]). And he is seduced by the latter, as he had taken improper pride in the former.

The rest of *Confessions* III. 6 describes the further illusions of Manichaean teaching. They tell Augustine of the Creator and the first principles of creation. Their false language taught Augustine Manichaean cosmology, "the sun and moon, great works of yours, but not you, not even the greatest of your works". The sun and moon of the Manichaeans are compared to false food that does not satisfy the real hunger of the starving man. The images of sun and moon, celestial lights, false food, and perverted language all suggest that the III. 6 recounts Manichaean challenges to Genesis' account of creation and cosmology.

Augustine then applies to himself the image of the prodigal son in Luke 16, who desired even the *siliquae porcorum* which swineherds fed to the pigs, a reference which, as Bernhard Blumenkranz long ago showed, was consistently interpreted as profane learning in both Jewish and Christian haggadah[15]). Augustine twists the reference, for he states that he was not even able to eat the *siliquae*. That is, to believe the fables and

[14]) Marcia L. COLISH, *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge* (New Haven, 1968), 24-82.

[15]) Exegetical criticism of worldly learning has been traced by Bernhard BLUMENKRANZ, "*Siliquae porcorum* (cf. Luc, XV, 16). L'Exégèse mediévale et les sciences profanes", *Mélanges ... Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), 11-17. Blumenkranz traces the early medieval exegesis on Luke's story of the prodigal son's wishing that he could have even the slops that a man fed his pigs in terms of the Fathers' and later commentators' understanding of the *siliquae* as signifying profane learning. Ambrose, offering *inanis philosophia* as one possible interpretation of the text (gluttony being the other), probably derived this suggestion from Origen. Origen may have inspired Jerome as well, although Blumenkranz suggests that one of Jerome's Jewish Hebrew teachers my have suggested a Talmudic text to illustrate the significance. Other Talmudic discussions of this theme are in I. EPSTEIN, ed., *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Mo'ed.* Vol. IV (London, 1938): *Hagigah*, trans. I. Abrahams, pp. 59-104. Chapter II of the *Hagigah* is an important commentary on Jewish theories of esoteric learning and its place in Talmudic study. The Mishnah states that "Whosoever speculates upon four things, a pity for him | He is as though he had not come into the world. [to wit] what is above, what is beneath, what before, what after. And whosoever takes no thought for the honour of his maker, it were a mercy if he had not come into the world". The defense of esoteric knowledge in this text is emphasized by its citation (infrequent in the Talmudic literature although popular generally) of Ecclus. 3. 21-22: "Seek not things that have been permitted thee, think thereupon; thou hast no business with the things that are secret". (p. 73). I am grateful to Michael PANITZ of the Jewish Theological Seminary for discussion of this reference. On food imagery in the *Confessions*, see Leo C. FERRARI, "The 'Food of Truth' in Augustine's *Confessions*", *Augustinian Studies* 9 (1978), 1-14.

lies of the pagan writers would have been had enough, but he did not believe these. But the fables of the Manichaeans he did believe.

Augustine's blindness in *Confessions* III. 6-7 is not simply the result of intellectual unpreparedness. After all, he had penetrated to the great message of Cicero's *Hortensius* through the routine rhetorical expectations he and others brought to it. He pointedly contrasts his scepticism toward the literary fables of the poets with his succumbing to the fables of the Manichaeans. He avoided the trap, pointed out by both Cicero and St. Paul, of falling into step with one another philosophical school, and he aims directly at *philosophia* itself. These were considerable intellectual achievements in the fourth century, as they would have been in the first. Augustine's *acies* was sufficient to prevent him from falling into quite common intellectual traps, but it was not sufficient to open the veiled mysteries of Scripture to him, and this particular failure made him the prey of Manichaeans. It was a particular quality of Augustine's mind and spirit, not its intellectual incapacity, that led to his errors in III. 6-7[16]).

In Books IV and V there is more of this. In IV. 2, Augustine rejects the advances of a sorcerer who offered him success in a rhetorical competition. In IV. 3 he flirted with astrology and *sortes*, but he was advised by a friendly physician to avoid the errors of astrology and did. In IV. 16, unlike others who merely praise it, Augustine read and digested Aristotle's *Categories*, as he also read and easily understood other works on rhetoric, logic, geometry, music, and mathematics[17]). These last works may have been the "scientific books" which Augustine notes that he had read and later brought to bear in his encounter with Faustus (V. 3). The authors of these works did not know God, and, in an echo of Tertullian, became obsessed with the works of the Creator rather than adoring the Creator Himself[18]). And yet, even these books of the *curiosi* could easily overcome the smooth, but utterly unlearned doctrines of Faustus (III. 7.)[19]). Finally, just before his encounter with Ambrose

[16]) SOLIGNAC, Introduction, 85-93.

[17]) Ibid. 166-67.

[18]) TERTULLIAN, *Ad nat.* II. 4. 19. The most extensive discussion of Tertullian's use of the term is that of Jean-Claude FREDOUILLE, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris, 1972), 412-442. Fredouille, however, focuses somewhat too narrowly upon Tertullian's use of *curiositas* exclusively as a criticism of polymathy.

[19]) It should be noted that Augustine appreciates the scholarly accuracy of his sources and their intellectual competence, which was superior to that of the Manichaeans. His criticism is therefore not of learning itself, but learning detached from the ultimate

(V. 13–14: deftly introduced as a repetition of Augustine's initial encounter with Faustus), Augustine is moved further from Manicheism by his interest in Academic scepticism and by the dexterity of his friend Elpidius in attacking Manichaean scriptural exegesis. Throughout the experiences described in Books III-V, Augustine's intellectual astuteness brings him rewards and recognition: teaching in Carthage, the move to Rome, and the call to Milan. These constitute an external recognition of the intellectual skills which were not only not dulled, but actually developed (and emphasized in the *Confessions*) during the period of his Manichaean sympathies.

Augustine's wits are sufficiently sharp and his learning sufficiently broad to achieve success in a world with both very high critical standards and very many intellectual and spiritual traps. These are no small attributes, even though they prevented Augustine from accepting the teachings of Ambrose (VI. 4) at first, because, although Ambrose indeed lifted the *velamentum* from Scripture (cf. *velata mysteriis*, III. 5), Augustine could not then accept a new criterion for *certitudo*, and his perplexity became more intense. In the course of Book VI, however, the Manichaean period is over, and the sceptical period is waning. We must now turn back to the problem of Manichaean *curiositas*.

Book III. 6, when set against the problems that Augustine says the Manichaeans claimed to "solve", says nothing about the two genealogies of Christ, the anthropomorphic representation of the deity, the sins of the patriarchs, or the two natures of Christ, although, to be sure, these are considered elsewhere in the anti-Manichaean writings[20]). It does, however, describe and criticize in figurative language some aspects of Manichaean cosmology, introduced by the reference to Manichaean teaching *de te ... sed etiam de istis elementis mundi, creatura tua*. Out of their *libris multis et ingentibus*, the dishes out of which false food was served, the Manichaeans offered Augustine accounts of the sun and the moon, *pulchra opera tua, sed tamen opera tua, non tu, nec ipsa prima*.

Since Schmidt's discovery of the *Kephalaia* of Mani in 1930, much of Augustine's frame of reference in III. 6 can be understood more clearly[21]). The pre- and creation-narrative of the Manichaeans was the

purpose of learning. This is the substance of his attacks upon the *curiosi* in V. 3. Like the Romans and the earthly city, these thinkers have their value, but it is of a different order from that seeking which leads to salvation.

[20]) Above, n. 2.

[21]) There is a large bibliography on the subject, from John P. MAHER, *Saint*

foundation of their dualistic beliefs and must have been asserted, as Gnostic precreation scenarios also were, against the creation narrative of Genesis and the precreation scenarios contained in Midrash[22]). The sun and the moon are the outposts of the kingdom of light, created as a result of the first great battle between representatives of light and darkness, out-posts to be explained and revered by those aware of the particles of divinity in themselves and of the evil nature of the dark bodies in which those particles were entombed.

These, then, are the *phantasmata splendida*, the *fabula longa et vana*, the Manichaean alternative to the Genesis creation narrative. Here, for the first time, Augustine encountered Genesis through the eyes of its Manichaean opponents. It is the occasion of his fall away from the road to truth and already points toward the redemptive exegesis in the last three books of the *Confessions*.

All of this error, and in III. 6 it seems to be the error of Manichaean anti-Genesis polemic, Augustine says, came from his improper carnal use of senses given to all humans by God. The use of the intellect, by which God intended humans to be superior to beasts, was distorted by the senses. This is Augustine's essential definition of *curiositas*.

At the end of III. 6, Augustine offers a striking image that draws together these earlier themes and images:

> *Offendi illam mulierem audacem, inopem prudentiae aenigma Salomonis, sedentem super sellam in foribus et dicentem,* panes occultos libenter edite, et aquam dulcem furtivam bibite, *quae me seduxit quia invenit foris habitantem in oculo carnis meae et talia ruminantem apud me, qualia per illum vorassem.*

Augustine's Defense of the Hexaemeron against the Manichaeans (Rome-St. Meinrad, Ind., 1946), and H.-Ch. PUECH, *Le Manichéisme* (Paris, 1949), to François DECRET, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV-V siècles). Étude historique et doctrinale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1978), esp. I, 239-352.

[22]) I have considered this topic in much greater detail in my study "What Was God Doing Before He Created the Heavens and the Earth?" *Augustiniana* 34 (1984), 53-74. To the Augustinian texts cited in that study, I must now add a reference to *Contra Adversarium legis et prophetarum libri duo*, PL 42, 603-666. This work refutes the arguments of a book that Augustine found, *concurrentibus turbis periculosa curiositate et delectatione legeretur*. The work attacks Genesis, not only, "as do the Manichaeans", merely the law and the prophets, but in its doctrine of *Deum mundi fabricatorem*. In I. 2. 2 Augustine notes: *Quaerit ergo*: Quo principio? eiusne quo idem Deus esse coepit, an ex eo quo illum esse vacuum taeduit? *Cui respondetur, quia nec Deus esse coepit, nec eum vacationis suae taeduit, qui neque aliquando non fuit, nec cessando torpuit, nec operando laboravit: nec sine coelo sedis indiquit, nec facto coelo sedem tanquam finitis erroribus peregrinus invenit*. Augustine seems to suggest that the work may be of Marcionite origin. I am grateful to James J. O'Donnell for providing me with this reference.

The text is a pericope of Prov. 9, 13-18 (cf. Prov. 7. 24-7):

> A foolish woman, clamorous and full of allurements and knowing nothing at all, sat in the door of her house upon a seat, in the high place of the city, to call to them who pass on the way and go about their own business. "He that is a little one, let him turn to me", and to the fool she said, "Stolen waters are sweeter, and hidden bread is more pleasant". And he did not know that the dead are there, and that her guests are in the depths of Hell.

In the Hebrew text, the woman is Folly herself, the opposite of Wisdom, whose house, banquet and invitation to eat and drink so as to overcome ignorance are described in the parallel text in Prov. 9. 1-6. The *Aenigma Salomonis*, then, would seem to be for Augustine, as it had been for the writers of Proverbs, Dame Folly personified.

But *Confessions* III. 6 is not Augustine's only usage of the reference[23]). In the *De Gen. contra Man.* II. 27. 41, Augustine refers to the false food that is the *fallacia haereticorum* and then explains the reference to Proverbs 9:

> Haereticorum quippe superba et curiosa cupiditas in libro Proverbiorum clamat sub mulieribus imagine et dicit: *Qui stultus est, divertat ad me ...*

Elsewhere he mentions *fallax doctrina imagine sedens mulier*[24]). In the *Tractatus* 97 on the Gospel of John, the woman represents the *vanitas impiorum*, as La Bonnardière suggests, the followers of magicians. *Aenigma* was a technical term in Greek and Latin, associated with other terms designating riddle, parable, allegory, and mystery[25]). In scripture, it was a technique particularly associated with Solomon, especially in Ecclus. 47. 17 and III Kings 10. 1-10. *Confessions* III 6 uses this kind of

[23]) See the references in A. M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Biblia Augustiniana. A. T. Le Libre de Proverbes* (Paris, 1975), 51-54.

[24]) Ibid. 52. Cf. *Tract. in ep. Ioh.* II. 13.

[25]) T I. 985-7, s.v. *aenigma*, citing particularly *QUINTILIAN, Inst.* 8.6. 52: *allegoriae ... obscurior*; TERTULLIAN, *Scorp.* 11: *ut allegoriae, ut parabolae, ut aenigmata.* For general late antique use, see Jean PÉPIN, *Mythe et allégorie* (Paris, 1976). The pejorative sense of Quintilian, or the neutral classical usages were perhaps modified by the famous use of the term in the Greek text of 1 Cor. 13. 12. Augustine's usage of the term is much wider than the L'Enfant concordance suggests. Until the full Augustine concordance appears from Eindhoven, consult particular recent concordances to individual works. For later use of these images, see the studies collected in Edouard JEAUNEAU, *'Lectio philosophorum' Recherches sur l'École de Chartres* (Amsterdam, 1973), and Peter DRONKE, *Fabula: Exploration into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden-Cologne, 1974), 32-47.

terminology more than once. Failing to understand that scripture is "veiled in mysteries", *velatam mysteriis*, Augustine succumbs to the *fabulae* of the Manichaeans, and finally becomes the prey of the *Aenigma Salomonis*. Not until his encounter with Ambrose (VI. 4) will Augustine see the *velamentum* lifted from scripture. To those whose intellect is distorted by the senses, who seek to pierce mysteries with the *oculus carnis* rather than the *oculus mentis*, the world will always be full of deceptive mysteries, veils, fables, and myths[26]).

The *Aenigma Salomonis* calls up images of unschooled childhood, foolishness, and deceptive, illusory food — *panis absconditus et aquae furtivae* — which exclude the seeker after wisdom from the banquet which Wisdom has prepared in Prov. 9. 1-6 and are associated with the Manichaean "carnal" approach to the mysteries of creation. Augustine had used such imagery elsewhere. In the *De musica* (VI. 13. 39) his first use of the term *curiositas* associates it with the process by which the soul turns away from eternal things out of love for *vanissima cognitio* and turns to sensual things. In the *De Gen. c. Man.* (II. 17-26 — II., 18. 30) he associates *curiositas* which God's curse upon the serpent, that it shall crawl on breast and belly and eat earth, "for whoever eats earth penetrates into profound and shadowy things, temporal and earthly". In *De vera rel.* (III. 4) Augustine addresses to the *curiosi* the words of 2 Cor. 4. 18:

> Seek not after those things which are seen, but after those which are not seen. For those which are seen are temporal, and those which are not seen are eternal.

Although it is not possible to demonstrate it here, this early and specialized usage of *curiositas* may be closely related to Augustine's Neoplatonic readings, particularly Neoplatonic explanations for the falling away, descent, and separation from the One, a topic very close to the center of Plotinus' conflict with gnosticism. The Greek terms applied to those souls who turn to the sensual world — *tolma*, *periergia*, *polupragmosune* — each convey a combination of pride, audacity, and inquisitiveness that their Latin equivalents — *superbia*, *audacia*, and *curiositas* — usually do not[27]).

[26]) On this distinction, see, most recently, Karl F. MORRISON, "'From Form into Form': Mimesis and Personality in Augustine's Historical Thought", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 124 (1980), 276-294, at 281.

[27]) See O'CONNELL, *Early Theory of Man*, 146-83.

Since Augustine's other usages of the figure of the *Aenigma Salomonis* identity her, not as Folly, but sometimes as the error of heretics, *fallax doctrina*, and the *vanitas impiorum*, his citation of the figure in *Confessions* III. 6 suggests a somewhat more specialized meaning than personified Folly. From Apuleius to Tertullian, *curiositas* had been associated with magic and heresy. Earlier, Augustine had accused himself of *curiositas* during his student days, and *curiositas* had entangled him with Manichaean fables and myths. Summing up his youthful and then his Manichaean errors, Augustine evokes the image of the *aenigma* in Prov. 9, I suggest, as *curiosa cupiditas*, *concupiscentia oculorum*, *curiositas*, diverting those who mind their own business (a traditional sign of *periergia* and *polupragmosune* in Greek), promising wisdom to the unlearned, offering a banquet of false food, and sitting at the doorway, not of the seven-pillared mansion, but of the house of death. Augustine, after Plutarch and Apuleius, thus contributed a striking image to the early iconography of *curiositas*[28]).

This vice, developed during his student days at Carthage, strengthened and redirected in his search for *philosophia* and his presumptuous misreading of scripture, led him straight into the maze of Manichaean fables, from which he was to take nine years to extricate himself. In the concept of *curiositas*, which had a longer Greek than Latin history and possessed no consistent meaning or importance to most of the Latin Fathers after Tertullian, certainly not to Arnobius, Lactantius, or Ambrose, Augustine found one of the keys to his great dilemma, the condition and character of his mind and life before the conversion in Milan[29]). It served him well. It also served him uniquely, because his later treatment of the vice broadened its senses so as to make it applicable to more aspects of Christian life than simply his own experience. From some of his later works, and particularly from the thought of John Cassian, *curiositas* entered the vocabulary of monastic

[28]) Interesting use of the image has been made by Richard KAY, *Dante's Swift and Strong* (Lawrence, Kan., 1978), 300-306. For APULEIUS, see the *Metamorphoses*; for PLUTARCH, *Moralia* 515B-523B. There is a large literature on both works; see the study of LABHARDT (above, n. 7), and more recently, J. L. PENWILL, "Slavish Pleasures and Profitless Curiosity: Fall and Redemption in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*", *Ramus* 4 (1975), 49-82.

[29]) ARNOBIUS, *Adv. Nat.* II. 57. 17; AMBROSE, *De Int. Iob et David* I. 9. 28 f. Cf. G. MADEC, *Saint Ambroise et la philosophie* (Paris, 1974), 177-246, esp. 181-2. In a work in progress, Richard NEWHAUSER and I will survey the history of the idea and term *curiositas* from its Greek origins to the nineteenth century.

psychology, where it generally remained until the theology of St. Anselm and the new intellectual circumstances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries restored to it some of its earlier Augustinian features[30]).

Augustine was a careful and systematic writer. Looking back from the time of writing the *Confessions*, after the years of thinking about the life they described, he perceived to his own satisfaction what had happened to him and why his life had taken the shape it had. Illusion, deception, fable, and myth were the early lot of one who was unprepared, uninstructed, and possessed of a proud and concupiscent spirit. And this lot was introduced, not only by the particular qualities of his riotous living at Carthage, but by the traps of the Manichaeans, by their theodicy in III. 7, but most dramatically and crucially in their cosmogony and cosmology in III. 6. The young man who failed to perceive the veil of scripture was trapped in yet other veils. At the end of his Manichaean period Augustine could freely accuse himself and the Manichaeans of *curiositas*, not merely because of excessive attention to learning about the created world and not about its creator, but more profoundly, in that combination of ignorance, willfulness, and desire that necessarily prevents the soul from approaching God.

At the end of the *Confessions*, the exposition of the opening verses of Genesis testified to the redemption of this part of his life. Genesis became clearly the great door to Christian belief and, as it had been for Philo, the beginning of wisdom[31]). To repair the errors about Genesis that Augustine and the Manichaeans had made in *Confessions* III. 6, the first chapter of Genesis and its proper exposition had perhaps become a credo, or rule of faith, particularly important in the case of a former hearer of the Manichaeans whose first recorded contact with them had led directly into a sympathy for their false and "carnal" anti-Genesis polemic and their substitute cosmogony. For the Christian Augustine, scripture was "the countenance of God", and when, in the *De Trinitate*, Augustine urged his readers with him to "enter the path of charity, in search of Him of whom it is said: *Seek His face evermore*", both seeking and the countenance were intended to be conducted and understood in

[30]) See Richard NEWHAUSER, "Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase", *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift* 56 (1982), 559-575.

[31]) PHILO, *De opif. mundi.* 54; Pierre GEOLTRAIN, "Quelques lectures juives et chrétiennes des premiers versets de la Genèse, de Quomran au Nouveau Testament", in *In principio. Interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse*, Centre d'Études des religions du livre (Paris, 1973), 47-60.

terms of the proper exposition and understanding of scripture, the place where God's countenance was to be found, but with the *oculus mentis*, not the *oculus carnis*[32]). *Curiositas* had blocked that door once for Augustine, and no earthly sciences had been able to open it. For they too, unless conducted in the right spirit, were also manifestations of *curiositas*. Like the earthly city, their knowledge pointed to nothing beyond itself. Setting out in search of Wisdom, indeed, invited by Cicero and St. Paul to her banquet and house built upon seven pillars, Augustine had mistaken for her the *aenigma Salomonis* and had mistaken the book of Genesis for a rough and offensive account of ignorance. Following the prophecies and vision at the end of Book III, the remainder of the *Confessions* is an account of how long and complex was the journey to the house of Wisdom and how far from the right road Augustine, misled by *curiositas*, had originally wandered.

Edward Peters
University of Pennsylvania

[32]) Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 162, 262-3, 270-80.

The Augustine Screen in Carlisle Cathedral*)

This is one of four painted screens[1]) erected in the cathedral church in the late fifteenth century, when it was still occupied by Augustinian canons regular. These screens are happily preserved, among the few such objects to have survived the iconoclasm of the succeeding age. The only exact dating possible to assign to them is that of the episcopate of Richard Bell, at one time Benedictine prior of Durham and then bishop of Carlisle, 1478-1495[2]). It has been conclusively shown[3]) that some of the pictures on another screen, with the life of Cuthbert, were taken from a manuscript, then in the Durham monastic library and loaned, surely at Bell's instance, to Carlisle for this purpose, which is now British Library Additional 39943. Some have thought a narrower dating possible, that a 'T.G.' monogram can be discerned in the whorled layers of faded pink paint, now only faintly differentiated in colour, which contribute a vaguely floral pattern to the damascened background of the Augustine screen's Scene 17, 'A diabolical apparition', and that this might record that the screen was executed during the priorate, elsewhere commemorated by such a monogram, 1484-1507, of Thomas Gondibour[4]); but most observers will find this imaginative effort beyond their powers. E.W. Tristram, who cleaned and repaired the screens, is quoted by Bertram Colgrave[5]) as having seen in them the work of two artists, one, the painter of the Augustine and Cuthbert screens, 'quite highly skilled in

*) A recent publication is Edmund Colledge: 'Caxton's Addition to the "Legenda sancti Augustini"' (*Augustiniana* 34, 1984, pp. 198-212), where I have recorded my obligations, among others, to the British Academy, the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle, and Mr. Guy Pawle, for his photography. I am especially grateful to the Dean, the Very Revd J.H. Churchill, for his expert counsel on the order followed by the screen's pictures.

[1]) For the others, see 'Caxton's Addition', pp. 198-199.

[2]) Robert T. HOLTBY: *Carlisle Cathedral* (London, 1972), p. 15.

[3]) Bertram Colgrave: 'The St. Cuthbert Paintings on the Carlisle Cathedral Stalls' (*The Burlington Magazine* 23, 1938, pp. 17-19).

[4]) The originator of this mare's nest was a knowledgeable Carlisle layman, Charles PURDAY, author of a pamphlet, printed locally in 1859, *Architecture of Carlisle Cathedral*. When Canon C.G.V. HARCOURT was preparing his work, *Legends of St. Augustine, St. Anthony and St. Cuthbert* (Carlisle, 1868), he appealed to Purday for advice on their date, and this is what he was given.

[5]) 'The St. Cuthbert Paintings', p. 17.

this class of decorative painting', the other, 'the poorer and coarser craftsman', responsible for the Anthony screen, to whom Tristram also attributed, more dubiously, the apostles screen[6]). Since the present writer is familiar only with the Augustine screen, he cannot comment on this; but it seems that one man alone copied the captions for all three saints — but not for the apostles — and that these captions must have been composed locally, after the scheme for each screen had been planned. There can be little doubt that the subject-matter and the inscriptions of the Augustine pictures derive from James of Voragine's immensely popular Latin collection, the *Legenda Aurea*[7]); but the further probability that they were produced after the publication, c. 1485, of William Caxton's English translation of the 'Legend'[8]) cannot be proved, and so must be advanced only tentatively.

It will be seen[9]) that the Augustine screen is no longer in the place for which it was designed. It is composed of six vertical strips, the first five containing each four pictures with their accompanying texts; but the sixth has only two such scenes, leaving an upper space blank except for a crude geometrical pattern, so that the rest, and a small portion at the top of the fifth strip, could remain unpainted. Evidently this was because these areas would be covered by a masking arch which can no longer be identified in the surviving structure of the choir.

The screen showing the apostles is executed with a certain professional skill, and, Tristram's opinion notwithstanding, it may have originated in some atelier where such studies were regularly produced; but the other three — at least, in this writer's view — are the work of a different man, who cannot be rated higher than a not incompetent journeyman. Whether he was employed full-time on such enterprises we cannot know; but the ease and correctness with which the verse couplets and the Latin tags, suspensions and all, are copied, and the deftness with which they are made to fit into the total design of each picture suggest that the same artist made both images and inscriptions, and that he may have been a scribe, with talent for illustrating his work, such as we often encounter in the fifteenth century[10]).

[6]) HOLTBY — see note 2 — p. 17.

[7]) COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' —ssee note 1 — pp. 198-208.

[8]) *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[9]) 'Augustine screen: overall view'.

[10]) See Edmund COLLEDGE and J.C. MARLER: '"Mystical" Pictures in the Suso "Exemplar"; MS Strasbourg 2929' (*Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 54, 1984, pp. 293-

A striking feature of these three screens is the arrangement of pictures of single events in sequences. This technique has become what is known colloquially as the 'comic strip'; and David Kunzle[11]) has provided a wealth of illustration of how it was used. He takes his earliest examples from fifteenth-century block-books, and then from the first made with moveable type. Discussing the genre, he isolates, as its essential features, 'a sequence of images', the 'preponderance of image over text', 'a mass medium' and 'topical moral narrative'.

Had Kunzle investigated even older art-forms, he could have found some of the same characteristics. Walter Cahn[12]) has shown such pictures arranged in strips in 'Scenes with Samuel and Saul' which he calls 'the oldest Bible illustrations of Christian origin thus far discovered'. Margaret Rickert[13]) has examples of single episodes in pictures arranged sequentially in a variety of illustrated mediaeval English Bibles; and her first instance is the sixth or seventh-century 'Gospels of St. Augustine' which originated, if not in Italy, then at Canterbury[14]). It is true that such costly volumes cannot be classed as 'mass media', but with this exception Kunzle's criteria apply. Margaret Rickert, it should be noted, believed that in this style of illustration 'the possible influence of early Christian or Carolingian wall-painting' could be traced[15]).

In many later mediaeval manuscripts such sequences of illustrations have been preserved[16]); and numerous reproductions in Kunzle show broadsheets containing 'topical moral narratives', with each event in the story given one picture in a series. His sixth chapter, 'Private Crime. Public Execution', is a lavish catalogue; and one should observe

354), and the literature we cite there, especially Francis WORMALD: 'Some popular Miniatures and their rich Relations' (*Miscellanea pro Arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres*, Düsseldorf 1965, pp. 279-285) and Rosemary WOOLF's account, in *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), of MS British Library Add. 37049.

[11]) *The Early Comic Strip* (*History of the Comic Strip* Volume I, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1973).

[12]) *Romanesque Bible Illustration* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1952), Plate 4, reproducing the 'Quedlinburg Itala', MS Berlin Staatsbibliothek theol. lat., f. 485, and p. 13.

[13]) *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages* (2nd edition, Harmondsworth, 1954).

[14]) Margaret RICKERT's authority is Francis WORMALD: *The Miniatures in St. Augustine's Gospels* (Cambridge, England, 1954).

[15]) P. 67.

[16]) Margaret RICKERT: *Painting in Britain*, Plates 67, A and B, 86; Malcolm BAKER: 'Medieval Illustrations of Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* (*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41, 1975, pp. 16-49.

particularly his Plate 6-18, a report of one such crime, printed at Prague in 1609, with a direction that the verses accompanying the pictures are to be sung 'to the tune "God help me to succeed"'. Here we have evidence of a form of public entertainment which, if it existed in the British Isles, seems not to have left any vestiges, but was practised in Germany by what were called the *Moritatsänger*, immortalized in Bertold Brecht's *Dreigroschenoper*, singers of ballads recounting (usually) gruesome deeds who will enhance their story by indicating with a pointer one after another in successions of lurid paintings depicting the events they are recounting in song.

A similar procedure, one believes, would account for the presentation of the pictures and captions of the three Carlisle screens; and in the best-preserved of them, the Augustine screen, we have the features described by Kunzle strikingly instanced.

It is probable that the artist, once commissioned by the Carlisle canons to paint Augustine's life, was given a pattern-book from which to copy the scenes. This book, of which there is now no known trace, seems to have been much older than the screen. It is certain that it was made under the supervision of the Augustinian canons regular, using as their literary source James of Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, and that the explanatory verses were composed in Northern England, it may be in the Carlisle house for which the screen was made.

The preparation of such pattern-books for painters to copy is well attested, and there survive two manuscripts with independent series of cyclical pictures of episodes in his life narrated by Augustine and others, and one other which contains Latin verses without illustrations but intended to serve as captions[17]). They display different chronological orders, although James Legrand's verses begin, as does the screen, with Augustine being brought to school[18]). That these copies were taken from older patterns is suggested, for the screen, by the fashion of the women's dress in Scenes 1 and 16, and also by the affinities of the landscapes in Scenes 6, 7 and 8 with the treatment in similar scenes from books of the fifteenth century. We can be sure that at least the immediate models for such scenes as 13 were designed to the requirements of the canons, since they show Augustine and his brethren vested in canons' choir-habit,

[17]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see note 1 — pp. 207-208.

[18]) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *Iconographie de saint Augustin: Les cycles du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1969), p. 17.

black *pellicea* and *almucia* with a white mantle[19]). One can be all but certain that the literary source of the pattern-book was the *Legenda Aurea*, which is the only work known to the present writer which can provide most incidents depicted and most texts quoted on the screen. That its English verses were composed in the north of England, or, at least, by someone speaking an English with some northern forms, is demonstrated by such distinctive variants as *banes*, *kyrk*, *tald*, *tothwark* and *tyll*, although they show that admixture of non-northern forms which is to be expected in most vernacular texts of the late fifteenth century.

In what follows, a photograph of each scene contained in the screen is reproduced; and these plates follow the screen's order, vertically from the uppermost picture of the left-hand strip. The English verses are transcribed (the letter 'thorn' being transliterated as 'th') and translated. The Latin inscriptions are given; and in both English and Latin, abbreviations are expanded silently. In the discussions, the most important and relevant literature is cited[20]).

Scene 1 Augustine is put to school.

Caption Her fader and moder of sanct Austyne
fyrst pvt hym her to lerne doctrine.

'Here St. Augustine's father and mother first brought him to school to acquire learning'.

Monica, leading a lagging Augustine by the hand, and Patrick, making to doff his cap, greet the master in the school porch. He holds a birch-rod as his symbol of office; and Patrick's age is suggested by the staff with which he walks, Augustine's status as a pupil is shown — unrealistically — by the bound volume secured with a clasp which he holds, rather than a mediaeval schoolboy's normal writing equipment, a waxed tablet.

Monica's dress is a serviceable ground length, and Patrick's tunic covers his calves. Yet Augustine and the master wear gowns trailing on the ground. Perhaps in Augustine's case this hints at the frugality of the

[19]) For our knowledge of a mediaeval canon's habit, see Scene 15 and notes.

[20]) In the footnotes, the following title-abbreviations are used: LCI *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Rome, Freiburg i.B., Basle and Vienna, 1968-1971); PL *Patrologiae latinae cursus completus* (Paris, 1879-).

family, who have left room for him to 'grow to' his new attire; but we may suppose that the schoolmaster is so shown to give an effect of importance. In one illuminated initial in an encyclopaedia of canon law, made c. 1340, probably in England, now in the British Library, an altercation is shown between distinctively-attired lawyers and knights; and the clerks have robes which more than cover their feet[21]). Both garments seem to be lined; and it has recently been observed that 'The word *fururata* ... which in French accounts usually means simply "lined", in English accounts definitely means "Lined with fur"'[22]).

In this scene and in Scene 3, Monica is dressed in the same style, though, since more than twenty years must have elapsed between Augustine's early school days and his departure for Rome, the artist should be given credit for his care in showing Monica in different costume, of another colour and with distinctive trimmings. In the later scene she also wears a long cloak lighter in shade than her dress. In this age painters were usually negligent in such matters, which is shown in Scene 16, where a woman surprises Augustine rapt in study. This story, probably apocryphal[23]), was told of him as a bishop, by which time he was at least forty-five years old; yet this suppliant woman is dressed in the same style as his mother in the two previous scenes, showing events possibly forty and twenty years earlier, with the exception that this woman has abandoned Monica's veil, as all but nuns were beginning to do in the fifteenth century[24]), and wears instead what seems to be a dark hood, covering her head and neck, over a linen coif.

Monica in Scenes 1 and 3 and the woman in Scene 16 are shown dressed in gowns — or, it may be, skirts without bodices — and over this in each case a 'cote-hardie' or super-tunic, which must have been pulled on over the head, since it is not shown buttoned as persons of fashion wore it. In Stella Mary Newton's informative study, she has a telling juxtaposition of a contemporary drawing of a lavishly-buttoned 'por-point', hip-length tunic worn by a knight, and a modern photograph of such a garment, its beautifully-made fastenings intact, probably worn by Charles of Blois, ob. 1364, claimant to the duchy of Britanny[25]).

[21]) Stella Mary NEWTON: *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1980, p. 70, Fig. b.

[22]) Id., p. 113.

[23]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see note 1 — p. 204.

[24]) James LAVER: *A Concise History of Costume* (London, 1969), p. 64.

[25]) *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* — see note 21 — Illustrations 39 and 40.

Monica's dresses have the hems trimmed, in Scene 1 with what is intended to represent 'miniver', in Scene 3 with what looks like piping of a lighter shade.

In the family group of Scene 1, the only hint of sartorial extravagance is in Patrick's long and narrow-toed shoes, 'crakows', as they were called. A Malmesbury chronicler, writing of the year 1362 and deploring degenerate fashions in clothing, wrote: 'They wear shoes shaped like birds' beaks which are known as «crakows», with points longer than a finger, that one would take for devils' talons rather than for any human adornment'[26]). It has been suggested that this name, and 'Poulaines', given to the pointed toes themselves, show that this new fashion in footwear was introduced in 1381-2, when Richard II's marriage with Anne of Bohemia was negotiated and celebrated; but it is evident that the style, and its name, had already been in use.

It is not remarkable that it is Patrick and not Monica who has been given this one trait of modishness. All that Augustine relates of his mother speaks of the strict moderation of her life; and it has been observed of the Middle Ages that 'Women, in general, were less extravagantly clad than men'[27]).

Neither need we be surprised that the artist of the Carlisle screen, working, we suppose, in the 1480s, recorded this fashion, which had been introduced into England more than a century before. He was almost certainly copying the pattern-book which had been given to him; and there are numerous features of the screen which suggest that there had been a considerable interval between the making of the patterns and their copying in the screen.

Since the subjects of state portraits and funerary monuments are most often shown attired in splendour, it is not to be wondered at that this screen's representations of humble lay attire cannot be paralleled with others which it is possible to date accurately. Their nearest relatives are to be found in the genre scenes of the marginalia of late mediaeval manuscripts. This has been liberally allowed for by Stella Mary Newton, who has a chapter, 'Livery and Dress of the Poor', in which one of her most frequent sources is the lively pictures of the Luttrell Psalter[28]), where we are shown women in a variety of agricultural and domestic

[26]) *Eulogium historiarum*, ed. F. S. Hayton (*Chronicles and Memorials*, 1863), p. 231.
[27]) *Concise History of Costume* — see note 24 — p. 70.
[28]) Ed. E. G. MILLAR, London, 1932.

occupations; but in almost every case they are depicted, unlike Monica, simply clad in long gowns, seldom with any indication that the skirt and bodice might have been made separately. It is impossible to decide whether this suggests that the artist has endowed Monica with attributes of prosperity greater than peasant women enjoyed, or if she is shown wearing a fashion introduced later than the mid-fourteenth century, to which the Luttrell Psalter is ascribed[29]).

That the schoolmaster is shown brandishing a birch-rod is a commonplace; and we find a close parallel to this entire scene in a window, which can be dated as of the fifteenth century though not more precisely[30]), in St. Martin-le-Grand, York, celebrating the fame of the church's patron, Martin of Tours. One scene from a side light shows the young Martin being brought to school by his parents and presented at the schoolhouse door to the master. As on the screen, the father and mother are greeting the master respectfully, he raising his cap, and the master carries a birch-rod. Augustine testified to the harsh exercise of this authority[31]). Through a clumsy rearrangement of sections of the glass, the York master is also invested with a mitre. In both pictures the child is held by the mother's hand, but in the York version the reluctance which it shows is even more marked. Knowles calls this 'another scene which was included as a matter of course in the lives of the saints', but he instances no further examples, though elsewhere he mentions the detail from the apocryphal *Cursor Mundi*, a verse narrative older than either the York window or the Carlisle screen, telling how Christ as a child resented and resisted his teachers' brutality, and how one of them, making to strike him, died because of that[32]).

There is a marked diversity among the various mediaeval representations of Monica; and the distinguished iconographer George Kaftal has suggested that her cult was a late one, and 'probably originated at the translation of her relics in 1430 from Ostia' (where she died and remained buried until her bones were identified by an inscription) 'to Rome'; and he states that 'her earliest images do not seem to go back further than the

[29]) *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[30]) J. A. KNOWLES: 'The West Window, St. Martin-le-Grand, Coney Street, York' (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 58, 1953, pp. 148-184).

[31]) Luc VERHEIJEN, ed.: *Confessionum Libri XIII* (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina XXVII, Turnhout, 1981), p. 8.

[32]) Ed. Richard MORRIS, vol. 2, Early English Text Society OS 59, 62, 1875-6, pp. 629 e.s.

middle of the fifteenth century'[33]). By this account, those of the Carlisle screen are among the first.

Scene 2 Augustine teaching.

Caption Her taught he grammor and rethorike;
emongys all doctors non was hym lyke.

'Here he taught grammar and rhetoric; there was no-one to equal him among all teachers'.

The immediate source of this is the first chapter of the only contemporary biography of Augustine, by Possidius, one of his disciples and later bishop of Calama, where he writes: '. . first he taught grammar in his own city, and later rhetoric in the African capital, Carthage. Then as time passed he crossed the sea to Rome, and settled in Milan . .'[34]). Characteristically, this is a much-conflated version of Augustine's own account of his academic progress, unsystematic and subordinated to his story of his arduous spiritual pilgrimage which led to the crowning, as it then seemed, of his teaching career by his appointment in 384 to what we in England today should call 'the Regius chair' of rhetoric at Milan, then the seat of imperial government[35]).

He tells us of the care exercised by the governor of Milan, the prefect Symmachus, in filling this chair, and of the support for his own candidature given by his then co-religionists, the Manichaeans. In the Greek and Roman worlds, a professor of rhetoric was entrusted not merely with the fostering of his pupils' abilities as men of letters and public speakers, but with the formation of their attitudes towards life and morality. Finally, Augustine turned away from the profession and practice of rhetoric; but his gifts — and here the author of the English couplet is not exaggerating — ensured that he remained, till the end of the Middle Ages and thereafter, the most potent influence among all Christian writers, the New Testament alone excepted.

The picture is a genre study of a mediaeval lecture-room. The professor is shown occupying his stately 'chair', with pupils seated on benches around him. He employs the traditional 'teaching gesture', most familiar from representations of Thomas Aquinas; on the Augustine

[33]) *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952), pp. 749, 752.
[34]) PL 32 35.
[35]) *Confessions* — see note 31 — II v.

screen, it is even better shown in Scene 14, as the Manichaean Fortunatus enumerates the points he is making when confronted by his adversary. Here, the saint is expounding a text, one, open, of two clasped books lying before him on the table with its cloth with enbroidered border. The student on the right may be following the text, but the rest do not, because, in due course, they will be able to buy copies of the lecture from the university stationers or to rent them for their own copying, whether they had been dictated for this purpose to a secretary by the professor or taken down in a primitive shorthand by writers whom the stationers employed. Care has been taken to show the pupils in a variety of costume different from the professor's attire. Four of them have clerics' tonsures.

Scene 3 Augustine eludes his mother and embarks for Rome.

Caption Her promysid he with hys moder to abide
bot he left hyr wepying and stal the tyde.

'Here he promised to remain with his mother, but he left her weeping and sailed away by stealth'.

Inscription Grace de Du.

'The grace of God'.

The source of this incident is in Book V of the *Confessions*[36]). Monica is shown kneeling in prayer on the African shore, where the artist has drawn flowers, as she looks across the sea, with its crudely-drawn fish, to the ship in which Augustine, dressed in professor's robes, and two other laymen are being carried away by an off-shore wind. Monica's costume has already been discussed.

Mr. Ian Friel of the Archaeological Research Centre at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, who has generously examined photographs of this scene, writes: 'The hull shape of this vessel is somewhat stylized, but some details of construction and rig are competently rendered (such as the shrouds, lifts, pintle straps, etc.) The rig is the most important datable feature of this painting: two-masted rig does not appear to have been known in England before the early fifteenth century ... The hull form has been simplified and the proportions of the aftercastle are rather too small, but the painter seems to have tried to depict clinker planking. Planks are edge-fastened in clinker construction

[36]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 65.

and the nail-heads in this painting are found consistently on the lower edges of the planks'.

The artist has named the ship merely by inscribing 'Grace de Du' on the mainsail. Whether this was then the practice may be doubted; but 'God's grace' as a ship's name is well attested. In 1372 Edward III embarked at Sandwich for France in his ship which was so called[37]); and in 1373 a merchant was permitted to transport a cargo of old wheat to Bordeaux from London in another vessel of the same name[38]).

Scene 4 Augustine teaches at Rome.

Caption Thus taught he at Rome the sevyn science.
There was gret prece tyll hys presence.

'So he taught the seven branches of knowledge at Rome, where he had a crowded auditorium'.

The *Confessions*[39]) tell us that Augustine went to Rome with the intention of teaching rhetoric, as he did until appointed to a chair in that subject at Milan (see Scene 2). A possible explanation of this mis-statement, that he there taught the 'seven branches of knowledge', that is, the traditional school curriculum of the 'trivium', grammar, rhetoric and logic, and the 'quadrivium', arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy, is that it may have originated as an erroneous interpretation of such a picture as that numbered 'v' in MS Berlin Kupferstichkabinett 78A 19a[40]), showing the boy Augustine with the local schoolmaster (see Scene 1) acquiring all the 'liberal arts', the 'seven branches' except arithmetic.

The picture here is merely a variant of Scene 2, except that, strangely, flowers are shown growing between the floorboards. There is a damask-figured background, an embroidered table-cloth, and Augustine, seated in state, employs the 'teaching gesture', surrounded by admiring students who hold books but take no notes. The Courcelles observe[41]) that they have been given different ages, and that 'their gestures and their facial expressions convey only complacency, ancient

[37]) *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward III*, vol. XIII, 1369-1374 (Rolls Series, 1911), p. 461.

[38]) Id., p. 516.

[39]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 69.

[40]) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, Plate III.

[41]) Id., p. 122.

heritage of the Roman schools in England'. What this means is not apparent; and they seem to read too much into the artist's cultivatedly naif graphic style.

The authority for the 'crowded auditorium' seems to be Philip of Harveng (see the notes to Scene 18) in his chapter vi, or some earlier source which he was using: 'He came to Rome, where many pupils flocked into his lecture-theatre, so that soon he became known to them and through them to the whole city'[42]). This is not in Possidius, whose treatment of the events described in the *Confessions* which precede the conversion is perfunctory.

Scene 5 Ambrose preaches on the interpretation of Scripture.

Caption Her prechyd Ambrose and oft tymys mevid
Quod littera occidit wych Austine mevid.

'Here Ambrose preached and often argued that "The letter kills", which convinced Augustine'.

The source of this is *Confessions* Book V[43]), where Augustine tells of one of the several turning-points in his way into the Church, as Ambrose in Milan gradually persuaded him that 'the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life'[44]) is applicable to the understanding of Scripture, and that Manichaean belittling of the Bible, for long a stumbling-block for Augustine, was founded upon literal interpretation of what should be understood in a spiritual sense. This passage from the *Confessions* is found neither in Possidius nor in the *Legenda Aurea*, but in Philip of Harveng's chapter 7[45]).

Ambrose is in a pulpit in episcopal vestments, Augustine is dressed as a tonsured cleric who may be holding upright the processional cross. There is no indication that the veiled woman represents Monica.

The artist was so limited by his architectural setting that he could not find room for the last letter, 'd', of the second 'mevid' in the caption. He draw a hyphen, intending to add it below, but this he forgot.

[42]) PL 203 1209.
[43]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 77.
[44]) II Corinthians 3.6.
[45]) PL 203 1210.

Scene 6 Ponticianus recounts the life of Anthony to Augustine, who then addresses Alypius.

Caption Her Ponciane hym tald the lyffe off sanct Anton
And to Elipius he stonyshed said thus onone:

Inscription Quid patimur? Surgunt indocti et celum rapiunt,
et nos cum doctrinis nostris in infernum demergimur.

'Here Ponticianus told him of the life of St. Anthony, and astonished he said at once to Alypius: "What is wrong with us? The ignorant rise up and take heaven by storm, and we with our learning are being thrust down to hell" '.

The source of this is an episode recounted in the *Confessions*[46]). Augustine and his fellow townsman Alypius, who had followed him to Milan, where they were sharing a rented house, were anxiously seeking for proofs of the truth of the Christian faith; and another African, Ponticianus, who although an earnest Christian held high rank at the imperial court, had told them of the severe asceticism which the hermit Anthony used to practise in the Egyptian desert.

The text gives us Augustine's reaction, charged, as is the whole passage, with intense emotion. It is not taken exactly from the *Confessions*, but as the story is retailed by James of Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea*[47]), where the allusion to Matthew 11.12 and Luke 10.15 is stressed. Bonaventure in his commentary on Luke 11.32 also uses this version[48]).

The figure on the left certainly represents Augustine, in a professor's cap and furred robe; and the central figure most probably is that of Ponticianus, telling him of the marvels of Egyptian eremitical life and pointing towards the right-hand figure, a man at prayer, most likely Anthony, who may have been identified by the inscription above, now wholly obliterated. The Courcelles adduce the *Historia Augustini*, from MS Berlin Kupferstichkabinett 78A 29a[49]), where, over the heads of Ponticianus, Augustine and Alypius, angels are displaying a heavenly

[46]) VIII 8 (19), ed, VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 125.

[47]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'James of Voragine's "Legenda sancti Augustini" and its Sources' (*Augustiniana* 35, 1985, pp. 281-314), — line 76 e.s.

[48]) *Bonaventurae ... in Lucam enarratio* (Venice, 1574), p. 254. Fr. Eelcko YPMA and Mr. J. VAN SINT FEITH have given valuable help in the elucidation of this passage.

[49]) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, p. 123, Plate X.

vision of a nimbed figure captioned 'anima scti Anthonii'. They also observe that the form of the name 'Ponciane' here and on the Carlisle screen is found in the *Legenda Aurea*.

This is the first of three scenes — the others are 7, 'Augustine bewails his sins', and 8, 'Tolle lege', which follow the *Confessions* in providing a garden setting for the events described or depicted. They are strongly reminiscent of another such scene in MS British Library Nero A. x, f. 37. The manuscript contains the late fourteenth-century English alliterative poem *Pearl* and the other works ascribed to its unknown author; and E. V. Gordon called it 'not later than c. 1400'[50]). F. 37 has an illustration showing the poem's conventional opening, with the poet-dreamer asleep on the flower-grown banks of a stream, where we find the same stylized treatment, especially of botanical detail, as on the screen. Gordon called the pictures 'crude and inartistic'[51]). As a judgment, 'simplified and popular' might be preferred.

Scene 7 Augustine bewails his sins.

Caption Her sore wepyng al hys gret syn
He went to morne a garth within.

'Here, weeping sorely for his many sins, he went to lament inside a garden'.

This picture appears to serve as a multiple illustration to Augustine's narrative in *Confessions* VIII 12[52]), where he describes the spiritual crisis during which he prostrated himself under a fig tree and gave way to a violent fit of weeping. Recovering himself somewhat, he retrieved the copy of the Scriptures which he had been studying, and his eye fell on the text from Romans 13.13-14, 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and impurity ... but put on the Lord Jesus Christ'.

The central figure in this picture, once again, is identifiable by its professorial dress as Augustine, and the book over which he is exclaiming is, presumably, the Epistle to the Romans. If so, the figure to the rear with minatory finger raised must be Paul. Augustine tells how he then returned to Alypius to show him this verse, when Alypius drew his

[50]) Ed. *Pearl* (Oxford, 1953), p. XLIII.
[51]) Id., frontispiece; p.x.
[52]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — pp. 130-132.

attention to the continuation, Romans 14.1: 'Now help him who is weak in faith . .'; and this probably accounts for the left-hand couple, at the rear of the garden, with another open book between them.

The garden is surrounded by a fence of palings, with a gap at the angle to permit entry. Such fences are a common feature of 'gardens of love', as in manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose*[53]); and very often there is in this allusion, which, however, we need not suppose here, to the notion of the 'enclosed garden', *hortus conclusus*, a common appellation in mediaeval devotional literature of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The formal, stylized arrangement of flowering hillocks may be compared with Scenes 1 — where a garden setting is vaguely suggested — 6 and 8. In this scene, however, there is a strong resemblance to a 'strip' arrangement of four miniatures on f. 125 of MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 286[54]), now generally agreed to have been written in Italy in the sixth century and to have been sent to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, c. A.D. 700. In one miniature, the Agony in the Garden is shown. At the back, where bushes and mounds are roughly sketched, Christ is shown prostrate in prayer. In the foreground he appears a second time, with finger pointed in admonition towards three sleeping disciples. From a cloud a 'manus Dei' is extended. The picture is in fact a conflated illustration for Matthew 26.36-45, with a possible allusion to Luke 22.43; and one may not impertinently speculate whether the originator of the Augustine pattern-book from which the Carlisle scene was taken saw and wished to indicate to others an analogy between these events of the Passion and Augustine's account of his own 'agony in a garden'.

Scene 8 'Tolle lege'.

Caption Her wepyng and walyng as he lay
Sodenly a voice thus herd he say:

Inscription Tolle lege, tolle lege.

'Here as he lay weeping and wailing, he suddenly heard a voice that said: "Take it and read it, take it and read it" '.

[53]) See the illustrations to Eithne WILKINS: *The Rose-Garden Game* (London, 1969), and John V. FLEMING: *The 'Roman de la Rose': a Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton, 1969).

[54] All four are reproduced as Plate IV by Francis WORMALD: *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine* — see note 14.

Resemblances have already been indicated between the picture in MS Cotton Nero A. x, showing the *Pearl* poet dreaming in a garden, and pictures of the Carlisle screen. The resemblance is especially marked here in Scene 8, showing Augustine reclining in such a setting as he receives his locution.

The narrative in the *Confessions* which this scene illustrates is a sequel to what is shown in Scenes 6 and 7. Ponticianus, visiting the friends in their Milan garden, found them, to his surprise, reading Romans; and this led him to tell them of Antony and the Desert Fathers. Then he went on to recount an incident of which this reminded him, when he and some companions had visited a house of religious at Treves, and one of them, chancing on a book which contained a life of Anthony, read in it the precept: 'Go, sell what you have and give it to the poor ..'[55]) and resolved at once to do so. Ponticianus's story led Augustine to exclaim to Alypius: 'What is wrong with us ..?' as we have seen in Scene 6; and then he describes the exchanges between them over the Romans text which seem to be indicated in Scene 7. Then Augustine withdrew, so as not to distress Alypius with his tears; and he continues: 'And all at once I heard a voice from a house near by, singing these words again and again, as it were some boy's voice or a girl's, I do not know what: "Take it and read it, take it and read it"'[56]).

This Carlisle scene, with the words 'Tolle lege' inscribed on a cartouche which a winged angel is displaying in the air, is an interpretation not, we may think, supported by Augustine. He suggests that what he heard may have been some child in a neighbour's house, and that the words might have been part of a children's game, though he could not recall having heard them before; yet he understood this to mean that he ought to examine again what he had read from Paul's epistle: '.. Not in riotousness and wantonness ... but clothe yourselves with our Lord Jesus Christ'[57]).

The opinion of one modern commentator[58]) supports this: the command which Augustine had somehow received, 'Take it and read it', may have conveyed another precept such as Ponticianus's friend had

[55]) Matthew 19.21.

[56]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 131.

[57]) Romans 13.13-14.

[58]) Adolar ZUMKELLER, trans. Edmund COLLEDGE and Janet BLOW: *Augustine's Ideal of the Religious Life* (New York, at press).

found by chance at Treves, and its force was that Augustine too should act with no further delay.

This is in a lower key than the Carlisle artist's suggestion of an angelic visitant; and it is not inapposite, as one considers this conjunction of angel, visionary and open book, to remark how often in mediaeval representations of the Annunciation — in that, for example, by Hans Memling, now in a New York private collection, and that by Lucas van Leyden in the Munich Alte Pinakothek[59]) — Mary is shown interrupted by Gabriel in her devout reading.

Scene 9 Augustine, speechless for toothache, asks the people's prayers.

Caption No worde for tothwark myght he say
but wrate to the pepil for hym to pray.

'He could not utter a word because of toothache, but he wrote to the people asking them to pray for him'.

The source is the ninth book of the *Confessions*[60]). The same interior is shown as in Scene 18. In Augustine's narrative there is nothing to justify this setting in a church. He tells how he spent the summer vacation which preceded his baptism on a country estate outside Milan with Alypius and other friends; and it was their prayers he asked for when he was so tormented with toothache that he could not speak. Right, Augustine lifts one hand in supplication and with the other holds a cloth to his face. Behind him a group also kneels in prayer, one veiled laywoman, three laymen and two clerics, differently attired.

Scene 10 Augustine's baptism.

Caption Her of sant Ambrose cristynyd was
The goode doctor Austine throgh godes grace.

'Here by the grace of God the good teacher Augustine was baptised by St. Ambrose'.

Inscription Te deum laudamus, te dominum confitemur.

'We praise you, God, we confess you to be the Lord'.

[59]) See reproductions in LCI IV (1972), 'Verkündigung an Maria', Tafel II.
[60]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 140.

The source is Book Nine of the *Confessions*[61]); and the inscription recalls the legend[62]) that it was on this occasion that the *Te Deum* was first recited by Ambrose and Augustine, divinely inspired to compose the hymn in alternating verses.

Ambrose is in episcopal vestments, and on the right stand two laymen, presumably Augustine's sponsors. He stands naked in a chalice-shaped font. Another such font, with Martin of Tours receiving baptism, is shown in a painted glass lunette at Chartres[63]); and Benozzo Gozzoli in his San Gemignano fresco incorporates the *Te Deum* inscriptions in his picture of Augustine's baptism[64]).

Scene 11 The death of Monica.

Caption Her deyd hys moder callyd Monica
As thai war retvrnyng in to Affrica.

'Here his mother, named Monica, died on their return journey to Africa'.

The source of this is Book IX of the *Confessions*, when Augustine's famous account of their talk, while he and Monica waited at Ostia at the Tiber's mouth for sea transport, about being lifted up to heaven in prayer, is followed by his story of his mother's death, before they could take ship, and of his grief[68]).

The left-hand part of this composite picture is of a conventional death-bed, with Monica, her hands folded in prayer, attended by Augustine, who is here and in the right-hand part shown in professor's attire, and two other laymen. Right, a ship is being driven by an off-shore wind, with Augustine, accompanied by another man, looking back at the land they are leaving and towards his dead mother.

The helpful account which Mr. Ian Friel has given of the ship shown in Scene 3 is in many respects applicable also to this. Either picture shows a portion only of a ship; and Mr. Friel wrote: 'Without seeing the bow of the ship, it is impossible to know if the vessel was intended to be a three-master ... By the late fifteenth century, representations of three-masters were becoming much more common'.

[61]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — pp. 140-141.

[62]) For the documents concerning this, see Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' (first note), p. 204 and n. 33.

[63]) See Ursula MIELKE, art.: 'Taufe' (LCI IV, 1972, 245).

[64]) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, Plate LIX.

[65]) Ed. VERHEIJEN — see note 31 — p. 148 e.s.

Although here we can see the ship's mizzen mast and yard, with the lifts and shrouds, and the after castle, constructed, as is the other ship, with clinker planking, only one corner is shown of the mainsail and a short section of the main yard, without, as in Scene 3, the main mast or top castle.

Scene 12 Valerius ordains Augustine priest.

Caption Her was he sacred prest and vsyd
of Valery the bishopp thofe he refusyt.

'Here he was ordained priest and employed by the bishop Valerius despite his reluctance'.

The source for this is the *Legenda Aurea*'s repetition of Possidius's chapter 4[66]), telling how the bishop of Hippo insisted that Augustine should receive priestly ordination, and how many onlookers misinterpreted his tears of reluctance as a sign of his pride.

There seems to have been deliberate defacement, but it is still easy to discern the bishop, centre, in mitre and Mass vestments, with, right, Augustine, also vested in alb, dalmatic and chasuble, and, left, a deacon in alb and tunicle. Augustine and Valerius extend hands towards one another, and, as the deacon is holding the bishop's gloves, it seems that the artist chose to represent the moment when the candidate's palms are anointed. The setting is a church interior, with chequered floor and a pillar marked with one of the crosses blessed at the church's consecration with chrism by a bishop.

Scene 13 Augustine delivers his Rule.

Inscription . . proximus.

This scene has suffered more damage than most; and it is evident that much of it has been deliberately inflicted. The caption has been so completely erased as now to be illegible; nineteenth-century reconstructions[67]) are purely conjectural.

Though each member of the group of figures occupying the lower half has been decapitated, what remains shows four men in Augustinian canons regular choir habit, which will be discussed in Scene 18, kneeling

[66]) Their common source is Augustine's *Sermon 355*, preached long after the event. See Peter BROWN: *Augustine of Hippo: a Biography* (London, 1967), pp. 138-139.

[67]) One such is printed by J. and P. COURCELLE: *XV*, p. 127.

and facing a fifth, who evidently was seated in a chair placed on a dais with pierced supporting board. The fifth man's right arm and shoulder are in the same pale colouring as the mantles of the four, suggesting that he had been shown in a habit identical with theirs; but nothing else of him has survived. From the position of his right arm and the outstretched hand of the first kneeling cleric, one may presume that the seated figure was depicted handing some object to the cleric. What that object was, and what the subject of the scene, the cartouche occupying its upper half tells us.

Again, the cartouche's inscription has been erased, but not so thoroughly that its last word, 'proximus', cannot be discerned. This is enough to tell us that in its original state the cartouche must have read: 'Ante omnia, fratres carissimi, diligatur Deus, deinde et proximus'[68]), 'Before everything, dearest brethren, let God be loved, and then also your neighbour'. These are the opening words of that form of Augustine's rule for religious known as the *Ordo monasterii*[69]).

Such a scene is not uncommon; and a close analogue is to be found in MS British Library Arundel 155, f. 133, which has a drawing, c. A.D. 1012-1023, of Benedict presenting his Rule to kneeling Canterbury monks[70]). An author giving his book to a kneeling recipient, or, it may be, himself kneeling to present it to a patron is a mediaeval commonplace. The Augustinian friar John Capgrave so embellished presentation-manuscripts of his writings with illuminated initials of crude, doubtless local execution, as the frontispiece to Fr. Cyril Smetana's edition of MS Huntington HM 55 shows[71]). Margaret Rickert has similar illustrations, also of the fifteenth century, showing 'Prince Henry and Hoccleve'[72]), 'Lydgate and Henry VI'[73]), 'Lydgate and the Earl of Salisbury'[74]), 'Bishop Bekynton and Chaundler'[75]).

Who was responsible for these defacements, and why this picture was singled out, one can only conjecture. The last Catholic prior of Carlisle, Lancelot Salkeld, became the cathedral's first Anglican dean. In

[68]) Luc VERHEIJEN: *La Règle de s. Augustin* (2 vols., Paris, 1967), p. 148.

[69]) On this and other received forms of the Rule, see Edmund COLLEDGE's review of VERHEIJEN's *La Règle*, *Medium Ævum* 39, 1969, pp. 328-332.

[70]) Reproduced as Plate 41 in Margaret RICKERT: *Painting in Britain* — see note 13.

[71]) *The Life of St. Norbert* (Toronto, 1977).

[72]) *Painting in Britain*, Plate 175(A).

[73]) Id., Plate 183(A).

[74]) Id., Plate 184.

[75]) Id., Plate 185.

the royal commissioners' report on the house, its inmates and its possessions, as it fearfully awaited its suppression, it is stated that he had been 'defamed'[76]) (denounced, that is, for his misdemeanours), though there were few such reports which did not seek in this way to justify events which everyone knew to be impending. Even so, he was named as the prior who was to succeed Christopher Slee and assent to the legal forms requisite for transforming a religious house into a cathedral church with its chapter. His then ambiguous position is eloquently described in an indenture of 1537 which calls him 'prior ecclesie cathedralis beate Marie Carliolensis'[77]). Salkeld did not resign his new decanal office until 1548; and one can well believe that for him to be repeatedly confronted with a painted and inscribed reminder of how his status under Henry VIII and what he now professed differed from what he once had been and the way of life which he had formerly followed could have been a constant reproach, to himself and to others, which he may have wished to avoid.

Fr. Luc Verheijen is our leading authority today on the text of the monastic rule which Augustine composed; and more than twenty years ago he published his warning[78]) against any narrow interpretation of Possidius's statement, in his fifth chapter, that the saint

> .. once he was made priest established a monastery close by the church, where he began to live, with the servants of God, according to the manner and rule instituted under the holy apostles: especially that no-one in that company should have anything of his own, but that all things should be for them common property, and what what each one needed should be given out to him ..[79])

Here, Verheijen insists, 'rule' (*regula*) must be understood not as referring to what Augustine wrote, but to the 'norm', 'way' described in Acts. Yet he concedes that for many centuries Possidius was taken to mean by this a written text. Beyond doubt, this would be the interpretation of, for example, Philip of Harveng, James of Voragine and the Carlisle canons.

[76]) James WILSON: 'The Priory of Carlisle' (*Victoria County History, Cumberland* II, 1905, pp. 131-136.

[77]) Carlisle Dean and Chapter Registers II, f. 37^{v}.

[78]) 'La Vie de saint Augustin par Possidius et la *Regula sancti Augustini*' (*Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann*) Utrecht-Antwerp, 1963, pp. 270-279.

[79]) PL 32 37.

Scene 14 Augustine refutes the Manichaean teachings of Fortunatus.

Caption Her Fortunate the heretyk ..... he
..... the lawys of Ma .....

The Courcelles reprint (with some inaccuracies) the antiquary Carlisle's eighteenth-century reconstruction of this couplet:

Her Fortunate the heretyk concludit he
Informyng the lawys of Maneche[80]),

which appears to mean 'Here the heretic Fortunatus made an end of expounding the Manichaean system'. 'Maneche' seems to be treated as if it were an independent proper name and not a derived adjective.

Both Fortunatus and Augustine are seated in official-looking chairs. Fortunatus is in professor's dress, backed by two figures perhaps intended as laymen. Augustine is in canon's habit, as are his five supporters, though he alone has his hood, of the same pale shade as his mantle, drawn over his head. The other canons have their backs turned upon Fortunatus, one of whose entourage seems to be watching him anxiously while, with the 'teaching gesture' he expounds. His facial expression is a caricature of fearful doubt. The book on which Augustine rests his hand perhaps represents the Scriptures through which he is defeating Fortunatus and his sect.

The source is Possidius's chapter vi[81]), where he describes the success which Fortunatus, serving as a priest to the Manichaeans in Hippo, was enjoying, and how many citizens and visitors he was seducing, until Augustine was asked, not only by the orthodox Catholics but also by the Donatists, to engage him in disputation. At the end of two days of this, Fortunatus was completely and publicly disgraced, in the eyes even of his own adherents, and left the city, never to return.

This account by Possidius is repeated by Philip of Harveng[82]). The Courcelles list numerous late mediaeval renderings of the scene. This Carlisle version associates the Augustinian canons regular with the defence of the true faith, even though Possidius insists that in this

[80]) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV*, p. 128; *The Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Saint Mary, Carlisle, drawn by Robert Carlisle* (1791, no place of publication).
[81]) PL 32 38.
[82]) PL 203 1219-1220.

Augustine had enjoyed the support of the Catholic laity and also of Donatists.

Scene 15 Augustine's episcopal consecration.

Caption Consecrate byshop was thys doctour .....
..... cuntre wyth gret .....

'This teacher was consecrated bishop ..... region with great .....'

Sufficient in the first line, though not in the second, has survived to confirm in part Carlisle's reconstruction, which Harcourt follows, as do the Courcelles[83]). The sense of the entire couplet can only be guessed at.

Two bishops in mitres, chasubles, dalmatics and pallia stand on either side of Augustine, already vested so except for the pallium, to whom one bishop is giving a crosier such as the other holds while blessing Augustine, seated in what seems to be a chair of state. The background is patterned damask and the floor tiled.

Although Augustine had been bishop of Hippo for three years when he wrote his *Confessions*, he makes no mention there of his consecration. The climax of that work is reached with his embracing of Christianity — see Scene 10 — and his mother's death — see Scene 11. Our chief source of information is chapter viii of Possidius's *Vita*[84]).

Scene 16 A woman finds Augustine in ecstasy.

Caption As this women come to hym for consolacion
She saw hym with the trinite yn meditacion.

'As this woman came to him for solace, she saw him rapt in meditation upon the Trinity'.

Inscription ... Augustine ...

The experts consider that this story, told by James of Voragine, cannot be true[85]), but it is one of several which had accumulated over the years. This is how James recounts it:

[83]) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XV.* p. 128.
[84]) PL 32 39-40.
[85]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note — p. 204.

When a certain woman had suffered injury from certain malicious enemies, she came to blessed Augustine to beg him for advice about this. She found him deep in study and greeted him respectfully, but he neither looked at her nor made any reply. She thought that perhaps because of his great sanctity he did not want to look a woman in the face, so she drew nearer and carefully explained her business, but he did not turn towards her or give any answer. So she went away very sad; but another day, when Augustine was celebrating Mass and this woman was there, after the elevation of the body of the Lord she was rapt in spirit and saw herself placed before the most holy Trinity's judgment seat, and there she saw Augustine, deeply inclined in sight of its glory and disputing with all subtlety and zeal; and a voice came to her, saying: 'When you came to Augustine, he was pondering deeply like this about the glory of the Trinity, and therefore he was quite unaware of your presence; but do not fear, return to him, and you will find him kindly disposed, and you will receive helpful advice'. She did this, and Augustine listened benevolently to what she had to say, and gave her excellent counsel[86]).

In the inscription on the cartouche, there is one illegible word preceding 'Augustine' and another following it, which Carlisle and Harcourt do not attempt to reconstruct. 'Augustine' is the vocative case of the Latin name — 'O Augustine!' — and not the English, which in this epoch was 'Austin' — see Scenes 1, 5.

Harcourt follows Carlisle in drawing a mitre suspended in the air over Augustine's head, crowned with a skull-cap; and this can still be faintly discerned. Over the woman Carlisle indicated a lozenge-shaped erasure, which may have shown some emblem of the Trinity. Ottaviano Nelli painted such an image (the so-called 'Italian Trinity') some time after the year 1400 in his frescoes for the Augustinian church at Gubbio[87]).

The woman's dress has been discussed; see Scene 1.

Scene 17 A diabolical apparition.

Caption When he cumplyn had sayd and come to luke
He was full cleyn owt of this knafys buke.

'When he had recited compline and returned to see, he had completely disappeared from this scoundrel's book'.

[86]) Munich clm 13039, f. 210[d].
[87]) Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XIV*, p. 85 and Plate XCVI.

Inscription Penitet me tibi ostendisse librum.

'I am sorry that I showed you the book'.

Augustine and the devil are shown standing on ground grown with flowers; but the background is a damask tapestry with larger flowers interspersed with rosettes. Scepticism about this displaying a 'T.G.' monogram has already been expressed. Augustine grasps with his left hand a crosier, and with the right gestures towards the devil. He wears cope and mitre, and, under the cope, a dalmatic over an apparelled alb. Facing him is the devil, with a beast's snout, horns and pelt, and with clawed paws and hooves. He holds a sapling, head downwards, which has been cut off at the root. Plainly this symbolizes the power which he supposes that he has to terminate life; and there may be allusion to Luke 13.7. His buttock nearer to the viewer is shaped like a savagely grinning face.

Mediaeval devil-iconography demonstrates a fusion of two originally distinct traditions, one showing the fiend in human form, the other, as here, in beastly or monstrous shape[88]). Another tradition avers that if he should appear like a man, he will be marked by some tell-tale defect which he will be at pains to conceal from those whom he wishes to deceive[89]). It is perhaps to this tradition that the second face here alludes, and the fantasy is recorded elsewhere. Among the grotesques and prodigies thronging the margins of the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter, several have predatory beaks and jaws growing in place of bellies or genitals, and one is a biped furnished with spotted legs and clawed feet, the head that of a woman wearing a wimple, the rear end another head with a fierce animal face and protruding, pointed tongue[90]).

The source of this scene is the story, also apocryphal[91]), it need not be said, recorded by James of Voragine in the *Legenda Aurea*, of Augustine encountering the devil with a book in which he recorded men's sins. Augustine asked if he might see if his own name were there, and the devil showed him the entry which told how he had forgotten to recite compline one day. Asking him to await his return, the saint went into church and said the office with its customary prayers, and, returning,

[88]) Beat BRINK, art.: 'Teufel' (LCI 4, 1972, 295-300).

[89]) Edmund COLLEDGE and James WALSH, ed.: *A Book of Showings to the Anchoress Julian of Norwich* (Toronto, 1978), p. 636.9 and note.

[90]) Facsimile ed. E. G. MILLAR (London, 1932), f. 184^{v}.

[91]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note — pp. 204-205.

asked to be shown the same page; but when the devil leafed through his book, the record was missing, so that he angrily said: 'You have deceived me foully. I am sorry that I showed you the book'[92]).

The close analogy between the Carlisle screen's Scene 1 and that of the St. Martin-le-Grand window at York showing a similar incident in the life of St. Martin of Tours has been observed; and there is an equally striking instance here. In the same window Martin is shown as bishop[93]), attired and gesturing as on the Carlisle screen. The devil's skin is shaggy, and his hands and feet have claws. His forehead is horned, and the face, partly human, has a look of deep sorrow. He holds a closed book (in either case, this is carefully shown as James described it, '.. demonem librum humeris baiulantem ..', but it should have been represented as open, not clasped); and in the window the entire figure is surrounded by a cartouche, very difficult to decipher, in which can be read: '... nocere ... semper ego uere tibi michi .....ique', which seems to be some allusion to Sulpicius Severus's story[94]) that God promised Martin: 'Quocumque ieris vel quocumque tentaveris, diabolus tibi adversabitur'[95]). Hippolyte Delehaye has discussed the *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius as the source for this[96]). The inscription of the Carlisle picture is more readily identifiable as a paraphrase of James of Voragine. Whether this might help in establishing the priority of the Carlisle scene, and that the legend had been transferred from Augustine to Martin, is doubtful. Other tales about 'recorded sins marvellously blotted out' were circulating in this era, told of various holy persons[97]).

Yet there seems to be special significance in James's attribution to Augustine of forgetfulness in the performance of religious observances. Margaret Jennings has a richly-documented account of the devil's appearances in mediaeval literature when he is recording sins, frequently of inattention or irreverence during worship in church, in his book[98]); and there she observes that Augustine, and even more frequently Martin of Tours, appear in such stories.

[92]) 'Penitet me quod librum meum tibi ostendi'; see Edmund COLLEDGE, 'Sources', 1.501.

[93]) J. A. KNOWLES: 'The West Window' — see note 30 — 'Panel XII'.

[94]) See Clare STANCLIFFE: *St. Martin and his Hagiographer* (London, 1953).

[95]) PL 20 164.

[96]) 'Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère' (*Analecta Bollandiana* 38, 1920), p. 45.

[97]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note — p. 205.

[98]) 'Tutivillus: the Literary Career of the Recording Demon' (*Studies in Philology, Texts and Studies* 1977, Volume LXXIV Number 5).

Scene 18 Augustine's burial at Hippo.

Caption Thay beried hys body wyth deligence
her in hys avyn kyrk of Yponence.

'They buried his body with care here in his own church at Hippo'.

'Yponence', formed from the adjectival 'Hipponensis', is merely for the sake of a rhyme with 'deligence', and can only have been used in the hope that it would not be scrutinized by proficient Latinists.

The windows, vaulting and tiled floor suggest a church interior, in which a bier is placed, covered by a dark pall with what seem to be linen strips arranged cross-wise, on which five candles are placed. On one strip the initials 'I.S.' have been incised.

Around the bier stand six men habited as canons regular. Of the three nearer to the viewer, the centre figure has been so much defaced that only his tonsured head can be discerned.

The others are shown in white rochets — or, perhaps, mantles — with short black shoulder-capes with hoods, variously known as 'almuces' or 'capuches'. The canon on the left in the back row wears his hood over his head.

We have, in MS Glasgow University Library Hunter 215, a record of what were regarded from c. A.D. 1100 onwards as the essentials of a canon's wardrobe[99]). This is a combined customary and chartulary copied for the canons regular of Holy Trinity within Aldgate, London[100]). Each canon is to be issued with four rochets, two for feast-days and two for daily wear, four tunics 'de blanket' — a necessary provision against the intense winter cold of unheated churches and cloisters — two worsted mantles with capuches, one such without capuche, and 'j capa pluuialis cum ij capucijs'. That is to say, he was equipped with a separate capuche, which could be worn as protection against chill or rain; and in several pictures of this screen Augustine and his canons are shown wearing them over their mantles. However, the

[99]) The Glasgow University Librarian and his staff have kindly permitted and helped in the consultation of this manuscript.

[100]) On its foundation, see C. N. L. BROOKE, assisted by Gillian KEIR: *London 800-1216: the Shaping of a City* (London, 1975), pp. 314-325.

Augustinian canons' religious habit could display many variations, as was often the case in the late Middle Ages[101]).

That Augustine was buried at Hippo is not stated in the *Legenda Aurea*, but it is implied where we are told that he died during the siege of the city. In this it follows Possidius's chapters 29-31[102]). Philip of Harveng, however, Premonstratensian abbot of Bonne Espérance in the diocese of Cambrai, a contemporary of Bernard of Clairvaux[103]), in his *Vita sancti Augustini* wrote: 'Then when blessed Augustine died in his city of Hippo in the third month of its siege ... he was buried there by the holy bishops who were present, and by his brethren, with mourning and grief'[104]). Of course, the Carlisle canons directed that the 'brethren' should by their habits be identifiable with themselves.

Scene 19 The translation of the relics to Pavia.

Caption Her Liedbrand the kyng of Lumberdy
hym translate fro Sardyne to Pavy.

'Here Liutprand the king of Lombardy moved him from Sardinia to Pavia'.

The source of this is the *Golden Legend*, where James of Voragine, after reporting Augustine's death at Hippo, as in the previous scene, at a time when the city was already under siege from the Vandal invaders of Carthaginia, continues:

> After this, when the barbarian peoples had occupied that land and profaned its holy places, the faithful took Augustine's body and transported it into Sardinia. When two hundred and eighty years had passed after his death, about the year of our Lord 518, in the time of Pope Leo III (the *Legend*'s chronology is, as often, erratic) a devout king of the Lombards, Liutprand, hearing that Sardinia had been laid waste by the Saracens, sent trusted agents there so that they might remove the holy teacher's relics to Pavia; and after they had paid a large sum, they moved St. Augustine's body and brought it as far as Genoa. When the king heard this, he went to that city to meet it with great joy, and reverently received it. But when the next

[101]) J. G. DICKINSON: *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp. 185 e.s.

[102]) PL 32 59-66.

[103]) I am greatly indebted to Fr. Alberico DE MEIJER for his help in identifying Philip.

[104]) PL 203 1230.

day they wanted to take the body away, it could not by any means be shifted from the spot, until the king had taken a vow that if the saint were to allow himself to be moved, the king would build a church there dedicated to him. When he had sworn this, the body was at once removed without any difficulty; and the king fulfilled what he had vowed, and built a church there is honour of St. Augustine[105]).

It will be observed that the caption's last word, which has here been supplied as 'Pavy', is now wholly illegible, though the *Legend* narrative and the need for a rhyme with 'Lumberdy' suggest this. The entire scene has suffered much damage, but this one word seems to have been deliberately defaced. In the foreground, two figures in secular attire, standing in a flower-grown meadow, can be discerned; centre, there is a wagon surmounted by a sarcophagus, and behind, with little regard for proportion, two elaborately-caparisoned draught horses and the figure of King Liutprand, crowned and grasping a sword and with the other hand lifted in supplication, at the entrance to a church, no doubt that which he was promising to build.

Since the place-names 'Lumberdy' and 'Sardyne' have survived, one must ask why 'Pavy' was singled out for obliteration. We owe to Mr. David O'Connor of the History of Art Department of the University of Manchester the ingenious suggestion that 'Pavy' might easily have been mistaken by the semi-literate for 'Pape', the Northern dialect form of 'pope', which word, a royal proclamation of June, 1534 had ordered, was to be deleted from all liturgical books. 'Fearful owners of other works in monastic libraries deemed it prudent to carry out the deletion in them as well'[106]); and many *Golden Legend* manuscripts and printed copies were so defaced; but the author knows of no other instances of an 'expurgated' picture. This is not surprising, since most art objects which so offended must have been destroyed.

Even so, evidence has survived that the Carlisle canons possessed some collection of saints' legends in which the required changes had not been made. On May 1, 1540, local justices of the peace reported the complaint of a cleric, Hugh Sewell, that the community of the former monastery were making use of 'one book called a "legend"', in which,

[105]) Munich clm 13029, f. 210[a].

[106]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'The Capgrave "Autographs"' (*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6, 1975, p. 141, describing MS British Library Add. 36704, containing John Capgrave texts).

despite the proclamation, 'the service of Thomas Becket and the usurped name 'papa'' of the bishop of Rome were unrased'[107]). From this it seems that the one-time canons continued to recite their old Latin office; and the picture given is not one of complete accord with newer ways. Not remarkably, their dean, Salkeld, seems to have wanted to temporize and delay; but the denunciation by Sewell caused much alarm, and it may well be that it was at this time that 'Pavy' was erased as a precaution.

It is generally agreed among those who have made a study of saints' 'legends' (that is, episodes from their lives written down, usually for reading aloud, for that is the word's original meaning) that after a marvellous event was attributed to some one holy man or woman, it would often be repeated with a different saint as the subject[108]). It has been suggested[109]) that the form of the story about relics which refused to be moved best known in Western Christendom is preserved for us by James of Voragine in his 'legends' for the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, when he describes how the Emperor Heraclius rescued that precious object from its pagan captors and restored it to Jerusalem:

> .. but when he came down from the Mount of Olives and wished to enter by the same city gate as our Lord used on his way to suffer, but mounted on a royal steed and in an emperor's array, at once the stones of the gate descended and joined together as a single wall, and to everyone's amazement an angel of the Lord appeared on high carrying a token of the Cross and saying: 'When the king of heaven entered by this gate to go to his Passion, he came not adorned as a king but mounted on a simple ass, and he left this example of humility for those who worship him'.

Then the emperor, bathed in tears, took off his shoes and his clothes down to his shirt, and taking the Lord's Cross he bore it towards the gate, which immediately obeyed the heavenly command and lifted itself up and allowed men to enter[110]).

This tale, it will be seen, ascribes — as does that of Augustine's bones at Genoa — to objects without life yet with associations of

[107]) James GAIRDNER, ed.: *Letters and Papers ... of Henry VIII* XV (Rolls Series, 1896), p. 301.

[108]) For the process by which Augustine latterly became the subject of the story of the infant weeping by the hole which it had dug, see Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Caxton's Addition' — see first note.

[109]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Sources' — see note 47.

[110]) Munich clm 13029, f. 224^{b}.

peculiar sanctity supernatural powers of discernment and choice; and the experts point out that this is also the case with the Ark of the Covenant[111]), which is regarded as the Old Testament 'type' — that is, foreshadowing — of the True Cross, abducted, desecrated by pagans and then victoriously regained. Such stories are not uncommon; elements in them have attached, in England, to legends of the relics of St. Cuthbert and St. Swithin. When we read these claims for the origins of a church dedicated to St. Augustine in Genoa, we recall that they were recorded by James of Voragine, which is Varazza or Varaggio, a township some thirty kilometers to the west of the great city, so that we expect him to have been well versed in its traditions.

Scene 20 Enshrinement of the relics at Pavia.

Caption Thay shrynyd hys banes solemply
In sanct Peter kyrk thus at Pavy

'This is how they ceremonially enshrined his bones in St. Peter's church at Pavia'.

As in Scene 19, 'Pavy', rhyming here with 'solemply', has been completely obliterated; but 'sanct Peter kyrk' unambiguously determines that the setting of this is the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro at Pavia. Philip of Harveng in his chapter xxxiii does not specify in which church the re-interment took place[112]), but the *Legenda Aurea*, in its story of Augustine appearing to the crowd of crippled pilgrims to direct them to his relics to obtain healing — see Scene 22 — makes him say: 'Go to Pavia and ask for the monastery of St. Peter called "Celum Aureum"'[113]). Since Liutprand's translation of them — see Scene 19 — the remains have not been moved, though there was for long bitter conflict between canons and friars for their legal ownership.

Again, there has been wilful defacement, but one can see that this is a variant of Scene 18. Here a tomb, surrounded by six canons, is surmounted by a baldachino supported on columns.

[111]) Numbers 10.33.
[112]) PL 203 1234.
[113]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Sources' — see note 47 — 1.559.

Scene 21 The miraculous healing of a prior.

Caption Thys prior he bad do euynsang her
And helyd hym that was sek thre yer.

'Here he commanded this prior to recite vespers without delay, and healed him who has been sick for three years'.

There has again been deliberate damage, to all the faces in this picture except two. Augustine, vested as bishop and with a crosier, surrounded by five canons, blesses the prior, unclothed in a bed covered with a counterpane embroidered with a botanical scroll design and resting on a tiled floor. The right-hand canon holds a book with clasped cover.

There has also been much damage, though not, it seems, wilful, to the caption; but Carlisle's transcription seems to be accurate apart from a single word.

A form of this story is recorded by James of Voragine, when, as was his custom, he instances notable cures or other miracles worked through the subject's intercession. The beneficiary in this case had been some religious superior: James wrote 'praepositus', which does not have the same narrow connotation as 'prior'. He recounted:

> The superior of a certain church had great devotion to St. Augustine, and when for three years he was so afflicted with severe illness that he was unable to get out of bed, when the feast of St. Augustine was approaching and the bells were rung for its vespers, he addressed his prayers with all fervour to the saint, who, dressed in white, appeared to him, calling him by name and saying: 'See, here I am, just as you called to me. Get up and say my vespers'. To the astonishment of all he rose, and going into church recited the whole office[114]).

Scene 22 Augustine commands sick pilgrims to go for healing.

Caption Her he aperyd vnto .....
And bad tham go to .....

Carlisle's conjectural reconstruction, which Harcourt reproduced, may he translated: 'Here he appeared to these three men, and commanded them to go to ..... healed'; but one may question whether Carlisle could see any more than is now possible.

[114]) Id.; Munich clm 13029, f. 211a.

The picture, certainly, shows Augustine in white episcopal vestments confronting three cripples, two with crutches, outside a church. What this represents is shown by another *Legenda Aurea* anecdote. This evidently is also apocryphal, and it has been shown[115]) that it belongs to the programme for attracting pilgrims to Pavia and its wonder-working shrine. James of Voragine had written:

> About the year of our Lord 592 some men gravely crippled, in number more than forty, were making their way from Germany and Gaul to Rome, to the threshold of the apostles, some of them so contorted that they were dragging themselves along the earth by 'benches'[116]), others propped up with crutches, others blind and following leaders, others with malformed hands and feet. When they had crossed mountains to the place called 'Carbonaria', and arrived at the spot known as 'Cana', three miles distant from Pavia, St. Augustine, vested as a bishop, appeared to them from the church built in honour of SS Cosmas and Damian, and greeting them, asked where they were going? When they told him he replied: 'Go to Pavia and ask for the monastery called "The Golden Heaven", and there you will find the mercy you seek'. When they asked him for his name, he said: 'I am Augustine, one-time bishop of Hippo', and at once he vanished from their sight. So they made their way to Pavia, and when they arrived at the monastery he had named and found his body, they all began to cry aloud together: 'Holy Augustine, help us!' At this sound the citizens and monks came flocking to see this great spectacle; and then much blood began to flow from the distension of the nerves[117]), so that it reached to the convent doors, and the whole earth around St. Augustine's tomb seemed to be sprinkled with blood; and when they approached his sepulchre, they were all completely healed, as if there had never been any defect in their bodies. From then on the saint's fame began to grow and multitudes of the sick to have recourse to his grave, and they, telling of the blessings of their healing, left tokens of their cures behind them[118]). The number of such tokens became so great that

[115]) Edmund COLLEDGE: 'Sources' — see note 47.

[116]) 'benches', *scampnis*. A *scamnum*, 'stool' or 'bench', was the name for a small piece of board with short legs which a cripple could use to propel himself along the ground with less hurt to his hands. Such a 'bench' is shown so used by a crippled beggar in Peter Bruegel's *Fight between Carnival and Lent*. See Edmund COLLEDGE: '*Aliri*' (*Medium Ævum* 27, 1958, pp. 111-113).

[117]) A literal translation of the Latin, the precise meaning of which is not clear; but the implication is that the body was incorrupt, and began to bleed.

[118]) Such a token was traditionally a crutch hung up at a shrine by a healed cripple. For an engraving of the Pavia tomb so ornamented, see Schelte Bolswert's illustrations to *Iconographia magni patris Aurelii Augustini*, Paris, 1624 (Jeanne and Pierre COURCELLE: *XVI-XVII*, p. 45 and Plate LIII).

the whole oratory and porch of St. Augustine was filled, and it was impossible to enter or leave, so that the monks were compelled to clear them away[119]).

This screen and its pictures command our attention today because of such objects' rarity; yet they have other claims. The later Middle Ages witnessed in most European countries the appearance of literature intended to interest and please ordinary men and women, by showing awareness of what life held for them; but little has survived to tell us how they could also find entertainment and sympathy in the work of plastic artists. We have compared some features of these paintings with drawings preserved in the margins of contemporary manuscripts; but such jests were intended to amuse a minority only, who were, for the most part, religious; and the same is true of that other repository of ancient jokes, misericord seats. Screens such as this, however, were destined to be viewed by sightseers in great numbers; had it not been so, they would have failed in part of their reason for existing, the eliciting of alms. It has been shown that as an art-form they must be close kin to the ancient forbears of the 'comic strip', and that they have as common characteristics mass appeal and a 'preponderance of image over text'.

Yet what we have shown here of the forms in which the Augustine legends commemorated on the screen have come down to us ought to teach caution in applying the epithet 'popular'. In one sense, such screens and objects resembling them — sculptures, frescoes, painted windows — are beyond doubt 'popular': they were made to be seen by the people, who were meant not merely to learn from them but also to be entertained. Beyond doubt, the devil and the angel we see here, like their counterparts in the mystery plays, were introduced because seeing them gave pleasure to many. Yet every one of the Augustine pictures has some literary source, the *Confessions* or some later hagiographical treatment; and it has been suggested that in places there is further allusion, implicit indeed in all that Augustine and every other Christian of the Middle Ages ever wrote, to that one supreme literary source, the text of sacred Scripture, which constituted the very air breathed by mediaeval man.

If we seek to attach to the concept 'popular' any notion of independence of learning and literature, this examination of the contents of the Augustine screen should show us that this is false. Deliberately the

[119]) Munich clm 13029, f. 211[b].

artist was aiming at effects which would have general appeal, because they evoked the ordinariness of the lives of all but a few. This naivety can become studied, as he eschews every hint of refinement or sophistication — Patrick's 'crakows' alone excepted — yet even so, the people did in their own fashion share in society's store of knowledge, where ignorance was culpable; and pictures such as these were to help to dispel it.

Even more, they were to stress the applicability of the Gospel message to plain men and their everyday lives. Monica is dressed as were women of their own time, her son sails away from her aboard such a ship as plied between the harbours around the coasts of England. By implication, the screen told visitors to the canons' church what Margery Kempe had rejoined, not long before, to the priest who had sought to silence her noisy grief at the sight of a pietà with 'Jesus has been dead a long time' — 'His death is as fresh to me as if he had died this very day, and I think that it should be so for you and every other Christian'[120]).

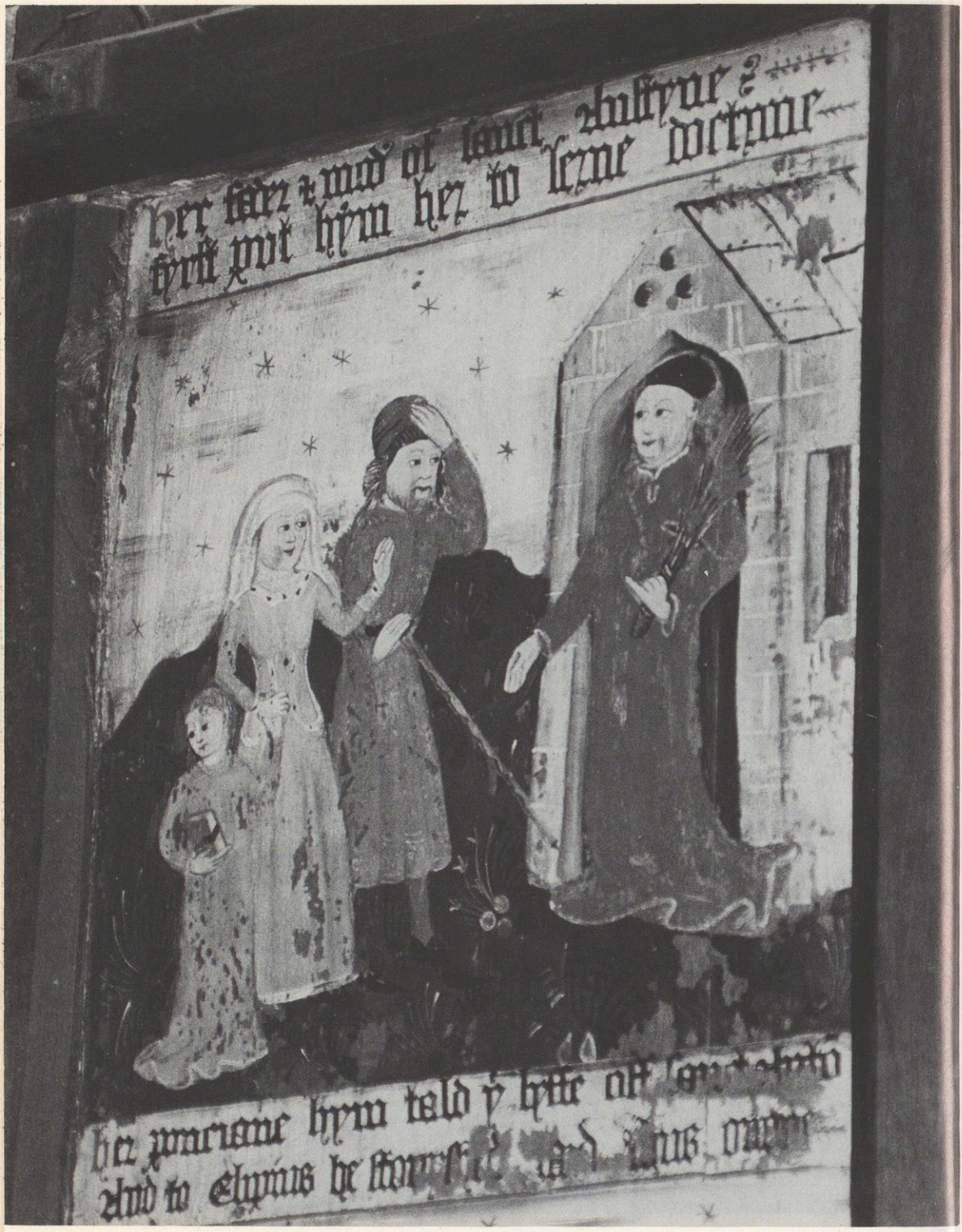
The painter made these scenes from far-off days and places local and contemporary by a variety of devices; and one is that he has shown nothing to his public to suggest that Augustine was not, as they for the most part would be, simple, modest, frugal. We have indicated the possibility that this is the work of some travelling craftsman, perhaps also a scribe, whom the canons commissioned; but it is a world removed from the luxurious ceiling ordered by Prior Simon Senhouse and painted for his apartments in the monastic enclosure in the early 1500s[121]). Those delicate fantasies with their brilliant technique might have adorned any palace; but Augustine had no such aspirations to aristocratic ways, and this unostentatious screen is his faithful memorial.

Edmund COLLEDGE, O.S.A.

