

The Rising of the Dead in the Works of Augustine (1 Cor. 15,35-57)

INTRODUCTION

It is only in the three works, namely in *Epistula* 205, written around 419, in *De Civitate Dei* 13, written in 417/419, and in *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3, written in 411/412, that Augustine gives, in a certain manner, the line of thought of Paul in 1 Cor. 15,35-57. In none of those works, however, does he give it in full. It is in the letter that he reproduces it extensively; and what he does not give a clear exposition of here he gives in *De Civitate Dei*, omitting however verses 54-57. We find an explanation of these later verses in an earlier work, namely, *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20. Verse 58 has been left out for unknown reasons. No trace of it, in connection with the resurrection of the body, can be found in any work of Augustine. It is our intention to give Augustine's construction of Paul's line of thought and his interpretations of the apostle's some phrases and verses.

I. AN AUGUSTINIAN CONSTRUCTION OF THE LINE OF THOUGHT IN PAUL IN 1 COR 15, 35-57

In this section we wish to consider the line of thought of Paul in 1 Cor. 15,35-57 in the light of explanations that Augustine gives in the three works mentioned above. Other works will be included when necessary.

A. Verses 35-38: The restitution of the bodies is much more in the power of God than the addition of bodies of new plants to the bare kernels

Let us first consider the questions in verse 35, "How will the dead rise? With what body will they come?". Augustine thinks that Paul was motivated to raise these questions because some denied the resurrection

of the body. Paul holds that there is a resurrection of the body and in order to prove this appeals to or the examples of the seeds (*documenta seminum*). When sown, (sowing symbolizes the death of the body) these grow and sprout with bodies of new plants (this growth symbolizes revivification of the dead body). The example of the seeds, which are sown and which later grow with bodies of new plants, holds true even more for the human bodies. For if God is able to add something to the bare seeds which they did not have before they were sown or buried, so much the more can He restore what already was present in the body of the human being. Restitution is much more possible for God — to our way of thinking — than addition. Christ's resurrection has already demonstrated this.

When he (Paul) wished to convince those who said that there is no resurrection of the dead, that there is a resurrection of the dead, since Christ's resurrection has been set as the prototype among other things which he discussed there, he puts a question to himself and said, "But someone will say, 'How will the dead rise? With what body will they come?'" , that is, with what sort of body. Then using the examples of the seeds he continued. "You foolish man! What thou sow does not come to life unless it dies. And what you sow is not the body which is to be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or of some other grain. But God gives it a body as He has chosen, and to each kind of seed its own body" (verses 35-38). It is in accordance with this that, therefore, he said, "What you sow is not the body which is to be" (verse 37). For it is not that what is not wheat will come from wheat; but, because nobody sows a green stalk or straw and many husks or chaffs of grains with which the seeds nevertheless sprout, he therefore said, "But a bare kernel". With this he wished to show that if God is able to add what was not in the bare kernel, so much the more can He restore what was in the body of the human being¹).

¹) "Cum resurrectionem mortuorum persuadere vellet eis, qui dicebant, quia resurrectio mortuorum non est, Christi resurrectione praemissa in exemplum inter cetera, quae ibi disseruit, intulit sibi quaestionem atque ait: *Sed dicet aliquis: 'Quo modo resurgent mortui? quo autem corpore venient?'* id est quali corpore. Deinde adhibens documenta seminum: *Stulte, inquit, tu quod seminas, non vificatur, nisi moriatur, et quod seminas, non corpus, quod futurum est, seminas sed nudum granum fere tritici aut alicuius ceterorum; deus autem illi dat corpus, quo modo voluerit, et unicuique seminum proprium corpus.* Secundum hoc ergo dixerat: *Non corpus, quod futurum est, seminas.* Neque enim non triticum erit ex tritico; sed, quia nemo seminat herbam vel stipulam et multiplicia in palea tegimenta granorum, cum quibus tamen semina exsurgunt, ideo ait: *Sed nudum granum* hinc volens ostendere, quia, si deus potest addere, quod non erat in nudo semine, multo magis potest reparare, quod erat in hominis corpore". *Epistula* 205,2.6, CSEL 57,328.

B. *Verses 39.42: The resurrection-life bodies will differ from each other in glory*

The resurrection-life bodies of the faithful and saints will differ in glory depending on their merits. This is demonstrated even now in the difference of their flesh, even when they belong to the same class, and in the difference of their bodies, either when they belong to the same class or when they do not. The difference between the resurrection-life bodies therefore is not something to be wondered at. The merits earned for good living here determine the difference in the hereafter.

Moreover, what he (sc. Paul) adds pertains to the difference between the resurrection believers and saints because of the difference in glory. He says, "not all flesh is the same; one kind is that of the human beings, another that of the beasts, another that of the birds, another that of the fish. There are both celestial and terrestrial bodies; but the glory of the celestial and that of the terrestrial are different. The glory of the sun, the glory of the moon, and the glory of the stars, are different, for one star differs from another in glory. So is it also with the resurrection of the dead" (verses 39.42a). In all these examples the sense is this: If the kinds of flesh, when all are mortal, nevertheless differ in the diversity of their animating components; and if bodies, when all are visible, nevertheless differ in the diversity of places, whence "one kind is the splendor of the celestial bodies, another of the terrestrial" (verse 42b); and if they are in sublime places, when all are celestial, they also differ in brightness of light, it is no wonder that the glory at the resurrection of the dead will differ according to merits²).

C. *Verses 42b-46: The resurrection-life bodies, beside differing from each other, will differ from the present-life bodies*

Although all resurrection-life bodies will differ in glory, as said above, nevertheless all will possess the same basic qualities. They all

²) "Iam vero, quod adiungit, ad differentiam pertinet resurgentium propter diversas glorias fidelium atque sanctorum. *Non omnis, inquit, caro eadem caro, alia quidem hominum alia autem caro pecorum alia volucrum alia piscium. Et corpora caelestia et corpora terrestria; sed alia est caelestium gloria et alia terrestrium. Et alia gloria solis et alia gloria lunae et alia gloria stellarum; stella enim ab stella differt in gloria. Sic et resurrectio mortuorum.* In his omnibus iste sensus est: si genera carnis, cum sint cuncta mortalia, differunt tamen inter se pro diversitatibus animantium et si corpora, cum sint omnia visibilia, differunt tamen pro diversitatibus locorum, unde *alia est caelestium gloria alia terrestrium*, et si in locis sublimibus, cum sint cuncta caelestia, differunt etiam ipsa claritatibus luminum, non mirum est, quod in resurrectione mortuorum distabit gloria meritum". *Epistula* 205,2.7. CSEL 57,328-329.

will be imperishable, glorious, powerful, and spiritual. The opposite qualities pertain to present-life bodies.