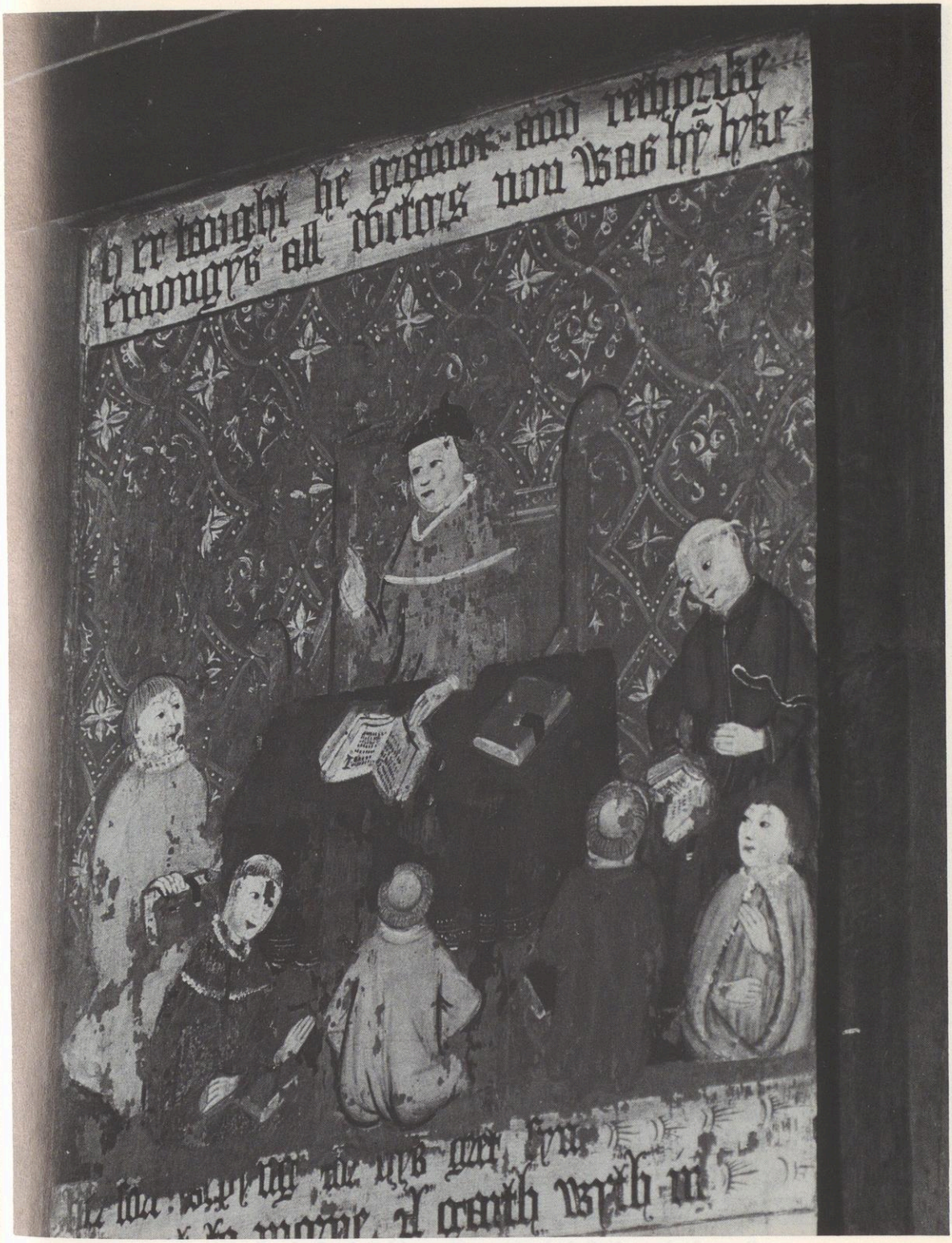
[120]) *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. S. B. Meech and H. E. Allen (London, 1940), p. 148.

[121]) Richard BOWER: 'Mural and other painted Decorations in the Diocese of Carlisle' (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* XV, 1899, pp. 14-15; J. H. MARTINDALE: 'Notes on the Deanery, Carlisle' (id., New Series VII, 1907, pp. 188-192).

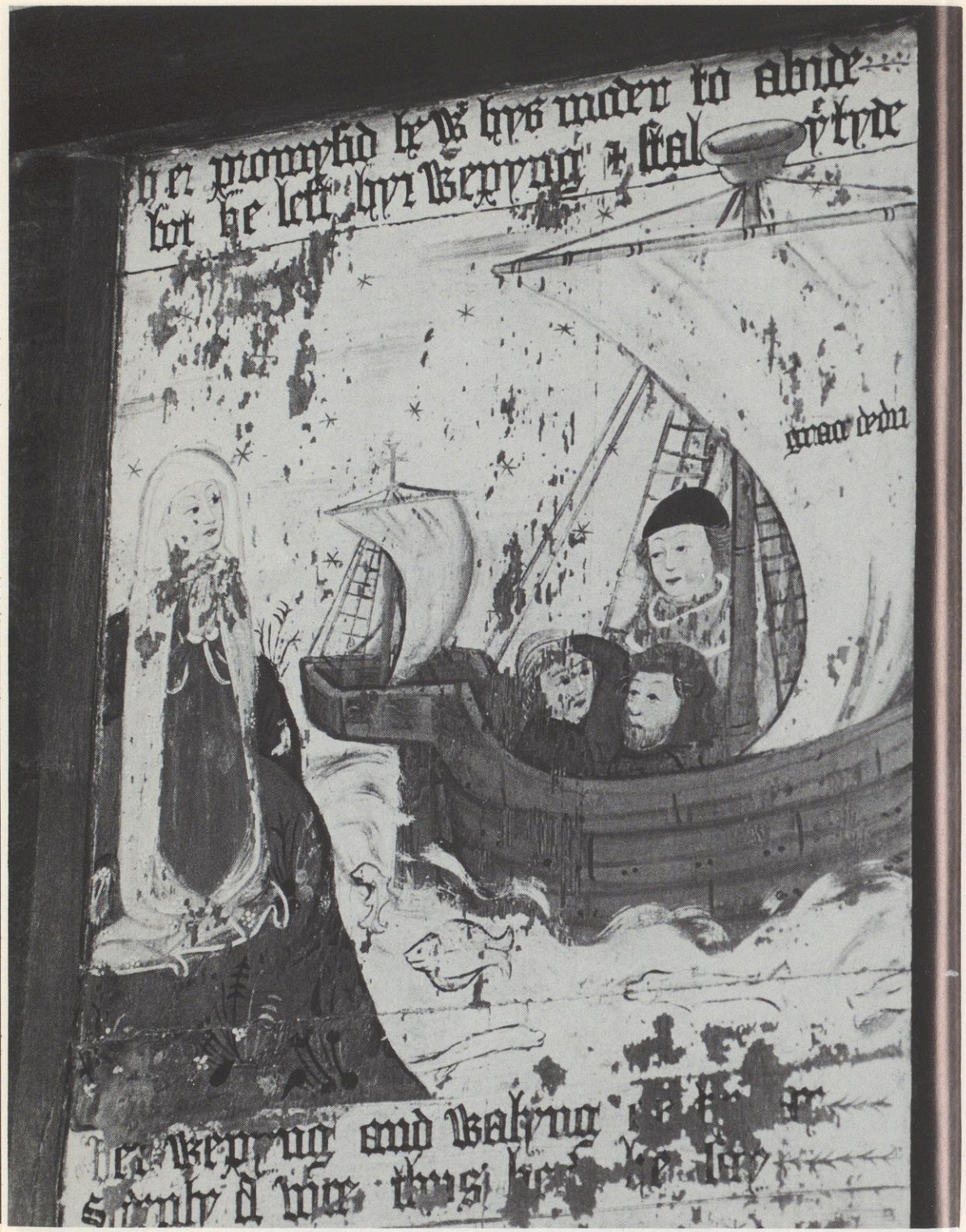
Augustine screen : overall view



Scene 1: Augustine is put to school.



Scene 2: Augustine teaching.



Scene 3: Augustine eludes his mother and embarks for Rome.

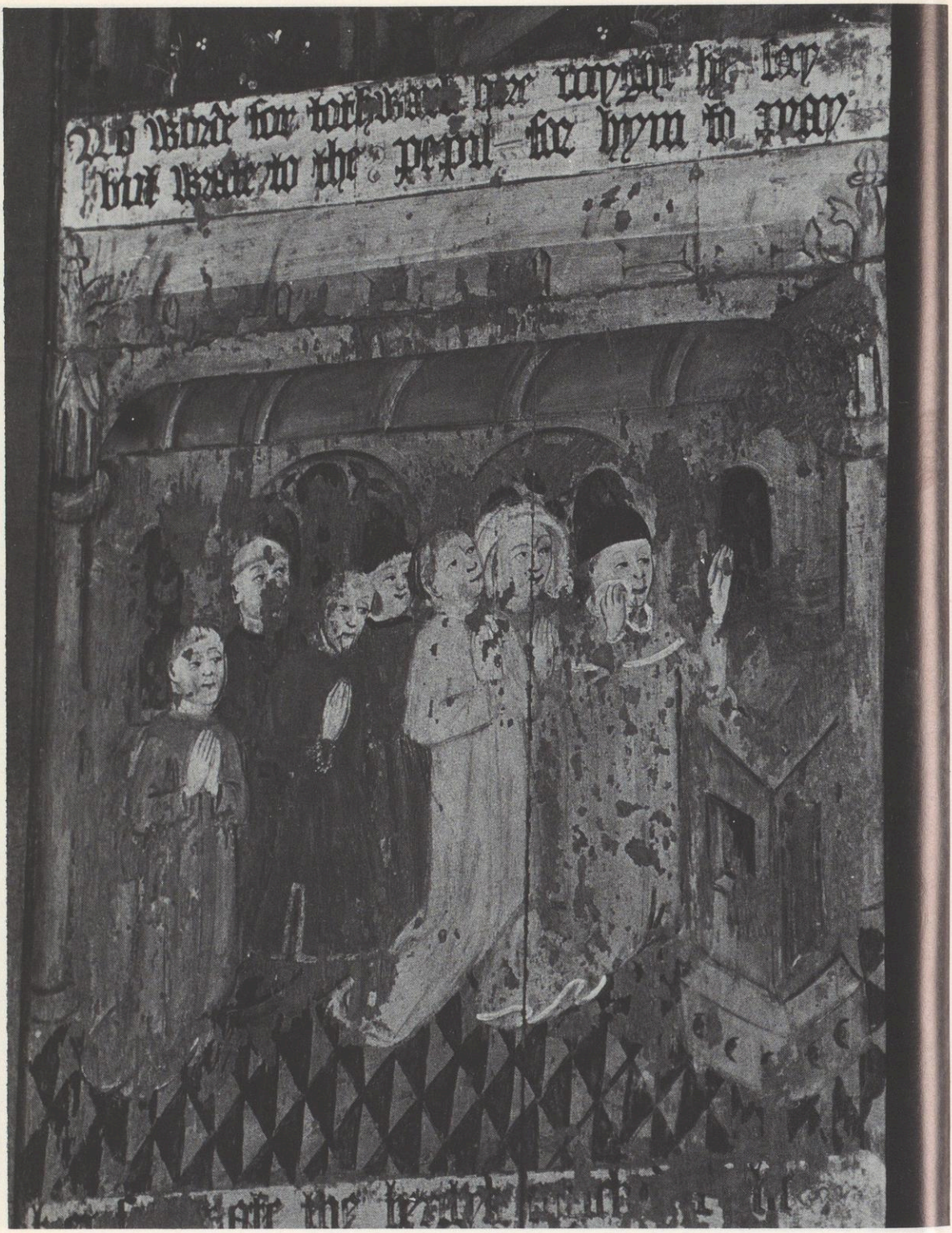
Scene 4: Augustine teaches at Rome.

Scene 5: Ambrose preaches on the interpretation of Scripture.

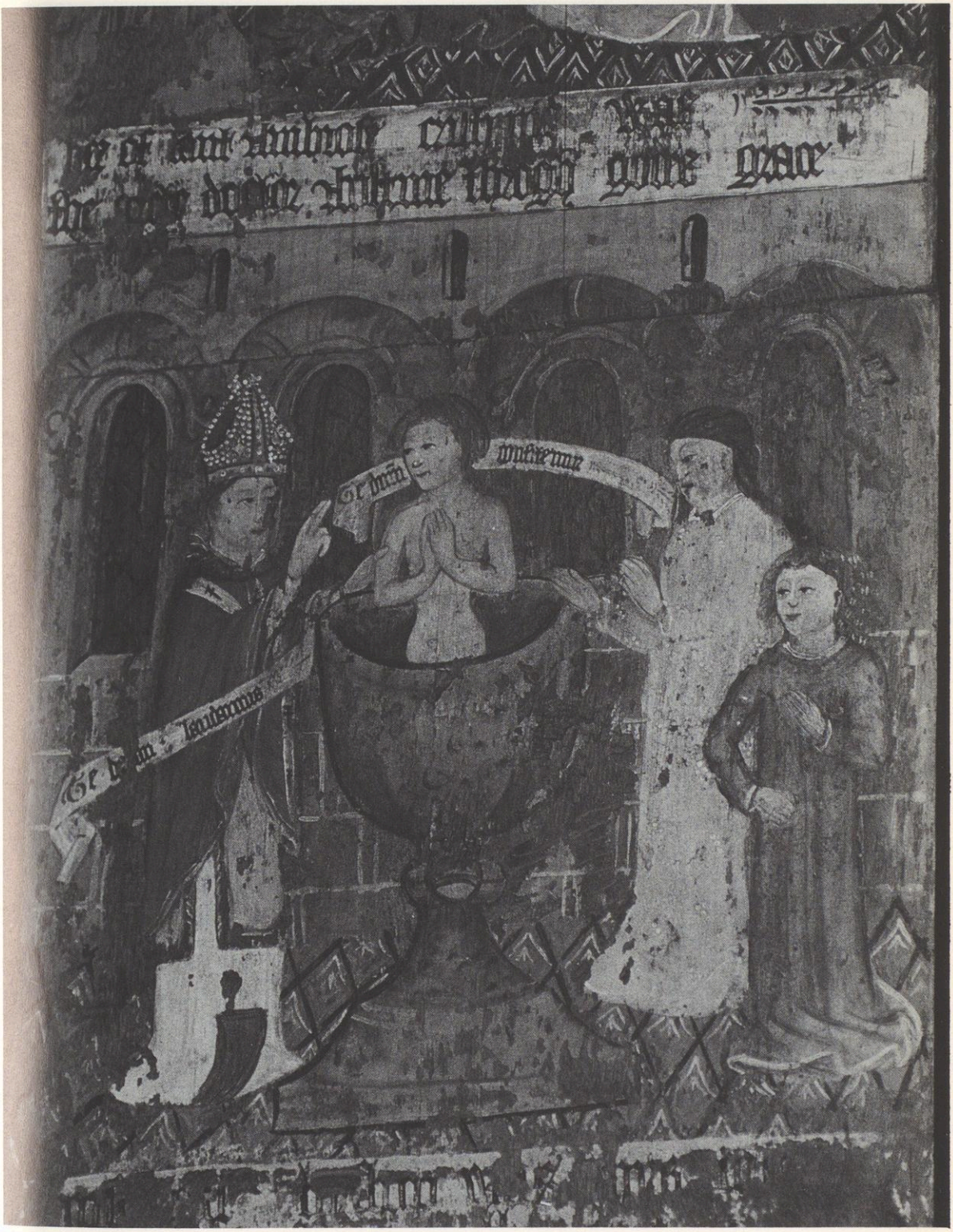
Scene 6: Ponticianus recounts the life of Anthony.

Scene 7: Augustine bewails his sins.

Scene 8: 'Tolle lege'.



Scene 9: Augustine, speechless for toothache, asks the people's prayers.

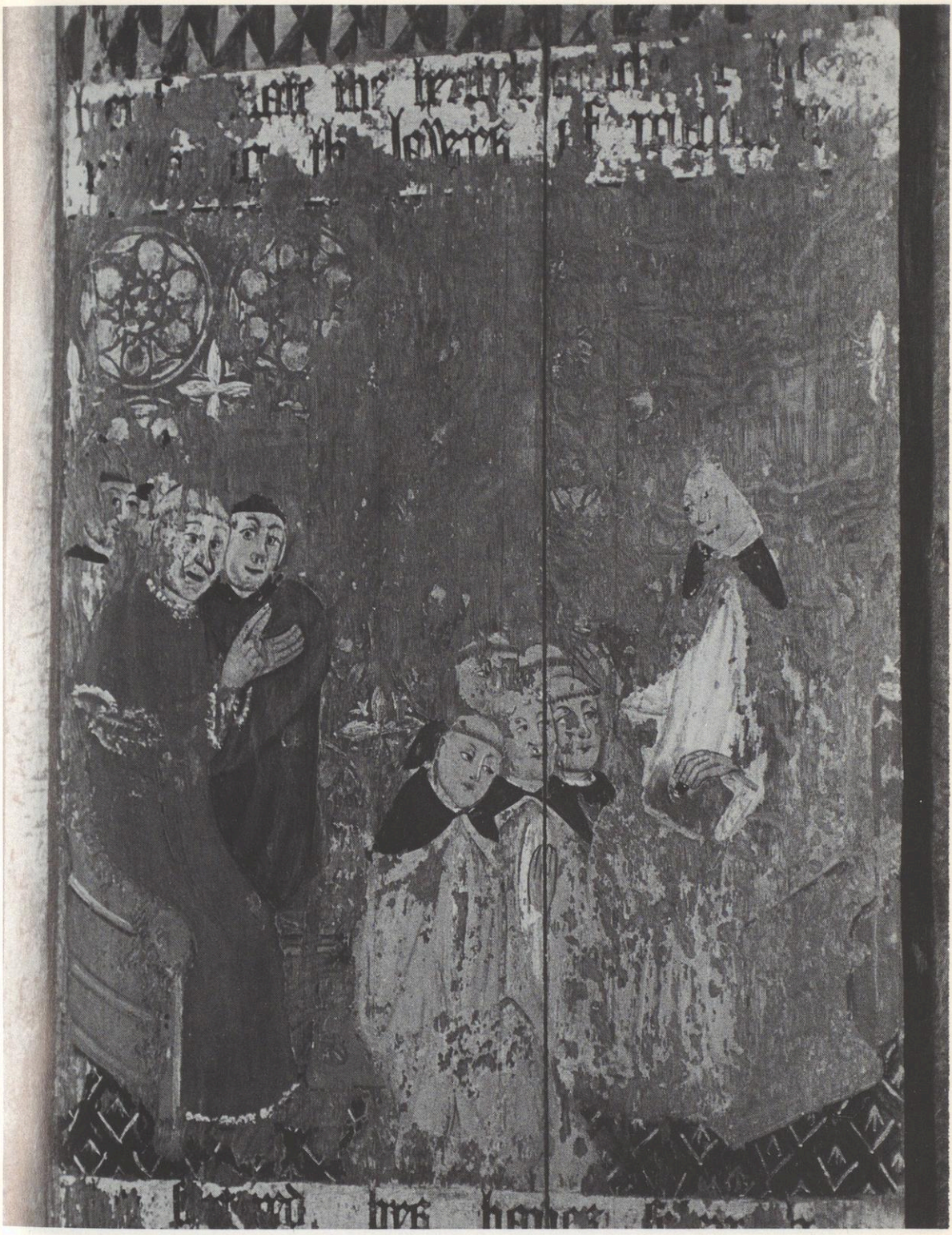


Scene 10: Augustine's baptism.

Scene 11: The death of Monica.

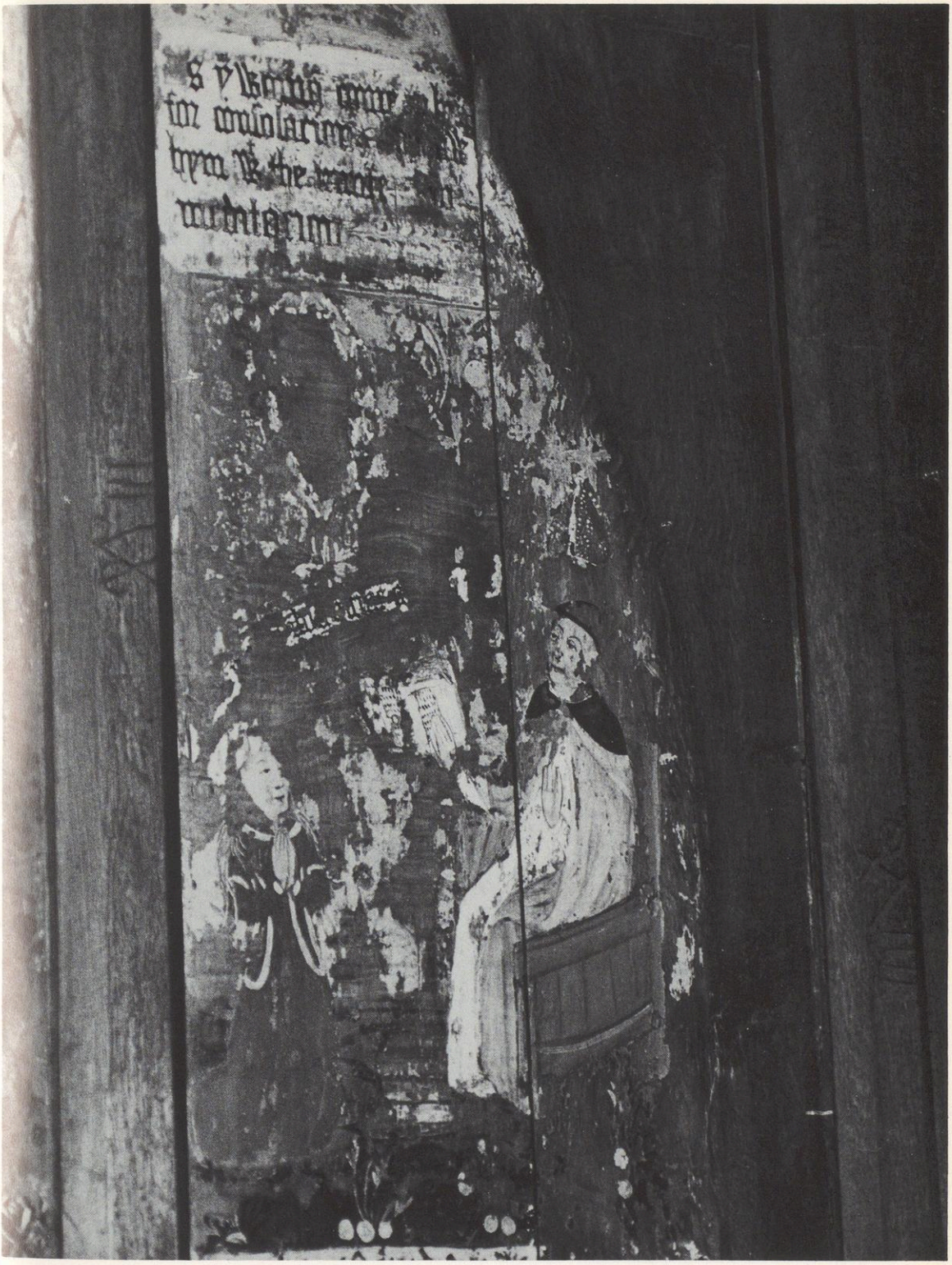
Scene 12: Valerius ordains Augustine priest.

Scene 13: Augustine delivers his Rule.



Scene 14: Augustine refutes Fortunatus.

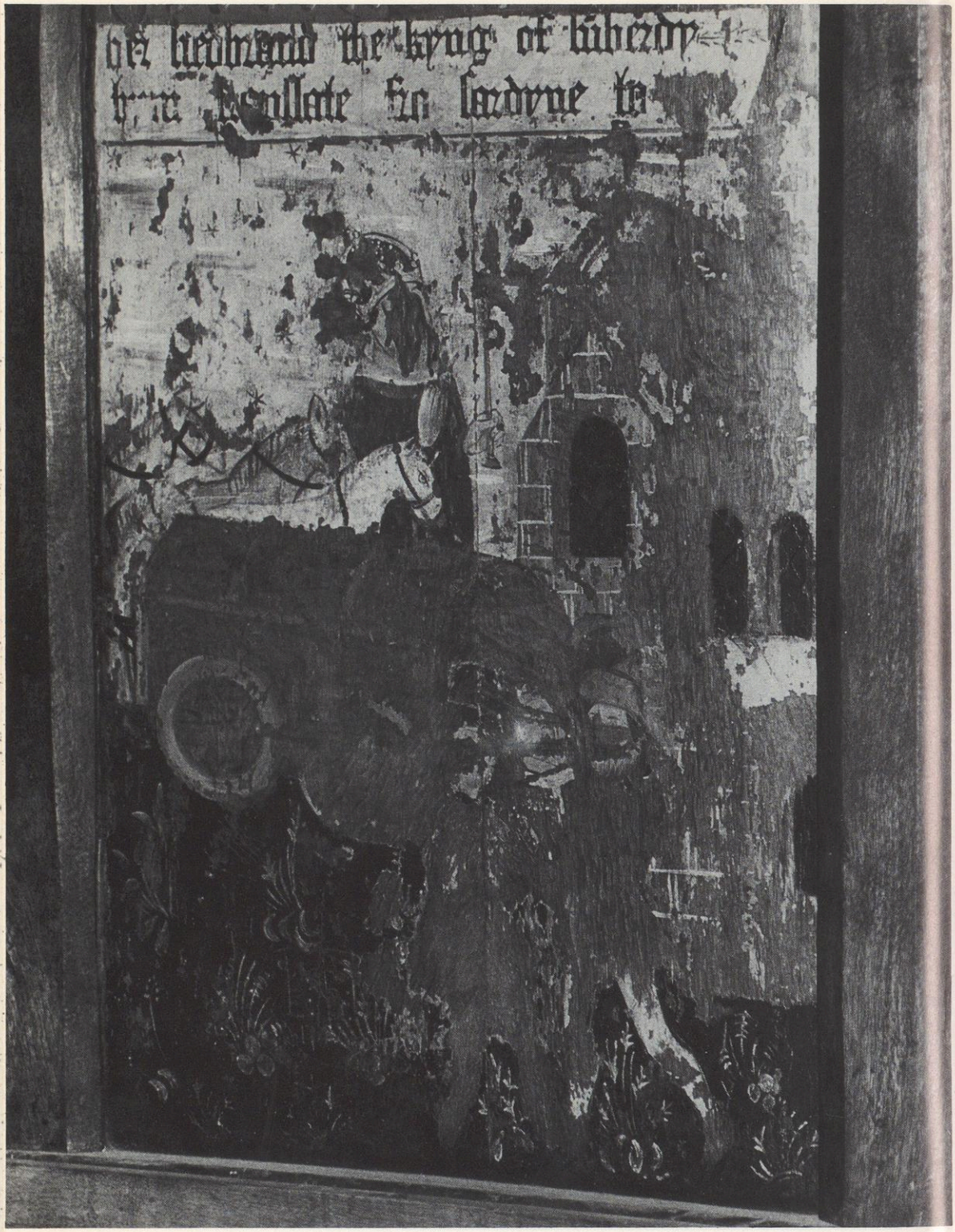
Scene 15: Augustine's episcopal consecration.



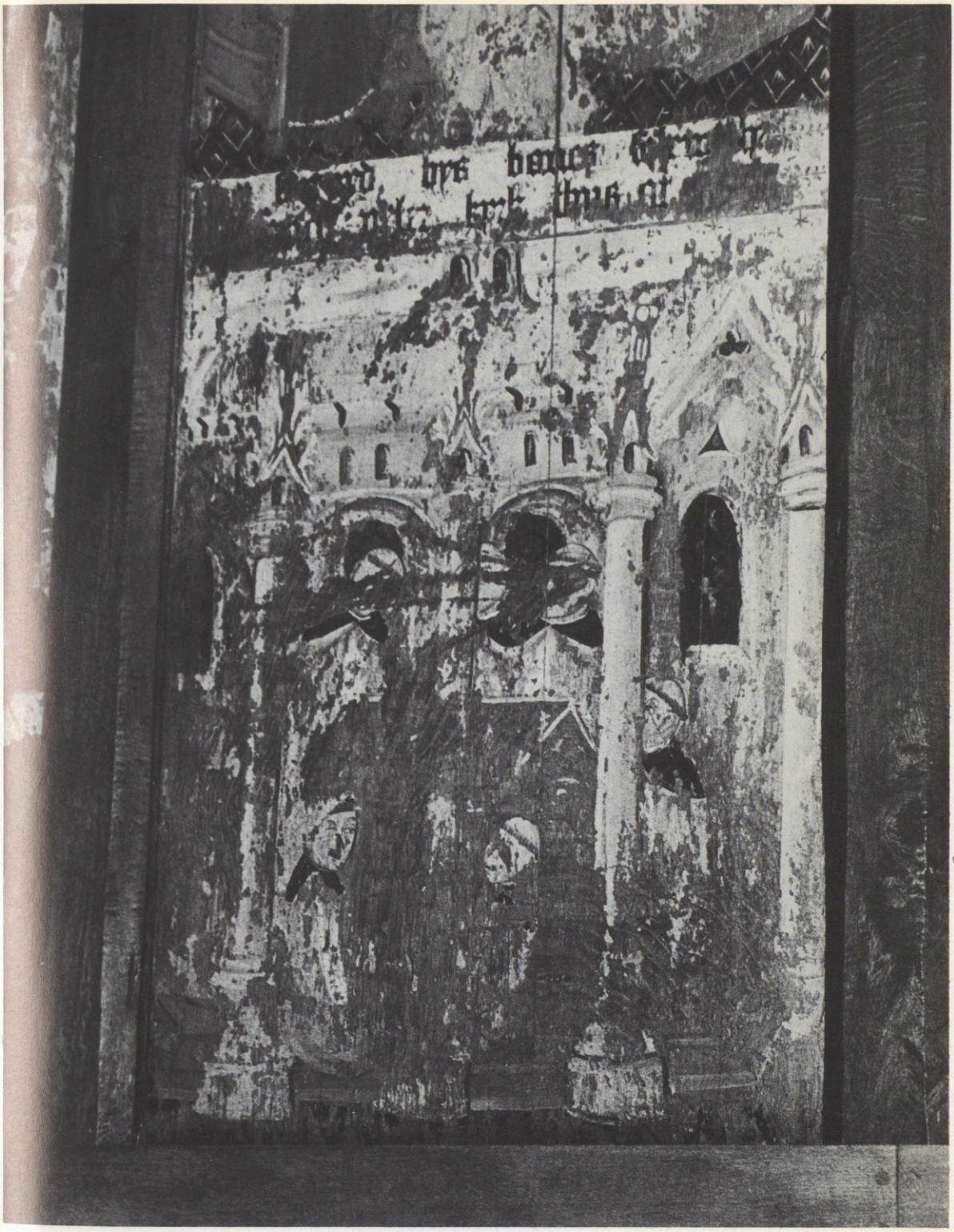
Scene 16: A woman finds Augustine in ecstasy.

Scene 17: A diabolical apparition.

Scene 18: Augustine's burial at Hippo.

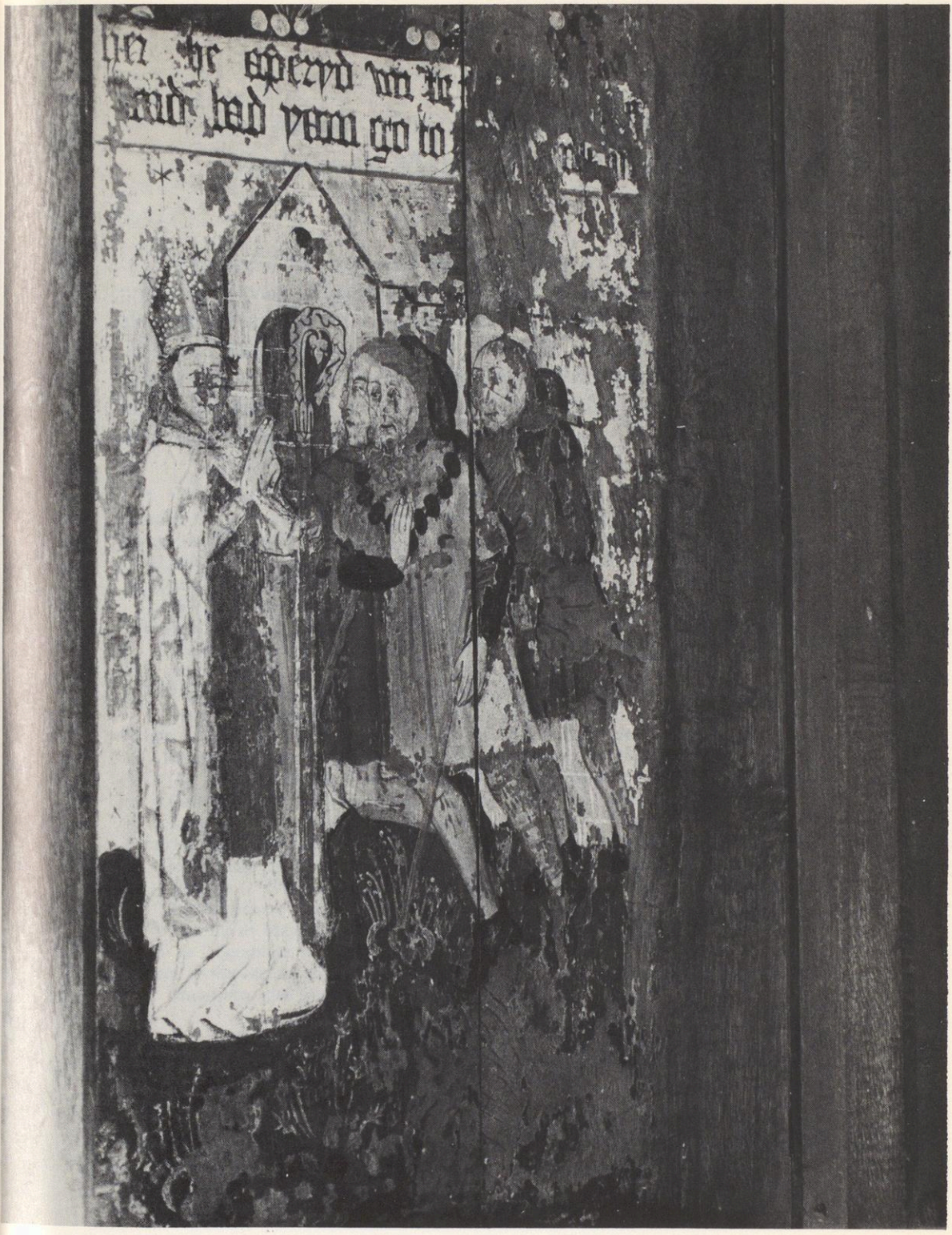


Scene 19: The translation of the relics to Pavia.



Scene 20: Enshrinement of the relics at Pavia.

Scene 21: The miraculous healing of a prior.



Scene 22: Augustine commands sick pilgrims to go for healing.

Autour de la bulle Unigenitus
Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719)

Françoise d'Aubigné, connue sous le nom de Madame de Maintenon, passe devant l'histoire pour «un protée insaisissable»[1]). D'ailleurs, elle-même avait prédit: «Je serai une énigme pour le monde»[2]). Non seulement elle s'annonça pour telle, mais elle contribua efficacement à l'être et à le rester, faisant disparaître en plusieurs occasions le principal de ses papiers[3]). De son côté, le marquis René-Louis d'Argenson, lieutenant général de police, avait présagé:

* La très abondante correspondance de Mme de Maintenon a fait l'objet de plusieurs éditions. Les particulières ne nous intéressent pas ici. Les générales se réduisent à:

Laurent Angliviel de la BEAUMELLE, *Lettres de Madame de Maintenon*, dans *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Madame de Maintenon et à celle du siècle passé*, 9 vol., Amsterdam, 1755-1756, dont il y eut des rééditions; nous citons celle de Maastricht, 16 vol., 1778. «Il vaut mieux que sa réputation».

Théophile LAVALLÉE, *Correspondance de Mme de Maintenon*, 5 vol., 1865-1866, arrêtée à l'année 1705; ayant été retiré du commerce, le cinquième volume est pratiquement introuvable.

A. GEFFROY, Madame de Maintenon d'après sa correspondance authentique. choix de ses lettres et entretiens, 2 vol., Paris 1887.

Marcel LANGLOIS, *Mme de Maintenon. Lettres*, 4 vol., (t. II à V, le premier n'ayant jamais été publié), Paris, 1935-1939; ne dépasse pas l'année 1701. Cité *Lettres*. G. Guitton (*Le P. de la Chaize*, Paris 1958, t. II, p. 260) cite une dernière édition de la Correspondance, due à Marcel Langlois et Préclin, comportant 12 vol., Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1945; elle n'a pas paru.

Parmi les nombreuses autres sources qui renseignent sur la carrière de Mme de Maintenon, je ne citerai que les *Mémoires* de Jean Joseph de Languet de Gergy, évêque de Soissons (1717-1731), édités dans Th. LAVALLÉE, *La famille d'Aubigné*, Paris 1863. Les douzième et treizième chapitres, assez superficiels, y sont consacrés aux rapports de Mme de Maintenon avec le jansénisme et la bulle Unigenitus.

Parmi les biographies, je citerai surtout :

Marcel LANGLOIS, *Madame de Maintenon*, Paris, 1932; Jean CORDELIER, *Madame de Maintenon. Une femme au grand siècle*, Paris, 1955.

[1]) LANGLOIS, 259.

[2]) Mme Saint-René TAILLANDIER, Madame de Maintenon, Paris, 1923, 288. Louis Mermaz (*Madame de Maintenon ou l'amour dévot*, Paris, 1985. — *J'ai lu l'histoire*, n° 1785) parle, p. 93 d'une «transparente énigme».

[3]) Par exemple avant la mort de Louis XIV et avant la sienne même. Dans l'ensemble, d'après Marcel Langlois (*Madame de Maintenon, ses œuvres, la légende et l'histoire*, dans *Revue Historique* 158, 1931, p. 254), elle aurait écrit quelque 60.000 lettres.

«Ce sera quelque jour une grande question parmi les historiens minutistes de savoir si Louis XIV était amant aussi bien que le mari de Mme de Maintenon, ou si elle était simplement une bonne amie qui cherchait à lui complaire en tout»[4]).

Toutefois, ce n'est pas la vie intime de cette femme qui nous intéresse ici, mais seulement son attitude, toujours inexplorée, devant ou autour de cette fâcheuse bulle Unigenitus, dont on l'a voulu rendre au moins partiellement responsable.

Saint-Simon, qui écrivit ses Mémoires avec un recul d'au moins trente ans, fait servir la bulle

à «l'intérêt de Mme de Maintenon de gouverner l'Église comme elle faisait l'État depuis si longtemps et que la partie principale n'échappât plus à sa domination. Ce champ une fois ouvert, il n'y eut plus de bornes. Le goût changeant de Mme de Maintenon s'était dépris du cardinal de Noailles à force d'artifices de Bissy et des sulpiciens et missionnaires, aiguisés et soufflés par les jésuites. Elle n'avait plus besoin de lui pour s'initier dans les affaires ecclésiastiques; ce pont, dont elle s'était pour cela si utilement servie, n'avait plus d'usage ... Son alliance avec les Noailles, son ancienne amitié pour le cardinal de Noailles ... se tournèrent en fureur contre lui, [laquelle] l'enfla comme d'un sacrifice fait à la vérité et à la soumission à l'Église»; Mémoires (édit. Ramsay), XII, 31-32.

Albert Le Roy (La France et Rome de 1700 à 1715. Histoire diplomatique de la bulle Unigenitus) écrit à la page 173:

«. Cette femme étrange ... allait plonger ses derniers jours, ceux de Louis XIV et la France, dans le chaos des querelles religieuses. N'importe, sa satisfaction était complète; elle touchait aux dernières choses sur lesquelles son sexe peut porter les mains, à ce que les hommes se réservent avec le soin le plus jaloux: la constitution de l'Église. Dans la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, elle avait eu sa part; dans l'anéantissement du jansénisme et l'humiliation des doctrines gallicanes, le rôle prépondérant lui revient. Erreur ou crime, exploit ou fantaisie, c'est bien son œuvre. Au regard de l'histoire, la bulle *Vineam* lui appartient. Elle se croyait, nous dit Saint-Simon, l'abbesse universelle, elle se figurait être une mère de l'église».

A la page 417, le même auteur se demande:

«Qui donc a, peu à peu, abandonné Noailles et autorisé contre lui des mesures de rupture et de coercition, sinon celle même qui

[4]) Louis HASTIER, *Louis XIV et Madame de Maintenon*, Paris, 1957, 8.

assiégeait l'esprit du prince, accaparait sa confiance et par là tenait mystérieusement les fils de notre politique? Avec quelle habilité et quelles précautions ne se mêlait-elle pas aux grandes choses de la diplomatie ou de la religion, sous le couvert des goûts modestes qu'elle cultivait à Saint-Cyr ... Plusieurs voudraient, par respect monarchique, que tout l'imbroglio de la bulle Unigenitus fût né à Rome dans le cerveau de jésuites intrigants et de zelanti cosmopolites. Mais les dépêches officielles de notre dépôt des affaires étrangères ne laissent, à cet égard, subsister aucun doute ...».

Comme cette bulle tournait avant tout autour du cardinal archevêque de Paris Louis-Antoine de Noailles[5]), notre étude s'occupera principalement des rapports entre ces deux personnages haut placés, l'un à Paris dans l'Église, l'autre à Versailles, à la cour. Ces rapports commencèrent assez tardivement, vers 1695.

I. Sous la fin du confessorat du P. de la Chaize (1675-1708)

C'était en somme pour échapper au P. de la Chaize que Françoise se rapprocha alors de Louis-Antoine. Était-ce en vue de son mariage secret qu'elle voulait conclure avec Louis XIV et faire bénir par le nouvel archevêque de Paris? C'est la thèse qu'en 1957, dans un livre bien conduit, Louis Hastier a avancée, mais qui n'a pas été retenue par les historiens. A quelques retouches près, prévaut toujours l'opinion de Saint-Simon qui, laissant assez entendre qu'il était bien renseigné, a plaçé ce mariage en 1683:

«A son retour [de Fontainebleau, où le roi passa tout l'automne 1683], on prétend, car il faut distinguer le certain de ce qui ne l'est pas; on prétend, dis-je, que le roi parla plus librement à Madame de Maintenon, et qu'elle, osant essayer ses forces, se retrancha habilement sur la dévotion et sur la pruderie de son dernier état [de veuve Scarron]; que le roi ne se rebuta point, qu'elle le prêcha et lui fit peur du diable et qu'elle ménagea son amour et sa conscience l'un par l'autre avec grand art; qu'elle parvint à ce que nos yeux ont vu et que la postérité refusera de croire.
Mais ce qui est certain et bien vrai, c'est que, quelque temps après le retour du roi de Fontainebleau, et au milieu de l'hiver[6]) qui suivit la mort de la reine, chose que la postérité aura peine à croire, quoique parfaitement vrai et avéré, le P. de la Chaize, confesseur du roi, dit la

[5]) Voir notre étude sur Noailles dans *Lias*, 11 (1984), 169-252.
[6]) Les auteurs placent le mariage plutôt dans la nuit du 9 au 10 octobre.

> messe en pleine nuit dans un des cabinets du roi à Versailles. Bontemps[7]), gouverneur de Versailles, premier valet de chambre ... servit la messe où ce monarque et la Maintenon furent mariés, en présence d'Harlay, l'archevêque de Paris, comme diocésain, de Louvois, qui tous deux avaient, comme on l'a dit, tiré parole du roi qu'il ne déclarerait jamais ce mariage, et de Monchevreuil[8]) uniquement en troisième [témoin]»[9]).

Si ce n'était pas pour bénir un mariage secret, pour quelle autre raison, Françoise se serait-elle rapprochée de Louis-Antoine? Etaient-ce ses scrupules? Scrupule et crainte du scandale qui, à cause de la clandestinité de son mariage, devait résulter de sa cohabitation? Scrupule, inspiré par la législation de Trente, quant à la validité de son union clandestine? Ces scrupules, relevés par Hastier, ne devaient pas être fort sérieux, l'archevêque Harlay ayant donné la dispense pour la clandestinité, et le cancan de la cour ayant suffisamment ébruité le mariage. Était-ce alors l'orgueil qui la poussait à faire déclarer son mariage et à paraître publiquement en reine de France? On lui a souvent attribué cette mégalomanie. Mais en vérité, elle était bien trop réaliste pour ne pas voir qu'avec son ascendance et son passé, il lui était impossible de se hausser au-dessus des enfants royaux légitimes et légitimés, au-dessus des princes du sang, au-dessus de la plus haute noblesse aulique et parlementaire. En cela, son mari était aussi clairvoyant qu'elle. A bon droit, sa belle-sœur, méchante langue avant tout, et qui la haïssait, écrivit-elle en 1692:

> «Elle [Mme de Maintenon] n'est pas si folle que de se faire déclarer reine; elle connaît trop bien l'humeur de son homme. Si elle faisait cela, elle tomberait bien vite en disgrâce»[10]).

Toutefois, la Palatine ajoute:

> «Elle [Françoise] ne veut pas qu'on la traite ainsi [en reine], mais elle veut qu'on ait autant de considération pour elle, et même plus, que si elle était reine, qu'on la consulte en tout et qu'on ne fasse rien sans son conseil et sans son ordre»[11]).

[7]) Alexandre Bontemps-(1626-1701), premier valet de chambre de Louis XIV. Il se chargea de la correspondance destinée à Mme de Maintenon; HASTIER, 251.

[8]) Henri de Mornau, marquis de Montchevreuil, gouverneur du duc du Maine; HASTIER, 281.

[9]) SAINT-SIMON (édit. Ramsay), XI, 507, Voir d'autres récits dans HASTIER, 232-242. Voir dans LANGLOIS, 176-177, une gravure de Moreau représentant le mariage secret.

[10]) HASTIER, 112.

[11]) Ibid., 275.

En effet, Françoise n'écrivait-elle pas elle-même:

> «C'est à moi qu'il faut s'adresser, par qui tout passe. Je me regarde comme un instrument dont Dieu se sert pour faire du Bien»[12])?

Cette domination, Noailles aura à la subir. Pourtant, tout en étant persuadée de la validité et de la publicité de son mariage secret, Françoise n'était pas tranquille. Connaissant son propre passé[13]) et celui de son mari, elle se préoccupait fortement de la stabilité de son mariage, exposé à tant de dangers. De plus, croyante, auditrice attentive des sermons terribles du P. Bourdaloue, elle se tourmentait autant du salut éternel de son mari, qu'elle aimait vraiment, que du sien propre. Comme remède à ce double souci, elle ne voyait rien d'autre que la dévotion, laquelle, selon saint Paul (Tim. 4,8), est utile à tout; tant à retenir qu'à sauver un mari volage. La dévotion qu'elle même pratiquera désormais largement, voilà, devait-elle penser, la double clef de leur réussite commune, de leur mariage et de leur salut éternel.

La reine cachée se trouvait là une mission providentielle, dans laquelle la confirmait son confesseur, le pieux mais si antijanséniste évêque de Chartres, Godet des Marais. Celui-ci — il vaut la peine de le noter — lui écrivit e.a.:

> «... La main invisible du Tout Puissant ... vous conduit ... C'est par vous qu'il veut le sanctifier [le roi]; s'il vous échappait et si vous lui échappiez, son dessein ne s'accomplirait pas. Votre chambre est son asile ... Votre chambre est l'église domestique où Dieu le retire pour le soutenir et le sanctifier sans qu'il s'en aperçoive ... Dieu met entre vos mains les intérêts de l'Église, de l'Etat, le salut du grand roi»[14]).

[12]) *Catholicisme ..., Encyclopédie*, VIII, 193.

[13]) Elle laisse lire dans son cœur dans une lettre qu'elle adressa à Mme de Maisonfort: «Que ne puis-je vous donner mon expérience! que ne puis-je vous faire voir l'ennui qui dévore les grands, et la peine qu'ils ont à remplir leurs journées! Ne voyez-vous pas que je meurs de tristresse dans une fortune qu'on aurait peine à imaginer? J'ai été jeune et jolie; j'ai goûté les plaisirs; j'ai été aimée partout; dans un âge plus avancé, j'ai passé des années dans le commerce de l'esprit; je suis venue à la faveur; et je vous proteste, ma chère fille, que tous les états laissent un vide affreux» (BEAUMELLE, IX, 153). En somme, c'était aussi pour remplir ce «vide affreux», que Françoise s'approcha de Louis-Antoine et qu'elle s'occupa de Saint-Cyr.

[14]) Il existe un florilège de textes semblables; cf. GUITTON, *Le Père de la Chaize*, II, 158. Chez Godet, la note réaliste ne manque pas toujours. Il écrit p.e. à sa pénitente: «Vous êtes à la place des reines et vous n'avez pas plus de liberté qu'une petite bourgeoise»; BEAUMELLE, VI, 76-77. Dans une belle prière de 1691, Françoise s'exprimait ainsi: «Seigneur, mon Dieu! Vous m'avez mise dans la place où je suis ... Remplissez-moi de sagesse ... dans le poste avancé où vous m'avez attachée ... Vous, qui tenez entre vos mains

Conduire à la piété un roi de France, un rude guerrier, dans la force de l'âge, entouré d'une cour libertine[15]), voilà une tâche peu engageante, à laquelle même le confesseur officiel ne croyait pas et à laquelle il ne désirait pas collaborer[16]). Néanmoins, jusque vers 1694, l'épouse secrète semblait y avoir réussi[17]), avec l'aide de pieux courtisans, Fénelon, le duc de Beauvillier et le duc de Chevreuse. Mais alors, en 1695, devant l'éclat de l'affaire de la fausse mystique, où outre Madame Guyon et le P. La Combe, étaient impliqués Fénelon, les deux ducs, tout Saint-Cyr et même l'épouse secréte elle-même, — ce dont toute la cour se régalait —, alors Louis XIV se rebiffa, et du coup le mariage sembla en danger. Françoise avait besoin d'appuis.

Le confesseur la Chaize pouvait-il l'aider? Dans la fameuse lettre que, vers le début de la même année 1695, Fénelon avait écrite au roi, Françoise avait lu ce passage qu'elle devait approuver entièrement:

> «... Pour votre confesseur, il n'est pas vicieux, mais il craint la solide vertu; il n'aime que les gens profanes et relâchés ... Il est jaloux de son autorité que vous avez poussée au-delà de toutes les bornes.

le cœur des rois, ouvrez celui du roi, afin que j'y puisse faire entrer le bien que vous désirez; donnez-moi de le réjouir, de le consoler, de l'encourager et de l'attrister lorsqu'il le faut pour votre gloire; que je ne lui dissimule rien des choses qu'il doit savoir par moi et qu'aucun autre n'aurait le courage de lui dire. Faites que je me sauve avec lui ...»; GEFFROY, I, 208. Dans le même genre d'idées, citons encore Villefore, *Anecdotes*, I, 129: «Le poste que cette Dame a si longtemps et si tranquillement occupé, l'avait mise à portée de connaître tous les mystères et de diriger tous les mouvements de la politique. Un génie d'une autre étendue et d'une autre élévation que le sien, s'en serait prévalu pour engager le prince à soutenir sa véritable gloire et la félicité de ses états; mais comme elle connut son insuffisance pour ce grand ouvrage, elle crut devoir veiller à la durée de sa fortune, ainsi tout ce qu'elle avait d'adresse, de délicatesse et d'agrément dans l'esprit, tous ces gracieux talents en un mot, furent employés à flatter les inclinations du monarque, qui commençait à mieux goûter les amusements et les douceurs domestiques que les travaux éclatants d'un héros ...».

[15]) Bossuet avait beaucoup prêché contre ce libertinage; cf. E. LONGUEMARE, *Bossuet et la société française sous le règne de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1910, 212-242. Mermaz écrit (p. 135): «La tâche [de conversion] est malaisée, car le souverain est habitué à une pratique superficielle; il se fait des scrupules sur des riens et ignore l'essentiel. Il s'attache à des superstitions, il est formaliste et gâté par l'adulation dont on l'entoure».

[16]) Le 26 juillet 1696, Maintenon écrivit sur le compte du Père de la Chaize: «Il a déploré vingt fois avec moi les égarements du roi, mais pourquoi ne lui interdit-il pas absolument l'usage du sacrement? Il se contente d'une demi-conversion. Vous voyez qu'il y a du vrai dans les Petites lettres [de Pascal]. Le P. de la Chaize est un honnête homme, mais l'air de la cour gâte la vertu la plus pure et adoucit la plus sévère»; *Lettres*, II, 176. Cf. GUITTON, II, 141-166. Ce dernier livre nous dispense de nous arrêter beaucoup sur les relations entre Françoise, Louis-Antoine et la Chaize.

[17]) Cf. infra.

> Jamais confesseurs des rois n'avaient fait seuls les évêques ... Les jésuites mêmes le méprisent ... Vous avez fait d'un religieux un ministre d'état. Il ne se connaît point en hommes ... Il est dupe de tous ceux qui le flattent ... Il ne doute ni n'hésite sur aucune question difficile ... Il penchera toujours au relâchement et à vous entretenir dans l'ignorance ...»[18]).

Evitant ce confesseur inutile et même dangereux, Françoise se rapproche de Louis-Antoine de Noailles, encore évêque de Châlons-sur-Marne, qui est son cadet de 19 ans et dont l'étoile allait monter très vite; il sera archevêque de Paris en 1695, cardinal en 1700.

Ce rapprochement extraordinaire se fit sans doute sous l'influence de la mère de l'évêque, dont la piété avait édifié la cour pendant son long séjour à Versailles. Saint-Simon en fait ce bel éloge:

> «Sa mère, qui avait passé sa vie à la cour, dame d'atour de la reine-mère, s'était retirée auprès de lui depuis des années [depuis son veuvage en 1678]; elle y était sous sa conduite, et se confessait à lui tous les soirs, uniquement occupée de son salut dans la plus parfaite solitude»[19]).

L'ayant connue à la cour, Françoise eut par après quelque correspondance avec elle[20]).

C'est cet évêque que l'épouse secrète va attirer en vue du salut éternel de son époux et non moins pour la stabilité, «la solidité» de son mariage. Pour rendre cette influence plus facile et plus bénéfique, Françoise prend une mesure très importante. Malgré lui, malgré le Père de la Chaize, elle va faire transférer l'évêque de Châlons à l'archevêché de Paris.

Noailles, archevêque de Paris, Françoise pourra le rencontrer chaque semaine lorsqu'il vient à Versailles, à Fontainebleau, à Marly pour son audience hebdomadaire. Elle en profitera largement. Entre les visites, elle lui adressera, surtout les premières années, de nombreux billets, que, heureusement pour l'histoire, Noailles a conservés[21]). Nous

[18]) FÉNELON, *Œuvres*, VII, 509-515. Cf. L. CEYSSENS, *Fénelon*, dans *Antonianum*, 59 (1984) 491.

[19]) SAINT-SIMON, II, 55; voir un texte semblable, II, 190.

[20]) Voir *Lettres*, t. IV et V.

[21]) Beaumelle a édité cette correspondance dans son t. IV (dans l'édition de Maastricht, t. X, 184 p., 278 lettres, la plupart de Maintenon). Il fait remarquer: «Ces lettres ont été recueillies par M. ... de Noailles. On se plaignait, durant sa vie, du profond secret où il ensevelissait quantité de choses curieuses, mais il prenait des mesures pour en conserver la mémoire à la postérité. Il avait chargé un homme de confiance de mettre en

comptons e.a. 5 lettres pour 1694; 39 pour 1695; 45 pour 1696; 29 pour 1697; 29 pour 1698; 14 pour 1699; 18 pour 1700; 13 pour 1701 ... Faisons-y quelques glanures.

Le 13 août 1695, sept jours après la mort de Harlay, archevêque de Paris, elle écrit à l'évêque de Châlons:

> «... Si on vous offre la place vacante, la refuserez-vous, sans consulter les gens de bien? En trouverez-vous qui ne vous disent pas qu'il faut souffrir les maux déjà faits, et sans vous, dans la vue de tout changer à l'avenir? Y eût-il jamais une cause de translation plus forte que le bien de l'Église et le salut du roi? Est-il permis de préférer le repos au travail, de refuser une place que la Providence vous donne sans que vous y ayez contribué? Gardez-moi le secret de ce billet, et sans aucune exception que pour madame votre mère»[22]).

Cinq jours plus tard, le 18 août, ayant reçu une réponse hésitante, elle revient à l'assaut:

> «Je comprends en partie la pesanteur et l'importance du joug qu'on veut vous imposer, mais il faut travailler; vous avez de la jeunesse et de la santé; ce n'est pas à moi à vous exhorter à la sacrifier à la gloire de Dieu, au bien de l'Église *et au salut du roi*. [Notez-le]. Voyez une lettre d'un de vos amis [Godet des Marais, évêque de Chartres], qui sait ce qui se passe. Vous nous garderez le secret à tous; il faut quelquefois tromper le roi [préparer sa conversion sans qu'il le sache] pour le servir, et j'espère que Dieu nous fera la grâce de le tromper encore en pareille intention et de concert avec vous»[23]).

Le lendemain, Noailles est nommé archevêque de Paris. Ayant été faite à l'insu du P. de la Chaize et contre le gré des jésuites, cette nomination aura des conséquences incalculables[24]). Elle est le premier

ordre les pièces originales et de les publier en temps et lieu. Je tiens celle-ci d'un ami de cet homme»; X, 1-2.

[22]) *Lettres*, IV, 417. Il faut nous arrêter un instant sur Saint-Simon, qui, II, 55, affirme que Noailles, prévoyant sa translation de Châlons à Paris, et voulant la conjurer, «se hâta de joindre son approbation à celle de tant d'autres évêques au livre ... du P. Quesnel, pour s'en donner l'exclusion certaine des jésuites ...». Il est vrai, Saint-Simon, qui eut beaucoup de rapports amicaux avec Noailles, aurait pu apprendre cette nouvelle extraordinaire de sa bouche même. Toutefois, encore qu'elle ne fût pas en désaccord avec le caractère du prélat, et fût signée le 23 juin 1695, deux mois avant la nomination, elle n'est guère acceptable, car cette approbation ne fut rendue publique et connue des jésuites que plusieurs mois plus tard, en 1696.

[23]) *Lettres*, IV, 418.

[24]) Saint-Simon (II, 55), écrit: «Mais il arriva, peut-être pour la première fois, que le P. de la Chaize ne fut point consulté. Madame de Maintenon osa, peut-être aussi pour la

pas vers la bulle *Unigenitus*. Françoise en assume vraiment la «première» responsabilité. Dès le 26 août, l'épouse secrète avertit le nouvel archevêque:

> «... Les jésuites nous déclarent la guerre, hautement, de tous côtés, et ceux qui aiment la paix sont à plaindre ... Soyez sur vos gardes; ne m'écrivez rien de mystérieux, nous sommes épiés de tous côtés, et si Dieu ne me soutenait, je serais désespérée d'être attachée où je suis ...»[25]).

Pour dérouter les espions, Françoise offre un chiffre, dont son correspondant fera éventuellement usage[26]). Du reste, comme une Mère de l'Église ou plutôt comme une maîtresse des novices (ce qu'elle est effectivement à Saint-Cyr), elle accable son nouvel archevêque de bons conseils; le 8 novembre:

> «... Il n'est pas possible, Monseigneur, que le Père de la Chaize manque à vous rendre ses respects. S'il le fait, je croirai fort bon de lui rendre les vôtres. Accoutumez-vous ... à faire une lettre à part de ce que vous voulez que je montre au roi; il ne faut rien mêler qui marque notre grand commerce»[27]).

première fois, en faire son affaire. Elle montra des lettres pressantes de MM. Thiberge et Brisacier, supérieurs des Missions étrangères, que [lesquels] pour contrecarrer les jésuites dont le crédit la gênait, elle avait mis à la mode du roi. Il lui importait que l'archevêque de Paris ne fût point à eux pour qu'il fût à elle; M. de Noailles était un bon garant; en un mot elle l'emporta, et M. de Châlons fut nommé à son insu et à l'insu du P. de la Chaize. Le camouflet était violent; aussi les jésuites ne l'ont-ils jamais pardonné à ce prélat». Cf. GUITTON, *Le P. de la Chaize*, I, 150-153; id., *Un conflit de direction spirituelle*, dans *XVII^e siècle*, 29 (1953) 378-395.

[25]) *Lettres*, IV, 419. A cette époque, Madame de Maintenon s'occupait avec Noailles à faire placer le P. Gabriel Daymerique, jésuite, comme confesseur dans la famille royale, contre le gré de ses supérieurs; cf. ibid., passim.

[26]) BEAUMELLE, X, 28-29. Un certain nombre de personnes, le roi en tête, le premier président à la fin, sont désignés par des chiffres; les jésuites s'appellent *les dévots*; les jansénistes *les anciens*; les quiétistes *les modernes*; la Sorbonne *la famille*.

[27]) *Lettres*, IV, 461. Pour ce qui est de cette manie de maîtresse des novices, je tiens à citer un passage de la lettre de Racine à Françoise en date du 4 mars 1699: «Ayez la bonté de vous souvenir, Madame, combien de fois vous avez dit que la meilleure qualité que vous trouviez en moi, c'était cette soumission d'enfant pour tout ce que l'Église croit et ordonne, même dans les plus petites choses»; ibid., V, 412. Combien de fois! Non pas à une religieuse sous sa conduite, mais à un homme du monde, un grand poète! Il y a eu de nombreuses éditions de *Lettres édifiantes* de Madame de Maintenon. Je ne cite que la dernière qui me soit connue: R.P. LIBERCIER, dominicain résidant à Moscou, *Lettres à des religieuses d'après Mme de Maintenon*, Paris 1900.

Le 15 novembre:

> «Souvenez-vous, s'il vous plaît, que vous m'avez promis de ne m'écrire que pour le nécessaire. Défiez-vous, Monseigneur, de tout le monde, et particulièrement de Mr. le premier Président [Jean-Antoine de Mesme] ... Encore une fois, Monseigneur, défiez-vous de tout ce que vous estimez le plus. Je suis à la source, et c'est ce qui me fait voir trahisons sur trahisons; j'aurais vécu longtemps sans croire les hommes aussi mauvais qu'on le dit, mais la Cour change les meilleurs»[28]).

Puisque Noailles doit l'aider à retenir son mari en le conduisant à la dévotion il devra, pour commencer, rééduquer le P. de la Chaize, le confesseur officiel du roi. Le 27 décembre 1695, elle lui écrit:

> «... Ne tâcherez-vous point, Monseigneur, de guérir le Père de la Chaize, ou du moins de lui faire honte de cette maxime que: les dévots ne sont bons à rien? ... La maxime du bon père est publique; ainsi vous pourrez lui en parler librement. Ne le piquerez-vous point d'honneur en lui disant que ce serait lui qui devrait être le protecteur de la piété, au lieu de dire que nous sommes mal ensemble, parce que j'aime les gens de bien et qu'il ne peut les souffrir? Il n'y a rien là, ce me semble, qu'il irait redire au roi, et qui ne fût contre lui ...»[29]).

Effectivement, Françoise a une pleine confiance dans son archevêque. Le 15 novembre, elle lui écrit:

> «... Le roi ... m'a imposé un entier secret que je confie à mon évêque, parce que je le crois nécessaire. Mais souvenez-vous que ma confiance n'est que pour vous seul et que, si je pouvais croire que votre famille le sût, je serais plus circonspecte ... mais le personnage que je veux faire avec vous doit être ignoré de tout le monde ... Rassurez-moi là-dessus, je vous en conjure ...»[30]).

Toutefois, au fur et à mesure que l'affaire du quiétisme s'aggrave à Paris et à Rome, la situation de l'épouse secrète devient de moins en moins tenable. Le roi ne veut plus qu'elle s'en mêle encore, ni même que le nonce s'adresse à elle; «il n'y a qu'à gémir», ajoute-t-elle[31]). D'autres cris d'angoisse lui échappent:

[28]) *Lettres*, IV, 461-464.

[29]) Ibid., IV, 478. Dans cette lettre, elle révèle que «sans pouvoir jamais faire parler son mari, elle le put conduire à une confession générale, mais qu'après cela, sa dévotion était tombée en vingt-quatre heures; et que depuis, il ne me disait un mot sur la dévotion ...». Non, elle le sut et l'avouait, il n'y avait pas eu une «conversion».

[30]) *Lettres*, IV, 463-464.

[31]) LANGLOIS, 192; *Lettres*, IV, 254.

Le 17 décembre 1695: «Je vous écris avec une précipitation dont vous vous apercevrez. Mes contraintes augmentent tous les jours. Tout est perdu, si vous ne me laissez la liberté de mentir» [en vous écrivant sans le lui avouer][32]).

Le 27 septembre 1696: «Je ne lui parle presque plus quoiqu'il soit dans la chambre»[33]).

La situation empire encore. A la suite de l'action antijanséniste de Humbert Guillaume de Précipiano, archevêque de Malines, très lié depuis longtemps avec Thyrse Gonzales, général des jésuites, celui-ci s'est adressé en 1696 au P. de la Chaize pour commencer une croisade contre le jansénisme, qui menace l'Église et l'État[34]). Le confesseur agace son pénitent aussi sur ce point.

Le rapprochement en crise

Ainsi, il n'y avait plus seulement l'affaire du quiétisme pour rendre difficile les rapports entre les époux secrets. S'y ajoutait désormais celle du jansénisme, qui depuis longtemps irritait tout spécialement Louis XIV, et à laquelle, malgré lui, Noailles allait être mêlé.

Voulant, à l'exemple de son prédécesseur, le saint évêque janséniste Félix Vialart, gratifier ses prêtres d'un exemplaire de la dernière édition très augmentée des *Réflexions* de Quesnel, Noailles, encore évêque de Châlons, avait préparé une chaude recommandation de cette édition qu'il préparait lui-même. Or celle-ci, pourvue de l'approbation, ne parut qu'en 1696, lorsque Noailles avait déjà pris possession de son siège archiépiscopal[35]); elle allait marquer un tournant dans la vie de Louis Antoine et, conjointement, dans celle de Françoise.

En effet, les adversaires du nouvel archevêque vont s'abattre sur ce livre, déjà en vogue depuis de nombreuses années[36]), pour le faire

[32]) *Lettres*, V, 473-474. Elle lui avait écrit le 18 août 1695: «Voici une lettre d'un de vos amis, qui sait une partie de ce qui se passe. Vous nous garderez le secret à tous. Il faut quelquefois tromper le roi pour le servir; et j'espère que Dieu nous fera la grâce de le tromper encore, à pareille intention, et de concert avec vous»; IV, 254.

[33]) *Lettres*, IV, 254. Néanmoins, d'après La Beaumelle, X, 66, elle écrivit le 4 mai 1696 à Louis-Antoine: «Quoi qu'il en soit, Monseigneur, je ferai encore quelques campagnes sous vos drapeaux et si nous ne vainquons pas le roi, du moins je mourrai pour lui».

[34]) Voir mon étude sur le P. Lallemant, dans *Antonianum*, 56 (1981) 754-755.

[35]) J. TANS et L. CEYSSENS, *Pasquier Quesnel*, dans *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 59 (1983) 244.

[36]) Ces *Réflexions*, Françoise les connaissait certainement. Les possédait-elle? Les

condamner comme hérétique et par-là même perdre Noailles, approbateur et promoteur d'hérésies. Il leur faudra encore dix-sept ans pour atteindre leur but.

En attendant, déjà en la même année et dans les mêmes circonstances défavorables, Noailles fut forcé de prendre position face au jansénisme et à l'antijansénisme. Homme du tiers parti, il s'y prit courageusement dans une Instruction du 20 août 1696, qui, selon l'expression de Fénelon et de Sainte-Beuve, «souffle le chaud et le froid»[37]), s'aliénant du coup les jansénistes et les antijansénistes[38]). Ces derniers surtout, parce que, en vertu d'un bref du 6 février 1694, il leur défend expressément d'inquiéter quelqu'un pour raisons de jansénisme, à moins d'avoir établi judiciairement qu'il ait contrevenu aux cinq propositions. La négation du «fait» ne compte plus! C'était paralyser toute activité antijanséniste. De là, une réaction très forte. Madame de Maintenon, aussitôt au courant de la situation, écrivit quatre jours plus tard à son amie, la comtesse de Saint-Géran:

> «Je ne suis pas surprise des différents jugements qu'on porte de l'Instruction de Mr de Paris. Ce premier pas était difficile, et toutes les personnes intéressées qui l'ont lue [elle en était sans doute] conviennent qu'il s'en est démêlé en homme prudent; certainement le roi en sera satisfait.
>
> Les jésuites ne lui pardonneront pas de s'être élevé au siège de Paris sans leur participation; s'ils le fâchent, on priera le pape de le faire cardinal.
>
> Il fallait à la première église du royaume, un prélat de mœurs sans tache et d'un caractère modéré, doux, simple, d'une piété éclairée et solide; le roi a cru voir toutes ces qualités réunies dans Mr de Châlons; il s'est consulté, il a consulté des gens de bien, il a consulté

lisait-elle? Tout d'abord, une telle lecture devait lui sembler utile à la piété du roi. D'après les *Mémoires* de Languet de Gergy, des Séances de lecture étaient en usage chez elle. «Depuis longtemps, Louis XIV avait pris l'habitude de se faire lire par elle tous les jours un chapitre de l'Évangile ou du Nouveau Testament»; LAVALLÉE, *La famille*, 454. Ensuite, d'après La Beaumelle, V, 145, Godet des Marais, avant d'en avoir reconnu les défauts, avait permis à Françoise de lire les *Réflexions*. Le cardinal n'a-t-il pas fait cadeau à Françoise d'un exemplaire de ses éditions? Le 2 novembre 1703, Françoise remercie Louis-Antoine «d'un livre si parfait qu'on peut se passer de tous les autres»; BEAUMELLE, X, 261. Ces derniers mots sont une citation de l'approbation de Noailles reproduite au début des *Réflexions*. Il faut bien admettre que Françoise connut le livre de très près.

[37]) CEYSSENS, *Fénelon*, dans *Antonianum*, 59 (1984) 495.

[38]) L. CEYSSENS, *Autour de l'Unigenitus. Le cardinal de Noailles (1651-1728)*, dans *Lias*, 11 (1984) 169-252.

Dieu; et rien n'est plus vrai, que s'il eût connu en France un plus honnête homme, il l'aurait donné à sa capitale»[39]).

L'épouse secrète prenait donc généreusement la défense de son archevêque. Pour elle, c'était un parti pris. Dès le 1er juin elle lui avait mandé:

«... Encore une fois, Monseigneur, ne m'écrivez jamais par honnêteté, mais tenez-moi avertie de tout, pour être en état de répondre sur tout ce qu'on pourrait me dire de vous, car je veille sur vous avec une grande attention, croyant veiller pour Dieu et pour son Église»[40]).

Elle essaie même de le justifier auprès du roi de ce qu'il se confesse au P. de La Tour, général des oratoriens, que Louis XIV n'aime nullement. Le 3 août, elle écrit à l'intéressé:

«Il [le roi] ne m'a dit qu'un mot sur le P. de La Tour; il était de si mauvaise humeur ce jour-là, que je crus devoir le ménager»[41]).

Le 1er novembre, elle revient sur l'Instruction:

«Ni lui [le roi] ni moi, Monseigneur, ne pouvons juger, si dans ce discours, vous dites ce qu'il faut contre le jansénisme; mais on ne peut pas nier que vous n'y parliez sans ménagement contre les jansénistes et que vous ne les traitiez d'hérétiques, de révoltés, de gens de mauvaise foi, etc... Je ne puis vous dire combien je suis touchée de vos peines; il me semble qu'elles sont encore augmentées; c'est à vous de nous apprendre à les supporter ... Quoiqu'il arrive, Monseigneur, je ne me départirai jamais des sentiments de respect, d'estime et de vénération que je vous dois. Ils sont fondés sur la vérité de votre vertu; ainsi ils ne peuvent changer»[42]).

Non, elle ne pouvait pas croire que Noailles fût janséniste. D'ailleurs par son bon sens, par ses rapports avec le jeune Fénelon qui était encore jansénisant, par sa propre expérience, elle avait

[39]) *Lettres*, V, 88-89; cf. V, 98: «... Racine est charmé de votre Ordonnance ... et l'a dit au roi, qui ne l'a pas encore vue. Pour moi, je la trouve admirable, mais mon avis est peu de chose, surtout en telle matière. Mr. le curé [de la Chétardie] m'avait dit que vous aviez tout à fait marqué les jésuites, en disant que des personnes d'autorité accusaient de jansénisme fort gratuitement; vous dites tout le contraire, car il y a [dans votre Ordonnance] des personnes sans autorité», c.-à-d. n'ayant aucune autorité pour procéder contre les jansénistes.

[40]) Ibid., V, 68.

[41]) Ibid., V, 77.

[42]) Ibid., V, 291. La date de cette lettre est incertaine. L'allusion à l'*Instruction* aussi.

acquis une connaissance pratique du jansénisme. Le 2 novembre 1695, elle écrivit à Noailles:

«... Le bon Père [de la Chaize] m'a poussée à bout et bientôt je serai aussi janséniste, moi! Je crains que bien des gens n'aient été poursuivis pour un crime dont ceux qui les accusaient ne les croyaient pas capables ...»[43]).

Il y aura toujours, entre elle et son mari, cette différence: lui, il croit au jansénisme et le poursuit pour cela; elle — durant très longtemps — n'y croit guère et ne s'y oppose que pour complaire à son mari[44]).

Les années 1696 et 1697 passent paisiblement. Françoise et Louis-Antoine collaborent allègrement à augmenter la dévotion du roi et à améliorer le clergé par la nomination de bons évêques[45]), point où La Chaize est resté en défaut.

[43]) BEAUMELLE, X, 34.

[44]) Faisons mention de quelques cas, où, d'après les historiens, Madame de Maintenon aurait manifesté son antijansénisme. Dans un premier, il s'agit de la future madame de Caylus, nièce de Françoise. Jeune fille, elle avait été ramenée à Dieu par Pierre-François de la Tour, genéral des oratoriens (1696-1733), «au point que, écrit Saint-Simon, (IV, 441-442), la prière continuelle et les bonnes œuvres partagèrent tout son temps et ne lui en laissèrent plus pour aucune société ... Un si heureux état fut troublé par l'ignorance et la folie du zèle de sa tante, pour se taire de plus haut [du roi lui-même]; elle lui manda que le roi ni elle ne se pouvaient accommoder plus longtemps de *sa* direction du P. de la Tour; que c'était un janséniste qui la perdait; qu'il y avait dans Paris d'autres personnes doctes et pieuses, dont les sentiments n'étaient pas suspects; qu'on lui laissa le choix de tous ceux-là ...; si elle se conformait de bonne grâce à cette volonté, sa pension de six mille livres serait augmentée jusqu'à dix ...». Cf. Bernard NOËL, *Souvenirs de Madame de Caylus*, Paris, 1965, 14-15. Cet auteur ajoute: «... Le roi ... cet intégriste avant la lettre redoutait plus ... le jansénisme que les liaisons galantes, et Madame de Maintenon se contenta de quelques instructions: ... défiez-vous des plus sages; défiez-vous de vous-même; croyez une personne qui a de l'expérience et qui vous aime». Dans les documents, il est aussi question d'un Père Brideray (Brederey), lazariste. De la Beaumelle, dans ses *Mémoires*, donne ce récit: «... Désabusée des directions qu'elle croyait presque toutes intéressées, elle n'avait point donné de successeur à l'Evêque de Chartres [Godet des Marais]. Elle s'était bornée à dire ses péchés à l'abbé Briderey, son confesseur, sans demander à personne des conseils; mais toujours conduite par les maximes de M. des Marais. Cette unique consolation lui restait, et elle lui fut ravie. Elle découvrit que l'abbé Briderey était janséniste. Son aversion pour toute hérésie ne lui permettait plus de se fier à un ennemi secret de l'Église; sa bonté naturelle lui défendait d'ôter sa confiance à un homme qui en avait joui dix-sept ans ... Elle prit le parti de se taire, de communier plus souvent pour se confesser moins et de se consoler avec Dieu»; BEAUMELLE, V, 293-294; cf. XII, 234: «qu'elle ne goûtait plus depuis qu'elle le soupçonnait de jansénisme à cause de ses liaisons avec M. le cardinal de Noailles»; cf. XIII, 136; et LANGLOIS, passim. Cet auteur fait remarquer (p. 244): «Une phobie d'hétérodoxie lui a fait soupçonner de jansénisme: Racine, Amelot, Mad. de Caylus, Brisacier, Briderey, Rogon, Mad. de la Fiefville, finalement Fagon fils et Mad. de Dangeau, revenue du jansénisme ...».

[45]) Voir la correspondance des années en question. Je tiens à relever la montée de

En 1697, Noailles améliora la situation par son *Instruction pastorale sur la perfection chrétienne contre les illusions des faux mystiques*[46]), qui fit très bonne impression partout, aussi bien à Paris qu'à Rome. Madame de Maintenon écrivit le 6 novembre à l'auteur:

> «Je viens d'achever, Monseigneur, l'admirable *Instruction* que vous avez faite. Il ne m'appartient pas d'avoir un avis; mais il m'est permis d'en être charmée et d'en faire ma lecture fréquente, pour mon édification particulière et pour instruire ceux dont je suis en quelque sorte chargée [le roi en était] ... Je n'en voulais point parler, et je me suis laissé emporter par la joie que me donne votre ouvrage ... J'espère que vous m'en enverrez plusieurs exemplaires quand il sera public. Mr de Meaux m'en a fait l'éloge. Il est ravi de le voir achevé»[47]).

Le roi n'aura pas été moins content, pour lui même et pour son épouse, de voir l'affaire du quiétisme revenir à des proportions normales. Mais d'autres obstacles vont se dresser.

1698: année de crise

L'année 1698 s'annonce désavantageusement. Rome — on le sait à Paris — prépare laborieusement la condamnation des *Maximes des Saints* de Fénelon, ce qui évoque pour les deux époux des souvenirs pénibles. A Paris se répand, au début de l'année, en réaction à l'*Instruction* de Noailles de 1696, un pamphlet anonyme: *Problème ecclésiastique ... à qui l'on doit croire, de Messire Louis-Antoine, évêque de Châlons, en 1695, ou de Messire Louis-Antoine de Noailles, archevêque de Paris en 1696.*

Voilà l'archevêque mis en cause comme janséniste. Les deux époux secrets s'en ressentent, mais différemment. Le 13 octobre, Françoise rapporte textuellement à son archevêque ce qui lui a été écrit de Melun par une ancienne élève de Saint-Cyr:

Daniel-François Voysin (1655-1717), qui devient en 1701 directeur des affaires de la maison royale de Saint-Cyr, en 1709, ministre d'état, le 2 juillet 1714 chancelier. En 1710, l'aînée de ses filles épousa François-Marie de Broglie, dont, en la même année, le frère Charles-Maurice de Broglie devient secrétaire général de l'Assemblée du Clergé; celui-ci jouera un rôle très actif dans l'Assemblée particulière pour l'acceptation de la bulle. Voysin se trouva surtout chargé de l'affaire de la bulle.

[46]) NOAILLES, *Recueil*, 95-174; on en trouvera aussi le texte dans FÉNELON, II, 420-466.

[47]) *Lettres*, V, 292-293.

«... A propos de nouveautés, on dit que le roi et vous [Françoise] vous avez été bien trompés sur M. l'archevêque de Paris; qu'il est janséniste et le protecteur de tous ceux qui le sont; qu'il ne se contente pas de permettre la lecture de leurs livres, mais qu'il les conseille; qu'il n'est pas permis aux pénitents du P. de La Tour [général des oratoriens, confesseur de Noailles] d'avoir d'autre Nouveau Testament que celui du P. Quesnel: qu'il y a une communauté de Sainte-Agathe[48]), formée par Mr l'archevêque, toute remplie des maximes et des pratiques de ces Messieurs; qu'il fait renverser le bréviaire pour [en] ôter la [sainte] Madeleine, parce que ces Messieurs le veulent ainsi[49]); qu'il fait son possible pour protéger et rétablir le Port-Royal des Champs.

Voilà, Monseigneur, ce que je me hâte de vous dire, de peur de l'oublier, qui vous fera voir comment on parle de tous côtés. Ne vous donnez point la peine de me répondre là-dessus, je vous en conjure, mais je vous dirai tant que je vivrai ce qui me reviendra sur cette matière; et Dieu vous mettra au cœur, quand il lui plaira, de faire quelque chose qui vous lavera de tout soupçon»[50]).

Quant à cette action d'éclat, il semble bien qu'inspirée par son confesseur antijanséniste Paul Godet des Marais, évêque de Chartres, ordinaire de Saint-Cyr, Françoise ait attendu de son archevêque une révocation ouverte de son approbation des *Réflexions* donnée en 1695[51]).

Néanmoins, malgré les instances de l'épouse secrète, Noailles ne voulait pas aller si loin. Il promit bien une nouvelle édition corrigée des *Réflexions*, et il y travailla effectivement, même avec l'aide de Bossuet[52]). Lorsqu'elle parut en 1699, cette édition ne donna aucune satisfaction aux adversaires de Noailles et, en 1708 et 1713, elle sera particulièrement visée par les condamnations romaines[53]).

En attendant, le *Problème* perdit son acuité du fait qu'avec une belle réhabilitation de Noailles, il fut condamné au feu par le Parlement et proscrit également par Rome[54]). Par ailleurs, l'affaire fut entièrement oubliée par l'effet du mariage, qui, le 17 mars 1698, fut célébré entre le neveu de l'archevêque et la nièce de l'épouse secrète. A cette occasion,

[48]) Cette communauté faisait partie d'une petite congrégation enseignante du faubourg Saint Marceau; cf. GAZIER, *Histoire*, II, 64.

[49]) Noailles eut des difficultés avec les filles repenties; cf. *Lettres*, V, 390-391.

[50]) Ibid. V, 389-390.

[51]) LAVALLÉE, *La famille d'Aubigné*, 416.

[52]) Voir mon étude sur Noailles dans *Lias*, 11 (1984) 169-252.

[53]) TANS-CEYSSENS, *Quesnel*, 248-250.

[54]) Voir mon étude sur Noailles, dans *Lias*, 11 (1984) 195.

Louis XIV se montra fort généreux envers la jeune mariée: 800.000 livres de dot; 70.000 livres de pierreries[55]).

Ce mariage multiplie les occasions de rencontres et d'ennuis. Par exemple, le 28 juillet, Françoise écrit à l'archevêque:

> «... Je suis très mal contente, Monseigneur, de la manière dont vous m'avez reçue à l'archevêché, et je vous dirai, avec la confiance que j'ai en vous, que les cérémonies, qu'on me fait partout, ont contribué à me séquestrer du monde, autant que je l'ai fait. Je voudrais bien vous distinguer là-dessus comme en tout, et il me semble qu'il est très convenable que je sois et paraisse unie avec vous. Mais comptez, Monseigneur, que vous ne me verrez plus que chez moi, si vous ne me traitez point familièrement. Sur quel pied pouvez-vous me faire des cérémonies, comme de me venir recevoir au bas du degré et de m'accompagner à mon carrosse, avec tout ce qui est chez vous? Est-ce que vous êtes adorateur de la faveur, ou est-ce que vous m'en croyez enivrée? Et pensez-vous que je trouverais mauvais que vous me traitassiez comme vous traiteriez une femme ordinaire? Encore devais-je présentement, par l'honneur que j'ai de votre alliance, prétendre à une entière familiarité. C'est bien sérieusement que je vous parle; Monseigneur, vous me blessez le cœur, et m'ôtez la joie de vous voir, si vous continuez ...»[56]).

Au début de 1699, l'attente et l'arrivée du bref, en date du 12 mars, condamnant 23 propositions de Fénelon, causèrent de nouveau quelque froid entre les époux secrets. Nous en percevons des échos[57]). Mais cela

[55]) CEYSSENS, *Noailles*, passim. Voir quelques détails ultérieurs dans J. LE BRUN, *Lettres inédites de l'abbé Bossuet*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 68 (1973) 406-407. De la correspondance de Mme de Maintenon, il résulte que la belle-sœur de Noailles ne s'entend pas bien avec sa belle-fille.

[56]) *Lettres*, V, 356-357.

[57]) Elle écrit p.e. le 25 avril: «J'ai parlé deux fois au roi ... et toutes les deux, il m'a répondu très sèchement pour vous et pour moi; j'aurais pu lui en dire quelques raisons, mais c'est parler inutilement quand il a été prévenu. Voici le pays des dégoûts, Monseigneur, et un bon noviciat pour le détachement ...»; *Lettres*, V, 475. Le 22 octobre: «... Cet échantillon me fait voir que je mourrais de douleur si j'assistais au Conseil. Que les rois sont à plaindre; que les hommes sont mauvais; enfin, Monseigneur, si l'on ne prenait patience en considérant celle de Dieu, on se désespérerait»; V, 391. Voir d'autres gémissements dans A. Géffroy, I, p. XLV-XLVI. Parmi les ennuis que Françoise connut en 1699, il faut compter sans doute le bruit qui courut à Paris: dans l'église de Saint-Roch, où il prêchait le carême, le jésuite Louis Joseph de La Ferté, fils du feu maréchal, commentant l'évangile du dimanche de la Quasimodo, se serait permis de dire: «qu'il ne fallait point espérer de paix solide pendant qu'on laisserait subsister tel et tel désordre et qu'une femme impérieuse, dont la naissance était obscure et qui devrait rentrer dans la poussière dont elle avait été tirée, aurait part au gouvernement»; QUESNEL, *Correspondance* (édit. A. Le Roy), II, 58-69; VUILLART, *Lettres* (édit. R. Clark), passim.

resta sans répercussion sur Noailles. Par ailleurs, cette tension ne dura pas, car l'affaire du quiétisme semblait finir en beauté. Fénelon se soumit d'une manière spectaculaire; les évêques, dans leurs Assemblées provinciales, publièrent paisiblement le bref condamnatoire. Par ailleurs, les échecs économiques et militaires attirèrent l'attention. Dévoué à la patrie et aux pauvres, Noailles gagnait en estime. Grâce aux époux secrets, il eut, en 1700, la calotte rouge et aussitôt présida l'Assemblée du clergé, où, c'était fâcheux, furent prises, relativement au laxisme et aux Rites chinois, des mesures qui indisposèrent davantage contre lui les jésuites de Paris et de Rome.

Si Françoise eut le plaisir de voir son archevêque, revêtu de la pourpre, présider l'Assemblée, elle eut bientôt aussi le regret de devoir lui souhaiter un bon voyage à Rome. Alors il apparut combien ils étaient attachés l'une à l'autre.

D'avance, le 27 septembre, elle écrit:

> «... Je suis si touchée de votre voyage ... que j'ai songé cette nuit, que je vous disais adieu. Après que je vous l'aurai dit, en effet, il n'y aura plus personne à qui je parle avec liberté, du moins, pour en user souvent ...»[58]).

Le 24 octobre, longue lettre de Fontainebleau:

> «Je ne saurais être fâchée de la peine que vous sentîtes en sortant de ma chambre, Monseigneur, et j'ose dire que celle où vous me laissâtes méritait que vous y répondissiez.
>
> Il n'y faut plus penser, mais il me sera difficile de l'oublier, tous les lundis, où j'avais le plaisir de vous entendre et de vous ouvrir mon cœur, sur toutes sortes de sujets. Je ne mettrai personne en votre place et j'attendrai votre retour, sans me donner une consolation que je ne pourrai bien trouver ailleurs. Une absence ... de six mois, c'est bien du temps sur celui qui me reste et je trouve triste de vivre et de mourir sans son archevêque ...
>
> Oui, Monseigneur, je prie Dieu, tout indigne que j'en suis, de nous donner un saint [nouveau] pape, et je ne puis m'empêcher de mêler, dans ce grand intérêt, celui de votre retour. Vous savez que j'en ai toujours voulu à cette calotte, qui vous fait tant courir ... Je serai ravie de recevoir de vos lettres ...»[59]).

[58]) *Lettres*, V, 499. On y lit encore: «Le père de la Chaize s'est plaint au roi de ce que j'ai écrit, pour mes amis, au cardinal de Janson, ce qui n'est pas vrai».

[59]) *Lettres*, V. 507-508.

Le 5 novembre:

«Je veux avoir l'honneur de vous écrire ... pour vous faire souvenir de moi, mais je ne sais pas de quoi remplir mes lettres»[60]).

Le 8 novembre:

«... Je vous désire à Rome puisque vous avez à y aller, et je désire votre retour comme s'il y avait longtemps que vous fussiez parti»[61]).

Le 4 décembre, de Saint-Cyr:

«Il faut croire ... que nous avons un saint pape, et le respecter comme tel. Quelque envie que j'aie de votre retour, je souhaite fort que vous l'entreteniez des bonnes intentions et de la véritable piété du roi; c'est à mon archevêque à lui en répondre ... J'ai lu avec plaisir la ferme résolution que vous prenez de ne jamais retourner à Rome. Gardez-la bien et revenez nous gouverner et nous bénir, pour longues années ...»[62]).

Ce fut sans doute pour complaire à l'épouse secrète que le nouveau cardinal précipita son retour, sans passer, d'après la coutume, les six premiers mois de son cardinalat dans la cour romaine et y prendre possession de son église titulaire. Parti de Rome le 4 janvier, il arriva à Paris vers la fin du même mois. Françoise n'a pas communiqué au papier sa joie de le revoir[63]) et celle de recevoir le bref du 2 janvier, par lequel, sur la prière de Louis-Antoine, le nouveau pape lui octroyait force faveurs spirituelles[64]).

Dès son retour, le cardinal ne connaît plus que des ennuis. On le presse déjà contre Port-Royal; on l'implique dans l'affaire du Cas de

[60]) Ibid., V, 513-514. Dans des lettres suivantes elle écrit des nouvelles diverses, p.e. le 25 novembre: «Le Père de la Chaize a proposé au roi de me consulter sur le choix d'un confesseur pour le roi d'Espagne; je l'ai refusé disant que, vous n'étant pas ici, je ne pouvais m'instruire»; V, 525. De là il résulte qu'elle n'eut pas de responsabilité dans la nomination du P. Guillaume Daubenton, qui deviendra, après son confessorat, assistant général de la Compagnie à Rome, où il aura la plus grande influence sur le préparation de la bulle *Unigenitus*. Voir mon étude sur ce Père, dans *Augustiniana*, 33 (1983) 330-382.

[61]) *Lettres*, V, 516.

[62]) Ibid., V, 532.

[63]) Françoise écrit le 28 janvier au mari de sa nièce, neveu du cardinal: «... J'espère le voir [le cardinal] demain au matin, et dîner ensuite avec lui»; ibid. V, 553; le 29 janvier: «Mgr le cardinal de Noailles arriva hier au soir; j'ai dîné avec lui chez Chamillart»; ibid., V, 555.

[64]) En voir le texte, ibid., V, 541-542.

conscience; on n'oublie pas qu'il a approuvé les *Réflexions*. Même des évêques, même ses suffragants le lui reprochent et osent exiger la révocation de cette approbation. Françoise le soutient. Le 10 mars 1702, elle lui écrit une longue lettre pour le consoler d'une audience du roi qui avait été pénible.

> «Le roi me raconta assez de choses de la dernière conversation qu'il a eue avec vous ... pour me faire juger que vous avez été affligé. J'eus bien envie de vous écrire, mais qu'écrire dans de si tristes occasions? Je ne pouvais que vous répéter ce que vous aviez entendu ... Une nouvelle conversation du Père de la Chaize ... le mit dans l'humeur où vous le trouvâtes. Elle passera, surtout si le bon Père lui paraît content de votre ordonnance [contre le Cas]. Mais pour le fond, je n'y vois aucun remède et c'est ce qui m'afflige sensiblement. Il faudrait pour détromper le roi, que vous vous jetassiez dans des extrémités dont vous n'êtes pas capable et que vous ne croyez pas chrétiennes. Il voudrait que les jansénistes fussent aussi mécontents de vous que les quiétistes. L'affaire de Port-Royal ne s'efface point ... Je n'ai jamais attendu le P. de la Chaize avec autant d'impatience ... Et jamais je n'ai éprouvé plus vivement les sentiments que j'ai pour vous; car je puis vous dire sans aucune exagération que j'en ai le cœur serré à tous les moments du jour et de la nuit. Je prie Dieu d'être votre consolation; je comprends combien votre bon cœur en a besoin; et il n'est rien que je ne voulusse faire pour y contribuer ...»[65]).

En somme, le roi et les antijansénistes autour de lui ne désirent pas seulement que Noailles ne soit pas janséniste — il ne l'est pas, ne l'a jamais été et ne le sera pas —, mais qu'il devienne un antijanséniste aussi ardent qu'eux-mêmes. Cela, c'en est trop demander. Combien cet antijansénisme est faux, détestable, mais non moins irrésistiblement puissant, Noailles ne le sait que trop par sa propre expérience. Un an plus tard, il est même sur le point de céder devant lui et, pour le contenter, de quitter son archevêché de Paris. C'est alors que, le 19 février 1703, Françoise lui écrit une lettre impérieuse qu'il faut lire:

> «Il faut peu de chose pour m'accabler, Monseigneur, et je suis souvent persuadée qu'une autre ne se plaindrait pas tant des peines que je vous confie, et dans lesquelles vous avez la bonté d'entrer. Mais j'ai une autre idée de ce qu'il faut que vous souffriez pour être en l'état où je vous ai vu et dont je suis si touchée que je ne cesse d'y penser. Permettez-moi de m'expliquer avec vous librement, quoique

[65]) BEAUMELLE, X, 248-250; à comparer avec GEFFROY, II, 15-16: 19.2.1703.

je ne dusse que vous écouter, faire ce que vous ordonnez et prier pour vous. La droiture de mes intentions excusera tout.

Vous savez, Monseigneur, si c'est vous qui avez désiré la place que vous occupez, et si on a eu de la peine à vous la faire accepter. Vous ne pouvez donc douter que c'est Dieu qui vous y a mis. Quel compte auriez-vous à lui rendre si vous en sortiez de votre mouvement? Je ne crois pas que vous acheviez votre vie aussi commodément que vous feriez si vous preniez ce parti-là, et apparemment Dieu demande de plus grands travaux à celui à qui il a tant donné. Qu'y a-t-il donc à faire, Monseigneur, pour répondre à ses desseins? Il faut vous mettre en état de travailler utilement. Un seul endroit vous manque.

Est-il impossible d'effacer ce soupçon d'aimer et de favoriser ceux qui sont du parti janséniste? Car il me semble qu'on ne dit rien de plus et que personne ne vous accuse de l'être. N'est-ce pas là tout ce que vous avez à faire, et ne devez-vous pas lever cet obstacle qui s'oppose seul aux biens auxquels vous paraissez destiné? Quant aux moyens, vous les connaissez mieux que moi. On ne vous accuse point d'être quiétiste, ni tous ceux qui vous environnent. Pourquoi ne vous laveriez-vous pas tous du même soupçon sur le jansénisme? Vous essuieriez alors le déchaînement des jansénistes comme vous l'essuyez de l'autre cabale; mais vous seriez en état d'édifier et de conduire à bien et le Roi et tous ceux qui ne tiennent à aucun parti. Jamais les jésuites n'ont été si faibles qu'ils sont, je le vois souvent, et la force que vous auriez si ce nuage de jansénisme pouvait se dissiper.

On est averti que vous avez des commerces directs et indirects à Rome avec des gens qui y ont été les plus acharnés pour les jansénistes et contre le Roi. Croyez, Monseigneur, que tout lui revient et qu'il n'a aucun tort de vous soupçonner. Ce n'est point sur les discours du Père de la Chaize: le bonhomme n'a plus de crédit. D'autres personnes parlent, écrivent, et encore une fois il a raison de penser comme il pense. Cependant les choses ne sont pas sans remède. Il est prévenu d'estime pour vous; il croit votre vertu sincère, et la regarde avec respect; il m'a permis de vous donner les avis que je vous donne sur vos commerces à Rome, et c'est une grande marque de considération pour vous. Je le touchai en lui disant une partie de notre dernière conversation, et je vois très clairement, Monseigneur, que si vous vous déclariez bien hautement et que vos gens de l'archevêché fissent de même, il serait pour vous comme les gens de bien peuvent le désirer. Il me nomma ce jour-là M. [Joseph] de Beaufort [grand-vicaire de Noailles]. Je ne sais si je me trompe, mais il me semble qu'il est aisé de s'expliquer si nettement et si fortement que nous ne laissions aucun doute. Pardonnez-moi, Monseigneur, toutes mes libertés; vous en voyez la cause. J'aime le bien, grâce à Dieu, et j'aime votre personne, voilà

ce qui me fait agir et me rend si sensible dans cette occasion. Je mourrai apparemment devant vous; je voudrais voir le Roi entre vos mains ...