From this he comes now to what all flesh that rises up to eternal life has in common and says: "it is sown perishable, it will rise imperishable; it is sown in dishonor, it will rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it will rise in power; it is sown an animal body, it will rise a spiritual body" (verses 42b-44a)³.

Moreover, a resurrection-life body will differ basically from a present-life body. The basic difference between the two is this: the present-life body is an animal body, while the resurrection-life body is a spiritual body. In verse 44b Augustine states this fact: "If there is an animal body, so also is there a spiritual body". An animal body is one that is animated by a soul; it is a "living soul" (verse 45a). A spiritual body is one that is animated by a soul which is in complete union with the spirit; it will be fully related to the "life-giving spirit" (verse 45b). The life-giving spirit is the Risen Christ. That the first man became "a living soul" and that the Risen Christ became "a living-giving spirit" (verse 45) proves that the animal body comes first and the spiritual afterwards (verse 46).

Therefore, it was in an animal body, the Apostle says, that the first man was created. For when he wants to distinguish the present animal body from the spiritual body, which is to come at the resurrection, the Apostle says, "It is sown in corruption, it will rise in incorruption; it is sown in humiliation, it will rise in glory; it is sown in weakness, it will rise in power; it is sown an animal body, it will rise a spiritual body" (verses 42b-44a). Then, in order to prove this, he says, "If there is an animal body, there is also a spiritual body" (verse 44b). And in order to show what an animal body is, he says, "Thus it is written: The first man became a living soul" (verse 45a) ... On the other hand, he shows how the spiritual body is to be understood by adding, "The last Adam became a life-giving spirit" (verse 45b). Here without doubt he means Christ, who has so risen from the dead that thereafter He cannot die in any way. Then he goes on to say, "But the spiritual does not come first: first comes the animal, afterwards the spiritual" (verse 46). Here he illustrates much more clearly that he had referred to the animal body where is

³) "Hinc iam venit ad illud, quod communiter habet omnis caro, quae ad vitam resurgit aeternam, et dicit: *Seminatur in corruptione, surget in incorruptione; seminatur in contumelia, surget in gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, surget in virtute; seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale*". Epistula 205,2.8, CSEL 57,329.

written (cf. Gen. 2,7) that the first man was made a living soul; the spiritual body, however, where he says, "The last Adam became a life-giving spirit" (verse 45b)⁴).

D. Verses 47-49: The animal will be transformed to spiritual

The first man Adam and the last Adam Christ, either taken as two exclusive individuals or as two inclusive persons realized in every believer, differ very clearly. The first was earthly; the last was heavenly. Those among us who are earthly are like the first. And those among us who are heavenly are like the last. All of us, however, are like the first in our animal body. All of us, too, can begin to resemble the last even now, with a spiritual body.

The apostle then adds a very clear difference between those two men. He says, "The first man is from the earth, earthly; the second man is from heaven, heavenly. Those who are earthly are like the man of earth; those who are heavenly are like the man of heaven. And as we have put on the image of the man of earth, let us also put on the image of the man who is from heaven" (verses 47-49)⁵.

We put on the image of the first man by birth; and we put on the image of the last Adam by the sacrament of rebirth. Augustine elaborates on this point as follows:

The apostle has expressed it in this way: what now truly takes place in us through the sacrament of rebirth, just as elsewhere he says, "as where many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ"

⁴) "In corpore ergo animali primum hominem factum sic apostolus loquitur. Volens enim ab spiritali, quod in resurrectione futurum est, hoc quod nunc est animale discernere: *Seminatur, inquit, in corruptione, surget in incorruptione; seminatur in contumelia, surget in gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, surget in virtute; seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale*. Deinde ut hoc probaret: *Si est, inquit, corpus animale est et spiritale*. Et ut quid esset animale corpus ostenderet: *Sic, inquit, scriptum est: Factus est primus homi in animam viventem...* Spiritale autem quem ad modum intelligendum esset, ostendit addendo: *Novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem*, procul dubio Christum significans, qui iam ex mortuis ita resurrexit, ut mori deinceps omnino non possit. Denique sequitur et dicit: *Sed non primum quod spiritale est, sed quod animale, postea spiritale*. Ubi multo apertius declaravit se animale corpus insinuas in eo quod scriptum est factum esse primum hominem in animam viventem, spiritale autem in eo quod ait: *Novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem*". *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),649-650. See also *Epistula* 205,2.11, CSEL 57,332.

⁵) "Adiungit deinde apostolus duorum istorum hominum evidentissimam differentiam dicens: *Primus homo de terra terrenus, secundus homo de caelo caelestis. Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni; qualis caelestis, tales et caelestes. Et quo modo induimus imaginem terreni, induamus et imaginem eius, qui de caelo est*". *De Civitate Dei* 18,23, CSEL 40(1),651.

(Gal. 3,27), will nevertheless in reality be perfected later, when also in us what is animal by birth will have become spiritual by resurrection⁶).

E. Verses 50-53: The transformation will be of the quality of the flesh but not of the very substance of the flesh

The resurrection-life bodies will have qualities opposite to those of the present-life bodies (verses 42b-46). The present-life bodies with their qualities cannot inherit the kingdom of God. For they are "flesh and blood". "Flesh and blood" stands for the perishable, or corruption or mortality. And the kingdom of God stands for the imperishable (verse 50). Thus, "flesh and blood" is said of the quality of the flesh but not of the very substance of the flesh.