Je reçois dans ce moment votre lettre d'hier. Si vos peines pouvaient diminuer par l'intérêt que j'y prends, je ne vous en laisserais guère. Il serait très mal de nous manquer lundi. Je voudrais qu'il fût arrivé pour n'être plus ici et pour être avec vous»[66]).

Si, en ce moment, Françoise l'avait laissé quitter son siège archiépiscopal, il n'y aurait sans doute pas eu la bulle avec ses suites. Prié de rester, il reste, mais plus tard, après la bulle, prié de s'en aller, il refusera jusqu'au bout, trop offusqué par l'injustice de ce document qui le vise.

En mai 1703, Quesnel a été arrêté à Bruxelles. Ses papiers et ceux d'Antoine Arnauld qu'il conservait, ont été confisqués et sont devenus la proie des jésuites de Bruxelles, de Paris et de Rome. Louis XIV en reçoit des morceaux choisis pour s'y édifier avec son épouse. Dix-huit ans plus tard, celle-ci s'en souviendra encore. Le 10 avril 1717, elle écrira à sa nièce, Mme Caylus:

«Je crois que les jésuites ont les papiers qui furent autrefois au P. Quesnel, et envoyés ici par l'archevêque de Malines; c'étaient eux qui les donnaient par cahiers au roi; et j'ai passé dix ans à les lire tous les soirs; on y voit les intrigues et les commencements de tout ce que nous voyons aujourd'hui; toute cette iniquité a été préparée de loin»[67]).

Commentant ce passage, Sainte-Beuve allait écrire dans son *Port-Royal*:

«Ces papiers déposés chez les jésuites de la maison professe à Paris et là déchiffrés, pétris, torturés et passés à l'alambic, dans une espèce de cabinet noir *ad hoc*, depuis présentés par extraits, préparés par doses au roi, lus, relus, mitonnés chez Mme de Maintenon *tous les soirs* pendant dix ans, opérèrent à coup sûr et sans contrôle. Si la calomnie y mêla du poison, ce fut un long et sûr empoisonnement ...»[68]).

Pour les deux époux, cette lecture si prolongée faisait durer indéfiniment le scandale du jansénisme. Le roi e.a. se chagrinait d'y apprendre que Noailles avait certains liens avec ces prêtres du midi de la

[66]) BEAUMELLE, X, 230-235.

[67]) Ibid., XII, 252.

[68]) SAINT-SIMON, *Port-Royal* (édition de la Pléiade) III, 618. Voir mon étude: *Le P. Louis Doucin*, dans *Antonianum*, 58 (1983) 461-641.

France qui, en raison de la Régale, s'étaient réfugiés à Rome et y restaient actifs. Françoise se sera intéressée à ce qu'elle aura pu y découvrir sur elle-même, son mari, son archevêque. Il faut reconnaître qu'elle résistait mieux à ces révélations que son mari. Lui deviendra de plus en plus antijanséniste et anti-Noailliste. Elle ne le deviendra jamais réellement.

D'une autre manière encore, les jésuites contribuent à prolonger le scandale. En 1704 et 1705, le P. Lallemant, jésuite de Paris[69]) publie le *Quesnel séditieux dans ses Réflexions*, le P. Le Tellier, autre jésuite parisien, y ajoute le *Quesnel hérétique dans ses Réflexions*[70]), écrits anonymes qui parvinrent certainement aux mains du couple royal, comme ils entrèrent dans celles du pape[71]). Ils visaient principalement l'approbateur du livre, qui désormais devait passer pour un promoteur de la sédition et de l'hérésie. Il est vrai, Louis XIV avait déjà demandé au pape d'exterminer, avec lui, entièrement, le jansénisme comme ils venaient de le faire si heureusement du quiétisme. Mais cette fois-ci, le roi semblait vraiment en vouloir aux jésuites pour leurs excès. Le 20 octobre 1704, Françoise écrit à l'archevêque:

> «Le roi me parut si disposé à parler comme vous le trouvez à propos ... et à se contenter d'éloigner cet homme [la Chaize] sans air de disgrâce. Il m'a dit que vous étiez convenus, qu'il ne fallait pas donner cet ordre à la première visite du bon Père, afin qu'il ne soupçonnât pas qu'il fut suggéré par vous. Je doute fort du successeur que vous me proposez et on poussera celui-ci [la Chaize] le plus loin qu'on pourra ... Je me porte fort bien, quoique mon cœur soit serré. Le roi est dans les dispositions qu'on peut lui désirer. Sa piété, son courage augmentent avec les revers ...»[72]).

En effet, il y a les revers militaires, et le roi — Françoise le sait trop bien — «n'est pas accoutumé ni à souffrir ni à être vaincu»[73]). Il y a aussi, le 7 juillet 1705, la bulle *Vineam Domini*, demandée par Louis XIV et qui paraît loin d'être un succès[74]). Les considérants gallicans, avec lesquelles l'Assemblée du clergé, présidée par Noailles, l'a reçue, ont provoqué les ultramontains de Paris et de Rome[75]).

[69]) Voir mon étude sur *Lallemant*, dans *Antonianum*, 56 (1981) 758.
[70]) Voir mon étude sur *Le Tellier*, dans *Augustiniana*, 34 (1984) 279.
[71]) TIMOTHÉE, *Mémoires*, 22.
[72]) BEAUMELLE, X, 267-268.
[73]) Ibid., X, 271-272.
[74]) Ibid., X, 272.
[75]) Cependant, le 30 septembre 1705, Noailles avait très normalement publié cette bulle. Voir son *Recueil*.

Après la publication, en 1704 et 1705, des livres anonymes du P. Lallemant et du P. Le Tellier contre Quesnel, n'était-il pas grand temps pour Noailles de révoquer son approbation des *Réflexions*? C'est surtout, semble-t-il, Godet des Marais, évêque de Chartres et confesseur de Mme de Maintenon, qui pousse son archevêque à cette capitulation. Mais bien au courant de la situation, Louis-Antoine est toujours convaincu de la valeur des *Réflexions*, et ne cède pas devant les instances, pas même celles de Françoise. Le 17 octobre 1705, celle-ci lui écrit:

> «... Je sais qu'on dit toujours la même chose sur vous; que vous ménagez trop le parti, que vous avez quelque prédilection pour ceux qui le flattent; que vous avez été lié avec toutes sortes de distinctions à celui [Edmond Pirot] qui favorisait le Cas[76]) qui a attiré la constitution [*Vineam Domini*]. Voilà sur quoi roulent et rouleront les mauvais offices qu'on voudra vous rendre. Le roi en est toujours plus affligé qu'irrité; il a pour vous l'estime que vous méritez, et une inclination naturelle pour votre personne. Je vous l'ai dit souvent, et je ne vous parle plus sur ces matières, parce que cela est inutile, et que mon personnage est celui du silence et de la prière pour vous; du reste je n'entends rien à tout ce qui se dit là-dessus ...»[77]).

Françoise ne lui parlera plus de cette affaire? Elle ne cessera d'y revenir dans ses lettres.

Le 5 janvier 1706, Françoise écrit à Louis-Antoine:

> «... Il [le roi] assure que les jésuites veulent la paix, et qu'ils promettent de faire des punitions exemplaires de ceux de leur corps qui écriront la moindre chose contre vous. Il est donc question de savoir des faits; après cela nous verrons ce qu'ils feront. Jusque-là, Monseigneur, il ne faut point leur déclarer la guerre ... Vous savez, Monseigneur, que les affaires dont il s'agit ne me sont pas indifférentes. J'ai bien des raisons de désirer de sincères raccommodements. Il me semble que la gloire de Dieu y est intéressée, et que les impies sont ravis de voir les saints penser différemment jusqu'à rompre leur ancienne amitié ...»[78]).

[76]) Françoise semble désigner Edmond Pirot, un théologien connu à l'université et à l'archevêché; cf. *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XIIB, 2127.

[77]) BEAUMELLE, X, 273-274. Françoise ira jusqu'à écrire à Louis Antoine; «Je donnerais de mon sang pour entendre dire: M. le cardinal est bien déclaré contre les jansénistes. Je voudrais que vous puissiez voir l'uniformité des soupçons sur vous, depuis les prélats jusqu'aux plus petites religieuses»; G. D'AVENEL, *Les évêques et archevêques de Paris*, Tournai, 1878, I, 394.

[78]) GEFFROY, II, 70-71.

Le 11 janvier suivant:

«Marchez bien droit et bien sûrement, Monseigneur ... Vous êtes accusé d'aimer les jansénistes, et encore plus de haïr les jésuites. Ils regardent Couet [grand-vicaire de Paris] comme leur ennemi. Ne [me] dites, ni n'écrivez que ce que vous diriez ou écririez au roi et au P. de la Chaize. Défiez-vous de tout ... Soutenez ou excusez le roi, et gardez la force de la vérité pour la lui dire à lui-même. Excusez la liberté de mes conseils et de mes expressions, c'est mon zèle qui me les inspire ...»[79]).

Le 14 février suivant:

«Je sais, Monseigneur, ce qui s'est passé entre le roi et vous. Le temps qu'il a pris pour vous parler, doit vous faire voir son zèle pour l'Église, et l'envie qu'il aurait que vous fussiez avec lui comme vous devriez être. Mais j'en sais assez pour vous répondre que les malheureuses affaires qui nous agitent tous, ne finiront point, sans qu'il vous en coûte une déclaration bien formelle et bien claire contre le jansénisme, qui lève les soupçons du roi, et qui vous brouille avec le parti: c'est pour vous parler à cœur ouvert, Monseigneur, que j'entre ici en matière ... Ma douleur ne m'empêche point de sentir toutes vos bontés pour moi; je serai toute ma vie bien sincèrement vôtre ...»[80]).

Au printemps de l'année 1706, les relations entre Françoise et Louis-Antoine semblent plutôt tendues. Le 5 avril, elle s'en ouvre à leur neveu commun, le duc de Noailles:

«... Le cardinal et moi nous [nous] brouillons tous les jours de plus en plus. Il veut me rendre garant des dégoûts que les autres gens lui attirent. Il fait des injustices à un de mes amis [Godet des Marais, évêque de Chartres, son propre confesseur] qui me révolteraient s'il les faisait à mon laquais[81]). Ma destinée est de mourir par les évêques. Vous savez ce que M. de Cambrai m'a fait souffrir. C'est bien pis d'être mal avec son archevêque»[82]).

[79]) BEAUMELLE, X, 287-288.

[80]) Ibid., X, 271-272.

[81]) Cependant, le 3 septembre 1709, annonçant la mort de Godet, Françoise écrit à Noailles: «Votre bon cœur, Monseigneur, vous rend sensible à la perte d'un ancien ami que vous avez toujours considéré comme un saint ...»; ibid., X, 317-318.

[82]) GEFFROY, II, 77. Le Roy (p. 173) fait ici remarquer: «Elle excelle vraiment à ces lamentations hyperboliques, à ces pleurs de circonstance, qui recouvrent la plus impitoyable sécheresse de cœur».

Mais au moment même où Françoise couvait des ressentiments contre son archevêque, celui-ci en nourrissait réciproquement. Il sentait qu'il ne comptait plus. Les nominations des évêques, auxquelles il attachait beaucoup d'importance, se faisaient désormais en secret, sans sa participation, même à son insu; il devait — à sa honte croyait-il — les apprendre par des tiers. Vers le 5 avril, il écrivit à l'épouse secrète:

> «L'humiliation a été très complète pour moi, Madame. Pendant que j'étais à Versailles, je ne pus rien apprendre de la destination de l'évêque d'Angers[83]). Ainsi tout le monde a vu que je ne l'ai apprise qu'avec le public. Je remarquai bien votre embarras quand j'eus l'honneur de vous en demander des nouvelles; et je jugeai que l'affaire était faite et que vous ne vouliez pas m'en instruire ... Ainsi je m'en revins persuadé qu'on était résolu de m'en faire un mystère. J'espérais seulement que le public n'en verrait rien. C'est beaucoup que vous m'assuriez que vos bontés ne diminuent pas pour moi, et même que je n'ai jamais été si bien auprès de vous. Mais qui le croira, tant que je n'en ai que des preuves secrètes, comme sont les discours particuliers ou les lettres dont vous m'honorez! Ceux qui disent et qui écrivent que je suis mal avec vous, voyant en vous des signes de changement pour moi, se croiront toujours bien fondés à soutenir que vous n'êtes plus la même à mon égard. Je veux bien croire, pour ma consolation, qu'ils se trompent puisque vous avez la bonté de me le dire; mais je vous avoue, Madame, que vous mettez à une grande épreuve ma confiance en vos paroles ... Les vertus ... ont des bornes ... Quand elles les passent, elles dégénèrent en faiblesse et en sottise ... Je recevrai toujours avec bien du plaisir et du respect vos exhortations. Mais est-ce à moi qu'il faut dire de bien traiter mes suffragants[84])? C'est plutôt à eux qu'il faut recommander de bien me traiter; ils ont plus de crédit que moi, et s'ils continuent de l'air qu'ils ont commencé, ce sera sans doute à moi à leur demander quartier. C'est ce que tout Paris dit déjà; c'est ce que toute la France dira bientôt; c'est ce qu'on dira dans peu à Rome et dans toute l'Italie! Les jésuites en triomphent et le déchaînement est

[83]) Michel Poncet de La Rivière avait été nommé le 3 avril 1706 à l'évêché d'Angers; *Hierarchia*, V, 84. Leroy (p. 516) le range parmi les «obscurs mais fervents complices de la cabale antijanséniste».

[84]) Noailles parle de ses suffragants, au pluriel. Il n'entend pas seulement Godet des Marais, l'évêque de Chartres, mais également Henri de Thiard de Bissy, le successeur de Bossuet à Meaux, sur lequel nous devrons revenir. Le 23 décembre, Françoise écrivit à Louis-Antoine: «J'ai appris avec une grande joie, Monseigneur, qu'il y a lieu d'espérer que M. l'évêque de Chartres rentrera dans vos bonnes grâces. Il n'est rien qui pût me faire plus de plaisir, comme il n'est rien qui m'ait donné plus de peine que l'éloignement que vous aviez pour lui. Il me paraît résolu de regagner votre amitié ou de quitter sa place ... Il sait que je n'ai jamais aimé la guerre entre mes amis ...»; BEAUMELLE, X, 277-278.

si grand que les courtisans ont déjà pitié de moi. Vous me faites, Madame, plus de mal que vous ne croyez et qu'il ne convient à votre bon cœur ... Pardon, Madame, si je mets tant d'amertume dans cette lettre; il y en a tant dans mon cœur, que je ne puis la retenir toute entière. Il n'en est pas moins rempli d'estime, de respect et d'attachement ...»[85]).

A bon droit, La Beaumelle doute que cette sévère lettre ait été expédiée.

Interrompons un instant notre récit pour introduire deux personnages qui, à partir de 1709, influenceront Mme de Maintenon au désavantage de M. de Noailles. Le premier c'est Henri de Thiard de Bissy[86]), qui, comme successeur de Bossuet à Meaux, était suffragant de Paris.

Ce prélat, encore évêque de Toul, 1692-1705, avait, à l'exemple de Noailles, approuvé les *Réflexions* de Quesnel[87]), il avait applaudi au mandement de Noailles de 1696[88]). Encore en 1709, Fénelon le considérait comme «un esprit embarrassé ... Son goût et sa confiance ont toujours été pour les docteurs du parti ... Il croit que la grâce efficace par elle-même est un dogme de foi ...»[89]). Homme ambitieux[90]), il sut profiter du bon moment, pour gagner la confiance du P. Le Tellier, et surtout en 1709, après la mort de Godet des Marais, celle de Madame de Maintenon. Il sera bientôt le grand homme, surtout le grand adversaire de Noailles. Saint-Simon, qui le connut de près, écrit:

«La mort de Monsieur de Chartres mit deux hommes sur le chandelier, qu'il avait fort recommandés à Mme de Maintenon: Bissy, évêque de Meaux, auparavant de Toul, bientôt après cardinal, qui succéda à toute sa confiance pour les affaires de l'Église, dont il sut faire sa fortune et pis, et La Chétardie, curé de Saint-Sulpice, fort saint prêtre, mais le plus imbécile et le plus ignorant des hommes ...»[91]).

[85]) BEAUMELLE, X, 282-286.

[86]) Voir *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, IX, 14-16.

[87]) En 1696 et en 1697, il inséra les *Réflexions* dans le catalogue des livres absolument nécessaires aux curés; LE ROY, 14.

[88]) En voir le texte dans THUILLIER, 80-81.

[89]) FÉNELON, VII, 299.

[90]) D'après Saint-Simon, X, 69, il avait «l'âme forcenée d'ambition».

[91]) SAINT-SIMON, VII, 314. Il faut citer un autre passage de Saint-Simon, X, 69: «Il [Bissy] était aussi trop habile pour se refroidir avec des amis immortels [les jésuites] ... pour épouser la fantaisie d'une femme [Maintenon], qui, par la mécanique de ses journées, ne voyait le jour que par le trou d'une bouteille et qui était la plus grande dupe du monde de ceux pour qui elle se prévenait; il lui cacha, dis-je, son union ancienne ... avec les jésuites comme tels, et ne lui laissa voir de liaison entre lui et le P. Le Tellier ... et il lui faisait

En 1707, la situation du cardinal de Noailles s'aggrave. Aux conseils qu'il demande à Françoise, celle-ci répond évasivement le 8 novembre:

> «... J'ai bien fait des réflexions sur l'honneur que vous me fîtes l'autre jour de me demander conseil. Je ne vois partout que des écueils; si vous cédez au goût qui règne auprès du roi, vous ne ferez guère de bonnes œuvres nouvelles; si vous suivez votre zèle, on dira que vous êtes janséniste, ou du moins que vous n'êtes pas assez vif contre ce qui y ressemble. Ce sera là un grand éloignement ou du moins un prétexte. C'est à vous, Monseigneur, à prendre vos mesures avec Dieu, et à nous les envoyer bonnes. J'avoue avec la sincérité que je vous dois, que je crains que vous ne soyez favorable au Port-Royal des Champs, et que je saurais m'imaginer que ces filles n'aient rien retenu de l'esprit, des maximes, des pratiques qu'elles ont eues autrefois. Si cela était, il serait à désirer, pour rassurer le roi, que vous eussiez corrigé quelque chose. Voilà vous parler bien librement, mais vous verrez quels sont en cela mes sentiments[92]).

Bientôt il ne s'agit plus de corriger «quelque chose» en Port-Royal, mais de supprimer l'abbaye. L'épouse secrète s'y employera et y emploiera l'archevêque. Pourquoi? Connaît-elle personnellement ce monastère qui est situé dans les environs de Versailles? Y a-t-elle mis le pied? Profitant de son privilège de reine[93]), s'est-elle introduite dans la clôture, visitant l'église, le chœur, le chapitre, parcourant le cloître, s'arrêtant au cimetière devant les tombes de Mère Agnès et de tant d'autres Arnauld? A-t-elle lu les publications de Port-Royal? Au moins, elle a pu s'informer sur la célèbre abbaye, par exemple par la Comtesse de Gramont, qui se fit si sévèrement admonester pour son attachement à ce monastère[94]), par

d'autant mieux sa cour que Mme de Maintenon ... était bien aise d'être informée des démarches du P. Le Tellier auprès du roi pour agir de concert ... D'autre part, le P. Le Tellier faisait faire tout ce qu'il voulait par Mme de Maintenon auprès du roi sur cette affaire par le même Bissy sans y paraître. Par ces manèges obscurs ils conduisirent où ils voulaient un roi enfermé à cet égard ...».

[92]) BEAUMELLE, X, 293-294.

[93]) Le 28 octobre 1692, Innocent XII avait étendu explicitement à Françoise le privilège des reines d'entrer dans l'intérieur des couvents; LANGLOIS, *Madame de Maintenon et le Saint-Siège*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 25 (1929) 65-66.

[94]) De cette dame, amie fervente de Port-Royal, Françoise parle quelquefois dans sa correspondance, p.e. à Noailles le 13 avril 1696: «Mme Gramont me dit que pendant la vie de l'archevêque de Harlay, elle n'avait pas osé demander la permission de visiter Port-Royal. «Je fus prête à lui dire que vous n'étiez pas plus favorable au jansénisme ... Mme de Gramont ne garde plus de mesure là-dessus. Elle a et montre sans façon, dans une chambre qu'elle a au couvent de la Madeleine, tous les portraits de Jansénius, de Mr Arnauld, de Saci, etc...»; *Lettres*, V, 31.

Racine, qui y avait été éduqué[95]), par le secrétaire Voisin qui du 19 au 21 janvier avait fait une visite officielle à Port-Royal[95¹]), par le P. de la Chaize, cet ardent antijanséniste, et surtout par son propre mari, qui ne pouvait pas souffrir les Port-Royalistes, surtout pour leur implication dans l'affaire de la Régale. Depuis longtemps il se chagrinait à cause de l'inaction de Noailles à l'égard de Port-Royal des Champs.

Le 18 juin 1708, Françoise mande à Louis-Antoine une curieuse nouvelle, fausse sans doute, concernant le confesseur qui, proche de 85 ans, et fatigué depuis longtemps, veut abandonner son poste:

> «Le P. de La Chaize apporte la démission tant attendue; ainsi vous allez être en état d'édifier le Port-Royal de Paris et de détruire l'autre»[96]).

Faut-il, avec certains historiens, conclure de cette phrase que, jusque-là, le confesseur s'était opposé au redressement de Port-Royal de Paris et à la destruction de Port-Royal des Champs? Et qu'on attendait son départ pour y commencer pour du bon? Certainement pas! Pour cela, le Père de la Chaize était bien trop antijanséniste[97]). Tout au plus, susceptible à l'anti-Port-Royalisme de son époux, Françoise voulait-elle mettre Louis-Antoine à l'aise: désormais vous pourrez agir à votre guise, indépendamment d'un confesseur insupportable! D'ailleurs, malgré tout, toujours agréable à Louis XIV, le Père de la Chaize, resta en fonction jusqu'à sa mort, désormais très proche.

Sous le confessorat du P. Le Tellier

L'année 1709 fut néfaste. Aux revers militaires et économiques des derniers temps s'ajoutait un hiver extrêmement sévère et long, avec ses

[95]) Jean Racine, le poète, historiographe du roi, père de sept enfants à placer, qui passa 25 ans à la cour, fut en relations avec la protectrice de Saint-Cyr, où on jouait ses pièces. En 1698, lorsqu'il y eut une brouille, sous prétexte de jansénisme, le poète rappela à Françoise qu'il avait «fait par [son] ordre près de trois mille vers sur des sujets de piété», et qu'on n'y avait jamais «trouvé un seul endroit qui approchât de l'erreur et de tout ce qui s'appelle jansénisme»; Raymond PICARD, *La carrière de Jean Racine*, Paris, 1961, 531, et passim.

[95¹]) Dom CLÉMENCET, *Histoire générale de Port-Royal*, IX, 154.

[96]) BEAUMELLE, X, 289.

[97]) [Pierre GUILBERT], *Mémoires historiques ... de Port-Royal*, V, 380-382. «Il serait mort content, ainsi qu'il l'avait souvent répété, si la consommation de cette œuvre de ténèbres [la destruction de Port-Royal] n'avait été réservée à son successeur. Ses vues, depuis 34 ans, n'avaient été que de libérer la Société de cette odieuse maison».

suites immédiates, la rareté et la cherté des vivres. A Versailles, ayant demandé à M. de Harlay, premier président du Parlement, s'il y avait du nouveau à Paris, Louis XIV reçut la réponse célèbre: «Sire, les pauvres meurent, les riches prennent leur place»[98]).

Le P. de la Chaize mourut aussi, le 20 janvier, à l'âge de 85 ans, et dut être remplacé[99]). Le choix d'un successeur semblait bien limité, si du moins il devait tomber sur un religieux. Car d'après La Beaumelle:

> «... Parmi les religieux, les jésuites seuls se distinguaient par un savoir utile; ... laissant aux dominicains leur barbare scholastique, aux bénédictins leurs doctes et pesantes compilations, aux franciscains leur superstitieuse ignorance, à tous les autres leur sainte oisiveté ...»[100]).

Madame de Maintenon, semblait-il, penchait pour un prêtre séculier, qui, croyait-elle toujours, réussirait mieux qu'un jésuite laxiste à bien diriger la conscience de son mari. Mais celui-ci tenait si bien pour les jésuites que Françoise eut à céder.

Mourant, la Chaize avait laissé un billet avec les noms de quelques confrères recommandables, dont le P. Le Tellier, connu à Paris pour y avoir été actif pendant plusieurs années, les dernières même comme provincial. Françoise participa-t-elle au choix parmi les candidats jésuites? D'après La Beaumelle:

> «Madame de Maintenon envoya ce billet à l'évêque de Chartres [son confesseur] avec ordre d'en conférer avec La Chétardie, curé de Saint-Sulpice [son confident]. Le roi [ajoutait-elle] veut un homme de peu de naissance, d'un esprit ferme, qui ne soit ni occupé de sa famille [comme naguère La Chaize l'avait été], ni asservi aux circonspections humaines»[101]).

Dans la personne du P. Le Tellier, le roi obtint ce qu'il avait voulu; l'épouse trouva ce qu'elle avait craint: un jésuite énergique, intransigeant, dominateur, adversaire acharné des jansénistes en général et de

[98]) Th. LAVALLÉE, *Histoire*, 430.

[99]) *Mémoires historiques de Port-Royal*, V, 382: «Ce jésuite qui avait eu tant d'autorité, de crédit et de puissance de son vivant ... n'eut le lendemain, lundi, à ses funérailles que le seul évêque d'Ypres, Ratabon [qui ne résida pas un seul jour], l'abbé de Maulévrier Langeron [aumonier du roi; cf. FÉNELON, X, 196], ancienne connaissance faite à Lyon, et deux carmes. Là se termina toute la gloire du superbe Aman».

[100]) BEAUMELLE, V, 148.

[101]) Ibid., V, 149; cf. SAINT-SIMON, X, 6, et Hastier, 250, qui font aussi intervenir le duc de Chevreuse.

Noailles en particulier. Désormais elle devra céder sur toute la ligne; son rôle sera réduit surtout à celui de garde-malade d'un mari miné par l'âge, les infirmités, les frustrations et les revers. Déjà en 1692, d'ailleurs, elle avait dû participer au siège de Namur «pour y garder le roi en cas de maladie»[102]). Par compassion pour le roi, pour apaiser ses rancunes, elle se laisse entraîner vers l'antijansénisme. Déjà en 1709, après avoir reçu à Saint-Cyr plusieurs évêques sous la conduite de Godet des Marais, elle s'en ouvre devant ses collaboratrices, dans son cinquième Entretien:

> «... Je vous assure qu'il est bien triste de voir les progrès que fait le jansénisme; il s'étend de tous côtés dans le royaume et gagne presque tous les couvents. J'avais le cœur serré et l'esprit rempli de toutes ces fâcheuses idées quand j'arrivai à Versailles»[102]).

Désormais l'affaire de Port-Royal va vite. Le Tellier pousse le roi, qui pousse son épouse, qui pousse son neveu le duc de Noailles[103]), qui pousse son oncle le cardinal, qui s'exécute au-delà de son désir. Au moins, a-t-il été remercié par Françoise pour le service rendu à son mari? Certainement pas assez, car Louis-Antoine se plaint amèrement à son neveu que, malgré tout, le soupçon de jansénisme continue à peser sur lui[104]). Ce soupçon, Le Tellier ne cesse de l'attiser. Il y emploie les évêques. Surtout, avec l'aide de Fénelon, ceux de Luçon et de La Rochelle, Jean-François Valderies de Lescure et Etienne de Champflour. Vers la fin de 1710, ceux-ci publient à La Rochelle un mandement commun: *Ordonnance et instruction pastorale ... portant condamnation d'un livre intitulé ... Réflexions morales ... où l'on montre la conformité de la doctrine des cinq propositions ... de Jansénius, et où l'on fait voir ensuite l'opposition qui se trouve entre la doctrine de ces deux auteurs* [Jansénuis et Quesnel] *et la doctrine de saint Augustin*, in-12° (17)-542-(10) p.

[102]) «Quand il marcha pour faire le siège de Namur, il voulut que Madame ... fût du voyage et qu'elle ne s'éloignât pas de l'armée ... 'afin que vous me rendiez quelque assistance si je tombe malade' ...»; LAVALLÉE, *Histoire*, 453.

[102]) BEAUMELLE, VI, 176-177.

[103]) Déjà auparavant, Françoise avait pris contact avec ce neveu. Le 14 juillet 1707, elle avait écrit à Louis-Antoine: «... Le duc de Noailles est bien affligé de votre état. Je n'ai pas eu encore le courage de lui faire réponse». En effet, Françoise était découragée par la triste situation politique et militaire ...». «C'est à vous, Monseigneur, à nous conduire, à apaiser la colère de Dieu». Elle ajouta: «Je ne mérite point les reproches qu'on me fait. S'il est vrai que le peuple me maudit, c'est qu'il ne me connaît pas; sans hésiter je donnerais mille vies pour obtenir la paix, mais il vaut mieux qu'on murmure contre moi que contre notre maître». Elle finit sur ce post-scriptum: «Il n'y a, Monseigneur, qu'à brûler la lettre»; BEAUMELLE, X, 290-291.

[104]) Voir mon étude sur Noailles, dans *Lias*, 11 (1984) 211-212.

Au début de 1711, cet écrit venu de l'Ouest, fut très largement affiché à Paris, autour de l'archevêché et de la cathédrale. Noailles, autrefois approbateur des *Réflexions*, était ouvertement visé. Son orthodoxie était mise en doute. Il voulut s'en prendre aux jésuites, qui certainement étaient mêlés à cette manœuvre. Mais cela, Louis XIV ne le souffrit pas. La situation devint donc critique. Vers la fin d'avril 1711, en plein bouillonnement de l'affaire, lorsque la cour se trouvait en vacances à Marly — où le roi, au milieu des amusements, ne supportait d'être dérangé par qui que ce fût ni pour quoi que ce fût — Noailles s'adressa à Françoise pour lui obtenir une audience. Elle comprit combien la situation était explosive. Le 27 avril, elle en avertit le duc de Noailles, son neveu et celui du cardinal, dans un curieux contexte:

> «Les jansénistes, les jésuites, M... de Noailles, M... de Cambrai, plusieurs évêques font un grand bruit; si vous voulez savoir mon avis là-dessus, je vous dirai qu'ils ont tous beaucoup de torts. M... de Noailles a demandé la permission de venir ici mercredi pour faire ses plaintes en forme: j'ai grand' peur que cette audience ne fâche pas beaucoup celui qui la donnera et celui qui l'a demandée ...»[105]).

Il faut ici interrompre un instant notre récit, pour relever une circonstance qui exercera une influence sur la genèse de la bulle *Unigenitus* et sur la conduite de Mme de Maintenon. Depuis le début de 1701, Françoise employait comme «directeur des affaires de Saint-Cyr», Daniel François Voysin, qui avait déjà eu quelques emplois au Parlement (conseiller, maître des requêtes) et au gouvernement (intendant de Hainaut, conseiller d'Etat semestre). Dans sa nouvelle fonction, il entrait continuellement en contact avec Françoise et aussi avec son mari, qui voulait bien s'intéresser à la belle entreprise de Saint-Cyr. Il montera en charges. En 1708, il sera conseiller d'État ordinaire, en 1709, ministre d'État et même de la guerre. Françoise a tant de confiance en lui que bientôt, dans l'affaire de la bulle, il supplantera entièrement le marquis Jean-Baptiste Colbert de Torcy, secrétaire des affaires étrangères. Ce neveu du grand Colbert, frère des évêques de Reims et de Montpellier, dont le premier fut un adversaire acharné des jésuites et le second sera un vaillant anticonstitutionnaire, devait, dès que le Père Le Tellier poussa à la bulle, inévitablement céder la place à Voysin qui, en 1714, au moment décisif, remplacera encore Pontchartrain comme chancelier.

[105]) Geffroy, II, 281; Le Roy, 343-344.

Mais il y a un autre détail à relever. En 1710, l'une des trois filles de Voysin épouse François-Marie de Broglie, dont, en la même année, le frère Charles Maurice devient secrétaire général des Assemblées du Clergé, où, en 1713-1715, il sera un zélé collaborateur du P. Le Tellier. Celui-ci, pour perdre Noailles, attire habilement à lui les amis de Françoise, les Bissy, les Voysin, les Broglie. Pour finir, elle sera la dupe du jésuite, dont pourtant elle — selon Saint-Simon (V, 263) «la reine des dupes» — prévoyait déjà le triomphe final.

Le 2 mai, Noailles reçut sa réponse personnelle:

> «Vous pouvez venir mercredi, Monseigneur. Ce n'est pas avec plaisir que je demande ces audiences pour vous, n'y prévoyant rien que d'affligeant; les gens bien intentionnés craignent autant le bruit que les méchants l'aiment. Ce serait un grand malheur si tout ceci attirait quelque chose contre l'épiscopat; et je suis persuadée que vous aimeriez mieux abandonner vos intérêts particuliers que d'y avoir contribué; on ne peut excuser la publication de la lettre [des deux évêques, mais] les jésuites se défendent d'y avoir aucune part»[106]).

La désapprobation de Françoise est plus qu'apparente. Cependant, aussi explosive que fût la situation, Louis-Antoine venait d'amorcer la mine, en publiant une condamnation sévère du mandement des deux évêques (auxquels venait de s'ajouter un troisième) et en annonçant de surcroît une instruction pastorale pour s'expliquer davantage. Cette démarche prématurée fut prise de très mauvaise part par les deux époux: venir demander un remède et, en attendant, en prendre déjà un, et encore un mauvais, parce que trop bruyant! Une lettre de cachet annonce à l'archevêque: «Vous pouvez vous dispenser de venir à Marly»[107]).

Mais à l'égard du roi, l'archevêque se maintient ferme; en une lettre énergique, il lui remontre où s'arrête l'autorité du pouvoir civil, où commence le domaine de la libre conscience épiscopale:

> «J'espère, écrit-il, quand Sa Majesté aura eu la bonté de faire un peu de réflexion sur mon procédé et sur celui qu'on a eu à mon égard, elle verra que je n'ai pas tort et qu'il n'est pas juste que, pendant que des évêques, les derniers de tous en toute matière, ont la liberté de faire à tort et à travers des mandements, un archevêque de Paris ne l'ait pas»[108]).

[106]) BEAUMELLE, X, 328.
[107]) Ibid., X, 329.
[108]) LE ROY, 349.

Avec l'épouse secrète, Noailles s'épanche davantage le même jour:

> «Mon malheur est complet, Madame, je suis calomnié, outragé et disgracié. J'espérais bien que le roi voudrait bien me faire donner une satisfaction convenable à l'injure atroce que j'ai reçue. Au lieu de cela je ne reçois que des marques de mécontentement de Sa Majesté. Elle paraît se déclarer contre moi; elle trouve mauvais qu'on me donne à Paris des marques d'amitié et de considération; elle défend aux docteurs, — et avec quelles circonstances —, de suivre en cela leur inclination et de témoigner l'indignation qu'ils ont tous de l'affreuse calomnie répandue contre moi. Enfin Sa Majesté me défend de paraître devant elle. Ainsi, il ne manque rien à mon malheur ni à ma douleur»[109]).

Sous la même date, La Beaumelle fait écrire Louis-Antoine à Françoise:

> «... Les jésuites m'avaient poussé de mille manières; leur malice semblait épuisée, ma patience ne l'était pas. Aujourd'hui ils engagent deux évêques à me diffamer auprès du roi; ils affichent des mandements contre moi aux murs de ma cathédrale, à la porte de l'archevêché, et l'on veut que je me taise, et que je consente par un lâche silence à mon propre déshonneur. Les trois évêques[110]) ont répandu une mauvaise doctrine dans mon diocèse; c'est à moi à réparer le mal. Est-il juste que tandis que les plus vils de tous les prélats font des mandements, un archevêque de Paris n'ait pas le droit d'en faire? Je vous supplie, Madame, de le lire avec attention, et d'avouer qu'après tant de modération, je n'avais pas lieu de m'attendre à la lettre [de cachet] que le roi m'a fait écrire par M. de Pontchartrain [le chancelier]»[111]).

Toujours convaincu d'avoir raison, même contre un roi qui ne lui semble pas impartial ni juste, Noailles s'adresse de nouveau à Françoise le 7 mai:

> «Oserais-je, Madame, vous présenter ces deux exemplaires de mon ordonnance? L'applaudissement extraordinaire qu'elle a dans le public ne m'empêche pas d'être affligé qu'elle ait déplu au roi»[112]).

[109]) Ibid., 349-350.

[110]) François Berger de Malissoles, évêque de Gap, s'était joint aux deux autres évêques.

[111]) BEAUMELLE, X, 349-350. Cf. LE ROY, 349-350.

[112]) Louis DELHOMMEAU, *Documents pour l'histoire de Luçon*, Luçon, 1980, 122, n° 1507.

Mais le lendemain, la réponse de Françoise est cinglante:

> «La lettre des évêques est insoutenable. [Mais] vous devez venir recevoir la réponse du roi sur la réparation que vous demandez, et dans l'intervalle, vous faites un mandement! On disait hier tout haut dans le salon de Marly, que jusque-là vous faisiez pitié, mais qu'on ne pouvait plus vous excuser. J'avais déjà vu le mandement, et je croyais bonnement qu'il ménageait les évêques; l'on se moque de moi, et l'on prétend qu'ils en sont très offensés. Tout cela me passe; mais encore une fois, Monseigneur, ne vous brouillez pas avec le roi; vous connaissez sa religion, sa bonté pour toute votre famille, son amitié particulière pour vous; est-il possible que vous vouliez augmenter ses peines et qu'un intérêt personnel vous laisse rompre avec lui»[113])?

Bonne épouse, Françoise se range derrière son mari. Mais Louis-Antoine ne démord pas. Il a eu l'occasion de s'expliquer au secrétaire d'État Voysin.

> «... Je vous prie, écrit-il le 11 mai à Françoise, d'être attentive à la manière dont ce ministre me justifiera. Vous verrez, Madame ... que le salon de Marly ne raisonnait pas juste, et j'ai lieu de croire que les mêmes personnes parlaient ailleurs autrement. Le roi se charge de la réparation qui m'est due; je n'ai plus qu'à le remercier et à attendre; moyennant cela, tous les procédés finiront de ma part, mais finiront-ils de la part des jésuites et de ceux qui me persécutent depuis si longtemps? Je ne puis l'espérer, à moins que Sa Majesté n'emploie toute son autorité pour leur imposer silence. Ils veulent me perdre, à quel prix que ce soit! Que dis-je, ils se sont mis en tête d'avilir l'épiscopat ...»[114]).

Dans cette crise grave, Françoise semble avoir eu recours à Bissy, l'évêque de Meaux, qui se faisait valoir de plus en plus. Le 28 juin 1711, elle l'annonce comme négociateur à Noailles:

[113]) BEAUMELLE, X, 330.

[114]) BEAUMELLE, X, 331. Vers le milieu de juin 1711, lorsque Noailles devra présider l'Assemblée ordinaire du clergé, qui, vu la situation critique du pays, devra voter un subside extraordinairement élevé, et que le cardinal hésite, Françoise lui écrit: «Ne pensez à rien, Monseigneur, de ce qui vous regarde, jusqu'à la fin de l'Assemblée. Voilà la dernière fois que je vous écrirai de cette malheureuse affaire; j'ai trop de raisons de ne m'en pas mêler. Je reprendrai le personnage que je dois faire, qui est de prier Dieu que tout se passe ... au bien de l'Église et du vôtre particulier, Monseigneur, qui m'intéresse toujours vivement ...». Louis-Antoine répond aussitôt: «Je sais, Madame, prendre mon parti ... Je ne m'excuserai point de présider à l'Assemblée. Je pourrai y essuyer quelques tracasseries, mais je m'y exposerai volontiers pour le service du roi ... Assurez-le donc, Madame, que je ne veux plus penser qu'à son affaire, et que je ne lui dirai pas, mercredi, un mot de la mienne». A l'Assemblée, Noailles prononça des harangues que Françoise voulait faire lire à Saint-Cyr; ibid., X, 332-339.

«... M. de Meaux va vous proposer des moyens de paix, Monseigneur. Au nom de Dieu, ne les rejetez pas, et couvrez de confusion ceux qui osent vous accuser. Ecoutez vos véritables amis, qui sont ceux qui désirent la fin de cette affaire. La durée n'en peut être que scandaleuse et triste, quand même la fin serait selon vos souhaits. Quelle scène de voir notre archevêque déféré à Rome! Je ne sais peut-être ce que je dis, Monseigneur; mais vous voyez bien ce que je pense et ce que je sens pour vous. Confondez vos ennemis; consolez le Roi et tous les gens de bien. Vous ne pouvez me soupçonner d'être vive en cette occasion par d'autres intérêts que les vôtres. Je ne désespère pas d'avoir l'honneur de vous voir demain[115])».

Mais d'un coup est étouffé ce cri du cœur de Françoise, tandis qu'est oubliée l'intervention du nouveau négociateur. Au milieu de juillet, le cas Bochart met en pleine lumière les entreprises subversives du confesseur à l'égard du cardinal[116]). Profondément ulcéré, celui-ci n'hésite pas à recourir au roi et à l'épouse secrète. Le 25 juillet, pièces à l'appui, il expose à cette dernière la gravité du cas:

«L'affaire est non seulement importante pour moi, mais pour la religion ... Quel renversement, quel scandale, et quel préjudice à la religion! Vous le comprendrez aisément, Madame, et votre pitié vous y rendra plus sensible qu'une autre ...»[117]).

Noailles n'eut aucune réponse. Françoise se devait de rester au diapason de son mari, qui ne supportait pas les plaintes de l'archevêque contre ses jésuites. Quinze jours plus tard, le 11 août, Louis-Antoine revint à la charge:

[115]) GEFFROY, II, 284.

[116]) Cette triste affaire est suffisamment connue dans l'histoire de l'*Unigenitus*; cf. LE ROY, 355-360. Sur cet abbé Bochart, trésorier du chapitre de la Sainte-Chapelle à Vincennes, le bénédictin Thierry de Viaixnes, longtemps prisonnier à Vincennes, donne des renseignements intéressants: frère et fils de conseillers du Parlement de Paris, neveu du vieil évêque de Clermont, Bochart dut toute sa fortune aux jésuites; nommé, en 1704, par le P. de La Chaize à ce bénéfice d'une valeur de 6000 livres; chef d'un chapitre de 16 chanoines et 4 chapelains, il se fait l'agent secret du confesseur auprès des prisonniers. Cf. M. C. DEELER, *Lettres de Dom Thierry de Viaixnes touchant le Père Gerberon*, dans *Internazionale theologische Zeitschrift*, 2 (1894) 657 sv.

[117]) BEAUMELLE, X, 336-339. Louis-Antoine passa-t-il à Françoise la formidable lettre ouverte que l'oratorien Vivien Delaborde venait de lui adresser sous l'anonymat: *Lettre à Son Eminence ... le cardinal de Noailles touchant les artifices et les intrigues du Père Le Tellier et quelques autres jésuites contre son Eminence*, (in-12°, 45 p. Willaert, n° 7956)? Elle y aurait pu apprendre les réactions normales des Parisiens aux entreprises du P. Le Tellier.

«Quoique vous ne m'ayez pas fait l'honneur de m'apprendre, Madame, l'impression qu'ont fait sur vous les pièces découvertes qui font aujourd'hui tant de bruit, je ne suis pas moins persuadé, connaîssant, comme je fais, la droiture de votre cœur, que vous en avez été très blessée. Dans cette confiance, j'ai recours à vous pour tirer de cette découverte tout l'avantage qu'elle doit produire. Dieu ne l'a permise, ou pour mieux dire ordonnée, que pour faire connaître au roi l'abus que le P. Le Tellier fait de sa confiance, et combien il est nécessaire pour le salut de Sa Majesté, qu'elle la mette en de meilleures mains ...»[118]).

En effet, selon l'archevêque, un confesseur, qui se permet de tels écarts, prouve qu'il n'est pas apte à administrer le sacrement de pénitence ni à diriger les consciences. Il le croit sincèrement, écrit-il lui-même au roi, et il en tire lui-même la conséquence, ôtant à plusieurs jésuites le pouvoir de confesser[119]). Deux jours plus tard, Louis-Antoine reçut de Françoise la réponse attendue. Elle mérite d'être lue:

«Vous me connaissez assez, Monseigneur, pour savoir ce que je pense sur la dernière découverte; mais bien des raisons [surtout la mauvaise humeur du roi] doivent me retenir de parler. Ce n'est point à moi à juger et à condamner; je n'ai qu'à me taire et prier pour l'Église, pour le roi et pour vous, Monseigneur, dont les intérêts particuliers me seront toujours chers. J'ai donné votre lettre [au roi]; elle a été lue [par lui] d'un bout à l'autre, et c'est assurément tout ce que je puis vous en dire. Je crois que le secret sera gardé de ce côté-ci. L'on [surtout le roi] ne pense pas tout à fait comme vous, mais j'espère que l'affaire s'accommodera et que le temps adoucira les esprits. C'est, Monseigneur, tout ce que j'ai eu la force d'écrire aujourd'hui, étant plus abattue de tristesse et d'incommodité qu'à l'ordinaire»[120]).

Ici, comme ailleurs, ce n'est pas l'antijansénisme qui joue. C'est l'épouse préoccupée du repos de son mari qui parle. Cependant, si Françoise exige la soumission au roi et à l'Église, Louis-Antoine ne croit pas y manquer. Il répond le 30 août:

«Je n'ai, Madame, conservé à quelques jésuites des pouvoirs ... que parce que le respect que j'ai pour le roi me retient. Sa Majesté ne laissera pas d'en être fâchée, mais pour lui plaire, il ne m'est pas permis d'offenser Dieu. Je crains même d'en trop faire. Pour

[118]) BEAUMELLE, X, 339-342; cf. LE ROY, 358.
[119]) Voir mon étude sur Noailles, dans *Lias*, 11 (1984) 219-220.
[120]) BEAUMELLE, X, 342.

marquer mon respect et ma soumission pour elle, je donne de nouveaux pouvoirs au P. Le Tellier, quoique ce soit lui qui mérite le mieux de n'en plus avoir; j'en fais le sacrifice au roi, et les remets à sa conscience, priant continuellement Notre Seigneur, de lui faire connaître le péril qu'il court en confiant son âme à un homme de ce caractère»[121]).

Cette pénible mise au point adressée indirectement au roi, froissa-t-elle l'épouse secrète? En tout cas, depuis lors, les lettres conservées se font plus rares. La suivante n'est *écrite* que six mois plus tard, le dernier jour de l'an 1711. Elle reste loin des civilités ordinaires à une telle date.

«Voilà, Monseigneur, ce que vous m'avez demandé. Je serai très sensible, et peut-être trop, à tout ce qui vous fait de la peine. J'ai été malade; de-là le silence dont vous vous plaignez. J'ai donné [au roi] votre lettre et vos mandements[122]). Je vous obéirai en tout ce qui sera raisonnable. Votre nouvelle démarche[123]) est une nouvelle douleur pour ceux qui vous sont véritablement attachés. Vous ne doutez pas que je ne vous le sois toute ma vie; elle ne durera pas longtemps, et bientôt la mort va me dérober au présent qui m'attriste et à l'avenir qui m'effraie. J'ai passé mes jours dans les plaisirs et dans les larmes. J'aurais pu être heureuse, si j'avais moins compté sur les hommes. Ce n'est point un reproche, Monseigneur, c'est une consolation que je cherche auprès de vous, en vous montrant la source de mes peines. Le roi m'interrompt; j'avais encore à vous entretenir; je suis bien fâchée de ce contre-temps. J'en essuie de toutes façons»[124]).

Quoiqu'inachevée, cette lettre devait en dire beaucoup au cardinal. Prit-il au sérieux cette espèce d'adieu pour l'éternité? D'un autre côté, il doit avoir tiré quelque consolation de l'arrêt du Parlement qui, le 6 janvier, condamna les Eclaircissements de Jean-Noël Gaillande[125]), qui lui étaient si défavorables. Il aura respiré encore davantage en apprenant que le P. Le Tellier eut lui aussi de Françoise l'avertissement:

«Que pour ménager la santé du roi, il se gardât bien de lui parler davantage de toutes ces querelles et disputes de religion ... et que ce père a été très mortifié de tout ceci et qu'il en a bien rabattu de son air triomphant. Dieu soit loué! Amen»[126]).

[121]) Ibid., X, 344.
[122]) Voir ces mandements pour les nécessités publiques dans le *Recueil* de Noailles.
[123]) Il s'agit vraisemblablement de la tentative du renvoi du confesseur.
[124]) BEAUMELLE, X, 345-346.
[125]) FÉNELON, X, 1187.
[126]) Fr. LEDIEU, *Mémoires et journal*, Paris, 1856-1857, IV, 391.

Néanmoins, la situation devient très grave. Le 23 janvier 1712, Françoise en avertit de nouveau le duc de Noailles, son neveu et celui du cardinal:

> «Le Roi garde depuis quelque temps un silence sur M. le cardinal qui m'est fort suspect. Vous savez que sa colère n'est pas dans le premier mouvement et qu'elle augmente par les réflexions; j'en ai averti M. de Meaux et M. le curé de Saint-Sulpice, afin de les presser encore de chercher quelque expédient pour accommoder ou pour adoucir cette triste affaire. Je vis hier au soir que je ne me suis pas trompée dans mon jugement. Le Roi dit à M. le Dauphin, sans m'avoir rien montré, qu'il fallait finir avec M. le Cardinal, qu'il ne pouvait plus se contenir, qu'il le croit janséniste, qu'il le regarde comme le premier de ses sujets qui lui ait tenu tête, qu'il veut lui parler et rompre ensuite avec lui. Vous croyez bien que la conversation sera violente. M. le Dauphin, de son côté, est irrité de ce qu'on répand dans Paris et même à Rome qu'il est pour M. le cardinal, qu'il condamne les évêques, et que le parti trouvera de l'appui de son côté. Il me parut qu'il ne dédaignerait pas de déclarer ses sentiments publiquement, et qu'il ne croirait rien faire contre Sa Grandeur. D'un autre côté, des gens obscurs m'assurent qu'ils savent par des subalternes de l'archevêché que M. le cardinal fait très secrètement quelque ouvrage pour contenter le Roi, mais qu'il cesserait s'il savait qu'on en eût quelque connaissance. Je n'ai parlé à personne de cet avis, dont je ne réponds pas. J'ai cru, Monsieur le Duc, qu'il était de mon devoir et de mon amitié de vous faire part de ce qui se passe et de ce que je crains. Il sera toujours très désavantageux à M. le cardinal d'être opposé à un Roi pieux et qui soutient la bonne cause. C'est le fait; le reste ne sont que des circonstances et des procédés. Je n'en parle plus, et je me renferme dans mon état, qui est de prier Dieu de donner la paix de tous côtés»[127]).

Quel désarroi cet avis aura-t-il causé chez les Noailles et quelle pression ceux-ci n'auront-ils pas exercée sur leur cardinal! Mais l'attention est momentanément détournée du jansénisme par les deuils qui frappent la famille royale. En 1711 survient la mort du grand Dauphin; le 12 février 1712, celle de la jeune dauphine, le 18 suivant celle du nouveau dauphin, le duc de Bourgogne, et voilà que le 8 mars Françoise annonce à Louis-Antoine: «Nous avons la rougeole bien près de nous, Monseigneur. Et selon toutes les apparences, elle emportera cette nuit M. le Dauphin»[128]). En effet, cette nuit-là meurt le troisième

[127]) GEFFROY, II, 296-298; LE ROY, 416-417.
[128]) BEAUMELLE, X, 346.

dauphin, le duc de Bretagne, enfant de cinq ans. Il ne reste plus qu'un seul enfant, de deux ans, pour prendre l'imminente succession. Après la disparition successive de trois dauphins, ce dernier survivra-t-il? Déjà les nations s'inquiètent et se préparent à de nouvelles guerres de succession. Plus que jamais, Louis XIV a besoin de sa garde-malade. Pourra-t-elle le protéger contre ceux qui lui suggèrent que ses revers sont une punition du ciel pour l'insuffisance de son action antijanséniste?

Si les deuils permirent à Noailles de se rapprocher quelque peu de la cour, ils n'arrêtèrent pas ses ennuis. On venait de publier, et d'envoyer à tous les évêques de France, un *Mémoire au pape*, — défavorable a Noailles —, que le second Dauphin avait écrit de sa main, et qu'après sa mort on aurait trouvé dans sa cassette. On venait même de publier, à l'insu de l'auteur, une *Réponse du cardinal de Noailles au Mémoire que le roi lui a fait l'honneur de lui donner*. Il s'agissait d'une réplique privée, dans laquelle l'archevêque recusait carrément les commissaires désignés par le roi pour juger de son Mandement contre les trois évêques[129]).

Voyant monter l'orage, Louis-Antoine s'expliquait à Françoise. Le 12 mai 1712, il eut une réponse aussi sèche que brève:

> «Vous avez bien fait de ne pas ajouter fatigue sur fatigue; car je crois que vous en avez bien eu depuis quelques jours. Je fis lire au roi votre lettre d'excuse, tant sur votre audience que sur l'écrit qui commence à faire du bruit[130]). On n'en avait ouï parler que fort légèrement. Je n'entrerai pas avec vous sur ces matières-là; je ne suis pas capable de les traiter, mais je ne le suis que trop d'en sentir le chagrin»[131]).

Le chagrin de Françoise ne surpasse pas celui de Louis-Antoine, qui répond:

> «... J'apprends que le chagrin du roi augmente pour moi tous les jours. ... [Après tout ce que j'ai fait pour lui plaire][132]), j'espérais que Sa Majesté serait contente de moi; et du moins que l'affaire

[129]) LEDIEU, IV, 370-371.

[130]) Il s'agit de la *Réponse* du cardinal citée ci-dessus.

[131]) BEAUMELLE, X, 347. Noailles souscrivit alors une déclaration contre le jansénisme, dont le 14 mai il écrivit à Françoise: «Elle est si forte, qu'elle me brouillerait infailliblement avec le parti, si le mérite que me donne auprès des jansénistes la persécution des jésuites ne me mettait à couvert de leur indignation»; LE ROY, 416.

[132]) La Beaumelle omet ce passage; *Anecdotes* (I, 76) le résume comme suit: «après avoir fait passer en revue tout ce qu'il a fait pour plaire à Sa Majesté: le sacrifice de la satisfaction que lui devaient les deux évêques, son indifférence pour le livre du Père Quesnel, ses démarches et ses protestations contre le jansénisme ...».

serait finie pour elle; car l'ayant renvoyée au pape[133]), il conviendrait qu'elle n'en fût plus importunée. Ce renvoi, dont tant de gens ont été affligés par les suites qu'ils appréhendent[134]), devrait procurer du repos à Sa Majesté. J'y trouvais avec grande joie cet avantage. Je respirais, Madame, dans cette espérance, mais les affaires qui me regardent, se reproduisent à mesure qu'on en termine quelques-unes. On fait malheureusement imprimer le mémoire que le roi m'avait fait l'honneur de me donner, et l'on persuade à Sa Majesté que c'est moi qui suis cause de cette impression. J'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire, Madame, que je n'y ai aucune part ... [sic]. Je le répète encore et ne crains point d'en prendre Dieu à témoin, qui est le plus vénérable et le plus terrible de tous les serments»[135]).

La réplique de Françoise, en date du 3 juillet, était peu engageante:

«... Vous ne vous tromperez jamais, Monseigneur, quand vous compterez sur ce que vous appelez mes bontés. Je ne puis jamais cesser de respecter mon archevêque, d'estimer vos vertus, et, si je l'ose dire, d'aimer votre personne; mais il est vrai que tous ces sentiments ne me causent plus que de l'amertune.

Je ne répondrai point à tous les articles de votre lettre, parce que nous les avons traités cent fois inutilement.

Il y en a un que vous ne touchez pas, Monseigneur, qui est celui des jésuites, que le Roi ne regarde point comme intéressant votre conscience, mais comme une pure vengeance que vous pouviez lui sacrifier, soit que vous ayez voulu en effet vous venger, ou que vous ayez cru devoir les punir de leur manque de respect pour vous.

Tout cela en matière de sacrifice que vous pourriez faire par tant d'endroits qu'il serait ennuyeux et inutile de les répéter.

Si le Roi s'aigrit de plus en plus, il faut que ce soit intérieurement, car il ne me paraît pas qu'il en parle. Je ne doute point de vos prières pour lui, Monseigneur; vous êtes trop bon Français pour ne pas désirer sa vie; votre bon cœur doit beaucoup souffrir si vous lui donnez des sujets de tristesse. La mienne est grande et celle de notre cher neveu ne m'est pas indifférente»[136]).

Le désaccord au sujet des jésuites continue à peser très lourdement sur l'entente entre les époux royaux et l'archevêque. Celui-ci, ayant reçu un ordre du roi, écrit le 7 octobre 1712 à Françoise:

[133]) L'affaire avait été officiellement renvoyée au pape le 16 novembre 1711.

[134]) L'évêque de Langres, Clermont de Tonnerre, soutenait le principe gallican que même les causes majeures devaient en première instance être examinées en France; cf. *Anecdotes*, I, 70-75.

[135]) BEAUMELLE, X, 347-348; *Anecdotes*, I, 76.

[136]) BEAUMELLE, X, 318; *Anecdotes*, I, 76-77; GEFFROY, II, 216-217.

«... Vous ne doutez pas de ma vive douleur, de l'extrémité où l'on veut me réduire, en me mettant dans l'affreuse nécessité, ou d'offenser Dieu ou d'offenser le roi. J'offenserai le roi, si je ne rends pas les pouvoirs à tous les jésuites, et j'offenserai Dieu, si j'emploie à son service des ouvriers relâchés, révoltés, et en qui je ne puis prendre aucune confiance. Mais sans examiner s'ils sont tels que je les crois, convient-il, Madame, que le roi s'en mêle? Cela est-il de la compétence de l'autorité royale? Et n'est-ce pas (il faut trancher le mot) lui faire mettre la main à l'encensoir ...? ... Vous savez, Madame, qu'il ne m'est pas permis de donner de tels pouvoirs pour faire ma cour au roi, ni de les mettre en négociation et d'en faire un accommodement ...»[137]).

Mettre l'époux royal en cause, invoquer contre lui l'épouse secrète, c'était certes une grande imprudence. Aussi, le 9 octobre 1712, Noailles essuya-t-il un rappel à l'ordre acerbe, qu'il faut lire intégralement:

«Je reçois votre grande lettre, Monseigneur, et je ne sais comment y répondre. Je m'intéresse assez au sujet pour ne pas demeurer dans le silence, et je ne puis pourtant vous écrire que ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire cent fois: mon cœur ne peut se résoudre à vous flatter, et mon respect ne me permet pas de m'expliquer sincèrement.

Vous savez, Monseigneur, quelle est la religion du Roi et combien il est éloigné de mettre la main à l'encensoir. Mais, Monseigneur, vous pensez tous deux très différemment. Vous traitez l'affaire des jésuites d'affaire spirituelle, qui intéresse votre conscience, et dont il faudra rendre compte. S.M. la regarde comme un procédé particulier, comme une vengeance contre des gens que vous avez cru qui vous offensaient et qui vous ont offensé en effet. C'est le ressentiment de cette vengeance que le Roi voudrait que vous sacrifiassiez à ce que vous lui devez, et à l'amitié qu'il a toujours eue pour vous; car de dire que les jésuites sont incapables de confesser, il n'est pas possible, Monseigneur, qu'ils soient devenus tels dans un moment.

Il y a un grand nombre d'ennemis des jésuites; il y a beaucoup de gens malintentionnés qui aiment le bruit et la division. Tous ces gens-là vous applaudissent, mais les bons chrétiens, amis ou éloignés des jésuites, vous béniront si vous donnez la paix, si vous ôtez au

[137]) BEAUMELLE, X, 349-350. Le même 7 octobre 1712, Noailles écrivit une longue et courageuse lettre à Louis XIV, réclamant une indépendance entière en matières spirituelles. Au roi, "il ne lui est permis d'y toucher, ni de s'en mêler. Elle sait que son autorité, quoique sacrée, puisqu'elle vient de Dieu, quoique souveraine et absolue, ne s'étend pas jusqu'aux choses sacrées. Elle sait aussi que les évêques à qui elles sont confiées, ne les peuvent dispenser que selon les règles qui leur sont prescrites par Jésus-Christ même ... Je conjure donc Votre Majesté ... de me laisser la liberté de remplir ce ministère selon son esprit et sa volonté, et de me tirer de cette terrible nécessité ou d'offenser Dieu ou d'offenser Votre Majesté"; *Anecdotes*, I, 98-100.

Roi ce sujet de peine, et si vous faites finir un tel scandale. Il y a si longtemps qu'il dure qu'on a eu le loisir d'entendre parler là-dessus, et vous savez fort bien, Monseigneur, que vous avez trouvé de bons prêtres et éclairés qui ne pensent pas comme vous? Si c'est votre seul avis qui vous conduit, ne devez-vous pas vous en défier dans des circonstances telles que celles où vous vous trouvez et avec tant de sujets d'être irrité? Si vous prenez d'autres conseils, examinez, Monseigneur, l'intérêt et l'humeur de ceux qui vous les donnent.

Ma franchise, mon attachement pour vous, et l'envie de voir le Roi hors de peine m'emportent, et me font manquer au respect que je vous dois. Je finis donc en vous assurant des prières que vous m'ordonnez, et que je vais faire avec toute l'ardeur dont je suis capable»[138]).

La réponse de Noailles, en date du 16 octobre 1712, telle que Beaumelle la reproduit est tranchante:

«Pouvais-je croire, Madame, que le plus ou moins de confesseurs jésuites à Paris donnât tant de peine à Sa Majesté? Car il ne s'agit que de cela. Je vous supplie d'y faire attention. S'ils étaient tous sans pouvoirs, je comprends bien qu'elle en aurait été blessée, mais je ne pensais pas qu'un peu plus ou un peu moins la pût toucher au point où je vois avec douleur qu'elle l'est.

Je conviens que les jésuites ne sont pas devenus incapables par ignorance, ni par mauvaises mœurs, mais par relâchement de morale, par indépendance et par le schisme qu'ils ont voulu introduire dans mon diocèse et dans l'épiscopat. Tant que le roi a eu de la bonté pour moi, ils se sont contenus dans leur devoir, mais depuis que j'ai eu le malheur de perdre les bonnes grâces du roi, ils n'ont gardé ni retenue, ni bienséance; [le roi] ne pouvant donc plus les retenir par son autorité, il faut bien que je le fasse par la mienne»[139]).

Désormais, l'affaire ayant été transmise à Rome, Françoise s'en occupa-t-elle encore? A-t-elle essayé d'influencer la cour de Rome dans un sens favorable ou défavorable à Noailles? Cela n'apparaît pas[140]). En

[138]) GEFFROY, II, 312-313; FÉNELON, t. X (Histoire), 237-238: BEAUMELLE, X, 351-352; Th. LAVALLÉE, *Histoire*, 444.

[139]) BEAUMELLE, X, 352-353. Le 7 novembre suivant, Noailles entretient Françoise des mauvaises nominations d'évêques «qu'on a fait faire à Sa Majesté. Il est bien malheureux que le roi, avec des intentions admirables, mette sur sa conscience de si mauvais choix, et donne à l'Église de pareils ministres. J'en suis affligé, non seulement pour le bien de la religion, qui en souffre beaucoup, mais pour le salut du roi, qui me sera toujours très cher, et pour lequel je donnerais ma vie avec joie»; ibid., X, 353-354. Noailles se met bien au ton de sa correspondante: le salut du roi avant tout.

[140]) Voir mon étude: *L'Unigenitus et sa préparation à Rome*, dans *Antonianum*, 59 (1984) 219-307.

tout cas, complètement au diapason de son mari, elle s'intéressait à la future bulle. Le 18 septembre 1713, deux jours avant l'arrivée du document romain à Fontainebleau, Françoise écrivit à Mad. des Ursins, cette demi-reine d'Espagne:

> «M. le cardinal de la Trémoille [ambassadeur à Rome] mande que la constitution est faite, qu'on l'aura dans huit jours, et qu'il peut assurer d'avance qu'il n'y a rien qui puisse changer nos libertés. Dieu veuille que les malheureuses affaires des deux partis puissent finir, quand même elles devraient recommencer quelque jour! Car il ne faut pas espérer que cette hérésie soit sans retour»[141]).

Pourvu que l'affaire cesse, au moins provisoirement, pour le repos du mari sénile! Mais, dans son entourage, Françoise n'ose «espérer que cette Hérésie soit sans retour»! Ici le grand mot tombe: *hérésie*, et non pas *erreur*!

Aussitôt après l'arrivée de la bulle à Versailles, l'épouse écrivit à Madame du Pérou, une des principales de ses filles de Saint-Cyr, qui rédigera plus tard les *Entretiens de Madame de Maintenon*:

> «Je veux triompher avec vous, ma chère fille, sur la constitution du pape contre le livre de Quesnel. Vous la verrez dès qu'elle sera traduite: il y a plus de cent propositions condamnées. Et voilà le merveilleux livre que notre saint évêque [Godet des Marais] condamnait à tort par des scrupules, disait-on [Noailles y compris, sans doute], et une âpreté trop grande contre le jansénisme, dont il se faisait un phantôme. Il lui en a coûté la vie, mais il en est bien récompensé présentement, et M. de Meaux [Bissy] m'assure qu'il est sensible dans le ciel à la joie de le voir [le livre] condamné»[142]).

D'après le neuvième Entretien, elle ajouta:

> «... Vous verrez par la constitution du pape contre le jansénisme que, sous des apparences de piété, avec des paroles même tirées de l'Écriture sainte, on fait prendre des venins mortels aux âmes simples et ignorantes. On prévient le public par des dehors réguliers et même austères ...»[143]).

Après ses longs contacts avec Noailles, Françoise pouvait-elle vraiment croire à la réalité de ces «sauces» terribles dont Fabroni avait si abondamment assaisonné sa bulle? Elle ajoute encore:

[141]) GEOFFROY, II, 334.
[142]) LAVALLÉE, *Histoire*, 446.
[143]) BEAUMELLE, VI, 196-197.

«... Le calvinisme et le jansénisme s'opposent à tout ce que l'Église approuve: il ne faut point honorer la Vierge ni les Saints; il est pitoyable de dire son chapelet; il faut lire l'Écriture Sainte, et en juger soi-même! Voilà leurs discours»!

Françoise est-elle devenue d'un coup une antijanséniste convaincue? Croit-elle que le jansénisme vaut le calvinisme, qu'il s'oppose au culte de la Vierge, qu'il exige de lire la Bible et laisse libre d'en juger? Ou veut-elle seulement édifier ses filles, et surtout les préserver? Car par sa propre expérience, elle le sait:

«Les personnes les plus pieuses sont celles qui donnent le plus aisément dans ces nouveautés»[144]).

Dès le début, elle eut quelque part aux négociations relatives à l'acceptation de la bulle. Lorsque le secrétaire Voysin, l'homme de confiance dans l'affaire de la bulle, dut s'en entretenir de la part du roi avec l'archevêque[145]), ce fut Françoise qui instruisit le négociateur:

«Il ne m'a pas paru que le roi veuille précipiter l'Assemblée, ni qu'il croie qu'elle puisse aller fort vite»[146]). En réalité, malgré le roi et son épouse secrète, les négociations allaient durer outre mesure.

Sans doute, à l'égal du roi, Françoise fut heureuse de lire le mandement, en date du 28 septembre, par lequel, accomplissant ses promesses d'autrefois, l'archevêque, révoquant son approbation passée, condamna sévèrement les *Réflexions* de Quesnel. Participa-t-elle aussi à la composition de l'Assemblée spéciale chargée de l'acceptation de la bulle? Est-ce elle qui y fit entrer son nouveau confident, Bissy, qui allait y trouver le point de départ d'une carrière éblouissante? A-t-elle été dupée par Le Tellier, qui, voulant perdre Noailles, voulut lui réserver la présidence de l'Assemblée? Y fit-elle ajouter le cardinal de Rohan, exclure les cardinaux d'Estrées et Polignac? Si Françoise, «la reine des dupes» selon Saint-Simon, ignorait les desseins des meneurs, elle apprit bientôt de Louis-Antoine lui-même la triste réalité de sa présidence. Elle reçut de Conflans, le 13 novembre 1713, cette lettre:

«Je n'ai point demandé, Madame, à avoir l'honneur de vous voir depuis que vous êtes à Marly, ni à faire ma cour au roi, parce que je

[144]) Ibid., VI, 124.

[145]) Voir mon étude *L'acceptation de la bulle*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 80 (1985) 369-414; 732-759.

[146]) *Anecdotes*, I, 127.

n'ai pas voulu m'éloigner [de Paris] pour être à portée de travailler avec messieurs les commissaires de l'Assemblée, d'abord qu'ils auraient besoin de moi [le président], mais ils m'ont laissé jusqu'à présent dans un grand repos ...». Il se propose donc de se rendre à Versailles. «Les affaires de l'Assemblée n'en souffriront point, car, quoique je ne sache point précisément où elles en sont, je vois bien qu'elles ne sont pas encore mûres pour y rien faire de quelques jours, et je crois qu'il est bon que j'aie l'honneur d'en dire un mot au roi»[147]).

Dans cette audience, Noailles en aura dit certainement autant au roi qu'il en a écrit à l'épouse secrète. Celle-ci, par ailleurs, apprit des nouvelles d'autres membres de l'Assemblée. L'évêque de Blois, David Bertier, un des commissaires, lui écrivit le 22 novembre 1713:

«Le moyen de contenter le cardinal de Noailles et de nous attirer sa confiance, pour le mettre de concert avec nous, est employé largement; nous croyons que c'est le bien de l'œuvre, et nous savons d'ailleurs que Sa Majesté le souhaite ainsi»[148]).

En réalité, les prévenances à l'égard de Noailles étaient si peu communes entre les membres de l'Assemblée, que, dès le début, courut parmi eux la parole: «nous le tenons»[149]).

En effet, bientôt la division règna dans l'Assemblée. Tout le monde était d'accord pour dire que, par obéissance, la bulle devait être acceptée et publiée. Également que, étant déficiente, elle ne pouvait l'être qu'avec des explications. Mais avec quelles explications? Avec celles que Rohan et Bissy préparaient laborieusement pour une Instruction pastorale, ou avec d'autres, plus authentiques, qu'on demanderait au pape lui-même?

A la veille de la session de clôture, la division se manifesta; une minorité de huit membres (plus tard quatorze) contre une majorité de quarante, laquelle désormais soutiendraît que l'acceptation pure et simple de son Instruction pastorale était tout aussi indispensable que celle de la bulle.

Très chagriné, le roi intervient, obligeant la minorité de participer aux sessions finales. A sa réponse au roi, Noailles ajouta un mot pour Françoise:

[147]) BEAUMELLE, X, 358-360.

[148]) Ibid., XIV, 304-305. D'Aubigné, archevêque de Rouen, s'exprimait plus clairement à Françoise, sa parente supposée: «Nous avons tous résolu de le ménager en tout pour le gagner s'il est possible». BEAUMELLE, XIV, 302-303.

[149]) LE ROY, 536.

«Permettez-moi, s'il vous plaît, Madame, de vous adresser cette lettre pour le roi. Je rends compte à Sa Majesté de ce que nous [les huit évêques] venons de faire dans une seconde séance, et je ne le répète pas ici, parce que vous le verrez sans doute dans ma lettre[150]).

Je voudrais bien qu'il n'y eût plus de difficulté dans la suite de notre Assemblée. Je ferai tout ce qui dépendra de moi pour les éloigner et pour entrer dans les vues de Sa Majesté, qui veut que les suffrages soient parfaitement libres. Vos prières, Madame, s'il vous plaît et celles de vos saintes filles de Saint-Cyr»[151]).

L'archevêque eut ultérieurement une réponse en date du 16 février:

«Quand je reçus hier votre lettre au roi, je pensais qu'il était de mon devoir de vous marquer la peine que je souffre de tout ce qui se passe. Vous me prévenez en me disant que je ne puis juger des matières dont il s'agit; je ne pourrais que répondre sur les procédés; ce qui serait bien inutile: ainsi il ne me reste, Monseigneur, qu'à gémir et prier, c'est ce que je fais par devoir, et par l'inclination, qui m'a toujours portée à vous rendre tout le respect que je vous dois par toutes sortes de raisons»[152]).

Vu les circonstances, il s'agissait d'une belle lettre. Françoise prend soin de lénifier la dureté de sa désapprobation. Puisque, malgré tout, les évêques de la minorité, Noailles en tête, avaient fait bande à part dans la session de clôture, le roi prit des mesures contre eux; ils eurent à rentrer dans leurs diocèses et à y attendre des ordres ultérieurs. Plusieurs d'entre eux prirent par écrit adieu du roi et de la reine cachée. Louis-Antoine, dont nous ne possédons pas la lettre, reçut une réponse peu encourageante:

«Vous savez, Monseigneur, combien le roi souhaite la fin de toutes ces divisions. Il n'est pas possible de vous disculper de les entretenir. Vos défenses sont solides, mais elles viennent dans un temps malheureux. La vérité est pour vous, les circonstances contre vous. Vous voyez que je ne vous flatte point. Je veux bien croire que les erreurs ne sont pas aussi grandes que le disent ceux qui en poursuivent la condamnation; mais enfin, ce sont des erreurs[153]), et le tout finira à la gloire du P. Le Tellier.

[150]) Cette lettre commune des évêques de la minorité a été publiée à l'époque, e.a. dans *Mémoire sur la publication de la bulle Unigenitus dans les Pays-Bas*, s.d., (1714), 33-36; aussi dans Vincent THUILLIER, *Rome et la France*, Paris, 1901, 263-265.

[151]) BEAUMELLE, X, 359. Le texte ne semble pas complet. Dans sa réponse, Françoise en relève des détails qu'on ne lit pas ici.

[152]) BEAUMELLE, X, 360.

[153]) Loin d'être seul dans cette conviction, Noailles ne trouvait pas d'erreurs dans les

Je souhaite avec ardeur que votre conduite soit aussi prudente qu'elle est ferme, et que vos intentions soient aussi sages qu'elles sont droites»[154]).

En dépit de l'empire du roi sur l'épouse secrète, celle-ci répond courageusement, sans nul doute à l'insu de son maître: vous n'avez pas entièrement tort, mais les circonstances vous sont défavorables. Le Tellier, qui a tort aussi, vaincra malgré tout; soyez donc aussi prudent que droit.

Cependant, répétons-le, Noailles et son groupe ne s'opposaient pas systématiquement à la bulle, mais à une bulle insuffisamment expliquée par l'*Instruction* de l'Assemblée. Ils sont les premiers à vouloir en venir à un accommodement. Mais aussitôt leur essai échoue devant l'intransigeance de Bissy, qui exige avant tout une acceptation pure et simple de son Instruction. Mais à l'occasion de la paix de Rastatt (le 6 mars 1714), Noailles, réduit à l'isolement, offre une nouvelle fois sa bonne volonté. Le 24 mars, il écrit de Conflans une très belle lettre à la garde-malade royale. Elle mérite d'être lue intégralement.

«Je suis si solitaire présentement Madame, et si mal instruit des nouvelles, que je n'ai appris celle de la paix qu'en arrivant de Conflans, deux ou trois jours après qu'elle est arrivée. Permettez-moi, s'il vous plaît, de vous en témoigner ma véritable joie, et de vous assurer que mes malheurs, ni rien au monde, ne m'empêcheront jamais de m'intéresser vivement, non-seulement au bien public, mais à votre satisfaction particulière, à la gloire et au repos du roi.

Mais, Madame, il ne faudrait pas en demeurer là: il faudrait travailler tout de bon à procurer à Sa Majesté un parfait repos, et lui ôter tout sujet de peine et d'inquiétude sur les affaires de l'Église.

Je ne puis m'exprimer à quel point je suis affligé de voir que dans un temps où l'on ne devrait penser qu'à rendre la vie du roi plus douce et plus tranquille, la plus longue qu'il se pourra, l'on se mette en risque de l'abréger par les chagrins qu'on lui donne, et souvent même bien gratuitement.

Réflexions. Il avait écrit le 14 décembre 1711 à un collègue: la révocation officielle du privilège royal autrefois donné aux *Réflexions* «ne me fera pas changer de sentiment sur cet ouvrage; il faudra pour cela que j'y trouve des erreurs que je n'y ai encore vues. Je vous avoue ... que je ne l'ai jamais lu tout entier et que je me suis rapporté à différentes personnes sur les endroits que je n'ai pas lus. Je ne puis croire qu'elles m'aient trompé, mais je ne veux point l'examiner tant que le vacarme durera; on ne trouve point la vérité dans le trouble et dans la chaleur de la dispute»; LE ROY, 376-377.

[154]) BEAUMELLE, X, 357.

C'est à vous, Madame, qui aimez le salut et la vie de Sa Majesté, à empêcher qu'on ne risque l'un et l'autre, en abusant de son autorité, et ne ménageant pas assez sa santé.

Je vous proteste que je suis prêt à faire de ma part tout ce qui me sera possible pour la paix de l'Église; j'espère même en venir à bout, pourvu que des conseils violents n'y mettent pas de nouveaux obstacles. J'ose vous assurer que je suis un homme de paix, et que personne ne la désire de meilleure foi que moi; mais je ne puis l'acheter aux dépens de la vérité; tout, hors cela, ma vie même, je la donnerai du meilleur de mon cœur. On ne me trouvera jamais, quand on examinera mon procédé avec justice, même la plus rigoureuse, ni un sujet révolté dans l'État, ni un schismatique dans l'Église; mais il ne faut pas dans un temps de joie vous en dire davantage sur une matière aussi triste. Soyez persuadée, je vous supplie, qu'on ne peut avoir plus d'envie que j'en ai de vous procurer une parfaite consolation, et vous faire connaître ...»[155]).

Cette belle lettre, imprégnée des meilleurs sentiments envers l'Église et l'État, le pape et le roi, n'obtint pas une réponse immédiate. Trop préoccupée des peines de son mari, Françoise est devenue défiante à l'égard de Louis-Antoine, qui fait de si belles promesses, mais inefficaces, dit-il, à cause des «conseils violents» dont on entoure le roi. Françoise a-t-elle examiné sa conscience? Elle répond le 15 mai:

«Je suis persuadée que, malgré toutes vos peines, vous sentez de la joie [au sujet] de la paix; et je vous suis infiniment obligée de prendre quelque part à celle que j'en ai en particulier; mais je m'arrête à l'article de votre lettre, où vous dites que vous espérez venir à bout de celle de l'Église, si les conseils qu'on donne au roi n'y mettent point de nouveaux obstacles. Je vous assure avec vérité que ceux qu'il consulte le plus dans cette importante affaire, ne sont ni violents, ni vos ennemis.

«Vous avez raison de croire que cette paix donnerait encore plus de tranquillité au roi, que celle qu'il vient de conclure, et qu'elle pourrait contribuer à la conservation d'une santé précieuse pour tous les gens de bien. Que ces motifs vous fassent faire quelques pas! Et donnez cette marque de l'attachement et de la reconnaissance, dont vous lui avez fait tant de protestations. Je ne dois être comptée pour rien; mais rendez la joie à ce cher neveu, qui est pénétré de douleur; reconnaissez enfin vos véritables amis»[156]).

[155]) Ibid., X, 362-363.

[156]) Ibid., X, 360-361. Le 4 août 1714, Françoise écrivit au neveu Noailles: que toutes les négociations étaient rompues; qu'il était temps qu'il fît connaître au roi qu'il désapprouvait la conduite de ... son oncle; que sans cela il pourrait se trouver enveloppé dans sa disgrâce; que puisque le cardinal ... préférait les intérêts du P. Quesnel à ceux de sa

Cette fois-ci, la garde-malade n'invoque pas seulement le chagrin de son mari et le sien propre, mais encore celui des Noailles, et surtout celui du neveu commun. En épouse dévouée, elle prend fermement la défense de son mari: «je vous assure en vérité»: ceux qu'il consulte «ne sont ni violents ni vos ennemis». Hélas, si elle-même n'était pas violente, on n'oserait pas en dire autant des Le Tellier, des Bissy, des Broglie, ni même des Rohan et des Voysin. Ceux-ci rendront vraiment inefficaces les démarches successives qu'entreprendra Noailles pour un accommodement en vue de l'acceptation de la bulle. Même l'Instruction pastorale que, dans ce but, il préparera si laborieusement avec ses associés, et qu'approuveront les cardinaux d'Estrées et Polignac, ne sera d'aucune utilité. A l'occasion, Voysin, candidat-chancelier — comme Bissy était candidat-cardinal —, jouera un faux jeu[157]).

Un peu plus tard, ayant reçu de Françoise d'autres plaintes — non conservées — sur sa dureté envers un roi surmené, et s'étant justifié, Noailles reçut, le 27 avril 1714, une réponse pénible, qu'il faut absolument lire:

> «C'est une expression de ma peine, Monseigneur, qui m'a fait vous demander si vous vouliez miner le Roi, car je suis persuadée que vous voudriez prolonger ses jours. Je n'ai rien à dire sur le reste de votre lettre; mon ignorance et mon respect pour vous m'empêchent d'y répondre; je ne puis que prier Dieu d'éclairer ceux qui sont prévenus; mais, Monseigneur, vous avez l'avis du pape[158]) et de bien des évêques contre vous, et c'est en ce cas-là que le nôtre [vôtre] nous peut être suspect. Je n'en voulais pas tant dire. Je suis, avec le respect que je vous dois, Monseigneur ...»[159]).

Cette lettre, bien forte, est la dernière que nous possédions sur la matière de la bulle. Il y aura encore quelque correspondance à l'occasion de la mort du duc de Berry, arrière-petit-fils de Louis XIV, et surtout du décès de Louis XIV lui-même, où l'on voit que l'estime et l'attachement réciproques n'étaient pas encore entièrement éteints. Mais déjà en août

famille, il n'était pas juste que sa famille se sacrifiât pour lui ...»; DORSANNE, *Journal*, 187-188. La situation pourtant s'éclaircit alors pour quelque temps, les négociations ayant repris.

[157]) Voir mon étude: *Les essais d'accommodement*, dans *Antonianum*, 60 (1985) 343-395.

[158]) Le pape venait d'adresser un bref élogieux aux évêques de la majorité et de condamner les mandements des évêques de la minorité.

[159]) QUESNEL, *Correspondance*, II, 340.

1714 — un an avant la disparition de l'époux royal —, Françoise «priait Dieu et le faisait prier par toutes les personnes de piété, pour engager le cardinal de Noailles à quitter l'évêché de Paris, et à suivre l'exemple de M. le Chancelier de Pontchartrain»[160]).

Mais Noailles résistait à ces prières et aux grâces reçues. Il restera à son poste jusqu'à sa mort en 1729, offrant d'accepter la bulle à condition qu'elle fût accompagnée de bonnes explications, de préférence pontificales.

Se sentant désormais triste et impuissante, Françoise avoue, le 2 février 1715, à son confident Jean-Joseph Languet de Gergy, curé de Saint-Sulpice, bientôt évêque de Soissons et auteur des Mémoires que nous avons déjà cités:

> «... Que pourrait mon intérêt auprès de M. le cardinal, puisqu'il résiste au roi, son maître, son bienfaiteur, prévenu d'estime et d'inclination pour lui, qui a tout employé pour le faire revenir, jusqu'à ses larmes et à ses conjurations à la mort de nos princes? Il a résisté à tout et s'en sait bon gré. Il est sans cesse encensé là-dessus. Il est certain qu'il abrégera les jours du roi, qui a le cœur serré entre la religion et les droits de son royaume ...»[161]).

La rupture est-elle complète? Françoise collabore-t-elle avec les adversaires du cardinal, pour le sauver ou pour le perdre? Le 12 août 1715, quinze jours avant la mort de Louis XIV, Timothée de la Flèche, qui par Bissy eut une audience de Françoise[162]), écrivit au pape:

> «... Le [nouveau] cardinal de Bissy fait plus que jamais paraître son zèle pour tout ce qui peut y contribuer [à arranger l'affaire de la bulle]. Nous sommes étonnés qu'il puisse résister à tant de fatigues. Il n'a pas un moment de repos. On ne peut aussi mieux en user que le font M. le cardinal de Rohan, Mme de Maintenon, M. le Chancelier [Voysin], et le P. Le Tellier ...»[163]).

Voilà Françoise en bonne compagnie. Conspire-t-elle vraiment avec ces anti-jansénistes? En tout cas, ce n'est plus pour longtemps, la mort

[160]) DORSANNE, I, 186; LAVALLÉE, *Histoire*, 449. Louis Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, chancelier de 1699 à 1714, venait d'être forcé à la démission pour céder sa place à Daniel-François Voysin, le 2 juillet 1714. Dèjà en 1696, Françoise avait annoncé à Louis-Antoine qu'elle s'était fait «la loi ... de sacrifier mes amis à la vérité et au bien»; BEAUMELLE, X, 77.

[161]) GEFFROY, II, 363.

[162]) Le 3 novembre 1713, Bissy avait demandé à Françoise une audience pour le P. Timothée; BEAUMELLE, XIV, 298.

[163]) TIMOTHÉE, *Mémoires*, édit. Ubald d'Alençon, Paris, 1907, 194.

menaçant déjà le roi. Lisons encore le P. Timothée, panégyriste sans scrupule:

> «Mme de Maintenon s'est comportée en dame vraiment chrétienne pendant toute la maladie du roi. Elle a été presque toujours auprès de lui et n'a cessé de lui dire, avec une force d'esprit admirable, tout ce qu'on peut dire de plus capable de lui faire faire une mort chrétienne ...»[164]).

Il ajoute:

> «Je ne dois pas omettre ce qu'a fait cette illustre dame au sujet de ... Noailles. Il lui avait écrit deux ou trois lettres pour savoir si on laisserait mourir le roi sans qu'il le vît ... Madame ..., en héroïne chrétienne ne manqua pas à faire lecture de ses lettres à Sa Majesté ... Prenez, Madame, dit Sa Majesté, prenez une plume pour écrire mes derniers sentiments ... Je verrai M. ... de Noailles avec joie s'il veut se soumettre au pape ... Madame ... donna incontinent le papier ... à Bissy, qui a eu la bonté de me le faire voir et de me permettre d'en tirer copie ...»[165]).

Sans attendre le dernier soupir du roi, la reine secrète, mission accomplie, se retira à Saint-Cyr, pour y attendre sa propre fin. Dans sa retraite, elle a certainement suivi de près les grands changements qui s'opéraient à Versailles et à Paris. Elle fut l'objet des prévenances du Régent, qui lui rendit même une visite. Revit-elle encore Louis-Antoine, qui entre-temps était devenu le chef du conseil de conscience? Au moins reçut-elle de lui une lettre, dont, le 7 septembre 1715, elle fit mention en écrivant au neveu commun:

> «M. le cardinal m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Rendez-lui en mille grâces de ma part, et l'assurez que je n'ai point cessé d'avoir pour sa personne toute l'estime, tout le respect et toute la reconnaissance que je dois»[166]).

C'était aimable de sa part, mais une réponse directe au cardinal aurait eu un meilleur effet. Elle semble vouloir se retirer complètement dans le silence.

[164]) Ibid., 205.

[165]) Ibid., 206.

[166]) GEFFROY, II, 375. Le 11 septembre, depuis douze jours à Saint-Cyr, Françoise écrivit à Mad. des Ursins: «Je voudrais de tout mon cœur, Madame, que votre état fût aussi heureux que le mien. J'ai vu mourir le roi comme un saint et comme un héros. J'ai quitté le monde que je n'aimais pas; je suis dans la plus aimable retraite que je puisse désirer ...»; GEFFROY, II, 576.

Pendant la régence, s'est-elle encore mêlée aux accommodements suivants? On n'en trouve aucun indice. Mais dans une vue plus large, elle écrit le 20 février 1717 au maréchal de Villeroy, le gouverneur du nouveau roi:

> «... Je n'ai jamais rien espéré de M. le cardinal de Noailles; mais vous ne sauriez croire la pitié que me fait le Régent. Il est visible qu'il souhaite sincèrement et ardemment la paix de l'Église, et il ne peut y parvenir qu'en se déclarant pour la bonne cause. Il verrait bien vite tomber les difficultés qui croissent tous les jours; car les libertés de l'Église sont le prétexte, et notre Roi a montré en bien d'occasions combien il en était jaloux autant qu'il faut l'être. M. Voysin l'avait bien démêlé, quoiqu'il fût prévenu comme les autres quand il entra dans ces affaires-là»[167]).

Désormais, visiblement ultramontaine, entièrement sous la coupe de Bissy et de Voysin, Françoise croit même que le régent aurait dû suivre une autre direction que celle de Noailles et de ses adhérents. Elle avouera encore: «Le parti du cardinal de Noailles n'est pas de bonne foi»[168]). Mais finalement, elle admettra qu'elle-même pouvait se tromper, et même qu'elle s'était trompée. Le 21 octobre 1717, à l'âge de 82 ans, résumant sa vie, elle confessera: «Je m'aurais épargné bien de peines si j'avais su ce que les papes et les rois sont capables de faire»[169]). En écrivant cette phrase cruelle, ne pensait-elle pas avant tout à la bulle Unigenitus, dont les suites funestes augmentaient de jour en jour, cette constitution vraiment néfaste que, sous la poussée d'antijansénistes puissants, le roi Louis XIV et le pape Clément XI avaient été capables de faire? Ne pensait-elle pas aussi au cardinal de Noailles, son archevêque, à qui elle s'était confiée si longtemps et qu'elle avait perdu par l'effet de la bulle? En réalité, sans le savoir et surtout sans le vouloir, elle avait occasionné la bulle. Si elle avait laissé Noailles à son siège de Châlons, il n'aurait pas eu des adversaires, surtout pas des adversaires assez acharnés pour recourir à la bulle afin de l'écarter de Paris.

Je termine donc par un passage de Voltaire, qui, dans son *Siècle de Louis XIV*, se montre un historien au jugement sûr:

[167]) HASTIER, 285; GEFFROY, II, 387. Françoise exagère. Les libertés gallicanes n'entrèrent en considération que pour les propositions condamnées touchant l'excommunication. Les difficultés partirent surtout du fait que l'*Unigenitus* semblait condamner l'augustinisme et le thomisme, frappant des propositions tirées même de l'Ecriture et des Pères.

[168]) LANGLOIS, 240.

[169]) LANGLOIS dans *Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique*, 25 (1929) 72.

«Quelques personnes m'ont reproché d'avoir ménagé Madame de Maintenon ... A qui ... a-t-elle fait du mal? Qui persécuta-t-elle? Elle fit servir les charmes de son esprit et sa dévotion même à sa grandeur; elle dompta son caractère pour dompter Louis XIV. Mais quels abus odieux fit-elle de son pouvoir? La constitution Unigenitus lui parut la saine doctrine ... Mais combattit-t-elle pour la saine doctrine avec des cabales? Et si elle osa avoir une opinion dans les matières qu'elle n'entendait pas, et qu'un esprit plus mâle aurait négligées, ne doit-on pas savoir gré à une femme de n'avoir mêlé aucune vivacité à cette opinion»?[170]).

Lucien CEYSSENS

[170]) VOLTAIRE, *Réfutation des notes critiques de M. de la Beaumelle*, cité dans *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. XXXVII, p. 512.

Boekbespreking — Compte rendu

Ortwin RUDLOFF, Bonae litterae et Lutherus. Texte und Untersuchungen zu den Anfängen der Theologie des Bremer Reformators Jakob Propst, Bremen 1985, in der Reihe: «Hospitium Ecclesiae» — Forschungen zur Bremischen Kirchengeschichte Band 14, 274 Seiten.

Der Bremer Reformator Jakob Propst (Praepositus), zuvor Prior des Augustinerklosters von Antwerpen (1518-22), ist keine unbekannte Persönlichkeit. Doch wird die Frage nach seiner theologischen Position hier erstmals und sehr gründlich erörtert. — Entsprechend dem Untertitel des Werkes bietet der Autor in der ersten Hälfte des Buches (13-107) eine vorbildlich gearbeitete Ausgabe der erhaltenen Druckschriften des Pr., einschließlich der 31 Thesen des Andreas Karlstadt, die Pr. bei seiner Promotion zum Licentiaten am 12. Juli 1521 in Wittenberg verteidigt hat. Im einzelnen handelt es sich um die «Anathematizatio et revocatio», mit der Pr. 1522 die ihm zur Last gelegten Sätze widerrief, um seine «Historia utriusque captivitatis» mit einem Ermunterungsschreiben an seine Antwerpener «auditores» (Wittenberg 1522), um die anonym erschienene «Bremer evangelische Messe» (Bremen 1525) und die gleichfalls anonyme Übersetzung der Basler Agende des Oecolampadius (Bremen 1527).

Zu Beginn seiner umfangreichen «Untersuchungen» über Leben und Schriften Pr. s (109-238) macht der Verfasser die Feststellung: «Die Theologie J. Pr. s ist in der bisherigen Forschung nicht thematisiert worden», weil man wahrscheinlich als selbstverständlich voraussetzte, er habe Luthers Lehre völlig übernommen (110). In seiner sorgsamen Untersuchung der theologischen Position des Pr., welcher freilich durch die sehr kleine Zahl an Schriften Grenzen gezogen sind, kommt R. zu anderen Ergebnissen: Das theologische Denken des Flamen war sowohl von Erasmus als auch von Luther inspiriert. Wie viele seiner Zeitgenossen sah Pr. zwischen den theologischen Auffassungen beider keine größeren Differenzen. Für ihn ging es um die gemeinsamen Anliegen: Rückkehr zu den Quellen der wahren Theologie, zum reinen Wort Gottes, Kampf gegen die Scholastik und Reform der Kirche. Die Eigenart der Worttheologie Luthers hat Pr. nicht erfaßt. An die Stelle der Unterscheidung von Gesetz und Evangelium tritt bei ihm die Unterscheidung von Fleisch und Geist. So findet sich in der Lehre des Pr. «das Unvereinbare, humanistisches Schriftprinzip und lutherische Worttheologie, vereint» (197). Unrichtig ist deshalb nach R. die Annahme, daß es in Antwerpen schon 1519 eine von Erasmus unabhängige, durch Pr. bestimmte Bewegung zu Gunsten der Lehre Luthers gegeben hat. —

Dem Buch sind gute Register und ein erschöpfendes Literaturverzeichnis beigegeben. Hervorgehoben sei außerdem, daß der nur in einem Exemplar erhaltene Druck der «Bremer evangelischen Messe» als Fascimile wiedergegeben ist.