Therefore, when the apostle, arguing about the resurrection of the body, taught that our bodies will rise incorruptible from corruptible, glorious from contemptible, powerful from weak, spiritual from animal (verse 42b-44a), this is, immortal from mortal, he added the reason why he said this: For "I tell you this, brothers, that flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50a). Lest anybody should think that the apostle made a definition concerning the substance of the flesh, he clarified what he had said by adding, "nor does the perishable will inherit the imperishable (verse 50b). It is as if he would say, "What I have said, 'Flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God', I therefore said, because 'the perishable will not inherit the imperishable'" (verse 50b). In this passage therefore with the term flesh and blood he wished corruption or mortality to be understood⁷).

There will be a change in the flesh. But this change is presented as a mystery. For although flesh will rise and will be changed, it will still

⁶) "Hoc apostolus ita posuit, ut nunc quidem in nobis secundum sacramentum regenerationis fiat, sicut alibi dicit: Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis; re autem ipsa tunc perficietur, cum et in nobis, quod est animale nascendo, spiritale factum fuerit resurgendo". *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),651.

⁷) "Cum igitur de resurrectione corporis apostolus disputans doceret nostra corpora futura ex corruptibilibus incorruptibilia, ex contemptibilibus gloriosa, ex infirmis fortia, ex animalibus spiritalia, hoc est ex mortalibus immortalia, subiecit, unde agitur, atque ait: Hoc enim dico, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei possidere non possunt. Et ne quisquam putaret secundum substantiam carnis hoc apostolum definisse, aperuit, quid diceret, subiungendo: neque corruptio incorruptionem possidebit, tamquam diceret: 'Quod dixi: Caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt, ideo dixi, quia corruptio incorruptionem non possidebit'. Hoc ergo loco nomine carnis et sanguinis corruptionem mortalitatis intellegi voluit". *Epistula* 205,2.13, CSEL 57,334. See also *Sermo* 362,17, PL 39,1622.

at the same time remain flesh. As Augustine puts it, it is as though Paul were asked, "How will it be flesh and not flesh at the same time?". Moreover, the whole of the event that will accompany the resurrection of the flesh is presented as a mystery: "how will it happen?", "what sort of transformation will it be", and "will it be for the better or for worse?". However, the understanding of this mystery was given to Paul.

Finally, it is as if it were said to him, "How will it be flesh and not flesh at the same time?" ... He explained what he had said by adding, "Look, I am telling you a mystery, all of us will rise" — or, as the Greek codices put it, "all of us will truly sleep" — however, "not all of us will be changed" (verse 51). What he said below shows whether he wished this change to be understood either for the better or for the worse. He said, "In a moment ... and the dead will be raised incorruptible and we shall be changed" (verse 52).

What does this distinction mean, "And all the dead will rise imperishable and we shall be changed" except that all will rise incorruptible; but from these the righteous will also be transformed into that incorruptibility, which entirely no corruption will harm at all? ... Concerning, however, that transformation of the just, when he said, "We shall be changed", it is as if we have asked, "How will this happen or what sort of transformation will it be?". He goes on to say "It is necessary for this perishable (sc. flesh) to put on imperishability and for this mortal to put on immortality" (verse 53). It is not to be doubted, in my opinion, that it will be according to this statement, "For flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50), for there will be no corruption and mortality of flesh and blood; for in this passage he called them flesh and blood with respect to these qualities⁸).

⁸) "Denique, tamque ei diceretur: 'Quo modo caro erit et caro non erit? ... exponit, quid dixerit, adiciens: *Ecce mysterium dico vobis; omnes quidem resurgemus* — vel, sicut Graeci codices habent, *omnes quidem dormiemus* —, non tamen omnes inmutabimur. Hanc inmutationem utrum in deterius an in melius intellegi voluerit, inferiora demonstrant ... *In atomo*, inquit, ... *et mortui resurgent incorrupti et nos commutabimur*". *Epistula* 205,2.13, CSEL 57,334. "Quid sibi ergo vult ista distinctio: *Et mortui resurgent incorrupti et nos commutabimur*, nisi quia omnes incorrupti resurgent, sed ex his iusti etiam inmutabantur in illam incorruptelam, cui omnino nulla possit nocere corruptio? ... De illa vero commutatione iustorum cum dixisset: *Nos commutabimur*, tamquam quaeremus, quo modo istud fiat vel qualis illa commutatio futura sit, adiungit et dicit: *Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptelam et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem*. Non, ut opinor, dubitandum est secundum hoc dictum: *Caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt*, quia non ibi erit corruptio et mortalitas carnis et sanguinis; secundum has enim qualitates hoc loco carnem et sanguinem nuncupavit". *Epistula* 205,2.14 & 15, CSEL 57,334-336.

F. Verses 54-57: *We shall overcome death and its sting which is sin*

The resurrection and the transformation of the body will have a further significance: death will be swallowed up in victory (verse 54c); immortality will scoff at death in derision and contempt.

He was treating of the resurrection of the body, in that death shall be swallowed up in victory, when this mortal has put on immortality. Then death will be scoffed at when it is swallowed up in victory at the resurrection of the body. Then will be said to it, "O death, where is your victory? O death, where is your sting?" (verse 55)⁹.

Immortality will be given to us by God through Jesus Christ (verse 57). We overcome death by a deathless resurrection, and we overcome sin, which is the sting of death, by a free justification.

"But thanks be to God, who has given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (verse 57) in order that ... we might overcome death by rising towards immortality and its sting, sin, by a free justification¹⁰.

II. INTERPRETATIONS OF SOME PHRASES OR VERSES (VERSES = 35-57)

Our intention in this section is to show in detail Augustine's interpretation of some phrases or verses (verses 35-57), where Paul speaks further of the resurrection of the body. In this section we shall likewise attempt to clarify Paul's line of thought as given in section I.

A. VERSE 35: "WITH WHAT BODY WILL THEY COME?"

This question is equivalent to asking, "With what sort of body will they come"?

... he puts to himself the question and said, "But someone will ask, 'How will the dead rise? With what body, however, will they come?'" (verse 35), that is, with what sort of body¹¹.

⁹) "De resurrectione corporis agebat, quod absorberetur mors in victoriam, cum mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem. Tunc ipsi morti insultabitur, quae in victoriam resurrectione corporis absorberetur. Tunc ei dicitur: *ubi est, mors, victoria tua? ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus?*" *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11,20, CSEL 60,147. See also *En. in Ps.* 51,1, CCL 39,475.