Ein kleiner historischer Irrtum sei richtiggestellt (zu S. 116): Wenzeslaus Link war vor seiner Übersiegelung nach Nürnberg im Herbst 1517 nicht Prior des Wittenberger, sondern des Münchener Augustinerklosters und zwar schon seit dem Gothaer Kapitel von 1515. Er ist als solcher bezeugt in zwei Urkunden vom 15. Juni und 27. September 1515 (vgl. J. Hemmerle, Archiv des ehemaligen Augustinerklosters München, München 1956, 48 f). Daß er aber auch im Frühjahr 1517 noch in München war, bezeugt ein Brief des Propstes von Polling Johannes Zinngießer vom 9. März 1517 (vgl. A. Zumkeller, Der Münchener Augustiner und Wittenberger Theologieprofessor Wolfgang Ostermair, in: Analecta Augustiniana 29 (1966) 214-254, S. 218 f und 244 f). Somit ist durchaus möglich und anzunehmen, daß der 1515 als Prior von Wittenberg bezeugte «Bruder Jacobus» bis zum Heidelberger Kapitel 1518 im Amt war.

Adolar Zumkeller, O.S.A.
Augustinus-Institut Würzburg

Ontvangen boeken — Livres reçus

T.J. VAN BAVEL, Augustinus dari Hippo. Regula untuk Persekutuan. Trad. par Br. Innocentio, F.I.C. Yogyakarta – Ende-Flores (Indonesia), Penerbit Yayasan Kanisius – Penerbit Nusa Indah, 1984, 135 pp.

M. M[a]. CAMPELO O.S.A., Conocer y pensar: Introducción a la noética agustiniana. Valladolid, Edit. Estudio Agustiniano, 1985, 366 pp.

Henry CHADWICK, Augustine. (Past Masters). Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1986, VI-122 pp. £ 2.95 P/b. £ 9.95 H/b.

Nello CIPRIANI, La pedagogia della preghiera in S. Agostino. Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1984, 119 pp. Lire 9.500.

Mary T. CLARK, Augustine of Hippo, Selected Writings. Translation and introduction by M. CLARK. Preface by G. MADEC. (The Classics of Western Spirituality). New York-Ramsey-Toronto, Paulist Press, 1984, XX-514 pp. $ 12.95.

Marc DOMINIGY, La naissance de la grammaire moderne. Langage, logique et philosophie à Port-Royal. Bruxelles-Liège, Pierre Mardaga Editeur, 1984, 256 pp. BF. 1.200.

Willigis ECKERMANN O.S.A. (ed.), Hugolini de Urbe Veteri OESA, Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum. Tomus secundus. (Cassiciacum, Supplementband IX). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1984, XIX-641 pp. DM. 178.

Alexandre FAIVRE, Les laïcs aux origines de l'Église. (Collection «Chrétiens dans l'histoire»). Paris, Editions du Centurion, 1984, 296 pp. FF. 124.

Gabriele FERLISI, Confessioni di S. Agostino. Guida alla lettura. (Quaderni di Spiritualità Agostiniana 11). Roma, PP. Agostiniani Scalzi, 1984, 149 pp.

Vincenzo GALATI, La guerra «praticamente» impossibile. Una lettura di Tommaso d'Aquino (Con Appendice sul pacifismo di Voltaire). Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1984, 124 pp. Lire 10.000.

Peter JEFFERY and Donald YATES, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. Saint John's University. Descriptive Inventories of Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. Austrian Libraries. Vol. II: St. Georgenberg-Fiecht. Collegeville, Minnesota, 1985, XXX-400 pp. $ 40.

Erich KLEINEIDAM, Universitas Studii Erffordensis I. Ueberblick über die Geschichte der Universität Erfurt. Teil I: Spätmittelalter 1392-1460. (Erfurter Theologische Studien, Band 14). Leipzig, St. Benno-Verlag, 1985, Zweite, erweiterte Auflage, XXIX-480 pp.

Ada LAMACCHIA - Pasquale PORRO, Sant'Agostino. La vera religione. Traduzione, introduzione, annotazione di P. PORRO. Bari, Adriatica Editrice, 1986, 203 pp. Lire 15.000.

Pedro LANGA O.S.A., San Agustín y el progreso de la teología matrimonial. Toledo, Estudio Teológico de S. Ildefonso, 1984, 301 pp. Pes. 1.800.

Hope MAYO, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. Saint John's University. Descriptive Inventories of Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. Austrian Libraries. Vol. III: Herzogenburg. Collegeville, Minnesota, 1985, LVII-661 pp.-VI plates. $ 50.

A. DE MIER VÉLEZ, Tabula Officiorum. (Provincia Agustiniana del Santísimo Nómbre de Jesús de España). Madrid, Religión y Cultura, 1985, 360 pp.

Andrea MILANO, Persona in teologia. Alle origini del significato di persona nel Cristianesimo antico. (Università degli Studi della Basilicata-Potenza, Saggi e Ricerche 1). Napoli, Edizioni Dehoniane, 1984, 444 pp. Lire 28.000.

Michèle MONTEIL, Martin Luther, la vie, oui, la vie. Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1983, 496 pp.

Almut MUTZENBECHER (ed.), S. Aurelii Augustini Retractationum libri II. (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 57). Turnholti, Typographi Brepols, 1984, LXXI-215 pp.

—, Instrumenta lexicologica latina. Series A, fasc. 23. S. Aurelii Augustini Retractationum libri II curante CETEDOC, Universitas Catholica Lovanii Novi, 38 pp., 3 microfiches.

Robert J. O'CONNELL, Imagination and Metaphysics in St. Augustine. (The Aquinas Lecture, 1986). Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1986, X-70 p.

Maria Adelaide RASCHINI, La dialettica dell'integralità. Studi sul pensiero di M. F. Sciacca. Genova, Studio Editoriale di Cultura, 1985, 350 pp. Lire 25.000.

J. M. RODRIGUEZ, G. MADEC, M. G. MARA, P. SINISCALCO, Le Confessioni di Agostino d'Ippona, libri VI-IX. Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1985, 112 pp. Lire 13.000.

Holmes ROLSTON, III, Religious Inquiry. Participation and Detachment. (Augustine, Ghazali, Sankara, Nagarjuna). New York, N.Y., Philosophical Library, 1985, XIV-309 pp. $ 22.50.

Santos SABUGAL, Pecado y reconciliación en el mensaje de Jesús. (Cristianismo 1). Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1985, 187 pp. Lire 22.000.

Giovanni SCANAVINO, La nostra avventura. Rilettura delle Confessioni. Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1984, 105 pp. Lire 9.000.

M. SCHRAMA - L. VERHEIJEN (ed.), Thesaurus Linguae Augustinianae. Vol. VIII: Sermones de Vetere Testamento 1-50 (CC 41), Gesta Conlationis Carthaginiensis, Breviculus Conlationis cum Donatistis (CC 149A). Eindhoven, Augustijnendreef 15, 1985, 204 pp. fl. 80.

A. TRAPÈ, S. COTTA, F. GIUNTA, A. ZUMKELLER, A. VASSALLO, Matteo Novelli e l'Agostinismo politico del Trecento. (Atti del 1° Convegno sul pensiero agostiniano, Palermo 19-20 Gennaio 1981). Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1983, 103 pp. Lire 7.500.

A. Trapè, V. Grossi, M. Wernicke, G. Pani, P. Ricca, B. Ulianich, G. Ciolini, Agostino e Lutero. Il tormento per l'uomo. Palermo, Edizioni «Augustinus», 1985, 124 pp. Lire 14.000.

Albert Verwilghen, Christologie et spiritualité selon saint Augustin. L'hymne aux Philippiens. Préface de A.-M. La Bonnardière. (Théologie historique 72). Paris, Beauchesne,1985, 556 pp. FF. 354.

Donald Yates, Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. Saint John's University. Descriptive Inventories of Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library. Austrian Libraries Vol. I: Geras, Güssing, Haus, Innsbruck Wilten, Salzburg E.b. Konsistorialarchiv, Salzburg E.b. Priesterseminar, Salzburg Museum Carolino-Augusteum, Schlierbach, Schwaz. Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981, xxii-317 pp. $ 30.

Eelcko Ypma O.S.A. (ed.), Jacobi de Viterbio Oesa, Quaestiones de divinis praedicamentis I-X. (Corpus Scriptorum Augustinianorum Vol. 5, pars 1ª). Romae, Augustinianum, 1983, xxiii-301 p.

Adolar Zumkeller, Erbsünde, Gnade, Rechtfertigung und Verdienst nach der Lehre der Erfurter Augustinertheologen des Spätmittelalters. (Cassiciacum, Band 35). Würzburg, Augustinus-Verlag, 1984, xxxiv-626 pp. DM. 193.

Augustine on the identity of the neighbour and the meaning of true love for him "as ourselves" (Matt. 22. 39) and "as Christ has loved us" (Jn. 13. 34)

I. Who is the neighbour?
   A. The designation of the neighbour as *animus* (*anima*)
      1. Gunnar Hultgren's objections
      2. Response to objections
   B. Every person as my neighbour
   C. Christ as the neighbour
   D. The enemy
      1. The perfection of the lover of enemies in texts prior to 400
      2. Concern for the enemy himself in post-400 texts

II. Love of neighbour "as oneself" and "as Christ has loved us"
   A. Love of neighbour "as oneself"
      1. De Moribus 1,26,49 and parallels
      2. De Vera Religione 243-263 and parallels
   B. Love of neighbour "as Christ has loved us"

I. WHO IS THE NEIGHBOUR?

When he has the commandment of love for neighbour before him, who does Augustine consider the neighbour to be? How does he designate and characterise the neighbour Christ commands us to love 'as ourselves' and 'as he has loved us'? What makes people neighbours to one another? How far does the precept to love the neighbour go? In an attempt to answer these questions we offer in a schematic way the principal figures of the neighbour we have encountered in assessing Augustine's life-long grappling with the love-commandment. For the sake of clarity they may be grouped under a number of headings as follows: A. *Animus (anima)*, common in the pre-400 period; a question coming in the train of this designation is: what then of care for the neighbour's body?; B. Every person as my neighbour; C. Christ as the neighbour; D. The enemy. We will reflect on each of these figures in turn,

acquainting ourselves with the perspectives they open up and trying to deal with some of the difficulties they give rise to. In this way we hope to build up a full and comprehensive picture of the neighbour whom the commandment of Christ impels us to love.

A. The designation of the neighbour as animus (anima)

In the period up to 396 it is quite usual for Augustine to speak of the neighbour as the soul *(anima)* or the rational soul in man *(animus)*. In 387, rendering the double commandment in his own words, he refers to the New Testament's "neighbour" as "companion souls"[1]). Elsewhere, around the same time and shortly afterwards (393 A.D.), there are slight variations on this theme: "souls related to our own *(cognatis animis)* who are in error and in trouble"[2]) indicate the human neighbour; or the designation is simply "the soul in trouble" *(animae laboranti)* whom mercy calls us to help[3]). Of interest in this latter case is that even the enemy is seen as being included amongst those 'souls in trouble'. Likewise, in *De Vera Religione*, dating from 390, the neighbour appears in many guises — as friend, enemy, those we can actively help, all people whom we can at least wish well[4]).

> And although a person does not love temporal things, he uses them rightly and he takes care of people according to their conditions of life, even if he is unable to be equally mindful of all people. If he is more inclined to speak to one of his intimates than to anyone else, the reason is not that he loves him more but that he has greater confidence in him and more opportunities to see him. To the extent that he himself is less tied down by time, he treats those lost in time better. Though he cannot be of benefit to all, while he loves all people equally, he would be unjust if he were to fail to give

[1]) *De Musica* 6,14,46 (ML 32,1187): "Tenet ordinem, seipsa tota diligens quod supra se est, id est Deum, *socias animas* tanquam seipsam".

[2]) *De Quantitate Animae* 34,78 (ML 32,1078): "*Errantibus* vero *cognatis animis et laborantibus*, quantum licet atque praeceptum est, opem ferendam esse sciamus ...". Cf. *De Musica* 6,14,45 (ML 32,1186-1187): "... omnesque illos (numeros) qui de *adiunctis animis* operantur ... non ad superbam excellentiam suam, sed ad ipsarum animarum utilitatem redigit".

[3]) *De Sermone Domini in Monte* 1,21,69 (CC 35,78. ML 34,1264): "Perfectio autem misericordiae qua plurimum *animae laboranti* consulitur, ultra dilectionem inimici porrigi non potest ...".

[4]) *De Vera Religione* 256 (CSEL 77,66) = 47,91 (CC 32,246-247. ML 34,163): "Hic vir quamdiu est in hac vita utitur amico ad rependendam gratiam, utitur inimico ad patientiam, utitur quibus potest ad beneficientiam, utitur omnibus ad benevolentiam".

ZA 4/958

> preference to those more closely related to him *(coniunctioribus)*. *The bond of the spirit*, however, is *superior (animi coniunctio maior)* to the bonds of time and space which accompany our birth in this body; but the greatest bond *(ea maxima)* is that which triumphs over everything. Therefore, the person who loves God with all his mind and soul *(animo)* will not be afflicted by the death of another, because he knows that whoever does not pass away for God does not pass away for him either. For God is lord both of the living and the dead[5]).

Beneath all the faces our neighbour in time and space can have for us, familiar or strange, friendly or inimical, trusted or unknown, there exists a spiritual bond *(animi coniunctio)* which is stronger and more important *(superior)* than the natural closeness of family, friends and acquaintances, even though love has to begin with those more closely related to us *(coniunctioribus)*[6]). There is, however, a greater bond yet

[5]) *Ibid.*, 256-257 (CSEL 77,66) = 47,91 (CC 32,247. ML 34,163): "Et quamquam temporalia non diligat, ipse recte utitur temporalibus et pro eorum sorte hominibus consulit, si aequaliter non potest omnibus. Quare si aliquem familiarium suorum promptius quam quemlibet alloquitur, non eum magis diligit, sed ad eum habet maiorem fiduciam et apertioris temporis ianuam. Tractat enim tempori deditos tanto melius quanto ipse minus obligatus est tempore. Cum itaque omnibus quod pariter diligit prodesse non possit, nisi coniunctioribus prodesse malit iniustus est. Animi autem coniunctio maior est quam locorum aut temporum quibus in hoc corpore gignimur; sed ea maxima est quae omnibus praevalet. Non ergo iste affligitur morte cuiusquam, quoniam qui toto animo deum diligit, novit nec sibi perire quod deo non perit; deus autem dominus est et vivorum et mortuorum".
John H.S. Burleigh in his translation *Of True Religion* in *Augustine: Earlier Writings* (The Library of Christian Classics, 6), p. 272, renders "Cum itaque omnibus, quod pariter diligit prodesse non possit, nisi coniunctioribus prodesse malit iniustus est" as: "If he cannot help all whom he loves equally without preferring to benefit those who are more closely related to him, he is unjust". This is the opposite of our translation. Presuming consistency in Augustine on this point, a clear parallel in *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,61 (CSEL 80,23) = 1,28,29 (CC 32,22. ML 34,30) speaks in favour of our version: "Omnes autem aeque diligendi sunt. Sed cum omnibus prodesse non possis, his potissimum consulendum est qui pro locorum et temporum vel quarumlibet rerum oportunitatibus constrictius tibi quasi quadam sorte iunguntur". Furthermore, it is difficult to reconcile Burleigh's version with the grammar of the sentence. Why is "cum" translated as "if"? And the "nisi ... malit" clause is highly awkward if appended to the "cum ... non possit" clause, as in Burleigh's construction.

[6]) Augustine suggests in this same work, *De Vera Religione* 247 (CSEL 77,63) = 46,88 (CC 32,244-245. ML 34,161) that there would have been no giving birth and no bonds of kinship if the fall had not corrupted human nature; therefore, in order to be a fit candidate for the kingdom of God, one has to hate the ties of flesh and blood. "Sed nec sic quidem ab homine homo diligendus est ut diliguntur carnales fratres vel filii vel coniuges vel quique cognati aut adfines aut cives. Nam et ista dilectio temporalis est. Non enim ullas tales necessitudines haberemus quae nascendo et moriendo contingunt, si natura nostra, in praeceptis et in imagine dei manens, in istam corruptionem non relegaretur. Itaque ad pristinam perfectamque naturam nos ipsa veritas vocans praecipit ut carnali consuetudini

(ea maxima) by which one is given over mind and soul *(animo)* to God. This total openness to God triumphs over the limitations of life in this body, it prevails even over the separation brought about by death. Complete attachment to God means that dead loved ones are not lost for us. It is worth noting that J. Pegon S.J., in his French translation of this passage[7]), sees the *animi coniunctio superior* and *ea maxima* as referring to the same bond, such that the former also includes God and the latter the neighbour. This is not out of the question, for the spiritual bond between human beings does, when people are fully intent upon God, endure beyond death. It has the characteristic of *ea maxima* of 'triumph-

resistamus, docens neminem aptum esse regno dei qui non istas carnales necessitudines oderit". This way of thinking sounds through in many of Augustine's subsequent assertions in *De Vera Religione* and influences all his reflections on love for neighbour here, e.g. "Oderimus ergo temporales necessitudines, si aeternitatis caritate flagramus" (250 = 46,89); "Ipsa igitur natura humana sine carnali condicione diligenda est" (251 = 46,89). In the *Retractationes*, however, Augustine firmly rejects the opinion that giving birth is the outcome of sin, and therefore also its corollary that the relations established by birth and conditioned by time are to be hated. See 1,12,8 (CSEL 36,63-64) = 1,13,8 (ML 32,605): "hunc sensum prorsus inprobo ... ad hoc enim ducit, ut credantur illi coniuges primi non generaturi posteros homines, nisi peccassent, tamquam necesse fuerit, ut morituri gignerentur, si de concubitu maris et feminae gignerentur. Nondum enim videram fieri potuisse, ut non morituri de non morituris nascerentur, si peccato illo magno non mutaretur in deterius humana natura ...". See further, *Retractationes* 1,18,5 (CSEL 36,91-92) = 1,19,5 (ML 32,615-616) where Augustine rejects a similar interpretation found in *De Sermone Domini in Monte* 1,15,41 (CC 35,45-46. ML 34,1250): "Hoc et de patre et de matre et de ceteris vinculis sanguinis intellegendum est, ut in eis oderimus quod genus humanum nascendo et moriendo sortitum est ...". The reason for the change is the same as above. On "hatred" for kin, he concludes: "ac per hoc aliter solvenda quaestio est, cur dominus praeceperit diligendos inimicos, cum alio loco praecipiat odio habendos et parentes et filios, non sicut hic soluta est, sed sicut eam posterius saepe solvimus, id est ut diligamus inimicos lucrandos regno dei et oderimus in propinquis, si inpediunt regno dei".
Since the idea of distancing oneself from relationships of flesh and blood is dominant in *De Vera Religione*, however, one can see the reason that led Burleigh to his translation considered in the previous note. For Burleigh, a person who prefers to benefit those more closely related to himself is unjust; this makes sense if "coniunctioribus" is conceived in terms of "temporales necessitudines" and 'carnalis condicio'. Then, the "autem" of the following sentence ("Animi *autem* coniunctio maior est ...") may be read as a continuation of the same thought, as offering an explanation for the injustice of caring for one's own first. Because of the factors mentioned above, however, I believe that the "autem" should be translated "however", introducing a contrasting thought, indicating that, although love is to begin at home, it is called by the spiritual bond to go beyond it. Thus, for the Augustine of *De Vera Religione*, it may be the case that "those more closely related to us" may rightly be considered as having first claim on our loving help, even though we are to hate the temporal, carnal bond that joins us to them and to allow our love to prevail over it.

[7]) See *Œuvres de Saint Augustin* (Bibliothèque Augustinienne, 8), Paris, 1951, p. 161: "Or, le lien spirituel est supérieur à ceux de temps et de lieu qui président à notre naissance charnelle et d'autant plus étroit qu'il triomphe de tout".

ing over everything'. If we were to follow up this line of thought, we could envisage the *animi coniunctio*, in that it is superior to the ties of flesh and blood and of familiarity, as uniting those whom space and time and the limitations of life "in this body" divide, as prevailing over distance and enmity, as well as over death, in challenging human love beyond the family hearth. In a letter written more than twenty years later (in 413-414 A.D.) the unifying function which the human spirit *(animus)* most probably has in *De Vera Religione* is even more clearly fulfilled by the human reason *(ratio)*: in the second part of the double commandment "the neighbour in question is not to be understood as those who are related to us by blood, but those with whom we share reason *(ratio)* which joins all men and women in a single community"[8]).

But, as early as the *Soliloquia*, it is stated that the rational soul *(rationalis anima)* is to be loved in people, not their animality. Thus, one may even love the wicked person, while hating the evil use he makes of his rational soul[9]). The wicked so loved are presumably among the many *(plurimos)* whom lovers of beauty and wisdom seek to share in their enjoyment and thus to become their friends[10]). This conception of the wicked becoming friends of the good, uncommon in Augustine's pre-400 period, is reminiscent of the way in which he will from *De Doctrina Christiana* on, and especially in *In Epistolam Ioannis*, speak of love of enemies. *De Vera Religione*, while allowing *anima* to stand for the neighbour, witnesses something similar. "A person loves a wise and perfect soul *(sapientem animam atque perfectam)* just as he sees it; a foolish soul he does not love as such, but because it is capable of perfection and wisdom. For nor does he love himself as a fool. Whoever loves himself as a fool makes no progress towards wisdom; nor will a

[8]) *Epistola* 155,4,14 (CSEL 44,444. ML 33,672): "Proximus sane hoc loco, non sanguinis propinquitate, sed rationis societate pensandus est, in qua socii sunt omnes homines".

[9]) *Soliloquia* 1,2,7 (ML 32,873): "Et homines sunt, et eos amo, non eo quod animalia, sed eo quod homines sunt; id est, ex eo quod *rationales animas* habent, quas amo etiam in latronibus. Licet enim mihi in quovis amare rationem, cum illum iure oderim qui male utitur eo quod amo. Itaque tanto magis amo amicos meos, quanto magis bene utuntur anima rationali, vel certe quantum desiderant ea bene uti".
Cf. the designation of the neighbour in *De Diversis Quaestionibus 83*, q. 30 (CC 44A,39. ML 40,20) (Date: 389-396): "... utitur etiam ceteris *rationalibus animantibus* ad societatem ...".

[10]) *Soliloquia* 1,13,22 (ML 32,881): "Quem modum autem potest habere illius pulchritudinis amor, in qua non solum non invideo caeteris, sed etiam plurimos quaero qui mecum appetant, mecum inhient, mecum teneant, mecumque perfruantur; tanto mihi amiciores futuri, quanto erit nobis amata communior".

person become such as he desires to be unless he hates himself such as he is"[11]). The rational soul both in oneself and in others is then loved not only because it is capable of wisdom and perfection, but so that progress towards these may be made.

1. Gunnar Hultgren's objections

Gunnar Hultgren has at least two major difficulties with this presentation of the neighbour as *anima*, *rationalis anima* and *animus* in the pre-400 period. Firstly, love for neighbour is over-spiritualised. In denying the eternal value of natural ties Augustine robs love for neighbour of its individual character. The link between the love that comes naturally and Christian love is too tenuous. One may well ask, says Hultgren, whether there is anything personal about this love at all[12])? Secondly, very little importance is attached to the material side of love for neighbour. To be sure, Augustine dwells at some length on it in *De Moribus* 1,27,52-54, but he sees help for the body only in view of the soul: *De Moribus* 1,28,55-58. Even though some formulations of love's activity are so general that it is difficult to determine their character, e.g. *opem ferre*, *subventum velle*, *consulere*, *adiuvare*, *praestare beneficium*, wherever love for neighbour is presented under a concrete form, it is almost always a matter of spiritual help[13]). This spiritual help is,

[11]) *De Vera Religione* 262 (CSEL 77,67) = 48,93 (CC 32,248. ML 34,164): "Sapientem animam atque perfectam talem diligat qualem illam videt, stultam non talem, sed quia esse perfecta et sapiens potest, quia nec se ipsum debet stultum diligere. Nam qui se diligit stultum, non proficiet ad sapientiam; nec fiet quisque qualis cupit esse nisi se oderit qualis est".

[12]) G. Hultgren, *Le commandement d'amour chez Augustin*, p. 175: "Il y a lieu de se demander si l'on peut encore parler dans ce cas d'un amour personnel avec une personne comme sujet et une autre comme objet et s'il reste encore en lui quelque chose de la communauté naturelle. La communauté naturelle dépouillée de ce qu'il y avait en lui de 'corporel' et d'individuel devient une forme vide de substance". J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 108, has a similar difficulty with the designation of the neighbour as the one who can enjoy God with us (*De Doctrina Christiana* 1,60 (CSEL 80,23)): "Aber was nutzt das aufs Ganze gesehen, wenn sich am Ende nicht sagen lässt, nicht ethisch exakt bestimmen lässt, was mein Verhältnis zum anderen Menschen, was die Ich-Du Relation eigentlich ist und sein soll?". Cf. also p. 139. It may, I think, be considered questionable whether the individual, highly personal (and of necessity rather rare) "I-Thou" relationship should be posed as the determining standard of "my relationship to other people".

[13]) G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 178: "Cependant, comme le terme 'prochain' se rapporte en réalité à l'âme, l'apport de l'amour sera d'ordre spirituel par excellence. Comme on le voit, Augustin considère l'apport matériel destiné à aider le corps en tant que support de l'âme, comme un acte préparatoire. C'est rarement, du reste, qu'Augustin attache à cet apport matériel une telle importance. Il est vrai qu'ailleurs il parle de l'activité de l'amour

according to Hultgren, rather negative, merely the absence of malice and the abstention from evil action[14]); it is passive, for one must not allow one's tranquillity of mind to be disturbed[15]); it is a *moralisation* of love for neighbour in that it offers only external help not personal support, and a *rationalisation* in that it is reason's response to the motivation of the *ordo rerum* and the advantage to be had for oneself in increasing

dans des termes si généraux qu'il est difficile d'en discerner le caractère. Cependant, là où l'amour du prochain est représenté sous une forme concrète ou illustré par des exemples, il est presque toujours question de l'aide spirituelle".

[14]) *Ibid.*, p. 179. On this point, Hultgren refers principally to *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 1,26,49-51. "Agendum autem *in primis* est, ut benevoli simus, id est ut nulla malitia, nullo dolo malo adversus hominem utamur. Quid enim homini homine propinquius?" 1,26,49 (ML 32,1332). 1,26,50 sees love for neighbour in terms of Rom. 13.10, i.e. "Dilectio proximi malum non operatur" and as "cunabula caritatis Dei". Further, 1,26,51 (ML 32,1332): "Atque utinam ut facile est bene instituto et benigno diligere proximum ita facile esset *vel consulere, vel nihil nocere*". Hultgren's reading of these texts is open to criticism. According to Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 441, "consulere" means "to take care for some person or thing, to be mindful of, take care of, look to, have regard for". It is difficult to see how this can be construed as "negative" in *De Moribus* 1,26,51. Moreover, part of the evil that love for neighbour does not do (cf. Rom. 13.10 in *De Moribus* 1,26,50) is to fail to help one's neighbour when one can. Thus, even though the construction is negative, the help for neighbour envisaged is positive. "Sed cum duobus modis peccetur in homine, uno si laedatur, *alio si cum potest non adjuvetur*; eaque ipsa sint quibus mali homines esse dicantur, quorum neutrum, qui diligit, facit: satis, opinor, quod volumus demonstrat ista sententia: *Dilectio proximi malum non operatur*". Finally, the negative formulation in *De Moribus* 1,26,49 ("nulla malitia, nullo dolo malo") is just a first step ("in primis"), and it follows on the thought that it is difficult not to err in fulfilling our duties towards our fellow human beings. The first step then is to protect our neighbour from any possible mishandling on our part arising from disordered self-love. But the second step is to bring our neighbour to love God perfectly: «Te autem ipsum salubriter diligis, si plus quam te diligis Deum. Quod ergo agis tecum, id agendum cum proximo est; hoc est, ut ipse etiam perfecto amore diligat Deum. Non enim eum diligis tanquam teipsum, si non ad id bonum ad quod ipse tendis, adducere satagis". This may be spiritual, but it is certainly not negative.

[15]) Almost all the virtues given in the "catalogue" in *De Moribus* 1,30,63 (ML 32,1336-1337) are said to be passive. See G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 179. I find this questionable. See, for example: "Tu (Ecclesia catholica) dominos servis, summi Dei communis Domini consideratione *placabiles*, et *ad consulendum* quam coercendum *propensiores* facis".

Most surprisingly of all, bearing one another's burdens (Gal. 6.2), as described in *De Diversis Quaestionibus 83*, q. 71, is considered by Hultgren, p. 179, "une tache *toute* passive" (My emphasis). If this is passive, then the action of the kenotic Christ on our behalf (Phil. 2.5-8) is passive, for this is the model Augustine gives of burden-bearing. The Christ to be imitated "non adtendit sua sed nostra": *quaestio* 71,3 (CC 44A, 203. ML 40,82). Likewise, Paul maintains "*Omnibus omnia factus sum, ut omnes lucri facerem* (1 Cor. 9.22), cogitando scilicet in eo vitio etiam se esse potuisse, unde cupiebat alium liberare. Conpatiendo enim potius id agebat non mentiendo ...": *quaestio* 71,4 (CC 44A,204. ML 40,82).

one's own love for God[16]). Thus, love for neighbour risks being compromised.

> The form this love will take, if it is determined by the concern for our own love of God, will be markedly different from that taken by a love before all else concerned with the needs of the neighbour. If it is above all a matter of preserving and developing our own love for God, it is perhaps not necessary to perform positive acts of love. It is enough then to refrain from evil actions, or perhaps just to bear this love in ourselves. This easily noticeable diminution of love for neighbour in Augustine proves, therefore, that he was unable to avoid the danger of egocentrism[17]).

Such, for Hultgren, is the outcome of Augustine's over -emphasis on the spiritual aspect of love, of paying too much attention to souls, including one's own, and not enough to positive, active, material, personal care for others. This critique Hultgren will apply also, *mutatis mutandis*, to basing all people's being neighbours on a common human nature or on the fact that there is no one to whom we are to do evil (cf. Rom. 13.10).

2. Response to objections

Regarding the first point, we can to a certain extent sympathise with Hultgren that Augustine has over-stressed the spiritual to the detriment of the naturalness and freshness of other dimensions, especially of the closest human relationships. Thus, to hear in *De Sermone Domini in Monte* that a good Christian loves the creature of God, the "human being" *(homo)* in his wife, but that he hates her as his wife *(quod uxor est)* and the corruptible, mortal *coniunctionem copulationemque* that

[16]) G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 181: "Une rationalisation du fait que 'l'esprit' d'amour y est représenté par la raison qui considère l'amour du prochain motivé tant par l'*ordo rerum* que par l'avantage qu'en tire l'amour de Dieu. Et une moralisation du fait que 'l'action' n'est qu'une aide extérieure et non pas un apport personnel de l'homme".

[17]) *Ibid.*, p. 180: "La forme que prendra cet amour, s'il est déterminé par le souci de notre propre amour de Dieu, sera sensiblement différente de celle que prendra un amour avant tout soucieux des besoins du prochain. S'il s'agit surtout d'entretenir et d'éduquer notre propre amour de Dieu, il n'est peut-être pas nécessaire d'accomplir des actes d'amour positifs. Il nous suffira alors de nous abstenir des mauvaises actions, ou peut-être sera-t-il assez de porter en nous cet amour. Cette diminution de l'amour du prochain facile à constater chez Augustin nous prouve donc que celui-ci n'a pas su éviter le danger égocentrique".
For a critique of the kind of Augustinian eudaimonism presupposed in these statements, the reader is referred to the foregoing articles.

joins him to her, comes across to us as forced, if not repellent[18]). It should be remembered, however, that this is precisely the way of reasoning, found also in *De Vera Religione* 247 and in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1,19,30, which Augustine later systematically and firmly rejects[19]). The spiritual headstrongness of the new convert gives way to a more balanced vision[20]). Preaching at Hippo in 412, Augustine distinguishes between divine and human love, and between lawful and unlawful human love. It would be inhuman and reprehensible not to love one's wife, children and friends, he states; but pagans, Jews and heretics love those closely related to them as well[21]). Needless to say, unlawful human love, such as that for a prostitute, cannot be reconciled with love for God. But lawful human love can be:

> Love your children, love your spouses, even though it be in a worldly way *(saeculariter)*. For you should love them as Christ wants you to *(secundum Christum)* so as to help them as God wants you to *(secundum Deum)*. Love in them only Christ and hate in

[18]) De *Sermone Domini in Monte* 1,15,41 (CC 35,45-46. ML 34,1250): "Sic invenitur bonus christianus diligere in una femina creaturam dei, quam reformari et renovari desiderat, odisse autem coniunctionem copulationemque corruptibilem atque mortalem, hoc est diligere in ea quod homo est, odisse quod uxor est. Ita etiam diligit inimicum, non in quantum inimicus est, sed in quantum homo est, ut hoc ei velit provenire quod sibi, id est ut ad regnum caelorum correctus renovatusque perveniat. Hoc et de patre et de matre et de ceteris vinculis sanguinis intellegendum est, ut in eis oderimus quod genus humanum nascendo et moriendo sortitum est, diligamus autem quod nobiscum potest ad illa regna perduci, ubi nemo dicit pater meus, sed omnes uni deo pater noster; nec mater mea, sed omnes illi Hierusalem mater nostra; nec frater meus, sed omnes de omnibus frater noster. Coniugium vero cum illo simul nobis in unum redactis quasi unius coniugis erit, qui nos de prostitutione huius saeculi sui sanguinis effusione liberavit. Necesse est ergo ut oderit ea quae transeunt discipulus Christi in his quos secum ad ea venire desiderat quae semper manebunt; et tanto magis haec in eis oderit, quanto magis eos diligit".
See G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 177: "La conception artificielle de l'homme en tant qu'un être partagé en deux et la réflexion qui calcule sur les conséquences de l'amour, menacent d'ôter à l'amour du prochain son naturel et sa fraîcheur". Regarding "la réflexion qui calcule", it should be noticed that in this text one desires for another human being, one's wife, the same transformation, renewal and eternal life in the kingdom of God that one desires for oneself. This, while very spiritual, is not insignificant. The difficulty here is rather that Augustine sees the relationship to one's wife as "wife" as a transient temporal bond and therefore to be hated in view of the eternal. This leads him to obscure the specificity of the marriage relationship by approaching it in the same way he does love of enemies.

[19]) Se note 6 above. For *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 1,19,30 (cf. G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 174), see *Retractiones* 1,9,3 (CSEL 36,48-49) = 1,10,2 (ML 32,599).

[20]) See *Sermo* 159,2 (ML 38,868) (Date: 418), where "coniugales amplexus" feature among the "lawful delights".

[21]) *Sermo* 349, 1&2 (ML 39,1529-1530).

> your loved ones whatever resistance to Christ you find there. For this is divine love. What does your transitory and mortal affection benefit them? Rather when you love, humanly speaking, love Christ more. I do not say that you are not to love your spouse, but love Christ more. I do not say that you are not to love your parents or your children, but love Christ more. Lest you think these are my own words, listen to the Lord: "*He who loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me" (Matt. 10.37)* ...[22]).

We may find it grudging and insufficient to have family relationships described as "lawful" and to have love for family referred to as "transitory and mortal". Yet, an important advance has been made over the earlier texts. It is not the bond of flesh and blood that is to be hated but any resistance to the healing and illuminating power of Christ. Moreover, whereas in the *Soliloquia* the wicked person's evil use of his rational soul was the object of hatred, and in *De Vera Religione* the imperfect and foolish soul, here it is anything that stands in the way of God's plan being fulfilled in another, of Christ being fully formed in him. Love is to be "*secundum Christum ... secundum Deum*".

Seven or eight years later, Augustine is explaining what is new about Christ's commandment in Jn. 13.34: "love one another as I have loved you". Its newness is that it renews, making a "new person", a new people. By adding "as I have loved you", Christ distinguished this renewing love from the carnal love *(carnali dilectione)* of husbands and wives, parents and children, and of all other kinds of human bonds[23]). This love makes us members of the Body of the Son of God, sharing one another's joys and trials (cf. 1 Cor. 12.25-26).

> (Those who keep the new commandment) do not love one another as the corrupt do, nor is their love like that of human beings

[22]) *Sermo* 349,7 (ML 39,1532-1533): "Amate filios vestros, amate conjuges vestras, etsi saeculariter. Nam secundum Christum amare debetis, ut secundum Deum illis consulatis, et non in eis nisi Christum diligatis, et oderitis in vestris si Christum habere noluerint. Ipsa enim est charitas illa divina. Nam quid eis proderit transitoria et mortalis charitas vestra? Tamen quando et humanitus diligitis, plus Christum amate. Non dico ut non diligas uxorem; sed plus dilige Christum. Non dico ut non diligis patrem, non dico ut non diligas filios; sed plus dilige Christum. Audi illum dicentem, ne mea putes ista verba: *Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus* (Matt. 10.37) ...".

[23]) *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 65,1 (CC 36,490-491. ML 35,1808): "Innovat quippe audientem, vel potius obedientem, non omnis, sed ista dilectio quam Dominus ut a carnali dilectione distingueret, addidit: *sicut dilexi vos* (Jn. 13.34). Nam diligunt invicem mariti et uxores, parentes et filii, et quaecumque alia inter se homines necessitudo humana devinxerit (ut taceamus de dilectione culpabili atque damnabili, qua diligunt invicem adulteri et adulterae ...)".

> for each other because they are human beings. Rather they love one another because they are gods and all sons of the Most High, so that they may be brothers of his only Son. Their love for one another is that with which the Son has loved them; by it he will lead people to that end which satisfies them and fills their desire with good (Ps. 102 (103).5). For nothing will be lacking to desire when God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15.28). Such an end is without end ... "Love is strong as death" (Cant. 8.6). For by this love it comes about that, while still living in this corruptible body, we die to this world and our life is hidden with Christ in God (cf. Col. 3.3). Love itself for us means dying to the world and life with God. For if we speak of death when the soul leaves the body, may we not speak of death when our love leaves the world? Love therefore is as strong as death. What is stronger than this love which conquers the world[24])?

On the one hand, we might consider this text as a highly developed example of Augustine's spiritualising tendency and again lament that, in defining Christian love in contrast to "human" love, the latter appears, perhaps rather shabbily, as *carnalis dilectio*. Already in *Epistola* 243 to Laetus specifically maternal love had been underrated in favour of a broader ecclesial love[25]). Is it not possible, however, that love in blood relationships may provide the fertile soil for higher forms? And why could married people, children and parents, those whom life throws together, when they have been renewed by the love of Christ, not experience a deepening of these very relationships and know their love for one another to be more than "transitory and mortal affection", indeed as strong as death? Augustine does not specifically develop this side of the question. But what he does is not without merit. He sees all

[24]) *Ibid.*, (CC 36,491. ML 35,1808-1809): "... non sicut se diligunt qui corrumpunt, nec sicut se diligunt homines, quoniam homines sunt; sed sicut se diligunt, quoniam dii sunt et filii Altissimi omnes, ut sint Filio eius unico fratres, ea dilectione invicem diligentes, qua ipse dilexit eos, perducturus eos ad illum finem qui sufficiat eis, ubi satietur in bonis desiderium eorum. Tunc enim aliquid desiderio non deerit, quando omnia in omnibus Deus erit. Talis finis non habet finem ... *Valida est sicut mors dilectio* (Cant. 8.6). Hac enim dilectione fit ut in isto adhuc corruptibili corpore constituti moriamur huic saeculo, et vita nostra abscondatur cum Christo in Deo, immo ipsa dilectio est mors nostra saeculo, et vita cum Deo. Si enim mors est quando de corpore anima exit, quomodo non est mors quando de mundo amor noster exit? Valida est ergo sicut mors dilectio. Quid ea validius, qua vincitur mundus?".

[25]) *Epistola* 243,4 (CSEL 57,571. ML 33,1056): "Quod ergo tu illi etiam carnali necessitudine annecteris, ad sortem valere debet familiarius colloquendi, et apertiore ianua consulendi ut hoc ipsum, quo te privatim diligit, interficiatur in ea, ne quod ex utero suo genuit, pluris pendat, quam quod ex utero ecclesiae genita est tecum". Note, however, that the carnal relationship between mother and son ("carnali necessitudine") is envisaged as giving the son a greater possibility of promoting this more extensive love in his mother.

too well the danger of confusing Christian love with the ease and immediacy of family affection, which may mask a great deal of pride and selfishness; familiarity with a relative or friend may breed contempt for his or her deepest self, for the plan that God has for them. Besides, this "new" love makes of us a new people in which, as members of Christ's body, we are called to share in a wider circle of concerns. No one will deny that families or groups as a whole may display selfishness to outsiders while claiming to love one another. Thus, in a startling passage from *De Disciplina Christiana*, the narrow circle of the Roman law of succession is broken open by the appeal of the poor Christ of Matt. 25.40 ("When you did it to one of the least of mine, you did it to me"):

> I put Christ before you; and you place your children over against him. Is it really just that your son has everything he needs to live luxuriously, while the Lord suffers want? "When you did it to one of the least of mine, you did it to me" (Matt. 25.40). Haven't you ever read that? Haven't you taken any notice of it? "When you failed to do it to one of the least of mine, you failed to do it to me" (Matt. 25.45) ... Look who is suffering poverty. And you dare to count your children. Count your children by all means. Add another one to their number, namely your Lord Christ. If you have one son, let Christ be your second heir. If you have two or three sons, let him be the third of fourth heir[26]).

This is the other side to the exhortation to 'love Christ more' of *Sermo* 349; while there the accent was spiritual, here it is social. Even so, the "spiritual" love for neighbour 'as Christ has loved us' presented in *In Ioannis Evangelium* 65,1 — that is, love in order that people become brothers and sisters of Christ, that God be all in all — has a world-conquering strength. Having died to attachment to the world, its life is hidden in Christ with God. Ordinary human affection can find itself powerless in the face of evil and of death, but the love of Christ that, hidden in God, sees others as gods and as children of the God who will be all in all to them, is filled with the hope of being stronger than death[27]).

[26]) *De Disciplina Christiana* 8,8 (CC 46,216. ML 40,673-674): "Christum illi oppono, filios suos mihi reponit. Ita vero magna iustitia, ut habeat unde luxurietur filius tuus, egeat dominus tuus? *Cum enim uni ex minimis meis fecisti mihi fecisti* (Matt. 25.40). Non legisti, non advertisti? *Cum uni ex minimis meis non fecisti, nec mihi fecisti* ... Ecce quis eget, et filios tuos numeras? Postremo numera filios tuos, adde unum illum inter illos, dominum tuum. Unum habes, sit ille secundus; duos habes, sit tertius; tres habes, quartus sit ...". Cf. *En. in ps.* 38,12 (CC 38,414. ML 36,424); *Sermo* 9,20 (CC 41,147. ML 38,90).

[27]) In a novel by Iris Murdoch, the bankruptcy in the face of death of affections that we perhaps too readily call "love" and the need for a higher love are well brought out. See

With Hultgren's second criticism regarding the spiritualising of love for neighbour by Augustine it is not so easy to be sympathetic. To be sure, with a few not insignificant exceptions[28]), it is true that, in the period prior to 400, whenever Augustine concretises love for neighbour it is mostly a matter of spiritual help. Spiritual help, however, may have practical material consequences. For example, the treatment of help for the neighbour's soul in *De Moribus*, which is introduced as *disciplina* (education for life), at least partly entails teaching others to perform the corporal works of mercy[29]). Moreover, as we have indicated in referring to the texts adduced by Hultgren in this regard, there are elements present in them which argue against understanding "spiritual" as a synonym for "negative" and "passive". Does one have to be of material advantage to others in order to be able to help them actively and positively? Furthermore, as we shall see, although spiritual love of neighbour remains in the foreground throughout Augustine's life, there is nevertheless an impressive body of post -400 texts which show love for neighbour as material giving to the poor[30]). In a commentary from 407

Bruno's Dream, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1969, p. 138. Two women are discussing the death of their father; one was present at the time and the other is questioning her about it.
"'We were trying to deceive ourselves. It was terrible to see him realizing the truth'.
'Oh God, what did you do?'
'Held his hand, said I loved him'.
'I suppose that is the only thing one would want to know'.
'What was awful was that he didn't want to know. We're so used to the idea that love consoles. But here one felt that even love was — nothing'.
'That can't be true'.
'I know what you mean. It can't be true. Perhaps one just suddenly saw the dimensions of what love would have to be — like a huge vault suddenly opening out overhead —' ...".
It can be suggested that the love with which Christ loves us, in Augustine's mind, at least measures up to those dimensions.

[28]) See, for example, *Sermo* 352,7 (ML 39,1556-1558) for which love of neighbour includes both forgiving and giving; *De Disciplina Christiana* 6,6 (CC 46,213. ML 40,672): "Volebas diligere proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum, divide cum illo pecuniam tuam"; *Sermo Denis* 15,3 (MA I,72-73) which sees conversion at least partly according to the model of the Acts of the Apostles: they sold their goods and laid the proceeds at the feet of the Apostles to be distributed as there was need; *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,67 (CSEL 80,25) = 1,30,31 (CC 32,24. ML 34,31) where the Good Samaritan's actions are the example of love for neighbour.

[29]) *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 1,28,55 (ML 32,1333): "... sic in animo sunt quaedam, in quibus excellentia illa et rara magisteria non admodum desiderantur, ut cum hortamur et monemus ut haec ipsa indigentibus exhibeantur quae corpori exhibenda esse diximus. Cum enim haec facimus, ope corpori; cum autem docemus ut fiant, disciplina animo subvenimus".

[30]) For example, *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 17,8 (CC 36,175. ML 35, 1532): "Incipe ergo diligere proximum. *Frange esurienti panem tuum, et egenum sine tecto induc in domum tuam; si videris nudum, vesti, et domesticos seminis tui ne despexeris* (Is. 58.7)".

A.D. on 1 John 3.17 (i.e. "If a man who was rich enough in this world's goods saw that one of his brothers was in need, but closed his heart to him, how could the love of God be living in him?") we encounter a remarkable blending of the material and the spiritual:

> Now you know where love begins. If you are not yet prepared to die for your brother, at least be ready to share your possessions with him. Let your heart be moved by love, not to give out of pride but out of a deep feeling of mercy (*de intimo adipe misericordiae*). Love should make you attentive to your fellow human being in need. If you cannot give something of your abundance to aid your brother, how will you be able to lay down your life for him? ... What then are you going to do with your money? Your brother is hungry and in need. Perhaps he lives in the greatest uncertainty, with creditors putting pressure on him. He has no money; you do have money. He is your brother; you have been ransomed together, one and the same price has been paid for you both, you have both been redeemed by the blood of Christ. See if you, who are rich in this world's goods, have compassion on your fellow human being in want. Perhaps you say: what have I got to do with him? Why should I give my money to relieve others who are in trouble? If this is what your heart tells you, then you do not have the love of the Father in you. If the love of the Father does not remain in you, you are not born of God. Why do you boast of being a Christian? You are a Christian in name, but not in deed[31]).

The spiritual factors in this text are the brotherhood of human beings redeemed by Christ, which Augustine uses as an argument for material giving to our needy equals, and the concern that the love which moves us to give spring not from pride and the desire to boast but from a "deep feeling of mercy" for and compassion with our fellow human beings in want. When such love does make us creatively attentive to another, then we are born of God and the love of the Father remains in us. Spiritual considerations, thus, both emphasise the closeness of human

[31]) *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 5,12 (ML 35,2018): "Ecce unde incipit charitas. Si nondum es idoneus mori pro fratre, jam idoneus esto dare de tuis facultatibus fratri. Jam percutiat viscera tua charitas, ut non de jactantia facias, sed de intimo adipe misericordiae; ut consideres illum in egestate positum. Si enim superflua non potes dare fratri tuo, animam tuam potes ponere pro fratre? ... quid inde facturus es? Esurit frater tuus, in necessitate positus est: fortassis suspenditur, a creditore angustatur; non habet ipse, habes tu: frater tuus est, simul empti estis, unum est pretium vestrum, ambo sanguine Christi redempti estis: vide si misereris, si habes facultates mundi. Quid ad me pertinet, forte dicis? Ego daturus sum pecuniam meam, ne ille molestiam patiatur? Si hoc tibi responderit cor tuum, dilectio Patris non in te manet. Si dilectio Patris non in te manet, non es natus ex Deo. Quomodo te gloriaris esse christianum? Nomen habes, et facta non habes".

beings to one another as equals in Christ and their responsibility for each other, and urge that love be attentive and merciful, not superficial and pretentious.

There is an appeal in this text to genuine active material giving "*de intimo adipe misericordiae*". We can note some progress here over Augustine's hesitation, nineteen years earlier in *De Moribus*, concerning the appropriateness of *misericordia* when a person comes to the physical aid of others. There, influenced by the derivation of the word *misericordia* from *miseria*, and most probably by the Stoic figure of the wise person who helps people with a tranquil mind, without allowing himself to be troubled by the sight of their misery and ills, Augustine revealed a certain suspicion of feelings of mercy.

> Those who are prompted by human kindness to provide the things necessary so that others might resist evils and misfortunes of this sort (i.e. material privation) are called merciful, even though they might be so wise that no anguish of soul disturbs them. For who does not know that the term "mercy" implies heart-felt distress over the evil suffered by another? And who would not agree that the wise man ought to be free from all distress *(ab omni miseria liberum esse debere sapientem)* when assisting those in need, when he gives food to the hungry and drink to the thirsty, when he clothes the naked, offers hospitality to the stranger and delivers those who are oppressed, and when in his kindness he even goes so far as to bury the dead? Although he performs these acts with a serene mind *(mente tranquilla)*, not impelled by the sting of pain but prompted by the duty of kindness, he ought still to be called merciful, for the term will not do him any harm when the feeling of pain is absent[32]).

Gunnar Hultgren sees the wise person undisturbed by painful emotions, whom he understands to be isolated and detached from the concerns of fellow creatures, as representing the ideal attitude for Augustine in love of neighbour. Hultgren links this to the idea that

[32]) *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 1,27,53 (ML 32,1333): "Quare illa omnia, quibus hujuscemodi malis incommodisve resistitur, qui officiose atque humaniter praebent, misericordes vocantur, etiamsi sapientes usque adeo sint, ut jam nullo animi dolore turbentur. Nam quis ignoret ex eo appellatam esse misericordiam, quod miserum cor faciat condolentis alieno malo? Et quis non concedat ab omni miseria liberum esse debere sapientem, cum subvenit inopi, cum esurienti cibum praestat potumque sitienti, cum vestit nudum, cum peregrinum tecto recipit, cum oppressum liberat, cum denique humanitatem suam usque ad sepulturam porrigit mortuorum? Etiamsi id faciat mente tranquilla, nullis aculeis doloris instinctus, sed adductus officio bonitatis, misericors tamen vocandus est. Huic enim nihil obest nomen, cum absit miseria". English translation based on *The Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 56, p. 42, but with substantial changes.

happiness comes to the wise when they love God with all their hearts. If the wise then were to allow themselves to be upset by the sufferings of others, the happiness and peace *(tranquillitas mentis)* brought by loving God would be endangered. Thus, Hultgren concludes that the appeal to help the needy neighbour in *De Moribus* 1,27,53 is so hedged about that it becomes an eloquent demonstration that love for God can attenuate our love for neighbour and distance us from our brothers[33]).

A number of things need to be said about this interpretation. Firstly, Augustine himself explains in the *Retractationes* that it was not his intention to affirm that such wise people, emotionally uninvolved in the help they give to alleviate human suffering, exist in this life[34]). He knows that it is different in real life. Even in the continuation of the text from *De Moribus* Augustine shows that he is aware that a sense of duty alone may not be sufficient to call to service of our needy neighbour. The danger he sees is that some people, in their striving for the serenity of a tranquil mind, may shun emotion to such an extent that they become frozen in rigid inhumanity. In other words, in their desire to avoid feeling the pain of others, they shy away from the corporal works of mercy themselves, and, their hearts being hardened, they neglect to assist the needy altogether. This is, of course, totally undesirable, for mercy demands that we drive away physical evils from others[35]). Augustine's ultimate

[33]) G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 181: "L'attitude idéale, nous la voyons réalisée par le sage qui pratique l'amour du prochain sans que la pitié le trouble en rien. Cela implique une rationalisation et une moralisation de l'amour du prochain ... Le rejet de la compassion entraîne la rupture des liens qui nous unissent à nos semblables ... Plus l'homme est 'sage', plus il s'affranchit de la pitié et plus il s'isole. Pour quelle raison? C'est parce que le sage doit à tout prix garder la paix de l'âme *(tranquillitas mentis)* et 'être libre de toute misère'. Ces expressions qui semblent empruntées au langage des stoïciens ne doivent pas nous faire oublier que suivant la conception d'Augustin, celui-là est sage qui aime Dieu de tout son cœur et que c'est là le bonheur que nous donne l'amour de Dieu qu'il s'agit de défendre. Si ces paroles tendent nettement à nous exhorter à pratiquer l'amour du prochain, il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'elles nous montrent éloquemment comment l'amour de Dieu peut atténuer notre amour du prochain et nous éloigner de nos frères".

[34]) *Retractationes* 1,6,6 (CSEL 36,31) = 1,7,4 (ML 32,593): "item quod dixi de his, qui subveniunt indigentibus, quia *misericordes vocantur, etiam si sapientes usque adeo sint, ut iam nullo animi dolore turbentur* (*De Moribus* 1,27,53), non sic accipiendum est, tamquam definierim in hac vita esse tales sapientes; non enim dixi; cum sint, sed dixi: *etiam si sint*".

[35]) *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 1,27,54 (ML 32,1333): "Stulti vero cum misericordiam quasi vitium devitant, quia officio satis moveri nequeunt, si nec perturbatione commoventur, congelascunt potius rigore inhumanitatis, quam rationis tranquillitate serenantur ... Ne cum verbis doctorum inepte utimur, indoctorum animas prius durescere vitando misericordiam, quam benignitatem appetendo mitescere faciamus. Atque ut misericordia jubet, ista nos ab homine pellere incommoda, sic innocentia prohibet inferre".

concern then in this text is that suffering be relieved, that people not let the price of serenity of mind be the growing cold of their love; for only the foolish *(stulti)* consider that there can be wisdom without mercy. And, as the Augustine of the *Retractationes* certainly knows, in this life more than a sense of duty is required to call forth aid for the afflicted. Perhaps his cautionary words in the latter part of the text from *De Moribus* provide an indication that even there he had serious doubts about the possibility of human beings' performing merciful actions without the sting of emotional distress at the ill-fortune of others.

Even though it is not fundamental, there is, however, undeniably the figure of the wise person of unperturbed and tranquil mind in *De moribus* 1,27,53 to contend with. Insofar as preoccupation with this figure has disappeared entirely in the commentary on 1 John, and there is a wholehearted appeal to help the needy "out of a deep feeling of mercy" *(de intimo adipe misericordiae)* and an emphasis on the equality of the giver and receiver in Christ[36]), Augustine had shed Stoic elements under the growing influence of the Christian Scriptures[37]). But is Hultgren right in sketching the wise person of *De Moribus* as a cold, distant figure concerned primarily with the peaceful quest for wisdom and the protection of his own happiness in loving God? Does concern that love for God, for Wisdom, be preserved intact mean that a person necessarily has to assign strict limits to his love of neighbour? We have already shown how in *De Moribus* nothing, not even the quest for tranquillity, is to stand in the way of merciful works being done; seeking peace of mind cannot be used as an excuse for allowing love to grow cold, and in this human existence love will almost certainly atrophy if our feelings are unaffected by others' woes. Augustine does not give us here an elegantly

[36]) See *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 5,12 (ML 35,2018). In *Sermo* 259,5 (ML 38,1200), from the pre-400 period, the equality of giver and receiver is based on common humanity. In the infirmity of the poor the giver humbly feels and aknowledges his own infirmity. "Non enim debet esse sola benignitas largientis, sed et humilitas ministrantis. Nescio quomodo, fratres mei, animus ejus qui porrigit pauperi, velut communi humanitati atque infirmitati compatitur, quando ponitur manus habentis in manum indigentis. Quamvis ille det, ille accipiat, conjunguntur minister et cui ministratur. Non enim jungit nos calamitas, sed humilitas".

[37]) T.J. van Bavel, *Recherches sur la christologie de saint Augustin. L'humain et le divin dans le Christ d'après saint Augustin*, Fribourg, 1954, p. 120, sees the break with Stoicism and Platonism on this point of fleeing the passions and the affections as occurring around 391. "C'est alors que commence une lente christianisation de sa doctrine concernant la vie affective. Les textes font supposer que le changement s'est opéré surtout entre 391-396".

clear and satisfactory solution to this problem, but his priorities are clear. The state of being free from distress is toned down, and this makes Hultgren's supposition that Augustine identifies it with the Supreme Good sought eudaimonistically highly questionable.

Looking at two other texts shows us some of the resonances this idea of distancing oneself can have for Augustine in the years immediately following *De Moribus*. The first is the continuation of a passage we quoted at the beginning of this chapter from *De Vera Religione*. The greatest bond is that which triumphs over everything.

> Therefore the person who loves God with all his mind and soul will not be afflicted by the death of another, because he knows that whoever does not pass away for God does not pass away for him either. For God is lord both of the living and the dead. This person is not made unhappy by the unhappiness of another, for he is not made unjust by the injustice of another. And so no one can take from him justice and God, so no one can take happiness from him. And if perhaps sometimes he is distressed by another's danger or error or pain, he lets it go so far as to help or correct or console the other, but not to bring about his own ruin[38]).

When a person is totally intent upon God, the lord of the living and the dead, distress at another's pain, even at another's death, will not mean the destruction of his own life and happiness. He will not collapse in horror at the sight of human misery and mortality. This does not imply that he flee the sufferings of others lest his world be turned upside down and he be made unhappy. Rather, if he allows the bond with God, the greatest bond which triumphs over everything, to slacken, he will be so shaken and unbalanced by his own emotions in the face of human fragility, fallibility and suffering that he will not be in a fit state to help, correct and console the other. In the second text, from *quaestio* 71, the

[38]) *De Vera Religione* 257-258 (CSEL 77,66) = 47,91 (CC 32,247. ML 34,163): "Non ergo iste affligitur morte cuiusquam, quoniam qui toto animo deum diligit, novit nec sibi perire quod deo non perit; deus autem dominus est vivorum et mortuorum. Non cuiusquam miseria miser est, quia nec cuiusquam iniustitia fit iniustus. Et ut nemo illi iustitiam et deum, sic nemo aufert beatitudinem. Et si quando forte alicuius periculo vel errore vel dolore commovetur, usque ad illius auxilium aut correctionem aut consolationem, non usque ad suam subversionem valere patitur". The French translation in *Œuvres de Saint Augustin* (Bibliothèque Augustinienne, 8), Paris, 1951, p. 161, renders "non usque ad suam subversionem" as "non de se troubler". This is too weak (Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, p. 1786, gives the following meanings for "subversio": an overturn, overthrow, ruin, destruction) and too readily accepts an overwhelming influence of the Stoic ideal of "apatheia" on Augustine.

realistic point that sharing the painful condition of others is counter-productive if it robs us of any ability we may have had to be of service to them is made even more clearly.

> Therefore, in matters in which such states of feelings are involved, a person has to a certain extent to share the affliction from which he wishes to relieve the other. And he should do this in such a way as to be of help to the other and not allow it to happen that both of them end up equally miserable. In order to stretch out one's hand to another lying on the ground one has to bend down. But it makes no sense to let oneself fall down next to the other on the ground; for then there are two in need of help. No, one bends down to a person lying on the ground in order to help him up again[39]).

The sage's 'freedom from all distress' in this perspective has to be read with the nuance 'freedom from all distress that would cripple him and make him ineffectual on behalf of others'. As a sermon preached before 400 has it, it is not misfortune which forms the bond between giver and receiver, but the giver's humble sharing in the humanity and the infirmity he feels in common with the needy[40]). As we shall see, the mercy stemming from this humility makes souls neighbours to one another.

B. Every person as my neighbour

By 395 A.D. Augustine can call every person a neighbour without feeling the necessity of explaining himself on the point[41]). This, of course, could be seen as a logical consequence of the designation of the neighbour as soul or rational soul. We all have souls; therefore, we are all neighbours. And indeed, in the text already quoted from *Epistola* 155, we have seen how reason *(ratio)* takes over this unifying function from *animus* and *anima*, stressing our unity in reason as a rallying-point.

> The neighbour in question (in the second part of the double commandment) is not to be understood as those who are related to

[39]) *De Diversis Quaestionibus 83*, q. 71,2 (CC 44A,202. ML 40,81): "Et ideo in huiusmodi affectionibus suscipienda est aliquantulum ipsa aegritudo, de qua vis per te alium liberari, et sic suscipienda, ut ad auxilium non ad aequalitatem miseriae valeat, quemadmodum se inclinat qui manum iacenti porrigit; non enim se proicit ut ambo iaceant, sed incurvat tantum ut iacentem erigat".

[40]) *Sermo* 259,5 (ML 38,1200): "... animus ejus qui porrigit pauperi, velut communi humanitati atque infirmitati compatitur ... Non enim jungit nos calamitas, sed humilitas".

[41]) *Expositio Epistolae ad Galatas* 45 (CSEL 84, 119. ML 35,2138): "Item diligere *proximum*, id est *omnem hominem* ...".

> us by blood but those with whom we share reason *(ratio)*, which joins all men and women in a single community. For, if money can be the cause of our coming together, how much more so nature; not the law of commerce but that of a common origin[42]).

Two further related factors, explicitating the *ratio* factor, make all people neighbours of one another according to this text. The former is our common human nature, the latter our common origin.

Regarding the former Augustine states in *De Vera Religione*: "*Human nature*, therefore, whether it be perfect or to be perfected, is to be loved independently of its carnal condition"[43]). This opens the way, as we have seen, for a love of neighbour beyond blood relationships[44]). Over thirty years later, human nature remains a basis of universal fellowship: "In fact all people are neighbours to one another, and let there be no thought that there is a distance between one race and another where there is a *common nature*"[45]). It is, however, instructive to compare the contexts of these two sentences. In the case of *De Vera Religione*, "human nature", being that which one loves in oneself, is also to be, according to the commandment to love the neighbour as the self, that which one loves in others. The passage proceeds:

> All who love Him and do His will are related under the one God and Father. And all are fathers and sons to one another, fathers when they take care of others, sons when they obey; and above all they are brothers *(fratres)*, because the one Father calls them by His covenant to the same inheritance[46]).

[42]) *Epistola* 155,4,14 (CSEL 44,444. ML 33,672): "Proximus sane hoc loco, non sanguinis propinquitate, sed rationis societate pensandus est, in qua socii sunt omnes homines. Nam si pecuniae ratio socios facit, quanto magis ratio naturae, non negotiandi, sed nascendi lege communis". Augustine illustrates the point of human unity by quoting the famous line from Terence, *Heautontimorumenos* 1,1,77: "Homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto".

[43]) *De Vera religione* 251 (CSEL 77,64) = 46,89 (CC 32,245. ML 34,162): "Ipsa igitur natura humana sine carnali condicione diligenda est, sive sit perficienda sive perfecta".

[44]) The difficulties with this position encountered and dealth with above do not need to be rehearsed here.

[45]) *En. in ps.* 118, *sermo* 8,2 (CC 40,1686. ML 37,1519): "Omnis quippe homo est omni homini proximus, nec ulla cogitanda est longinquitas generis, ubi est natura communis".

[46]) *De Vera Religione* 251 (CSEL 77,64) = 46,89 (CC 32,245. ML 34,162): "Omnes sub uno deo patre cognati sunt qui eum diligunt et faciunt voluntatem ipsius, et invicem sibi sunt et patres cum sibi consulunt et filii cum sibi obtemperant et fratres maxime, quia eos unus pater testamento suo ad unam hereditatem vocat".

In other words, the idea of a common destiny in God, the one Father, is introduced to deepen the significance of "human nature". And the relationship that develops between "all who love Him and do His will" is based not on natural family ties but on actual good deeds of care and obedience. But what is to be said of those who do not "love Him and do His will"? Are these not among the *fratres?* Perhaps they are to be considered as 'human nature to be perfected'[47]), and, therefore, even though not actually performing good deeds, as included in the one Father's call to a common inheritance. In the case of *En. in ps.* 118, on the other hand, the explicit accompanying idea is the lawyer's response to his own question about the identity of the neighbour in the story incorporating the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10.29-37): the neighbour is he who showed mercy to the man left half-dead by the road-side. Combining the ideas of a "common nature" uniting vastly different peoples and the neighbour as the one showing mercy, Augustine concludes: "... it is clear that in the matter of works of mercy no one is to be classed as excluded by the person who loves his neighbour"[48]). Further on we will see something of the role played by this parable in Augustine's understanding of the neighbour. For the present it is sufficient to note that for *En. in ps.* 118 (Date: 422) "common nature" is explicitly primarily a universal bond embracing all in the demand for mercy, while for *De Vera Religione* (Date: 390) "human nature" is in the first instance a principle to be loved. In the latter the unifying aspect is obviously not lacking; indeed it appears to be reinforced by the appeal to the fatherhood of the one God and to our vocation to a common inheritance, but the point being emphasised is that a Christian's relationships are ideally spiritual, not "carnal". At any rate here in the background of the broadening of terms of familiarity to include those beyond one's blood relations is the idea, which Augustine later rejects, that being born and giving birth are the result of sin. *En. in ps.* 118,

[47]) It is possible to read 'natura humana perficienda', and thereby to understand the lot of those who do not love God and do his will, in the light of the text concerning the foolish soul which is to be loved because it is capable of being wise and perfect, and in order that it may become such. See *De Vera Religione* 262 (CSEL 77,67) = 48,93 (CC 32,248. ML 34, 164): "Sapientem animam atque perfectam talem diligat qualem illam videt; stultam non talem, sed quia esse perfecta et sapiens potest, quia nec se ipsum debet stultum diligere. Nam qui se diligit stultum, non proficiet ad sapientiam; nec fiet quisque qualis cupit esse nisi se oderit qualis est".

[48]) *En. in ps.* 118, *sermo* 8,2 (CC 40,1686. ML 37,1519): "... patuitque in facienda misericordia neminem alienum esse deputandum ab eo qui diligit proximum".

however, is a forthright and concrete assertion that there is in effect no difference of *genus* at all between peoples, because there is a "common nature"; "common nature" demands that no one remain a stranger to our mercy.

The second of the universalising and unifying factors met above in *Epistola* 155 was our common origin. This is evidently closely associated with our "common nature".

> Friendship therefore begins with one's spouse and children, and goes on to include strangers. But if we reflect that *we have one father and one mother*, who will be a stranger to us? All people are neighbours to one another. Ask nature. Is a person unknown to you? He is a human being. Is he an enemy? He is a human being. Is he a foe? He is a human being. If he is a friend, may he remain a friend. If he is an enemy, may he become a friend[49]).

Because of the connection with "nature" it is most probable that the "one father and one mother" referred to are Adam and Eve, the father and mother of the human race[50]). Augustine had already incorporated and enlarged upon this point in *De Disciplina Christiana*, probably dating from around 398:

> You are one single person. But you have many neighbours. You should not understand neighbour to refer in the first place to a brother or sister, to a blood relation or relation by marriage, for each person is next of kin to every other person. Usually when we speak of next of kin, we think of parents and children, fathers-in-law and sons-in-law, and so on. But there is no greater kinship than that of one human being to another. If, however, we are of the opinion that only children of the same parents are next of kin, we should turn our minds to Adam and Eve. In them it appears we are all brothers and sisters. By the very fact that we are human beings, therefore, we are one another's brothers and sisters. How much more is this true by the fact that we are Christians? Insofar as you are a human being, you have one father, Adam, and one mother, Eve. Insofar as you are a Christian, your one father is God and the

[49]) *Sermo Denis* 16,1 (MA I, 75) (Date: 413, at the latest): "Incipit ergo amicitia a coniuge et filiis, et progreditur usque ad alienos. Sed si consideremus unum nos habuisse patrem et unam matrem, quis erit alienus? Omni homini proximus est omnis homo. Interroga naturam. Ignotus est? homo est. Inimicus est? homo est. Hostis est? homo est. Amicus est? maneat amicus. Inimicus est? fiat amicus".

[50]) See also *Sermo* 90,7 (ML 38,563); *Sermo* 149,18 (ML 38,807): "Dilige proximum tuum, hoc est omnem hominem. Ex duobus enim primis parentibus omnes nati, omnes utique proximi sumus"; *En. 2 in ps.* 25,2 (CC 38,142. ML 36, 189).

church your one mother. Look how many neighbours one single person has. His neighbours are all those whom he meets in one way or another, all those with whom he can enter into relation[51]).

In mentioning the church it is not Augustine's intention here to restrict the word, "neighbour", or even indeed *frater*, to those who share our faith. Otherwise how could it still be true that "there is no greater kinship than that of one human being to another" and that a person's neighbours are "all those with whom he can enter into relation"? And "by the very fact that we are human beings we are one another's brothers and sisters *(fratres)*". For Augustine the fatherhood of God and the motherhood of the church strengthen the bonds uniting human beings as human beings. The neighbour *(proximus)*, then, is in the first place each and every person without exception.

H. Pétré presents a well-documented case, however, for considering that Augustine generally reserves the term *frater* for Christians[52]). "We are all neighbours because of the condition of our earthly birth; in another way we are brothers because of our hope for an eternal inheritance"[53]). But, as Pétré herself acknowledges, one should allow for a certain suppleness in this terminology[54]). For, as we have seen, *De Disciplina Christiana* calls people *fratres* simply because they are human beings, (even if much more so because they are Christians). Moreover, in the same passage in which being "neighbours" on the basis of our

[51]) *De Disciplina Christiana* 3,3-4,4 (CC 46,210. ML 40,671): "Tu unus homo es, proximi tui multi sunt. Non enim primo sic debes intellegere proximum, vel fratrem, vel cognatum, vel affinem. Proximus est omni homini omnis homo. Proximi sibi dicuntur pater et filius, socer et gener. Nihil tam proximum quam homo et homo. Sed si putamus non esse proximos, nisi qui de eisdem parentibus nascuntur, Adam et Evam attendamus, et omnes fratres sumus. Et quidem fratres secundum quod homines sumus, quanto magis secundum quod christiani sumus? Ad id quod homo es, unus pater fuit Adam, una mater Eva; ad id quod christianus es, unus pater est deus, una mater ecclesia. Videte ergo quantos proximos habeat unus homo. Omnes homines in quos incurrerit, quibus iungi potuerit, proximi eius sunt".

[52]) H. Pétré, *Caritas. Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne*, Louvain, 1948, p. 134-140. E.g. p. 134: "Il est exceptionnel, en effet, de lui voir appliquer la notion de fraternité à tous les hommes et reconnaître, à côté du lien social, ce lien d'étroite parenté". Cf. p. 158: "Toutefois il reste vrai, en général, qu'il donne au mot 'proximus' une extension plus grande qu'à 'frater' qui désigne plus spécialement le chrétien".

[53]) *En 2 in ps.* 25,2 (CC 38,142-143. ML 36,189): "Omnes proximi sumus conditione terrenae nativitatis; sed aliter fratres illa spe caelestis hereditatis". See also *Sermo* 359,9 (ML 39,1596) where Augustine distinguishes "concordia fratrum" (i.e. Christians) and "amor proximorum" (i.e. pagans and Jews).

[54]) H. Pétré, *op. cit.*, p. 157: "Il ne faut pas il est vrai, forcer cette distinction".

common origin is distinguished from being "brothers" on the basis of hope for a heavenly inheritance, Augustine concludes by urging his hearers to consider all people their neighbours, even before these are Christians.

> For you do not know what others will be with God; you do not know how God has foreknown them. The person you derided because he adored stones may be converted and adore God; perhaps he will turn out to be more religious than you who, a short while before, were deriding him. These people, therefore, who are not yet members of the church are hidden neighbours of ours; and there are others hidden in the church who are far from us. Consequently, let us who do not know the future accept each and every person as a neighbour, not only because of the condition of human mortality in which we come into this world with the same destiny, but also because of hope for that heavenly inheritance. For we do not know what the future holds for someone who at the present time is nothing[55]).

It is evident that the sharp distinction between "neighbour" and "brother" established shortly beforehand is not religiously adhered to. We are called to respect all men and women as "neighbours" because of hope for that heavenly inheritance. This hope for a heavenly inheritance had a little earlier been the distinguishing feature of "brothers". Furthermore, there are people who are not yet members of the church whose future with God we do not know; these may be "hidden neighbours" of ours. How can this be if "we are all neighbours because of the condition of our earthly birth"? What Augustine appears to mean by "hidden neighbours" is that they are potential sharers in a Christian's hope and potential members of the church. In other words, in terms of the distinction as it was at first clearly drawn above, all men and women (i.e. "neighbours") can share our hope in God and his promises and are thereby potentially our brothers and sisters *(fratres)* in faith. As we shall see, this is true even of our enemies[56]).

[55]) *En 2 in ps.* 25,2 (CC 38,143. ML 36,189): "Proximum tuum debes putare omnem hominem, et antequam sit christianus. Non enim nosti quid sit apud Deum, quomodo illum praesciverit Deus ignoras. Aliquando quem irrides adorantem lapides, convertitur, et adorat Deum, fortasse religiosius quam tu, qui eum paulo ante irridebas. Sunt ergo proximi nostri latentes in his hominibus, qui nondum sunt in Ecclesia; et sunt longe a nobis latentes in Ecclesia. Ideoque qui non scimus futura, unumquemque proximum habeamus, non solum conditione mortalitatis humanae, qua in hanc terram eadem sorte devenimus; sed etiam spe illius hereditatis, quia non scimus quid futurus sit qui modo nihil est".

[56]) E.g. *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 10,7 (ML 35,2059): "Omnes homines, etiam inimicos vestros diligatis: non quia sunt fratres, sed ut fratres sint; ut semper fraterno

For the sake of completeness, we may just mention another argument sometimes employed by Augustine to stress that all are neighbours. Romans 13.10 tells us that "love of neighbour does not bring about any evil". But there is no one to whom evil is to be done. Therefore, there is no one who is not our neighbour[57]). This provides an unusual complement to the arguments from all sharing in a common nature, reason and origin, and in God, the one Father's, inheritance.

C. Christ as the neighbour

At the conclusion of *quaestio* 71 on friendship, dating from the period 389-396, Augustine offers the following reflections:

> This is therefore the law of Christ: that we bear one another's burdens. But if we truly love Christ, we will easily put up with the weakness of another, even with that of a person we do not yet love on account of his own good qualities. For we are conscious that the Lord whom we love has died for him. It is this love that the apostle Paul puts before us with the warning: "In this way your knowledge could become the ruin of someone weak, of a brother for whom Christ died" (1 Cor. 8.11). If you love the weak person less because of the faults which make him weak, then think of him in Christ who has died for him. To fail to love Christ, however, is not just a weakness; it is death. Therefore, imploring God's mercy, we should take great care that Christ is not neglected because of a man's faults. It is precisely the weak person we ought to love for Christ's sake[58]).

amore flagretis, sive in fratrem factum, sive in inimicum, ut frater fiat diligendo. Ubicumque fratrem diligitis, amicum diligitis".

[57]) See *De Vera Religione* 245 (CSEL 77,62-63) = 46,87 (CC 32,244. ML 34,161): "Ea est autem regula dilectionis, ut quae sibi vult bona provenire, et illi velit, quae accidere sibi mala non vult, et illi nolit. Hanc voluntatem erga omnes homines servat. Nam erga neminem operandum est malum, et *dilectio proximi malum non operatur* (Rom. 13.10). Diligamus ergo, ut praeceptum est, etiam inimicos nostros ..."; *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,70 (CSEL 80,26) = 1,30,32 (CC 32,24-25. ML 34,31): "... *si quod est aliud mandatum, in hoc sermone recapitulatur: Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum. Dilectio proximi malum non operatur* (Rom. 13.10) ... manifestum est omnem hominem proximum esse deputandum, quia erga neminem operandum est malum".

[58]) *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, q. 71,7 (CC 44A,207. ML 40,83): "Ipsa est ergo lex Christi, ut invicem onera nostra portemus. Christum autem diligendo facile sustinemus infirmitatem alterius, etiam quem nondum propter sua bona diligimus. Cogitamus enim quia ille quem diligimus dominus propter eum mortuus est. Quam caritatem nobis apostolus Paulus ingessit cum diceret: *Et peribit infirmus in tua scientia, frater propter quem Christus mortuus est* (1 Cor. 8.11), ut si illum infirmum propter vitium quo infirmus est minus diligimus, illum in eo consideremus, qui mortuus est propter ipsum. Christum autem non diligere non infirmitas sed mors est. Quapropter ingenti cura et implorata Dei misericordia cogitandum est, ne Christum neglegamus propter infirmum, cum infirmum debeamus diligere propter Christum".

The implication of this text is that if a person is neglected because of his faults or loved less because of his weakness, there has been a failure in love for Christ. The reason for this is that Christ in dying for him has taken his part, has identified himself with his lot. Likewise, ten years or more later, Augustine can speak of the great price Christ has paid to purchase the whole world, and he can maintain therefore that the church throughout the entire world — the church which is preached through the flesh of Christ — is to be loved "because of the neighbour"[59]). The church, the neighbour and the flesh of Christ are brought into connexion. Christ's redemptive death on behalf of people, the ransom he has paid for them, makes them flesh of his flesh, members of his body[60]); indeed those clothed in Christ may even be called Christ, for Christ and the church are one[61]). If therefore the church is to be loved "because of the neighbour", and if Christ and the church are one, we may say that not only is the neighbour to be loved in Christ, as in *quaestio* 71, but that

[59]) *En. in ps.* 120,12 (CC 40,1797-1798. ML 37,1615): "Ecclesia propter proximum diligitur, Deus autem propter Deum ... Quisquis rursus putaverit ecclesiam in una parte esse, et non eam cognoverit diffusam toto orbe terrarum, et crediderit eis qui dicunt: *Ecce hic est Christus, et ecce illic* (Matt. 24.23) ... cum ille totum orbem emerit, quia tantum pretium dedit: ille tamquam in proximo scandalizatur ... id est, per carnem Christi praedicatur ecclesia, quia ipsa caro Christi caput ecclesiae est. Quisquis ibi non scandalizatur, in ipsa ecclesia et carne Christi, a luna non uritur ...".

[60]) See, for example, *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 10,8 (ML 35,2060): "Extende charitatem per totum orbem, si vis Christum amare; quia membra Christi per orbem jacent". Because of Christ's love which attaches Him so closely to His body, He himself, the Head, cries out when His members are afflicted. This introduces again the favourite and widespread Augustinian theme of "totus Christus", head and members, which it is beyond our scope to deal with at length here.

[61]) See *En. in ps.* 100,3 (CC 39,1408. ML 37,1284-1285): "Simus in corpore ipsius et nos cantemus ea. Cantat enim hoc Christus. Si solum caput cantat, a Domino est canticum hoc, ad nos non pertinet. Si autem *totus Christus*, id est caput et corpus eius, esto in membris eius, adhaere illi per fidem, et per spem et per charitatem, et in illo cantas, in illo exsultas. Quia et ipse in te laborat, in te sitit, in te esurit et tribulatur. Ille in te adhuc moritur et tu in illo iam resurrexisti. Nam si non in te moreretur, nollet in te sibi parci a persecutore, cum diceret *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?* (Acts 9.4) ... Christum enim induti *Christus sumus* cum capite nostro, quia utique Abrahae semen sumus. Apostolus hoc dicit. Quia dixi *Christus sumus*. Apostolus ait *Ergo Abrahae semen estis* ... semen Abrahae est Christus (Gal. 3.29 & 3.16) ... Manifestum quia ad Christum pertinemus, et quia membra eius et corpus eius sumus, cum capite nostro *unus homo* sumus".
Also, *En in ps.* 101, *sermo* 1,2 (CC 40,1427. ML 37,1295): "Christus et ecclesia utrumque unus, unus quidam vir perfectus in forma plenitudinis suae ..."; *En. in ps.* 90, *sermo* 1,10 (CC 39,1265. ML 37,1157): "... cum quibus tamquam membris unus est Christus ..."; *Sermo* 354,1,1 (ML 39,1563): "Christum ipse praedicat Christus, hoc est corpus Christi toto orbe diffusum ... praedicat corpus caput suum et tuetur caput corpus suum".

Christ is to be loved "because of the neighbour" *(propter proximum)*, as the neighbour.

The rapprochement between Christ and the human race, however, began already with the Incarnation. In his catechetical opusculum of 400 A.D. Augustine considers that

> the most important reason for Christ's coming was that people might know how much God loves them. Further, knowing in this way the extent of God's love for them, people might begin to burn with love for him who loved them first, and, following Christ's commandment and example, they might love the neighbour. Christ, in loving people who were not close to him but wandering far from him, has become the neighbour[62]).

This may be compared with a passage from *Sermo* 171: "When Christ was far away from us — as one who is immortal and good is far from mortal and sinful creatures — in order to overcome the distance he came down to us and became a neighbour to us"[63]). In both cases, therefore, in that of our distance from God and in that of his distance from us, Christ's love bridges the gap. As Augustine's twelfth sermon on psalm 118 (which was preached just seven or eight years before his death) has it: The Word who is God himself "has become flesh so as to be my neighbour as well"[64]). The motive for the Incarnation of Christ is God's love for human beings. The Word's becoming flesh means that Christ is with us as our neighbour. *Sermon Denis* 16 puts it slightly differently:

> When therefore wisdom (i.e. the wisdom of God) was no friend to the foolish (i.e. straying human beings) and far away from them, it adopted our neighbour and became our neighbour. This is the mystery of Christ. What is so distant as foolishness from wisdom? What is so close as one human being to another? ... Therefore wisdom took on a human being and became a neighbour to people through those close to them[65]).

[62]) *De Catechizandis Rudibus* 4,8 (CC 46,128. ML 40,315): "Si ergo maxime propterea Christus advenit, ut cognosceret homo quantum eum diligat deus, et ideo cognosceret, ut in eius dilectionem a quo prior dilectus est inardesceret, proximumque illo iubente et demonstrante diligeret, qui non proximum, sed longe peregrinantem diligendo factus est proximus ...".

[63]) *Sermo* 171,3,3 (ML 38,934): "Cum ergo longe a nobis esset immortalis et justus, tanquam a mortalibus et peccatoribus, descendit ad nos, ut fieret nobis proximus ille longinquus".

[64]) *En in ps.* 118, *sermo* 12,5 (CC 40,1704. ML 37,1435): "Ipse est enim Verbum Deus; et Verbum caro factum est, ut esset et proximus meus (cf. Jn. 1.14)".

[65]) *Sermo Denis* 16,2 (MA I,76): "Cum ergo stultis amica non esset (sapientia), et a

Expressing the mystery of Christ as adopting and becoming the neighbour makes it possible for Augustine to give a surprising answer to the question "do you wish to love your neighbour"? He replies: "you have him in Christ". This answer is based on his interpretation of Jn. 1.14: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us"[66]). In Christ made man is the neighbour to be loved. Christ then is not only "*proximis proximus*"[67]) during his life on earth, but even after his ascension into heaven he continues as the *totus Christus* to live in real communion with his members[68]). There is therefore an incorporation of people of our time into Christ; he identifies himself with them through love.

In *De Doctrina Christiana* Augustine works from the definition of "neighbour" proferred by the lawyer who had heard the parable of the Good Samaritan — that is, the "neighbour" is the person who revives and takes care of the man left lying half-dead by the road-side, the person who shows mercy to him[69]) — by way of the premiss that Christ has revived us and shown us mercy, to the conclusion that Christ therefore is to be called our neighbour.

> If the person for whom we perform a work of mercy or the person who performs a work of mercy for us is rightly to be called the

stultis longe esset, assumpsit proximum nostrum, et facta est proxima nostra. Hoc mysterium Christi est. Quid tam longe, quam stultitia a sapientia? Quid tam proximum, quam homo et homo? ... Ergo suscepit hominem sapientia, et facta est homini proxima per id quod erat proximum".

[66]) *Sermo* 261,8,8 (ML 38,1206): "In Christo habes totum. Deum tuum vis diligere? Habes in Christo: *In principio erat Verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum* (Jn. 1.1). Proximum vis diligere? Habes in Christo: *Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis* (Jn. 1.14)".

[67]) This formulation is used in *Sermo* 265,9 (ML 38,1223) of the Risen Christ giving the Holy Spirit while still on earth: "Ideo forte informans nos ad dilectionem proximi, dedit in terra conspicuus et *proximis proximus* Spiritum sanctum, insufflando in faciem eorum ...".

[68]) *Sermo* 341,1,1 (ML 39,1493) speaks of Christ not only as pre-existent and as incarnate Mediator and Head of the church, but also as forming a living community comprising both Head and Body: "Tertius modus est quodam modo *totus Christus*, in plenitudine Ecclesiae, id est, caput et corpus, secundum plenitudinem perfecti cujusdam viri, in quo viro singuli membra sumus". See also *Sermo* 25,8,8 (CC 41,339. ML 38,170-171). The topic sentences of the passages are: "Recita, ut scias te non fraudari Christi praesentia. Audi iudicaturum: *Quando uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis* (Matt. 25.40)".

[69]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,67 (CSEL 80,25) = 1,30,31 (CC 32,24. ML 34,31): "Cui (i.e. saucio et semivivo derelicto) proximum esse non docuit, nisi qui erga illum recreandum atque curandum misericors extitit ...". Cf. *En. in ps.* 118, *sermo* 8,2 (CC 40,1686. ML 37,1519): "... proximum non fuisse, nisi qui cum illo fecit misericordiam ...".

> neighbour, it is then clear that the good angels too are included in the precept by which we are commanded to love the neighbour. For they serve us compassionately in all kinds of ways ... Likewise, our Lord, God himself, wished to be called our neighbour. For our Lord Jesus Christ pictured himself bringing aid to the man who had been beaten by the brigands and left lying half-dead by the road-side. As the prophet says in the prayer: "I showed him favour as for a neighbour, as for a brother of ours" (Ps. 34(35).14:LXX)[70]).

The tenor of Augustine's allegorical interpretation of the parable of the Good Samaritan is that Christ, our protector and guard *(custos)*, has shown himself a neighbour to sinful and benighted mankind. Mankind caught in the grip of sin, mortality and changeableness is represented by the man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho who falls into the hands of brigands. Christ, the Word made flesh, having come close to human beings, binds up their wounds and supports them, and brings them to health in the church (the inn) and in his kingdom[71]). As one who shows mercy, then, Christ admirably fulfils the conditions for being a neighbour. But there is another side to the matter. If the good angels are to be included in the commandment to love the neighbour because of the compassionate service they show us, should not Christ who has shown us exceeding mercy also have a place there? Is he not to be loved and served as a neighbour? A little earlier it had been elaborated that the neighbour

[70]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,71-72 (CSEL 80,26) = 1,30,33 (CC 32,25. ML 34,31): "Iam vero si vel cui praebendum vel a quo nobis praebendum est officium misericordiae, recte proximus dicitur, manifestum est hoc praecepto quo iubemur diligere proximum, etiam sanctos angelos contineri, a quibus tanta nobis misericordiae impenduntur officia ... Ex quo et ipse deus et dominus noster proximum se nostrum dici voluit. Nam et se ipsum significat dominus Iesus Christus opitulatum esse semivivo iacenti in via afflicto et relicto a latronibus. Et propheta in oratione ait: *Sicut proximum, sicut fratrem nostrum, ita complacebam* (Ps. 34(35).14)".

[71]) It would be out of place here to enter into this allegorical interpretation in detail. The reader is referred to D. Sanchis, "*Samaritanus ille*. Exégèse augustinienne de la parabole du bon Samaritain", *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, XLIX, 3 (1961) 406-525. On p. 408-409 Sanchis states: "L'application (de la parabole) à la recherche du prochain, même proposée par le Christ en personne, n'est donc qu'une utilisation parénétique due aux circonstances. Le sens de la parabole elle-même est ailleurs, dans la merveilleuse histoire de la miséricorde de Dieu. Il semble même que, prise ainsi dans la problématique de la recherche du prochain, la parabole fasse mieux encore ressortir ce caractère merveilleux de la miséricorde divine. Car elle est loin de la nature humaine, la nature de Dieu. Et pourtant, délaissant les attributs de sa gloire, le Verbe s'est fait l'un de nous, vraiment notre prochain, pour apporter le salut à notre misère".
As we shall see, Augustine is perhaps prepared to draw an even more daring conclusion from the parable, and this conclusion is specifically concerned with the identity of the neighbour.

is both the one shows mercy and the one to whom mercy is to be shown[72]). Does Augustine not imply here that Christ qualifies to be called the neighbour on both scores?

The Augustine of *De Doctrina Christiana* does no more than to mention this point and he then moves on to the strange distinction we were confronted with earlier between God's love for us and our love of neighbour (when we might rather have expected a distinction between our love for God and love for neighbour). It is as if he sees for a moment quite a startling idea, Christ the neighbour to be loved, but does not immediately follow it up. *Sermo Denis* 16,2, for which Wisdom "adopted our neighbour and became our neighbour", is also intriguing. Augustine again brings these reflections into relation with the statement of the double commandment followed by the parable of the Good Samaritan in response to the lawyer's question: "And who is my neighbour?" *(Et quis est mihi proximus?)*[73]). Christ in Luke's Gospel introduces the parable by recounting the story of *homo quidam*, in the sense of each and every human being, for his intention, according to Augustine, is to commend all people to one another as neighbours[74]). And, in line with the parable, the question concerning the neighbour is turned about from 'who is *my* neighbour?' to 'who was a neighbour to *homo quidam?*', that is, to every man and woman[75]). It is obvious that Augustine considers Christ as

[72]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,68 (CSEL 80,25) = 1,30,31 (CC 32,24. ML 34,31): "Cui dominus ait: *Vade et tu fac similiter* (Lk. 10.37), ut videlicet eum proximum esse intellegamus, cui vel exhibendum est officium misericordiae, si indiget, vel exhibendum esset, si indigeret. Ex quo iam est consequens ut etiam ille a quo nobis hoc vicissim exhibendum est proximus sit noster. Proximi enim nomen ad aliquid est, nec quisquam esse proximus nisi proximo potest".

[73]) Both here and in *En. in ps.* 48, *sermo* 1,14 (CC 38,562. ML 36,553), where the Good Samaritan also appears, Augustine has the double commandment on the lips of Christ as in Matthew 22.37-40, whereas in the Lukan version which precedes and gives rise to the parable of the Good Samaritan, it is the lawyer who later asks the question concerning the identity of the neighbour who quotes the double commandment.

[74]) *Sermo Denis* 16,2 (MA I,76): "*Et quis est mihi proximus?* Putabat dicturum dominum: Pater tuus et mater tua, coniux tua, filii tui, fratres tui, sorores tuae. Non hoc respondit, sed qui volebat commendare omnem hominem omni homini proximum, instituit narrationem. *Homo*, inquit, *quidam*, Quis? quidam, tamen homo".
Cf. *En in ps.* 118, *sermo* 8,2 (CC 40,1686. ML 37,1519): "... patuitque in facienda misericordia neminem alienum esse deputandum ab eo qui diligit proximum".

[75]) *Sermo Denis* 16,2 (MA I,76): "Quis ergo erat huic homini proximus? Dic tu, qui interrogaveras dicens: *Quis est mihi proximus?* Iam responde quod verum est. Interrogaverat superbia: loquatur natura. Quid ergo ait? Credo qui cum illo fecit misericordiam. Et dominus ad illum: *vade, et tu fac similiter*".
Cf. *En. in ps.* 48, *sermo* 1,14 (CC 38,562. ML 36,553): "*Et quis est mihi proximus? ... Quis*

being so; he who like the Samaritan was a distant stranger has through showing mercy to all men and women become their neighbour[76]). The imperative to "go and do the same yourself" (Luke 10.37) is, therefore, a command to become a neighbour to *homo quidam*, to everyone, as Christ in his mercy has become to us. On the other hand, however, given the two-sidedness of Augustine's concept of the "neighbour" as the one who shows mercy and the one to whom mercy is to be shown, it is tempting to see *homo quidam*, who has been adopted by Christ and through whom Christ has come close to us, as Christ himself. Thus, we would be enjoined not only to take care of others as Christ does of us, but to show ourselves neighbours to Christ himself. This is not explicit in the text of *Sermo Denis* 16, but in the light of the hint given in *De Doctrina Christiana* which suggests that Christ stands with the neighbours to be loved according to the commandment, and in view of the idea of *totus Christus* and of clearer identification texts to be discussed further on in connection with Matthew 25.35-46, it is not far-fetched to see Christ both as the Good Samaritan and as *homo quidam*. Our love for neighbour, then, would be called to extend beyond family and friends to *homo quidam*, as Christ's does, and it would embrace there Christ himself, the one needy brother lying at the gate of the rich man, who, in receiving our mercy on earth, reveals himself a neighbour at our side and of benefit to us in heaven[77]). All people would be recommended to one another as

est illorum illi sauciato proximus? Respondit ille: Credo, qui cum illo fecit misericordiam. Vade, inquit, *et tu fac similiter*. Cui misericordiam facis, proximus tibi est".

[76]) *Sermo Denis* 16,2 (MA I,76): "Quid tam longinquum, inquam, quam a stultitia sapientia? Ergo suscepit hominem sapientia, et facta est homini proxima per id quod erat proximum ... Transierunt proximi (i.e. priest and levite), et *extraneus* factus est proximus".

[77]) In *En in ps.* 48, *sermo* 1,14 (CC 38,561-563. ML 36,552-553) Augustine explores the various possibilities offered by the words "proximus" and "propinquus" in order to demonstrate how the psalm (Ps. 48(49).10) is correct in stating that the foolish and stupid "leave their fortunes to strangers (alienis)". He sees in the Good Samaritan "quemdam extraneum propinquum factum, quia profuit", and thereby concludes that "si quis tuorum (those to whom one leaves one's fortune) tibi nihil prodest, alienus est". The brothers of the rich man in Hades were unable to help him (cf. Luke 16.19-31: Dives and Lazarus); in leaving his wealth to them, therefore, he left it to strangers. But had he shared his goods with Lazarus, i.e. with Christ, he would have had a friendly brother in heaven on his side: "Quibus et ipsi (i.e. those who have inherited their parents' wealth) servant? Filiis suis, et illi filiis, et tertii filiis. Quid Christo? quid animae suae? Omnia filiis. Inter filios suos quos habent in terra, computent unum fratrem quem habent in caelo, cui totum dare debebant, vel dividant cum illo ... Quid tibi diceret dives? Habeo quinque fratres; unum fratrem mihi amicum non feci, qui iacebat ante ianuam; illi mihi fratres subvenire non possunt qui possident divitias meas; alieni a me facti sunt". Further on in this commentary the identification of Christ with Lazarus is confirmed with reference to Matt. 25.40: *En. in ps.*

neighbours by showing that Christ is the neighbour in both senses of the word.