¹⁰) "*Sed deo gratias, qui dedit nobis victoriam per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut ... viceremus mortem per inmortalem resurrectionem et aculeum eius peccatum per gratuitam iustificationem*". *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11,20, CSEL 60,148.

¹¹) "... intulit sibi quaestionem atque ait: *Sed dicet aliquis: 'Quo modo resurgent mortui? quo autem corpore venient?'* is est quali corpore". *Epistula* 205,2,6, CSEL 57,328.

B. VERSE 36: "WHAT YOU SOW DOES NOT COME TO LIFE UNLESS IT DIES"

Paul used the examples of the seeds and the new plants that sprout from them. The seeds spoken of here are grains of corn or its like (*frumenta*) and not human semen (*humanum semen*) as the Pelagians "deceitfully" claimed¹²). When applied to human beings the verse absolutely means that no one will rise unless he first dies¹³).

Therefore, how can those, whom Christ will find alive here when He comes, come to life in Him by receiving immortality, if they do not die, when we see that this was the point of his saying, "the seed you sow does not come to life unless it first dies" ¹⁴).

C. VERSE 37: "A BARE KERNEL"

In saying "what you sow is not ... but a bare kernel", Paul intended to show that if it is possible for God to add to the bare kernel a new plant which was not in it before or when it was sown, then it is much more possible for Him to restore (*multo magis potest reparare*) to the human body what it already had before a human being died.

... "but a bare kernel". With this he (Paul) wished to show that if God is able to add what was not in the bare kernel, so much the more can He restore that which was in the body of a human being ¹⁵).

¹²) A certain Pelagian manipulated verse 36 and made the word *semen* appear as identical with human semen. He did this in order to find a text to support his teaching, to wit, the human semen is quickened by God and not by man in cohabitation begetting children. He did this by cutting short verse 36 to: "You foolish man, what you sow does not come to life". And immediately he joined to this the whole of verse 38: "But God gives it a body as He has chosen, and to each kind of seed its own body". Cf. *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* 2,14.28, CSEL 42,281-282. Earlier Augustine pointed out that the Pelagians were teaching this: "Sexual pleasure does not complete the entire process of man's making, but rather presents to God, out of the treasures of nature, material with which He vouchsafes to make the human being". *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* 2,13.26, CSEL 42,278.

¹³) Augustine's argument here is based on Gen. 3,19: "You are earth and to earth you shall return". He maintains that nobody has been exempted from this curse. Cf. *De Civitate Dei* 20,20, CSEL 40(2),477.

¹⁴) "Quomodo igitur, quos viventes hic Christus inveniet, per immortalitatem in illo vivificantur, etsi non moriantur, cum videamus hoc esse dictum": *Tu quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi moriatur*". *De Civitate Dei* 20,20, CSEL 40(2),476.

¹⁵) "... *Sed nudum granum hinc volens ostendere, quia, si deus potest addere, quod non erat in nudo semine, multo magis potest reparare, quod erat in hominis corpore*". *Epistula* 205,2.6, CSEL 57,328.

D. VERSE 38: "GOD GIVES"

God the creator uses now His own power (*efficaciam sapientiae suae*) in causing His creation to rise. Augustine underlines the tense of the verb that Paul used. It is the present tense, "gives" (*dat*), instead of the perfect tense, "has given" (*dedit*), or "has disposed" (*disposuit*). This expresses Paul's belief that God the creator works up to the present by governing nature, and He causes His living creation to rise in their determined places and time.

Therefore, God works up to the present, since the nature of things is governed by the Creator, and by His orders everything rises in determined places and times ... It is also in this (belief) that the apostle spoke about the seeds, which we mentioned above. He said, "What you sow is not the body which will be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat or of some other grains; but God gives it a body as He has chosen" (verses 37-38). He did not say, "has given" or "has disposed", but "gives", in order that you may understand that the Creator uses the efficacy of His wisdom in creating things which rise every day in their own time¹⁶).

We presume that if this interpretation is applied to the raising of bodies, Augustine would have said that it is God Himself who with His own power will raise up the dead. And He works even now in human beings towards the completion of this end. Augustine would have argued for this further with the testimony of Jo. 5,17: "My father works up to the present"¹⁷), since this is his scriptural proof for the sprouting of the new plants, as we showed above.

E. VERSES 39-40: "NOT ALL FLESH IS THE SAME ... THERE ARE BOTH CELESTIAL AND TERRESTRIAL BODIES"

Augustine takes note of the shift in words, from "flesh" to "bodies". Paul did this for a good reason. He (Paul) distinguished the two both in extent and in characteristics. "Body" is wider, and applies

¹⁶) "Cum ergo natura rerum a creatore administratur et per ordines praefinitis locis et temporibus suis cuncta nascuntur, deus usque nunc operatur ... Unde est etiam illud apostoli de seminibus, quod supra commemoravi: *Non, inquit, corpus, quod futurum est, seminas sed nudum granum fere tritici aut alicuius ceterorum; deus autem illi dat corpus, quo modo voluerit. Non dixit 'dedit' aut 'disposuit' sed 'dat', ut creatorem intellegas efficaciam sapientiae suae rebus, quae cotidie suis temporibus oriuntur, condendis adhibere". Epistula 205,3.17, CSEL 57,337-338.*

¹⁷) Epistula 205,3.17, CSEL 57,337-338.

both to terrestrial and celestial bodies. "Flesh" is never said of minerals or of a piece of wood.

For when the apostle spoke of flesh, he said, "One kind is the flesh or beasts, another of birds, another of fish, another of serpents; and there are both celestial bodies and terrestrial bodies" (verses 39-40). He did not say, "and celestial flesh"; he, however, said, "there are both celestial and terrestrial bodies". For all flesh is also a body, but not every body is also flesh. In the first place, among terrestrial bodies, a wood is a body, but not flesh. However, both body and flesh are used for human beings and beasts. But, among celestial bodies, there is no flesh, but simple and lucid bodies, which the Apostle calls "spiritual", while others call them "ethereal"¹⁸).

F. VERSES 40-42: THERE ARE BOTH CELESTIAL AND TERRESTRIAL BODIES. ONE KIND IS THE GLORY OF THE SUN . SO IT IS WITH THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD

Even living human beings differ in glory. A celibate person is considered higher than a married one. As this opinion was held, at least during the time of Augustine, so it was also held that celibate persons will receive higher glory after the resurrection. By no means, however, are married persons barred from entering into the kingdom of God.

There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon ... so it is with the resurrection of the dead (verses 40-42). Therefore, my sisters and brothers, each one should struggle in this world according to the gift he or she has accepted, in order that one may rejoice in the future. Are you married? It is a lower way of life. Hope for a lower prize. However, do not despair of the eternal kingdom¹⁹).

Similarly celestial bodies differ in glory in intensity of brightness. As this is the case among them, so it is, Augustine argues, among the

¹⁸) "Cum enim de carne apostolus loqueretur, *alia*, inquit, *caro pecorum, alia volucrum, alia piscium, alia serpentum. Et corpora caelestia, et corpora terrestria*. Non enim dixit: et caro caelestis, dixit autem: *et caelestia et terrestria corpora*. Omnis enim caro etiam corpus est, non autem omne corpus etiam caro est: primo in istis terrestribus, quoniam lignum corpus est, sed non caro; hominis autem vel pecoris et corpus et caro est; in caelestibus vero nulla caro, sed corpora simplicia et lucida quae appellat apostolus spiritalia, nonnulli autem vocant aetherea". *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,24, CSEL 41,30-31. See also *Sermo* 361,18.21, PL 39,1626.

¹⁹) "*Alia gloria solis, et alia gloria lunae ... sic et resurrectio mortuorum. Ergo unusquisque, fratres mei, pro dono quod accepit, certet in hoc saeculo, ut gaudeat in futuro. Conjugatus es? Inferior vita est, inferius praemium spera; aeternum tamen regnum non despera*". *Sermo* 343,4, PL 39,1508.

different resurrection-life bodies. These will differ in the glory of their merits. It is interesting to note that Augustine gives more importance to the difference in glory based on merits gained from righteous living than to the difference in glory based on the difference in state of life, whether celibate or married. Accordingly he considers the difference in glory among the resurrection-life bodies primarily as the natural consequence of merits. The future difference, he says, "is not a wonder" (*non mirum est*).

*If bodies ... when they are in the sublime places, when all are celestial, differ also among themselves in brightness of light, it is not a wonder that there will be difference in glory, according to merits, at the resurrection of the dead*²⁰).

G. VERSES 44-47: "IT IS SOWN AN ANIMAL BODY, IT WILL RISE A SPIRITUAL BODY ... THE FIRST MAN ADAM WAS MADE INTO A LIVING SOUL ..."

A human being, since he has an animal body, is subject to suffering on account of pain, whether physical or on account of the internal conflict between the flesh and the spirit, and is subject also to death. All these evils with which the human body has been afflicted will disappear when this *corpus animale* has been transformed into *corpus spiritale*. Our hope is for the transformation of the sown animal body into the risen, transformed, spiritual body.

*After this death that passed through all, which death is due to the sin of the first man, hope also for what will take place at the resurrection of your bodies at the end of time. Hope not for the sufferings of pain, which the unrighteous will suffer, nor for the joys of carnal desires, as the mad think, but hope according to what the Apostle says: "It is sown an animal body, it will rise a spiritual body" (verse 44), such that the body will no longer weigh down the soul (cf. Wis. 9,15), nor will it hunger for any nourishment since it will not suffer any deficiency*²¹).

²⁰) "Et si corpora ... et si in locis sublimibus, cum sint cuncta caelestia, differunt etiam ipsa claritatibus luminum, non mirum est, quod in resurrectione mortuorum distabit gloria meritum". *Epistula* 205,2.7, CSEL 57,329. See also *Sermo* 242,8, PL 38,1138: the glories of the saints will differ in accordance with their practice of love in this present life.

²¹) "Post hanc etiam mortem, quae in omnes pertransit, quae vetustati primi hominis debetur, sperate etiam in fine vestrorum corporum resurrectionem: non ad passiones dolorum, sicut resurrecturi sunt impii; nec ad gaudia carnalium desideriorum, sicut putant stulti: sed sicut Apostolus ait, *Seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus*

"The first man Adam was made into a living soul". This is quoted from Gen. 2,7, in order to prove that the first man, Adam, had an animal body. This is corroborated by Gen. 1,24: "Let the earth bring forth a living soul"²²). Here, indubitably, the term "living soul" stands for animals. The body of the first man — but not he himself — was an animal body in that it was corruptible and it needed food and drink — even before sin — in order to prevent it from suffering hunger and thirst.

*The first man, however, earthly from earth, was made into a living soul, not into a life-giving spirit, which condition was reserved for him after the merit of obedience. His body, therefore, because it needed food and drink, lest it suffer hunger and thirst ... was without doubt not spiritual but animal...*²³)

Our own bodies, too, are animal bodies in that they are subject to corruption and dissolution in the same way as brute animals are. In order to prevent our bodies from wearing out, we nourish them. But once the soul leaves, our bodies begin to dissolve.

*It is, therefore, understood that the animal body is said to be similar to the rest of the animals, in that it is subject to dissolution and corruption which is prevented every day by the taking in of food. But, afterwards, once the animating component leaves, the organism disintegrates. A spiritual body, however, is immortal together with the spirit*²⁴).

"The last Adam was made a life-giving spirit". Christ became a life-giving spirit at the resurrection, when His body became utterly insusceptible to death.

On the other hand, he shows how the spiritual body is to be understood by adding, "The last Adam was made a life-giving spirit".

spirituale (1 Cor. 15,44), ut jam non aggravet animam (Sap. 9,15), nec ullam quaerat refectionem, quia nullam patietur defectionem". *Sermo* 212,1, PL 38,1059-1060.

²²) *Epistula* 205,2,9, CSEL 57,331.