D. The enemy

As an introduction to this theme of the enemy as the neighbour, we can learn something of Augustine's attitude by looking at his reaction in a case of actual conflict. Addressing himself to the Donatist bishops shortly before the *collatio* convoked by the ordinance of the head of the imperial chancery, Marcellinus, and held between the warring factions, Catholics and Donatists, at Carthage in June, 411, Augustine appeals for a reconciliation as befits brothers belonging to the one Lord.

> "The end of the precept is love from a pure heart" (1 Tim. 1.5). This is an end by which we are perfected, not one by which we are annihilated. This end is broad because it is the commandment of God of which it is said: "Thy commandment is exceedingly broad" (Ps. 118(119).96). "A new commandment I give to you: that you are to love one another" (Jn. 13.34) ... " The love of God has been poured into our hearts" (Rom. 5.5) ... Lord, our God, let it come about that because of this breadth (of the commandment of love) we invite our brothers to take possession of peace. Do you wish to be bishops? Be bishops with us. (But perhaps) the people do not want two bishops. Be brothers in the inheritance with us. Let us not impede the peace of Christ by standing on our honour. What honour will we receive in the peace of heaven if we defend our honour now on this earthly shore? Let the wall of error be taken down and let us be together. Acknowledge me as a brother. I acknowledge you as a brother. But put an end to the schism, the error, the discord. Have these set right and you are mine. Or perhaps you do not wish to be mine. I wish to be yours, if you reform. Therefore, when the error that stands between us like a wall made up of the rubble of contradiction and of division has been demolished, be my brother, and I will be your brother, so that we may both belong to him who is my Lord and yours[78]).

48, *sermo* 1,16 (CC 38,564. ML 36,554): "... adtendere comitem egentem, dare ei cum quo ambulabant, non contemnere Christum ante ianuam ulcerosum, qui dixit: *Cum uni ex minimis meis fecistis, mihi fecistis*". The stranger covered in sores on earth, in being shown mercy, will become the friend in heaven, the "propinquus", who is able to be of benefit to those who had shared their goods with outsiders. In this sense also, Christ becomes a neighbour to us: not just as the Good Samaritan on earth but as the brother in heaven.

[78]) *Sermo* 358,4 (ML 39,1588): "*Finis praecepti est charitas de corde puro* (1 Tim. 1.5). Finis, quo perficimur, non quo consumimur. Iste finis latus est, quia mandatum Dei est, de quo dictum est, *Latum mandatum tuum valde* (Ps. 118(119).96). *Mandatum novum do*

The new commandment of love (Jn. 13.34), then, being "exceedingly broad" (Ps. 118(119).96), aims to embrace as brothers even those with whom we are at strife. This reveals a basic trait of Augustine's treatment of love of enemies: he cannot rest content with enmity as if it were a fixed state, and he is convinced that the person who is today our enemy may change and amend his life[79]), and recognise his subjection with us to one Lord who is "broad" enough to encompass and delight us both. The passage quoted above from a pre-*collatio* sermon is to be read in conjunction with a letter written to Marcellinus about the same time; the

vobis, ut vos invicem diligatis (Jn. 13.34) ... *Charitas autem Dei diffusa est in cordibus vestris* (Rom. 5.5) ... Domine, Deus noster, approba quia propter ipsam latitudinem fratres nostros ad possessionem pacis invitamus. Episcopi vultis esse? Nobiscum estote. Non vult populus duos episcopos. Nobiscum in haereditate fratres estote. Non propter honores nostros impediamus pacem Christi. Quem honorem in coelesti pace accepturi sumus, si honorem nostrum nunc in terrena lite defendamus? Tollatur paries erroris, et simul simis. Agnosce me fratrem: agnosco te fratrem: sed excepto schismate, excepto errore, excepta dissensione. Haec corrigatur, et meus es. Annon vis esse meus? Ego, si te corrigas, volo esse tuus. Ergo sublato errore de medio, tanquam pariete maceriae contradictionis et divisionis, esto frater meus, et ego sim frater tuus, ut ambo simus ejus qui Dominus est et meus et tuus".

[79]) Augustine, as we shall see, consistently presupposes that the enemy is a wicked person who hates us, e.g. *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 8,11 (ML 35,2042-2043): "... ille odit, tu miserere. Febris animae ipsius te odit: sanus erit, et gratias tibi aget ... si odit te inimicus tuus, et injuste te odit; noveris quia cupiditas saeculi in illo regnat, propterea te odit". Also, *En in ps.* 39,4 (CC 38,247. ML 36,435): "Inimicus tuus, quia malus est, inimicus est; fit bonus, et amicus erit, et socius erit ..."; *Sermo* 149,19 (ML 38,807): "Cum enim quisque benefecerit inimico, et non victus malo ejus, vicerit in bono malum; plerumque illum inimicitiarum suarum poenitebit, et irascetur sibi, quod tam bonum hominem laeserit". Or, in the case of the Donatists, the enemies are those separated by their error from the unity of Christian love, e.g. *Epistola* 128,2 (CSEL 44,31. ML 33, 489): "Neque enim in eis divinae Sacramenta veritatis, sed commenta humani detestamur erroris: quibus sublatis fraternum pectus amplectimur, christiana nobis caritate coniunctum, quod nunc dolemus dissensione diabolica separatum". The enmity Augustine has in mind, therefore, is much more than a clash of personalities where both parties might be to blame. He rarely views this question from the point of view of our wickedness and of our co-responsibility for a situation of enmity. As we saw above in *Sermo* 358,4 (ML 39,1588) Augustine can say to the Donatists "I wish to be yours (i.e. to become *your* brother), if you reform". But he pays little attention to the situation in which we might have to reform in order to become a brother of someone whose enemy we are. *Epistolae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio* 18 (CSEL 84,172. ML 35,2101) (Date: 394), however, does take account of the instance in which a person revenges the wrong done him by an enemy. "... cum autem perpessi fuerint alicuius inimicitias, ista rapiuntur animo ad ulciscendum ... et talibus hominibus iam baptizatis ecclesiae plenae sunt; quos tamen spirituales viri fraterne admonere non cessant, et in spiritu lenitatis instanter instruunt (Gal. 6.1), ut huiusmodi tentationibus occurrere ac resistere parati sint, et magis diligant in Christi pace regnare, quam de inimici oppressione laetari. Quod inaniter fieret, si talium peccatorum nulla spes veniae, nulla poenitentiae medicina remaneret".

proposals contained in it were eventually unanimously approved by a plenary gathering of almost 300 Catholic bishops held before the *collatio*. Augustine concretises his overtures to fraternity with his erstwhile enemies by proposing that, once unity has been restored by the return of the Donatists to the Catholica, both bishops take it in turns to preside until, upon the death of one of them, the other succeeds to the see. If, however, the people are unwilling to countenance the unusual sight of two bishops, Augustine recommends that both step down. For "he (our Redeemer) came down from heaven in the members of a human body so that we might be his members. And are we then afraid to come down from our chairs in order to prevent these very members of his from being torn apart by cruel division?" The peace and unity of the flock of Christ and the eternal interests of the Lord count for more than episcopal dignity and temporal honours[80]). The ermity that might remain smouldering because each is jealous of his own standing is to be overcome by the basic recognition of 'brotherhood in the inheritance' of the one Christ who has made us all his members.

These texts, however, date from 411. In an earlier period Augustine's treatment of love of enemies had been less specific, more theoretical, and more explicitly attentive to the one loving the enemy than to the enemy himself. This is not necessarily to imply a negative judgment of the early Augustine on this point. For, as we have seen in the chapter on love of self, Augustine is concerned in the most important of the texts we will use here to illustrate this period to show that true personal perfection and freedom are to be found in subjection to and service of God, and that they redound to the good of those one loves as oneself. Without taking upon ourselves an exhaustive treatment of the topic, love of enemies, we will now attempt the limited task of tracing the emergence of the enemy as a neighbour to be reckoned with in Augustine's theology.

[80]) *Epistola* 128,3 (CSEL 44,32-33. ML 33,489): "... utrique de medio secedamus ... Quid enim dubitemus Redemptori nostro sacrificium istius humilitatis offerre? an vero ille de caelis in membra humana descendit, ut membra eius essemus; et nos, ne ipsa eius membra crudeli divisione lanientur, de cathedris descendere formidamus? Propter nos nihil sufficientius, quam christiani fideles et oboedientes sumus : hoc ergo semper simus. Episcopi autem propter christianos populos ordinamur: quod ergo christianis populis ad christianam pacem prodest, hoc de nostro episcopatu faciamus. Si servi utiles sumus, cur Domini aeternis lucris pro nostris temporalibus sublimitatibus invidemus? Episcopalis dignitas fructuosior nobis erit, si gregem Christi magis deposita collegerit, quam retenta disperserit. Nam qua fronte in futuro saeculo promissum a Christo sperabimus honorem, si christianam in hoc saeculo noster honor impedit unitatem?".

1. The perfection of the lover of enemies in texts prior to 400

In his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount Augustine comes to deal with Matthew 5.43-48, a passage which urges that, by loving our enemies, we become perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect. The commentary runs:

> Who can fulfil these things which have been spoken of earlier (in the Sermon on the Mount, e.g. the Beatitudes) without that love by which we are commanded to love even our enemies and persecutors? Mercy, which takes great care of the suffering soul, cannot extend to any greater perfection than love of enemies. And consequently the passage concludes: "You must therefore be perfect just as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. 5.48). It is to be understood, however, that God is perfect as God and the soul as the soul ... By the command of Christ who came to fulfil the Law not to abolish it, a person will perfect benevolence and kindness when he reaches the stage of loving even his enemy[81]).

Of the enemy it is said that mercy takes care of his suffering soul, while the lover in showing him mercy in accordance with Christ's commandment is said to have achieved the greatest perfection in benevolence and kindness possible for a human soul. The relationship between the lover and the enemy is not any more closely defined. This, as will become clear, is in contrast to later texts which also speak of love of enemies as perfect love[82]). In Augustine's first period, however, the emphasis is more on the perfection, freedom and security of the individual soul who fulfils the Lord's commandment to love his enemies. Such is evident from two passages we have already referred to in order to argue, it must be remenbered, that true love of self is to love God more than oneself and true freedom to serve him and his unchangeable law. There is no question, therefore, of a solipsistic or complacent perfection,

[81]) *De Sermone Domini in Monte* 1,21,69-70 (CC 35,78-79. ML 34,1264): "Sine ista dilectione, qua etiam inimicos et persecutores nostros diligere iubemur, ea quae superius dicta sunt implere quis potest? Perfectio autem misericordiae, qua plurimum animae laboranti consulitur, ultra dilectionem inimici porrigi non potest. Et ideo sic clauditur: *Estote ergo vos perfecti sicut pater vester qui in caelis est perfectus est* (Matt. 5.48); ita tamen ut deus intellegatur perfectus tamquam deus, et anima perfecta tamquam anima ... Eius autem imperio, qui venit legem implere non solvere, perficiet benivolentiam et benignitatem, cum eam usque ad inimici dilectionem perduxerit".

[82]) See, for example: *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 5,4 (ML 35,2014); tr. 8,10 (ML 35,2041-2042). In tr. 9,2 (ML 35,2045-2047), however, even when more explicit attention is paid to the enemy himself, this perfect love is still seen as giving us confidence on the day of judgment "because just as he (i.e. God) is, so are we too in this world" (Jn. 4.17).

freedom or security; indeed, as we have already argued at length, the achievement of contemplation is a boon to action on behalf of others. Our present point is rather that it is not at this stage the enemy himself who attracts Augustine's notice. In *De Quantitate Animae* the willingness to help even those who have harmed us or wish to harm us or wish at least that harm befall us is called perfect religion.

> Thanks to it, the soul whose greatness is the object of our enquiry is made apt to be reconciled to God and makes itself worthy of freedom. For God, whom it is to each one's greatest advantage to serve, frees us from all things. The only perfect freedom is to be pleasing to him in serving him[83]).

Reconciliation with God and perfect freedom is his service thus flow from love of enemies. Similarly, for *De Vera Religione*, a person is commanded to love even his enemies if he wishes to be invincible to the passions and to assure that what he loves and the freedom it brings are not taken away from him[84]).

Nothing therefore can hurt the person who can relate well *(bene uti)* even to his enemy. He cannot unwillingly be deprived of the certainty of rest from tribulation he expects in the future life. In the self-abnegation of loving his enemy he gains what cannot be lost. Indeed Christ, who has given him the commandment and the grace to love his enemies, stands by to protect and to guard him from harm and from loss[85]). *En. in ps.* 54,

[83]) *De Quantitate Animae* 34,78 (ML 32,1078): "Omnibus enim subventum velle debemus, etiam qui nos laeserunt, aut laedere, aut omnino laedi volunt. Haec est vera, haec perfecta, haec sola religio per quam Deo reconciliari pertinet ad animae, de qua quaerimus, magnitudinem, qua se libertate dignam facit: nam ille ab omnibus liberat, cui servire omnibus utilissimum est, et in cujus servitio placere perfecta et sola libertas est".

[84]) *De Vera Religione* 245-246 (CSEL 77,63) = 46,87 (CC 32,244. ML 34,161): "Diligamus ergo, ut praeceptum est, etiam inimicos nostros, si vere invicti esse volumus. Non enim per se ipsum quisquam hominum invictus est, sed per illam incommutabilem legem cui quicumque serviunt soli sunt liberi. Sic enim eis quod diligunt auferri non potest, quae res una invictos facit et perfectos viros". It is worth insisting again that the passions to which one wishes to be invincible include envy and the desire to lord it over others. The immediate continuation of the passage, which we will deal with further on, insists that the neighbour is to be loved as oneself, not as an object of temporal pleasure or convenience. By stressing the role of love of enemies in perfection, therefore, Augustine may be seen as protecting the neighbour from possible abuse. Anyone so obedient to God as to love his enemies, his persecutors, could not possibly fall prey to the passion to take advantage of his more agreeable neighbours.

[85]) *De Vera Religione* 259 & 261 (CSEL 77,66-67) = 47,92 (CC 32,247-248. ML 34,163): "In omnibus autem officiosis laboribus futurae quietis certa expectatione non frangitur. Quid enim ei nocebit qui bene uti etiam inimico potest? Eius enim praesidio atque munimento inimicitias non pertimescit, cuius praecepto et dono diligit inimicos ... et

which Zarb dates 395 and Rondet 407-408, provides a good example of the security stemming from love of enemies. Preserving love for our human enemy in the face of persecution enables us to combat our hidden enemy, the devil, who seeks to lay waste our inner treasures. Flesh and blood enemies are envious of what is visible to them in us such that, for example, if we have a position of honour, they want us brought down in the world.

> ... (the enemy you see), therefore, aims to destroy or to take away from you those gifts in which he sees himself to be surpassed by you. That hidden enemy too wants to despoil you of the good in which you get the better of him. As a human being you surpass others in that you are happier than they in human terms; but you defeat the devil by loving your enemy ... Take care then to preserve love of enemies in your heart. By this love you vanquish the devil. Let a human being do you all the wrong he can, let him take from you whatever he can. If you love the one who persecutes you openly, the one who attacks you in secret has been conquered[86]).

In this sense, having enemies may be considered an advantage offered to us by God's providence, an opportunity to steel ourselves against more insidious onslaughts or to increase the reward promised to the persecuted (cf. Matt. 5.11-12)[87]).

vincit cum vinci videatur, quisquis cedendo ad id pervenit quod non amittit invitus". The idea that no one can be harmed if he loves what cannot be harmed also occurs later in *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 10,6 (ML 35,2058). The new commandment (Jn. 13.34) is "exceedingly broad" (Ps. 118.96). "Charitas ergo non angustatur. Vis non angustari in terra? In lato habita. Quidquid enim tibi fecerit homo, non te angustat; quia illud diligis quod non nocet homo: Deum diligis, fraternitatem diligis, legem Dei diligis, Ecclesiam Dei diligis; sempiterna erit".

[86]) *En in ps.* 54,6 (CC 39,660. ML 36,632): "... ea ergo adtendit in te vel deicere vel auferre quibus vincitur. Et ille occultus inimicus illud tibi vult tollere unde vincitur. Homo enim hominem vincis humana felicitate, diabolum autem vincis inimici dilectione ... Sed cura in corde servare inimici dilectionem, qua diabolum vincis. Saeviat homo quantum potest, auferat quidquid potest; si diligitur aperte saeviens, victus est occulte saeviens".

[87]) Despite the dominance of other aspects later, the idea of the usefulness of enmity and persecution has not completely disappeared in post-400 texts. For example, *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 8,11 (ML 35,2043): "Quodammodo ferramentum Dei est quo saneris, ipse inimicus tuus. Si novit Deus utile tibi esse ut expoliet te, permittit illum; si novit tibi utile esse ut vapules, permittit illum ut caedaris: de illo te curat, opta ut ille sanetur". Also, *Sermo* 354,3,3 (ML 39,1564) (Date: pre-410) where those who have undertaken a life of chastity are being encouraged to bear with detraction: "... (your detractor) non solum tibi reprehensionibus mercedem non minuit, sed et facit ampliorem. Tu tamen pro illo ora, ne tua mercede moriatur. Nam et hinc probamur, charissimi, quia si non haberemus inimicos, non essent pro quibus oraremus ex praecepto Domini nostri dicentis, *Diligite inimicos vestros, et orate pro eis qui vos oderunt* (Matt. 5.44). Unde probamus, unde cor nostrum interrogamus, utrum hoc facere valeamus, si nullum

De Doctrina Christiana — begun in 396, but not completed until long afterwards — may, if we presume that the references to the enemy in Book I are earlier rather than later, be seen as forming a bridge between the security approach to love of enemies, in which the emphasis is on the lover's invincibility, and the approach that is concerned with what love does for the enemy himself. Firstly, the reviving and healing mercy shown by the Good Samaritan becomes the model that one is to act upon in dealing with enemies. Thus, even the enemy can be seen as *homo quidam* wounded and left lying half-dead by the road-side[88]). Secondly, we find the following passage which, while containing the themes of reward and security for the lover, adds a new element which will characterise the post-400 Augustine's treatment of the subject: attention to the enemy's relationship to God which brings him into a new relationship with ourselves. God, maintains Augustine, wishes to be loved not to gain anything for himself but in order to bestow an eternal reward on those who love him. This reward is himself.

> Thus it follows that we are to love even our enemies. Indeed, we do not fear them for they cannot take what we love away from us. Rather we feel compassion for them because the more they hate us, the more they are separated from the one whom we love. If they turn to him, they necessarily love both him and us. Him they will love as the good that makes them happy and us as those who share with them in such a great good[89]).

inimicum, nullum reprehensorem, nullum detractorem, nullum maledicum experiamur? Videtis ergo quia et mali necessarii sunt bonis".

[88]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,69 (CSEL 80,25-26) = 1,30,31 (CC 32,24. ML 34,31): "Nullum autem exceptum esse cui misericordiae denegetur officium, quis non videat, quando usque ad inimicos etiam porrectum est, eodem domino dicente: *Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite eis qui vos oderunt (Matt. 5.44)*".
This is immediately preceded in context by the definition of the neighbour in terms of the Good Samaritan: "qui erga illum (saucium et semivivum) recreandum atque curandum misericors extitit ...".

[89]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,64-65 (CSEL 80,24-25) = 1,29,30 (CC 32,23. ML 34,30): "... quid nos in societate dilectionis dei agere convenit ... qui se vult diligi, non ut sibi aliquid, sed ut eis qui diligunt aeternum praemium conferatur, hoc est ipse quem diligunt? Hinc efficitur ut inimicos etiam nostros diligamus. Non enim eos timemus, quia nobis quod diligimus auferre non possunt, sed miseramur potius, quia tanto magis nos oderunt quanto ab illo quem diligimus separati sunt. Ad quem si conversi fuerint, et illum tamquam beatificum bonum et nos tamquam socios tanti boni necesse est ut diligant".
Sermo Denis 15,3 (MA I,73) (Date: towards 400) also witnesses the theme of conversion of enemies, in this case persecuting "saeculi potestates", who through our love become what we are, that is, people honouring God. "... ipsas saeculi potestates, quas non timuisti, in te convertisti: saevientes sprevisti, honorantes fecisti. Impletum est, quod Domino tuo

The mercy shown to enemies, therefore, aims at their conversion, at their happiness with God. As we shall see, Augustine's thus broadens his general understanding of loving one's neighbour as oneself to include the enemy. Now even the one who hated us and was far from God can become a loving companion *(socius)* in the enjoyment of the reward God has for those who love him, i.e. himself. In this way the other too becomes invincible, secure in God who cannot be taken from him.

2. Concern for the enemy himself in post-400 texts

In tr. 8,4 of his commentary on the first letter of John Augustine quotes Matt. 5.46 (i.e. "For if you love those who love you, what reward will you have? Even sinners do as much, do they not?") and asks why John says nothing of the love of enemies which is commanded by the Lord (Matt. 5.44). To be sure, he states, it is necessary that love, like fire, begin with those who are closest, with brothers in faith *(fratres)*, but loving those who have become one with us is almost the same as loving ourselves. Therefore, love is called to go out to strangers, even to enemies. Why is John silent about this explicit precept of the Lord[90])?

Augustine's answer comes in tr. 8,10. Because it contains most of the aspects of the emergence of the enemy, we will quote the passage at length, pausing at certain points to make our own comments.

> Therefore, have compassion on others and be sensitive to their needs. In loving your enemy you also love a brother. Do not think that John has no command of love of enemies. For he is not silent about fraternal love; and when you love enemies you are loving brothers. How, you ask, can they be brothers?
>
> To understand this you have to ask yourself what your intention is in loving your enemy. You don't love him so that he will be healthy in this life. For what if good health does not turn out to be of advantage to him? You don't love him so that he will become rich. For what is to be done if these riches blind him? Perhaps you want to see him married. But what happens if he has to suffer the bitterness of an unhappy marriage? You may wish him children. But how will he react if they are wicked children? All these things which you wish your enemy out of love are ambiguous and uncertain. Let your wish for him be that he possess eternal life with you. Let it be you desire for him that he really become your brother.

promissum est: *Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae, omnes gentes servient illi (Ps. 71(72).11)".*

[90]) Cf. *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 8,4 (ML 35,2037-2038).

> If out of love you wish for your enemy that he become your brother, then in loving an enemy you love a brother. You do not love what he is, but what you want him to become[91]).

De Doctrina Christiana viewed enemies as becoming our companions in the love and enjoyment of God; here one is to wish for enemies that they become our brothers *(fratres)* in the hope of gaining eternal life. Values other than God and eternal life are all too full of uncertainty for us to place our ultimate hope for our enemy in them, if we truly love him and desire his happiness. Inviting enemies to communion of life with ourselves as our brothers means that we desire for them the life with God we desire and hope for ourselves. This life is not diminished for us by being shared[92]). Our enemy, however, as the one who hates us, is not actually our brother. But, in loving him, we put the sinfulness that causes him to hate us to one side; our whole object in loving is that he overcome this state, be reconciled to God and become what we wish him to be, that is, our brother. "You do not love what he is, but what you wish him to become".

Some may take this sentence as a sign that there is no unmotivated love in the Christian sense even in love of enemies, "for love finds a motive even here in the thought of the potential worth in the neighbour, which may in future become actual"[93]). If this were so, it would mean

[91]) *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 8,10 (ML 35,2041-2042): "Miseremini ergo tanquam misericordes; quia in eo etiam quod diligitis inimicos, fratres diligitis. Ne putetis Ioannem nihil de dilectione inimici praecepisse; quia de fraterna charitate non tacuit: fratres diligitis. Quomodo, inquis, fratres diligimus? Quaero quare diligas inimicum: quare illum diligis? Ut sanus sit in hac vita? quid, si non illi expedit? Ut dives sit? quid, si ipsis divitiis excaecabitur? Ut uxorem ducat? quid, si amaram vitam inde patietur? Ut filios habeat? quid, si mali erunt? Incerta sunt ergo ista quae videris optare inimico tuo, quia diligis eum; incerta sunt. Opta illi ut habeat tecum vitam aeternam; opta illi ut sit frater tuus. Si ergo hoc optas, diligendo inimicum, ut sit frater tuus; cum eum diligis, fratrem diligis. Non enim amas in illo quod est; sed quod vis ut sit".

[92]) See *ibid.*, tr. 1,9 (ML 35,1985): "Incertum est utrum alicui sit utilis vita ista, an inutilis; vita vero quae est apud Deum, sine dubio utilis est. Sic dilige inimicos tuos, ut fratres optes; sic dilige inimicos tuos, ut in societatem tuam vocentur"; *En in ps.* 39,4 (CC 38,427. ML 36,435): "Sic ergo lauda Dominum, ut nolis male inimicis tuis. Et quantum eis, inquis, velim bonum? Quantum tibi. Non enim de tuo accepturi sunt ut boni sint, aut quod illis dabitur, tibi minuetur. Inimicus tuus, quia malus est, inimicus est; fit bonus, et amicus erit, et socius erit; ut simul velis possidere quod amabas, iam frater erit".

[93]) A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, p. 550. Nygren gives two examples in his footnote 5: (1) *De Vera Religione* 262 (CSEL 77,67) = 48,93 (CC 32,248. ML 34,164): "Sapientem animam atque perfectam talem diligat qualem illam videt; stultam non talem, sed quia esse perfecta et sapiens potest ...". (2) *De Catechizandis Rudibus* 27,55 (CC 46,178. ML 40,348): "Omnes ama: quoniam nescis, quid cras futurus sit, qui hodie malus est".

that our contention regarding the increasing prominence of the enemy himself at this period is considerably shaken; according to Anders Nygren, Augustinian love fails even here to escape from the hold of requiring a motivation. On the contrary, however, it is in our very love for the enemy as a potential brother that this worth comes to light and may be realised. The enemy's value as a brother is not so much a motive for loving him as love itself revealing its creative skill. "Love all human beings, even your enemies, not because they are brothers, but *so that they may be brothers (ut fratres sint)* ... love your enemy with fraternal love; he is not yet your brother, but you love him *so that he may be your brother (ut sit frater)*"[94]). In loving an enemy, then, we love what we wish him to become, that is, a person who embraces goodness, who himself becomes a lover[95]), who shares with us as a brother in life with

The first example does indeed appear to support Nygren's assertion that love finds a motive in the potential worth of the other, be he foolish or an enemy. But observing how the passage continues is not without its reward: "... stultam non talem, sed quia esse perfecta et sapiens potest: quia nec seipsum debet stultum diligere. *Nam qui se diligit stultum, non proficiet ad sapientiam*; nec fiet quisquis qualis cupit esse, nisi se oderit qualis est. Sed donec ad sapientiam perfectionemque veniatur, eo animo ferat stultitiam proximi, quo suam ferret, si stultus esset, et amaret sapientiam". This is a clear example of Augustine's understanding of loving one's neighbour as oneself. One desires wisdom for the neighbour and aids him to it.

Immediately following the second example quoted by Nygren is: "Nec eorum ames iniustitiam, *sed ipsos ideo ama, ut apprehendant iustitiam* ...". In other words, their future goodness is not so much a motive for love as, similarly to the previous example, the goal that one seeks to see realised in the other in actually loving one's enemies. It may turn out that the enemy, despite our love, chooses not to embrace goodness but rather to remain in his sins. The fact that we do not know whether the evil person's future worth, supposed by Nygren as a motivation for Augustinian love, may ever be actualised, means that for Augustine love can be elicited without their being any certainty that the grounds for its so-called motivation will be realised. The enemy's embracing goodness is nothing more than a possibility founded in the mystery of God's grace and the other's freedom. If it provides a motivation for love, it is a motivation that always remains beyond our grasp, hypothetical and unverifiable. The very changeableness of human beings makes this so. Even a friend may turn out to be an enemy; see *De Civitate Dei* 19,8 (CC 48,672. CSEL 40/2,385. ML 41,634-635); *Epistola* 73,3,10 (CSEL 34/2,277. ML 33,250): "Verumtamen ex amico intimo factus inimicus ...". On this theme of human fickleness and our uncertainty about people's future, see T.J. van Bavel, *Augustinus*, p. 32-33. This uncertainty effectively cancels the possible motivational value of an enemy's future option for the good. For Augustine this is rather an option to be kept open and worked for despite enmity and changeableness, and because the sway of God's grace on our enemy's freedom remains an unknown full of hope for us.

[94]) *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 10,7 (ML 35,2059): "Omnes homines, etiam inimicos vestros diligatis: non quia sunt fratres, sed *ut fratres sint* ... Tu dilige, et fraterno amore dilige: nondum est frater, sed ideo diligis *ut sit frater*".

[95]) *Ibid.*, "... ut semper fraterno amore flagretis, sive in fratrem factum, sive in inimicum, *ut frater fiat diligendo*".

God. This is the perspective we have on his life and which determines our conduct towards him. That this future value of the enemy is a goal to be aimed at rather than a motivation reducing the risk of loss we take in loving him is shown by the examples adduced by Augustine in the continuation of the passage from tr. 8,10.

> If I am not mistaken I have already given you the example of the log of hard oak. A good craftsman sees that unhewn wood that has been cut in the forest, and he likes the look of it, even though I do not know precisely what he is going to make out of it. He likes it, but not to leave it just as it is. Because of his skill he sees all kinds of future possibilities in that wood. He doesn't remain fixed in his attachment to the wood as it is now. He already loves what he will make out of it.
>
> This was the way God loved us when we were sinners. For Christ said: "It is not the healthy who need a doctor but the sick" (Matt. 9.12). The intention of God's love was not that we should remain sinners. God, the craftsman, looked upon us as lumber from the forest. He already had in mind what he wanted to build with it, and he no longer had the wood in mind as it originally was.
>
> You should look upon your enemy like this too. Your enemy opposes you, he hurts you with his biting words, embitters you with his insults, and rails at you out of hatred. But through all this you see that he too is a human being. You perceive that all he does against you is the work of a human being. But you see the human being himself as the work of God. He has God to thank for the fact that he is a human being. The person himself is responsible for his hatred and envy of you. You should then say in your heart: God, show him your favour, forgive him his sins, make him shake with fear of you, change him. Do not love him as he now is, but as you want him to be. Therefore, when you love your enemy, you in fact love a brother[96]).

[96]) *Ibid.*, tr. 8,10 (ML 35,2042): "Dixeram aliquando Charitati vestrae, nisi fallor: Robur est ligni positum ante oculos; faber optimus vidit lignum non dolatum, de silva praecisum, adamavit: nescio quid inde vult facere. Non enim ad hoc amavit, ut semper sic maneat. In arte vidit quod futurum est, non in amore quod est; et amavit quod inde facturus est, non illud quod est. Sic et nos Deus amavit peccatores: ait enim, *Non est opus sanis medicus, sed male habentibus* (Matt. 9.12). Numquid ad hoc amavit peccatores, ut peccatores remaneremus? Quasi lignum de silva vidit nos faber, et cogitavit aedificium quod inde facturus est, non silvam quod erat. Sic et tu respicis inimicum tuum adversantem, saevientem, mordentem verbis, exasperantem contumeliis, insectantem odiis; attendis ibi quia homo est. Vides ista omnia quae adversa sunt ab homine facta; et vides in illo quod a Deo factus est. Quod autem homo factus est, a Deo factus est. Quod autem te odit, ipse fecit; quod invidet, ipse fecit. Et quid dicis in animo tuo? Domine, propitius illi esto, dimitte illi peccata; incute illi terrorem, muta illum. Non amas in illo quod est, sed quod vis ut sit. Ergo cum inimicum amas, fratrem amas". D. Dideberg, *Saint Augustin et la première*

A skilled craftsman sees all kinds of possibilities in unhewn wood. It is God the craftsman's plan that sinners should not remain sinners. Likewise, the person who loves his enemy sees through all the harassment he suffers at the hands of the enemy to 'the human being himself as the work of God'. Our prayer for the enemy is to be that God in his favour change him[97]) and, forgiving his hatred and envy, make him our brother. Our attitude towards enemies is to be based on God's patience in bringing human beings to repentance and so allowing the skilled work of his creative art to shine out; it is to be based on the appeasement of God who, even knowing those who will remain in their sins, allows his sun to shine on good and evil (Matt. 5.45). Without patience and appeasement — in other words, without becoming like God by loving our enemies as he has loved us[98]) — the danger is that inimical situations in the present will absorb all our attention and cause us to hate a person, a human being created by God, who is to reign with us in eternal happiness[99]). To hate a person is to lose the future perspective on his life

épître de saint Jean, Paris, 1975, p. 70, remarks of this love of God and Christ on which our love for enemies is to be modelled: "Mais dans le huitième *Tractatus* le caractère transformant de leur amour est fortement souligné".

[97]) See also *En. in ps.* 69,3 (CC 49,933. ML 36,868) which seeks to answer the question how martyrs who, in the words of the psalm, wish confusion and shame on their persecutors (Ps. 69(70).2), can be said to be followers of Christ who prayed that his executioners would be forgiven (Lk. 23.34). The solution given is that wishing confusion and shame on enemies is directed to their conversion. "Saulus ille qui Stephanum persecutus est, confusus est et reveritus. Anhelabat caedes, quaerebat quos adtraharet et necaret: audita desuper voce: *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris* (Acts 9.4), confusus et prostratus, et erectus ad oboediendum qui inflammatus erat ad persequendum. Hoc ergo optant martyres inimicis suis: *Confundantur et revereantur* ... Si enim confundentur, et convertentur, quia converti non possunt, nisi confusi fuerint, et reveriti. Optemus ergo haec inimicis nostris; securi optemus". Cf. *En. in ps.* 132,8 (CC 40,1932. ML 37,1734). Stephen's rage at his executioners was motivated by an invincible love directed to their conversion: "Quare saeviebat cum audiretur? Quia mutare volebat eos a quibus audiebatur. Venientibus in se lapidibus non victa est caritas ...".

[98]) See *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 9,3 (ML 35,2047): "Si ergo ad hanc perfectionem nos invitat Deus, ut diligamus inimicos nostros sicut et ipse dilexit suos; ea nobis fiducia est in die judicii, *quia sicut ille est, et nos sumus in hoc mundo* (1 Jn. 4.17): quia sicut ille diligit inimicos suos, faciendo solem suum oriri super bonos et malos, et pluendo super justos et injustos, ita nos quia inimicis nostris non possumus praestare solem et pluviam, praestamus lacrymas, cum pro illis oramus"; *En. in ps.* 39,4 (CC 38,427. ML 36,435): "Laudans ergo invoca Dominum; noli eum putare similem tibi, ut similis fias illi. *Estote enim sicut Pater vester perfecti, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos* (Matt. 5.48 & 45). Sic ergo lauda Dominum, ut nolis male inimicis tuis".

[99]) *Sermo* 149,18 (ML 38,807): "... Diliges proximum tuum, ibi sunt omnes homines, etiamsi fuerint inimici: quia etiam secundum spiritualem propinquitatem nescis quid tibi sit in praescientia Dei homo, qui tibi ad tempus videtur inimicus. Quia enim

that penetrates beyond his hurtful wickedness to God's work (*"quod a Deo factus est"*) and to cease to hope and pray and do what we can that he be changed and enjoy God with us, so that the Artist's plan may be fully realised. Christ, after all, instructed us to love our enemies "not so that they remain our enemies forever. That would be to propagate hatred, not love". Augustine thus invites his hearers

> (to) look at the love of Christ himself. "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing" (Luke 23.34). He did not want his executioners to remain as they were. He wished to make different people of those for whom he asked forgiveness. He wanted to make brothers of his enemies, and this is indeed what he did. Christ was put to death, he was buried, rose, ascended into heaven, and sent the Holy Spirit on his disciples. The disciples began to proclaim his name with confidence and to work miracles in the name of the crucified and slain one. Those who put Christ to death saw this. Thus, those who had shed his blood in violence later drank it in faith[100]).

Love's work, then, is to make different people of those for whom we ask forgiveness. Those, who like Stephen pray that their enemies be saved from eternal death and join God's company and theirs, walk in the way of the Lord; their prayer for forgiveness, like that of Christ on the cross, is directed to turning men of blood into men of faith[101]). But

patientia Dei ad poenitentiam eum adducit, fortassis cognoscet et sequetur ducentem. Si enim Deus ipse qui novit qui sint in peccatis perseveraturi ... tamen facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos ... quanta sollicitudine placabilem oportet esse hominem, ne forte nesciens qualis futurus sit, cum praesentes ejus inimicitias attenderit, oderit eum cum quo in aeterna felicitate regnabit? Imple ergo praeceptum primum, Dilige proximum tuum, omnem hominem; et oderis inimicum tuum, diabolum. Imple et secundum. Dilige inimicos tuos, sed homines: ora pro eis qui te persequuntur, sed pro hominibus: bene fac eis qui te oderunt, sed hominibus".

[100]) *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 8,10 (ML 35,2042): "Attende quare te monuit Christus ut diligas inimicos. Numquid ut semper remaneant inimici? Si ad hoc te monuit ut inimici remaneant, odis, non diligis. Attende quomodo ipse dilexit, id est, quia nolebat ut sic remanerent persecutores; ait, *Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt* (Lk. 23.34). Quibus voluit ignosci, mutari illos voluit: quos voluit mutari, ex inimicis fratres facere dignatus est, et vere sic fecit. Occisus est, sepultus est, resurrexit, in coelum ascendit, Spiritum sanctum misit discipulis; coeperunt cum fiducia praedicare nomen ipsius, miracula faciebant in nomine crucifixi et occisi: viderunt illi interfectores Domini; et qui sanguinem ejus saeviendo fuderunt, credendo biberunt".

[101]) *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 1,9 (ML 35,1985): "Sic dilige inimicos tuos, ut fratres optes; sic dilige inimicos tuos, ut in societatem tuam vocentur. Sic enim dilexit ille qui in cruce pendens ait: *Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt* (Lk. 23.34) ... Mortem sempiternam ab eis expellebat, prece misericordissima, et potentia praestantissima. Multi ex eis crediderunt, et dimissus est eis fusus sanguis Christi. Primo fuderunt cum saevirent,

Stephen, following Christ, was prepared to go so far as to give up his life on behalf of his persecutors, among whom was his potential brother Saul, for whose conversion he prayed[102]). Love of enemies "so that they may embrace goodness" *("ut apprehendant iustitiam")* and become men of faith is, therefore, a matter of action, even it may be of the ultimate act of martyrdom. What can be said of the attentiveness required of love in general applies *a fortiori* to love of enemies.

> If you want to live in love, then first be aware that love is no trifling matter; it is not something cheap and easy for which nothing has to be done. One lives in love not just by being good-humoured. That's putting it too mildly. More precisely, the lazy, the indifferent, and the nonchalant are not living in love. Don't think that you love your servant just because you refrain from striking him, or that you love your child if you don't bother to teach him discipline, or that you love your neighbours if you never speak sharply to them. That is not love, but weakness[103]).

If we are not to think that we love our neighbour if we never speak to him, then how can we justify taking up an indifferent and nonchalant

nunc biberunt cum crederent ... Fixus in cruce erat, et in ipsa via ambulabat: ipsa est via charitatis, *Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. Sic ergo, si didiceris orare pro inimico tuo, ambulas viam Domini".

[102]) *Ibid.*, tr. 5,4 (ML 35,2014): "Accipere autem calicem salutarem, et invocare nomen Domini, hoc est satiari charitate; et ita satiari, ut non solum non oderis fratrem, sed paratus sis mori pro fratre. Perfecta ista charitas est, ut paratus sis mori pro fratre. Hanc ipse Dominus in se exhibuit, mortuus pro omnibus, orans pro eis a quibus crucifigebatur, et dicens: *Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt*. Sed si solus hoc fecit, non erat magister, si discipulos non habebat. Secuti discipuli hoc fecerunt. Lapidabatur Stephanus, et genu fixo ait: *Domine, ne statuas illis hoc delictum* (Acts 7.59). Amabat a quibus occidebatur, quia et pro ipsis moriebatur. Audi et apostolum Paulum: *Et ipse*, inquit, *impendar pro animabus vestris* (2 Cor. 12.15). Inter illos enim erat pro quibus Stephanus deprecabatur, quando eorum manibus moriebatur. Perfecta ergo charitas haec est. Si quis tantam habuerit charitatem, ut paratus sit pro fratribus etiam mori, perfecta est in illo charitas".

Cf. *Sermo* 319,4 (ML 38,1441): Stephen stood to pray for himself, but knelt to pray for his enemies. Was this not to go beyond the requirement of loving his neighbour as himself (Matt. 22.39)? Rather he knew that because of his enemies' wickedness he would have so much more difficulty in being heard. He thus adapted his prayer to the toughness of the intended beneficiary. In forgiving and dying for his executioners, he followed the Lamb of God whose blood takes away the sin of the world.

[103]) *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 7,11 (ML 35,2034): "Si qui forte vultis servare charitatem, fratres, ante omnia ne putetis abjectam et desidiosam; nec quadam mansuetudine, imo non mansuetudine, sed remissione et negligentia servari charitatem. Non sic servatur. Non putes tunc te amare servum tuum, quando eum non caedis; aut tunc te amare filium tuum, quando ei non das disciplinam: aut tunc te amare vicinum tuum, quando eum non corripis: non est ista charitas, sed languor".

attitude towards the person of our enemy? We have no right, according to Augustine, to leave a person with a weak character *(indisciplinatus)* to his fate because we fear chastising him. It may sometimes be necessary to speak hard words to another in order to put him on the right path[104]). It is clear that Augustine presupposes that the one loving knows what the right path is; as we have seen, Augustine would be concerned to keep him away from others if he had not learned to love himself properly in loving God. It is also to be be considered that assertions of this kind in the commentary on 1 John have at least an indirect reference to the use of such measures in relation to the Donatists.

This is too wide-ranging and controversial a question to be dealt with here, but it can with safety be stated that the dispute with the Donatists brought Augustine up against real enemies, and this in part may account for his more explicit treatment of the figure of the enemy after 400. Particularly in *In Epistolam Ioannis* his desire for what is best for his enemies, that is, life with God, his exhortations to work actively for this in one's dealings with those in sin and in error, and his encouragement for reconciliation with them as brothers in love are unmistakable. These assertions give us an impression of openness and forgiveness in the face of the enemy. Trying to make of the enemy a friend and a brother is to have the same open, God-orientated perspective on his life as we have on our own. We do not condemn or simply ignore the inimical other, and thereby privatise our own relationship with God or remain within the confines of safe love of neighbour. We are prepared to deal with and to hope even for enemies as "God's work". To be sure, it is Augustine's conviction that the Donatists are wrong. In the passage quoted at the beginning of this section, although Augustine expresses that he is willing to give up the episcopacy in order to aid reunion, he does not conceal that he expects the Donatists to come over to the *Catholica*. "I wish to be yours, *if you reform*". But need the fact that he takes a convinced doctrinal and political stand make his concern for his enemies' future and his invitation to brotherhood any less

[104]) *Ibid.*, tr. 10,7 (ML 35,2059): "Dilige, non potest fieri nisi bene facias. Sed forte corripis? Amor hoc facit, non saevitia. Sed forte caedis? Ad disciplinam facis; quia amor ipsius dilectionis non te permittit negligere indisciplinatum ... Alter videt amicum suum tale aliquid facere, revocat; si illum non audiat, profert verba etiam castigationis, objurgat, litigat: aliquando venitur ad hanc necessitatem ut litiget. Ecce odium blanditur, et charitas litigat. Noli attendere verba blandientis, et quasi saevitiam objurgantis; venam inspice, radicem unde procedant quaere. Ille blanditur ut decipiat, iste litigat ut corrigat".

genuine? These are the very elements which mark an advance in emphasis over the pre-400 texts for which, in the main, love of enemies effected the personal reconciliation of the lover with God. Augustine's principle is to distinguish the error made by human beings from the human beings themselves, created by God; the latter is to be loved, not the former. And when human beings are loved as "God's work", the errors they make can be corrected and taken away[105]). This was the principle Augustine encouraged religious to be led by in dealing with wayward confreres: love for people and aversion for their faults[106]). Might Augustine himself not have been attempting the delicate task of transferring this principle to a wider public stage when, faced with hostile opponents whom he considered to be in grave and damaging error, he urged them to take advantage of the breadth of the love commandment and to acknowledge that with him they belonged to God?

> Acknowledge me as a brother. I acknowledge you as a brother. But put an end to the schism, the error, the discord. Have these set right and you are mine. Or perhaps you do not wish to be mine. I wish to be yours, if you reform. Therefore, when the error that stands between us like a wall made up of the rubble of contradiction and of division has been demolished, be my brother and I will be your brother, so that we may both belong to him who is my Lord and yours[107]).

Augustine's exhortations to those who lived in the religious communities under his direction may be summarised in the injunction, "honour God in one another, because each of you has become his temple"[108]). Just as above we found the principle of love for people and aversion for their faults, which is enshrined in the Rule, reflected in Augustine's gropings to find a most human solution to the controversy with the Donatists, so what may be taken as the Rule's essence, namely, "honour God in one another", can also be heard echoing in Augustine's approach to his Donatist enemies. For in his letter of 401 to Theodorus he writes:

[105]) *Ibid.*, tr. 7,11 (ML 35,2035): "Noli in homine amare errorem, sed hominem: hominem enim Deus fecit, errorem ipse homo fecit. Ama illud quod Deus fecit, noli amare quod ipse homo fecit. Cum illud amas, illud tollis: cum illud diligis, illud emendas. Sed etsi saevis aliquando, propter correctionis dilectionem".

[106]) *Rule* 4,10 (Verheijen, p. 428): "... cum dilectione hominum et odio vitiorum".

[107]) *Sermo* 358,4 (ML 39,1588).

[108]) *Rule* 1,8 (Verheijen, p. 420): "... honorate in vobis invicem deum cuius templa facti estis".

> But therefore we grieve for those who go astray (i.e. the Donatists) and through the love of Christ we want to win them for God ... Could we but take from our midst the evils of men and pay honour to God's good gifts in them (*et honorentur in hominibus bona Dei*), we might regain our brotherly concord and the peace we long for, the devil's promptings being overcome in men's hearts by the love of Christ[109]).

Even in enemies, therefore, God is to be honoured, for they too are "God's work" and bearers of his good gifts. The desired outcome of this paying honour to God in one another is brotherly concord and peace amongst those who had once been enemies.

II. LOVE OF NEIGHBOUR 'AS ONESELF' AND 'AS CHRIST HAS LOVED US'

A. Love of neighbour 'as oneself'

Having in a previous article given a character sketch of the self to be loved according to the Lord's commandment of Matt. 22.39, and having now in the former part of this article devoted ourselves to an investigation of the identity of the neighbour and the designations by which neighbours are referred to, we are in a position to gain some insight into what for Augustine constitutes the fulfilment of the second part of the great commandment, to love this neighbour as oneself. Of course, in marshalling the arguments to support our understanding of the figures of the self and the neighbour and of the roles Augustine perceives them playing in relation to the love commandment, we have in a sense already given the game away. If the self to be loved according to the commandment is that self which is totally, heart, mind and soul, in love with God, then to love the neighbour as the self will inevitably mean bringing him face to face with *ex toto* love for God. In the previous article, however, we were more concerned with those assertions of Augustine in which he seeks to shield the neighbour from the havoc that can be wreaked by a perverse love of self — one, that is, in which the self is not fully intent upon God and his commandment — if this is given free

[109]) *Epistola* 61,1 (CSEL 34/2,223. ML 33,229): "Sed propterea dolemus errantes, et eos per caritatem Christi lucrari Deo cupimus ... Si ergo tollantur de medio mala hominum, et honorentur in hominibus bona Dei; erit fraterna concordia, et amabilis pax, ut in cordibus hominum vincat persuasionem diaboli, caritas Christi". For this reference, and also in part for the translation, I am indebted to J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei*, p. 103.

rein to establish relationships with its neighbours similar to its relationship to itself. Our intention here is to do nothing more than to spell out the positive implications for the neighbour of a love based on sound, God-orientated love of self. But even the fruits of such a survey have not been unanticipated in this work. In endeavouring to establish the identity of the neighbour and to resolve conflicts arising from Augustine's manner of denoting neighbours, it has more often than not also been necessary to indicate to some extent what loving the neighbour means. There is, however, still a value in grouping the more important references together and offering a brief, systematic exposition of the theme, not least as a means of synthesising the results of the previous article and of the earlier part of the present one in order to enable us to approach the *magna quaestio* of the following article, i.e. in how far and in what sense does Augustine see this love of neighbour as forming a unity with love of God?

1. De Moribus 1,26,49 and parallels

> Now you love yourself in a salutary manner if you love God more than yourself. Therefore, what you do on your own behalf, you must do also for your neighbour; that is to say, *you should deal with him in such a way that he too may love God with perfect love.* For you do not love him as yourself if you do not *strive to lead him (adducere) towards that which you yourself are setting your course.* And this is the one good that is not diminished by the multitude striving to reach it with you[110]).

A text from *De Vera Religione*, written two years later, makes it quite plain that the perfect love of God to which we are to lead the neighbour we love as ourselves is a love 'with all that lives in us'.

> Thus a person becomes spiritual, judging all things, while he himself is judged by no one (1 Cor. 2.15). Such a person loves the Lord his God with his whole heart, his whole soul and his whole mind, and he loves his neighbour not according to the flesh, but as himself. *The person who loves himself spiritually, however, is the one who loves God with all that lives in him (qui ex toto quod in eo vivit,*

[110]) *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 1,26,49 (ML 32,1331-1332): "Te autem salubriter diligis, si plus quam te diligis Deum. Quod ergo agis tecum, id agendum cum proximo est, hoc est ut ipse etiam perfecto amore diligat Deum. Non enim eum diligis tanquam teipsum, si non ad id bonum ad quod ipse tendis adducere satagis. Illud est enim unum bonum, quod omnibus tecum tendentibus non fit angustum".

Deum diligit). For "on these two precepts the whole Law and the Prophets depend" (Matt. 22.40)[111]).

It is but a short step from this to the open assertion of *De Doctrina Christiana* that "whoever loves his neighbour rightly ought to act in his regard in such a way that the neighbour himself may also love God with all the heart, all the soul, and all the mind"[112]). In the various expressions of this idea it is crucial to understand that the primary meaning of love for neighbour is that to the best of our ability we instil in him an openness to, hope in and love for the God who demands our all and who answers self-gift by himself in his goodness becoming all in all; any approach to the neighbour's life which stifled or obscured this essential dimension would be to hate him and to encourage him to hate himself. Thus, love for neighbour may be described, as above in *De Moribus*, as leading *(ducere — adducere — perducere)* him to God, or to love God as we do[113]). Augustine provides a gloss on this formulation in *Epistola* 155: "(The person who loves himself loving God) ought therefore also to love his neighbour as himself so as to bring whomever he can *to worship God*. He does this by encouraging others with kindness, by explaining the teaching to them, and by keeping their lives in check with corrective instruction"[114]). Elsewhere, love of neighbour may be presented in terms of devoting oneself to or inspiring *(impendere)* one's neighbour so that he may love God[115]); being concerned with *(consulere)* or being of benefit to *(prodesse)* him to this end[116]); or acting

[111]) *De Vera Religione* 66 (CSEL 77,18) = 12,24 (CC 32,202. ML 34,132): "Ita fit homo spiritalis omnia iudicans, ut ipse a nemine iudicetur, diligens dominum deum suum *in toto corde, in tota anima, in tota mente* et diligens proximum suum non carnaliter, sed tamquam se ipsum; se autem spiritaliter diligit qui ex toto quod in eo vivit deum diligit. *In his* enim *duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet et prophetae*".

[112]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,43 (CSEL 80,19) = 1,22,21 (CC 32,18. ML 34,27): "Quisquis ergo recte diligit proximum, hoc cum eo debet agere, ut etiam ipse toto corde, tota anima, tota mente diligat deum".

[113]) Cf. *De Civitate Dei* 10,3 (CC 47,275. CSEL 40/1,450. ML 41,281): "Hoc bonum diligere in toto corde, in tota anima et in tota virtute praecipimur; ad hoc bonum debemus et a quibus diligimur *duci*, et quos diligimus *ducere*"; *Epistola* 130,7,14 (CSEL 44,55. ML 33,499): "... et ex alio praecepto proximos nostros sicut nosmetipsos ita vere diligimus, si eos ad Dei similem dilectionem, quantum in nobis est, *perducamus*".

[114]) *Epistola* 155,4,15 (CSEL 44,446. ML 33,673): "Debet ergo et proximum diligere tamquam seipsum, ut quem potuerit hominem vel beneficentiae consolatione, vel informatione doctrinae, vel disciplinae coercitione *adducat* ad colendum Deum".

[115]) *Epistola* 167,5,16 (CSEL 44,604. ML 33,739): "Nemo autem diligit proximum, nisi diligens Deum, ut hoc, quantum potest, *impendat*, quem diligit tamquam semetipsum, ut et ille diligat Deum; quem si ipse non diligit, nec se, nec proximum diligit".

[116]) *De Civitate Dei* 19,14 (CC 47,681. CSEL 40/2,399. Ml 41,642-643): "... ille in se

towards others in such a way that they too may reach God and be freed with us for eternity[117]). Sometimes the urgency of this commission is emphasised by the use of the verb *rapere*: "When therefore you have learnt to love yourself in loving God, seize your neighbour and draw him on towards God *(rape proximum ad Deum)* so that together you may enjoy the great good that God is"[118]). This is to love others "in God" *(in Deo)*, that is, so that they may cling to God without whom, in their frailty, they go their own way and are lost[119]).

A sermon from prior to 410 enriches still further our vocabulary of love for neighbour. "God will be complete to as many as you are able to persuade, to invite, to summon and to urge to love him. God will give himself wholly to all and to each one individually"[120]). This text, along with others we shall look at shortly, presents the God whom we love *ex toto* as the common, inexhaustible good, in the possession of whom there can be no jealousy or fear that sharing with others may mean less for me. The element that attracts our attention now, however, is the phrase, which in a number of forms recurs regularly in these settings, "as many as you are able" *(quantiscumque potueris)*. For example, "let us too love one another in such a way that, insofar as we can *(quantum possumus)*, we may attract one another by the solicitude of love to have God in our midst"[121]). An examination of the instances of this and similar usages

diligendo non errat, qui Deum diligit; consequens est, ut etiam proximo ad diligendum Deum *consulat*, quem iubetur sicut se ipsum diligere ..."; *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, q. 36,3 (CC 44A,57. ML 40,26): "Si autem placere hominibus ideo vis, ut eis *prosis* ad diligendum deum, non iam hoc (i.e. the praise of men) sed aliud cupis".

[117]) *En. in ps.* 118, *sermo* 8,2 (CC 40,1686. ML 37,1520): "Petant itaque ne abscondantur ab eis mandata Dei, per quae ab hoc incolatu liberentur, diligendo Deum, cum quo in aeternum erunt; et diligendo proximum, ut illic sit ubi et ipsi erunt".

[118]) *Sermo Denis* 17,6 (MA I,87): "Cum ergo te didiceris diligere diligendo deum, *rape* proximum ad eum, ut simul fruaris bono, et tanto bono, quod deus est". Cf. *Sermo* 90,10 (ML 38,566): "Prius diligite Deum. Extendite ad Deum; et quos poteritis, *rapite* ad Deum. Inimicus est: rapiatur ad Deum. Filius est, uxor est, servus est: rapiatur ad Deum. Peregrinus est: rapiatur ad Deum. Inimicus est: rapiatur ad Deum. Rape, rape inimicum: rapiendo non erit inimicus"; *En. in ps.* 72,34 (CC 39,1003. ML 36,929): "Ama Deum gratis: nulli invideas Deum. *Rapite* eum quotquot potestis, quotquot possessuri estis ...".

[119]) *Confessiones* 4,12,18 (Skutella 67. CSEL 33,78. ML 32,700): "Si placent animae, in Deo amentur, quia et ipsae mutabiles sunt et in illo fixae stabiliuntur: alioquin irent et perirent. In illo ergo amentur, et rape ad eum tecum quas potes et dic eis: 'Hunc amemus, hunc amemus: ipse fecit haec et non est longe'".

[120]) *Sermo Wilmart* 2,4 (MA I,677): "Quantiscumque potueris persuadere, quotquot potueris invitare, vocare, cogere ad diligendum Deum, et omnibus totus est, et singulis totus est".

[121]) *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 65,2 (CC 36,492. ML 35,1809): "Sic ergo et nos invicem diligamus, ut *quantum possumus*, invicem ad habendum in nobis Deum cura

prompts us to conclusions different from those of Gunnar Hultgren who interprets *quantum potest* expressions as weakening the force of a determined generous action by attenuating the obligation formulated by the love commandment[122]). Our view is that the intention of this qualifier associated with love in response to the commandment is threefold. Firstly, it alerts us to the fact that, for all our kindness, concern and powers of persuasion, there is a limit not only to the number of those we can help and influence to love God, but also to the extent to which our words and actions can affect another human being's decisions. In other words, Augustine hereby recognises that it is in inviolable freedom that the neighbour loves God, and this implies that our best efforts to inspire, lead and draw others to this end, our common good, may be to no avail. The sovereign freedom of the neighbour is preserved. Secondly, *quantum potest* clauses keep us mindful of the limitedness of our human resources when it comes to the highest activity of loving. Nor is Augustine unaware that we too stand in need of our neighbour's love

dilectionis adtrahamus". See also *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 1,28,56 (ML 32,1334): "Qui ergo diligit proximum, agit *quantum potest* ut salvus corpore salvusque animo sit ..."; *De Vera Religione* 244 (CSEL 77,62) = 46,86 (CC 32,244. ML 34,161): "Non illi (i.e. proximo) ergo invidet, ut sit quod ipse est, immo adiuvat etiam *quantum potest*"; 255 (CSEL 77,65) = 47,90 (CC 32,246. ML 34,162): "... praestat ei (i.e. proximo) *quod potest*, quia et sibi ipsi ..."; 256 (CSEL 77,66) = 47,91 (CC 32,246-247. ML 34,163): "Hic vir quamdiu est in hac vita ... utitur *quibus potest* ad beneficentiam, utitur omnibus ad benevolentiam ... pro eorum sorte hominibus consulit, si aequaliter non potest omnibus"; *Epistola* 155,4,14 (CSEL 44,444. ML 33,672): "Ad illum (i.e. Deum) *quanta opera possumus*, etiam illi ut perveniant agamus, quos tamquam nosmetipsos diligimus"; *Epistola* 155,4,15 (CSEL 44,446. ML 33,673): "Debet ergo et proximum diligere tamquam seipsum, ut *quem potuerit hominem* ... adducat ad colendum Deum ..."; *De Civitate Dei* 10,3 (CC 47,276. CSEL 40/1,45. ML 41,281): "... cum mandatur de proximo diligendo sicut se ipsum, quid aliud mandatur, nisi ut *quantum potest*, commendet diligendum Deum"; *Epistola* 167,5,16 (CSEL 44,604. ML 33,739): "Nemo autem diligit proximum, nisi diligens Deum, ut hoc, *quantum potest*, impendat, quem diligit tamquam semetipsum, ut et ille diligat Deum ..."; *Epistola* 130,7,14 (CSEL 44,55-56. ML 33,499): "... et ex alio praecepto proximos nostros sicut nosmetipsos ita vere diligimus, si eos ad Dei similem dilectionem, *quantum in nobis est*, perducamus"; *Sermo* 91,7,9 (ML 38,571): "... eroget de cellario Domini, ministret conservis cibaria, confortet fideles, revocet errantes, quaerat perditos, *quantum potest* faciat"; *Confessiones* 4,12,18 (Skutella 67. CSEL 33,78. ML 32,700): "... rape ad eum (Deum) tecum *quas* (animas) *potes* ...".

[122]) G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 178: "C'est ainsi que la force qui nous pousse à une action généreuse et déterminée se trouve affaiblie par une *atténuation de l'obligation formulée par le commandement de l'amour*. Il faut prêter aide, 'autant que cela est permis et ordonné' (*De Quantitate Animae* 34,78). Il faut aider son prochain, 'autant qu'on le peut' (*De Vera Religione* 46,86; *De Sermone Domini in Monte* 1,55,67)". These are the sole references given by Hultgren.

and may be led by it to God[123]). The third function of *quantum potest* flows from the second: it focusses our attention on the fact that drawing our neighbour to God is not only God's precept but also his gift[124]).

Quantum potest and companions, therefore, do not imply a debilitating of love, but an acknowledgement of the other's freedom, a realistic appraisal of our own contingent capacities, and the recognition that even the role we play in the neighbour's turning to God is the work of His grace. There is, however, another expression, "*quantum licet atque praeceptum est*", which occurs in *De Quantitate Animae* in relation to

[123]) *De Civitate Dei* 10,3 (CC 47,275. CSEL 40/1,45. ML 41,281): "Ad hoc bonum debemus, et a quibus diligimur duci, et quos diligimus ducere". Cf. *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,63 (CSEL 80,24) = 1,29,30 (CC 32,23. ML 34,30): "Velle tamen debemus ut omnes nobiscum diligant deum, et totum quod eos vel adiuvamus vel adiuvamur ab eis ad unum illum finem referendum est"; *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 17,9 (CC 36,175. ML 35,1532): "Cum esses languidus, portabat te proximus tuus; sanus factus es, porta proximum tuum: *Invicem onera vestra portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi* (Gal. 6.2) ... Porta ergo eum, cum quo ambulas, ut ad eum pervenias, cum quo manere desideras". Thus, the concluding sentence might also be addressed to the neighbour in our regard.

[124]) *Expositio Epistolae ad Galatas* 45 (CSEL 84,119. ML 35,2138): "Item diligere proximum, id est omnem hominem, tamquam seipsum, quis potest, nisi Deum diligat, cuius praecepto et dono dilectionem proximi possit implere?". A few examples of other texts in which love for neighbour is presented as a gift of God are: *De Vera Religione* 259 (CSEL 77,66) = 47,92 (CC 32,247. ML 34,163): "... cuius (i.e. dei) praecepto et dono diligit inimicos"; *De Catechizandis Rudibus* 27,55 (CC 46,178. ML 40,348): "Quam (i.e. the double commandment) non implet, nisi qui donum acceperit spiritum sanctum ..."; *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 6,8.9.10 (ML 35,2024-2026); tr. 7,6 (ML 35,2032); tr. 8,12 (ML 35,2043), in all of which cases the love that is poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit who is given to us (cf. Rom. 5.5) is understood to be our love for God and neighbour; tr. 10,7 (ML 35,2059): "... impetrate a Deo ut diligatis invicem"; *En in ps.* 56,1 (CC 39,694. ML 36,661) regarding the fulfilment of Jn. 15.12, i.e. to lay down one's life for one's friends: "... neque imperaret hoc Deus ut faceremus, si impossibile iudicaret ut hoc ab homine fieret ... Adest ille qui praebuit exemplum, ut praebeat et auxilum"; *De Trinitate* 6,5,7 (CC 50,235. ML 42,928): "... *servantes unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis* (Eph. 4.3). Quod imitari per gratiam, et ad Deum et ad nos ipsos iubemur ..."; 15,17,31 (CC 50A,505-507. ML 42,1082); 15,18,32 (CC 50A,507-508. ML 42,1082-1083); and 15,26,46 (CC 50A,525. ML 42,1093), which again see love for God and for neighbour as a gift in terms of Rom. 5.5; *Epistola* 189,2 (CSEL 57,132. ML 33,854); *Epistola* 196,4,16 (CSEL 57,230. ML 33,898): "... *Diligis proximum tuum tamquam teipsum;* non viribus humanis, quasi nostram constituentes iustitiam, sed *gratia Dei per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum* (Rom. 7.25) ..."; *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 17,8 (CC 36,175. ML 35,1532): "Dilige ergo proximum, et intuere in te unde diligis proximum; ibi videbis, ut poteris, Deum"; 65,2 (CC 36,492. ML 35,1809): "Ad hoc ergo nos dilexit (Christus), ut et nos diligamus invicem; hoc nobis conferens diligendo nos ..."; 87,1 (CC 36,543-544. ML 35,1852) where the fruit that will last, i.e. love for one another, only flourishes on the vine (cf. Jn. 15.1-17); *En. in ps.* 118, *sermo* 14,2 (CC 40,1709. ML 37,1539) incorporating Rom. 5.5; cf. *Enchiridion* 32,121 (CC 46,113-114. ML 40,288); *En in ps.*118, *sermo* 27,6 (CC 40,1759. ML 37,1582): "Quid igitur orat, nisi ut praecepta quae Deus imponit iubendo, impleri faciat adiuvando".

helping souls related to our own who are in error and in trouble[125]). Presumably the *licet* refers to the point we have already noticed in the *Soliloquia*, the *Rule* and elsewhere that the person is to be loved, not the error; *praeceptum* indubitably connotes the commandment to love the neighbour as the self. But, one may ask, as Augustine does in *De Mendacio* (394-395 A.D.), whether for example the love of neighbour envisaged by the precept makes it permissible to tell a lie in order to save the life of another. Because "love of neighbour takes its *terminus* (limit-measure?) from one's own love of self" *("dilectio proximi ex sua cujusque terminum accepit")* and because to tell a lie is to bring eternal loss upon oneself, Augustine concludes that a person is not justified in lying, and thereby throwing away his eternal good, in order to gain temporal good for another. We might object that it is an exaggeration to say that a lie of this sort has such devastating consequences. Whether or not this is so, however, does not alter Augustine's principal thought here for he continues: "if a person loses his temporal life for another's temporal life, this is then to love the other not as himself, but more than himself, which goes beyond the rule of sound teaching *(quod sanae doctrinae regulam excedit)*. Much less, therefore, is he by lying to lose his eternal life for another's temporal life"[126]). It has been said of this text: "... there is no room for personal spontaneous sacrifice in this order, and it is this which explains the deformation of love"[127]). In fact, the "order" of reality reflected by the precept, "the rule of sound teaching", it has been claimed, favours egoism and prevents love for neighbour from developing fully[128]).

However, it is a matter for reflection how much weight should be given to this passage which occurs in a work that the Augustine of the

[125]) *De Quantitate Animae* 34,78 (ML 32,1078): "Errantibus vero cognatis animis et laborantibus, quantum licet atque praeceptum est, opem ferendam esse sciamus ...".

[126]) *De Mendacio* 6,9 (CSEL 41,426. ML 40,494-495): "Quomodo ergo quisque diligit tamquam seipsum, cui ut praestet vitam temporalem, ipse amittit aeternam? quandoquidem si pro illius temporali vita suam ipsam temporalem perdat, non est iam diligere sicut se ipsum, sed plus quam se ipsum: quod sanae doctrinae regulam excedit. Multo minus igitur aeternam suam alterius temporali mentiendo amissurus est".

[127]) G. Hultgren, *op. cit.*, p. 165: "... le sacrifice personnel spontané, l'amour vivant et actif ne trouvent point de place dans cet ordre, et c'est ce qui explique la déformation de l'amour".

[128]) *Ibid.*, p. 164: "Les égards que l'on doit à son moi peuvent fair obstacle à l'amour du prochain. *Le schéma de l'ordre des rangs* favorise en réalité l'égoïsme et empêche l'amour du prochain de s'épanouir dans toute sa plénitude. Nous en trouvons un exemple frappant dans le *De mendacio*".

Retractationes reveals that he had once decided to remove from his collection of writings and later ordered to be destroyed because he found it "obscure and complicated and altogether unbearable". At the time of the *Retractationes* he says that he chose to retain it because it contained some necessary remarks which were missing from his later work on the same subject, *Contra Mendacium*, and because, even though comprehending it demands effort, such an exercise is useful for the mind and can foster love of truth in practical matters[129]). Is the part of the work we are dealing with then to be judged "obscure and complicated and altogether unbearable", or "necessary" and helpful in the practical pursuit of truth? We can attempt an answer to this question only by indicating the dimensions of love for neighbour this passage clearly has in common with Augustine's subsequent writings, on the one hand, and the notions quite peculiar to this text, on the other. The idea that offends Gunnar Hultgren is that self-love sets a limit *(terminus)* to spontaneous love for neighbour and prevents me from performing the highest act of love, i.e. sacrificing my life so that the other may live. It is as if self-love and love of neighbour were independent entities, the borders of whose territory have to be well-defined and strictly ruspected. To give my life so that another may live on in this world, Hultgren understands Augustine to maintain, is to go beyond the limit. I consider that this conception indeeed crossed Augustine's mind, but rather as a means of emphasising his major argument that to give up one's *eternal* life to save the *temporal* life of another is to exceed the limit *(terminus — regula)* by far; and the question is complicated by his strict acceptance of the dictum: "A lying mouth deals death to the soul" (Wisdom 1.11). This conception, however, did not remain lodged in his mind as an unshakeable rule, for I have been unable to find any similar explanation of *tamquam se ipsum* in his works — that is, one which seems to tend to narrow and to pull back from love of neighbour and to use the commandment to protect oneself from the neighbour's claims[130]).

[129]) *Retractationes* 1,26 (CSEL 36,129-130) = 1,27 (ML 32,630).

[130]) Certainly, there are examples that point out that one's intention in loving one's neighbour ought not to be to please other people, especially if this involves infidelity to Christ, (see *Sermo Denis* 16,6 (MA I, 79): "Peccas propter amicum tuum, et, ne illum offendas, negas Christum ... tantum ne displiceas amico tuo, negas dominum tuum ... quoniam ipse inimicus es tibi, amicum putas inimicum tibi"), but to bring them to love God. See *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83, q. 36,3 (CC 44A,57. ML 40,26): "Si autem placere hominibus ideo vis, ut eis prosis ad diligendum deum, non iam hoc sed aliud cupis". For Augustine, infidelity to Christ and having death dealt to the soul by pleasing others or by looking for honour and praise from them would make a person incapable of leading his neighbour to love God.

Indeed, when *regula* is later used in such contexts, it frequently has the function, as we have seen, of shielding the neighbour from distorted self-love by orientating all love of self and of neighbour not to any finite end but to God[131]). For *De Doctrina Christiana* the *rectissimus finis* of our love for self is God whom we are commanded to love totally by the "divinely constituted *rule* of love" *(regula dilectionis divinitus constituta)*. *Terminus* has been replaced here by *finis*, such that our love of self does not assign bounds to love of neighbour but provides the widest possible rule for love which calls us to seek to promote our neighbour's greatest good, that is, his eternal life with God[132]). Therefore, the neighbour should not be offended if we love him also to this end: that he too may love God heart, soul and mind[133]). For, in such a way, the neighbour is not cramped nor left out in the cold by the demands of love for self, but it is revealed to him where his true life lies and his course is set towards it.

This corresponds to a further feature of the text from *De mendacio*: a Christian ought not hesitate to give up his temporal life for the eternal life of the other, in accordance with Christ's commandment to lay down one's life lovingly for one's friends (cf. Jn. 15.12-13). For Christ, in doing what he commanded and commanding what he did, sought people's eternal salvation. With the introduction of this idea *De Mendacio* rejoins the mainstream of Augustinian thought, as will be clear when we look

[131]) See *De Disciplina Christiana* 3,3 (CC 46,209-210. ML 40,670-671); *Sermo* 278,8 (ML 38,1272); *En. in ps.* 140,2 (CC 40,2026-2027. ML 37, 1816).

[132]) In *Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 10,5 (ML 35,2057-2058) Augustine goes in search of this "finis" of Ps. 118(119).96, i.e. "Omnis consummationis vidi finem: latum mandatum tuum valde". He finds it not in money, nor in bodily health, nor in honours and praise. "Si ibi ponis finem, finiris: sed non finiris quasi perficiaris, sed finiris ut consumaris". It is rather in the fulness of love as set forth in 1 Tim. 1.5 and Rom. 13.10. "*Finis enim Legis Christus est, ad justitiam omni credenti* (Rom. 10.4). Et quid est, *finis Christus?* Quia Christus Deus, et finis praecepti charitas, et Deus charitas: quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus unum sunt. Ibi tibi finis est: alibi via est. Noli haerere in via, et non pervenire ad finem. Ad quidquid aliud veneris, transi usquequo pervenias ad finem. Quid est finis? *Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est* (Ps. 72.28). Adhaesisti Deo, finisti viam; permanebis in patria". Such then is the "finis" to which one wishes to bring others in loving them. Temporal goods, including life itself, are ambiguous and uncertain; therefore "opta illi ut habeat tecum vitam aeternam; opta illi ut sit frater tuus": tr. 8,10 (ML 35,2041-2042).

[133]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,42 (CSEL 80,19) = 1,22,21 (CC 32,17. ML 34, 27): "Si ergo te ipsum non propter te debes diligere, sed propter illum ubi dilectionis tuae rectissimus finis est, non succenseat alius homo, si etiam ipsum propter deum diligis. Haec enim regula dilectionis divinitus constituta est: *Diliges*, inquit, *proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum*, deum vero *ex toto corde, ex tota anima, ex tota mente*, ut omnes cogitationes tuas et omnem vitam et omnem intellectum in illum conferas a quo habes ea ipsa quae confers".

shortly at some usages of John 13.34 and 15.12: "you are to love one another as I have loved you"[134]). The question remains, however, whether in *De Mendacio*, the best (eternal life) is not the enemy of the good (temporal life) and whether Augustine would, for example, have considered Maximilian Kolbe, who volunteered to be executed in the place of a condemned man with a family, to have gone beyond "the rule of sound doctrine". An adequate analysis of these issues would involve, amongst other considerations, a specific analysis of the relation between the temporal and the eternal in Augustine, which as such is beyond the scope of this study, however much its elucidation might contribute to an understanding of our theme.

Augustine may not have been at his best in *De Mendacio*, which in its obscure and questionable assertions is not representative, but *De Trinitate* 8,7,10 combines the love commandments of Jn. 15.12 and Matt. 22.37-40 in a masterly fashion.

> True love, however, is this: being constantly intent upon truth "we live righteously" (Titus 2.12), and consequently we consider all that is mortal of no value in comparison to love for people by which we desire that they live righteously. For thus we will be able to prepare ourselves even to die for the good of the brethren, following the example that the Lord Jesus himself taught us[135]).

[134]) The "as I have loved you" of Jn. 13.34 & 15.12 adds a dimension to the "finis" that Augustine, everywhere apart from *De Mendacio*'s 'terminus', employs in his explanation of the "tamquam se ipsum" rule (Matt. 22.39). In *De Catechizandis Rudibus* 4,8 (CC 46,128-129. ML 40,316) (Date: 400), for example, the "finis" is presented not just as eternal life or eternal salvation, but as God's, Christ's, love for us which is to be answered with our love: "... idem Dominus Iesus Christus, deus homo, et divinae in nos dilectionis indicium est et humanae apud nos humilitatis exemplum, ut magnus tumor noster maiore contraria medicina sanaretur. Magna est enim miseria superbus homo, sed maior misericordia humilis deus. Hac ergo dilectione tibi *tamquam fine proposito*, quo referas omnia quae dicis, quidquid narras ita narra, ut ille cui loqueris audiendo credat, credendo speret, sperando amet". Thus, when we are called in *Sermo Wilmart* 2,8 (MA I,680) (Date: before 410) to love one another "propter illum (i.e. Christ, the Good Samaritan)", along with the idea of *De Doctrina Christiana* that God is the "rectissimus finis" to whom all love of self and neighbour is to be directed, is also that of God's love (the 'finis propositus') which, in humility, offers the healing remedy for our pride, and thus initiates and provides a model for our love for one another. When we love one another "propter illum", as well as being directed to community in eternal life, our love is also enabled by and orientated to the humility of God's incarnate love. The "propter illum" formula of *Sermo Wilmart* 2,8 has to be read with both these 'fines' ("rectissimus" and "propositus") in mind: "Illum omnes amemus, illum diligamus, *propter illum nos invicem diligamus*. Unum regem omnes habemus; ad unum regnum omnes perveniamus".

[135]) *De Trinitate* 8,7,10 (CC 50,284. ML 42,956): "Haec est autem vera dilectio, *ut* inhaerentes veritate *iuste vivamus* (Titus 2.12); et ideo contemnamus omnia mortalia prae

Loving one's neighbour as oneself, which for *De Moribus* meant dealing with him in such a way "that he too may love God with perfect love", is still further nuanced. Our desire for the neighbour is certainly that he love God perfectly, that he be constantly intent upon truth. But the stress is now not so much on the eternal life that flows from this as on the upright life in this world it makes possible. Urged by the example of Christ, we are prepared to give up our temporal life for others not just so that they may live, but in order that 'being constantly intent upon God, they may *live righteously*'[136]). Living righteously means being constantly intent upon the form of righteousness which one contemplates and remaining in that righteousness in one's active life by assigning to everyone his due 'so as to owe nothing to anyone except to love one another' (Rom. 13.8)[137]). This is what we desire for others in loving them. The motivation is the model or *finis* proposed by Christ's death on our behalf. Our intention is that our neighbours in turn become lovers of God and other people. And in view of our neighbours' lives in truth and righteousness, which may or may not be realised, we are not to cling jealously even to our own mortal lives.

2. De Vera Religione 243-263 and parallels

These texts open up at least four avenues of approach to the meaning of loving one's neighbour as oneself which in some instances have already been alluded to, and in every instance are complementary to the approach of *De Moribus* 1,26,49 and parallels. Firstly, there is the association of the second part of the double commandment with the Golden Rule. Secondly, fitting love for neighbour is distinguished from that which is dishonourable and exploitative. Thirdly, the fact that it is

amore hominum, quo eos volumus iuste vivere. Ita enim et mori pro fratribus utiliter parati esse poterimus, quod nos exemplo suo Dominus Iesus Christus docuit".

[136]) That the person who is intent upon truth dies in order that others may live righteously puts us in mind of *De Sermone Domini in Monte*'s 1,3,10 (CC 35,9. ML 34,1234) (Date: 394) view of the eighth beatitude (i.e. "Blessed are they who suffer persecution for justice's sake ..."). A person, who by living out the beatitudes has reached wisdom (i.e. contemplation of the truth, making the whole person peaceful and taking on the likeness of God), suffers persecution in order to make known and to prove an example of true goodness: "ut per hos gradus (i.e. the beatitudes) perficiantur et ceteri ...".

[137]) *De Trinitate* 8,6,9 (CC 50,283. ML 42,955): "Quod unde esse poterunt, nisi inhaerendo eidem ipsi formae quam intuentur, ut inde formentur et sint iusti animi ... ut ipsi iuste vivant iusteque morati sint, sua cuique distribuendo *ut nemini quidquam debeant, nisi ut invicem diligant?* (Rom. 13.8)".

the Common Good we love in loving ourselves casts out all possible envy of the progress made in righteous living by the neighbour we love as ourselves. Fourthly — and this will provide a springboard to Augustine's interpretation of Jn. 13.34 in this question — one does not love the foolishness of the other, but rather bears it in the hope that he will become what he is capable of becoming, i.e. a wise and perfect person.

1. The rule of love for neighbour then is that a person wish for the other the good he wishes to come about for himself, and that he want the other to be spared the evils he does not wish to befall himself. He is to preserve this good-will towards all people, for evil should be done to no one: "love of neighbour does not bring about evil" (Rom. 13.10). Therefore, as it is commanded, we are to love even our enemies, if we wish to be really unconquerable. For no one is unconquerable in himself, but thanks to that unchangeable law which makes only those who are subject to it free[138]).

In fact, the Golden Rule is a rare enough companion of Augustine's explication of the double commandment. In its negative form, reminiscent of Tobit 4.16 — *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alii ne feceris* — the "other" may refer just to the neighbour[139]), or both to God and the neighbour[140]). In its positive form — *Omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, ita et vos facite illis. Haec est enim lex et prophetae* (Matt. 7.12) — it signifies in *Epistola* 82 (Date: 404) the merciful action of Paul who made himself a Jew with the Jews; his desire to free them from error was such that he identified himself with them, knowing that he too was a man who could fall into and become captive to the same error — *tamquam ipse illo errore teneretur* — and who would then

[138]) *De Vera Religione* 245 (CSEL 77,62-63) = 46,87 (CC 32,244. ML 34,161): "Ea est autem regula dilectionis, ut quae sibi vult bona provenire, et illi velit, quae accidere sibi mala non vult, et illi nolit. Hanc voluntatem erga omnes homines servat. Nam erga neminem operandum est malum, et *dilectio proximi malum non operatur* (Rom. 13.10). Diligamus ergo, ut praeceptum est, etiam inimicos nostros, si vere invicti esse volumus. Non enim per se ipsum quisquam hominum invictus est, sed per illam incommutabilem legem cui quicumque serviunt soli sunt liberi".

[139]) *De Ordine* 2,8,25 (CSEL 63/3,164. CC 29,121. ML 32,1006): "Nemini faciant quod pati nolunt"; *En. 2 in ps.* 32, *sermo* 2,6 (CC 38,252. ML 36,281): "In his tribus caritas Dei, in septem aliis caritas proximi, ne facias alii quod pati non vis".

[140]) *De Doctrina Christiana* 3,53-54 (CSEL 80,93) = 3,14,22-3,15,23 (CC 32,91. ML 34,74): "Quae sententia (i.e. Tobit 4.16) cum refertur ad dilectionem dei, omnia flagitia moriuntur, cum ad proximi, omnia facinora. Nemo enim vult corrumpi habitaculum suum, non ergo debet corrumpere habitaculum dei, se ipsum scilicet. Et nemo vult sibi a quoquam noceri; nec ipse igitur cuiquam nocuerit. Sic eversa tyrannide cupiditatis caritas regnat iustissimis legibus dilectionis dei propter deum, sui et proximi propter deum".

appreciate the loving efforts of others to release him[141]). The positive expression is also found naturally enough in *De Sermone Domini in Monte* (Date: 393), but the explanation given is cautionary: as we would not wish to be served by others with a divided heart, nor should we serve them with a divided heart. We should rather help with a sincere and pure heart such "that whatever service one renders to another will be done with the same intention with which one wishes such service to be shown to oneself, i.e. that it not be done with the expectation of gaining temporal advantage"[142]).

2. This association of the Golden Rule with a pure intention in loving the neighbour can also be noted in the passage from *De Vera Religione* immediately following that quoted above. Exploitation of the neighbour is a vice which leads to death.

> Thus, what they (who, subject to God's unchangeable law, practise the Golden Rule even towards their enemies) love cannot be taken away from them, and that alone makes them unconquerable and perfect human beings. For if a person loves his neighbour not as himself, but as a beast of burden, or as the baths, or as a gaudy or garrulous bird, that is, in order to derive some temporal pleasure or advantage from him, he is unavoidably a slave, not to human beings, but, what is more disgraceful, to that dishonourable and detestable vice of not loving human beings as they ought to be loved. If this vice has control over him, it leads him to the lowest form of life, or rather to death[143]).

[141]) *Epistola* 82,3,28-29 (CSEL 34/2,380. ML 33,288): "Tunc autem, non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu, Iudaeis tamquam Iudaeus fiebat, quando eos ab illo errore ... sic liberare cupiebat, tamquam ipse illo errore teneretur; diligens utique proximum tamquam seipsum, et haec aliis faciens, quae sibi ab aliis fieri vellet, si hoc illi opus esset: quod cum Dominus monuisset, adiunxit: *Haec est enim Lex et Prophetae* (Matt. 7.12) ... sed ut in alterius delicto, quid etiam sibi accidere posset, attenderet, atque ita alteri, tamquam sibi ab altero vellet, misericorditer subveniret: hoc est non mentientis astu, sed compatientis affectu".

[142]) *De Sermone Domini in Monte* 2,22,75-76 (CC 35,173-175. ML 34,1304): "Cum vero expressius de hominibus dictum est: *Omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, ita et vos facite illis* (Matt. 7.12), nihil aliud dictum videtur quam: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum* (Matt. 22.39) ... Nemo enim fere est qui velit quemquam duplici corde secum agere. Id autem fieri non potest, id est ut simplici corde aliquid homo homini tribuat, nisi ita tribuat, ut nullum ab eo temporale commodum expectet ... et quidquid officiorum exhibet homini, hac intentione exhibet qua sibi exhiberi vult, id est ut non ab eo commodi aliquid temporalis expectet. Ita erit cor simplex et mundum, in quo quaeritur deus"

[143]) *De Vera Religione* 246 (CSEL 77,63) = 46,87 (CC 32,244. ML 34,161): "Sic enim eis quod diligunt auferri non potest, quae res una invictos facit et perfectos viros. Nam

We have already had occasion to give examples of Augustine's concern for genuine, sincere love of neighbour in watching him assure that love for self was trustworthy before he was prepared to commit the neighbour to it to be loved as the self. Texts have also been noted in which the tendency to dominate the neighbour was excoriated and in which the other's advantage was highlighted[144]). *De Vera Religione* has exposed the dishonourable and death-dealing slavery in which a person who uses the neighbour for his own temporal pleasure or advantage finds himself. What then is honourable love for the neighbour, in which he is loved not as an object of use but 'as oneself'? Augustine offers some penetrating reflections on this question in *In Epistolam Ioannis*:

> ... "Children, let us love not only in word and with the tongue, but in deed and in truth" (1 Jn. 3.18). With which deed and in which truth? Can there be any clearer deed than giving to the poor? Yet many do this out of self-interest (i.e. in order to win human praise and glory), not out of love. Can there be a more heroic act than to die for one's fellow human beings? Yet many do this in order to appear heroic in the eyes of others and to make a name for themselves, not out of love[145]).

si vel ipsum hominem homo dilexerit non tamquam se ipsum, sed tamquam iumentum aut balneas aut aviculam pictam aut garrulam, id est, ut ex eo aliquid temporalis voluptatis aut commodi capiat, serviat necesse est non homini sed quod est turpius tam foedo et detestabili vitio, quo non amat hominem sicut homo amandus est. Quo vitio dominante usque ad extremam vitam vel potius mortem perducitur".

[144]) E.g. *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 8,5 (ML 35,2038). Human beings are not to be loved ('amare') in the way gourmands love their food, i.e. in order to kill and consume it. "Numquid sic *amandi* sunt homines, tanquam consumendi? Sed amicitia quaedam benevolentiae est, ut aliquando praestemus eis quos amamus. Quid, si non sit quod praestemus? Sola benevolentia sufficit *amanti*". Augustine has thus effected a transformation of the word, 'amare', which in pre-Christian Latin was limited, if not exclusively to obscene and degrading aspects, then to an exaltation of physical and physiological manifestations. On this point, see Demetrio Marin, "Charitas", in *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, Bari, (Volume XVII, 1974) 161-234. For Augustine and "amare", see p. 178-180. Regarding the text quoted above, Marin maintains that "S. Agostino bolla ogni *amore 'di consumo'* cioè ogni preteso amore, che si esaurisca nella diminuzione anzi nell'eliminazione dell'atro o dell'altra, per suggerire senza alcun'ombra di dubbio che l'*amore* autentico è accrescimento, esaltazione, sublimazione della propria e dell'altrui persona che si ama effettivamente".

[145]) *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 6,2 (ML 35,2020): "*Filioli, non diligamus verbo tantum et lingua, sed opere et veritate* (1 Jn. 3.18). Quaerimus, In quo opere, in qua veritate? Potest esse manifestius opus, quam tribuere pauperibus? Multi hoc jactantia faciunt, non dilectione. Potest esse majus opus quam mori pro fratribus? Et hoc multi volunt putari se facere, jactantia nominis comparandi, non visceribus dilectionis".

Thus, even seemingly honourable deeds can be exploitative and not animated by truthful love for others. The real test is the following:

> It remains that the one who in fact loves his fellow human being is he who can be assured of this before God in his heart, where God alone sees. This person questions in his heart whether he really does these things for love of his fellow human beings (*propter fratrum dilectionem*), and God's vision, which penetrates the heart — where human vision cannot reach — bears him witness ...
>
> "Beloved, if our heart does not condemn us, then we may trust completely in God" (1 Jn. 3.21). The words, "if our heart does not condemn us", mean: if our heart has answered us that we truly love and that we genuinely cherish our sisters and brothers. Our love is not to be feigned but sincere, seeking nothing apart from the happiness of the other and not expecting any benefit other than his happiness. "Then we may have full confidence in God, and everything that we ask we shall receive from him, because we keep his commandments" (1 Jn. 3.21-22). We keep his commandments not for the eyes of men, but for God who reads the heart[146]).

Honourable love, therefore, is that whose deepest motivation is judged sound in the light of God's scrutiny: are our actions on behalf of others really directed by love for them and desire for their happiness *(propter fratrum dilectionem ... salutem fraternam quaerens ...)* or by the thought of our own advantage? The commentary on 1 John does speak also of one's own happiness being desired in loving in deed and in truth[147]). For Augustine there is evidently no opposition between desiring one's own happiness and desiring that of another. Desiring one's own happiness, however, is evidently more than a yearning for earthly renown, even after one's death, which is prepared to use the praise of others to its own ends[148]). This would still be a subtle exploitation of

[146]) *Ibid.*, tr. 6,2 & 6,4 (ML 35,2020-2021): "Restat ut ille diligat fratrem, qui ante Deum ubi solus videt, cordi suo persuadet, et interrogat cor suum an vere propter fratrum dilectionem hoc faciat; et perhibet illi testimonium oculus qui penetrat cor, quo homo attendere non potest ... *Dilectissimi, si cor non male senserit, fiduciam habemus ad Deum* (1 Jn. 3.21). Quid est, *cor non male senserit?* Verum nobis responderit, quia diligimus, et germana dilectio est in nobis: non ficta, sed sincera; salutem fraternam quaerens, nullum emolumentum expectans a fratre, nisi salutem ipsius. *Fiduciam habemus ad Deum; et quidquid postulaverimus, accipiemus ab eo, quia mandata ejus servamus.* Ideo non in conspectu hominum, sed ubi ipse Deus videt in corde".

[147]) *Ibid.*, tr. 6,3 (ML 35,2021): "Ante Deum es, interroga cor tuum: vide quid fecisti, et quid ibi appetisti; salutem tuam, an laudem hominum ventosam".

[148]) For the Augustine of the *Confessiones* 10,37,61 (Skutella 257. CSEL 33/1,274. ML 32,805) even the praise a person receives for his own good qualities should be used not for his own sake but for the good of the neighbour. "Ecce in te, veritas, video non me laudibus meis propter me, sed propter proximi utilitatem moveri oportere".

others which had no interest in the deepest dimension of their lives, but only in how they could boost one's own vanity and popularity. When others are genuinely loved as ourselves, however, their happiness and ours coincide in eternal salvation. 'If this vice (of not loving human beings as they ought to be loved) has control over us, it leads us to the lowest form of life, or rather to death'. It is also true for Augustine that if we love the neighbour as ourselves truly in God's sight, we orientate both his life and our own to the highest form of life, life with God. In *Epistola* 137,5,17 (Date: 411-412) the formulae of love for one another in God *(in illo)* and as orientated towards God *(propter illum)* are found in the company of God's scrutiny of love's intention:

> ... A city is not well established with the best of safeguards unless it is founded on the bond of faith and constant concord. It needs to be founded too on love for the common good, that at its highest and truest is God, and on sincere love for human beings in him (*in illo*), when they love one another as orientated towards him (*propter illum*), from whom they cannot hide the dispositions of the heart with which they love[149]).

3. This brings us to the third element in *De Vera Religione*'s presentation of love for neighbour as oneself: love of the Common Good which casts out jealousy and envy.

> Therefore, the person who loves only what cannot be taken away from a lover is indubitably unconquerable and free from the torment of jealousy. Indeed, the more people he sees coming to love and to take possession of what he loves, the more abundantly he rejoices with them. For he loves God with the whole heart and the whole soul and the whole mind, and he loves his neighbour as himself.
>
> Therefore, he does not envy his neighbour's becoming what he himself is; on the contrary, he helps him in this as much as he can. Nor can he lose the neighbour whom he loves as himself, for in himself he does not love what is perceptible to sight or to any other bodily sense. Therefore, he has the person he loves as himself with himself[150]).

[149]) *Epistola* 137,5,17 (CSEL 44,122. ML 33,524): "... neque enim conditur et custoditur optime civitas, nisi fundamento et vinculo fidei, firmaeque concordiae, cum bonum commune diligitur, quod summum ac verissimum Deus est, atque in illo invicem sincerissime se diligunt homines, cum propter illum se diligunt, cui, quo animo diligant, occultare non possunt".

[150]) *De Vera Religione* 243-244 (CSEL 77,62) = 46,86 (CC 32,244. ML 34,160-161): "Qui ergo id amat solum quod amanti eripi non potest, ille indubitanter invictus est nec ulla cruciatur invidia. Id enim diligit ad quod diligendum et percipiendum quanto plures

> To live a good life, however, is always appropriate. Therefore, everyone who loves and leads a good life not only does not envy those who imitate him, but, insofar as he can, he puts himself at their service in a most willing and kind way. Yet, he does not need them, for what he loves in them he has complete and perfect in himself.
>
> Thus, when he loves his neighbour as himself, he does not envy him, for nor does he envy himself. He gives him whatever he can, because he does this also for himself. He has no need of him, because nor has he any need of himself. The only one he has need of is God; by clinging to Him he finds happiness. No one can take God away from him. Therefore, the unconquerable person is truly and certainly the one who cleaves to God, not in order to gain from Him some good apart from Himself, but because for him there is no other good than to remain attached to God[151]).

Augustine is evidently speaking here of the perfect, unconquerable person who loves in himself and in others "the creature of God created in His image"[152]). What he loves in others he has complete and perfect in himself; he is unconquerable because he is intent upon God for no other reason than God himself. This person loves himself and his neighbour in their relationship to God. Josef Brechtken says of the second of the two

venerint, tanto eis uberius gratulatur. Diligit enim deum ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota mente, et diligit proximum tamquam se ipsum. Non illi ergo invidet, ut sit quod ipse est, immo adiuvat etiam quantum potest. Nec potest amittere proximum quem diligit tamquam se ipsum, quia neque in se ipso ea diligit quae oculis subiacent aut ullis aliis corporis sensibus. Ergo apud se ipsum habet quem diligit tamquam se ipsum".