²³) "Primus autem homo de terra terrenus in animam viventem factus est, non in spiritum vivificantem, quod ei post oboedientiae meritum servabatur. Ideo corpus eius, quod cibo ac potu egebat, ne fame adficeretur ac siti ... non spiritale, sed animale fuisse non dubium est ...". *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),648. See also *De Genesi ad Litteram* 6,20,31, PL 42,352. *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* 28,10, PL 34,201; *Retractationes* 1,10,3, PL 32,1602: The body of man, but not himself, was made animal.

²⁴) "Intellegitur ergo corpus animale dici simile ceteris animalibus propter mortis dissolutionem et corruptionem, quae cotidie cibo reficitur et postea superata animantis compago dissolvitur, spiritale autem corpus, quod iam cum spiritu immortale est". *Epistula* 205,2,9, CSEL 57,331.

Here undoubtedly he means Christ, who has already risen from the dead so as to be thereafter utterly insusceptible to death²⁵).

Our own bodies, at their resurrection and transformation, will be related to the life-giving spirit.

Then he adds: "If, however, the Spirit of Him who raised up Christ from the dead is living in you, He who raised up Christ from the dead will also bring to life your mortal bodies through the indwelling of His Spirit in you (Rom. 8,10f.). Then, on account of this, the body will be related to the life-giving spirit as it is now to the living soul²⁶).

The living soul differs from the life-giving spirit in that in the former the body in union with the soul is an animal body²⁷), whereas in the latter the body in union with the soul is a spiritual body. The soul in an animal body lives in the body but does not vivify it to the extent that it takes away from it its corruptibility; whereas the soul in the spiritual body vivifies the body and makes it spiritual by taking away all corruption. Moreover, a human being with the spiritual body is in perfect union with the Risen Lord and His Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 6,17).

... however, he (Paul) wants to make this distinction between the living soul and the life-giving spirit it: there, the body is animal; here, the body is spiritual. The soul in an animal body lives in indeed, but it does not vivify it to the point that it takes away corruption; in the spiritual body, however, since "he who is perfectly united with the Lord becomes one spirit with Him (1 Cor. 6,17), the soul vivifies the body to the effect that it makes the body spiritual by taking away all corruption, and has no fear of separation"²⁸).

²⁵) "Spiritale autem quem ad modum intellegendum esset, ostendit addendo: *Novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem*, procul dubio Christum significans, qui iam ex mortuis ita resurrexit, ut mori deinceps omnino non possit". *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),650.

²⁶) "Deinde subiunxit: *Si autem spiritus eius, qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, habitat in vobis: qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra per inhabitantem spiritum eius in vobis*. Tunc ergo erit corpus in spiritum vivificantem, quod nunc est in animam viventem ...". *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),648-649.

²⁷) *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),650.

²⁸) "... tamen inter animam viventem et spiritum vivificantem hoc interesse voluit, ut illic sit corpus animale hic spiritale. Anima quippe in corpore animali vivit quidem, sed non vivificat usque ad auferendam corruptionem: in corpore vero spiritali, quoniam perfecte adhaerens domino unus spiritus est, sic vivificat, ut spiritale corpus efficiat absumens omnem corruptionem, nullam metuens separationem". *Epistula* 205,2.12, CSEL 57,333. See also *Sermo* 256,3, PL 38,1193; *Sermo* 212,1, PL 38,1059; *Sermo* 213,9, PL 38,1065; *Sermo* 214,12, PL 38,1072.

H. VERSE 48: "AS MAN WAS EARTHLY, SO ALSO ARE OTHER MEN EARTHLY; AS MAN WAS HEAVENLY, SO ALSO ARE OTHER MEN HEAVENLY"

We are mortal because we came from Adam who was mortal. But at the same time we are already initially immortal; we are made immortal through Christ who was immortal. This was made possible through the incarnation²⁹). It is the way of humility. Yet in order that we might be made immortal, Christ retained His immortality. In and through Christ, immortality is united with mortality and vice versa.

What is meant by "As man is earthly, so also are other men earthly", but that mortals come from a mortal? What is meant by "As man is heavenly, so also are other men heavenly", but that immortals come through the immortal? The former was achieved through Adam; the latter, through Christ. For our Lord, when He was heavenly, became earthly for this purpose: in order that He might make heavenly those who were earthly; this means that, therefore, He was made mortal from being immortal by "assuming the form of a servant" (Phil. 2,7), but without changing His nature as the Lord, in order that He might make immortal those who were mortal by giving them the grace of the Lord and not by taking offence at the injustice of being treated as a servant³⁰).

I. VERSE 49: "BEAR THE IMAGE"

To bear the image of someone is to be like him. We have borne the image of Adam by having been like him in mortality. We bear the image of Christ by being like him in immortality. Augustine uses two different versions of verse 49 in which Paul speaks of the way we bear the image of Christ. In the *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, he uses the version with *induamus*³¹). This expresses the phenomenon of bearing the image of Christ in the sense of "putting on" Christ. And this takes place initially at the reception of the sacrament of regeneration. This, cer-

²⁹) In *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),651, this is clearly explained in the context of the Total Christ.

³⁰) "Quid est: *Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni nisi mortales ex mortali*? Et quid est: *Qualis caelestis, tales et caelestes nisi immortales per inmortalem*? illud per Adam hoc per Christum. Dominus enim ad hoc terrenus factus est, cum esset caelestis, ut eos, qui terreni erant, faceret caelestes, hoc est ideo ex immortalis mortalis factus est *adsumendo servi formam*, non domini mutando naturam, ut eos, qui mortales erant, faceret immortales impertiendo dominicam gratiam, non servilem iniuriam retinendo". *Epistula* 205,2.12, CSEL 57,333.

³¹) *Induamus* is also used in the following works: *Contra Adimantum* 12, CSEL 25(1),141; *De Genesi ad Litteram* 6,19, CSEL 28(1),193.

tainly, will become a perfect and an accomplished reality at the resurrection of the body, when that which is animal in us through generation will have become spiritual. Moreover, this is already initially accomplished in us in hope.

"Ans as we have put on the image of earthly man, let us also put on the image of the heavenly man". The apostle has put it in this way, so that even now the sacrament of regeneration may have this effect in us, just as elsewhere he says, "All of you who have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ" (Gal. 3,27), although in reality by this effect will itself be perfected when that which is animal in us will also have become spiritual because of our resurrection. For, to use his own words again, "It is in hope that we have been saved" (Rom. 8,24)³²).