[151]) *Ibid.*, 254-255 (CSEL 77,65) = 47,90 (CC 32,246. ML 34,162-163): "Bene vivere autem semper decet. Quare quisquis hoc et diligit et facit, non solum non invidet imitantibus, sed eis se praebet libentissime atque humanissime quantum potest, nec eis tamen indiget. Nam quod in illis diligit, in se ipse habet totum atque perfectum.
Ita cum diligat proximum tamquam se ipsum non invidet ei, quia nec sibi ipsi; praestat ei quod potest, quia et sibi ipsi; non eo indiget, quia nec se ipso. Tantum deo indiget, cui adhaerendo beatus est. Nemo autem illi eripit deum. Ille ergo verissime atque certissime invictus homo est qui cohaeret deo, non ut ab eo aliquid boni extra mereatur, sed cui nihil aliud quam ipsum haerere deo bonum est".

[152]) *Ibid.*, 252 (CSEL 77,64-65) = 47,90 (CC 32,246. ML 34,162): "Quapropter cur iste non sit invictus hominem diligendo cum in eo *nihil praeter hominem* diligat, *id est creaturam dei ad eius imaginem factam*, nec ei possit deesse perfecta natura quam diligit, cum ipse perfectus est?". In 252-254, Augustine gives the example of a good singer who loves the good singer in general" ("bene cantantem quemlibet"). This person can wish that others sing well without himself losing anything of what he loves, because he remains a good singer. If he does envy others, then it is not on account of their singing, but because of the reputation they gain from it. "Qui ergo invidet bene cantanti, non amat bene cantantem; sed rursus qui eo indiget non cantat bene". This applies even more to the person living a good life. "... quo enim perveniunt bene viventes, tantundem est omnibus nec minus fit cum plures habuerint".

texts from *De Vera Religione* we have quoted above that the *tamquam se ipsum* is here interpreted exceptionally as benevolent love — not as taking the other's natural instinct for happiness into account as I take my own into account, which, according to him, is Augustine's usual procedure — but that self-love is over-interpreted as benevolent love towards oneself[153]). Whatever about overinterpretation, it has to be stated that the understanding of self-love found here — cleaving heart, mind and soul to God for himself alone — is the constant Augustinian interpretation. Augustine develops this in *De Vera Religione* by claiming that the person who is totally intent upon God — and thereby loving himself as a "creature of God created in His image" — cannot possibly lose what he loves and that therefore he cannot be a prey to jealousy out of fear that others loving God too by living good lives will threaten the intensity of his own lasting relationship with God. If he does have such fears, it is a sign that he is seeking something other than God in loving God. Loving God totally for His own sake, a person discovers Him as the Common Good "who does not become less when many have Him" *(nec minus fit cum plures habuerint)*.

This realisation plays an important role in enabling Augustine to interpret *tamquam se ipsum* here as benevolent love. But this idea of God as the Common Good and the consequent expulsion of jealousy and envy is no less constant in Augustine than that of self-love as total love for God. In this sense too then the text from *De Vera Religione* is far from being an exception. In discussing *uti/frui* we have already referred to those texts which present *frui deo* as a community of love for God the perfect enjoyment of whom is beatitude[154]). Unless goodness is shared, unless our "possession" of it is in partnership with others, it is not "possessed" at all.

A person's possession of goodness is in no way diminished by the

[153]) J. Brechtken, *Augustinus Doctor Caritatis*, p. 143-144, n. 72.

[154]) See, for example, *De Doctrina Christiana* 1,64 (CSEL 80,24) = 1,29,30 (CC 32,23. ML 34,33): "... quid nos in societate dilectionis dei agere convenit, quo perfrui beate vivere est ..."; *Soliloquia* 1,13,22 (ML 32,881): "Quem modum autem potest habere illius pulchritudinis amor, in qua non solum non invideo caeteris, sed etiam plurimos quaero qui mecum appetant, mecum inhient, mecum teneant, mecumque perfruantur; tanto mihi amiciores futuri, quanto erit nobis amata communior"; *En. in ps.* 105, 34 (CC 40,1565-1566. ML 37,1415); *Sermo Wilmart* 2,4 (MA I,677): "Quare non ergo illum possides, ubi nullas cum coherede patieris angustias?"; *Epistola* 118,25 (CSEL 34/2,689. ML 33,444); *Sermo Denis* 17,6 (MA I,87): "Cum ergo te didiceris diligere diligendo deum, rape proximum ad deum, *ut simul fruaris bono*, et tanto bono quod deus est".

> arrival, or the continuing presence, of a sharer in it; indeed, goodness is a possession which is enjoyed more widely the more harmoniously unified is the love of the partners in possessing it. In fact, anyone who refuses to enjoy this possession in partnership will not enjoy it at all; and he will find that he possesses it in ampler measure in proportion to his ability to love his partner in it[155]).

Community is the very principle of life in the Heavenly City[156]). Therefore, Augustine can claim that he does not wish to be saved without others[157]), that in the race of love no one is excluded from the prize[158]), and that to grudge the overflow of God's grace to others is a form of pride which leads to sterility[159]). Indeed, when goodness is shared,

[155]) *De Civitate Dei* 15,5 (CC 48,458. CSEL 40/2,65. ML 41,442): "Nullo enim modo fit minor accedente seu permanente consorte possessio bonitatis, immo possessio bonitas, quam tanto latius, quanto concordius individua sociorum caritas. Non habebit denique istam possessionem, qui eam noluerit habere communem, et tanto eam reperiet ampliorem, quanto amplius ibi potuerit amare consortem". English translation (with some alterations): Henry Bettenson, Penguin, p. 601.
Likewise, interior and superior goods cannot be monopolised nor are they objects of competition. *De Trinitate* 12,10,15 (CC 50A,369. ML 42,1006): "Cum ergo bona voluntate ad interiora ac superiora percipienda, quae non privatim, sed communiter ab omnibus qui talia diligunt, sine ulla angustia vel invidia casto possidentur amplexu, vel sibi vel aliis consulit ..."; *Confessiones* 8,4,9 (Skutella 160. CSEL 33/1,176. ML 32,752): "Quando enim cum multis gaudetur, et in singulis uberius est gaudium, quia fervefaciunt se et inflammantur ex alterutro".
For these references and many others related to this topic, I am indebted to John Burnaby, *Amor Dei*, p. 127-128.

[156]) *De Civitate Dei* 14,28 (CC 48,452. CSEL 40/2,57. ML 41,436): "... in hac (civitate Dei) autem nulla est hominis sapientia nisi pietas, qua recte colitur verus Deus, id expectans praemium in societate sanctorum non solum hominum, verum etiam angelorum, *ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus* (1 Cor. 15.28)"; 15,5 (CC 48,456. CSEL 40/2,62-63. ML 41,440): "Recte igitur significat Isaac, per repromissionem natus, filios gratiae, cives civitatis liberae, socios pacis aeternae, ubi sit non amor propriae ac privatae quodam modo voluntatis, sed communi eodemque inmutabili bono gaudens atque ex multis unum cor faciens, id est perfecte concors oboedientia caritatis"; 19,13 (CC 48,679, CSEL 40/2,395. ML 41,640).

[157]) *Sermo* 17,2 (CC 41,238. ML 38,125): "Sed nolo salvus esse sine vobis".

[158]) *En. in ps.* 39,11 (CC 38,434. ML 36,441): "Quotquot currunt, perseveranter currant, omnes accipiunt; et qui prior venerit, exspectat ut cum posteriore coronetur. Agonem quippe istum non cupiditas, sed caritas facit; omnes currentes amant se, et ipse amor cursus est"; *De Perfectione Iustitiae Hominis* 8,19 (CSEL 42,18. ML 44,301): "Omnes enim qui recte currunt, comprehendent, non sicut in agone theatrico omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit palmam (1 Cor. 9.24)".

[159]) *En in ps.* 49,30 (CC 38,597-598. ML 36,584): "... rursus si fueris quasi iustus (nam nemo iustus nisi humilis et pius), et de iustitia tua inflatus incesseris, et alios in tua comparatione contempseris, et superextuleris te tamquam glorians de meritis tuis, non me laudas"; *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 32,4 (CC 36,302. ML 35,1643): "Quid est fons, et quid est fluvius qui manat de ventre interioris hominis? Benevolentia, qua vult consulere

> God will be so all in all (1 Cor. 15.28) that, because he is Love, what each possesses becomes through love common to all. For each one, when he loves in the other what he himself has not, possesses it thus himself. Consequently, the inequality of glory (because there are many different mansions; cf. Jn. 14.1-3) will not give rise to envy, for the unity of love will reign in all[160]).

In the time of the church too, even those who have not been graced with gifts of the Spirit *ad manifestationem* (cf. 1 Cor. 12.7-10) can have them if they put aside envy and if they love the unity of the church[161]).

Actual reference to the common good in *De Vera Religione* occurs in the context of distinguishing the temporal bonds of family affection from love of the neighbour 'as oneself'. Truth demands that we hate the carnal ties of natural affection and calls us to return to our original, perfect nature[162]).

> If therefore we burn with love for eternity, we will hate temporal bonds. Let a person love his neighbour as himself. And certainly no one is his own father or son or relation by marriage or anything of the kind, but to himself a person is only a human being. Whoever, therefore, loves his neighbour as himself, ought to love in the neighbour what he is to himself. However, bodies are not what we

proximo. Si enim putet quia quod bibit soli ipsi debet sufficere, non fluit aqua viva de ventre eius; si autem proximo festinat consulere, ideo non siccat, quia manat".

[160]) *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 67,2 (CC 36,496. ML 35,1812): "... atque ita Deus erit omnia in omnibus, ut quoniam Deus Caritas est, per caritatem fiat ut quod habent singuli, commune sit omnibus. Sic enim quisque etiam ipse habet, cum amat in altero quod ipse non habet. Non erit itaque aliqua invidia imparis claritatis, quoniam regnabit in omnibus unitas caritatis". Similarly, through love, a person can share in deeds of which he himself is incapable. *En in ps.* 121,10 (CC 40,1811. ML 37,1627): "Quisquis per aliquam necessitatem non potuerit implere quod iubet Deus, amet illum qui implet, et in illo implet ... Venit in mentem quia melior est illa vita de qua dicit idem Apostolus: *Vellem omnes esse sicut meipsum* (1 Cor. 7.7). Adtendit eos qui hoc fecerunt; amat eos, et in ipsis implet quod in se non potest. Fortis res est dilectio".

[161]) *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 32,8 (CC 36,304. ML 35,1646): "Multa enim dantur ad manifestationem, sed tu forsitan eorum omnium quae dixi nihil habes. Si amas, non nihil habes: si enim amas unitatem, etiam tibi habet quisquis in illa habet aliquid. Tolle invidiam, et tuum est quod habeo; tollam invidiam, et meum est quod habes".

[162]) *De Vera Religione* 247 (CSEL 77,63) = 46,88 (CC 32,245. ML 34,161): "Itaque ad pristinam perfectamque naturam nos ipsa veritas vocans praecipit ut carnali consuetudine resistamus, docens neminem aptum esse regno dei qui non istas carnales necessitudines oderit".

It is to be recalled and taken into account that Augustine was at this time convinced that carnal (i.e. family) ties were the consequence of sin and therefore to be hated. This opinion, which he lated firmly rejected, colours his considerations here, but does not deprive the aspect of the common good of value.

> are; consequently, it is not the body that ought to be sought or desired in a human being. For here too the precept is valid: "Do not covet your neighbour's goods" (Exodus 20.17).
>
> It follows that whoever loves in the neighbour anything other than what he is for himself does not love the neighbour as himself. Human nature itself, therefore, whether it be perfect or to be perfected, is to be loved independently of its carnal condition[163]).

Augustine, conscious even then that such a view sounded repugnant, commented in explanation:

> This should not sound inhuman to anyone. For it is more inhuman to love a person not as a human being, but as our son, for then we do not love in him what is related to God, but what is related to ourselves. What wonder, then, if the person who does not love the common good but only his own good has no access to the kingdom[164])?

As applied to family relationships, we find a similar idea in the letter to the young monk, Laetus, who was tempted to leave religious life for his mother's sake. Augustine advised him to use his good offices with his mother in order to destroy in her the root of her private love for him, so that she would not give more importance to the fact that she had brought him forth from her own womb than to her being brought forth with him from the womb of the church. For in this way she becomes a sister to all who love her in the community of the church[165]). Whatever justified

[163]) *De Vera Religione* 250-251 (CSEL 77,64) = 46,89 (CC 32,245. ML 34,162): "Oderimus ergo temporales necessitudines, si aeternitatis caritate flagramus. Diligat homo proximum tamquam se ipsum. Certe enim sibi ipse nemo est pater aut filius aut adfinis aut aliquid huius modi, sed tantum homo. Qui ergo diligit aliquem tamquam se ipsum, hoc in eo debet diligere quod sibi ipse est. Corpora vero non sunt quod nos sumus; non ergo in homine corpus est expetendum aut desiderandum. Valet enim ad hoc etiam quod praeceptum est: *Ne concupiscas rem proximi tui* (Exodus 20.17).
Quapropter quisquis in proximo aliud diligit quam sibi ipse est, non eum diligit tamquam se ipsum. Ipsa igitur natura humana sine carnali condicione diligenda est, sive sit perficienda sive perfecta".

[164]) *Ibid.*, 248 (CSEL 77,63) = 46,88 (CC 32,245. ML 34,161): "Neque hoc cuiquam inhumanum videri decet. Magis enim est inhumanum non amare in homine quod homo est, sed amare quod filius est. Hoc est enim non in eo amare illud quod ad deum pertinet sed amare illud quod ad se pertinet. Quid ergo mirum si ad regnum non pervenit qui non communem sed privatam rem diligit?".

[165]) *Epistola* 243,4 (CSEL 57,571. ML 33,1056) (Date: post 395): "Nam ex quo soror est omnium, quibus est pater Deus et mater Ecclesia, tam te non impedit, quam neque me, neque omnes fratres nostros, qui eam non privata, sicut tu in domo vestra, sed publica in domo Dei caritate diligimus. Quod ergo tu illi etiam carnali necessitudine annecteris, ad sortem valere debet familiarius colloquendi, et apertiore ianua consulendi ut hoc ipsum, quo te privatim diligit, interficiatur in ea, ne quod ex utero suo genuit, pluris pendat, quam quod ex utero Ecclesiae genita est tecum".

reservations we may have about this as excessively underrating the specific relationship between mother and son as temporal and to be destroyed, we can be more sympathetic to Augustine when he goes on to castigate temporal private affection for oneself, which indeed affection for those close to us can easily turn into, and to recommend rather love for the community "of one mind and one heart" (Acts 4.32) on the way to God. One is not one's own, but together with others forms one soul, the single soul of Christ[166]).

In the *Rule* and later texts it is more this latter idea that comes to the fore. "For it is written of love that 'it is not self-seeking' (1 Cor. 13.5), that is to say, it puts the interests of the community before its own interests, and not the other way around. The more you are concerned for the interests of the community rather than for your own interests therefore indicates the measure of your progress"[167]). This is the unmistakable direction taken by the idea of *De Vera Religione* that it is more inhuman to love in a person what is related to ourselves, which would then become a way of keeping that person in our power, than to love what is related to God, which would mean releasing him for the fulness of his life. When a person loves someone only as related to himself, he seeks only his own good in loving — perhaps even in his strong and natural attachment to members of his own family — and the God-orientation of the life of the other, an appreciation of which could have led to a deeper and more comprehensive unity of human beings, would be blocked from his vision. A good expression of the contrast between the common and merely private good[168]), which puts us in

[166]) *ibid.*, (CSEL 57,571-572. ML 33,1056): "Hoc etiam quisque de anima sua cogitet, ut etiam in ipsa privatum affectum oderit, qui procul dubio temporalis est: diligat autem in ea communionem societatemque illam, de qua dictum est: *Erat illis* in Deum *anima una et cor unum* (Acts 4.32). Sic enim anima tua non est propria, sed omnium fratrum; quorum etiam animae tuae sunt, vel potius quorum animae cum tua non animae, sed anima una est, Christi unica ..."

[167]) *Rule* 5,2 (Verheijen, p. 429-430): "Caritas enim, de qua scriptum est quod non quaerat quae sua sunt, sic intelligitur, quia communia propriis, non propria communibus anteponit. Et ideo, quanto amplius rem communem quam propria vestra curaveritis, tanto vos amplius profecisse noveritis ...". Cf. *Epistola* 211,12 (CSEL 57,366. ML 33,963).

[168]) The denigration of purely private good does not mean to say that good does not accure to individuals at all. For *De Libero Arbitrio* 2,19,52,196-198 (CC 29,272. CSEL 74,86. ML 32,1268) (Date: 392-396) the unchangeable good is common; it is proper to no one. But what the soul experiences in clinging to unchangeable good is a proper good, for in this way the soul becomes wise and happy. God's being all in all means that "et omnibus totus est, et *singulis totus est*": *Sermo Wilmart* 2,4 (MA I,677) (Date: pre-410).

mind of that between false and true love of self, is given in *De Civitate Dei* 12,1. The difference between good and bad angels had its origin in their wills and desires:

> ... the one sort persisting resolutely in that Good which is common to all — which for them is God himself — and in his eternity, truth, and love, while the others were delighted rather with their own power, as though they themselves were their own Good. Thus they have fallen away from that Supreme Good which is common to all, which brings felicity, and they have devoted themselves to their own ends. They have chosen pride in their own elevation in exchange for the true exaltation of eternity; empty cleverness in exchange for the certainty of truth; the spirit of faction instead of unity in love; and so they have become arrogant, deceitful, and envious. The cause of the bliss of the others is their adherence to God; and so the cause of the misery of the apostates must be taken to be the exact contrary, their failure to adhere to him[169]).

Human beings who wish to find felicity in the Supreme Good common to all do so also by clinging to God. But because, when God will be all in all, it will not be a matter of private individuals enjoying their own goods, therefore those, who during this time of pilgrimage desire to enjoy God in communion with others, are to accustom themselves to preferring the common good to their own, seeking not their own ends but those of Jesus Christ (cf. Phil. 2.21)[170]).

4. The final aspect of *De Vera Religione*'s presentation of love for neighbour which we wish to bring to light is that which has been seen by some authors as offering a motive for love in the potential worth of the other. If, however, such worth does function as a motive for Augustine,

[169]) *De Civitate Dei* 12,1 (CC 48,355. CSEL 40/1,566. ML 41,347): "... dum alii constanter in communi omnibus bono, quod ipse illis Deus est, atque in eius aeternitate veritate caritate persistunt; alii sua potestate potius delectati, velut bonum suum sibi ipsi essent, a superiore communi omnium beatifico bono ad propria defluxerunt et habentes elationis fastum pro excelsissima aeternitate, vanitatis astutiam pro certissima veritate, studia partium pro individua caritate superbi fallaces invidi effecti sunt. Beatitudinis igitur illorum causa est adhaerere Deo; quocirca istorum miseriae causa ex contrario est intellegenda, quod est non adhaerere Deo". English translation: Henry Bettenson, Penguin, p. 471.

[170]) *En. in ps.* 105,34 (CC 40,1566. ML 37,1415): "Gloriosissima quippe illa civitas adepta promissam hereditatem, in qua nullus morietur, nullus orietur, non habebit cives qui singuli gaudeant suis rebus, quia Deus erit omnia in omnibus. Cuius societatem quisquis in hac peregrinatione fideliter et flagranter desideraverit, assuescit privatis praeferre communia, non sua quaerendo, sed quae Iesu Christi ...".

then love of self must also be seen as requiring a motive. For what one is called and commanded to love *both* in oneself *and* in others is the "original and perfect nature", "human nature either as perfect or to be perfected", "the creature of God created in his image". Two points about these formulations are to be especially kept in mind. Firstly, they constitute the goal visualised by the *commandment*: delight, freedom and invincibility in the total service of God for his own sake alone. Secondly, they are associated by Augustine with what is related to God, i.e. the common good, which is opposed to what is related to oneself. In referring to love on the basis of this latter as inhuman, Augustine, who has already made clear that human beings were not to be loved 'in order to derive some temporal pleasure or advantage from them', may already have had in mind that such love may be little more than sheer selfishness which ignores the other's vocation to perfection in God. Thus, a person is commanded to love the common good both in himself and in others. And this means clinging to God in subjection to Him, loving Him more than oneself; and bringing others also to this perfect goodness *(perfecta iustitia)* [171]).

This is the background against which the text in question has to be read.

> Let a person love a wise and perfect soul just as he sees it; let him not love a foolish soul as such, but because it is capable of being perfect and wise. For nor should he love himself as foolish. Whoever loves himself as a fool will make no progress towards wisdom; no one becomes as he wishes to be unless he hates himself as he is. But as long as he is still on the way to wisdom and perfection, let him bear the foolishness of his neighbour with the same attitude of mind that he would bear his own if he were foolish and loved wisdom [172]).

[171]) *De Vera Religione* 262 (CSEL 77,67) = 48,93 (CC 32,248. ML 34,163-164): "Quem delectat ergo libertas, ab amore mutabilium rerum liber esse appetat; et quem regnare delectat, uni omnium regnatori deo subditus haereat, plus eum diligendo quam se ipsum. Et haec est perfecta iustitia, qua potius potiora et minus minora diligimus". It is of interest that this last sentence, which is sometimes used to show that Augustinian love simply responds to values, actual or potential, in the objects loved, occurs in a context of law and subjection, as well as that of desire for freedom. I understand the expression to refer primarily to the foregoing, i.e. when one loves God more than oneself, one is perfectly good because one's love is then ordered according to God's commandment; and this determines whatever reference it may have to what follows. The expression "qua potius potiora et minus minora diligimus" does not mean that one loves better human beings more and foolish human beings less. See the following reference for the immediate continuation of this text.

[172]) *De Vera Religione* 262-263 (CSEL 77,67) = 48,93 (CC 32,248. ML 34,164):

Augustine is explaining the meaning of loving one's neighbour as oneself. The person who loves his foolish self does not make any progress towards wisdom; progress comes only when he hates himself as he is — that is, as proud and failing to love God more than himself — and desires to become what he is capable of becoming, that is, a wise and perfect person fully subject to God. In bearing the foolishness of the neighbour whom he loves as himself, therefore, he desires also that the neighbour become wise and perfectly good, overcoming pride and returning corrected to God. What he is commanded to aim for in himself, "the creature of God created in His image" and totally intent upon Him, is also to be the goal to which he seeks to lead the neighbour by love. To love the neighbour in his foolishness would mean that the latter "will make no progress towards wisdom". To love him as capable of wisdom and perfection, even while he remains foolish, may aid such progress, just as loving ourselves in this way gives us the possibility of becoming what we desire to be, i.e. in context, free servants of God loving Him more than ourselves.

B. Love of neighbour 'as Christ has loved us'

It would be possible to explore the theme of the imitation of Christ in loving by grouping Jn. 13.34 with Jn. 15.12-13 and 1 John 3.16 and thus emphasising love until death. As useful for our theme, however, as Christ's teaching and proving a model of the way of humility, is the associated figure of *Christus medicus* who bore sinners with love *(cum dilectione pertulit peccantes)*. Loving one another as he has loved us, then, means bearing with one another in love, preserving the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace (cf. Eph. 4.2-3), and bearing one another's

"Sapientem animam atque perfectam talem diligat qualem illam videt; stultam non talem, sed quia esse perfecta et sapiens potest, quia nec se ipsum debet stultum diligere. Nam qui se diligit stultum, non proficiet ad sapientiam; nec fiet quisque qualis cupit esse nisi se oderit qualis est. Sed donec ad sapientiam perfectionemque veniatur, eo animo stultitiam proximi quo suam ferret, si stultus esset et amaret sapientiam". *De Vera Religione* is here less patent of misunderstanding than *Soliloquia* 1,2,7 (ML 32,873): "Itaque tanto magis amo amicos meos, quanto magis bene utuntur anima rationali, vel certe quantum desiderant ea bene uti". This seems to make love for others dependent on their desire to use their rational souls well, even though one loves the rational soul itself of those, like thieves, who do not so desire. *De Vera Religione* is clearer in its statement of intention in this regard: no good whatsoever accrues to the neighbour when we love his foolishness, states Augustine, for thus he "will make no progress towards wisdom". Love, therefore, is not dependent for its measure on the neighbour's dispositions, but is directed towards his progress in wisdom, whether he is actually using his rational soul well or not.

burdens (cf. Gal. 6.2)[173]. In the 65th tract on John's gospel, dating from 418-421, Augustine again engages the metaphor of a doctor treating the sick to illustrate Christ's love for us as the exemplar of our love for neighbour. There are strong reminiscences here of *De Vera Religione*'s bearing with the foolishness and pride of the neighbour with a view to the neighbour's becoming a wise and perfect servant of God. But now Augustine sees not just this perfect goodness of the individual but the formation of loving community as being what Christ has done for us. Jn. 13.34 naturally gives more weight to the idea that we are following in Christ's footsteps in loving one another, and also that loving is his gift; but, in a manner that anticipates our analysis of the unity of love for God and neighbour, Augustine maintains that there is no opposition between loving others 'as Christ has loved us' and the double commandment of Matt. 22.37-40, the second part of which prescribes love of neighbour 'as oneself'.

The text *in extenso* reads:

> Sisters and brothers, do not think that when the Lord said, "A new commandment I give to you: you are to love one another", he passed over that greater commandment by which we are enjoined to love the Lord our God with the whole heart, the whole soul and the whole mind. It may indeed seem that he did leave that greater commandment out of account. For he said "love one another", as if this had nothing to do with the second part of that other commandment where it is said: "Love your neighbour as yourself". In fact he says "on these two precepts depend the whole Law and the Prophets". But for those of sound understanding each of these two commandments is found in the other. For if we love God we cannot spurn him commanding us to love our neighbour; and when we love the neighbour purely and spiritually, what do we love in him but God? This love, which is to be distinguished from all worldly love,

[173]) *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani* 3,2,5 (CSEL 51,106. ML 43,87) (Date: 400): "... et sufferendo invicem in dilectione, servarent unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis, et invicem onera sua portantes (Gal. 6.2), implerent utique legem Christi, qua dominus noster Jesus Christus ad docendam humilitatis viam usque ad mortem crucis humiliari dignatus est (Phil. 2.8), et tamquam medicus aegrotantes, ita cum dilectione pertulit peccantes, de quibus dixerat, *Non est opus sanis medicus, sed aegrotantibus* (Matt. 9.12)". On the theme of "Christus medicus" in Augustine, see Rudolph Arbesmann O.S.A., "The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine", in *Traditio* X (1954) 1-28. See also P.C.J. Eijkenboom S.J., *Het Christus-medicusmotief in de preken van sint Augustinus*, Assen, 1960. On Augustine's use and understanding of Gal. 6.2, see A.-M. La Bonnardière, "'Portez les fardeaux les uns des autres'. Exégèse augustininienne de Gal. 6.2", in *Didaskalia* I,2 (1971) 201-215.

was characterised by the Lord when He added (to "you are to love one another"): "as I have loved you". What indeed did the Lord love in us but God? He loved us not because we already had God (*quod habebamus*), but so that we might have him (*ut haberemus*): that is, so that he might lead us, as I said earlier, to that state where God will be all in all. This is also the way in which a doctor is rightly said to love the sick. Isn't it the health he wishes to restore that he loves, not the illness (*morbum*) which he comes to drive out?

Therefore, let us too love one another in such a way that, insofar as we can, we may attract one another by the solicitude of love to have God in our midst. He himself who said "Just as I have loved you, you also must love one another" gives us this love. He loved us, therefore, to this end: that we might love one another. In loving us he has granted us to be drawn together in mutual love and, with our members united by such a delightful bond, to be the body of so great a Head[174]).

Concerning the doctor metaphor in this text, Anders Nygren writes, apparently paraphrasing Augustine: "As the doctor does not strictly love *the sick man in his present miserable state*, but loves *health* which he wants to restore in him, so Christ does not strictly love us as we now are, but loves us *in consideration* of the good and perfect beings we may yet become through Him". Of this putative Augustinian position Nygren remarks: "It is obvious that this is something quite different from what the New Testament means by love. Augustine has no room for a love of neighbour which is, in the strict sense of the word, unmotivated"[175]).

[174]) *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 65,2 (CC 36,491-492. ML 35,1809): "Nolite itaque, fratres mei, putare in hoc quod ait Dominus: *Mandatum novum do vobis, ut vos invicem diligatis*, illud maius praetermissum esse mandatum, quo praecipitur ut diligamus Dominum Deum nostrum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, et ex tota mente, tamquam enim hoc praetermisso videtur dictum: *ut diligatis invicem*, velut hoc ad illud alterum non pertineat, quod dictum est: *Diliges proximum tuum tamquam teipsum. In his* enim *duobus praeceptis*, inquit, *tota lex pendet, et prophetae*. Sed bene intellegentibus utrumque invenitur in singulis. Nam et qui diligunt Deum, non eum potest contemnere praecipentem ut diligat proximum; et qui sancte et spiritualiter diligit proximum, quid in eo diligit nisi Deum? Ipsa est dilectio ab omni mundana dilectione discreta, quam distinguendo addidit Dominus: *sicut dilexi vos*. Quid enim nisi Deum dilexit in nobis? Non quod habebamus, sed ut haberemus: ut perducat nos, sicut paulo ante dixi, ubi sit Deus omnia in omnibus. Sic etiam medicus recte dicitur aegros diligere; et quid in eis nisi salutem diligit, quam cupit utique revocare, non morbum, quem venit expellere? Sic ergo et nos invicem diligamus, ut quantum possumus, invicem in nobis Deum cura dilectionis adtrahamus. Hanc dilectionem nobis donat ipse qui ait: *Sicut dilexi vos, ut et vos diligatis invicem*. Ad hoc ergo nos dilexit, ut et nos diligamus invicem; hoc nobis conferens diligendo nos, ut mutua dilectione constringamur inter nos, et tam dulci vinculo connexis membris corpus tanti capitis simus".

[175]) A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, p. 550 (My emphasis).

This is, however, an emasculation of the deepest intention of Augustine's thought. Nygren manages to convey the impression that Augustine sidesteps concrete concern for the sick person as a sick person, that is, for "the sick man in his present miserable state". What we actually find in Augustine, however, is that the doctor (Christ, the lover) does not love "the illness *(morbum)* which he comes to drive out". It would be difficult to object reasonably to this. The illness is obviously sin, foolishness, pride, separation from God, slavery to the vice of not loving others as they ought to be loved, and division from one another. And it is not likely that Augustine had here forgotten the distinction he was accustomed to draw earlier between love for people and aversion for their faults[176]), or that it was no longer significant for him that he had urged people 'to bear the foolishness of their neighbours with the same attitude of mind that they would bear their own if they were foolish and loved wisdom'[177]). The doctor, Christ, the lover, loves not the foolishness but the fool, not the error but the erring one.

Nonetheless, Nygren might object, it is still something other than a human being in the actual condition of life he finds himself that is loved. "Health" is loved in others; or they are loved '*in consideration of* the good and perfect beings they may yet become in God'. The phrase "in consideration of", destined to suggest that love is motivated by the potential value of the other in God, is, however, a contentious representation of the Augustinian case. We are indeed told that, when we love the neighbour purely and spiritually, we love God in him. But, in describing Christ's love for us, upon which our love for neighbour is to be based, Augustine details what loving God in the neighbour means. Christ loved us 'so that we might have God in us' *(ut haberemus)*, 'so that He might lead us to that state where God will be all in all'. In other words, Christ loved us — and thus we are to love one another — because we are gods and sons of the Most High and so that we might be his sisters and brothers[178]). On the one hand, this is the creative concrete sense of the

[176]) *Rule* 4,10 (Verheijen, p. 428): "... cum dilectione hominum et odio vitiorum". *In Epistolam Ioannis*, tr. 7,11 (ML 35,2035).

[177]) *De Vera Religione* 263 (CSEL 77,67) = 48,93 (CC 32,248. ML 34,164): "Sed donec ad sapientiam perfectionemque veniatur, eo animo ferat stultitiam proximi quo suam ferret, si stultus esset et amaret sapientam".

[178]) *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 65,1 (CC 36,491. ML 35,1809): "... sed sicut se diligunt, quoniam dii sunt et filii Altissimi omnes, ut sint Filio eius unico fratres, ea dilectione invicem diligentes, qua ipse dilexit eos ...".

doctor (Christ and ourselves) loving the health he wishes to restore: growth in God-likeness and sonship with the Son. Thus, love opens up new salutary perspectives on the life of the other and desires to help in seeing them realised for the other's sake: "*quid in eis nisi salutem diligit, quam cupit utique revocare ...*". Love is actually at work promoting the health it aims at, deifying and strengthening brotherhood with Christ. On the other hand, we encounter yet a further parallel expresssion to loving God in the neighbour "*ut haberemus*". Strangely enough, not only are we told that God loved us so that we might have him in our midst, but also that 'he loved us to this end: that we might love one another'. The delightful mutual love of the members of Christ's Body, united to Christ the Head, is even now a representation of God's being in us, of his being all in all to us, not just as individuals but as a community. In fact, according to the 83rd tract on John's Gospel, not only is real love for one another directed towards reigning with Christ *(ut regnare possimus cum Christo)*, having God in our midst *(propter habendum Deum)*, in order that God be all in all *(ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus)*, but people love God so as to love one another properly[179]). In this sense too pure and spiritual love for neighbour is to love God, both for myself — because if I fail to do so I hate myself and therefore cannot possibly love my neighbour (cf. Ps. 10.6) — and for the neighbour that he may no longer be a sinner but that God may be all in all to him. The presence of the health for which we aim, having God in our midst and Christ as Head of the Body to which we belong, offers a fresh stimulus to practise and to delight in the mutual love by which we are bound together. To this end Christ, our Head, loved us: that we might love one another, that we might take delight in and attract one another to have God is our midst and to become sisters and brothers of God's only Son.

In the long excerpt from the commentary on John's Gospel quoted above, we read that Christ "loved us not because we already had God *(quod habebamus)*, but so that we might have Him *(ut haberemus)* ...". That is to say, Christ, the Redeemer, loved us as sinners to whom he had come to restore health. But Christ's work is already effective, people are

[179]) *Tractatus in Evangelium Ioannis* 83,3 (CC 36,536. ML 35,1846): "Utquid enim diligit nos Christus, nisi ut regnare possimus cum Christo? Ad hoc ergo et nos invicem diligamus, ut dilectionem nostram discernamus a ceteris, qui non ad hoc se invicem diligunt, quia nec diligunt. Qui autem se propter habendum Deum diligunt, ipsi se diligunt; ergo ut se diligant, Deum diligunt. Non est haec dilectio in omnibus hominibus; pauci se propterea diligunt, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus (1 Cor. 15.28)".

more or less "healthy", loving one another, and, in this sense, God is already to a greater or lesser extent present in our midst. This realisation enables us to understand a significantly different formulation which arises in two other texts, the former dealing with love of a friend, the latter with love for neighbour in general.

> Let us love God for his own sake, and ourselves in him (*in ipso*) but as orientated towards him (*propter ipsum*). For he truly loves a friend who loves God in the friend, either because God is in him or that He may be in him (*aut quia est in illo, aut ut sit in illo*)[180]).

> ... we will have God, and we will be intent upon him alone; indeed, we will be so delighted by him alone that we will seek for nothing else, because we will enjoy him together and we will enjoy (*fruemur*) him in one another. For what are we if we do not have God? And what should we love in one another other than God, either because we have him or in order that we may have him (*aut quia habemus, aut ut habeamus*) ...[181]).

According to John Burnaby, "the alternative form of phrase reflects the double connotation of *amor*, affective and conative; but it needs for its understanding the background of the doctrine of the divine image in man, its obscuration and its renewal"[182]). Christ has set the process of renewal afoot and invites human beings to continue the task both in themselves and in others by staking all their hopes on God and being totally committed to Him; this is the conative connatation which we have dealt with at length. But, to the extent that the divine image has actually been renewed in individuals and in the community — that is, to the extent that God has already become all in all to them making them perfect such that they seek the common good before their own good — one may love and enjoy God present in others. A person whose own love has been set right will be attracted and delighted by such people and

[180]) *Sermo* 336,2 (ML 38,1472): "Ipsum (Deum) amemus propter ipsum, et nos in ipso, tamen propter ipsum. Ille enim veraciter amat amicum, qui Deum amat in amico, aut quia est in illo, aut ut sit in illo",

[181]) *Sermo* 255,7 (ML 38,1189): "... quia Deum habebimus, et ipso solo contenti erimus, imo ipso solo sic delectabimur, ut nihil aliud requiramus; quia et in uno ipso fruemur, et in nobis invicem ipso fruemur: (quid enim sumus, si Deum non habemus? aut quid aliud in nobis quam Deum debemus diligere, aut quia habemus, aut ut habeamus?) ...". This alternative form of phrase is reflected in a similar context in *De Trinitate* 8,6,9 (CC 50,283. ML 42,956): "Qui ergo amat homines, aut quia iusti sunt, aut ut iusti sint, amare debet. Sic enim et se ipsum amare debet, aut quia iustus est, aut ut iustus sit; sic enim *diligit proximum tamquam se ipsum*, sine ullo periculo".

[182]) J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei*, p. 136.

groups. It is well worth reminding ourselves, however, of the many-sidedness of the terms *frui deo* and *habere deum* as we have investigated them earlier in dealing with the *uit/frui* distinction as related to our theme. For Ragnar Holte, *frui deo* is the supreme end of man which God both proposes to him and commands that he fulfil; it entails total abandonment to God in the form of love with the whole heart and soul and mind[183]). To love and enjoy God in the neighbour, therefore, can also have the meaning that in the neighbour a total claim is made upon me which calls me beyond myself to self-abandonment. It may even be there that the God, love for whom straightens self-love, in encountered. Similarly, *habere deum* has as its necessary corollary *inhabitatio dei*, a being possessed by God[184]). Thus, when I "have" God in the neighbour and delight in him there, God fills me too with himself and fulfils his promise to be "my God". Then, without jealousy, we may together delight in the God who, both to others and myself, is all in all.

A good example of the affective connotation of love — love and delight in others because God is in them — is found in Augustine's *Epistola* 73 to Jerome, dating from 404. Just as I can be a source of true benefit and joy to others only if God's image is renewed in me and I am made comely and happy by being totally intent upon him[185]), so it is with friends in my regard. They are genuinely faithful to us so long as they remain "in God". Entrusting ourselves to the love of friends is to entrust ourselves to God who is the guarantor of their fidelity.

> I confess it. I easily give myself up completely to the love of those with whom I am most intimate and friendly, especially when I am tired of the vexations of this world. I rest in their love without any preoccupation. For I feel that God is there, and in safety I give myself up to him, and safely I rest in him. In this security of love I no longer fear the insecurity of tomorrow, the insecurity of human frailty about which I complained earlier. For, when I sense that a person is enflamed with Christian love and has become a more faithful friend to me because of it, the ideas and thoughts that I entrust to this person I entrust no longer to a human being, but to

[183]) R. Holte, *Béatitude et Sagesse*, p. 280.

[184]) See R. Lorenz, "Fruitio Dei bei Augustin", in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 63 (1950-1951), p. 104-108.

[185]) See again *De Trinitate* 14,14,18 (CC 50A,446. ML 42,1049): "... recte illi de proximo suo praecipitur, ut eum sicut se diligat. Iam enim se non perverse sed recte diligit, cum Deum diligit, cuius participatione imago illa non solum est, verum etiam ex vetustate renovatur, ex deformitate reformatur, ex infelicitate beatificatur".

God. For "God is love; and whoever remains in love remains in God, and God in him" (1 Jn. 4.16). If he were to abandon God, he would inevitably bring about sorrow in the same measure as the joy he now gives us by remaining in God[186]).

In giving ourselves up to the ease, pleasure and confidence of the love of faithful friends who love us as themselves and as Christ has loved us, we give ourselves up in trust to God who is present in such love assuring its genuineness. 'The ideas and thoughts I entrust to this person (who is enflamed with Christian love, and a faithful friend because of it) I entrust no longer to a human being but to God'. This is to bring us to the very heart of the matter: the unity of love for neighbour and love for God.

R. CANNING

[186]) *Epistola* 73,3,10 (CSEL 34/2,276-277. ML 33,249-250): "In quorum ego caritatem, fateor, facile me totum proicio praesertim fatigatum scandalis saeculi; et in ea sine ulla sollicitudine requiesco: Deum quippe illic esse sentio, in quem me securus proicio, et in quo securus requiesco. Nec in hac mea securitate crastinum illud humanae fragilitatis incertum, de quo superius ingemui, omnino formido. Cum enim hominem christiana caritate flagrantem, eaque mihi fidelem amicum factum esse sentio; quidquid ei consiliorum meorum cogitationumque committo, non homini committo, sed illi in quo manet, ut talis sit. *Deus* enim *caritas est; et qui manet in caritate, in Deo manet, et Deus in eo* (1 Jn. 4.16): quam si deseruerit, tantum faciat necesse est dolorem, quantum manens fecerat gaudium". Not only does the friend remain 'in God' but he loves us 'in God', that is, by respecting and obeying the double commandment, and he thereby truly becomes our friend. See *Epistola* 258,3-4 (CSEL 57,608. ML 33,1072) to Martianus, who had just been converted to Christianity. Augustine puts it to him that before his conversion "tu ab hac (i.e. benignitate et gratia Salvatoris nostri) alienus, quomodo esse poteras amicus meus, qui unde beatus esse possem penitus ignorabas, et non in hoc me amabas, in quo mihi ipse iam fueram utcumque amicus effectus?".

The Basis of Hope in the Resurrection of the Body according to Augustine

INTRODUCTION

The resurrection of the body is the object of man's hope. In this study we attempt to show the basis of this hope, which according to Augustine, as we shall see later, is the fact of Christ's resurrection [1]).

The fact of Christ's resurrection was proved by His appearances in His physical from. He appeared to many not "in spirit but in flesh and bones" (Lk. 24,39). He ate and drank with His disciples (Acts 1,3 and Lk. 24,41-43).

However, as we know, the four narratives concerning the events surrounding the resurrection of Jesus contain many discrepancies. For this reason many modern exegetes strongly discredit the value of the resurrection narratives as accounts of historical facts. To cite one example, R.H. Fuller, in *Formation of the Resurrection Narratives* says :

> The best way to discredit a witness in court is for the cross-examiner to tie him up in knots and make his evidence appear to be such a tissue of inconsistencies that the jury becomes convinced he is untrustworthy. One does not need to be a scientific scholar to do that with the resurrection narratives [2]).

[1]) Cf. *Epistula* 102,1,2 & 3, CSEL 34(2), 545-546: the truth of the promise of resurrection to us is based on the nature of the resurrection of Christ. Being raised from the dead He will never die again; death has no longer dominion over him (Rom. 6,9). It is not based on the resurrection of Lazarus. Lazarus was raised from the dead, but He died again. See also *En in Ps.* 129,9, CCL 40,1895-1896: It is not based on the dead raised by Elijah (3 Kings 17,22), nor on the dead raised by Elisha (4 Kings 4,35), nor on the dead son of the widow of Nain raised by Christ Himself (Lk. 7,15), nor on the raised daughter of Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue (Lk. 8,55), nor on the resurrection of Lazarus (Jo. 11,39-44). All these persons were raised from the dead, but they died again. Our own resurrection at the coming of the Lord will be a resurrection to eternity like that of Jesus Christ.

[2]) See *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives*, New York, 1971, p. 2. This is directly cited by G.E. LADD in *I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus*, London, 1977, p. 79.

On the other hand Augustine thought[3]), like some others[4]), that the narratives concerning the events of Christ's resurrection had to be harmonized. He attempted through this harmonization to demonstrate the reality of Jesus' resurrection.

But why did Augustine try to establish faith in the resurrection of Jesus? For him faith in the resurrection of Jesus is the specific faith of the Christians that distinguishes them both from the impious, from the Jews, and from the pagans: "The pagans, the impious, and the Jews, believed in the passion of Christ; however, only the Christians believed in His resurrection"[5]). For him, likewise, resurrection of our bodies will also take place. This teaching shocked the Priscillianists and the Manicheans because they denied the goodness of bodies.

I. An attempt to harmonize the resurrection narratives

There are *praenotanda* to the understanding of Augustine's attempt to harmonize the narratives:

[3]) "Omnes enim Evangelistae quattuor, neque de passione, neque de resurrectione ejus tacere potuerunt. Nam quia multa fecit Dominus Jesus, non omnes omnia conscripserunt: sed alius ista, alius illa; summa tamen concordia". *Sermo* 240,1, PL 38,1130.

[4]) Augustine followed the traditional practice of attempting to harmonize scriptural texts. We have the following examples: Tatian († 172), with his *Diatessaron* (153-170); Ammonius of Alexandria, with his Ἁρμονία (c. 220), which was lost; Eusebius of Caesaria († 340), with his *Canons*; Augustine, with his *De Consensu Evangelistarum* (400). This datum is given by M.B. Riddle in an "Introductory Essay" to Augustine's *The Harmony of the Gospels* in The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers VI, Grand Rapids, 1974, p. 68-69. For more information on harmonization see G. Bardy, "La littérature patristique des quaestiones et responsiones sur l'Écriture Sainte", in *Revue Biblique* 41 (1932) 210-236, 341-369, 515-537; 42 (1933) 211-229, 329-352.

[5]) "Passionem Christi et Pagani et impii et Judaei crediderunt: resurrectionem nonnisi Christiani". Sermo 233,1, PL 38,1112. For further references on faith in the resurrection of Christ and of the body, as the specific and the fundamental belief of Christians, see the following works: *Sermo* 216,6, PL 38,1075: "Sola haec fides est, quae christianos ab omnibus hominibus discernit et separat. Nam quia mortuus est et sepultus, et pagani modo credunt, et Judaei tunc viderunt: quia vero tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, nec Paganus nec Judaeus admittit. Discernit ergo a mortuis perfidis vitam fidei nostrae, resurrectio mortuorum. Nam et apostolus Paulus cum Timotheo scriberet: *Memento*, inquit, *Jesum Christum resurrexisse a mortuis* (II Tim. 2,8). Credamus ergo, fratres, et quod in Christo factum credimus, hoc futurum speremus in nobis. Deus enim qui promittit, non fallit". *Contra Faustum* 16,29, CSEL 25(1), 476; *Epistula* 55,2, CSEL 34(2),170; *Sermo* 234,3, PL 38,116; *Sermo Denis* 24,1, MA I,141; *Sermo* 215,6, PL 38,1075; *Sermo* 240,2, PL 38,1131; *Sermo* 241,1, PL 38,1133; *De Trinitate* 2,17,29, CCL 50,119; *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 2,7, CCL 40,1442; *En. in Ps.* 120,6 CCL 40,1791; *En. in Ps.* 138,8, CCL 40, 1996. See also H.I. Marrou, *The Resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*, Villanova, 1966, p. 40-41 note 16.

1. Matthew's priority. The chronological order that Augustine gives to the composition of the gospels is as follows: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.

> Now, those four evangelists whose names have gained the most remarkable circulation over the whole world, and whose number has been fixed as four, — it may be for the simple reason that there are four divisions of that world through the universal length of which they, by their number as by a kind of mystical sign, indicated the advancing extension of the Church of Christ, — are believed to have written in this order: first Matthew, then Mark, thirdly Luke, lastly John[6]).

Augustine gives two reasons for this order. First, as concerns the acquisition of knowledge and the commission to preach, those were first who because of their personal contacts with Jesus heard him speak and saw him act. Second, as concerns the task of composing the record of the Gospel, only Matthew and John obtained places, the former the first and the latter the last. The other two, Mark an Luke, although not among the twelve, were embraced "as sons" and put in between the first two[7]).

2. The principles on which the evangelists wrote. (i) Each evangelist kept an order of narration proper to himself. Augustine holds that, for the work of harmonization, despite the fact that each of the evangelists follows his own order of narration, it does not mean that each is ignorant of what his predecessor had done, or left out as matters about which there was no information things which another nevertheless is discovered to have recorded"; (ii) Avoiding superfluities. Each evangelist received a gift of inspiration. Since this was so, they "abstained from adding to their several labors any superfluous conjoint compositions"[8]).

[6]) "Isti igitur quattuor evangelistae universo terrarum orbe notissimi, et ob hoc fortasse quattuor, quoniam quattuor sunt partes orbis terrae, per cuius universitatem Christi ecclesiam delatari ipso sui numeri sacramento quodammodo declararunt, hoc ordine scripsisse perhibentur: primus Mattheus, deinde Marcus, tertio Lucas, ultimo Johannes". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,2.3, CSEL 43,3.

[7]) "Unde alius eis fuit ordo cognoscendi adque praedicandi, alius autem scribendi. Ad cognoscendum quippe adque praedicandum primi utique fuerunt qui secuti dominum in carne praesentem dicentem audierunt facientemque viderunt adque ex eius ore ad evangelizandum missi sunt. Sed in conscribendo evangelio, quod divinitus ordinatum esse credendum est, ex numero eorum, quos ante passionem dominus elegit, primum adque ultimum locum duo tenuerunt, primum Mattheus, ultimum Iohannes, ut reliqui duo, qui ex illo numero non erant, sed tamen Christum in illis loquentem secuti erant, tamquam filii amplectendi ac per hoc in loco medio constituti utroque ab eis latere munirentur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,2.3, CSEL 43,3-4.

[8]) "Horum sane quattuor solus Mattheus Hebraeo scripsisse perhibetur eloquio, ceteri Graeco. Et quamvis singuli suum quendam narrandi ordinem tenuisse videantur, non

3. Augustine's reasons for attempting to harmonize the narratives of the four evangelists[9]). (i) To defend the credibility of the evangelists as narrators of truthful accounts *(veracis narrationis)*; (ii) To defend those who are on the way to faith from being dissuaded by enemies; (iii) To protect the believers from being agitated by enemies; (iv) To equip the believers with answers for their own questions, or for the purpose of refuting the objections coming from their enemies, in matters of faith; (v) To demonstrate to these enemies their errors and the rashness of their charges; (vi) To prove that the evangelists are not antagonistic towards each other.

It is important to take note of the first and the last reasons that Augustine gives. With the first reason he apparently shows that he believes in the historicity of some events in the Gospel. In connection with the resurrection and post-resurrection appearances of Jesus the historical happening is the point of departure of his proofs. With the last reason, it is clear that he is aware that the historical actuality of the events believed by the Christians depends primarily on the possible harmonization of the narratives. In fact all the other preceding reasons

tamen unusquisque eorum velut alterius praecedentis ignarus voluisse scribere repperitur vel ignorata praetermisse, quae scripsisse alius invenitur, sed sicut unicuique inspiratum est non superfluam cooperationem sui laboris adiunxit. Nam Mattheus suscepisse intellegitur incarnationem domini secundum stirpem regiam et pleraque secundum hominum praesentem vitam facta et dicta eius. Marcus eum subsecutus tamquam pedisequus et sequus et breviator eius videtur. Cum solo quippe Iohanne nihil dixit, solus ipse perpauca, cum solo Luca pauciora, cum Mattheo vero plurima et multa paene totidem adque ipsis verbis sive cum solo sive cum ceteris consonante. Lucas autem circa sacerdotalem domini stirpem adque personam magis occupatus apparet. Nam et ad ipsum David non regium stemma secutus ascendit, sed per eos, qui reges non fuerunt, exit ad Nathan filium David, qui nec ipse rex fuit. Non sicut Mattheus, qui per Salomonem regem descendens ceteros etiam reges ex ordine persecutus est servans in eis, de quo postea lonquemur, mysticum numerum". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,2.4, CSEL 43,4.

[9]) "Has domini sanctas quadrigas, quibus per orbem vectus subigit populos leni suo iugo et sarcinae levi, quidam impia vanitate vel imperita temeritate calumniis appetunt, ut eis veracis narrationis derogent fidem, per quos christiana religio disseminata per mundum tanta fertilitate provenit, ut homines infideles iam inter se ipsos calumnias suas mussitare vix audeant conpressi fide gentium et omnium devotione populorum. Verum tamen, quia nonnullos adhuc calumniosis disputationibus suis vel retardant a fide, ne credant, vel iam credentes, quantum potuerint, exagitando perturbant, nonnulli autem fratres salva fide nosse desiderant, quid talibus respondeant quaestionibus, vel ad provectum scientiae vel ad illorum vaniloquia refellenda, inspirante adque adiuvante domino deo nostro — quod utinam et ipsorum saluti prosit — hoc opere demonstrare suscepimus errorem, qui contra evangelii quattuor libros, quos evangelistae quattuor singulos conscripserunt, satis argutas criminationes se proferre arbitrantur. Quod ut fiat, quam non sibi adversentur idem scriptores quattuor, ostendendum est. Hoc enim solent quasi palmare suae vanitatis obicere, quod ipsi evangelistae inter se ipsos dissentiant". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,7.10, CSEL 43,10-11.

are given to add weight to this last reason. For the main objection of the adversaries, namely, the heathens and the Manicheans, is that the evangelists are not in harmony[10]).

A. *Some salient "apparent" discrepancies in the resurrection narratives harmonized by Augustine*[11])

Matthew	*Mark*	*Luke*	*John*
Evening of the sabbath toward the first day of the week	Very early in the morning at the rising of the sun	Very early in the morning	Early when it was yet dark
An angel sitting outside the tomb on a stone which had been rolled away	A young man sitting on the right side	Two men stood by them	Two angels sitting where the body of Jesus has lain
The women with fear and joy ran to tell the news to the disciples	The women were overcome by trembling and fear and told no one		

B. *Harmony of the narratives on the exact hour at which the women came to the sepulcher*[12])

Matthew narrates that the time was "on the evening of the sabbath towards the dawn of the first day of the week" *(vespere autem sabbati, quae lucescit in primam sabbati)* (Mt. 28,1). Mark says, "very early in the morning, the first day of the week ... at the rising of the sun" *(valde mane una sabbatorum ... oriente iam sole)* (Mk. 16.2). Luke, however, says,

[10]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,7.10, CSEL 43,11.

[11]) We shall give only some of the themes. The verses in the four Gospels that narrate such themes may be considered "apparent" discrepancies. We use the word "apparent" because, in Augustine's observation, they appear to be in discord. However, for Augustine they could be harmonized. In fact, in connection with the resurrection narratives, Augustine discussed only a few verses which were "apparently" at variance. But he discussed problematic verses either because the expressions used by the evangelists are vague or the words used seem not to tally with facts. We have chosen only three themes which he harmonized, and the rest of the pertinent themes are discussed under the subtitle, "Other problematic aspects of the resurrection narrative".

[12]) The theme discussed by Augustine in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24. 65, CSEL 43,354.

"very early in the morning" *(valde diluculo)* (Lk. 24.1), while John, "early when it was yet dark" *(mane cum adhuc tenebrae essent)* (Jo. 20.1).

According to Augustine there is no discrepancy between the four narrations. Mark is in accord with Luke and John. The description of Luke, that is, "very early in the morning" and that of John, "early when it was yet dark", refer exactly to the same period described by Mark, "very early in the morning, the first day of the week ... at the rising of the sun". This period described by Mark is that when the heavens begin to brighten in the east, and that takes place when sunrise is at hand. The brightness that is diffused by the rising of the sun is commonly called dawn *(aurorae)*. Mark's description, "at the rising of the sun", by which, according to Augustine, he meant the time when the "heavens begin to brighten in the east", is not at variance with the description of John, "when it was yet dark". Augustine explains that at day-breaks, "what remains of the darkness of the night passes away just in proportion as the sun continues to rise"[13]). Nor is Mark's description at variance with that of Luke, "very early in the morning". Augustine points to the distinction between "very early in the morning" and "early in the morning". The former, "very early in the morning" *(valde mane)*, as described by Luke, does not mean that the sun was actually seen blazing over the land, which could have been the case had Luke said "early in the morning". But, as Augustine points out, Luke did not use this description[14]). Luke's description then, "very early in the morning" is in accord with John's, "early, when it was yet dark"[15]). Nor is Matthew's description at variance with that of Luke. However, his expression may pose a difficulty, for he said that the event occurred "on the *evening* of the Sabbath, towards the dawn of the first day of the week" and not "in the *early morning*" nor "in the *morning*". The difficulty arises when we take "evening" in its technical meaning. Augustine explains that what Matthew referred to as the "evening", which is, according to common usage, the first part of the night *(prima pars noctis)*, is actually its close. For the particular part of the night was the period when women were legally allowed to bring spices to the tomb, because it was only since then

[13]) "Die quippe surgente aliquae reliquiae tenebrarum tanto magis extenuantur, quanto magis lux oritur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.65, CSEL 43,354.

[14]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3.65, CSEL 43,354.

[15]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3.65, CSEL 43,355.

that the Sabbath was over. It was forbidden to do so during the Sabbath. Therefore, the description "in the evening of the Sabbath" meant the night which followed the day of Sabbath *(nocte sabbati, id est nocte, quae sequitur diem sabbati)*. The evening spoken of could not refer only to the first space of the night *(tantum modo particulam noctis primam)* nor only to the beginning of the night *(solum initium noctis)*. For as it was said by Matthew, it was in the evening when the dawn of the first day of the week was beginning. Accordingly it was not only the beginning of the night, but the night itself *(ipsa nox)*, as it came to a close at the advance of the light. "For the *terminus* of the first part of the night is just the beginning of the second part, but the *terminus* of the whole night is the light". Augustine's explanation is based on the familiar method of expression frequently used in the Holy Scripture: the whole is expressed under the part[16]).

C. *Harmony of the narratives on the number of the angels seen and on their location*[17])

There seems to be a discrepancy between the version of Matthew and that of Mark regarding the location of the angel seen by the women. While Matthew narrates that the angel was sitting upon a stone which already had been rolled away, "For the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it" (Mt. 28.2). Mark, on the other hand, narrates that the angel was seen inside the tomb sitting on the right: "And entering the tomb, they saw a young man[18]) sitting on the right side dressed in a white robe" (Mark 16.5). Augustine tries to harmonize the two versions.

> But the explanation may be that Matthew said nothing about the angel whom they saw when they entered into the graveyard, and that Mark has said nothing about the one whom they saw sitting outside upon the stone. In this way they would have seen two angels and have got two separate angelic reports relating to Jesus, namely, the first one from the angel whom they saw sitting upon the stone

[16]) "Et usitatus loquendi modus est divinae scripturae a parte totum". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.65, CSEL 43,356.

[17]) The theme is discussed in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.67,68, CSEL 43,358-360.

[18]) Augustine identifies "angelus" with "vir" or "angeli" with "viri". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.67,68, CSEL 43,358-360.

outside, and the other from the angel whom they saw sitting on the right when they entered the sepulcher[19]).

There is another possible way of harmonizing the two versions, as Augustine shows. The angel seen by the women which the two evangelists were speaking of was one and the same. The angel which, in the version of Mark, was seen sitting on the right, is the very same angel which, in the version of Matthew, was seen sitting on the stone outside. Augustine demonstrated his theory this way, that is, if the first explanation does not appear convincing:

> Or if this explanation is not satisfactory, we ought certainly to accept the theory that, as they entered into the graveyard, they came within a section of the walled ground where, it is reasonable to suppose, a certain space had been by that time securely enclosed, a little distance in front of the rock which had been cut out in order to construct the place of burial; so that, according to this view, what they really saw was the one angel sitting on the right in the space thus referred to, which same angel Matthew also represents as having been sitting on the stone which he had rolled away from the mouth of the tomb when the earthquake took place, that is to say, from the place which had been dug out in the rock for a sepulcher[20]).

Of the two possible explanations, Augustine holds the second to be his definite position. In *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,69 he confirms this position. The stone which had been rolled away from the sepulcher was in the same area as the sepulcher itself. The angel seen by the women was one and the same.

> "For as yet they did not know the Scripture, that He must rise again from the dead. Then the disciples went away again to their own home. But Mary stood outside the sepulcher weeping", (Jo. 20,9-11), that is to say, before the place in the rock in which the

[19]) "Nisi intellegamus aut Mattheum tacuisse de illo angelo, quem intrantes viderunt, Marcum vero de illo tacuisse, quem foris viderunt sedentem super lapidem, ut duos viderint et a duobus singillatim audierint quae dixerunt angeli de Iesu, prius ab illo quem foris viderunt sedentem super lapidem, deinde ab illo quem viderunt in monumentum sedentem a dextris ...". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.63, CSEL 43,352-353.

[20]) "Aut certe intrantes in monumentum in aliqua saepta maceriae debemus accipere, quae communitum locum tunc fuisse credibile est in aliquo spatio ante petram, qua excisa locus factus fuerat sepulturae, ut ipsum viderint in eodem spatio sedentem a dextris, quem dicit Mattheus sedentem super lapidem, quem terrae motu ab ostio monumenti revolverat, id est a loco sepulchri, quod effosum erat in petra". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.63, CSEL 43,353.

> sepulcher was constructed, but at the same time within that space into which they had now entered; for there was a garden there, as the same John mentions. Then they saw the angel sitting on the right on the stone which was rolled away from the sepulcher; of which angel both Matthew and Mark discourse[21]).

What, then, about the versions of Luke and John which mention two angels instead of one? Augustine does not relate the versions of Matthew and Mark which recount the presence of only one angel with those of Luke and John. It may, therefore, be concluded that for Augustine the one angel in the versions of Matthew and Mark is not to be identified with either of the two angels in the versions of Luke and John. That one angel is not clearly identified in the works of Augustine.

However, Augustine identifies the two angels in Luke with the two angels in John. Referring to John, he said, "In the report of two angels who were seen, he is also at one with Luke"[22]). These two angels, which in the narrative of John were seen sitting, one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain, were the same angels which in the version of Luke were seen standing and which addressed to women, as they were afraid and bowed down their faces to the ground. Augustine, however, explains that the change in the position of the angels may be due to the fact that while John took note of the prior vision by Mary, Luke took note of the later vision.

> At these words, Mary, still weeping, bent down and looked into the sepulcher, "and saw two angels", who are introduced to us in John's narrative, "sitting in white raiment, one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus was laid. And they say to her, 'Woman, why do you weep'? She answers them, 'Because they have taken away my Lord, and I do not know where they have laid him'. Here we are to suppose the angels to have risen up, so that they could be seen standing, as Luke states they were seen, and then according to the narrative of the same Luke, to have addressed the women, as they were afraid and bowed down their faces to the

[21]) "Nondum enim sciebat scripturam, quia oportebat eum a mortuis resurgere. Abierunt ergo iterum ad semet ipsos discipuli. Maria autem stabat foris ad monumentum plorans, id est ante illum saxei sepulchri locum, sed tamen intra illud spatium, quod iam ingressae fuerant; hortus quippe illic erat, sicut idem Iohannes commemorat. Tunc viderunt angelum sedentem a dextris super lapidem revolutum a monumento, de quo angelo narrant Mattheus et Marcus". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.69, CSEL 43,362-363.

[22]) "Illud etiam, quod duo angeli visi sunt, concordat cum Luca". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.68, CSEL 43,361.

> earth: Why do you seek the living among the dead? He is not here, but has risen. Remember how He spoke to you when He was yet in Galilee, saying, the Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise. And they remembered His words" (Lk. 24,5-8)[23]).

It may be proper at this stage to consider the thought behind Augustine's harmonization of Luke's and John's narratives on Mary's vision of the angels. In *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,69, he says that the moment of the address of the angels to Mary, which is narrated in Lk. 24,5-8, is followed immediately by the moment when, according to the narration of John 20,13-18, Mary turned around and saw Jesus standing. At first she did not recognize him, but finally she did. This recognition process was later expounded by Augustine in *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,1.2. His starting point is his conception of "angels". He adopted the Greek conception. What are said to be angels by the Greeks are called newsbearers (*nuntii*) in Latin. What, therefore, did those two angels who sat, one at the head and the other at the feet where Jesus was laid, signify? According to Augustine, they were positioned in such a manner because they "signified that the gospel of Christ was to be preached from head to foot, from the beginning even to the end". In the context of the whole particular *Tractatus* 121, the head-through-the-foot of the Gospel stretches through the whole life history of the God-man Jesus, and, therefore, tends toward and climaxes in his resurrection. That the resurrection of Jesus is the news which the angels intended to announce is hinted at, according to the interpretation by Augustine, by John 20,13: "Why do you weep"? For Augustine, insofar as the angels are newsbearers, they were not asking Mary a question. They were instead telling her, "Do not weep"[24]).

[23]) "Ad haec verba Maria dum fleret, inclinavit se et prospexit in monumentum *et vidit duos angelos*, sicut dicit, Iohannes, *in albis sedentes unum ad caput et unum ad pedes, ubi positum fuerat corpus Iesu. dicunt ei illi: mulier, quid ploras? Dicit eis: quia tulerunt dominum meum et nescio, ubi posuerunt eum.* Hic intellegendi sunt surrexisse angeli, ut etiam stantes viderentur, sicut eos Lucas visos fuisse commemorat, et dixisse secundum eundem Lucam timentibus mulieribus et vultum in terram declinantibus: *quid quaeritis viventem cum mortuis? Non est hic, sed surrexit. Recordamini, qualiter locutus est vobis, cum adhuc in Galilaea esset, dicens: quia oportet filium hominis tradi in manus hominum peccatorum et crucifigi et die tertia resurgere, Et recordatae sunt verborum eius". De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.59, CSEL 43,363-364.

[24]) "Angeli lacrymas prohibebant; ubi quid aliud quam futurum quodammodo gaudium nuntiabant? Ita enim dixerunt: *Quid ploras?* ac si dicerent: Noli plorare. At illa eos putans interrogasse nescientes, causas prodit lacrymarum". *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,1, CCL 36,665.

With these words the angels were conveying the message of joy, because of the fact that Jesus had risen. In Mary this joy succeeded her sorrow, which overcame her, because at the disappearance of the body of Jesus she did not know where to go to mitigate her grief. It is with this conception that, we believe, Augustine saw the possibility of connecting John 20, 13-18 directly with Luke 5-8, as we pointed out above. In John 20,13-18, Mary finally recognized that the gardener with whom she was talking was Jesus himself. Therefore, it is the thought that the angels conveyed the message of Jesus' resurrection to Mary which was behind Augustine's harmonization of John 20,13-18 and Luke 24,5-8. For Augustine admitted that it could have been "divine impulse" that led Mary to look again into the sepulcher when she saw the two angels.

> What then does it mean, that, as she wept, she stooped down, and looked again into the sepulchre? Was it because her grief was excessive that she hardly thought she could believe either their eyes or her own? Or was it rather by some divine impulse that her mind led her to look within[25])?

D. *The harmony of Mark 16,8 and Matthew 28,8*

Mark 16,8 reads: "And they went out and fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them; and they said nothing to any one, for they were afraid". Matthew 28,8 reads: "So they departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy, and ran to tell his disciples".

Augustine observes that Mark took note of the experience of fear of the women upon receiving the message from the angels; Matthew, however, took note of the experience of joy. Despite the apparent discrepancy between the two evangelists' observations, Augustine thinks that the accounts can be reconciled. He supposes that both feelings were experienced by the women. Their feeling of fear may be explained in that they did "not have enough courage to say something to either of the angels, that is to say, to reply to what they had heard from them, or else they certainly did not dare to speak to the guards whom they saw lying there"[26]). Their feeling of joy, however, is not explained by Augustine.

[25]) "Quid sibi ergo vult quod ista cum fleret, rursum in monumentum inclinata prospexit? Utrum quod nimium dolebat, nec suis nec illorum oculis facile putabat esse credendum? An potius divino instinctu in animo eius effectum est ut prospiceret". *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,1, CCL 36,664.

[26]) "Nisi intellegamus ipsorum angelorum nemini ausas fuisse aliquid dicere, id est respondere ad ea quae ab illis audierant aut certe custodibus, quos iacentes viderunt". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.64, CSEL 43,353.

He implies that this was caused by the news that Jesus has risen. Matthew relates that both feelings possessed them.

> Indeed we must suppose that both feelings had possession of their hearts, even though Matthew himself had said nothing about the fear. But now, when this evangelist says, "They departed quickly from the sepulcher with fear and great joy, "he allows nothing to remain which can occasion any question of difficulty on this subject[27]).

We may, however, question Augustine's consistency in his analysis of Matthew 28,8. Why, when referring to one and the same verse, does he say that "both feelings had possession of their minds, *even though Matthew himself had said nothing about the fear"?* In the verse it is clear that both feelings were experienced by women, but it is apparently not true that "Matthew had said nothing about the fear". Augustine does not give any elaborate explanation of this particular verse.

E. *Other problematic aspects of the resurrection narratives*

1. *The problem of the "three days"*[28])

It is narrated that Jesus rose from the dead three days after His death. Jesus Himself foretold this space of time, as Augustine points out: "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Mt. 12,40). The problem arises from interpreting "three days" as three complete days with their corresponding nights. Augustine formulates the problem as follows:

> For the night connected with the coming sabbath follows, and if we compute it along with its day, there will then already be two days and two nights. But, further, after the sabbath there comes the night connected with the first day of the week, that is to say, with the dawning of the Lord's day, which was the time when the Lord arose. Consequently, the result to which this mode of calculation leads us will be just two days and two nights, and one night, even if supposing it possible to take the last as a complete night, and in the

[27]) "Debuimus enim utrumque in illarum animo factum intellegere, etiamsi ipse Mattheus de timore non diceret; cum vero et ipse dicat; *et exierunt cito de monumento cum timore et gaudio magno*, nihil ex hac re quaestionis remanere permittit". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.64, CSEL 43,353.

[28]) The theme is discussed in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.66, CSEL 43,356.

supposition that we were not able to show that the said dawn was in reality the ultimate portion of the same. Thus it would appear that, even though we were to compute these six hours of the day of crucifixion during three of which the sun was darkened, and during the other three of which it shone forth again, the counting of three days and three nights will not hold good[29]).

Augustine resolves the problem by appealing to the principle of computation usually used in the Scripture: the part is counted for the whole. Therefore, counting the day of preparation, during which Jesus was crucified and buried, as one day, plus the day of sabbath as another day, and the dawn at which He rose as another day, we reach the sum of the space of three days[30]).

2. *The problem of the priority of the Lord's appearance to Peter to the other appearances to the male disciples*[31])

There is no problem as regards the priority of Peter in the narratives of the evangelists. The problems, however, may arise, Augustine observes, if we consider the order given by Paul in 1 Cor. 15,5-8: "He

[29]) "Sequitur enim nox futuri sabbati, qua cum suo die conputata erunt iam duae noctes et duo dies; porro autem post sabbatum sequitur nox primae sabbati, id est inlucescentis diei dominici, in qua tunc dominus resurrexit; erunt ergo duae noctes et duo dies et una nox, etiamsi tota posset intellegi, nec ostenderemus, quod illud diluculum pars eius extrema sit; quapropter nec adnumeratis illis sex horis, quarum tribus sol contenebratus est et tribus eluxit, constabit ratio trium dierum et trium noctium". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.66, CSEL 43,357.

[30]) "Restat ergo, ut illo scripturarum usitatissimo loquendi modo, quo a parte totum intellegitur, inveniamus extremum diem tempus parasceves, quo crucifixus et sepultus est dominus, et ex ipsa extrema parte totum diem cum sua nocte, qui iam peractus fuerat, accipiamus, medium vero, id est sabbati diem, non a parte, sed integre totum, tertium rursus a parte sua prima, id est a nocte totum cum suo diurno tempore, ac sic erit triduum". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.66, CSEL 43,357-358.
See also *De Trinitate* 4,6.10, CCL 50,173: "Ipsum autem *triduum* non totum et plenum fuisse scriptura testis est; sed primus dies a parte extrema totus annumeratus est; dies vero tertius a parte prima et ipse totus; medius autem inter eos, id est secundus dies, absolute totus viginti quattuor horis suis, duodecim nocturnis et duodecim diurnis. Crucifixus est enim primo iudaeorum vocibus *hora tertia* cum esset dies sexta sabbati; deinde in ipsa cruce suspensus *hora sexta* et spiritum tradidit *hora nona*; sepultus est autem *cum iam sero factum esset* (Mk. 15,42.46) sicut sese habent verba evangelii, quod intellegitur in fine diei. Undelibet ergo incipias etiam si alia ratio reddi potest quomodo non sit contra evangelium Iohannis ut hora tertia ligno suspensus intellegatur, totum diem primum non comprehendis. Ergo a parte extrema totus computabitur sicut tertius a parte prima. Nox enim usque ad diluculum quo domini resurrectio declarata est ad tertium pertinet diem *quia deus qui dixit de tenebris lumen clarescere* (2 Cor. 4,6) ut per gratiam novi testamenti et participationem resurrectionis Christi audiremus ...".

[31]) The theme is discussed in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.71, CSEL 43,370-371.

appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren at one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me". In verse 5, Augustine analyzes, Paul does not say, "He appeared first to Cephas"; but "He appeared to Cephas". Augustine pays attention to the absence of the word "first", in the statement of Paul; thus, he admits the possibility that the priority of the appearance to Peter could neither be held as certain nor be easily denied:

> Now, in the entire number of men, Peter is understood to be the one to whom Christ showed Himself first. At least, this holds good so far as regards all the individuals who are actually mentioned by the four evangelists, and by the apostle Paul. But, at the same time, who would be bold enough either to affirm or to deny that He may have appeared to someone among them before He showed Himself to Peter, although all these writers pass over the matter in silence[32])?

We see here Augustine's position regarding the impossibility of determining whether Christ appeared to Peter first among the apostles. This incertitude caused the impreciseness of Paul, as the bishop of Hippo anticipates in his interpretation of John 21,25: "But there are also many other things which Jesus did; were every one of them to be written, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be written". Augustine applies this verse to the appearances of Jesus after His resurrection, but, as he says, "all is not recorded, as John plainly declares"[33]). Augustine's position could be said to be ambiguous. In *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,85, he explains that Paul did not say "He appeared *first* to Cephas" because "this would be inconsistent with the fact that it is recorded in the Gospel that He appeared first to the women"[34]). Here we can see that Augustine, besides being unaware of the priority of Paul's composition of the Letter to the Corinthians, as modern exegetes like G.E. Ladd[35]) hold, is also inconsistent in his

[32]) "Omnium ergo virorum primo apparuisse intellegitur Petro, ex his dumtaxat omnibus quos evangelistae quattuor et Paulus apostolus commemoraverunt. Ceterum si apparuit alicui eorum prius quam Petro, quod omnes tacuerunt, quis vel dicere audeat vel negare?". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.71, CSEL 43,370.

[33]) "Sed non omnia scripta sunt, sicut Iohannes fatetur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.84, CSEL 43,389.

[34]) "Non dixit primo apparuit Cephae, nam esset contrarium quod primo mulieribus apparuisse in evangelio legitur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.85, CSEL 43,391.

[35]) G.E. Ladd writes: "Paul reserves for us the earliest tradition of the resurrection appearances of Jesus. We have mentioned that the Gospels were written at least a

analysis of 1 Cor. 15,5 with respect to the order of the post-resurrection appearances. Earlier, in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,71, in trying to establish which appearance was first among the appearances made only to the male disciples, he presents 1 Cor. 15,5 in order to pose a possible problem; later in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,85, he no longer considers the same statement of Paul as presenting a possible problem. Moreover, in this later paragraph, he reckons also with the appearances to the women. This inconsistency in Augustine makes us incline to conclude that his position was ambiguous. And this ambiguity is further shown in his attempt to identify the "Twelve" in the order given by Paul.

3. *The problem of the identity of "the Twelve"*[36])

Who were the twelve whom Paul referred to? Augustine gives several possibilities: (i) some unknown twelve belonging to the multitude of the disciples. The reason for this possibility is that at that time the apostles were no longer twelve but eleven; Judas had already disappeared. Some codices, Augustine points out, designated the group as "The Eleven". (ii) Another group of twelve disciples *(sive alios quosdum duodecim discipulos)*. (iii) The consecrated number twelve designating the group of the apostles, even though then their number had already been reduced to eleven. For this latter possibility, Augustine reasons that the number twelve had a mystical importance, so much so that to keep its spiritual symbol only one was elected, Matthias, in order to fill in the place vacated by Judas.

Augustine does not give preference to any of the three possibilities. He is not concerned with which view is to be adopted. But he is engrossed in defending the veracity of the narrators, even when he does not succeed in solving the problem:

> But whichever of these several views may be adopted, nothing necessarily results which can appear to be inconsistent with truth, or at variance with any most truthful narrator of these events[37]).

generation after the events they record, and the tradition of these events was preserved in oral form before it was written down by the evangelists. Paul gives us an earlier tradition. Writing to the Corinthians about A. D. 55 or 56, Paul says ..." : *I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus*, p. 104.

[36]) The theme is discussed in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.71, CSEL 43,370-371.

[37]) "Quodlibet ergo eorum sit, nihil inde existit quod veritati vel istorum alicui veracissimo narratori repugnare videatur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.71, CSEL 43,371.

What is Augustine's conception of a most truthful narrator *(veracissimus narrator)?* Does he refer to an inspired narrator as he conceived of the evangelists in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,4, or does he refer to a narrator who, as in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,3, was in actual personal contact with Jesus and heard him speak and saw him act, and therefore could only narrate "veracious accounts" *(verax narratio)* of historical events which he personally witnessed? Augustine does not give a clear answer to this question.

Although Paul put the appearance to the twelve second in order, Augustine is inclined to put the appearance to the two disciples immediately after that made to Peter.

4. *The appearance to the two*

In the order given by Paul the appearance to the twelve comes immediately after the appearance to Peter. This is at variance with the order given in Luke 24,13-14: "That very day two of them were going to a village named Emmaus, about seven miles from Jerusalem and talking with each other about all these things that had happened" and in Mark 16,12-13: "After this he appeared in another form to two of them, as they were walking into the country. And they went back and told the rest, but they did not believe them". According to these two evangelists, the appearance to the two came before the appearance to the twelve. And Augustine holds that this supposition made by the two evangelists is more probable than that by Paul:

> Still, it remains the probable supposition, that, after He appeared to Peter, He appeared next to those two, one of whom was Cleophas, and regarding that appearance Luke presents us with a complete narrative, while Mark gives us only a brief notice[38]).

5. *The problem posed by Mark 16,14*

Mark 16,14 runs thus: "Lastly[39]), he appeared to the eleven as they sat ay table". The problem arises from taking the implication of the word, "lastly". The use of this word, at least in the judgment of

[38]) "Probabiliter tamen creditur, posteaquam Petro apparuit, deinde apparuisse istis duobus, quorum erat unus Cleopas, de quibus Lucas totum narrat, Marcus autem breviter ita perstringit ...". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.71. CSEL 43,371.

[39]) Augustine used the Latin translation "novissime" which is translated into English as "lastly", The Greek word ὑστερον is translated into English as "afterwards".

Augustine, makes it appear that the appearance to the eleven was the last appearance of Jesus. But this was not the case. There were other appearances after that. Besides, the last time the disciples really saw the Lord was during the time of his ascension. Why then did Mark use the word "lastly"? Augustine answers that "lastly" has been employed "because the incident was the last one that took place on the same day" of the resurrection of Jesus. Besides, as Augustine thinks, it was Mark's style to be concise *(more suo breviter commemorare voluisse)*. It is important to note that Augustine is unaware of the originality of Mark and of his priority to the other evangelists. Augustine considers Mark as the follower and the abbreviator of Matthew *(Marcus eum subsecutus tamquam pedisequus et breviator eius videtur)*[40]).

To resolve the problem on the order of the appearances of Jesus after his resurrection, Augustine gives us his own order, as a result of his harmonization:[41])

1) To the women near the sepulcher (Jn. 20, 14-18; Mk. 16,9-11).

2) To the same women as they were returning from the sepulcher (Mt. 28,9-10; Lk. 24,9-11).

3) To Peter (Lk. 24,34).

4) To the two going to the country (Lk. 24,15).

5) To the many in Jerusalem when Thomas was absent (Jn. 20,19-24; Lk. 24,15-33).

6) On the occasion when Thomas saw Him (Jn. 20,26-29).

7) By the Sea of Tiberias (Jn. 21,1).

8) On the mountain of Galilee according to Matthew (Mt. 28,16-17).

9) At the time to which Mark refers in his statement "lastly" (Mk. 16,14).

10) As Jesus ascended into heaven (Mk. 16,19; Lk. 24,50-51; Acts 1,4).

6. *Unrecorded appearances*

Augustine contends that not all the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus were recorded. His biblical proof is John 21,25 : "But there are also many other things Jesus did; were every one of them written, I suppose that the world itself could not contain the books that would be

[40]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 1,2.4, CSEL 43,4.

[41]) The order of the ten distinct appearances given by Augustine as a result of his harmonization of the four evangelists is found in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.83, CSEL 43,388-389.

written". He claims that Jesus had frequent dealings *(crebra conversatio)* with his disciples during the forty days which preceded his ascension[42]). And during those forty days, as Augustine puts it, Jesus appeared "as many times as he wished, to whomever he wished, and in whichever way he wished" *(quotiens voluit, quibus voluit, quemadmodum voluit)*[43]).

7. *The problem of the location of the first appearance to the disciples: Jerusalem or Galilee*[44])

Matthew 28,5-7 and Mark 16,6-7, give the impression that after His resurrection Jesus was not to show Himself to His disciples except in Galilee.

> But the angel said to the woman, "Do not be afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here, for He has risen, as He said. Come, see the place where He lay. Then go quickly and tell his disciples that he has risen from the dead, and behold He is going before you to Galilee; there you will see Him. See, I have told you" (Mt. 28,5-7).

Mark's version is similar:

> And he said to them, "Do not be amazed; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen, he is not here; see the place where they have laid Him. But, go, tell His disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see Him, as He told you" (Mk. 16,6-7).

Seemingly Matthew's version in verses 16 and 17 gives the priority to Galilee, since it mentions the fact that the disciples went to Galilee and actually saw Jesus and worshipped Him:

> Now, the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them. And when they saw Him they worshipped Him; but some doubted (Mt. 28,16-17).

John, however, ranks the appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem as the first, without counting the appearance which was made to Mary and the other women, although only Mary's name was mentioned, since she

[42]) "Crebra enim erat eius cum illis conversatio per dies quadraginta, priusquam ascendisset in coelum". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.84, CSEL 43,389-390.

[43]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.84, CSEL 43,390.

[44]) The theme is discussed in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.79, CSEL 43,382-384.

was more ardent in love for Jesus[45]). The appearance in Galilee by the Sea of Tiberias was the third in order[46]).

It is with the testimony of John that Augustine agrees. However, he justifies his agreement with him by using proofs given in a disorderly manner. Besides being repetitious Augustine does not marshall his arguments clearly. The task of ordering his arguments falls upon our shoulders. First, Augustine takes up the text of Mark. He notes that Mark did not even record at all the appearance in Galilee, whereas he recorded the other appearances, namely, first, to Mary Magdalene (Mk. 16,9)[47]), then to the two disciples (Mk. 16,12)[48]), and then while the disciples were at table, which occasion Mark called in his own fashion the "last" (Mk. 16,14)[49]), and finally to the disciples when He was ascending to heaven (Mk. 16,19). Luke (24,33) and John (20,19) agree in testifying that the appearance to the two (Mk. 16,12) took place in Jerusalem on the very same day as the Lord's resurrection[50]).

Then Augustine takes up the version of Matthew. He observes that while Mark, on the one hand, did not relate the actual appearance in Galilee as announced beforehand by the angel, Matthew, on the other hand, "confines his statement to a single occurrence, and refers to no other locality whatsoever, whether earlier or later, where the disciples saw the Lord after He has risen, except in Galilee according to the angel's prediction"[51]).

But in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,80, Augustine gives valid reasons for his insistence on the priority of the appearance in Jerusalem. First, he argues that the testimonies of Luke and John are clear enough *(satis dilucide manifestantes)* in showing that the appearance on the very

[45]) "Maria Magdalena sine dubio ceteris mulieribus, quae domino ministraverant, plurimum dilectione ferventior, ut non inmerito Iohannes solam commemoraret tacitis eis quae cum illa fuerunt, sicut alii testantur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.69. CSEL 43,362.

[46]) "Iam nunc quaerendum est, quando primum visus sit a discipulis in Galilaea, quia et hoc quod tertio narrat Iohannes in Galilaea factum est ad mare Tiberiades". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.79, CSEL 43,382.

[47]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.79, CSEL 43,383.

[48]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.79, CSEL 43,383.

[49]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.79, CSEL 43,383.

[50]) "Sicut Lucas et Iohannes coattestantur, in Hierusalem eodem ipso die resurrectionis iam noctis initio ...". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.79, CSEL 43,383.

[51]) "Mattheus vero nihil aliud dicit nec ullum alium locum omnino commemorat vel ante vel postea, ubi discipuli, posteaquam resurrexit, viderint dominum nisi in Galilaea secundum angeli predictionem". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.79, CSEL 43,383.

same day as the resurrection took place in Jerusalem, which is far enough from Galilee for it to have been impossible for Jesus to be seen by those disciples in these two places in one day[52]). Second, although Mark mentioned the announcement by the angel in the same way that Luke and John did, he nowhere mentioned the actual fulfillment of that appearance in Galilee on the very day of the resurrection[53]). Third, the angel, Augustine observes, did not say, "He goes before you to Galilee, there you will see him *first" (primum)* or "you will see Him only there" *(ibi tantum)*, or "you will see Him nowhere else but there" *(nonnisi ibi)*[54]). Fourth, Matthew did not mention the precise time *(nec expressum est)*:

> When, however, it was said, "See, He will go before you to Galilee, and there you will see Him", it was not made clear when that would take place, whether at an earlier time before he was seen by them elsewhere or after they had seen Him also in some other places besides Galilee[55]).

Fifth, Matthew did not specify the day of their departure when they went to the mountain in Galilee[56]). And sixth, Matthew did not construct his narrative in an order that would force anyone to suppose that the departure to Galilee and the appearance there of the risen Jesus must have been actually the first[57]).

F. *A short discussion with M.B. Riddle on Augustine's statement that Mt. 28,7 and Mk. 16,7: "I will go before you to Galilee; there you will see me" could have been spoken prophetically*

We are struck by the comment of M.B. Riddle given in a note to Augustine's statement that Mt 28,7 and Mk. 16.7: "I will go before you to Galilee; there you will see me", was spoken prophetically. Augustine's statement runs as follows:

> We observe, however, that the words in question are not given as

[52]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,384.

[53]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,384.

[54]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,385.

[55]) "Cum vero dictum est: *ecce praecedit vos in Galilaeam, ibi eum videbitis*, nec expressum est, quando id futurum esset, utrum quam primum, antequam alibi ab eis visus esset, an, posteaquam eum alicubi etiam praeter Galilaeam vidissent ...". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,385.

[56]) "Mattheus dicit Galilaeam in montem, non exprimit diem ...". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,385.

[57]) *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,385.

> the words of the evangelist himself, in the form of a narrative of a past occurrence, but as the words of the angel, who spoke according to the Lord's commission, and subsequently also as the words of the Lord Himself; that is to say, the words are used by the evangelist in his narrative, but they are presented by him as a direct statement of what was spoken by the angel and by the Lord. This, therefore, unquestionably compels us to accept them as having been uttered prophetically[58]).

In a note to this statement M.B. Riddle remarks:

> The discussion of the appearances of the Risen Lord is so clear and candid, that one must regret that it finds the conclusion in the allegorizing exegesis of this section[59]).

M.B. Riddle maintains that Augustine's conclusion is an allegory, instead of a conclusion arrived at through investigation of facts alleged to have actually happened. We flatly disagree with M.B. Riddle. In our own understanding, Augustine gives two possible interpretations of the text in question, namely, the literal and the allegorical. Before giving the allegorical interpretation in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, Augustine had already given the literal interpretation in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80. We would like to draw M. B. Riddle's attention to this reference, namely, *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, which Augustine alludes to in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, with the words:

> Let us take up now the subject which we had postponed, and inquire what mystical significance underlies the account given by Matthew and Mark, namely, that on rising He made this statement: "I will go before you to Galilee, there you will see me"[60]).

We see that the treatise in paragraph 86 is an attempt to explain the mystical significance of the text to those who may be anxious to know about it. In other words, Augustine is giving an extra explanation. He

[58]) "Procul dubio ergo, quoniam vox est ista non evangelistae narrantis, quod ita factum sit, sed angeli ex mandato domini et ipsius postea domini, evangelistae autem narrantis, sed quod ita ab angelo et a domino dictum sit, prophetice dictum accipiendum est". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43,391-392.

[59]) See M.B. RIDDLE, *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. VI, Grand Rapids, 1974, p. 225 note 1.

[60]) "Nunc iam videamus, quod distuleramus, cuius mysterii gratia secundum Mattheum et Marcum resurgens ita mandaverit: *praecedam vos in Galilaea, ibi me videbitis*". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43,391.

considers that the text contains a mystical meaning, besides the literal, since it was uttered by an angel[61]) and the place pointed at was Galilee.

> For all that, as the Lord pointed not to the place where He intended first to manifest Himself, but to the locality of Galilee, where He appeared afterwards for a necessary purpose; and as He conveyed these instructions about being seen, he said through the angel, "See, He goes before you to Galilee; there you shall see me". This makes every believer anxious to inquire with what mystical significance this statement is to be understood[62]).

In this same paragraph, Augustine also says that the appearance in Galilee actually happened, and this is proved by the testimony of Mt. 28,16-17: "Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them. And when they saw him they worshipped him; but some doubted". With the testimony of Matthew himself, Augustine concludes that there was a literal fulfillment of the prediction, besides the figurative or the allegorical meaning of it:

> For if Matthew himself, too, had not stated that the eleven disciples went to Galilee to a mountain, where Jesus had appointed for them, and that they saw Him there and worshipped Him, we might have supposed that there was no literal fulfillment of the prediction in question, but that the whole announcement was intended to convey a figurative meaning[63]).

It may profit us to illustrate here the allegorical meaning Augustine gives to the verse. He says that Galilee may mean either "transmigration" *(transmigratio)* or "revelation" *(revelatio)*[64]). If the former

[61]) For references in Augustine's works to angels as *nuntii*, see the following works: *De Genesi ad Litteram* 5,19,27, PL 42,334; *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,1, CCL 36,665; *En. in Ps.* 8,12, CCL 38,55; *En. in Ps.* 33, Sermo II,11, CCL 38,290; *En. in Ps.* 77,5, CCL 39,1070; *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 24,7, CCL 36,247; *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 53.3. CCL 36,360; *En. in Ps.* 103,16, CCL 40,1488; *En. in Ps.* 135,3, CCL 40,1959.

[62]) "Verum tamen quod dominus non ubi primum se demonstraturus erat, sed in Galilaea, ubi necessario postea visus est, se videndum mandavit et per angelum dicentem: *ecce praecedit vos in Galilaeam, ibi eum videbitis*, et per se ipsum dicens: *ite, nuntiate fratribus meis, ut eant in Galilaeam, ibi me videbunt*, quemvis fidelem facit intentum ad quaerendum, in quo mysterio dictum intellegatur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,385-386.

[63]) "Nam et ipse Mattheus si omnino non diceret undecim discipulos abisse in montem in Galilaeam, ubi constituerat eis Iesus, et illic eum vidisse adque adorasse, nihil ex hac praedictione conpletum ad litteram putaremus, sed totum figurata significatione praedictum". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.80, CSEL 43,385.

[64]) "Galilaea namque interpretatur vel 'transmigratio' vel 'revelatio'". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43,385.

meaning is adopted, namely, "transmigration", the verse would signify that the grace of Christ was to be spread from the people of Israel over towards the gentiles.

> Consequently, if we adopt the idea of "transmigration", what other sense occurs to us to give the sentence, "He goes before you to Galilee; there you shall see Him", but that the grace of Christ was to be spread from the people of Israel over towards the gentiles? In preaching the gospel to these gentiles, the apostles would meet with no acceptance unless the Lord prepared a way for them in the heart of men[65]).

And if the latter meaning, namely, "revelation", is to be adopted, the verse would signify that they would no longer see the Lord in his form as a servant but as equal with the Father (Phil. 2,6-7). This vision, however, will be shown only to the just (Jo. 14,21). Christ will show Himself to them not merely in His glorified body but also as the ineffable light, which enlightens all who come into the world (Jo. 1,9).

Augustine includes the idea of "transmigration" in the idea of "revelation". Christ's revelation of His glorified self means also the revelation of His transmigration from this world to eternity[66]). Yet this transmigration did not involve his detaching Himself from us.

> He went before us to a place which He did not leave although He came to us; and by going ahead of us He has not deserted us[67]).

In this context the conception of the Total Christ is strongly asserted. The Head has preceded. However, He has not broken away from the unity of the body, since He has transmigrated. He seeks the transmigration also of the body to eternity.

> Then we shall have a more happy transmigration from this world to eternity if we embrace His precepts so that we may be worthy to be set apart at His right hand[68]).

[65]) "Prius itaque secundum transmigrationis significationem quid aliud occurrit intellegendum *praecedit vos in Galilaeam, ibi eum videbitis*, nisi quia Christi gratia de populo Israhel transmigratura erat ad gentes? quibus apostoli praedicantes evangelium nullo modo crederentur, nisi eis ipse dominus viam in cordibus hominum praepararet". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43, 392.

[66]) "Illa erit revelatio tamquam vera Galilaea, cum similes ei erimus; ibi eum videbimus sicuti est. Ipsa erit etiam beatior transmigratio ex isto saeculo in illam aeternitatem". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43,393.

[67]) "Illuc nos praecessit, unde ad nos veniens non recessit et quo nos praecedens non deseruit". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43,393. See also *Sermo* 263,2, PL 38,1220.

[68]) "Ipsa erit etiam beatior transmigratio ex isto saeculo in illam aeternitatem, si eius

At present that eternity is the object of hope of the body. God works in the body of Christ so that the servants "as freed people ... may contemplate the form of the Lord"[69]).

This is the allegorical meaning of Matthew 18,7 and of Mark 16,7, according to Augustine. This is not Augustine's sole conclusion to his discussion on the appearances of the risen Lord, as M.B. Riddle contends.

II. The veracity of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus

Jesus truly rose bodily from the dead. Augustine proves this with the testimony of Lk. 24,39:[70]) "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me and see; for a spirit has no flesh and bones as you see that I have".

With Lk. 24,39 Augustine proves not only the resurrection of Jesus in His physical form, with which He appeared; he also supports the teaching that we, in the same manner as Jesus, will be raised from the dead and will recover the substance of our flesh in our transformed condition.

In *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 122,2 Augustine calls the teaching on the risen flesh of Jesus the most evident truth *(evidentissimam veritatem)*. H.I. Marrou, in *The Resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*, points out that Augustine's "principal argument is furnished by the verse Luke 24,39: 'See my hands and my feet ...'"[71]). Augustine uses this scriptural reference as a proof for the rising of the substance of the flesh, against the Manicheans who deny it by invoking 1 Cor. 15,50: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God".

In this section we wish to explain Augustine's use of Lk. 24,39 as a

praecepta sic amplectamur, ut ad eius dexteram segregari mereamur". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43,393.

[69]) "Sicut in illa aeternitate cognoscitur, quo servos perducet per formam servi, ut liberi contemplentur formam domini". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.86, CSEL 43,393.