In the *De Trinitate* 14,18.24, however, he uses the version with "portemus"³³). In the context of our relationship with the Persons in the Trinity, he extends the meaning of bearing the image to how we shall later, and how can we even now, bear the image of Christ. We shall later bear the image of Christ, when at the resurrection, at the attaining of the vision of God, our bodies will have been transformed into

³²) "Et quo modo induimus imaginem terreni, induamus et imaginem eius, qui de coelo est. Hoc apostolus ita posuit, ut nunc quidem in nobis secundum sacramentum regenerationis fiat, sicut alibi dicit: Quotquot in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis; re autem ipsa tunc perficietur, cum et in nobis, quod est animale nascendo, spiritale factum fuerit resurgendo. Ut enim eius itidem verbis utar: *Spe salvi facti sumus*". *De Civitate Dei* 13,23, CSEL 40(1),651.

³³) *Portemus* is used in the following works: (i) *De Moribus Ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* 1,19.36, PL 32,1326; here he associates verse 49 with Col. 3,9 and 10, thus giving meaning to the combined verses the admonition of Paul to the believers to put off the exterior man signified by the lustful pleasures and to put on the interior man by improving in the virtue of temperance. The putting on of the interior man is a life-time responsibility, as expressed by Paul in 2 Cor. 4,16: "Dicit ergo Paulus radicem omnium malorum esse cupiditatem, per quam etiam Lex vetus primum hominem lapsum esse significat. Monet Paulus ut exuamus nos veterem hominem, et induamus novum (Col. 3:9,10). Vult autem intellegi, Adam qui peccavit, veterem hominem; illum autem quem suscepit in sacramento Dei Filius ad nos liberandos, novum. Dicit namque alio loco, *Primus homo de terra, terrenus; secundus homo de caelo, caelestis. Qualis terrenus, tales et terreni; qualis caelestis, tales et caelestes. Sicut portavimus imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem caelestis* (1 Cor. 15:47-49): hoc est, exuite veterem, et induite novum. Omne igitur officium temperantiae, est exuere veterem hominem, et in Deo renovari: id est, contemnere omnes corporeas illecebras, laudemque popularem, totumque amorem ad invisibilia et divina conferre. Unde illud sequitur quod mirifice dictum est, *Si et exterior homo noster corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur de die in diem* (2 Cor. 4,16). (ii) *Epistula* 187,9.30, CSEL 57,107. (iii) *Epistula* 205,2.11, CSEL 57,332. (iv) *Sermo* 362,14.15, PL 39,1620.

immortal bodies. Thus, "bearing the image", of Christ means possessing immortal bodies similar to that of Christ, as the second Person in the Trinity. Augustine arrives at this tentative conclusion by associating verse 49 with 1 Jo. 3,2: "Beloved, now we are the sons of God; and it does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is". This verse, according to Augustine, can be interpreted in two coherent ways. First, the full likeness of God will take place in us when we have received the full vision of Him. And second, the full likeness of Christ will take place in us when our mortal bodies have been transformed into immortal bodies. In these two possible interpretations, Augustine makes a distinction between bearing the image of God and bearing the image of Christ. Bearing the image of God apparently means being made like God such that we shall see Him as He is. Bearing the image of Christ means bearing an immortal body similar to the immortal body of Christ, and of Christ alone, since in the Trinity, He alone bears an immortal body. Besides, of the three Persons in the Trinity, only Christ took a human body, in which He died, rose, and ascended. Here Augustine seems to insinuate as well that bearing the image of Christ means following the way of Christ which leads to immortality: the way of death, resurrection and ascension.

But the apostle John says, "Beloved, now we are the sons of God. And it does not appear yet what we shall be. 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). Hence it is evident that His full likeness will take place in that image of God when he has received the full sight of Him, although this (statement) can seem to have been said by the apostle John also about the immortality of the body. And in this (immortality) we shall indeed be similar to God, but only to the Son, since He alone in the Trinity took a body, in which, having died, He resurrected, and which He carried to heaven. For, this, too, is called the image of the Son of God, in which we will have an immortal body, just as He has, since we have been made in conformity, not with the image of the Father nor of the Holy Spirit but only of the Son, because of Him alone is the following statement read and accepted with a very sound faith: "The Word was made flesh" (Jo. 1,14)³⁴.

³⁴) "Apostolus autem Iohannes: *Dilectissimi, inquit, nunc filii dei sumus, et nondum apparuit quod erimus. Scimus quia cum apparuerit similes ei erimus quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est. Hinc apparet tunc in ista imagine dei fieri eius plenam similitudinem quando eius plenam perceperit visionem, quamquam possit hoc a Iohanne apostolo etiam de*

Furthermore, even now we can bear the image of Christ. This takes place firstly by God's own good will to conform to the image of His Son, secondly by our own response in faith and in hope. Augustine gives this explanation by associating verse 49 with Rom. 8,29 and Col. 1,18. He, however, does not say that this bearing of the image of Christ here and now is perfect. The perfect bearing will come definitely when we have been conformed with Christ by immortality, at the time of the transformation of the body.

And for this reason the apostle says, "Those whom he foreknew He also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son, so that He might be the first-born among many brethren" (Rom. 8,29). Certainly "the first-born from the dead" (Col. 1,18), according to the same apostle; by that death his flesh was sown in dishonor, and resurrected in glory. According to this image of the Son to whom we will be conformed in body by immortality, we also do what likewise the same apostle says, "As we have borne the image of the earthly, let us also bear the image of the heavenly" (1 Cor. 15,49), that is to say, in order that we who are mortal because of Adam may hold with a true faith and with a certain and firm hope that we shall be immortal because of Christ. For so we can bear now this same image, not yet in sight but in faith, not yet in reality but in hope. For the apostle, when he said this, was surely speaking about the resurrection of the body³⁵).