[70]) Augustine knew also of Mt. 28,9, where Jesus is spoken of as touched and seen by the disciples and by the women: "Behold, Jesus met them, saying, all hail! And they came and held Him by the feet and worshipped Him". He used this reference, however, in relation to the mystical significance of Jo. 20,17: "Jesus said to her, 'Do not hold me, for I am not ascended yet to my Father'". The mystical significance is faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ. Cf. *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,3, CCL 36,665-666.

[71]) See H.I. Marrou, *The Resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*, Villanova, 1966, p. 41-42 note 20.

proof for the resurrection of Jesus in His physical form, with which He appeared.

A. *The appearance of Jesus with His physical form was a necessity*

After His resurrection Jesus had necessarily to be in communion with His disciples in His physical form. Augustine gives two principal reasons for this necessity. First, it was in order to strengthen their faith that wavered in the belief that Christ truly rose with His body.

> It was clearly on account of the apostles' weakness. For there were not absent in their number some whom the devil would tempt to unbelief, such that one of the disciples did not believe more in the living members of the body in which he had known Him before than in the recent wounds (Jo. 20,25). Therefore, in order to strengthen them, he judged it good to live with them after resurrection for forty complete days, from the day of His passion until this day, going in and coming out, eating and drinking, just as the Scripture says (Acts 1,3-4); this confirmed that what was taken away through the cross was returned to their eyes after the resurrection[72]).

Second, faith in the Incarnation is always needed by the Church in this age. Why? The Church, as Augustine describes, is like a ship sailing in a flood. The interior eyes of the members of the Church have been blinded "by the dust of sin". We can no longer see Jesus Christ as the Word of God (Jo. 1,1). To see something of this truth we need the service of the exterior eyes. For the exterior eyes to see, the object must have a visible form. It is for this reason that the Incarnation of the Word took place[73]).

Augustine makes a parallel between the purpose of Incarnation and the purpose of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus in His physical

[72]) "Sane propter infirmitatem discipulorum suorum : non enim deerant etiam in illo numero, quos diabolus infidelitate tentaret, ita ut quidam discipulus ejus in ipsa specie in qua noverat, non tamen magis fidem haberet viventibus membris, quam recentibus cicatricibus (Jo. 20,25): ergo ad eorum confirmationem dignatus est post resurrectionem vivere cum illis quadraginta diebus integris, ab ipso die passionis suae usque in hodiernum diem, intrans et exiens, manducans et bibens, sicut dicit Scriptura (Acts 1,3-4); confirmans hoc redditum esse oculis eorum post resurrectionem, quod ablatum erat per crucem". *Sermo* 264, 2, PL 38,1212.
See also *Sermo* 243,3 PL 38,1144.

[73]) "Excaecatus erat oculus interior pulvere peccatorum, jam non erat unde intelligeretur Verbum : quod dignatus est caro fieri, ut mandaretur quo possit postea videri, quod modo non potest". *Sermo* 264,5, PL 38,1217.

form. He thinks that just as it was necessary for Christ to minister to men in order for them to believe in His physical form after the entrance of sin, so also it was necessary that in the same manner He dealt with His disciples after His death and resurrection. Faith in the Incarnation will always remain necessary in this world. Only after this age, when the just have already attained the vision of the Word as It was in the very beginning, will it no longer be needed.

> If there were already an eye that saw "In the beginning was the Word" (Jo. 1,1), that was, that possessed, that embraced, that enjoyed, it was not necessary for the Word to become flesh and dwell among us. But because the interior eye of man was blinded by the dust of sin and was prevented from possessing and enjoying It, it was no longer in a condition where the Word could be understood; on this account it was necessary for It to become flesh in order that It be sent with something with which it could later be seen, because now It cannot be seen. The economy of salvation through the flesh of Christ is necessary for the faithful in this life, through which they may tend to the Lord; however, when the Word has come in the form of the Word, all the economy of salvation through the form of the flesh will no longer be necessary. Therefore, the dwelling in the flesh after the resurrection during the forty days was necessary, in order to demonstrate that the faith in the incarnation of Christ is necessary as long as the ship in this life is lurching in a flood[74]).

For this reason Augustine exhorts his listeners to believe in the resurrection of Jesus Christ in His physical form: "Behold what I say, brethren! Believe in Jesus Christ. He was born of the Virgin Mary, and crucified. He has risen"[75]).

B. *An apodictical proof for Christ's post-resurrection appearances in His physical form*

Luke 24,39, "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; touch me

[74]) "Si esset jam oculus, qui videret *In principio erat Verbum* (Jo. 1,1), qui videret, qui teneret, qui amplecteretur, qui frueretur, non opus erat ut Verbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis: sed quia ad illud tenendum et fruendum excaecatus erat oculus interior pulvere peccatorum, jam non erat unde intelligeretur Verbum; quod dignatus est caro fieri, ut mandaretur quo possit postea videri, quod modo non potest. Quia ergo dispensatio carnis Christi huic vitae fidelibus necessaria est, per quam tendant ad Dominum; cum autem ventum fuerit ad speciem illam Verbi, omnis carnalis dispensatio non erit necessaria : ideo conversatio ipsius in carne post resurrectionem per quadraginta dies erat necessaria, ut demonstraret tamdiu esse fidem Incarnationis Christi, quamdiu in ista vita docetur arca in diluvio fluctuare". *Sermo* 264,5, PL 38,1216-1217.

[75]) "Ecce quod dico, fratres: credite in Jesum Christum natum de Maria virgine, crucifixum resurrexisse". *Sermo* 264,5, PL 38,1217.

and see, for a spirit has no flesh and bones as you see that I have" is one of Augustine's apodictical proofs for Christ's resurrection and post-resurrection appearances in His physical form. He refers precisely to this scriptural text, since this clearly demonstrates the veracity of Christ's claim for the reality of His risen body, and because this text directly contradicts the claim of his adversaries and of the enemies of the Christian faith. His adversaries were the Manicheans, the Priscillianists, and the pagans[76]). All of them denied the reality of Christ's body. For them the body is evil. And Christ did not have a true body but simply appeared with a form of a body. The Manicheans and the Priscillianists held the docetist view of the person of Christ[77]). Augustine compares the Manicheans and the Priscillianists[78]) with the disciples. Their mental disposition made them conclude wrongly of their vision.

> He appeared to His disciples, and suddenly He stood in their midst. You heard this when it was read out. The disciples, however, were puzzled; they thought they were seeing His spirit. This is what they think, those who do not believe that Christ had a true flesh. They are the Manicheans, they are the Priscillianists, and not to mention whatever other pests there are. For they do not hold that Christ is nothing; they do not hold this; but they think that He is a spirit, that He had no body[79]).

In *De Agone Christiano* 24.26, written in 396 for the instruction of the ordinary people and partly in order to refute the Manicheans, Augustine for the first time refers to Luke 24,39 as a scriptural text which proves that the risen body of Jesus was the very same one which was laid in the tomb. His argument for the veracity of the appearance of Jesus in

[76]) Cfr. *Sermo* 238,2, PL 38,1125.

[77]) Cf. A.H. NEWMAN, "Introductory Essay on the Manichean Heresy", in *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, vol. IV, Grand Rapids, 1974, p. 15.

[78]) The Priscillianists adopted the teaching of the Manicheans. Augustine wrote three short works against them, namely, *Ad Orosium Contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas*, *Contra Mendacium Liber ad Consentium*, and *Epistola* 237, *Ad Ceretium Episcopum*. He included this in *De Haeresibus*. Unfortunately, not one of these three gives us an information on their principal arguments against the bodily resurrection of Jesus. For a study on the teaching of Priscillian we refer the readers to H. CHADWICK, *Priscillian of Avila. The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Chruch*, Oxford, 1976.

[79]) "Apparuit discipulis suis, et subito stetit in medio eorum. Cum legeretur audistis. Illi autem turbati sunt; existimabant enim se spiritum videre. Hoc est quod putant, qui eum veram carnem habere non credunt: Manichaei sunt, Priscillianistae sunt, et alia quaecumque nec nominandae pestes. Non enim putant Christum nihil esse, hoc non putant: sed spiritum putant esse, carnem non habuisse". *Sermo* 238,2, PL 38,1125. See also *Sermo Morin* 17,1, M.A. I,659; *Sermo Mai* 95,3, M.A. I,342.

His physical form is built upon the post-resurrection characteristics of the glorified body.

> Let us not listen to those who deny that the body of the Lord which rose from the dead was that one which had been placed in the tomb. For if it were not, he would not have said to His disciples after His resurrection: "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; touch me and see; for a spirit has no flesh and bones as you see that I have". It is sacrilegious to believe that our Lord, when He is Himself the truth, could have lied about something. Let us not be shaken by what is written : *when the doors were closed* He appeared suddenly to the disciples, to the extent that we deny that that body was a human body, because we see that it is contrary to the nature of this body to enter through a closed door. However, everything is possible with God ... For if He could glorify that body like the splendor of the sun before His passion, why after the passion could He not endow it with the power of penetration for a period of time too, as much as He wished, in order that it could enter through the closed doors[80])?

When refuting the Manicheans, for example in *De Continentia*, Augustine sarcastically shows that their doctrine involves self-contradiction; he calls it a doctrine of the "insane". Augustine's own argument, on the other hand, rests upon the authority of Paul and upon the claim of Christ himself. The point he is trying to prove, while refuting the Manicheans, is the reality and the goodness of the body. This teaching is contradictory to that of the Manicheans.

> What does the utterly insane Manichean say of the flesh of Jesus Christ? That it was not real but false. What does the blessed apostle say to this? "Remember that Jesus Christ, who descended from the

[80]) "Nec eos audiamus, qui negant tale corpus domini resurrexisse, quale positum est in monumento. Si enim tale non fuisset, non ipse dixisset post resurrectionem discipulis: *Palpate et videte, quoniam spiritus ossa et nervos non habet, sicut me videtis habere.* Sacrilegum est enim credere dominum nostrum, cum ipse sit veritas, in aliquo fuisse mentitum. Nec nos moveat, quod *clausis ostiis* subito eum apparuisse discipulis scriptum est, ut propterea negemus illud fuisse corpus humanum, quia contra naturam huius corporis videmus esse per clausa ostia intrare. Omnia enim possibilia sunt Deo ... Ita ergo et post resurrectionem de corpore suo fecit, quod voluit. Si enim potuit ante passionem clarificare illud sicut splendorem solis, quare non potuit et post passionem ad quantam vellet subtilitatem in temporis momento redigere, ut per clausa ostia posset intrare?". *De Agone Christiano* 24.26, CSEL 41,126-127. See also *Epistula* 164,5.14, CSEL 44,534: "corpus, quod in cruce reliquerat, in sepulchrum positum recepisse". *Epistula* 102,1.7, CSEL 34(2),550; *Sermo* 362,13, PL 39,1619; *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 11,3, CSEL 25(1),318.

seed of David, has risen from the dead, according to my gospel" (2 Tim. 2,8). And Christ Himself says, "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; touch and see, for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have" (Lk. 24,39). How is there truth in their doctrine which preaches that there was falsity in the flesh of Christ? How was there no evil in Christ, in whom the lie was so grievous? Because apparently to over-clean men true flesh is an evil, and false flesh instead of true flesh is not evil; the true flesh of the one born from the seed of David is evil, and the tongue of the one who says: "Touch and see because the spirit has no bones and flesh, just as you see that I have" is not evil[81]).

Sometime between 405 and 413, while writing *Sermo* 237, Augustine uses the same argument against the Manicheans which he used in *Sermo* 264, namely, the similarity between the state of their minds and that of the temporary state of the minds of the apostles. In this *Sermo*, however, he elaborates his explanations and bolsters his argument by showing the objective value of the testimony of the external senses.

It is important to note why Augustine appeals to the testimony of the senses. His main reason for doing this is to prove the truth of the dogma of Incarnation. This was denied by the Manicheans, since they believe that the human body, just as any other matter, is evil. And for this reason they "destroy the birth of Jesus of a virgin, and they do not want to believe that he was born of a woman"[82]). Accordingly the teaching on the Incarnation of the Word was unacceptable to them[83]).

[81]) "Quid de carne Christi dicit insanissimus Manichaeus? Quod non fuerit vera, sed falsa. Quid ad haec dicit beatus apostolus? *Memor esto Christum Iesum resurrexisse a mortuis ex semine David secundum evangelium meum.* Et ipse Iesus Christus, *palpate*, inquit, *et videte, quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere.* Quomodo est in eorum doctrina veritas quae id praedicat, quod in carne Christi erat falsitas? Quomodo in Christo non erat ullum malum, in quo erat tam grande mendacium? Quia videlicet hominibus nimium mundis malum est caro vera et non est malum falsa pro vera; malum est caro vera nascentis ex David semine et non est malum lingua dicentis: *Palpate et videte quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere*!". *De Continentia* 10.24, CSEL 41,170-171.

[82]) "Sunt enim hodie qui non credunt carnem habuisse Christum: quia et partum virginis destruunt, et nolunt eum natum ex femina credere". *Sermo* 237,1, PL 38,1122.

[83]) "*Verbum caro factum est* (Jo. 1,14), prorsus alienant a sua fide, vel potius a sua infidelitate. Totam istam dispensationem salutis nostrae, quod factus est homo pro inveniendo homine, qui Deus fecerat hominem; totum hoc, quod Christus in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum verum, non falsum sanguinem fudit, et de vero suo sanguine chirographum peccatorum nostrorum delevit; hoc totum haeritici damnabiles evacuare conantur. Totum hoc, ut Manichaei credunt, quod apparuit oculis hominum, spiritus fuit, caro non fuit". *Sermo* 237,1, PL 38,1122. For other relevant references see the following works: *En. in Ps.* 3,10, CCL 38,13; *En. in Ps.* 34, *Sermo* 2,33, CCL 38,314; *En. in Ps.* 39,5, 6, CCL 38,428; *En. in Ps.* 56,7, CCL 39,699; *En. in Ps.* 109,12, CCL 40, 1611-1612; *In*

In *Sermo* 237 Augustine confronts this denial and disbelief. He argues against the Manicheans with an argument for the truth of the resurrection of Jesus in the body. He bases this on the belief that the Word assumed a human body. As a consequence he rejects the teaching that condemns the body as evil; on the contrary he upholds the goodness of the body and teaches the integration of soul and body. He proves the goodness of the body and the integration of flesh and spirit by pointing to Christ who is Himself both flesh and spirit.

> Sometimes this detestable people, who detest the flesh and live according to the flesh, say this, and they deceive in this manner: Who have the better belief concerning Christ? Is it they who say that He had flesh or we who say that He was God, He was a spirit, and He appeared not as a body to the eyes of men but as God? What shall we answer but that the spirit is better than the body? If, therefore, he says, you confess that the spirit is better than the body, my idea of Christ is better, since I say that He was a spirit and not flesh. O unfortunate mistake! Why? Do I say that Christ was flesh? You say that He was a spirit. I say that He was spirit and flesh. You do not put it better; but you say less[84]).

For Augustine the doctrine of Incarnation is a teaching of the Catholic faith; it is the most well established and the clearest truth: *quod dicit catholica fides, quod dicit fundatissima et serenissima veritas.* It is with this conviction that he exhorts the Manicheans to abandon their error. He compares them with the disciples of Jesus. Like the disciples of Jesus who abandoned their error after having ascertained the truth of Christ's appearances in physical form, the Manicheans should abandon their error. In our observation, however, Augustine's exhortation is not persuasive enough and is fundamentally unacceptable to the Manicheans. He starts with a doctrinal explanation and ends with a conclusion that is derived not from the doctrinal explanation but from the empirical data that are furnished by the senses. The disciples had the

Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus 78,3, CCL 36,524-525; *Sermo* 264,5, PL 38,1216-1217; *Sermo Morin* 17,3, M.A. I,667.

[84]) "Aliquando ipsi detestabiles, carnem detestantes, et secundum carnem viventes, aliquando hoc dicunt, et sic decipiunt: Qui melius credunt de Christo, illi qui dicunt quia carnem habuit, an nos qui dicimus, Deus erat, spiritus erat, et oculis hominum non corpus, sed Deus apparebat? Quid est melius, caro, an spiritus? Quid responsuri sumus, nisi spiritum carne esse meliorem? Si ergo, dicit, confiteris quia spiritus melior sit quam caro; melius ego de Christo sentio, qui eum spiritum fuisse dico, non carnem. O infelix error! Quare? Ego carnem dico fuisse Christum? Tu dicis spiritum: ego spiritum et carnem. Non tu melius dicis, sed minus dicis". *Sermo* 237,2, PL 38,1122-1123.

priviledge of having these data. The Manicheans, however, did not. The disciples, according to him, really "touched and saw" Jesus (Lk. 24,39). The Manicheans did not. Thus, how could Augustine place the Manicheans and Jesus' disciples in the same situation?

C. *The post-resurrection appearances in the light of Augustine's theory of sensation*

It will be of help to us to show, in a form of a summary, Augustine's theory of sensation[85]). We shall limit ourselves to the aspect that is relevant to our objective, that is, a clarification of Augustine's appeal to the testimony of the senses, as provided by Like 24,39.

Perception by the external senses has an objective value. The senses do not deceive, because their only function is to inform the mind *(animus)* how they are affected by their contacts with external bodies. When the mind attends to these contacts, sensation takes place. This attention is the act of the mind alone[86]). This attention of the mind, which Augustine calls opinion *(opinio)*, may sometimes be mistaken. It may take, for example, for similitude what is real or vice versa. In this case, Augustine explains, the defect does not come from the external senses nor from the objects perceived, but from the deficiency of understanding *(ab intelligentia deficiens)*. This frequently happens with the information furnished by the sense of sight to the mind[87]). To make

[85]) For studies on Augustine's theory of sensation and knowledge, see the following works: M.R. MILES, *Augustine on the Body*, Ch. II, p. 9-39; M.A.I. GANNON, "The Active Theory of Sensation in St. Augustine", in *The New Scholasticism* 30, 1956; R.H. NASH, *The Light of the Mind: St. Augustine's Theory of Knowledge*, Lexington, 1969; R.J. O'CONNELL, *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man*, Cambridge, 1968. For a study on the difference between St. Augustine's and St. Thomas' theory of knowledge, see M.C. D'ARCY, "The Philosophy of St. Augustine", in *A Monument to Saint Augustine*, London, 1945, p. 175-194. For Augustine's explanation of the interrelation between the body and the soul in the process of sensation, see the following works: *De Genesi ad Litteram* 12,14 and 16, CSEL 28(1),398-399 and 401-402; *De Musica* 6,1-5, PL 32,1161-1171. For a study on Plotinus' influence on Augustine's theory of sensation, see M.R. MILES, *Augustine on the Body*, Ch. II.

[86]) "Solius animi est haec intentio". *De Trinitate* 11,2.2, CCL 50,335.

[87]) "Inluditur autem anima similitudinibus rerum non earum vitio, sed opinionis suae, cum adprobat quae similia sunt pro his, quibus similia sunt, ad intellegentia deficiens. Fallitur ergo in visione corporali, cum in ipsis corporibus fieri putat, quod fit in corporis sensibus — sicut navigantibus videntur moveri quae stant et intuentibus caelum stare sidera, quae moventur ... aut cum repentinis inopinatisque corporalibus visis anima turbata vel in somnis videre se putat vel aliquo eius modi spiritali viso adfici". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 12,25, CSEL 28(1), 417-418.

up for this deficiency and to ensure right judgment, Augustine recommends that the sense of sight be complemented by the testimony of the other senses:

> Therefore, all the corporeal visions should appeal for help from the testimonies of the other corporeal senses, especially of the mind and of reason, in order that what is held real in these visions may be found as true as it is found[88]).

In connection with the possibility for the mind to commit a mistake, Augustine, moreover, teaches that a confused mental state and fixed thoughts *(cogitationes)* could contribute to a wrong judgment. This was what happened with the disciples, in Augustine's interpretation.

> The Lord said to them: "Why are you troubled"? The mental disturbance had believed what you believe. How is this? They thought that they saw a spirit. For this reason, the Lord addressed them: "Why are you troubled, and why do thoughts rise in your heart"? (Lk. 24,38) These thoughts are earthly. For if they were heavenly, they would descend into your heart, not ascend[89]).

We do not have other clearer references to consult in order to elucidate this point. However, we are convinced that this could be safely interpreted within the context of the appearances-narratives. Within this context, the statement, in our opinion, may mean that the disciples like Mary Magdalene were as yet not in a mental state to accept the fact of the resurrection of Jesus; for even at that time, they still did not believe in His divine origin and destiny. This is clear in Augustine's interpretation of John 20,17: "Do not hold me, for I am not yet ascended to my Father". Augustine thinks it possible to interprete this phrase as a prohibition to believe in Jesus after the resurrection, simply as a man, just as He was thought of before it. He explains this in *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,3:

> However, it could be that Mary believed that He was unequal with the Father; this certainly was forbidden when it was said to

[88]) "Unde in omnibus corporalibus visis et aliorum sensuum contestatio et maxime ipsius mentis atque rationis adhibetur, ut, quod in hoc rerum genere verum est, inveniatur quantum inveniri potest". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 12,15, CSEL 28(1), 417-418.

[89]) "Ait illis Dominus, *Quid turbati estis?* Perturbatio credidit quod credis. Quid? Putabant se spiritum videre. Et Dominus ad haec: *Quid turbati estis, et cogitationes ascendunt in cor vestrum?* Cogitationes istae terrenae sunt. Si enim coelestes essent, descenderent in cor, non ascenderent". *Sermo* 237,3, PL 38,1123. See also *Sermo* 242,1, PL 38,1139.

> her: "Do not touch me"; that is to say: Do not believe in me in the way you known me up to now; do not let your thought stretch outward to what I have been made for you, nor pass into that (*Verbum*) through which it (my flesh, "*caro*") was made. For how could it not be that she still believed in him carnally, when she wept over him as a man[90])?

This text clearly applies to Mary. But could it also apply to the disciples as regards their state of mind? Without saying it expressly, Augustine thinks that the disciples are in the same psychological state as Mary. He implies a similarity in his interpretation of the statement, "for I have not yet ascended to my Father". Augustine interprets this as touching in faith Jesus as God and as equal with the Father.

> "For I have not yet ascended", he says, "to my Father. There you will touch me, when you have believed that as God, I am in no wise unequal with the Father[91]).

As shown by Jo. 20,17, "But go to my brethren, and say to them, I ascend to my Father, and your Father", Mary was commanded to relay the content of this faith in Jesus' divinity to the disciples. Since it was a command, therefore, it implied that the disciples did not yet believe then in His divinity. Besides, it may be for this same reason that Augustine further explains why in the verse Jesus did not say, "Our Father", but, "My Father and your Father". For He is the Father of Christ by nature; He is our Father by grace. Nor did He say "Our God", but, "My God and your God". This means that in one sense He is Jesus' God; Jesus as a man is also under Him. He is likewise our God, in another sense; that is, between us and God, Jesus is the mediator. Augustine kept to the word *vestrum* in *Patrem vestrum* and *Deum vestrum*. This means that the content of the message did not apply, for their instruction, only to Mary, but also to the disciples. If it had been *tuum*, then it would have applied only to Mary.

[90]) "Poterat autem sic credere Maria, ut eum putaret imparem Patri, quod utique prohibetur cum ei dicitur : *Noli me tangere*; Noli in me sic credere, quemadmodum adhuc sapis; noli tuum sensum huc usque pertendere quod pro te factus sum nec transire ad illud per quod facta est. Quomodo enim non carnaliter adhuc in eum credebat, quem sicut hominem flebat?". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,3, CCL 36,666. See also *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, CCL 50,168; *Sermo* 245,2.3, PL 38,1151-1152; *Sermo* 243,2, PL 38,1144.

[91]) "*Nondum enim adscendi*, inquit, *ad Patrem meum*; ibi me tanges quando me credideris Patri non imparem Deum". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,3, CCL 36,666.

> "But go to my brethren, and tell them, 'I ascend to my Father and your Father'". He does not say "Our Father"; in one sense, therefore, mine, in another sense, yours; by nature mine, by grace yours. "And my God, and your God". Nor here did He say, "Our God"; therefore, also here in one sense, mine, in another sense, yours; my God, under whom I also am a man, your God, between whom and you I am a mediator[92]).

Earlier, in the same passage, Augustine says that the "touch" in Jo. 20,17 can only be interpreted as the touching in faith Jesus Christ's divinity, because, as it is narrated in Mt. 28,9, the disciples and Mary literally "got hold" of Jesus Christ's feet.

> Christ wished to be believed in this way; that is, He Himself is to be touched spiritually in the sense that He and the Father are one. Indeed, to the most inward thoughts of one, who has made progress in this (knowledge of Christ) such that he acknowledges Him to be equal with the Father, He has in a manner ascended to the Father; in any other way He is not rightly touched, that is, in any other way He is not rightly believed in[93]).

D. *An argument from delay in instruction*

Another argument that we could present for our contention, namely, that the disciples still could not believe that Jesus has truly risen bodily, is that they had still not been instructed about the resurrection of one man, although they already believed in general resurrection of the body in the future. The Judaic religion taught the doctrine of the general resurrection of the body. In the interpretation of Augustine the Jews claimed hope in the resurrection only for themselves. The rest were excluded from this hope. Augustine reacts to this. In order to contradict the Judaic teaching he asserts the resurrection of Jesus Christ and, by extension, our own future resurrection. In *En. in Ps.* 65,1 he says:

> For we Christians knew that resurrection already took place in the Head, and future resurrection will take place in the members.

[92]) "*Vade autem ad fratres meos, et dic eis: Adscendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum.* Non ait: Patrem nostrum; aliter ergo meum, aliter vestrum; natura meum, gratia vestrum. *Et Deum Meum, et Deum vestrum.* Neque hic dixit: Deum nostrum; ergo et hic aliter meum, aliter vestrum; Deum meum sub quo et ego homo sum, Deum vestrum inter quos et ipsum mediator sum". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,3, CCL 36,666-667.

[93]) "Aut sic in se credit voluit Jesus, hoc est, sic se spiritaliter tangi, quod ipse et Pater unum sint. Eius quippe intimis sensibus quodammodo adscendit ad Patrem, qui sic in eo profecerit ut Patri agnoscat aequalem; aliter non recte tangitur, id est, aliter non recte in eum creditur". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,3, CCL 36,666.

> Christ is the Head of the Church; the Church is His members. What has preceded in the Head will follow in the body. This is our hope. We believe in this. We remain firm in this. We persevere amidst much evil in this world, while hope consoles us before hope becomes a reality. For it will be a reality when we too have risen, and having been transformed into beings with heavenly condition we have been made equal with the angels[94]).

Farther in the same context he refers directly to the Jews:

> The Jews, indeed, had hoped for the resurrection of the dead; and they hoped that they alone would rise to the blessed life because of the work of the law, and because of the justification by the Scriptures, which the Jews alone had but the gentiles had not. Christ was crucified; "blindness from the part of Israel happened in order that the fullness of the gentiles might enter in" (Rom. 11,25), as the apostle said. The resurrection of the dead began to be promised to the gentiles, who believed is Jesus Christ because He had risen. Thus, this psalm is against the presumption and pride of the Jews, in favor of the faith of the gentiles who are called to the same hope of resurrection[95]).

In *In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus* 120 Augustine includes in his treatise the unawareness of the disciples and of the women concerning the resurrection of Jesus. First, he points out that the women and the disciples never at first believed that the empty tomb suggested that Jesus had risen from the dead. He shows this on the basis of Jo. 20,9: "For as yet they did not know that He must rise from the dead". All that they believed then, was that the body of Jesus was simply removed from the sepulcher[96]). Augustine explains clearly this thought in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.69:

[94]) "Resurrectionem enim christiani novimus in capite nostro iam factam, et in membris futuram. Caput ecclesiae Christus est, membra Christi ecclesia. Quod praecessit in capite, sequetur in corpore. Haec est spes nostra; ad hoc credimus, ad hoc duramus, et perseveramus in tanta malignitate huius saeculi, consolante nos spe, antequam spes fiat res". *En. in Ps.* 65,1, CCL 39,838.

[95]) "Tenebant ergo Iudaei spem resurrectionis mortuorum; et solos se ad beatam vitam resurrecturos sperabant propter opus legis, et propter iustificationes scripturarum, quas habebant soli Iudaei, et gentes non habebant. Crucifixus est Christus; *caecitas ex parte Israel facta est, ut plenitudo gentium intraret* (Rom. 11,25): hoc apostolo dicente. Coepit etiam gentibus promitti resurrectio mortuorum, credentibus in Iesum Christum quod resurrexit. Inde psalmus iste est adversus praesumtionem et superbiam Iudaeorum, pro fide gentium ad eamdem spem resurrectionis vocatarum". *En. in Ps.* 65,1, CCL 39,839.

[96]) "Sublatum esse Dominum de monumento, discipulis eius Petro et Iohanni nuntiaverat Maria Magdalene; quo illi venientes, invenerunt sola linteamina, quibus corpus fuerat involutum; et quid aliud credere potuerunt, nisi quod dixerat, quod etiam

> Then John also entered and saw likewise and believed what Mary said, that the Lord had been taken away from the sepulcher, for he did not know yet that it was necessary for him to rise from the dead[97]).

In *In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus* 120,9 Augustine definitely denies the possibility that John during the first discovery of the empty tomb immediately believed that Jesus had risen. Therefore, he clarifies Jo. 20,8: "And he saw and he believed":

> "And he saw", he says, "and he believed". Here, some, paying too little attention, think that John believed that Jesus had risen; but what follows does not indicate this. For what does he mean with that he added immediately, "For they did not know yet the scripture that He must rise from the dead"? The man who he did not know had to rise; he therefore did not believe to have risen. What, then, did he see? What did he believe? He clearly saw the empty tomb, and believed the statement of the woman, that He had been removed from the tomb[98]).

And, second, in Augustine's description of the grave-yard drama, where he displays very good insights into the psychology of the participants, especially of the women, he argued that what kept Mary at the sepulcher, while the men had already gone away, was that she wanted always to be physically near the Lord, even when He was buried.

> "But Mary stood outside the sepulcher weeping" (Jo. 20,11). The weaker sex was fastened to the place by a stronger affection. And the eyes which had sought the Lord and had not found Him had nothing else to do but cry, more deeply sorrowful that He had been taken away from the tomb than when He was killed on the cross; for no remembrance of such a master remained, whose life had been withdrawn from them. This grief, therefore, now kept the woman at the tomb[99]).

ipsa crediderat?". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,1, CCL 36,664. See also *Sermo* 245,1, PL 38,1151; *Epistula* 129,2, CSEL 44,35.

[97]) "Deinde et Iohannes intravit et vidit similiter et credidit quod Maria dixerat sublatum esse dominum de monumento. Nondum enim sciebat scripturam, quia oportebat eum a mortuis resurgere". *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.69, CSEL 43,362.

[98]) "*Et vidit*, inquit, *et credidit*, Hic nonnulli parum adtendentes, putant hoc Iohannem credidisse, quod Iesus resurrexit; sed quod sequitur, hoc non indicat. Quod sibi enim vult quod statim adiunxit: *Nondum enim sciebant scripturam, quia oportet eum a mortuis resurgere?* Non ergo eum credidit resurrexisse, quem nesciebat oportere resurgere. Quid ergo vidit? quid credidit? Vidit scilicet inane monumentum, et credidit quod dixerat mulier, eum de monumento esse sublatum". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 120,9, CCL 36,664.

[99]) "*Maria autem stabat ad monumentum foris plorans.* Viris enim redeuntibus,

Let us briefly recapitulate. The Manicheans, the Priscillianists, and the pagans denied the bodily resurrection of Jesus, since they held that the flesh is evil. The Jews, whose teaching influenced the women and the disciples, did not believe in the resurrection of one man before the general resurrection of the body. Against this background Augustine is forced to demonstrate in the most simple and evident way, by the testimony of the external senses, the veracity of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus. He thinks that it is possible to explain this by referring to Luke 24,39.

> Therefore, "why are you troubled, and questionings arise in your heart? See my hands and my feet, touch and see'. If the attention of the mind is not enough for you, put your hands out! If this attention is not enough, or if touching is not sufficient, feel! He did not only say, touch! but also, feel! and examine closely! Let your hands prove it to you if your eyes are deceived: Feel and see! Have eyes in your hands. Feel what, and see what? "Because the spirit has no flesh and no bones, just as you see that I have" (Lk. 24,39)[100]).

Augustine's marshalling of the different testimonies of the senses according to their degree of sensibility, to wit, first, "put your hand out" *(manus mittite)*, second, "have contact" *(tangere)*, third, "feel" *(palpate)* and, finally, "feel and examine thorougly" *(palpate et contrectate)*, clearly demonstrates his intention of establishing the certitude of the bodily appearance of Jesus. In fact, it is for this reason that, as he points out, the disciples began to believe in His bodily resurrection rather than that He had appeared in His spirit. Therefore, Augustine exhorts the Manicheans to believe with the disciples.

infirmiorem sexum in eodem loco fortior figebat affectus. Et oculi qui Dominum quaesierant et non invenerant, lacrymis iam vacabant, amplius dolentes quod fuerat de monumento ablatus, quam quod fuerat in ligno occisus; quoniam magistri tanti, cuius eis vita subtracta fuerat, nec memoria remanebat. Tenebat itaque ad monumentum iam dolor iste mulierem". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,1, CCL 36,664.

[100]) "Ergo, *Quid turbati estis, et cogitationes ascendunt in cor vestrum? Videte manus meas et pedes meos, palpate et videte*. Si parum est vobis attendere; manus mittite. Si parum est attendere, nec sufficiat tangere; palpate. Nec, Tangite, solum dixit; sed palpate et contrectate. Probent sibi manus vestrae, si mentiuntur oculi vestri: *Palpate et videte*, oculos in manibus habete. Quid palpate, et quid videte? *Quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere"*. *Sermo* 237,3, PL 38,1123. See also *Sermo* 246,4, PL 38,1155: "Numquid jam ascenderat ad Patrem, quando dicebat, *Palpate et videte?* Praebet se tangendum discipulis suis, non tangendum, sed palpandum, ut fides fiat verae carnis, veri corporis, ut exhibeatur etiam tactibus humanis soliditas veritatis: praebet ergo se palpandum manibus discipulorum". In connection with the "touch" by Thomas and on the general application of the sense of sight to the other external senses, see *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 121,5, CCL 36,668.

> You erred with the disciples, be corrected with the disciples. It is human, I concede. You think that Christ was a spirit. So did Peter. So did the others, who thought that they saw His spirit. But they did not linger in this error, so that you may know exactly that this had been in their hearts[101]).

But, since it is Augustine's theory that no rightful knowledge takes place in believers without the aid of divine illumination, he adds that it was Jesus the Physician who finally converted the disciples from their error.

> The Physician did not send them away as they were. He approached them and gave them the medicine. He saw the wounds in their hearts; and by bearing the wounds in His body, He cured the wounds of their hearts[102]).

E. *Does the testimony of 'touch and see' in Lk. 24,39 give Augustine a definitive stand for the veracity of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus?*

In *Sermo* 237, by appealing to the testimony of Lk. 24,39: "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; touch me and see; for the spirit has no flesh and bones as you see that I have", Augustine appears to confirm the veracity of the bodily resurrection and of the post-resurrection appearances of Jesus. A question, however, may be posed concerning how definite this confirmation is. How could Augustine be sure that the disciples really believed in Jesus' bodily resurrection immediately after they had touched and seen Him, when he also appeals to the other

[101]) "Errabas cum discipulis, corrigere cum discipulis. Humanum est, concedo. Putatis spiritum Christum: hoc et Petrus, hoc et caeteri qui spiritum putaverunt se videre; sed in isto errore non remanserunt, ut scias prorsus hoc fuisse in cordibus eorum". *Sermo* 237,3, PL 38,1123-1124.

[102]) "Medicus eos non dimisit sic: accessit, medicamentum adhibuit; vulnera in cordibus videbat; et unde vulnera cordium curaret, in corpore cicatrices". *Sermo* 237,3, PL 38,1124. Note that here Augustine appears to show that Christ Himself initiated the imparting of knowledge to the apostles. This thinking is in accordance with his conception of Christ as the wisdom of God whose role is teaching (cf. *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* 16,27). God himself does the illuminating (cf. *Soliloquia* 1,6.12). It is also interesting to note that here Augustine speaks of Christ correcting the error of the Apostles by curing the wounds of their hearts. For him faith involves the mind and the heart. And so often we come across texts where he uses *animus* or *mens* when he means *cor*, or vice versa. For example, he says, "Debuimus enim utrumque in illarum animo factum intellegere, etiamsi ipse Mattheus de timore non diceret ...", referring to the feeling of "fear and joy". Cf. *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,24.64, CSEL 43,353.

activities of Jesus, like eating and drinking before the disciples, in order to demonstrate that He had truly risen in His physical form?

We observe that in *Sermo* 237 augustine omits Lk. 24,41: "While they were still unbelieving and wondering for joy, He said to them, 'Do you have something to eat'?". In *De Consensu Evangelistarum* 3,25.74, however, he thinks it possible to harmonize Lk. 24,36-40: "However, as they were saying this, Jesus stood in their midst and said to them, 'Peace be with you'; it is I, do not be afraid. But they were startled and frightened, and they thought that they were seeing a spirit. And He said to them, 'Why are you disturbed and why do questionings *(cogitationes)* arise in your hearts'? See my hands and my feet, because it is I myself. Touch and see, because a spirit has no flesh and bones, just as you see that I have. And after He had said this, He showed to them His hands and feet". With Jo. 20,19-20: "Therefore, on the evening of that day, the first day of the week, and the doors were closed, where the disciples were for fear of the Jews, Jesus came, stood in their midst and said to them, 'Peace be with you'. And after He had said this, He showed them His hands and side". After Jo. 20,19-20 Augustine thinks it fit to add Lk. 24,41-43: "However, while they were still unbelieving and wondering for joy *(prae gaudio)* He said: 'Do you have here something to eat? And they gave Him a piece of broiled fish and a honey-comb containing honey. And after He had eaten, He took the left-over and gave it to them". With these three groups of verses, namely, Lk. 24,36-40, Jo. 20,19-20, and Lk. 24,41-43, Augustine weaves complementary groups of verses from the two evangelists, Luke and John, into one part of the appearance-narrative. This shows that Augustine does not find it sufficient to appeal only to Lk. 24,39 in order to prove that the disciples, after they had seen and touched Jesus, at once believed in His bodily resurrection. We think, therefore, that in *Sermo* 237 it would have been more proper for Augustine to include a further testimony given in Lk. 24,41. This reference narrates Jesus' plan of demonstrating further the veracity of His bodily resurrection by eating with or before His disciples. Augustine, however, does not include this.

If our argument here is insufficient, we refer to another *Sermo* namely *Sermo* 265,1. There Augustine shows that even after the several appearances during the first day, the disciples remained indeed uncertain. They needed, therefore, to be constantly reassured through the dealings of Jesus with them until the day of His ascension. However, in the homily, Augustine's scriptural reference is Acts 1,3: "To them He

presented Himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing to them during forty days, and speaking of the kingdom of God".

> For the Lord our Savior, after His body had been laid down and recovered, rose from the dead; after this He showed Himself alive to the disciples, He whom they despaired of when He was dying. Afterwards He returned to them for their eyes to see and for their hands to examine thoroughly, building up their faith by exhibiting the truth; since to show the wonderful miracle in one day and to withdraw it at once was not sufficient for human frailty and weak anxiety. He had dealings with them on earth, just as we heard when the *Acts of the Apostles* was read, He had dealings with them on earth for forty days, going in and coming out, eating and drinking, in order to show them the truth and not because He Himself needed something[103]).

In *Sermo* 242,2, written between 400 and 410, Augustine asserts that Christ Himself knew that to be merely seen and touched by the disciples was not sufficient to demonstrate the veracity of His post-resurrection appearance that is narrated in Lk. 24,39.

> We heard when the Gospel was read now that when He showed Himself alive to the eyes and hands of His disciples, He perceived that it was not enough to demonstrate the corporeal evidence; but He added, "Do you have here anything to eat? And they offered Him a piece of broiled fish and a honey-comb containing honey. He ate it and what remained He gave to them"[104]).

Another reason given much earlier by Augustine for the need of the disciples to be strengthened in their belief is given in *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 4,2.

> Jesus showed Himself to the disciples after His resurrection in

[103]) "Dominus enim Salvator noster, posito corpore, et recepto corpore, posteaquam resurrexit a mortuis, exhibuit se discipulis viventem, quem desperaverant morientem. Posteaquam se reddidit oculis intuendum, manibus contrectandum, aedificans fidem, exhibendo veritatem; quoniam parum fuit humanae fragilitati et infirmae trepidationi tam magnum miraculum uno die exhibere, et inde subtrahere; conversatus est cum eis in terra, sicut audivimus, cum liber Actuum Apostolorum legeretur, conversatus est cum eis in terra quadraginta diebus, intrans et exiens, manducans et bibens: ut exhiberet veritatem, non quod haberet necessitatem". *Sermo* 265,1, PL 38,1219. See also *Sermo* 264,2, PL 38,1212.

[104]) "Modo Evangelium cum legeretur, audivimus, quia cum exhiberet se vivum oculis manibusque discipulorum suorum, parum illi visum est ad demonstrandam evidentiam corporalem: sed addidit, *Habetis hic aliquid quod manducetur? Et obtulerunt ei partem piscis assi, et favum mellis: et manducavit, et reliquias dedit illis* (Lk. 24,37-43)". *Sermo* 242,2, PL 38,1139. See also *Sermo* 243,3 PL 38,1144.

> order not only to be seen and be touched by them, lest they should think that their mortal and carnal senses were in any way playing tricks on them, and he rather strengthened them by means of the testimony of ancient books, with the words: "It was necessary that all things should be fulfilled that were written in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets and in the Psalms concerning me" (Lk. 24,44)[105]).

We, therefore, conclude that Augustine refers to the other activities of Jesus Christ after His resurrection, namely, eating and drinking, entering in and going out, as narrated in Acts 1,3 and Lk. 24,41-43. These activities of Christ as further demonstrations for His resurrection in body support the testimony given in Lk. 24,41-43.

III. The bond between Christ's glorification and our own future glorification

The resurrection of Christ inaugurated His glorification[106]). To a certain extent, His resurrection included already our own resurrection. His is the *exemplum* of our own resurrection[107]).

There have been several works written that partly include the theme of the bond between Christ's glorification and our own in the future. F. Da Cagliari, in *Cristo Glorificato di Spirito Santo nel Pensiero di S. Agostino e di S. Cirillo Alessandrino*, centers his discussion on the antithesis of humility and glorification, signified by Christ's incarnation, passion, resurrection and ascension[108]). W. Geerlings, in *Christus*

[105]) "Unde Dominus posteaquam resurrexit a mortuis seque non solum intuendum discipulorum oculis sed etiam contrectandum manibus obtulit, ne quid tamen cum suis mortalibus et carnalibus sensibus fallaciter agi arbitrarentur, magis eos de veterum librorum testificatione firmavit dicens: *oportebat inpleri omnia, quae scripta sunt in lege Moysi et prophetis et psalmis de me". Contra Faustum Manichaeum* 4,2 CSEL 25(1),269.

[106]) "Haec est clarificatio Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quae ab eius resurrectione sumsit exordium". *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 104,3, CCL 36,603; see also *Sermo* 265,8, PL 38,1222; *Sermo* 263,1, PL 38,1209.

[107]) *Sermo* 263,1, PL 38,1209; *Sermo* 361,3, PL 39,1600; *Sermo* 362,10, PL 39,1617; *Sermo* 240,2, PL 38,1131; *Sermo* 241,1, PL 38,1132; *Sermo* 242,1, PL 38,1139; *De Trinitate* 7,3-5, CCL 50,253f.; *En. in Ps.* 34, *Sermo* 2,3, CCL 38,314; *En. in PS.* 39,5, CCL 38,428; *En. in Ps.* 55,3, CCL 39,679; *En. in Ps.* 61,22, CCL 39,791; *En. in Ps.* 70, *Sermo* 2,10, CCL 40,968-970; *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 2,14, CCL 40,1448; *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 2,14, CCL 40,1449; *En. in Ps.* 102,6, CCL 40,1456; *Sermo* 216,6, PL 38,1075.

[108]) F. Da Cagliari, *Cristo glorificato Datore di Spirito Santo nel Pensiero di S. Agostino E di S. Cirillo Alessandrino*, Roma, 1961, p. 70f.

Exemplum. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins, gives the different meanings of *exemplum* in Augustine. In the context of resurrection he speaks of Augustine's conception of resurrection as a way by which man enjoys God, the Highest Good[109]). In this respect Geerling's treatment is limited because he deals with the theme only in the perspective of Augustine's concept of *uti* and *frui*. A.J. Vermeulen, in *The Semantic Development of Gloria in Early Christian Latin*, includes Augustine's conception of *Gloria* in the context of the meaning Augustine gives to the humility of Christ's death on the cross[110]). According to him, Augustine makes the humility of Christ's death on the cross as the basis of His later glory.

In this section we attempt to trace back in Augustine the origin of the bond of Christ's glorification and ours in the future. We also attempt to show how Augustine came to think that Christ's resurrection is the *exemplum* of our future resurrection. The theme of Christ's ascension is excluded. Augustine considers it no more than an extension of Christ's glory in His resurrection[111]).

A. *The bond between Christ's resurrection and ours*

In *De Quantitate Animae* 33,76, written in 388, Augustine clearly mentions for the first time the certainty of the resurrection of the body[112]). Here also for the first time he speaks of the bond that exists between the resurrection of Christ and our own that will happen in the future.

> We shall also see that this corporeal nature, in obedience to the divine laws, undergoes so many changes and vicissitudes that we may maintain even the resurrection of the body, which some believe with hesitation and others not at all, to be so certain that the rising of the sun after it has gone down is not more certain to us. With this certainty let us therefore look down on those who laugh at the fact that the form of a man has been assumed by the most powerful, eternal, and immutable Son of God at the other miracles pertaining to this history, in order to set for us the prototype and the firstfruits

[109]) W. GEERLINGS, *Christus Exemplum. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins*, Mainz, 1978, p. 195-199.

[110]) A.J. VERMEULEN, *The Semantic development of Gloria in Early Christian Latin*, Nijmegen, 1956, p. 191f.

[111]) *Sermo* 263,1, PL 38,1209; *Sermo* 265,7 & 12, PL 38,1222 & 1224.

[112]) Cf. M.R. MILES, *Augustine on the Body*, Missoula, 1979, p. 106.

> of our salvation, as those boys, who, when they see a painter painting by looking at tablets (= models) set before him, think that he cannot paint a man unless he looks at another picture[113]).

In this text Augustine is speaking of the vision of a man in contemplation. In the thinking of Augustine this vision is a glimpse of the reality which brings one to believe that if body, by being subject to the divine laws, can change much, then it is not absurd to admit also that after the resurrection our body can be transformed.

In the same text, Augustine establishes as certain the ability of the bodies to be transformed after the resurrection: *ita certam teneamus*. He traces this certainty to the purpose of Christ's incarnation, life, sufferings and death: the whole history of Christ's earthly existence was aimed at the salvation of mankind. This means that in the thinking of Augustine the role of Christ's mediation is absolutely necessary for our salvation, and for that matter for our resurrection. Christ's own bodily resurrection took place in order to set for us the *exemplum* and the *primitiae* of our salvation. This means that the meaning of Christ's resurrection cannot be separated from His own life, sufferings and death. Nor, therefore, can it be separated from our own future resurrection. It is in this sense that it is the *exemplum* of our future resurrection.

Christ's resurrection, seen within the context of his life on earth exercises a certain degree of causality in our own future resurrection. In the text quoted above Augustine speaks of this. In an analogy of the ability of a painter to paint even without a model but with his capacity to put under his command the instruments for painting, Augustine is able to demonstrate the causality that Christ's resurrection, in connection with the causality of His incarnation and deeds has upon our own resurrection. He demonstrates this causality further in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83,67,2, where he uses a similar analogy. However, there he speaks more properly of the causality of God in comparison with the causality of a painter upon a painting. In our understanding the reference to the

[113]) "Videbimus etiam naturae hujus corporeae tantas commutationes et vicissitudines, dum divinis legibus servit, ut etiam ipsam resurrectionem carnis, quae partim tardius, partim omnino non creditur, ita certam teneamus, ut certius nobis non sit, solem, cum occiderit, oriturum. Jamvero eos qui ad exemplum salutis nostrae ac primitias, a Filio Dei potentissimo, aeterno, incommutabili susceptum hominem, eumdemque natum esse de virgine, caeteraque hujus historae miracula irrident, sic contemnemus, tanquam eos pueros, qui cum pictorem propositis tabulis, quas intueatur, pingentem viderint; non putent posse hominem pingi, nisi aliam picturam, qui pingit, aspexerit". *De Quantitate Animae* 33,76, PL 32,1077.

causality of God does not rule out the causality of Christ, considering that in the thinking of Augustine Christ as the Son of God and the second Person in the Trinitarian unity shared the causality of the Father and vice versa[114]). In the transformation of the risen body, the same body will acquire another dignity.

> For "we are God's children now; it does not appear yet what we shall be. But we know that when he appears, we shall be like Him since we shall be like Him, since we shall see Him as He is" (1 Jo. 3,2). This is itself the revelation of the sons of God, which the desire of creation hopes for now; this does not mean that creation hopes for a revelation of another nature, which may not be a creation; but itself in its actual state now hopes for what it will itself be in the future. It is as if it were said, when a painter paints with the colors put under his control and prepared for his work, the expected result of the colors is the manifestation of the image, not because then they are one thing and later they will be another; but only because they will acquire another dignity[115]).

In this analogy we see clearly that God, as compared to the painter, who exercises causality in the transformation of the colors into a certain image, exercises causality efficaciously in the process of transforming our body. The colors undergo transformation through the power and control *(subjectis sibi)* of the painter. Our body will rise and undergo transformation through the power and control of God.

The transformation of the body of Christ after His resurrection from the dead was not patterned after any model. His resurrection is itself the *exemplum* of our own future resurrection. In the context of

[114]) See *In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus* 19,15, CCL 36,198: "Animas ergo suscitat Deus, per Christum filium Dei; corpora suscitat Deus, per eumdem Christum filium hominis".
In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus 19,5, CCL 36,190: "Et filius quos vult vivificat, et Pater quos vult vivificat, et ipsos Filius quos et Pater; ac per hoc eadem Patris et Filii et potestas est et voluntas".
In Iohannis Evangelium Tractatus 21,10, CCL 36,217: "Ergo et Lazarus qui resurrexit, et a Patre et a Filio suscitatus est in dono et gratia Spiritus sancti; et illud mirabile opus Trinitas fecit".

[115]) "*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). Ipsa est revelatio filiorum Dei, quam nunc exspectat exspectatio creaturae: non quod creatura exspectet alterius naturae, quae non sit creatura; sed ipsa qualis futura est: tamquam si diceretur, operante pictore subjectis sibi coloribus et ad opus ejus paratis, exspectatio colorum manifestationem imaginis exspectat: non quia tunc sunt alii erunt; sed tantum quod aliam dignitatam habebunt". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83,67,2, PL 40,67.

salvation it is by way of Christ's resurrection, similarly in connection with our life history in union with Christ, that will bring us to a state where we shall enjoy the vision of Christ as God.

In "'Primitiae Spiritus'. Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des 'Confessions' de saint Augustin", J. Pépin acknowledges also the same difficulty as we are struggling with in *De Quantitate Animae*. He wrestles with the complexity that Augustine presents by associating *exemplum* with *primitiae*. J. Pépin unravels this difficulty in the light of Augustine's statement in *En. in Ps.* 64,5. There Augustine associates *primitiae* with incarnation. He apparently identifies the human body of Jesus Christ as the *primitiae*.

> Why will all flesh come to Him? Because He assumed flesh. For what purpose will all flesh come? He took up therefore the firstfruits from the womb of a virgin; after the firstfruits have been assumed, the rest will follow in order that the holocaust be completed. Why then does He say: All flesh? Because all flesh means: All men [116]).

In *En. in Ps.* 64,6 Augustine clearly says that this *primitiae* is the *primitiae carnis* that Christ took from the womb of a virgin. The virgin was one of us. This shows that Christ assumed from us a body that He would offer on the cross to God.

> Someone, therefore, stood out, our priest, sent by the Lord God; He assumed from us what He would offer to the Lord; we called them the holy firstfruits of the flesh taken from the womb of a virgin. He offered this holocaust to God; He extended His hands on the cross ... [117]).

B. *The meaning of "primitiae" in the perspective of resurrection*

Augustine distinguishes in a precise manner the nuanced conception of *primitiae* from the conception of *primitiva* and *primogenita*. *Primitiae* are the selected things among those harvested. *Primitiva* are the first

[116]) "Quare ad illum omnis caro veniet? Quia carnem assumsit. Quo veniet omnis caro? Tulit inde primitias ex utero virginali, assumtis primitiis cetera consequentur, ut holocaustum compleatur. Unde ergo *omnis caro?* Omnis homo". *En. in Ps.* 64,5, CCL 39,827.

[117]) "Exstitit ergo a Deo Domino missus quidam sacerdos noster; assumsit a nobis quod offeret Domino, ipsas diximus sanctas primitias carnis ex utero virginis. Hoc holocaustum obtulit Deo: extendit manus in cruce ...". *En. in Ps.* 64,6, CCL 39,828.
See also *En. in Ps.* 129,7, CCL 40,1895: Christ's resurrected body is our *primitiae* offered to God.

offspring of beasts and human beings: *primitivi animalium fetus, etiam hominum. Primogenita* are the first fruits *harvested.* For Augustine the *primitiae* are therefore the selected articles among the *primogenita.* This would mean that for him there is a very close unity between the *primitiae* and those who belong to this group. When applied to Christ and His Body, *primitiae* would signify the close union between Christ and His Body. It is understandable that Augustine sees the relationship between Christ's resurrection and ours in the future in the perspective of unity and not in the perspective of series of harvests because it seems that he looks at the relationship in the light of his teaching concerning the Total Christ. This teaching becomes often the underlying idea of his arguments for the resurrection of our bodies[118]). The Head, who has risen and ascended, longs for the resurrection of the body in view of the unity of these two parts. Augustine presents this unity in the image of the unity of the harvest that has already been put in a container or its like.

> "The first-born (*primogenita*) that are in their land, which they bring to the Lord, will be yours" (Num. 18,13). Here he does not call *primogenita* the first offspring of beasts, because in Greek they are called πρωτότοκα; here, however, the word used is πρωτογενήματα. But in Latin the two names are not found for these things. And therefore some understood those πρωτογενήματα to be *primitias*; but *primitiae* are called ἀπαρχαί and they are something else. These three, therefore, should be distinguished in this manner because πρωτότοκα are the first offspring of beasts and also human beings, πρωτογενήματα, however, are the first fruits harvested from the earth, or from a tree, or from a vine; the *primitiae*, on the other hand, are those things which have been firstly selected from the fruits, but have been already harvested from the field and are taken first as from a lump, from a container, from a jar, from a cask[119]).

[118]) See *En. in Ps.* 65,1 CCL 39,839.

[119]) "*Primogenita omnia quaecumque fuerint in terra eorum, quantacumque adtulerint domino, tibi erunt* (Num. 18,13). Hic primogenita, non fetus primitivos pecorum dicit; nam ipsa graece πρωτότοκα nominantur, haec autem πρωτογενήματα, sed latine duabus his rebus duo nomina reperta non sunt. Et ideo ista πρωτογενήματα quidam 'primitias' interpretati sunt; sed primitiae ἀπαρχαί dicuntur et aliud sunt. Haec igitur tria ita discernuntur, quia πρωτότοκα sunt primitivi animalium fetus, etiam hominum, πρωτογενήματα vero primi fructus de terra sumti vel de arbore vel de vite; primitiae autem de fructibus quidem, sed iam redactis ab agro, sicut de massa, de lacu, de dolio, de cupa, quae primitus sumebantur". *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum (Quaestiones de Numeris)* 32, CSEL 28(2),340 J. Pépin, "'Primitiae Spiritus'. Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des 'Confessions' de saint Augustin", p. 176: "*primitiae* enfin s'applique aux premiers prélèvements effectués sur récolte déjà rentrée".

It would be in accordance with the idea in this text to say that for Augustine the flesh of Christ which He himself offered to God as an holocaust is the flesh which is ontologically one with our own. This explains the idea that Christ's resurrection in flesh included already, in a certain measure, the resurrection of our flesh: *Sed resurrexit in eo quod pro te accepit ex te. Ergo natura in illo praecessit te; et quod sumptum est ex te, adscendit ante te; ibi ergo et tu adscendisti. Adscendit ergo ille prior, quia caro illa de genere humano.* This text, which is found in *En. in Ps.* 70, *Sermo* 2,10 — a similar thought is also found in *En. in Ps.* 65,1 — shows that for Augustine the bond between Christ and us, which was established through His incarnation, was not broken by His death and ascension. His flesh rose from the dead and ascended. Yet it retains its ontological union with our flesh[120]). Accordingly His resurrection showed the resurrection of the firstfruits.

> "For as by a man", therefore, "came death, by a man also came the resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor. 15,21), manifested, not created; for both have been instituted by God; but the condition of death is in Adam; however, in the person of Christ the firstfruits of the resurrection shone[121]).

This statement is actually Julian's. Augustine, however, assimilates it; thus showing agreement with Julian. J. Pépin points this out also: *mis par A. sur les lèvres de Julien*[122]). In the context of the theme of resurrection Julian and Augustine are discussing the meaning of *primitiae* in 1 Cor. 15,20 and 21: "But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the firstfruits *(primitiae)* of those who have fallen asleep. For as by one man came death, by one man has come also the resurrection of the dead". J. Pépin contends that here Augustine is amplifying the meaning of *primitiae* as *initium*[123]). According to his interpretation of Augustine, the bishop of Hippo teaches that Christ's resurrection was the beginning of the resurrection of the dead. We agree with this interpretation. This conception of *primitiae resurrectionis* as *initium resurrectionis* connotes the idea of bond in resurrection. The signification of Christ's resurrec-

[120]) See *En. in Ps.* 39,5 and 6, CCL 38,428.

[121]) "*Per hominem ergo mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum* (1 Cor. 15,21), manifestata, non creata: caeterum utrumque institutum per Deum est; sed in Adam mortis conditio, in persona vero Christi primitiae resurrectionis claruerunt". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6,36, PL 45,1591-1592.

[122]) J. PÉPIN, "'Primitiae Spiritus'. Remarques sur une citation paulinienne des 'Confessions' de saint Augustin", p. 176 note 3.

[123]) Ibid. See also *In Epistulam Ioannis Tractatus* 2,2, PL 35,1990.

tion, which should not be isolated from the signification of His life, sufferings and death, continues to exercise causality in us towards the time of our own resurrection. This idea is explained more clearly in the conception of Augustine of the resurrection of the body in terms of reward for the just. Christ is the author of the resurrection of the bodies of the just: *et duo ista contraria singulos auctores habent, Adam mors, Christum resurrectio mortuorum.*

> Now therefore, because he speaks of the resurrection of the body, which will be in the future, with which on the contrary he contrasts the death of the body, which happens now, and these two opposites have their own authors, death has Adam, the resurrection of the body has Christ, it is understood that just as that resurrection was a reward, so death is to be understood as a punishment. For on the contrary nature is not contrasted with a reward whereas a punishment is. And therefore in this passage, where the resurrection of the body is contrasted with the death of the body, yhe Apostle does not speak of the general resurrection, which pertain both to the just and the unjust; but rather, of that resurrection, in which those who are vivified in Christ will be present and not those who are condemned by Christ, although He will raise up both, since all who are in the sepulcher will hear His voice; and will go to the resurrection of life those who lived well; however, those who lived unjustly will go to the resurrection unto judgment (cf. Jo. 5,28-29). For this reason, as I have said, I therefore recommend this, which pertains to the favor of Christ, and not that also which pertains only to judgment, in order to show that since the resurrection is a reward, so also the death of the body, which on the contrary is contrasted with this, is shown to be a penalty[124]).

It is understandable that Augustine holds that the resurrection of the body of the just is a reward because His main concern is to show that the resurrection of body is a work of God's justice. For this reason, while

[124]) "Nunc proinde quia de resurrectione corporis loquitur, quae futura est, cui opponit e contrario mortem corporis, quae nunc fit; et duo ista contraria singulos auctores habent, Adam mors, Christum resurrectio mortuorum: sicut intelligitur resurrectio illa praemialis, ita esse intelligenda est mors ista poenalis. Praemio quippe a contrario non opponitur natura, sed poena. Et ideo isto loco, ubi resurrectio corporis opponitur morti corporis, non de communi resurrectione agit Apostolus, quae ad justos et injustos pertinet; sed de illa potius, in qua erunt qui vivificabuntur in Christo, non qui damnabuntur a Christo: quamvis utrosque ipse resurgere faciat, cujus vocem audient omnes qui in monumentis sunt; et procedent qui bene fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae; qui autem mala egerunt, in resurrectionem judicii (Jo. 5,28-29). Ideo ergo, ut dixi, eam volui commendare, quae ad beneficium Christi pertinet, non etiam illam, quae tantum ad judicium; ut quoniam ista praemialis est, mors quoque corporis, quae a contrario huic opponitur, ostendatur esse poenalis". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6,36, PL 45,1593.

on the one hand he maintains that both the just and the unjust will rise, on the other hand he always makes a distinction between the destiny of the risen body of the just and the destiny of the risen body of the unjust. The former will rise to a better condition, the latter to a worse condition. He has a great esteem for those who for a just cause courageously face sufferings even till death. It is not because he praises death in itself, which he never does because death for him is a penalty for sin, but because he believes that death on account of a just cause guarantees the dead the reward of a resurrection to a better condition.

> For just as death is contrary to life, so also punishment is contrary to reward; through this punishment, that is, death of the body, since the holy martyrs fought and conquered, their death in which they sleep in the Lord is precious, not in itself, but because of its rewarding function (cf. Ps. 115,15). And the tortures that the saints receive are, indeed, without doubt precious; but it is not so, that because they are precious, they are not tortures; just it is not so, that because they are tortures, they are precious; but because they have been received for the cause of truth, or because they have been borne with holiness. If you held this sound and Catholic thought, you would refrain from sending to the paradise of God, that is to say, to the place of holy delights, not only the punishments of death but also of the infirmities which carry death[125]).

Later Augustine says that the causality of Christ's resurrection upon our own is made possible through the justice and aid of Christ: *per justitiam ejus et gratiam.* He does not, however, explain how this justice and aid of the risen Christ works in us.

> And you understand thus, that all who die with the death of the body die in Adam, because through this man came death, that is, through his guilt and punishment; and all who are not condemned but are made alive with the resurrection of the body of Christ live in Christ, because through this man came the resurrection of the dead,

[125]) "Sicut enim vitae mors, ita praemio poena contraria est; per quam poenam, id est, corporis mortem, quoniam sancti martyres certaverunt atque vicerunt, mors eorum in qua nunc dormiunt in conspectu Domini, non suo genere, sed illius munere pretiosa est (Ps. 115,15). Etiam poenae quippe sanctorum, sine dubitatione pretiosae sunt: sed non quia pretiosae sunt, ideo poenae non sunt; sicut non quia poenae sunt, ideo pretiosae sunt; sed quia pro veritate susceptae, vel cum pietate toleratae sunt. Hunc sensum sanum et catholicum si teneres, non in paradisum Dei, hoc est, in locum sanctarum deliciarum, non solum mortuum poenas, verum etiam mortiferarum valetudinum mitteres". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6,36, PL 45,1593-1594.

> that is, through his justice and grace. For since the death of the body is penal, therefore, we see from its contrary that the resurrection of the body is opposite to it, since it is a reward, when the other (= the resurrection of the unjust) is also penal[126]).

For both Augustine and Julian therefore, the conception of Christ's resurrection as the firstfruits of those who have died applies only to the resurrection of the just.

> He says, "But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the firstfruits of those who have fallen asleep, since through a man came death, and through a man came the resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor. 15,20-21). Here the Apostle does not speak about the general resurrection, which even wicked and worldly men will undergo, but only the resurrection of those who will be lifted up into glory[127]).

C. *The double effect of Christ's resurrection*

In *Sermo* 231,2 Augustine says that the resurrection of Christ is the new life of the believers: *Resurrectio autem Domini nostri Jesu Christi nova vita est credentium in Jesum, et hoc est sacramentum passionis et resurrectionis ejus, quod valde nosse et agere debetis.* Farther, in the same context, he says that there is a parallel between circumcision in the Old Testament and the resurrection of Christ. Both took place on the eighth day. Augustine interprets circumcision by the use of a stone to mean allegorically the destruction of carnal life through the resurrection of Jesus, in view of His resurrection that would take place on the eighth day[128]). For in his understanding Christ is the stone (cf. 1 Cor. 10,4).

[126]) "Et sic intelligas, omnes qui morte corporis moriuntur, in Adam mori, quia per ipsum hominem mors, id est, per culpam eius et poenam; et omnes qui resurrectione corporis non damnantur, sed vivificantur, in Christo vivificari, quia per ipsum hominem resurrectio mortuorum, id est, per justitiam ejus et gratiam. Quia enim est poenalis corporis mors, ideo illi resurrectionem corporis tantummodo praemialem (cum sit alia quoque poenalis), e contrario videmus oppositam". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6,36, PL 45,1594-1595.

[127]) "*Nunc autem*, inquit, *Christus resurrexit a mortuis primitiae dormientium; quoniam quidem per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum* (1 Cor. 15,20-21). De resurrectione hic Apostolus non generali loquitur, quam experturi sunt etiam scelesti, etiam profani homines; sed de eorum tantummodo, qui transferentur in gloriam". *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6,36, PL 34,1590.

[128]) "Ergo crucifixus est, ut in cruce ostenderet veteris hominis nostri occasum: et resurrexit, ut in sua vita ostenderet nostrae vitae novitatem. Sic enim doctrina docet apostolica: *Traditus est*, inquit, *propter peccata nostra, et resurrexit propter justificationem nostram* (Rom. 4,25). Huius rei signum circumcisio data erat Patribus, ut octavo die circumcideretur omnis masculus (Gen. 17,12). Circumcisio fiebat in cultellis petrinis (Jos. 5,2): quia petra erat Christus (1 Cor. 10,4). In ista circumcisione significabatur exspoliatio

With respect to us in the New Testament, Christ's resurrection that took place on the eighth day destroyed our old life. We now live in hope for our own resurrection: *Resurrectio ipsius innovat nos. Ergo octavo die resurgendo circumcidit nos. In ipsa spe vivimus.* This shows the effect of Christ's resurrection in us.

In *De Trinitate* 4,3.6 Augustine explains how this effect takes place in us.

> Therefore, for this double death of ours the Savior payed out His own single death; and to effect our resurrection too, He set before and offered His own one resurrection both as a sacrament and as an example[129]).

In this statement we can easily see that the significance of Christ's resurrection is inseparable from the significance of His death. Likewise we can see the double effect of His death and resurrection in us. And finally we can see Augustine's intention of showing that this double effect takes place in us. For this intention we point to the words used by Augustine: *ad faciendam.* This denotes the efficacious causality of Christ's resurrection. *Facere*, as distinguished from *agere*, signifies a certain specific real result. One may question our position here on the basis of Augustine's own statement that the effect of Christ's death and resurrection upon us happens in a sacramental way (this can mean as a mystery and a sign of grace): *in sacramento.* One may be led to think that this effect takes place only in our souls. This is not, however, the case in my own opinion. First, because in the text cited above Augustine is speaking clearly of the double effect of Christ's single death and resurrection. Second, Augustine is speaking of one man but considers him doubly : the exterior man and the interior man. By exterior man, he refers to his body. By interior man, he refers to his soul. The resurrection of Christ exercises causality upon both the interior and the exterior man. It effects justification upon the interior man. But this justification is extended to the resurrection of the exterior man: *Eius autem resurrectio differtur in finem cum et ipsa iustificatio nostra perficietur ineffabiliter*[130]).

carnalis vitae octavo die per Christi resurrectionem. Septimus enim dies hebdomadis sabbato completur. Sabbato Dominus jacuit in sepulcro, septima sabbati: resurrexit octava. Resurrectio ipsius innovat nos. Ergo octavo die resurgendo circumcidit nos. In ipsa spe vivimus". *Sermo* 231,2, PL 38,1105.

[129]) "Huic ergo duplae morti nostrae salvator impendit simplam suam, et ad faciendam utramque resuscitationem nostram in sacramento et exemplo praeposuit et proposuit unam suam". *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, CCL 50, 166-167.

[130]) "Corpus vero tamquam *homo exterior* quanto est haec vita diuturnior magis

In "Le sacrifice selon saint Augustin", J. Lécuyer looks at the causality of the resurrection of Jesus Christ in us in the perspective of Augustine's conception of sacrifice. Referring to the same statement of Augustine in *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, quoted above, he says that by virtue of the two words, namely, *sacramentum-exemplum*, Augustine is expressing the real causality of Christ's resurrection taken in union with the meaning of His sacrifice[131]).

However, farther statements of Augustine in *De Trinitate* 4,3.6 may present us with a problem. He seems to split up the effect of Christ's resurrection in us as a *sacramentum* and its effect as an *exemplum*. He apparently says that as *sacramentum* it effects in us a spiritual transfiguration.

> But the resurrection of the body of the Lord is shown to pertain to the mystery of our own interior resurrection, where, after He had risen, He said to the woman, "Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to my Father". With this mystery the Apostle agreed when he said: "If then you have risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sits at the right hand of God; set your thoughts on things above" (Col. 3,1-2). For not to touch Christ, except when He had ascended to the Father, means not to know Christ in his body[132]).

As an *exemplum*, Augustine seems to say, it effects in us faith in the truth of His resurrection in body; it is an *exemplum docens*.

magisque *corrumpitur* vel aetate vel morbo vel variis afflictationibus donec veniat ad ultimam quae ab omnibus mors vocatur. Eius autem resurrectio differtur in finem cum et ipsa iustificatio nostra perficietur ineffabiliter". *De Trinitate* 4,3.5, CCL 50,165.

[131]) "Mais comment échapper à la conclusion que le Sacrifice du Christ, tout en étant le plus vrai des sacrifices, est cependant aussi un *sacrement*, c'est-à-dire un 'signe sacré'? Tel est bien, en effet, l'enseignement de saint Augustin, clairement exprimé dans le *De Trinitate:* la mort du Christ est à la fois *sacramentum* et *exemplum* de notre double mort spirituelle et corporelle; la Résurrection est le sacrement de notre résurrection spirituelle; c'est-à-dire que le sacrifice du Christ n'est pas seulement un modèle à suivre, un exemplaire de nos sacrifices personnels, mais qu'il les signifie et les cause tout ensemble; la juxtaposition des deux mots: sacramentum-exemplum montre assez qu'il n'y s'agit pas seulement d'une signification vide et inefficace, mais bien d'une réelle causalité". J. LÉCUYER, "Le sacrifice selon saint Augustin", in *Augustinus Magister II*, Paris, 1954, p. 909.

[132]) "Resurrectio vero corporis domini ad sacramentum interioris resurrectionis nostrae pertinere ostenditur ubi postquam resurrexit ait mulieri: *Noli me tangere; nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum.* Cui mysterio congruit apostolus dicens: *Si autem resurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite ubi Christus est in dextera dei sedens; quae sursum sunt sapite* (Col. 3,1-2). Hoc est enim Christum non tangere nisi cum ascenderit ad patrem, non de Christo carnaliter sapere". *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, CCL 50,168.

> He assumed from you that in which He would die for you. With this example He would teach you. What would He teach you? That you will rise[133]).

These two statements seem to show that for Augustine Christ's resurrection in the body does not have any real effect in ourselves with respect to our future resurrection in body. In our opinion this does not seem to reflect Augustine's thinking. Our reasons are the following. First, an earlier statement of Augustine in *De Trinitate* 4,3.6 shows that Christ's resurrection causes a simultaneous effect in our souls and bodies: *sed indutus carne mortali et sola moriens, sola resurgens, ea sola nobis ad utrumque concinuit cum in ea fieret interioris hominis sacramentum, exterioris exemplum*[134]). Augustine uses here the word *concinuit*, which is a musical term to express tunes sounded together in harmony or in concert. This means that in the mind of Augustine the resurrection of Christ taken in relation with His death causes simultaneous effect in us, that is to say, in our soul and in our body. It effects a spiritual transformation of our souls; it effects an elevation in dignity in our bodies. This interpretation would be in accordance with Augustine's thinking that with the resurrection, seen in the context of the Total Christ, our human nature also rose with Him. We have shown this already. The second reason is this: farther in *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, in the same context, Augustine associates the idea of Christ's resurrection with the idea of the transfiguration of our bodies to the glorious body of the risen Christ. He does this by associating 1 Cor. 15,23: "Christ the beginning, then they who belong to Christ", with Phil. 3,21: "He transformed our lowly body to be like His glorious body".

> It is on account of this *exemplum* of our future bodily resurrection, which went before in the Lord, that the Apostle says, "Christ the beginning, then they who are of Christ" (1 Cor. 15,23). For in that text he was speaking about the resurrection of the body, about which he also says, "He transformed our lowly body to be like His glorious body" (Phil. 3,21).[135])

[133]) "Suscepit a te in quo moreretur pro te, quo exemplo doceret te. Quid doceret te? Quia resurrecturus es". *En. in Ps.* 70, *Sermo* 2,10, CCL 39,168.

[134]) "Neque enim fuit peccator aut impius ut ei tamquam spiritu mortuo in interiore homine renovari opus esset et tamquam resipiscendo ad vitam iustitiae revocari, sed indutus carne mortali et sola moriens, sola resurgens, ea sola nobis ad utrumque concinuit cum in ea fieret interioris hominis sacramentum, exterioris exemplum". *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, CCL 50,167.

[135]) "Propter hoc exemplum futurae nostrae resurrectionis in corpore quod praecessit in domino dicit apostolus: *Initium Christus, deinde qui sunt Christi* (1 Cor. 15,23).

This text shows that for Augustine the risen Christ continues the work of transforming our bodies until they acquire the same dignity after their resurrection as the glorious body of Christ. Augustine expresses this idea further:

> Therefore, the one death of our Savior brought salvation to our double death; and His one resurrection wrought for us two resurrections when His body was offered in each case, that is in death and in resurrection, with a certain healing suitableness both in the sacrament of the interior man and in the *exemplum* of the exterior man[136]).

Third, Augustine considers the resurrection of Christ as a sacrifice. It is a partial offering to God of the Total Christ[137]). It will become a total offering — Augustine calls it a holocaust — when after the resurrection of our bodies, at the transformation of our corruptible bodies to incorruptible, the Total Christ in His resurrected body has been offered to God as a complete sacrifice. This clearly shows the unity between Christ's resurrection as the resurrection of the Head and our

De corporis enim resurrectione illo loco agebatur propter quam etiam dicit: *Transfiguravit corpus humilitatis nostrae conforme corpori gloriae suae* (Phil. 3,21)". *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, CCL 50,169. In connection with Phil. 3,21, in *En. in Ps.* 144,19, CCL 40,2102, Augustine referred to it in order to show how Christ is for us an *exemplum patientiae*, without alluding to the causality of His resurrection upon ours in the future: "Et tamen ut tibi ostenderet exemplum patientiae, transfiguravit corpus humilitatis nostrae conforme gloriae suae".

[136]) "Una ergo mors nostri salvatoris duabus mortibus nostris saluti fuit, et una eius resurrectio duas nobis resurrectiones praestitit cum corpus eius in utraque re, id est et in morte et in resurrectione, et in sacramento interioris hominis nostri et exemplo exterioris medicinali quadam convenientia ministratum est". *De Trinitate* 4,3.6, CCL 50,169. See E. FRANZ, *Totus Christus. Studien über Christus und die Kirche bei Augustin*, Bonn, 1956, p. 153: with respect to the causality of Christ's suffering, he says, "Der 'compassio' hier entspricht die 'glorificatio'".

[137]) See the following works: *En. in Ps.* 65,18, CCL 39,852: "Quid est holocaustum? Totum incensum, sed igne divino. Holocaustum enim dicitur sacrificium, cum totum accenditur. Aliae sunt partes sacrificiorum; aliud holocaustum; quando totum ardet, et totum consumitur igne divino, holocaustum dicitur; quando pars, sacrificium. Omne quidem holocaustum sacrificium, sed non omne sacrificium holocaustum. Holocausta promittit; corpus Christi loquitur, unitas Christi loquitur: *Introibo in domum tuam in holocaustis* (Ps. 65,13). Totum meum consumat ignis tuus; nihil mei remaneat mihi, totum sit tibi, Hoc autem erit in resurrectione iustorum, *quando et corruptibile hoc induetur incorruptione, et mortale hoc induetur immortalitate; tunc fiet quod scriptum absorpta est in victoriam* (1 Cor. 15,54). Victoria quasi ignis divinus est; cum absorbet mortem nostram, holocaustum est. Non remanet aliquid in carne, non remanet aliquid culpabile in spiritu; totum ex mortali vita consumetur, ut in aeterna vita consummetur: erunt ergo illo holocausta". *En. in Ps.* 64,4 and 5, CCL 39,826 and 827; *En. in Ps.* 129,7, CCL 40,1895; *En. in Ps.* 130,4, CCL 40,1900; *En. in Ps.* 140, 5, CCL 40,2029; *En. in Ps.* 1,4, CCL 38,113; *En. in Ps.* 49,15, CCL 38,588; *En. in Ps.* 50,23, CCL 38,618.

resurrection in the future, which will be the resurrection of the Body of the Total Christ[138]).

Our position here would not be in complete agreement with any conception of *exemplum* in the interpretation of W. Geerlings, in *Christum Exemplum. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins*. We refer to his interpretations of Augustine's conception of Christ as the *exemplum*, conceived more as an external model than Christ as the *exemplum* exercising efficacious internal causality in us. W. Geerlings gives Augustine's three uses of the word *exemplum* as follows:[139])

1. pedagogical dimension of the *exemplum* that calls for imitation.
2. the moralizing exemplary interpretation of history.
3. the speculative interpretation of ideas as *exempla* (= neo-Platonic).

Given this presentation of Augustine's general conceptions of *exemplum*, it is not surprising that when Geerlings applies a conception of *exemplum* to Christ, he is inclined to show our means of relating with Christ more through following Him as *the* model: *Christus, exemplum sine exemplo*[140]). This would attribute the causality of Christ in us more to an external influence. This is apparently explained by Geerlings' idea of God's action through Christ in history. Geerling says that the early writings of Augustine show a total identification between the inner enlightenment through the light of the mind, on the one hand, and, the teacher Christ *(Christus magister et praedicator)*, on the other. But the main point in this magister-presentation shifts to the presentation of

[138]) "Caro factus: unde caro? Ex Maria virgine. Unde Maria virgo? Ex Adam. Ergo ex illo primo captivo; et caro in Christo de massa captivitatis. Utquid hoc? Ad exemplum. Suscepit a te in quo moreretur pro te, quo exemplo doceret te. Quod doceret te? Quia resurrecturus es. Unde enim crederes, nisi exemplum carnis praecederet assumtae de massa mortis tuae? Ergo in illo primo resurreximus; quia et Christus cum resurrexit, nos resurreximus. Non enim Verbum mortuum est; et resurrexit; sed in Verbo caro mortua est, et resurrexit. Ibi mortuus est Christus, ubi es tu moriturus; et ibi resurrexit Christus, ubi es tu resurrecturus. Exemplo suo docuit quid non timeres, quid sperares". *En. in Ps.* 70, *Sermo* 2,10, CCL 39,968-969. See also the following works: *En. in Ps.* 101, *Sermo* 2,14, CCL 40,1449; *En. in Ps.* 102,6, CCL 40,1456; *En. in Ps.* 129,6, CCL 40,1894; *Sermo* 361,1, PL 39,1599; *Sermo* 362,10-12, PL 39,1617-1618; *Sermo* 233,1, PL 38,1112; *Sermo* 241, 1, PL 38,1133; *Sermo* 261,1, PL 38,1202; *Sermo* 265,2, PL 38,1219.

[139]) "Diesen unterschiedlichen, breit gefächerten Interessen und Aufgaben Augustins entspricht der vielfältige Gebrauch des Wortes exemplum. Sowohl die pädagogische Dimension des zur Nachahmung einladenden exemplums, die moralisierden exemplarische Geschichtsdeutung, wie die spekulative Deutung der Ideen als exempla begegnen uns im augustinischen Werk". W. GEERLINGS, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 170.

[140]) W. GEERLINGS, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 169.

Christ as the teacher of morality *(Sittlichkeit)*. Christ as *magister* and *praedicator* is a teacher of morality; and as the true teacher Christ is the *exemplum* for his pupil to follow. Christ's teaching, as a consequence of His incarnation, includes the demonstration of human weakness and the way in which it can be overcome[141]). The other dimension of Christ as *exemplum* is His life. Christ's life is the *exemplum vitae*[142]). By His total adoption of human nature, He experienced all human feelings and temptations. For this reason His life is a powerful *exemplum* for the life of individual Christian. This is the *exemplum incarnationis* which functions as an outstanding stimulus, because His incarnation has taken place *in nobis, pro nobis, de nobis*. This means that God's way to man turns Christ to man's way to God[143]). Christ's resurrection is another dimension of the *Christus exemplum*. The *exemplum resurrectionis* announces to us in the *signum* or *exemplum resurrectionis* the definitive experience or enjoyment (from *frui*) of beatitudo in the *jenseitige* world in the highest good, namely, in God: *Die Welt der Sachen aber kann ein frui nicht ermöglichen, die beatitudo bleibt ein jenseits geschenktes Gut. Es wird uns im signum oder exemplum resurrectionis angekündigt*[144]). With this statement Geerlings places more emphasis on the external causality of Christ's resurrection in us.

This emphasis on the exterior causality is somehow moderated later by Geerlings when he speaks of the imagery used by Augustine in *Sermo* 340,1. He points at Augustine's use of the imagery of the field, where the planter is an extrinsic agent in the care for the field, but the growth is given by an interior agent: *Extrinsecus accipite plantatorem atque rigatorem, intrinsecus vero incrementi datorem*[145]). This would show the

[141]) *Ibid.*. p. 189-190.

[142]) *Ibid.*, p. 191.

[143]) *Ibid.*, p. 191: "Dieses exemplum incarnationis entfaltet seine Wirkung als vorbildlich wirkender Stimulus deshalb, weil die Menschwerdung in nobis, pro nobis, de nobis (*Contra Felicem Manichaeum* 2,9, CSEL 25(2), 838) geschehen ist. Der Weg Gottes zum Menschen macht darum Christus selbst zum Weg der menschen zu Gott. Quomodo in illo ambulandum sit, discite non solum eius verbo, sed etiam eius exemplo (*Sermo* 157,2, PL 38,860)". E. FRANZ, *Totus Christus. Studien über Christus und die Kirche bei Augustin*, p. 117, sees more than Geerlings with respect to the words "in nobis, pro nobis, de nobis". Franz sees both the external and internal conception of *exemplum*. "Pro nobis" refers to the external; "de nobis" refers to the internal.

[144]) W. GEERLINGS, *Christus Exemplum*, p. 195-199.

[145]) *Ibid.*, p. 220: "Den uns schon bekannten Gegensatz von exemplum exterioris hominis und sacramentum interioris hominis verknüpft Augustin mit dem biblischen Bild von den Christen als dem Ackerfeld Gottes, auf dem verschiedene Mitarbeiter arbeiten. Diese haben unterschiedliche Aufgaben der Pflege, das Wachstum aber können sie nicht

closer union between the effect of Christ's sufferings in our souls and in our bodies. Here, however, Geerlings speaks apparently only of Christ's death and nothing about His resurrection in connection with His death. He seems to have overlooked Augustine's statement in *De Trinitate* 4,3-6 — we refer to this as our main reference — where Augustine speaks of the inseparability of the significance of Christ's resurrection from the significance of His death for our life until death and resurrection.

In a certain disagreement with Geerlings we contend that in Augustine there is more about an inner unity of Christ's resurrection in body, taken in connection with His sacrifice and death, with us concerning our interior and exterior life. Its causality extends to us until the resurrection of our bodies. This is the deeper meaning of Christ's resurrection as the *exemplum resurrectionis*.

M. Alfeche O.S.A.

hervorbringen. Extrinsecus accipite plantatorem atque rigatorem, intrinsecus vero incrementi datorem (*Sermo* 340,1, PL 38,1484). Dieses innerliche Wachstum wird zunächst grundgelegt in der Taufe, die für Augustin, nicht zuletzt aus der antipelagianischen Frontstellung, zu dem entscheidenden Sakrament wird".

La Règle de saint Augustin. Complément bibliographique

Par cette publication nous voulons donner un complément à la bibliographie concernant la Règle d'Augustin que nous avons dressée dans le second volume de notre étude *La Règle de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1967, p. 221-239. Il s'agit de recherches philologiques et historiques (les manuscrits des différents documents, l'authenticité du *Praeceptum*, sa date, son style etc.). Nous signalons aussi un certain nombre de recherches historiques qui ne traitent pas directement de la Règle, mais qui ont un intérêt pour l'histoire du monachisme ancien, augustinien ou autre.

Le sigle *Règle* indique nos deux volumes *La Règle de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1967.

Nous n'avons pas signalé les études sur cette Règle qui relèvent plutôt du genre «commentaire». Elles trouveront un jour leur place dans une bibliographie spéciale.

ADAM (A.), *Der Mönchsgedanke innerhalb der Spiritualität der Alten Kirche – Glaube, Geist, Geschichte*, Festschrift für Ernst BENZ, Leiden, 1967, p. 259-265.

ANTIN (P.), *Le monachisme selon saint Jérôme – Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Bruxelles, 1968, p. 101-131.

ANTONIO DA PIEDADE, *Observaçao Critica feita pelo Autor do Meiodia Augustiniano Contra as Criticas observaçoes que fusem às Regras de Santo Agostinho e a sua Religao Eremitica os Authores, que novamente imprimirao e acrescentarao o Codigo das Regras de Lucas Holstenio*[1]).

ARBESMANN (R. E.), *Rule of St. Augustine of Hippo – Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2, 1964, p. 757.

—, *The Question of the « Regula sancti Augustini » – Augustinian Studies*, 1, 1970, p. 237-261.

—, *Die Textgeschichte der « Regula sancti Augustini » im Lichte der jüngsten Forschung – Cor Unum*, 32, 1974, p. 53-65.

[1]) Il s'agit d'une notice manuscrite de 33 pages in-folio dans l'exemplaire du *Codex Regularum* de M. BROCKIE (Wien, 1759) qui a appartenu aux Augustins déchaussés de Coimbra et qui se trouve actuellement à l'Abbaye de la Pierre-qui-Vire.

ARMAS (G.), *La vida monástica en tiempo de San Agustín* – *Augustinus*, 9, 1964, p. 399-402.

AUF DER MAUR (J.), *Mönchtum* – *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 7, 1962, c. 544-547.

BASTIAENSEN (A. A. R.), voir *Vita* ...

—, c.r. de *Règle* – *Mnemosyne*, series IV, 23, 1970, p. 320-321.

BOUILLET (M.-E.), *Le vrai «Codex regularum» de saint Benoît d'Aniane* – *Revue Bénédictine*, 75, 1965, p. 345-349.

BROOKE (Chr.), *The Monastic World 1000-1300* – London, 1974, (p. 125-126).

CAMELOT (P.-Th.), c.r. de *Règle* – *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 54, 1970, p. 542-543.

CAMPO DEL POZO (F.), *El monacato de San Agustín en España hasta la gran unión en el año 1256* – *Secundum Regulam vivere*, Festschrift für P. Norbert BACKMUND O. Praem., Windberg, 1978, p. 5-30.

CARTON (M. J.), *Origin and Content of the Rule of St. Augustine* – *Review for Religious*, 38, 1979, p. 762-771.

CHANTRAINE (G.), *«Mystère» et «Philosophie du Christ» selon Érasme. Étude de la lettre à P. Volz et de la «Ratio verae theologiae» (1518)* – Namur-Gembloux, 1971.

CHÂTILLON (J.), *Un commentaire anonyme de la Règle de saint Augustin* – *Le codex Guta-Sintram, manuscrit 37 de la Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire de Strasbourg*, publié par Béatrice WEIS et plusieurs collaborateurs, Luzern-Strasbourg, 1983, vol. 2, p. 180-191.

CILLERUELO (L.), *Diálogo fraterno. Respuesta al P. A. Manrique, O.S.A.* – *Revista agustiniana de espiritualidad*, 4, 1963, p. 123-131.

—, *Conclusiones sobre la «Regula Augustini»* – ibid., 10, 1969, p. 49-86.

—, *El monacato de San Agustín*, Valladolid, 1970[2].

—, *Evolución del monacato agustiniano* – *Estudio agustiniano*, 15, 1980, p. 171-198.

COLLEDGE (E.), c.r. de *Règle* – *Medium Aevum*, 39, 1970, p. 328-332.

COLUMBÁS (G. M.), *El monacato primitivo*. Vol. I: *Hombres, hechos, costumbres, instituciones*, Madrid, 1974.

CONSTABLE (G.), voir *Libellus* ...

DÉCARREAUX (J.), *Les moines et la civilisation en Occident. Des invasions à Charlemagne*, Paris, 1962.

DEL ESTAL (J. M.), *Institución monástica de San Agustín desde sus orígenes hasta la muerte del Fundador (†430)* – *La Ciudad de Dios*, 178, 1965, p. 201-269.

Defensor Locogiacensis Monachus, Liber scintillarum, éd. H.-M. ROCHAIS – *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 117, Turnholti, 1957.

Defensor de Ligugé, Livre d'étincelles, éd. H.-M. ROCHAIS, *Sources Chrétiennes*, 77 et 86, Paris, 1961 et 1962.

DESPREZ (V.), voir *Règles* ...

—, *Les origines du monachisme occidental*. II. *Afrique et Espagne* – *Lettre de Ligugé*, 1981, n° 5 (= n° 209), p. 9-31.

DE VOGÜÉ (A.), voir *Eugippii Regula* ...

—, *Scholies sur la Règle du Maître* – *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, 44, 1968, p. 121-159; 261-292.

—, *La Règle d'Eugippe retrouvée?* – ibid., 47, 1971, p. 233-266.
—, *La Règle de Césaire d'Arles pour les moines: un résumé de sa Règle pour les moniales*, ibid., p. 369-406.
—, *Saint Benoît et son temps: règles italiennes et règles provençales au VI^e siècle – Regulae Benedicti Studia*, 1, 1972, p. 169-193.
—, *Quelques observations nouvelles sur la Règle d'Eugippe – Benedictina*, 22, 1975, p. 31-41.
—, *Les Règles des Saints Pères – Sources Chrétiennes*, 297-298, Paris, 1982.
— et NEUFVILLE (F.), *La Règle de saint Benoît – Sources Chrétiennes*, 181/186, Paris, 1971-1972.
DÍAZ Y DÍAZ (M.C.), *El códice monástico de Leodegundia (Escorial a.I.13) – Miscelánea Patrística*. Homenaje al P. Angel C. VEGA, O.S.A., El Escorial, 1968, p. 149-169.
—, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa*, Leon, 1983 (p. 89-114).
DIESNER (H.-J.), *Das Mönchtum der Vandalenzeit in Afrika – Kirche und Staat im spätrömischen Reich*. Aufsätze zur Spätantike und zur Alten Kirche, Berlin, 1963, p. 140-148.
DIVJAK (J.), *Zur Datierung des Codex Escorial a I 13 – Antidosis*. Festschrift für Walther KRAUS zum 70. Geburtstag, Wien etc., 1972, p. 69-77.
—, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*. IV: *Spanien und Portugal* – Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 292. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Herausgabe des Corpus der lateinischen Kirchenväter, herausgegeben von Rudolf HANSLIK, Wien, 1974.
Eugippii Regula, ed. F. VILLEGAS - A. DE VOGÜÉ, *C.S.E.L.*, 87, Vindobonae, 1976.
FOLLIET (G.), *Des moines euchites à Carthage en 400-401 – Studia Patristica*, II (Texte und Untersuchungen, 64), Berlin, 1957, p. 386-399.
FRANK (K.S.), *Mönchsregel und Mönchsleben bei Augustinus. Ein Bericht – Franziskanische Studien*, 50, 1968, p. 382-388.
—, *Die Erforschung der Anfänge des Mönchtums und die Frage der Hermeneutik* – ibid., 53, 1971, p. 28-44.
—, *Isidor von Sevilla. Das «Mönchskapitel» (De ecclesiasticis officiis II,16) und seine Quellen – Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, 67, 1972, p. 29-48.
—, *Isidor von Sevilla, Regula Monachorum und ihre Quellen – Studia Patristica*, XIII (Texte und Untersuchungen, 116), Berlin, 1975, p. 461-470.
GAVIGAN (J.-J.), *Vita monastica in Africa desiitne cum Invasione Wandalorum? – Augustinianum*, 1, 1961, p. 7-49.
—, *Rule of St. Augustine – New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, I, New York etc., 1967, p. 1059-1060.
GINDELE (C.), *Zur Psalmodie in der Augustinerregel – Erbe und Auftrag*, 46, 1970, p. 317-318.
GRIBOMONT (J.), *L'influence de l'Orient sur les débuts du monachisme latin – L'Oriente cristiano nelle storia della civiltà*, Roma, 1964, p. 119-128.
HALLIBURTON (R.J.), *The Inclination to Retirement. The Retreat of Cassiciacum*

and the «Monastery» of Tagaste – *Studia Patristica*, V (Texte und Untersuchungen, 80), Berlin, 1962, p. 329-340.

—, c.r. de *Règle* – *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 19, 1968, p. 657-663.

KÖTTING (B.), *Der Zölibat in der alten Kirche*, Münster, 1970².

KUMPFMÜLLER (J.), voir RÖMER.

KURZ (R.), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* ... (voir DIVJAK). V/1 und 2: *Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin* ... 306 et 307, ... 1976 et 1979.

LAPIERRE (J.-P.), *Règles des Moines. Pacôme, Augustin, Benoît, François d'Assise, Carmel*, Paris, 1982.

LAWLESS (G. P.), *Ordo Monasterii. A Double or a Single Hand?* – *Studia Patristica*, XVIII, Oxford, 1982, p. 511-518.

—, *Ordo Monasterii. Structure, Style and Rhetoric* – *Augustinianum*, 22, 1982, p. 469-491.

—, *Augustine's First Monastery: Thagaste or Hippo?* – *Miscellanea di Studi Agostiniani* in onore di P. Agostino TRAPÈ, Roma, 1985 (= *Augustinianum*, 25, 1985), p. 65-78.

Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia, ed. G. CONSTABLE - B. SMITH, Oxford, 1972.

LINAGE CONDE (A.), *Los orígenes del monacato benedictino en la Península Ibérica*, I, Leon, 1973.

—, *Presencia de san Agustín en los autores españoles de reglas monásticas* – *Augustinus*, 25, 1980, p. 129-135.

LOHSE (B.), *Mönchtum und Reformation. Luthers Auseinandersetzung mit dem Mönchsideal des Mittelalters*, Göttingen, 1963.

—, *Askese und Mönchtum in der Antike und in der alten Kirche* – München-Wien, 1969.

LORENZ (R.), *Zwölf Jahre Augustinusforschung (1959-1970)* – *Theologische Rundschau*, 38-40, 1973-1975.

—, c.r. de *Règle* – *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 80, 1969, p. 263-267.

MANDOUZE (A.), *Saint Augustin. L'aventure de la raison et de la grâce* – Paris, 1968.

MANNING (E.), *La législation monastique de S. Augustin et la Regula Monasteriorum* – *Augustiniana*, 16, 1966, p. 317-329.

—, c.r. de *Règle* – *Scriptorium*, 24, 1970/1971, p. 256-257.

MANRIQUE (A.), c.r. de *Règle* – *Revista agustiniana de espiritualidad*, 10, 1969, p. 545.

—, *Nuevas aportaciones al problema de la «Regula S. Augustini». Datación y destinatários* – *Miscelánea Patrística*. Homenaje al P. Angel C. VEGA, O.S.A., El Escorial, 1968,p. 289-328.

—, *La Regla de S. Agustín en España durante los primeros siglos de su existencia* – *La Ciudad de Dios*, 182, 1969, p. 485-513.

—, *Autenticidad de la «Regla de S. Agustín»* – *Estudio agustiniano*, 12, 1977, p. 335-342.

MARTÍNEZ (J.), c.r. de *Règle* – *Studia Monastica*, 11, 1969, p. 175.

MARTÍNEZ CUESTA (A.), *San Agustín monje y padre de monjes* – Mayéutica, 6, 1980, p. 5-44.

MILIS (L.), c.r. de *Règle* – *Revue d'Histoire du Droit*, 37, 1969, p. 227-280.

MOHRMANN (Chr.), voir *Vita* ...

MORÁN (J.), *Notas sobre el monacato agustiniano* – *La Ciudad de Dios*, 175, 1962, p. 535-547.

—, *Nota sobre el monacato de San Agustin* – *Revista agustiniana de espiritualidad*, 5, 1964, p. 97-98.

MORARD (F.-E.), *Monachos, moine. Histoire du terme grec jusqu'au 4e siècle. Influences bibliques et gnostiques* – *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 20, 1973, p. 329-425.

MUNDÓ (A.), *Mönchsregeln* – *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 7, 1962, c. 540-542.

MUNIER (Ch.), *Concilia Africae A.345-A.525* – *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, 149, Turnholti, 1974.

NEUFVILLE (F.), voir DE VOGÜE.

—, *Règles des IV Pères et Seconde Règle des Pères*. Texte critique – *Revue Bénédictine*, 77, 1967, p. 47-106.

OBERLEITNER (M.), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* ... (voir DIVJAK). I/1 und 2: *Italien* ... 263 et 267, ... 1969 et 1970.

ORBAN (A. P.), *Augustinus und das Mönchtum* – *Kairos*, 18, 1976, p. 100-118.

OROZ RETA (J.), *S. Agustín y S. Fructuoso. Coincidencias o influencia agustiniana?* – *Bracara Augusta*, 22, 1968, p. 92-102.

—, *Saint Augustin et saint Fructueux. Parallèles doctrinaux de leurs Règles monastiques* – *Studia Patristica*, X (Texte und Untersuchungen, 107), Berlin, 1970, p. 407-412.

PENNA (A.), *La vita comune nei primi secoli del cristianesimo* – *Ordo Canonicus*, series altera, 1, 1978, p. 7-33.

PFLEGER (J.), *Die vita communis bei Augustinus. Philosophisch-theologische Hintergründe* – Innsbruck, 1970 (dactyl.).

PIZZOLATO (L. F.), c.r. de *Règle* – *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, 10, 1974, p. 386-389.

Règles monastiques d'Occident, IVe-VIe siècle. D'Augustin à Ferréol. Traduction. Introduction et notes par V. DESPREZ. Préface par A. DE VOGÜÉ, – Bégrolles-en-Mauges, 1980.

ROCHAIS (H.-M.), voir *Defensor* ...

RODOREL DE SEILHAC (L.), *Remarques sur l'utilisation par Césaire d'Arles de la Regula Augustini* – *Regulae Benedicti Studia*, 1, 1972, p. 287-291.

—, *L'utilisation par S. Césaire d'Arles de la Règle de S. Augustin. Étude de terminologie et de doctrine monastique*, Roma, 1974.

RÖMER (F.), *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung* ... (voir DIVJAK). II/1 und 2: *Grossbritannien und Irland* ... 276 et 281, ... 1970 et 1972.

—, idem. III: *Polen*. – Anhang: *Die skandinavischen Staaten. Dänemark, Finnland, Sweden* (unter mitarbeit von J. KUMPFMÜLLER) ... 289, ... 1973.

RUBIO (L.), *La norma fundamental de la vida monástica segun San Agustín y otras reflexiones en torno de la Regula Augustini* – *La Ciudad de Dios*, 183, 1970, p. 189-235.

—, *El ideal monástico de S. Agustín y otras cuestiones anejas* – ibid., 196, 1983, p. 3-56.

—, *De nuevo sobre la Regla monástica de San Agustín – Religión y Cultura*, 31, 1985, p. 677-740.

SAGE (A.), *La Règle de saint Augustin – Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 14, 1968, p. 123-132.

SCHINDLER (A.), *Augustin – TRE, Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, IV, Berlin etc., 1979, p. 645-698.

SCHMIDT (A.), *Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des Heiligen Aurelian von Arles – Studia Monastica* 18, 1975, p. 237-256; 19, 1976, p. 17-54.

SMITH (B.), voir *Libellus ...*

SUSIN ALCUBIERRE (R.), *Sobre las fuentes de la «Regula Isidori» – Salmanticenses*, 14, 1967, p. 371-394.

TRAPÈ (A.), *S. Agostino e la vita eremitica – Vita monastica*, 14, 1960, p. 114-121.

VANDEVOORDE (P.), c.r. de *Règle – Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, 54, 1968, p. 419-420.

VEGA (A.-C.), *Una posible fuente de la Regla de san Agustín – Augustinus*, 12, 1967, p. 473-483.

—, *La autenticidad y destinatários de la «Regula Augustini» ante la crítica de hoy – Revista agustiniana de espiritualidad*, 11, 1970, p. 167-176.

VERBRAKEN (P.), c.r. de *Règle – Revue Bénédictine*, 79, 1969, p. 452-453.

—, *La carrière scientifique de Dom Cyrille Lambot* – ibid., p. 11-22.

VERHEIJEN (L. M. J.), *Le jeune Luther et Jacobus Wimpheling. Une mise au point – Augustiniana*, 17, 1967, p. 329-332.

—, *Le «Polydore» de Dodsworth et Dugdale* – ibid., 21, 1971, p. 24-26.

—, *Die Regel des hl. Augustin. Der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung – Askese und Mönchtum in der Alten Kirche* (Wege der Forschung, 409), Darmstadt, 1975, p. 349-368.

—, *La tradition manuscrite de l'Obiurgatio (Lettre CCXI, 1-4) d'Augustin et de la Regularis Informatio – Augustiniana*, 30, 1980, p. 5-9.

—, *Nouvelle approche de la Règle de saint Augustin* – Bégrolles-en-Mauge, 1980.

—, *Les Lettres nouvelles et la vie monastique autour de saint Augustin – Les Lettres de saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak*. Communications présentées au colloque des 20 et 21 septembre 1982, Paris, 1983, p. 123-127.

—, *La Règle de saint Augustin dans le codex Guta-Sintram* – (voir J. CHÂTILLON), p. 174-180.

—, *La Règle de saint Augustin. L'état actuel des questions (début 1975) – Augustiniana*, 35, 1985, p. 193-263.

VERHEUL (A.), *La spiritualité du chant liturgique chez saint Paul et saint Augustin – Questions liturgiques*, 64, 1983, p. 165-178.

VILLEGAS (F.), voir *Eugippii Regula ...*

—, *La «Regula Monasterii Tarnantensis». Texte, source et datation – Revue Bénédictine*, 84, 1974, p. 7-65.

VIÑAS ROMÁN (T.), *El tema monástico agustiniano en «La Ciudad de Dios» – La Ciudad de Dios*, 194, 1981, p. 213-238.

Vita di Cipriano. Vita di Ambrogio. Vita di Agostino. Introduzione di Christine MOHRMANN. Testo critico e commento a cura di A. A. R. BASTIAENSEN, Verona, 1975.

ZACHERL (M.), *Die vita communis als Lebensform des Klerus in der Zeit zwischen Augustinus und Karl dem Grossen – Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 92, 1970, p. 385-424.

ZUMKELLER (A.), *Das Mönchtum des heiligen Augustinus*. Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage, Würzburg, 1968.

—, *Ein grundlegendes Werk über die Augustinusregel – Augustinianum*, 9, 1969, p. 145-149.

—, *Ursprung und spirituelle Bedeutung der Augustinusregel. Eine notwendige Richtigstellung. Zu dem Werk Christopher Brooke's «Die grosse Zeit der Klöster 1000-1300» – OK, Ordens-Korrespondenz*, Zeitschrift für Fragen des Ordenslebens, 19, 1978, p. 287-295.

—, *Augustinusregel – TRE, Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, IV, Berlin etc., 1979, p. 745-748.

—, *War Augustins monasterium clericorum in Hippo wirklich ein Kloster? Antwort auf eine neue Hypothese A. P. Orbans – Augustinianum*, 21, 1981, p. 391-397.

L. M. J. VERHEIJEN, O.S.A.

De boeken van de Augustijnenstatie te Groningen en Utrecht in de 17e eeuw[1])

Na de dood van p. Nicolaas Eertrijck[2]), op 68-jarige leeftijd gestorven te Groningen op 25 november 1673, droeg de «Praefectus Missionis» aan p. Guilielmus Loyaerts[3]) op, om van diens nalatenschap een volledige inventaris op te maken en hem deze toe te zenden[4]). Begin april 1676 heeft p. Loyaerts zich van deze taak gekweten en de inventaris naar de «Praefectus Missionis» p. Petrus Parmentier[5]) gezonden[6]). Deze inventaris heeft p. Joannes Wten Eechout[7]) in zijn «Annales» opgenomen.

Aan het einde van dit stuk vermeldt hij: «300 ende meer boecken in een gemeijn bibliotheek, tot het gebruyck van ons beijde, die om de perijckelen, die dikwels voorvallen in een besonder plaetse opgesloten sijn»[8]).

[1]) Zie E. Ypma: De Augustijnenstaties te Groningen in de 17e eeuw. *Arch. Aartsbisd. Utrecht* (*AAU*) 71 (1952) 151-170.

Zie E. Ypma: De Augustijnen in de Hollandsche missie. *Augustiniana* 2 (1952) 60-70; 3 (1953) 107-127.

Zie ook E. Ypma: De bibliotheek van de Augustijnenstatie te Nijmegen in de 17e eeuw. *Augustiniana* 35 (1985) 315-363.

[2]) Eertrijck, Nicolaus: (1615-1673), conventuaal van Tienen; was missionaris in Groningen vanaf 1658, waar hij overleed in november 1673.

[3]) Loyaerts, Guilielmus: (1634-1681) geprofest in het klooster te Tienen, was werkzaam te Groningen sedert 1676.

[4]) *AAU* 75 (1952) 160.

[5]) Parmentier, Petrus: (± 1600-1681), behoorde tot het klooster van Gent, waar hij zijn professie aflegde in 1626. Was als missionaris werkzaam te Amsterdam sedert 1636 tot zijn dood in 1681; was Praefectus Missionis van 1673 tot 1676.

[6]) *Annales II*, 14: «Siet den catalogus bij Sr. Parmentier rustende; hebbe denselven naerdat ick eenige dagen hier geweest hadde overgesonden. dd. 16».

Annales OESA Amsterdami: Ms., een verzameling van afschriften van de correspondentie aangaande de augustijnenmissie in Noord-Nederland en van andere stukken, op de missie betrekking hebbend.

II dln., 1 band folio; bewaard in het Archief Prov. Neerl.; voortaan afgekort: *Annales*.

[7]) Wten Eechout, Joh.: (1612-1682), van het klooster te Dendermonde, was als missionaris werkzaam in Amsterdam vanaf 1664. Was jarenlang vicepraefect van de Augustijnenmissie en stierf in 1682 te Amsterdam.

[8]) *Annales II*, 21: «Inventarium omnium mobilium R.P. Nicolai Eertrijck missum

Er was dus een boekerij van ruim driehonderd boeken ten gebruike en ten dienste van de beide missionarissen in de Groninger statie, destijds Joan. Bapt. de Hollander en Guilielmus Loyaerts.

Enkele jaren later, na de dood van p. de Hollander, ontstond er wrijving tussen Loyaerts en Gelsinck, die als opvolger van de Hollander naar Groningen was gezonden. Het geschil ging onder meer over boeken, waarop Loyaerts aanspraak maakte. Het betrof blijkbaar de boeken die vroeger aan p. Eertrijck hadden toebehoord. In een van zijn brieven hierover, aan de vice-praefect Wten Eechout gezonden, schreef hij op 15 april 1679:

«Alle de boecken die in Sr. Eertrijckx huys sijn geweest, sijn in de bibliotheek van Sr. de Hollander; ende hebbe geschreven in mijnen inventaris aan Sr. Parmentier overgesonden dat de boecken voor ons beyden gemeyn sijn»[9]).

Op de lijst die Loyaerts in zijn inventaris had opgenomen, had hij blijkbaar niet duidelijk aangegeven welke boeken van p. Eertrijck waren geweest. De 29. april 1679 schreef Wten Eechout namelijk:

«De boecken die U.L. segt gemeyn te wesen met Sr. Hollander en Sr. Claes [Eertrijck] (soo ick vinde in den inventaris door U.L. gesonden den 5. april 1676 aan Sr. Parmentier) sijn mij onbekend, doordien Sr. Hollander een groote quantiteit boecken over eenige jaeren (soo ick hebbe verstaen) heeft wechgesonden»[10]).

Over de boeken door de Hollander verzonden, vermoedelijk naar het convent van Tienen, schrijft Gelsinck in zijn brief aan Wten Eechout, gedateerd 5 mei 1679: «Aengaende het poinct van de wechgesonden boecken ... dat U.L. als believe den Praefect te informeren, dat van hier over eenige jaeren, met den Leuvensche bode wechgesonden is een bibliotheek van mijnen voorsaet [de Hollander], wiens waerdy geschat wirde op dusent guldes. Op deze hebben sommige crediteuren hun betrout, maer sijn nu bedrogen, maer vindende uytschot van boecken»[11]).

Rev. P. Parmentier missionis praefecto per R.P. Patrem Guilielmum Loyaerts. 5. Aprilis 1676.» .....»; ibidem.

[8a]) de Hollander, J. Baptista: van het klooster te Tienen; was in Groningen werkzaam vanaf 1645 tot aan zijn dood.

[8b]) Gelsinck, Henricus: was Groninger van geboorte en behoorde tot het klooster van Dendermonde. Hij was missionaris te Groningen vanaf 1677 tot 1685 en stierf te Dendermonde in 1704.

[9]) *Annales II*, 18, 19; zie ook *Annales II*, 13, 20, 21, 23 sqq.

[10]) *Annales II*, 20.

[11]) *Annales II*, 23.

We hebben hier een eigentijdse, en door de omstandigheden vermoedelijk wat gekleurde, beoordeling van de waarde van het boekenbestand uit de nalatenschap van de Hollander. Een andere beoordeling, eveneens over de beleggingswaarde van diens boekerij, lezen we in een brief van p. Gelsinck, dd. 16 mei 1679:

«... want [dat] de bibliotheek van Hollander soo groot is geweest, als die nu is, in't leven van Sr. Claes, blijckt uyt getuigenisse van personen van qualiteijt aen mij gedaen, dat alsdoen sijn bibliotheek wel een[s] soo groot ende costelijck is geweest als die nu is: waervan par aventuren de costelijckste sijn wechgesonden, en de reste nu gelaten noch is»[12]).

Van deze resterende boeken, ten dele afkomstig van zijn voorgangers, vinden we een lijst in het «Inventarium tot bewaeringe der goederen van wijlen de heer Joan. Baptista de Hollander», dat werd opgemaakt voor diens crediteuren en door hen bekrachtigd op 9 jan. 1678[13]). Het waren dus niet de meest waardevolle werken van de oorspronkelijk veel grotere bibliotheek. Deze lijst vermeldt ruim 195 titels, waarvan verschillende enkele boekdelen omvatten. Het totaal blijft echter ver onder de «300 ende meer» die in 1676 zijn bibliotheek bevatte.

De titels zijn heel beknopt en vaak verminkt aangegeven. Soms wordt slechts de naam van de auteur vermeld, of aangeduid hoeveel volumina er zijn, of dat het werk in het «spaens, duyts of hochduyts» geschreven is.

Hieronder volgen *in cursief* de boektitels zoals zij op de inventarislijst voorkomen. Onder deze cursief gedrukte titels staan de naam van de auteur en de volledige titel van het werk, met jaar en plaats van uitgave, voor zover die konden worden vastgesteld, of anders van de eerste druk, met de aanduiding dat er verschillende drukken van het werk bestaan of dat het herhaaldelijk is uitgegeven. Als er geen duidelijke aanwijzing is welk boek precies bedoeld is, hebben we diverse titels vermeld, eventueel van verschillende auteurs.

[12]) *Annales II*, 26.

[13]) *Annales II*, 27, dd. 18 mei 1679. «Ick sende U.L. hier den inventaris voor mijn compste door gequalificeerde mannen gemaeckt van de meubelen van 't sterfhuys van Sr. de Hollander, waaronder staet het consent van de crediteurs om dese meubelen te gebruycken».

Annales II, 26: «Wij onderschreven Crediteuren consenteren en staan toe aan d'heere Henricus Gelsinck, om alle bovenstaende goederen wel te bewaren, ende t' saemen houden, oock tot sijn verdaent te gebruijcken .... Actum Groeningen den 9. januarij 1678». ... *Annales II*, 32.

Wij hebben de werken van de inventarislijst doorlopend genummerd van 1-195.

Tenslotte hebben we nog de lijst van boeken die p. Theodorus de Roy[14]), die jarenlang in Utrecht werkzaam was geweest, bij zijn dood naliet. Op 27 juli 1679 schreef Wten Eechout aan de «Praefectus Missionis», destijds Joannes Smits[15]), dat p. de Roy op 21 juli in Utrecht was overleden, 82 jaar oud. Samen met p. Hieronymus van Hove[16]), eveneens in Utrecht werkzaam, had hij de inventaris opgemaakt van het sterfhuis van deze uiterst sober levende man, en naar de Praefect van de missie gezonden[17]).

Op de korte lijst van boeken, gerangschikt naar hun formaat, staan slechts 18 werken. Ze worden beknopt maar vrij nauwkeurig aangegeven, een aantal met vermelding van de auteur. In de hierna volgende lijst zijn ze genummerd van 201-218.

Om enig zicht te krijgen op het boekenbestand in de staties van Groningen en Utrecht, volgt hier een indeling volgens hun aard.

1. Scriptura Sacra : 4, 15, 18, 24, 51, 52, (201).
2. Commentarii in S. Scripturam : (4), (8), 10, 19, 21, 25, 26, 35, (37), 54, 71, 72, 73, 81, 151, 201, 205.
3. Patres et Scriptores Ecclesiastici : 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 36, 48, (85), 92, 146, 147, 191.
4. Theologia – generalis : 16, 22, 47, (88), (131), 134, (135), 138, 143, 152, 181, (202), 213, 214, 215.

[14]) De Roy, Theodorus: ± 1597 te Utrecht geboren, werd in 1621 te Aken geprofest en vestigde zich als missionaris in Utrecht omstreeks 1630; hij overleed aldaar in 1679. Zie A. K. de Meyer O.S.A.: Augustinus in de Domstad Utrecht. 1986. 93 pp.; 14-16, 78.

[15]) Smits, Joannes: (1624-1710) deed zijn professie in het klooster te Antwerpen; hij was daar prior van 1674 tot 1680. Hij was Vicarius Provinciaal van 1674-1679 en Praefectus Missionis van 1678-1681.

[16]) Hove, Hieronymus van: te Antwerpen geboren, legde hij zijn professie af in het klooster van Mechelen in 1639. Hij was werkzaam in de Hollandse missie, te Amsterdam vanaf 1659 tot 1663 en te Utrecht van 1663 tot 1689, alwaar hij overleed. Zie de Meyer o.c. 15-17, 78.

[17]) «21 huius (julii 1679) Ultraiecti circa horam duodecimam nocturnam vivere desiit R. p. Theodorus de Roy aetatis suae 82. Morte huius intellecta per p. van Hove, eodem die Vesperi hora octava per navem nocturnam Ultraiectum profectus sum, statum defuncti examinaturus. Omnibus bene disquisitis, ... modica supellex inventa est, inventatium (!) tamen illius cum p. Hieronymo feci». *Annales II*, 36, 37.

Theologia – moralis	: (80), 119, 120, (125), (149), 154, 167, 168, 170, 171, 203, 204, 206, 210, 217, 218.
5. Sermones	: 2, 13, (19), 20, (26), 31, 32, 37, 38, 40, 41(?), 42, 43, 44, 53, 58, 59, 62, 67-70, 74, 76, 80, (81), 82, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91, 93, 95, 99, (100), 104, 106, (107), (108), 109, 111, 114, 115, 118, 121, 124, 128, (129), 130, 139, 140, (141), 141a, 142, (143), (155), 156, 183, (192), 193, 208.
6. Polemica	: 57, 79, 102, (121), 122, 131, 132, 133, (134), 135, (138), 166, 178, 187.
7. Libri pii	: 10, 27, 28, 29, (55), 65, 66, 72, 75, 83, 88, 97, 100, 106, 107, 108, 113, 125, (144), 145, 155, 169, 171, 182, 184, 185, 189, 190, (191), 192, 202, 209, 216.
Libri pii: Catechismus	: 85, 177, (178).
8. Liturgica	: 63, 123, 195, 207.
9. Historia Sacra	: 3, 34, 39, 55, (75), 77, 98, 105, (106), (107), 108, 110, 136, 148, 150, 172, 173.
10. Historia profana	: 30, (165), 174.
11. Philosophia	: 94, 180.
12. Humanistica	: 6, 11, 14, 116, 127, 144, 176, 179, (184), 186, 188.
13. Juridica	: 153, (181), (203), 212.
14. Concordantia	: 23.
Dictionaria	: 64, 89, 117, 126, 211, (212).
Varia	: 1, 17, 33, 45(?), 46(?), 50(?), 56(?), 60, 61, 79a, 84a, 96, 99a, 101, 103, 112, 126a, 137, 149, 149a, 157, 158, 159, 160-165, 194.

Eelcko Ypma, O.S.A.

GRONINGEN

Catalogus Librorum in folio[1])

1. *Aktlas in 2 volum.*

   Mercator, Gerard: Atlas sive Cosmographicae meditationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura. 2 dln. 1595. herh. gedr.

   Mercator, (Kremer) G. (1512-1594), mathematicus, geograaf, cartograaf. NNBW X 614; BNB XIV 372.

2. *La nuza in spaens, 5 vol.*

   Lanuza, Jeronimo Bautista:
   1. Homilias sobre los evangelios que la Iglesia santa propone los dias de la Quaresma. Barbastro 1621/23. sq. versch. dr.
   2. Homilias sobre el Evangelio que se propone en la solemnidad de s. Sacramento del Altar. Barcelona 1626. versch. dr.

   Lanuza, H.B. de o.p. (1553-1625), theoloog, prediker, bisschop van Barbastro, daarna van Albarracio. DHEE II 1268.

3. *Kerckelijcke historie baronii.*

   Rosweyde, Herbert: Generale kerckelijcke historie van de gheboorte onses H. Jesu Christi tot het iaer MDCXX. Bewijsende den vasten standt der H. Roomsche Kercke, de onghebroken successie der Pausen, de synoden der Vaderen, victorie der Martelaren, opganck en onderganck der ketterijen. Ghemaeckt door ... C. Baronius ...

   Rosweyde, Herbert s.j. (1569-1629), geschiedschrijver, hagiograaf. BNB XX 170.

   Baronius, Caesar, orat. (1538-1607), kardinaal, kerkelijk geschiedschrijver. LTK I 1270; DTC II 426.

4. *Biblia cum concordantia vet. et novi testamenti.*

   Biblia Sacra cum Concordantia utriusque Testamenti. Lugduni 1519.

   Biblia cum concordantiis. Embden 1556.

5. *Out vadersboeck Hieronymi op duyts.*

   Hieronymus S.: Dat Vaderboeck dat in den Latijne is gehieten Vitas Patrum. Zwolle 1480. versch. dr. Hain III 8629, 8630; BCNI 392, 6387, 9656.

6. *Polyanthea Josephi Langij.*

   Langius, Joseph.: Polyanthea Nova, hoc est opus sanctissimis foribus

[1]) Voor de lijst van afkortingen zie: *Augustiniana* 35 (1985), pp. 326-327.

celebriarum sententiarum tam Graecorum tam Latinorum refertum ... Lugduni 1604, herh. gedr.

Langius (Lang), Joseph (± 1570-1615), filoloog. ADB XVII 602.

7. *Opera bernardi.*

Bernardus, S.: Opera Omnia. Antverpiae 1620. versch. dr.

Bernardus. o.cist. (1090-1153), abt van Clairvaux, prediker, geestelijk schrijver. LTK II 239; DTC II 746; DS I 1454; BCNI 6740, 9401.

8. *Augustinus in psalmos.*

Augustinus: Enarrationes in psalmos. Antverpiae 1662. herh. gedr. (1680). BCNI 11820, 13868; cfr. Hain I 1971-1975.

9. *Tertier tomes Epist. D. Eusebij Hieronymi.*

Eusebius Cremonensis: Epistola ad Damasum de morte Hieronymi etc. s.d.s.l.

Eusebius van Cremona († na 420), monnik, leerling van S. Hieronymus. LTK III 1199; DHGE XV 1460; Hain II 6718-6724.

10. *Simonis de Cascia. Evangelicae Veritatis etc.*

Simon de Cascia: Egregii Evangelicae Veritatis Enarratoris Simonis de Cassia opus in IV Evangelia ... quod inscribitur de gestis Domini Salvatoris in XV libros distributum ... cum indicibus accurate collectis. Coloniae 1533, 1540.

Dit werk, meer bekend onder de titel: De Gestis Domini Salvatoris Libri XV, is hetzelfde als: Expositio super totum corpus Evangeliorum, en herhaaldelijk gedrukt.

Simon Fidati de Cascia o.s.a. (± 1290-1348), volksprediker. LTK IX 766; Blanco 113; Hain II 4557, 4558; BCNI 1299, 1748.

11. *Titus livius op duyts.*

12. *Biblia Ambrosij.*

13. *Postilla Joannis feri.*

Joannes Ferus: Postillae seu conciones in epistolas et evangelia de sanctis a pascha usque ad adventum. Antverpiae 1558. versch. dr.

Ferus (Wild), J. o.f.m. (1495-1554), exegeet, dompredikant te Mainz. Na zijn dood kwamen zijn werken wegens bepaalde onnauwkeurigheden een tijdlang op de lijst van verboden boeken. LTK X 1123; DTC XV 3520; BCNI 2641, 2708, 2824; 2771.

14. *Arthyacij Biel Hoochduyts.*

Biel, Gabriel:

(?) 1. Tractatus artis grammaticae. Urach 1485, versch. dr.
(?) 2. Regula puerorum. Urach 1483, versch. dr.

Biel, G. (± 1410-1495), theoloog, prediker. LTK II 454; DTC II 814; Hain I 3189.

15. *Een bijbel nederduyts.*

De eerste nederl. Bijbel is gedrukt te Delft 1477.

Zie Le Long, Boekzaal II. 365.

16. *Thomas Aquinas Theologia.*

Thomas Aquino:
1. Summa totius theologiae ... in qua per quaestiones et responsiones explicatur; in tres partes distributa. Coloniae 1622.
2. Theologiae summae compendium ... auctore p. Alagona. Antverpiae 1661.

VB 23; voor Alagona zie no 175.

17. *Herbarium op hoochduyts.*

Herbarius zu teutsch und von allerhandt kreutern. Augsburg 1488. herh. gedr. Hain III 8953-8957; 8945-8952.

18. *Biblia Hyeronimi, 2 volum.*

Biblia: Vetus et Novum Testamentum, II partes. Antverpiae 1537, 1538. cfr. BCNI 1546, 1623; NK 2448, 2449.

19. *Zanaragdi Abbatis in Epist. et Evang.*

Smaragdus: Collectiones in Epistolas et Evangelia. Argentiniae 1556. versch. dr.

Smaragdus, o.s.b. († 885), abt, geestelijk schrijver. LTK IX 836; DTC XIV 2246.

20. *Opus Maffredi sermonum 2 vol.*

Meffreth: Hortulus reginae seu sermones de sanctis, de tempore. Venetiis 1479. 2 vol. Paris 1487. herh. gedr.

Meffreth. pseudonyme (?), waarschijnlijk monnik (15e eeuw). DS X 934; Hain 10999-11008; Copinger 3960-3962; BCNI 7529.

21. *Bartholomeus Laretier in psalmos.*

22. *Becani theologia scholastica.*

Becanus, Martin: Theologiae Scholasticae. Pars prima in duos tomos distincta. Maguntii 1615. versch. dr.

Becanus (Schellekens) Mart. s.j. (1563-1624), controverstheoloog. LTK II 89; DTC II 522; BNB II 69.

23. *Concordantiae maiores.*

Brant: Concordantiae maiores Bibliae tam dictionum declinabilium quam indeclinabilium dilligenter visae cum textu ac secundum veram orthographiam emendatae. Basileae 1496. herh. gedr.

Brant, Sebast. (1458-1521), filoloog, letterkundige, voegde voor deze druk de vroeger verschenen uitgaven van Conrad van Halberstadt en Joan. van Segovia samen. DB II 895 sq. 897; LTK II 649; NDB II 534.

24. *Biblia antiqua.*

25. *Baeza in evangelia commentaria* – 2 vol.

Baeza, Didacus: Commentaria moralia in Evangelicam historiam.

I. Divi Josephi, B. Mariae et Christi magnalia.
II. Vocationes et conversiones a Domino Jesu peractae, omnia illius miracula et nobiliores prophetiae peractae.
III. Prophetiae a Jesu dictae et nondum adimpletae, eius sermones et in illius apertiores similitudines.
IV. Parabolae et historiae adductae a Jesu.

7 vol. Valladolid 1624, 1630; Lugduni 1635, 1645. herh. gedr.

Baeza, Diego s.j. (1582-1647), prediker. DB I 1382; DHGE VI 184; BCNI 8173. Zie no 73, 81.

26. *La nuza Latine* – 2 vol.

Lanuza, H. B. de:

1. Tractatus evangelici, continentes discursus et conceptus literales, morales et allegoricos. II tom. Coloniae 1617, 1618. versch. dr.
2. Medulla cedri Libani, seu conceptus praedicabiles super dominicales et festa totius anni, ex homiliis quadragesimalibus ... in duos tomos distributa ... in latinum transtulit O. de Kien: II tom. Antverpiae 1653. versch. dr.

Zie no. 2; BCNI 6392, 11988; 10982, 11160, 11650.

Kien, Onesymus de, o.f.m. cap. (1600-1654), prediker, vertaler. BNB X 761.

27. *Legatio Ecclesiae per p. Eliam de s. Theresia. 2 vol.*

Elias a s. Theresia: Legatio Ecclesiae triumphantis ad militantem pro liberandis animabus purgatorii. 2 vol. Antverpiae 1638/40.

Elias a s. Theresa o.c.d. (1580-1640), geestelijk schrijver. DS IV 578; BCNI 9108.

28. *Franciscus quaresmius de vulneribus Christi. 2 vol.*

Quaresmius, Franc.: De sacratissimis D.N.J. Christi quinque vulneribus varia, pia et luculenta tractatio. Venetiis 1652. 5 vol.

Quaeresmius (Quaresmus), Fr. o.f.m. (1582-1656) praeses van de Custodia van het H. Land, orientalist, prediker. LTK VIII 923; DTC XIII 1442.

29. *Vita Jesu Christi per Ludovicum de saxonia.*

Ludolfus de Saxonia: Vita Jesu Christi e quatuor Evangeliis et scriptoribus orthodoxis concinnata. Strasburg 1474. herh. gedr.

Ludolf van Saxen, o. carth. (± 1300-1378), geestelijk schrijver. LTK VI 11801; DTC IX 10007; DS IX 1130; Hain III 10288-10297; BCNI 6541.

30. *Chronicon Joannis Haucleri.*

Nauclerus, J.: Memorabilium omnis aetatis et omnium gentium chronici commentarii a Joanne Nauclero ... digesti in annum salutis MD. Tubingen 1516. versch. dr.

Nauclerus, Verge Joh. (1430-1510), jurist, chroniekschrijver. LTK VII 845; ADB XXIII 296.

31. *Henricus Hermesij sermones.*

Helmesius, Henr.: Homiliae in evangelia et omnes epistolas canonicas, ex meris divinae scripturae sententiis ... concinnatae. Coloniae 1550. herh. gedr.

Helmesius (Helm), H. O.F.M. († ± 1560), volksprediker, controverstheoloog. LTK V 223; DS VII 169; BCNI 2236.

32. *Homiliae doctorum de sanctis.*

1. Homiliae seu conciones praestantissimorum Ecclesiae catholicae doctorum, primum ab Alcuino levita ... in hunc ordinem redactae et nunc demum locupletatae homiliis ... Eusebii Emisseni ... Coloniae 1557. versch. dr. Hain III 8794.

Eusebius van Emesa († ± 360) bisschop, kerkelijk schrijver. LTK III 1195; DTC V 1537; DS IV 1690.

2. Homeliarius Doctorum Johannes Volricus Surgant ... opus preclarum omnium homeliarum et postillarum venerabilium egregiorum doctorum ... in partem de tempore et de sanctis divisum ...
   I. de tempore. II. omelie Doctorum omnium de Sanctis. Basileae 1493. versch. dr.

Surgant, Joh. Ulrich (± 1450-1503), theoloog, zielzorger. LTK IX 1192; ADB XXXIX 165; Hain III 8794; 8791-8793; BCNI 2601; 2687.

33. *Herbarium op duyts.*

Herbarius of Kruydboeck, s.l. 1484.

Hain III 8449; cfr. NK 1049-1054. Zie no. 17.

34. *Eusebij Historia ecclesiastica.*

Eusebius: Historia ecclesiastica per Rufinum ... de greco in latino traducta. Ultraiecti 1477. herh. gedr.

Eusebius (± 265-339) bisschop van Cesarea, apologeet, geschiedschrijver. LTK III 1193; DTC V 1527; DS IV 1687; Hain 6708-6715.

Rufinus van Aquilea (345-411) kerkelijk schrijver. LTK IX 91; DTC XIV 153.

35. *Sebast. Barradij Commentaria in 4 Evangelia. 2 vol.*

Barradius, Sebast.: Commentaria in concordiam et historiam evangelicam ... Coimbra IV tom. 1599-1601, in 2 vol. Antverpiae 1621/22. herh. gedr.

Barradas, Seb. s.j. (1543-1615) exegeet. LTK II, 2; DHGE VI 890; DB I 1467; VB. 10.

36. *Opuscula plurima D. Augustini.*

(?) Opuscula plurima, videlicet Meditationes, Soliloquia etc. Venetiis 1483. herh. gedr.

cfr. Hain 1946-1956; BCNI 2128, 3492, 4392, 4399.

37. *Baeza 3 vol.*

Baeza, Didacus: Commentaria allegorica et moralia de Christo figurato in Veteri Testamento. 7 vol. Valladolid 1632/'39. herh. gedr. Zie no. 25, 73, 81.

38. *Sermones thesauri de sanctis.*

Petrus a Palude: Sermonum thesaurus novus de sanctis. Argentinae 1485. versch. dr.

Petrus a Palude (de la Palu) o.p. (± 1280-1342) theoloog, patriarch van Jerusalem. LTK VIII 374; DTC XII 2033.

39. *Theatre de las religiones.*

Valderrama, Pedro de: Teatro de las Religiones, compuesta por el padre fray Pedro de Valderrama. Sevilla 1612. versch. dr.

Valderrama, P. de, o.s.a. (1550-1611) prediker. SV VIII 55, 68; Ossinger 908.

40. *Valderama quaresma spaens.*

Valderrama P. de: Exercicios espirituales para todos los dias de la Quaresma compuesto por ... Sevilla 1602. versch. dr. SV VIII 58. Zie no. 39.

41. *Foncescae 3 vol. spaens.*

42. *Valderama de sanctis – spaens.*

Valderrama, P. de: Primera (segunda, tercere) parte de los Exercicios espirituales para todas las festividades de los sanctos ... 3 vol. Barcelona 1607. versch. dr. SV VIII 62. Zie no. 39.

43. *Berenguer 3 vol.*

(?) Berenguer y Morales, Pedro Juan: Universal explicacion de los misterios de nuestra santa fe.

De catalogus van de voormalige bibliotheek van de Augustijnen te Maastricht (dd. 1793) vermeldt: Berenques, Joh.: Conciones. Valladolid 1626.

Berenguer y Morales P. J. (1610-1670) spaans theoloog. EU VIII 218.

44. *Sermones de francisco – spaens.*

45. *Manuel le Nucen.*

46. *Pedro de Teran.*

47. *Suarez theologia.*

Suarez, Franc.: Commentariorum ac disputationum in tertiam partem Divi Thomae. IV tom. 3 bnd. Moguntii 1604.

Suarez, Franciscus s.j. (1544-1619) theoloog. LTK IX 1129; DTC XIV 2638; VB 118.

48. *Augustinus de Trinitate.*

49. *Sermones de sanctis Magistri Gabrielis.*

Biel, Gabr.: Sermones de festivitatibus Christi, sermones de festivitatibus B. Mariae, sermones de sanctis Magistri Gabrielis. s.l. (Tubingen) 1499. versch. dr. Hain I 3184. Zie no. 14.

50. *Pater van Os, op duyts.*

51. *Biblia s. Hieronymi.*

Biblia latina.

Cfr. Hain I 3031 sq.; BCNI 982, 1037, 1076, 1355, 1356, 1546, 1623.

52. *Psalmen op duyts op noten.*

53. *Sermones de sanctis.*

(?) Sermones thesauri novi de sanctis. Coloniae 1536. BCNI 1493. Zie no. 38.

54. *Jacobi fabri in IV evangelia.*

Faber, Jac.: Commentatorii in quatuor evangelia. Paris 1522. versch. dr.

Faber (le Fèvre d'Etaples), J. (± 1450-1536) filosoof, exegeet, geestelijk schrijver. LTK III 1329; DTC IX 132; DS IX 520.

55. *Quevedo 3 vol. spaens.*

Quevedo y Villegas, Franciscus de:
(?) 1. Vida del bienventurado Tomas de Villenueva. Madrid. 1620.
(?) 2. Vida de s. Pablo Apostolo. Madr. 1644.
(?) 3. Suenos.
(?) 4. Las tres musas ultimas castellanos. Madr. 1670.
(?) 5. Lagrimas de Hieremias Castellanos. Madr. 1670.
(?) 6. Politica de Dios. Madr. 1655.

Quevedo y Villegas, Franc. de (1580-1645), dichter, politicus. LTK VIII 936; EU 48, 1051.

56. *Hancklyf Rogneri Israelis.*

57. *Hogrera de Ecclesia Christi.*

Nogueras, J.G. de: De ecclesia Christi ab Haereticorum Conciliabulis dignoscenda libri II. Dillingen 1560. versch. dr.

Nogueras, Jaime Gilbert de († 1566), prediker, theoloog. LTK VII 1019.

58. *Michaelis Gochmar sermones de sanctis.*

Lochmaier, Michael: Sermones de sanctis perutiles. Hagenau 1490. versch. dr.

Lochmaier, Mich. († 1491) theoloog, dompredikerte Passau. ADB XIX 64; DS IX 953; Hain III 10172, 10173, 10174.

59. *Paul. Wan sermones.*

Wann, Paulus:
1. Sermones de tempore. Pataviae 1491. versch. dr.
2. Sermones XIX de praeservatione hominis a peccato. Pataviae ± 1490. versch. dr.

Wann, Paulus (± 1425-1489) theoloog, kanunnik en prediker te Passau. LTK VIII 234; Hain IV 16141-16146, 16147-16149.

60. *Navigatio Indica.*

61. *Jacobi Weckerei Antidotarium.*

Wecker, Jacobus: Antidotarium generale et speciale ex optimorum autorum tum veterum quam recentiorum scriptis fideliter et methodice congestum. Basileae 1586.

Weckereus, Joh. Jac. (1528-1586) filosoof, geneesheer. ADB XLI 372.

62. *Speculum exemplorum 2 vol.*
1. Speculum exemplorum ex diversis libris in unum laboriose collectum. Daventriae 1481. herh. gedr.
2. Major, J.: Magnum speculum exemplorum ex plus quam sexaginta auctoribus, pietate, doctrina et antiquitate venerandis, variisque historiis, tractatibus et libellis excerptum ... opus ... variis notis ... illustratum ... ac ... appendice locupletatum. Duaci 1603. herh. gedr.

Major (le Maieur) J. s.j. (1543-1608) prediker, geestelijk schrijver. DS X 120; BNB XIII 186; Hain IV 14915-14920; BCNI 4971, 5126, 5299 etc.

63. *Thesaurus sacrorum rituum.*

Gavanti, Bartholomeus: Thesaurus sacrorum Rituum sive Commentarius in Rubricas Missalis et Breviarii Romani. Romae 1628. herh. gedr.

Gavanti, Barth., o. barnabit. (1569-1638) liturgist, generaal van de Barnabiten. LTK IV 534; DACL VI 668; BCNI 8602, 8723, 10000 etc.

64. *Dictionarium histor. Caroli Stephani.*

Carolus Stephanus: Dictionnaire historique et poétique de toutes les nations, hommes, lieux, fleurs, montagnes. Paris 1553.

Stephanus (Estienne), C. (1504-± 1564) drukker en uitgever in Parijs. DBF XIII 95.

65. *Fraternitas 4 sodalitatum.*

Jonghen, Henricus de: Vera fraternitas declamanda confratribus sodalitatum S. Rosarii dominicani, S. Scapularis carmelitarum, S. Zonae augustinianae, S. Funiculi franciscani: pro congregationibus menstruis sodalium praedictorum: opus morale complectens materias omnium virtutum et vitiorum, hominibus quorumlibet statuum applicabiles. Antverpiae 1662. BCNI 11865. Zie no. 66.

66. *Nuptiae Agni.*

Jonghen, Henricus de: Nuptiae Agni sive discursus exhortatorii pro sacris Vestitutionibus, Professionibus, Jubileis religiosorum, itemque de dedicationibus ecclesiarum strenuisque spiritualibus novorum annorum. Antverpiae 1658. versch. dr.

Jonghen, Henricus de o.f.m. (1608-1669), theoloog, kerkelijk schrijver. BNB X 540; DS VIII 1272; BCNI 11437, 12423.

67. *Paratus de tempore.*

1. Paratus continens de tempore et de sanctis. Moguntii s.d. (1475). herh. gedr.

   Hain IV 12408, 12409; 12397-12413.
2. Molitor, W.: Parati sermones paratiores redditi in evangelia et epistolas tam Dominicalium quam festorum dierum totius anni. Coloniae 1631. versch. dr.

Molitor, Wilhelmus (17e eeuw) kanunnik van Keulen, prediker. BCNI 8384, 10355.

68. *Dormi secure de tempore.*

Johannes de Verdena: Sermones Dormi secure, vel dormi sine cura, de tempore. Coloniae 1480. herh. gedr.

Johannes de Verdena (van Werden), o.f.m. († 1437), volksprediker. LTK V 1096; DS VIII 790; Hain IV 15977; 15968-15976; BCNI 21.

69. *Sasbout homiliae.*

Sasbout, Adam:
1. Homiliae in laudem B. Virginis. Antverpiae 1553.
2. Homiliarum opus, pars I, II. Lovanii 1554; Antverpiae 1613. herh. gedr.

Sasbout, A. o.f.m. (1516-1557) prediker, exegeet. LTK IX 339; DTC XIV 1127; BCNI 2392; 5950, 2441, 2567, 2795 etc.

70. *Bellarmini Conciones.*

Bellarminus, R.: Conciones habitae Lovanii. Lovanii 1615; Coloniae 1615. versch. dr.

Bellarminus, Robert s.j. (1542-1621) theoloog, controversist. LTK II 160; DTC 560; BCNI 6170, 6171, 6312, 6427 etc.

71. *B. Paes in Epist. s. Jacobi.*

Paes, Baltasar: In epistolam Beati Jacobi apostoli commentaria ... Editio postrema ab ipso authore recognita ac tertia sui parte aucta. Antverpiae 1623. versch. dr.

Paes, Balt. o.trin. (1571-1638) theoloog, exegeet. EU 40, 1452.

72. *Lapis adiutorij.*

Lancilottus, Henricus: Lapis adiutorii, hoc est psalmi IV Davidis «Cum invocarem» exegesis theologica, catholica, moralis. Antverpiae 1641.

Lancilottus (Lancelotz), H. o.s.a. (1576-1648) controverstheoloog, prediker, geestelijk schrijver. LTK VI 772; DTC VIII 2555; DS IX 178; BCNI 9463.

73. *Baeza Christo figurato.*

Zie no. 25.

74. *Labate conciones 3 vol.*

Labata, Johannes: Apparatus concionatorum seu loci communes ad conciones ordine alphabetico digesti. 3 vol. Lugduni 1614-1621; Coloniae 1614-1621.

Labata, Johannes Franciscus s.j. (± 1549-1631) prediker. DS IX 8; cfr. BCNI 10894, 10895.

75. *Psalmi triumphalis forneri.*

Fornerus, Fredericus: Palma triumphalis miraculorum Ecclesiae Catholicae et de sacrarum praecipue Virginis gloriosae imaginum cultu, libri V. Ingolstadt 1622.

Fornerus (Forner), Fred. (± 1570-1630) hulpbisschop van Bamberg, theoloog, prediker. LTK IV 215; ADB VII 158; DS V 527.

76. *Sermones de B. V. Maria forneri.*

Fornerus, Fr.: Sermones tricesimales de felicissimo ex hac vita transitu, gloriosissima in caelos assumptione et susceptione, regia inauguratione et coronatione, patrocinio, cultu atque devotione ... Deiparae Virginis Mariae. Ingolstadt 1627. Zie no. 75.

77. *Eremus Augustiniana.*

Naevius, Joh.: Eremus Augustinianus floribus honoris et sanctitate vernans. Lovanii 1638.

Naevius (Neeffs), J. o.s.a. (1576-1656) geestelijk schrijver. DS XI 82; BNB XV 537; BCNI 9142, cfr. 8248, 12333.

78. *Clistoraeus adversus Lutheranos.*

Clichtoveus, Judocus:

1. Compendium veritatum ad fidem pertinentium, contra erroneas Lutheranorum assertiones. Paris 1529.
2. Antilutherus. Paris 1524; Coloniae 1525.

Clichtoveus (van Clichthove), Judocus (± 1472-1543) humanist, theoloog, controversist. LTK II 1234; DTC III 236; BNB IV 172.

79. *Opuscula diversa.*

Zie no. 80, sub 3.

80. *Jacobi Marchantij 2 vol.*

Marchantius, Jac.:

1. Rationale evangelizantium, sive doctrina et veritas evangelica a sacerdotibus, pastoribus, concionatoribus, pectori appendenda, plebique per anni circulum e cathedra proponenda. 2 vol. Mons 1637. versch. dr.
2. Vitis florigera de palmitibus electis odorem spirans suavitatis; ac coeli vinum suis propinquans cultoribus. 2 vol. Mons 1639. versch. dr.
3. Opuscula pastoralia de diversa sive commixtum Migma, quod in Arca ventilatum est ut agni christiani pascantur spatiose et copiose. Mons 1641. (omvat 6 werkjes). versch. dr.

Marchantius (Marchant), Jac. (± 1587-1648) theoloog, prediker, geestelijk schrijver. BNB XIII 447; DTC IX 2004; DS X 298; BCNI 9040, 9473; 9041, 9236, 10791, 14125; 9472, 9572.

81. *p. Bazzaei. 3 vol.*

(?) Baeza. Zie no. 25, 37.

82. *Quadragesimale Thomae Reyna.*

Reina, Thomas: Quadragesimale seu conciones in totius quadragesimae dominicas et ferias ... ex italico in latinum sermonem translatae opera ... J. Emans. Frankfort 1653. versch. dr.

Reina, Th. s.j. (1579-1653) prediker. Sommervogel VII 1380; BCNI 11095.

83. *Joannis Gerson de contemptu mundi.*

Gerson, Johannes (1363-1429) kanselier van de universiteit van Parijs, geestelijk schrijver. LTK V 1036; DTC VI 1313; DS VI 313.

84. *Samara de sanctis spaens.*

84a. *Manuscripta.*

85. *P. Canisii autorem sacrum.*

Busaeus, P.: Authoritatum s. Scripturae et ss. Patrum quae in Summa doctrinae christianae doctoris Petri Canisii ... citantur, IV vol. Coloniae 1569, 1570. versch. dr.

Busaeus (Buys), P. s.j. (1540-1587) theoloog, catecheet. LTK II 799; DTC II 1265; BCNI 3160.

86. *Kerckpostile.*

87. *Hugo de prato florido sermones.*

Hugo de Prato Florido: Sermones dominicales super Evangelia et Epistolas, tam de tempore quam de sanctis. Argentinae 1467. herh. gedr.

Hugo de Prato Florido, o.p. (± 1276-1322) prediker. DS VII 893; QE I 551; Hain III 8993-9009; cfr. BCNI 6388.

88. *Petrus de Soto, trac. de initiatis sacerdotio.*

Soto, Petrus de: Tractatus de institutione sacerdotum. Dillingen 1558. Lovanii 1562. versch. dr.

Soto, P. de o.p. (± 1500-1563) theoloog, prof. te Dillingen. LTK IX 898; DTC XIV 2431; BCNI 2801, 3033, 3034.

89. *Vocabularier sive ghemma vocabulorum.*

(?) Vocabularius optimus, Gemma vocabulorum merito dictus. Daventriae 1505. NK 972.

90. *Diez. vol. 4.*

Diez, Felipe:

1. Quadruplices Conciones, quae a Dominica in Septuagesima usque ad Resurrectionem Domini quotidie in Ecclesia habentur. Venitiis 1586. Salamanca 1590.
2. Quadruplices Dominicarum et Fatorum omnium in Dominica prima Adventus usque ad Septuagesimam. Salamanca 1588.
3. Conciones Quadruplices super Evangelia Jesu Christi S. Mariae et Sanctorum omnium. Salamanca 1590/91.
4. Dominicales Aestivales, Conciones a Dominica prima Adventus. Salamanca 1586.
5. Summa praedicantium et omnibus locis communibus compleissima. Salamanca 1589.

Diez, Felipe o.f.m. († 1601) theoloog, prediker. EU 18, 1014; BCNI 5013, 8074; 4566, 5886.

91. *Rolin sermones 4 vol.*

Raulin, Johannes:

1. Sermones de sanctis, de adventu, dominicales. Ed. Bellerus. Antverpiae 1611/12; ed. Keerbergius. Antverpiae 1611/12.
2. Itinerarium paradisi, continens sermones de poenitentia et eius partibus, scilicet contritione, confessione, satisfactione ac oratione. Adiuncti sunt ... sermones de matrimonio et viduitate. Ed. Keerbergius. Antverpiae 1612.

Raulin, J. o.s.b. (1443-1514) S. Th. Doctor, rector van het College van Navarre te Parijs, prediker, monnik van Cluny sedert 1497. EU 49, 852; BCNI 5735, 5736, 5827.

92. *Damascenus: de fide.*

Joannis Damasceni de orthodoxa fide liber interprete Jacobo Fabro Stapulensi. Paris 1507. versch. dr.

Joannes Damascenus (± 650-750) kerkleraar. LTK V 1023; DTC VIII 695; DS VIII 452; Brunet III 541.

Faber Stapulensis: zie no. 54.

93. *Alexander Calamato discursus morales.*

Calamato, Alexander: Conciones sacrae ac morales in duos tomos distributae.

1. Sylva variorum discursum ad totius anni dominicas et festa accommodata.
2. Sermones quadragesimales et encomia Virginis Mariae. Antverpiae 1652-1656. versch. dr.

Calamato, Alex. († 1648) prediker, priester te Messina, schreef talloze preken. DTC II 1330; BCNI 10851.

94. *Manuscripta logica, physica, metaphi. 3 vol.*

95. *Alexand. Calamato auctarium.*

Calamato, A.: Auctarium seu stella concionatorum in septem tractatus divisa. Antverpiae 1657. versch. dr. BCNI 11306, 12388. Zie no. 93.

96. *Octo libri antiqui. 8 vol.*

97. *Las obras de S. M. Teresa.*

Teresa de Avila: Las obras de S. Madre Teresa. Madrid 1597. Antverpiae 1630. herh. gedr.

Theresia van Avila, o.carm. (1515-1582) hervormster, kerkelijk schrijfster. LTK X 98; DTC XV 552; BCNI 8286, 10384, 11806, 13275, 14402.

98. *Vida de S. Teresa.*

Ribeira, Franciscus: Vida de la madre Teresa de Jesus. Salamanca 1590. herh. gedr.

Ribeira, Fr. de s.j. (1537-1591) exegeet, geestelijke leidsman van de H. Theresia. LTK VIII 1282.

99. *Didacus Lopez de sanctis.*

Lopez, Didacus: Primera parte de los tratados sobre los Evangelios que dice la Iglesia en los festividades de los Santos. Madrid – Barcelona 1622. Dit is deel II (de sanctis) van de uitgave in fol. in 3 vol. Madrid 1656.

Lopez de Andrade, Diego o.s.a. (1569-1628) theoloog en prediker, bisschop van Otrante. DS VIII 1001; DHEE II 1337.

99a. *Lor.*

100. *Marial di Murill.*

Murillo, D.: Vida y excelencias de la Madre de Dios. Saragossa 1616. versch. dr.

Murillo, Diego o.f.m. (1555-1616) prediker. DS X 1847.

101. *Las comedias de fameuse poetez.*

102. *Serpi de purgatorio.*

Serpi, Dismas: Tratado del Purgatorio contra Lutero. Madrid 1617. versch. dr.

Serpi, D. o.f.m. (17e eeuw) prediker. EU 55, 557.

103. *Menal de Merillo de hurtado.*

104. *Corona praedicatorum.*

105. *S. Basileo de Niceno.*

Niseno, Diego: El fenix de la Grecia san Basilio magno. Madrid 1649. versch. dr.

Niseno, D. o. Basilii († 1656) geestelijk schrijver. DS XI 368; EU 38, 794.

106. *Abraham de Nyceno.*

Niseno, D.: El gran padre de los creyentes, Abraham en moral. enseñanza y doctrina praedicabile ... Madrid – Barcelona 1636. versch. dr.

Zie no. 105.

107. *Isaac de Nyceno.*

Niseno, D.: El politico del cielo hallado en las mysteriosas acciones del sagrado patriarca Isaac. Zie no. 105.

108. *Jacob.*

Niseno, D.: Secunda parte de Politico del Cielo hallado en las misteriosas acciones del sagrado patriarca Jacob. Barcelona 1638.

cfr. Cat. Gén. BN. Paris (D9013). Zie no. 105.

109. *Orationes panygericae de los sanctos.*

110. *Sanctoral de henricque.*

Henriquez, Chrysostomus:

1. Fasciculus sanctorum ordinis cisterciensis. Bruxellis 1623. 2 vol. Coloniae 1623. versch. dr.

2. Coronae sacrae ordinis cisterciensis. Bruxellis 1624.
2a. Corona sagrada del religion cisterciense Bruxellis 1624.
3. Thesaurus evangelicus, seu de viris sanctitate egregiis congregationis Hispanicae. Madrid 1619.

Henriquez, Chrysost. o.cist. (1594-1632) historiograaf, hagiograaf. DS VII 258; BCNI 7210, 8353; 7369, 7370.

111. *Quaresma de Lopez.*

Lopez, D.:
1. Tradados sobre los Evangelios de la Quaresma. Madrid 1615.
2. Segunda parte sobre los Evangelios de Quaresma. Madrid 1617. herh. gedr. Zie no. 99.

112. *Explica de la bulla.*

113. *Fonseca de mordido.*

Fonseca, Christoph.: Tradado del amor de Dios. 3 vol. Valladolid 1592. herh. gedr.

Fonseca, Christ. de, o.s.a. (1550-1621) prediker, geestelijk schrijver. LTK IV 195; DTC VI 523; DS V 666.

114. *Predicabler de fray Diego.*

Murillo, Diego: Discursos predicables sobre todos los evangelios en los quatro domingos del advento y fiestas principalis, hasta la septuagesima. 2 vol. Saragossa 1603. herh. gedr. Zie no. 100.

115. *Fois homiliae in dominicas et festa.*

116. *Erasmi Colloquia.*

Zie BE I 35-sq.

117. *Grande dictionarium.*

(?) Calepinus, Ambr.: Dictionarium ... linguae latinae. herh. gedr.

Calepino, Ambrosio o.s.a. (1435-1511) lexicograaf.

Perini I 166. Zie Labarre, Alb.: Bibliographie du Dictionnaire d'Ambrogio Calepino. Baden-Baden 1975.

118. *Lanuza 3 vol. latin.*

Lanuza, H. B. de: Homiliae in Evangelia quadragesimalia interprete adm. V. P. F. Onesimo de Kien. s.l. (1633); in fol. 4 vol. Antverpiae 1647, 1649. versch. dr. BCNI 6818, 10114, 10342. Zie no. 2, 26.

In 8°

119. *Manuale confessariorum de Navarre.*

Navarrus: Enchiridion seu Manuale confessariorum et poenitentium. Antverpiae 1573. herh. gedr.

Navarrus (Azpilcueta, Martin de) regulier kanunnik (1493-1586). LTK I 1160; DTC I 2119; DS XI 60; BCNI 3493, 3738, 4791 etc.

120. *Laurent Beyerlinck promptuarium 2 vol.*

Beyerlinck, Laurent.: Promptuarium morale super evangelia festorum totius anni: ad instructionem concionatorum, ad reformationem peccatorum, ad consolationem piorum ... Coloniae 1613. 2 dln. herh. gedr.

Beyerlinck, L. (1578-1627) theoloog, prof. te Leuven, schrijver. LTK II 330; VB 32; BNB II 404; DHGE VIII 1299; BCNI 5874, 5990, 7627, 8681.

121. *Thomae Stapletoni promptuarium 2 vol.*

Stapleton, Thomas: Promptuarium morale super Evangelia dominicalia totius anni: ad instructionem concionatorum, ad reformationem peccatorum, ad consolationem piorum ... Antverpiae 1613. 2 vol. herh. gedr. Lugduni 1596.

Stapleton Th. (1535-1590) engels controverstheoloog. LTK IX 1019; DTC XIV 2566; BCNI 4127, 4197, 5956, 6832; VB 51.

122. *Becanus 2 vol.*

Becanus, M.: (?)

1. Manuale controversiarum huius temporis in quinque libros distributum. Herbipoli 1625. herh. gedr.
2. Compendium manualis controversiarum huius temporis de fide ac religione. Maguntii 1623. herh. gedr.

Becanus (Schellekens) M. s.j. (1563-1624) controverstheoloog. LTK II 89; DTC II 522; BNB II 69. Zie no. 22.

123. *Rationale Durandii.*

Durandus, Guillelmus: Rationale divinorum officiorum. s.d. (± 1480) herh. gedr.

Durand(us), Guil. (± 1230-1296) liturgist, bisschop van Mende. LTK III 611; DDC V 1014; Hain I 6461-6503; BCNI 3222, 6005.

124. *Francisci Lucae sermones.*

Lucas, Fr.: Conciones variae de variis christianae fidei mysteriis. Antverpiae s.d.

Lucas, Fr. (1548-1614) kanunnik van St. Omer, exegeet. LTK VI 1169; BNB XII 550; BCNI 10644.

125. *Regale sacerdotium p. Bessaei.*

Bessaeus, Petrus: Sacerdotium regale, sive de sacerdotis eximia dignitate, dotibus ipsi necessariis ac rebus necessariis. Paris 1610. versch. dr.

Bessaeus (de Besse), P. (1567-1639) prediker, moralist. DBF VI 322; BCNI 6104.

126. *Dictionarium 3 vol.*

126a. *Manuscripta.*

127. *Ciceronis.*

128. *Sermones quadragesimales.*

129. *Conciones de praecipuis sanctorum festis.*

130. *de Lingendor conciones 3 vol.*

Lingendes, C. de: Conciones in quadragesimam. 3 vol. in 4°. Paris 1661. herh. gedr.

Lingendes, Claude de s.j. (1591-1660) prediker, geestelijk leidsman. DS IX 856; Brunet III 1085.

131. *Bellarminus in 6 vol.*

Bellarminus, R.: Disputationum de controversiis christianae fidei, adversus huius temporis haereticos opus, ab ipsomet auctore auct. recogn. et in quatuor tomos distributum. Accesserunt hac editione, singulis tomis recentia quaedam eiusdem auctoris opuscula, suis quaeque locis inserta. in 8°, 6 vol. Ingolstadt 1615.

VB 50. Deze editie niet in Sommervogel. Zie no. 70.

132. *Becani controversiae.*

Becanus, M.: Controversia anglicana de potestate regis et pontificis contra Lancelottum Andream sacellanum regis Angliae qui se episcopum Eliensem vocat, pro defensione ill. card. Bellarmini. Maguntii 1612; 1613 verbeterde dr.

Zie no. 22.

133. *Stapletonier 4 vol.*

Stapleton, Th.: Opera quae extant omnia partim antea anglice scripta, nunc primum studio doctorum virorum anglorum latine reddita, cum vita auctoris a Henr. Hollando scripta. 4 vol. in fol. Paris 1620. Brunet V 510. Zie no. 121.

134. *Claud. Hosii Confessio fidei.*

Hosius, S.: Confessio Catholicae fidei christianae, vel potius explicatio quaedam confessionis, in synodo Petricoviensi a patribus provinciarum Gnesnensis et Leopoliensis in regno Poloniae factae. Paris 1561.

Hosius, Stanislaus (1509-1579) humanist, controverstheoloog. LTK 440; DTC VII 178.

135. *Lelries quae fides sit amplectenda.*

Lessius: Quae fides et religio sit capessenda, consultatio. Antverpiae 1609. herh. gedr.

Lessius (Leys), Leonard s.j. (1554-1623) theoloog, geestelijk schrijver. LTK VI 981; DTC IX 453; DS IX 709; BCNI 5481, 5588, 5805, 6043 etc.

136. *Vita sive gesta sanctorum 4 vol.*

(?) Vitae et res gestae sanctorum. Coloniae 1635. traductae per Viennot Petit. s.j. BCNI 8902.

137. *11 oude boecken in de bibliotheeck noch eenige oude boecken daaronder staende.*

138. *Echier de sacramentis.*

Echius, Joh.: De sacramentis. Romae 1523. versch dr.

Echius (Eck) Joh. (1486-1543) theoloog, controversist. LTK III 642; DTC IV 2056; DS IV 86.

139. *Echier de sanctis.*

Echius, J.:
1. Homiliae de sanctis.
2. Homiliae de tempore, de sanctis. ed. 1533, 1534.

Zie 138.

140. *Echij pars hiemalis.*

Homiliae super Evangelia de tempore. Antverpiae 1534.

Zie 138.

141. *Echij pars aestivalis.*

Zie no. 140.

141a. *Homiliae.*

142. *Antonini Diana.*

Diana, Antonin: Resolutionum moralium pars prima et secunda. Palermo 1629. herh. gedr. uitgebreid en onder versch. titel o.a. Antv. 1656.

Diana, Antonin, o.theat. (1585-1663) moraaltheoloog, casuist. LTK III 342; DTC IV 734; BCNI 8816, 9020; 9987 etc.

143. *Verilator de excellentia verbi incarnati.*

Bourgoing, Franc.: Veritates et sublimes excellentiae Verbi Incarnati Jesu Christi. 2 vol. 8° Antverpiae 1629.

Bourgoing, Franc. orat. (1585-1662) bekend prediker. LTK III 631; DTC II 1099; DS I 1910; BCNI 8057.

144. *Apophtechmata.*

Erasmus, Des.:
1. Apophthegmata sive dicta aut sententiae septem sapientium Graeciae. Lovanii, Coloniae 1515. herh. gedr.

2. Apophtegmatum sive scite dictorum libri sex. Basileae 1531. herh. gedr., uitgebreider en onder gewijzigde titel. BE II 7; I 15.

Beyerlinck, L.: Apophthegmata christiana. Antverpiae 1608. BCNI 5328. Zie no. 120.

145. *Philotaea f. de sales.*

Franciscus van Sales: Philothea sive introductio ad vitam devotam. Coloniae 1654. herh. gedr.; 1e druk in het Frans in Lyon, 1608.

Franc. van Sales (1567-1622) bisschop van Geneve, geestelijk schrijver. LTK IV 244; DTC VI 736; DS V 1057; BCNI 11069, cfr. 6010, 7944, 12501 etc.

146. *Cypriani epistolae.*

Cyprianus, Caec.: Epistolae. Daventriae 1477. versch. dr.

Cyprianus, Caecilius († 258) bisschop van Carthago, martelaar, kerkelijk schrijver. LTK III 115; DTC III 2459; DS II 2661; Hain II 5894-5897; cfr. BCNI 1444.

147. *D. Ignatii Epistolae.*

Ignatius, S.: Epistolae XI. Daventriae 1529. herh. gedr.

Ignatius van Antiochie († ± 107) bisschop van Antiochie, martelaar, kerkelijk schrijver. LTK V 611; DTC VII 685; DS VII 1250; BCNI 1061, 1703, 3012, 3356, 3991; cfr. Hain III 9074.

148. *het leven van de H. Thomas a Villanova.*

Salon, M.: 't Leven van den H. Thomas de Villanova. In 't spaensch beschreven door p. Michel Salonius ... in 't Nederlants overgeset door p. J.E. Antwerpen 1660.

Salon, Miguel o.s.a. (1539-1621) theoloog, jurist, hagiograaf. SV VII 72.

Estrix, Joh. o.s.a. (1602-1665) geestelijk schrijver. BNB VI 716; BCNI 11686.

149. *fred. fornaerii de temulentiae malo.*

Forner, Fred.: Libri IV de temulentiae malo. Ingoldtadt 1603. Zie no. 75.

149a. *Cur.*

150. *Historia monastica.*

Gonzalez de Critana, J.: Epitome historica vitae monasticae magni Antistitis Augustini ... Auctore Fr. Joh. Gonsalez de Criteria ... ex Hispanico idiomate in latinum versa per F.G.A.D. Antverpiae 1612.

Gonzalez de Critana, Johannes o.s.a. (± 1560-± 1607), prediker, geestelijk schrijver. SV III 185; DS VI 588.

Dayneff, Gregorius Aurelius o.s.a. († ± 1640) theoloog. BNB IV 735.

151. *D. Thomae Aquinatis enarratio evangelica.*

Thomas Aquinas: Enarrationes evangeliorum dominicalium et quadragesimalium per totum annum. Coloniae 1535. versch. dr.

BCNI 1431; 3687, 5846.

152. *Bayer de eucharistia.*

Bayus, Jacobus: De venerabili sacramento Eucharistiae et sacrificio missae lib. III. Lovanii 1612. versch. dr.

Bayus (de Baye), Jac. († 1614) theoloog. LTK I 1198; BNB IV 760; DTC II 37; BCNI 5770, 5771, 7315.

153. *Constitutiones Erem. S. Augustini.*

1. Constitutiones Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini. Coloniae 1627.
2. Crusenius, Nicolaus: Constitutiones Ord. Erem. S. Augustini cum notis marginalibus et indicibus. Monachii 1620. versch. dr.

Crusenius (Cruesen), Nic. († 1625) geschiedschrijver. BNB IV 580; BCNI 7794.

154. *Medulla theologiae moralis Busenb.*

Busenbaum, Henricus: Medulla theologiae moralis facili ac perspicua methodo resolvens casus conscientiae. Marburg 1650, Leodii 1653. herh. gedr.

Busenbaum, H. s.j. (1600-1660) moraaltheoloog. LTK II 801; DTC II 1266; BCNI 10950, 11051, 11216, 13677 etc.

155. *Drexelii opera in 27 vol.*

Drexelius, J.: De afzonderlijke werken van Drexelius zijn tussen 1634-1644 uitgegeven in 12°, te Leuven en Keulen; de catalogus van de voormalige Augustijnenbibliotheek te Maastricht dd. 1793 vermeldt inderdaad 27 deeltjes.

Drexel(ius), Jeremias s.j. (1581-1638) prediker, geestelijk schrijver. LTK III 573; DTC IV 1824; DS 1714; BCNI 7931, 8075, 8076 etc. Zie: K. Pörnbacher «Jeremiae Drexel Leben und Werke» München 1965.

156. *Manipulus concionum Petri de Vos.*

Vos, Petrus de: Manipulus sacer concionum moralium, collectus ex operibus R.P. Hieremiae Drexelii s.j. in omnes anni dominicas festa et quadragesimam. IV vol. Antverpiae 1644.

Vos, P. de o.s.a. (1605-1678) prediker, geestelijk leidsman. BNB V 857; BCNI 9828.

157. *Beschrijvinge van vranckrijck en steden.*

Zeiller, M.: Topographia Galliae dat is een algemene en naukeurige lant en plaets-beschrijvinghe van ... Vranckrijck. Amsterdam 1662.

Van deze uitgave in 5 delen dragen de laatste vier de titel: Beschrijvinge van Vranckrijck. Vermeerderde Nederlandsche bewerking van Zeiller, Martin: Topographia Gallicae. Frankf. 1655.

Zeiller, Martin (1589-1609) geograaf, reisbeschrijver. ADB XLIV 782; Tiele. p. 247 ns 1101.

158. *Guicciardin belgium.*

Guicciardini, L.: Omnium Belgii sive Germaniae Inferioris regionum descriptio, L. Guicciardino, nobili Florentino authore, recens ex idiomate italico ... in latinum sermonem conversa, Regn. Vitellio Zirizaeo interprete. Amsterdam 1613 fol; 1616 4°. Herhaaldelijk uitgegeven in fol. en in 12°.

Brunet II 1806; Paquot IV 381.

Guicciardini, Ludovicus (1521-1589) humanist, historicus. RE XII 537; WP VIII 756.

Vitellius (Telle), Regnerus (± 1558-1618) latinist, vertaler. BNB XXVI 782.

159. *Hermannidis britannia magna.*

160. *Sueciae fritlandiae etc. descriptio.*

Zeiller, M.: Regnum Sueciae, Gothiae magnique ducatus Finlandiae etc. descriptio. Amsterdam 1656.

Zie no. 157; Flament. 6984.

161. *Coninckrijck Polen.*

Het Koninckrijk Polen en toebehorende landen. Vervattende een ... beschrijvinghe aller lantschappen en steeden ... Eerst in 't latijn gestelt ... nu in 't Nederduyts vertaalt. Amsterdam 1660.

Tiele no. 237, p. 59.

162. *Wechwijser door Italien.*

Bos, L. van de: Weghwijser door Italien of beschrijvinge der landen en steden van Italie. Dordrecht 1661; in 12° – 3e dr. – Amsterdam 1665.

Bos, Lambert van de (1610-1698) letterkundige, geschiedschrijver. Tiele p. 43 no 169; NNBW IV 231; WP IV 336.

163. *Martini Zaillenij fidei Achates 2 vol.*

Zeiller, M.: Fidus Achates, oder der getreue Raysgefährt samt einem Bedenken, wie die Raysen wol und nützlich anzustellen sind. Ulm 1651. herh. gedr. zie no 157.

164. *Monarchia hispanica op duyts.*

165. *Historie der graeffelijcke regeringe in helvetien.*

166. *Twistgeschillen des geloofs op duyts.*

167. *Veriuys de missionibus.*

Verjuys, J. B.: Pastorale missionariorum. Cum resolutione casuum in missionibus apud haereticos et alibi occurrentium. Bruxellis 1664. versch. dr.

Verjuys, J. B. o.p. (1610-1667) theoloog, prefect van de Dominicanen in de Hollandse Missie. NNBW III 1293; QE II 621; BCNI 12149.

168. *pastor curae pastoralis.*

Possevinus, J. B.: Praxis curae pastoralis. Coloniae 1616. herh. gedr.

BCNI 6307, 6681, 9924.

169. *opuscula Ludovici Granatensis.*

Vermoedelijk worden hier aangeduid de werkjes van Ludovicus van Granada vertaald door M. van Isselt:

1. De frequenti communione Libellus. Coloniae 1586.
2. Exercitia in septem meditationes ... distributa. Coloniae 1586.
3. Vita Christi. Coloniae 1586.
4. Dux peccatorum. Coloniae 1587.
5. Memoriale vitae Christianae. Coloniae 1587.
6. De oratione et meditatione, libri IV. Coloniae 1588.
7. Introductionis ad symbolum fidei compendium. Coloniae 1595.

etc.

Isselt, M. van (± 1540-1597) prediker, vertaler. LTK VII 3706; DS VII 2140; NNBW VIII 906; BCNI 3896, 3897, 3898, 3942, 3943, 3987, 4270.

170. *theologia moralis p.a. s. Josepho 3 vol.*

Petrus a S. Joseph: Idea theologiae speculativae moralis et sacramentalis IV vol. Paris 1640. versch. dr.

Petrus a S. Joseph, o.cist. (1594-1662) theoloog, anti-jansenist. DTC XII 2042.

171. *basis Theologiae moralis P. Julii.*

Julius, Petrus: Theologia moralis. Bruxellis 1663.

Julio, Pedro o.p. (1602-1659) prediker. EU XXVIII 3140.

172. *Begrijp der Miraculen van S. Nicolaus Tolentijn.*

Dielman, Cornelius: Cort begrijp van de mirakelen oft wonderwercken geschiet door 't gebruyck des ghewyet broodts ende door t'aenroepen van den H. Noot-Helper S. Nicolaus Tolentijn. Gent 1644.

Dielman, Corn. o.s.a. (1586-1656) docent philosophie en theologie, geestelijk schrijver. BNB VI 46, BCNI 9755.

173. *Series Canonizationis s. Thomae a Villanova.*

Series Actorum in canonizatione sancti Thomae a Villa nova ... a S^mo^ D. N. Alexandro VII in sanctorum Album adscripti ipso Omnium sanctorum festo anno 1658. Romae 1658. Blanco p. 542.

174. *Historia belli tartarici.*

Martinius, M.: De bello tartarico historia, in qua, quo facto Tartari hac nostra aetate Sinicum imperium invaserint ... narratur ... Antverpiae 1654. versch. dr.

Martini, Martin s.j. (1614-1661) sinoloog, geograaf. LTK VII 122; VB 126; Brunet III 1502.

175. *Compendium Navarri.*

Alagona, P.: Compendium manualis Navarri, ad commodiorem usum tum confessariorum tum poenitentium confectum. Rome 1590. Coloniae 1591. herh. gedr.

Alagona, Petrus s.j. (1549-1621) docent philosophie en theologie, publiceerde eerst onder ps. Petrus Givvara. DTC I 656; BCNI 4100, 4134, 4135, 4206, 4207 etc. Zie no 119.

176. *Senecae Tragedie cum notis.*

177. *Petri Canisius summa.*

Petrus Canisius:

1. Summa doctrinae christianae, per quaestiones tradita et in unum christianae pueritiae nunc primum edita. Wenen 1555. versch. dr.
2. Summa doctrinae christianae, per quaestiones luculenter conscripta. Coloniae 1566. herh. gedr.
3. Summa doctrinae christianae, per quaestiones tradita et ad captum rudiorum accommodata. Ingoldstad 1556. herh. gedr.

Canisius, Petrus s.j. (1521-1597) theoloog, kerkleraar, prediker, catecheet. LTK II 915; DTC II 1507; BCNI 2560, 2608, 2656-2660, 2721-2724 etc.

178. *Methodus augustiniana.*

Walenburch: Methodus Augustiniana defendi et probandi fidem catholicam ex solo verbo Dei. Coloniae 1645. versch. dr.

Walenburch, Adriaan (1608-1669) theoloog, jurist, controversist.

Walenburch, Petrus (1610-1675) theoloog, controversist. LTK X 938; DTC XV 3506; NNBW I 1530.

179. *Catho.*

(1) Catho 1. Disticha de moribus.
2. Ethica seu disticha de moribus.
3. Catho moralisatus seu speculum regiminis.

Cato, Dionysius (3e eeuw vóór Chr.) ethicus.

LTK II 980; cfr. Hain II 4707-4737 etc.

(2) Erasmus: Cato pro pueris. London 1513. Maguntii 1551. versch. dr.

BE I 28.

180. *Dialectica.*

Paludanus, Mich.: Dialectica isagoge sive introductio continens summatim praecipua logices capita.

Paludanus, Mich. o.s.a. (1593-1652) theoloog, latinist. DTC XI 1837; BNB XVI 522.

181. *Decreta concilii Tridentini.*

Canones et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici et generalis Concilii Tridentini. Antverpiae 1564. Basileae 1564. herh. gedr.

cfr. BCNI 2861, 2929, 3056, 3113 etc.

182. *Speculum perfectionis.*

Lanspergius, J.: Speculum perfectionis. Antverpiae 1547. versch. dr. latijnse vertaling van: Ein spiegel der volcomenheit (Coloniae 1529) door Antonius van Hemert. herh. gedr.

Lanspergius, Johannes o.carth. (± 1490-1539) geestelijk schrijver. LTK VI 779; DTC VIII 2606; DS IX 230.

Hemert, Ant. van (± 1500-1560) regulier kanunnik van Windesheim in Mariënhage bij Eindhoven. ADB XI 719; DS I 712; BCNI 2139, 5172; cfr. 922, 1220, 1403 etc.

183. *Jornale conciniatorum.*

(?) Jornale seu diurnale secundum usum et consuetudinem insignis ecclesiae Tornacensis. Antverpiae 1533.

BCNI 1278.

184. *Enchiridion militis christiani.*

Erasmus: Enchiridion militis christiani. Antverpiae 1505. herh. gedr.

BE I 79; BCNI 126, 302, 525, 648 etc.

185. *Dionysius Carthusi de contemptu mundi.*

Dionysius Carthusianus: De perfecto mundi contemptu ut pius ita utilissimus heptalogus. Coloniae 1530. herh. gedr.

Dionysius (v. Rijckel), o.carth. (1402-1471) geestelijk schrijver. LTK III 406; DTC IV 436; DS III 430; BCNI 1099, 1322, 2280, 3558.

186. *Diales Desiderii.*

(?) Erasmus: Dialogi aliquot. Antverpiae 1535.

BE I 44.

187. *Compendium Becani.*

Becanus, M.: Compendium manualis controversiarum huius temporis. Maguntii 1612. verbeterde druk 1613. zie no 28.

188. *Epistolae Ciceronis.*

(?) Erasmus: Epistolae familiares (Ciceronis) cum scholiis Erasmi Frankfort 1601. versch. dr.

BE II 21, 22.

189. *Bellarminus de ascensione mentis in Deum.*

Bellarminus, R.: Ascensio mentis in Deum per scalas rerum creatarum. Romae/Antverpiae 1615. herh. gedr.

LTK II 160; DTC II 560; BCNI 6167-6169, 6310 etc. zie no 70.

190. *Bellarminus de felicitate sanctorum.*

Bellarminus, Rob.: De aeterna felicitate sanctorum. Lib. V. Romae/Antverpiae 1616. zie no 70.

BCNI 6313, 6314, 6431, 6571 etc.

191. *Soliloquia Augustini.*

Augustinus: Soliloquia. cfr. BCNI 1631; 4392, 4399 etc.

ps. Augustinus: Meditationes, soliloquia et manuale. Antverpiae 1547. herh. gedr.

192. *Enchiridion meditationum.*

Busaeus, P.: Enchiridion piarum meditationum in omnes dominicas, sanctorum festa, Christi passionem ... Maguntii 1606. herh. gedr. BCNI 5879, 6235 etc. zie no 85.

193. *Manuscripta concionum.*

194. *Eenige spaensche boecken.*

195. *Een missael en andere kerckelijcke boecken.*

UTRECHT

Libri in folio

201. *Nicolai de Lyra – 3 vol.*

Nicolaus de Lyra:

1. Biblia Latina cum postillis. III vol. Venetiis s.d. herh. gedr.

2. Glossae in universa biblia. III vol. Venetiis 1488. versch. dr.
3. Glossae ... cum additionibus Pauli Burgensis. III vol. s.l.s.d.; Nurnberg 1481. versch. dr.

Nic. de Lyra o.f.m. (± 1270-1349) theoloog, exegeet. LTK VII 992; DTC IX 1410; DS XI 291; Hain I 3165, 1483; Hain III 10365, 10367, 10369.

202. *Leonardus Lessius de beatitudine etc.*

Lessius, Leonard.: De summo bono et aeterna beatitudine hominis libri IV. Antverpiae 1616.

Lessius (Leys) Leonard., s.j. (1554-1623) theoloog, geestelijk schrijver. LTK VI 981; DTC IX 453; DS IX 709; BCNI 6284.

203. *Petrus de Aragon, de iure et iustitia.*

Aragon, Petrus de: De justitia et jure. Salamanca 1590. versch. dr.

Aragon, P. de, o.s.a. (± 1545-1592) theoloog, moralist. DHEE I 77; DTC I 1728; SV I 180.

204. *Ferdinandus de Castro Palao.*

Castropalao, Ferd. de: Operis moralis de virtutibus et vitiis contrariis – VII partes. Lugduni 1631-1651.

Castropalao, F. de, s.j. (1581-1623) theoloog, moralist. DHEE I 384.

205. *In epistolas Pauli.*

206. *Opuscula moralia Thomae Sanches.*

Sanchez, Thom.: Consilia seu opuscula moralia. Lugduni 1625. versch. dr.

Sanchez, Thom. s.j. (1550-1610) theoloog, moralist, canonist. DHEE III 2168; BCNI 9378.

207. *Breviarium Romanum in papyro fol.*

libri in 4to.

208. *Homiliae doctorum Ecclesiasticorum.*

1. Homiliae seu conciones praestantissimorum Ecclesiae catholicae doctorum, primum ab Alcuino levita ... in hunc ordinem redactae et nunc demum locupletae homiliis Eusebii Emisseni ... Coloniae 1557. versch. dr. zie no 32.
   BCNI 2601, 2687.
2. Homiliaris Doctorum Johannes Volricus Surgant ... opus preclarum omnium homiliarum et postillarum venerabilium et egregiorum doctorum ... in partem de tempore et de sanctis ... 2 vol. Basileae 1493. versch. dr. zie no 32.
   Hain III 8791 sq.

209. *Maria Augusta, virgo Deipara.*

210. *Theologia Petri Ledesma.*

Ledesma, Petrus: Summa seu theologia moralis de sacramentis. Salamanca 1614.

Ledesma, Petro de o.p. (1544-1616) theoloog. DHEE II 1274.

211. *Calepinus antiquus.*

Ambrosius Calepinus: Dictionarium ex optimis quibusdam auctoribus studiose collectum et recentius auctum et recognitum ... Paris 1514; (1e ed. Regio 1502), herh. gedr.

Calepinus, Ambr. o.s.a. (1435-1511), lexicograaf. Perini I 166; cfr. Labarre, A. Bibliographie du Dictionnaire d'Ambroise Calepino (1502-1779). Baden-Baden 1975.

212. *Vocabularius utriusque juris.*

Judocus de Erfordia: Vocabularius utriusque Juris. Lugduni 1470. herh. gedr.

Jud. de Erfordia (Erfurt) (± 1452) rechtskundige. DDC VI 181.

213. *Beyer de confirmatione.*

Beyer, G.: Tractatus de sacramento confirmationis. Antverpiae 1658. BCNI 11402.

Beyer, Guillelmus († 1650) theoloog. Hurter III 1030.

214. *Concilium Tridentinum.*

Concilium Tridentinum, hoc est canones et decreta ... Lovanii 1567. herh. gedr.

BCNI 3056, 2861, 2929, 3113 etc. zie no 181.

215. *Compendium Bonacinae.*

Bonacina, Martinus: Operum de morali theologia omnibusque conscientiae nodis compendium. Duaci 1631-32; Antverpiae 1633. versch. dr.

Bonacina, Mart. (1585-1631) theoloog, moralist. LTK II 579; DTC II 953; BCNI 8311, 8566, 12275, 12787.

216. *Opera Thomae a Kempis.*

Thomas a Kempis: Opera. Antverpiae 1574. herh. gedr. LTK X 144; BCNI 3478, 3733, 4613, 5204 etc.

217. *Summa casuum Samuelis de Lubino. 2 vol.*

218. *Manuale Confessariorum Navarri.*

Navarrus: Enchiridion seu manuale confessariorum et poenitentium. Antverpiae 1575. herh. gedr.

Navarrus (Azpilcuta, M. de) regulier kanunnik (1493-1586). canonist. LTK I 1160; DTC I 2119; DS XI 60; BCNI 3493, 3738, 4791 etc.

Alagona 16, 175
Alcuinus 32, 208
Ambrosius 12
Aragon, P. de 203
Atlas 1
Augustinus 8, 36, 48, 191
ps. Augustinus 178, 191
Azpilcueta, zie Navarrus

Baeza, D. 25, 37, 73, 81
Baronius, C. orat. 3
Barradas, S. s.j. 35
Barradius, S. zie Barradas, S.
Basilius de Niceno 105
Baye, J. de, zie Bayus, J.
Bayus, J. 152
Bazzaei, zie Baeza
Becanus, H. s.j. 22, 123, 132, 187
Bellarminus, R. s.j. 70, 131, 189
Berenguer, P.J. 43
Bernardus 7
Bessaeus, P. 125
Besse, P. de, zie Bessaeus, P.
Beyer, G. 213
Beyerlinck, Laur. 120, 144
Biel, G. 14, 49
Bochmar, zie Lochmaier
Bonacina, M. 215
Bos, L. van de 162
Bourgoing, Fr. 143
Brant, Seb. 23
Breviarium 207
Busaeus, J. s.j. 85, 192
Busembaum, H. s.j. 154
Buys, zie Busaeus

Calamato, Alex. 93, 95
Calepinus, Ambr. 117, 211
Canisius, P. s.j. 85, 177
Carolus, Stephanus 64
Castropalao, Ferd. de 204
Catho 179
Cicero 127, 188
Clichthove, J. van, zie Clichtoveus, J.
Clichtoveus, J. 78
Concilium Tridentinum 214
Conciones 129
Concordantia Bibliae 4, 23
Conrad van Halberstadt, zie Brant, S.
Constitutiones o.s.a. 153
Corona praedicatorum 104
Criteria, J. de, zie Gonzalez de Critana
Cruesen, N. zie Crusenius
Crusenius, Nic. o.s.a. 153
Cyprianus 146

Damascenus, Joh. 92
Dayneff, G. o.s.a. 150
de la Palu, zie Petrus a Palude
Diana, A. o.theat. 142
Dictionnaire 64, 89, 117, 126
Diego, Fray 114
Dielman, Corn. o.s.a. 172
Diez, Fel. 90
Dionysius, Carth. 28, 185
Dorlandus, P. o.carth. 29
Drexel(ius) J. s.j. 155
Durand(us), G. 132

Echier, zie Echius
Echius, Joh. 138, 139, 140, 141
Eck, J., zie Echius, J.
Elias a S. Ther. o.carm. 27
Erasmus 116, 144, 184, 186
Estienne, C., zie Stephanus
Estrix, Joh. o.s.a. 148
Eusebius van Cesarea 34
Eusebius van Cremona 9
Eusebius van Emesa 32, 208
Explica de la Bulla 112

Faber, Jac. 54, 92
Faber, Stapulensis, zie Faber, J.
Ferus, Joh. o.f.m. 13, 115
Fidati, S., zie Simon de Cascia
Foerner, F., zie Fornerus, Fred.
Fois 101
Fonseca, Christoph. 113
Forner, F., zie Fornerus, Fred.
Fornerus, Fred. 75, 76, 149
Franc. de Sales, zie Sales
Francisco 44

Fraternitas 4 Sodalitatum 65

Gavanti, Barth. 63
Gemma vocabulorum 89
Gerecht, J., zie Lanspergius, J.
Gerson, Joh. 83
Gonzalez de Critana 150
Gonzalez de Critera, zie Gonzalez de Critana
Granatensis, zie Ludov. van Granada
Guicciardini, L. 158

Hauclif, Rog. 56
Helm(esius), H. o.cap. 31
Hemert, A. van. can.reg. 182
Henriquez, Chrysost. 110
Herbarium 17, 33
Hermannides 159
Hieronymus 5, 9, 18, 51
Hogrera, zie Nogueras
Homiliae doctorum 32, 208
Hosius, Stan. 134
Hugo de Pratoflorido o.p. 87

Ignatius van Antiochie 147
Isselt, M. van 169

Johannes Damascenus 92
Johannes de Erfordia 212
Johannes de Verdena 68
Johannes Gerson 83
Johannes Hauclerus 30
Johannes van Segovia 23
Johannes van Werden, zie Joh. de Verdena
Johannes Volricus Surgant 32, 208
Jonghen, H. de 65, 66
Judocus de Erfordia 212
Julius, P. o.p. 171

Kerkpostille 86
Kien, O. o.cap. 26
Kremer, G., zie Mercator, G.

Labata, J. Fr. s.j. 74
Lancelotz, H., zie Lancilottus, H.
Lancilottus, H. o.s.a. 72
Lang(ius), Jos. 6
Lanspergius, J. 182
Lanuza, H. o.p. 2, 26, 118
Laretier, Barth. 21
Ledesma, P. de 210
Lefèvre d'Etaples, J., zie Faber
Lelries, zie Lessius
le Maieur, J., zie Maior, J.
Lessius, L. s.j. 135, 202
Lingandor s.j., zie Lingendes
Lingendes, C. de s.j. 130
Livius, Titus 11
Lochmayer, M. 58, 59
Lopez, Did. o.s.a. 99, 111
Lubino, Samuel de 217
Lucas, Fr. 44, 124
Ludolphus a Saxonia 29
Ludovicus van Granada o.p. 169
Lyra, Nic. de zie Nicolaus de Lyra

Maffredus, zie Meffreth
Maior, Joh. s.j. 62
Marchant(ius), Jac. 80
Martini(us), M. 174
Meffreth 20
Mercator, G. 1
Merillo de hirtado 103
Molitor, W. 67
Murillo, D. 45, 100

Naevius o.s.a. 77
Nauclerus, Joh. 30
Navarrus 119, 175, 218
Neeffs, zie Naevius
Niceno, zie Niseno, D.
Nicolaas van Tolentijn 172
Nicolaus de Lyra 201
Niseno, D. 105, 106, 107, 108
Nogueras, J. G. de 57
Nyceno, zie Niseno, D.

Orationes Panygericos 109
Os, pater van 50

Paes, B. 71

Palu, P. de la, zie Petrus a Palude
Paludanus, M. o.s.a. 180
Pastor curae pastoralis 168
Paulus 205
Pedro de Teran 46
Petrus a S. Joseph 170
Petrus a Palude o.p. 38
Pörnbacher, K. 155
Possevinus, J. B. 168

Quaresmus, zie Quaresmius, Fr.
Quaeresmius, Fr. o.f.m. 28
Quevedo, Fr. 55

Raulin, J. 91
Reina, Th. 82
Ribeira, Fr. de 98
Rosweyde, H. s.j. 3, 5
Rufinus van Aquilea 34
Ryckel, D. van, zie Dionysius

Sales, Fr. van 145
Salon, Mich. o.s.a. 148
Samara 84
Samuel de Lubino zie Lubino, Samuel de
Sanchez, Th. 206
Sasbout, A. o.f.m. 69
Schellekens, M., zie Becanus
Seneca 176
Sermones Parati 67
Sermones quadragesimales 128
Sermones de Sanctis 53
Sermones thesauri 38
Serpi, D. 102
Simon de Cascia o.s.a. 10
Smaragdus 19
Soto, P. de 88
Stapleton, Th. 121, 133
Stella Did. 114
Stephanus, Carolus 64
Suarez, Fr. s.j. 47
Surgant, Joh. Ulrich, zie Johannes Volricus Surgant
Surius, L. o.carth. 136

Telle, R., zie Vitellius, R.
Teran, Pedro de 46
Theresia van Avila 97, 98
Thomas Aquinas 16, 151
Thomas a Kempis 216
Thomas a Villanova 148, 173

Valderama, P. de o.s.a. 39, 40, 42
Verdena, Joh. de o.f.m. 68
Verge, J., zie Nauclerus, J.
Verjuys, J. B. 167
Vitellius, R. 158
Vos, P. de o.s.a. 156

Walenburch, A. p. 178
Wann, Paulus 59
Wecker(eus), J. J. 61
Werden, Johannes van, zie Johannes de Verdena
Wild, J., zie Ferus

Zaillenius zie Zeiller
Zeiller 157, 160, 163

Index Vol. 36, 1986

M. Alfeche, O.S.A., The Basis of Hope in the Resurrection of the Body according to Augustine 240-296
T.J. Van Bavel, O.S.A., De la Raison à la Foi. La Conversion d'Augustin 5-27
R. Canning, Augustine on the identity of the neighbour and the meaning of true love for him "as ourselves" (Matt. 22.39) and "as Christ has loved us" (Jn. 13.34) . . . 161-239
L. Ceyssens, Autour de la bulle Unigenitus: Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719) 101-154
E. Colledge, O.S.A., The Augustine Screen in Carlisle Cathedral (with 23 reproductions) 65-99
L.-A. Kennedy, C.S.B., A forteenth-century Oxford Augustinian on the existence of God 28-47
E. Peters, Aenigma Salomonis: Manichaean Anti-Genesis Polemic and the Vitium curiositatis in Confessions III.6 48-64
L.M.J. Verheijen, O.S.A., La Règle de saint Augustin. Complément bibliographique 297-303
E. Ypma, O.S.A., De boeken van de Augustijnenstatie te Groningen en Utrecht in de 17e eeuw 304-338

Boekbespreking—Compte rendu:

O. Rudloff, Bonae litterae et Lutherus. Bremen, 1985 (A. Zumkeller, o.s.a.) 155-156
Ontvangen boeken — livres reçus 157-159
Index Vol. 36, 1986 339

ORIENTALISTE, P.B. 41, B-3000 Leuven