That we can bear the image of Christ even now would mean that for Augustine the believing and the hoping human beings can already be immortal — in faith and in hope — even in body, although yet potentially, even when they still bear the mortal flesh. Immortality and

immortalitate corporis dictum videri. Et in hac quippe similes erimus deo sed tantummodo filio quia solus in trinitate corpus accepit in quo mortuus resurrexit atque id ad superna pervexit. Nam dicitur etiam ista imago filii dei in qua sicut ille immortale corpus habebimus conformes facti in hac parte non patris imaginis aut spiritus sancti sed tantummodo filii quia de hoc solo legitur et fide sanissima accipitur: *Verbum caro factum est*". De Trinitate 14,18.24, CCL 50A,455-456.

³⁵) "Propter quod apostolus: *Quos ante, inquit, praescivit et praedestinavit conformes imaginis filii sui ut sit ipse primogenitus in multis fratribus. Promogenitus utique a mortuis secundum eundem apostolum; qua morte seminata est caro eius in contumelia, resurrexit in gloria. Secundum hanc imaginem filii qui per immortalitatem conformamur in corpore etiam illud agimus quod item dicit idem apostolus: Sicut portavimus imaginem terreni portemus et imaginem eius qui de caelo est, ut scilicet qui secundum Adam mortales fuimus secundum Christum immortales nos futuros esse fide vera et spe certa firmaque teneamus. Sic enim nunc eandem imaginem portare possumus, nondum in visione sed in fide, nondum in re sed in spe. De corporis quippe resurrectione tunc loquebatur apostolus cum haec diceret*". De Trinitate 14,18.24, CCL 50A,456.

mortality are like two streams of polarities which eventually will fuse when the immortal will have absorbed the mortal, at the transformation of the body.

Augustine's interpretation of verse 49, as explained above, seems to reflect Tertullian's interpretation of the same verse in *De Resurrectione Mortuorum* 49,866. tertullian reads *portemus* as a command (*modo praeceptivo*) to believers, who, while still bearing the image of Adam in flesh, must march forward in sanctity, in justice, and in truth, struggling every time in the present life until they become celestial human beings. Tertullian says:

"Just as we have borne the image of the earthly, let us also bear the image of the one above the heavens" (1 Cor. 15,49). For we have borne the image of the earthly through collegium transgressionis, consortium mortis, exsilium paradisi. But, even if here in flesh we bear the image of Adam, we are, however, advised not to dishonor our flesh. If we are admonished not to dishonor our flesh, so also we are, therefore, admonished not to abuse our life in the flesh in order that in us we may bear the image of the heavenly, although we are not yet gods nor are established in heaven, but still marching forward, according to the ways of Christ, in sanctity, in justice and in truth. Indeed, he really directs the whole of this, which he says about bearing the image of Christ in this flesh, for the sake of discipline. For he says, "let us bear" with the sense of a command, referring to the present time, when a human being is nothing but flesh and soul; but if faith bears in mind another substance, that is, a celestial substance, this may have been, however, promised to him, who is commanded to work hard for it³⁶).

J. VERSE 50: "FLESH AND BLOOD"

Augustine's concepts of "flesh and blood" have to be distinguished. From 393 to 396, he uses "flesh and blood" of the corruptible substance of human beings and of human sinfulness, but not of the incorruptible

³⁶) *"Sicut portavimus imaginem choici, portemus etiam imaginem supercaelestis. Portavimus enim imaginem choici per collegium transgressionis, per consortium mortis, per exsilium paradisi. Nam etsi in carne hic portatur imago Adae, sed non carnem monemur exponere. Si non carnem, ergo conversationem, ut proinde et caelestis imaginem gestemus in nobis; non jam dei, nec jam in caelo constituti; sed secundum liniamenta Christi incedentes in sanctitate, et justitia, et veritate. Atque adeo ad disciplinam totum hoc dirigit ut hic dicat portandam imaginem Christi in ista carne, et in isto tempore disciplinae. 'Portemus' enim praeceptivo modo dicens huic tempori loquitur, in quo homo nulla alia substantia est quam caro et anima; ut etsi quam aliam, id est caelestem, substantiam haec fides spectat, huic tamen repromissa sit, cui ad illam elaborare mandatur".* *De Resurrectione Mortuorum* 49,866, CCL II pars 2, 990-991.

substance of the resurrection-life bodies. We find this usage in *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,23 and 24, written in 393, in *Contra Adimantum* 12 (393/394), and in *De Agone Christiano* 32,34 (396). It is important to note how earlier, during that span of time, Augustine comes to this idea of flesh and blood. In *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,24, he tries to justify the logic of Paul's statement in verses 39 and 40 in relation with verses 50 and 53. He points out that in verses 39 to 40 Paul made a shift in words from "flesh" to "bodies". Paul, he said, did this precisely in order to make a distinction between the two; and he (Paul) underlines this distinction by saying in verse 50, "flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God". By stating this, Paul did not only express the idea that flesh and bodies, since they are different, occupy distinct places: flesh is appropriate to earth, while glorified bodies are appropriate to the heavens; which statement on their distinction is in consonance with the earlier verses, namely 39 to 40, but he also taught that at the resurrection the flesh of human beings, in order to possess heaven, will first undergo transformation from flesh to bodies (verse 53); this is in consonance again with the distinction he gives in verses 39 to 40. Thus, in the interpretation of Augustine, Paul was saying that there will be a transformation of the substance itself of flesh to the substance of the body.

For when the apostle spoke of flesh, he said, "One kind is the flesh of beasts, another of birds, another of fish, another of serpents; and there are both celestial and terrestrial bodies" (verses 39-40). He did not say, "and celestial flesh" ... Among celestial bodies, there is no flesh, but simple and lucid bodies, which the apostle calls "spiritual", while others call them "ethereal". And, therefore, his statement "Flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God", does not contradict the resurrection of the flesh; but he (Paul) makes known what sort (of body) it will be, which is now flesh and blood. Whoever does not believe that this flesh can be transformed into that sort of nature is to be led gradually to this faith³⁷).

³⁷) "Cum enim de carne apostolus loqueretur, alia, inquit, caro pecorum, alia volucrum, alia piscium, alia serpentum. Et corpora caelestia, et corpora terrestria. Non enim dixit: et caro caelestis ... in caelestibus vero nulla caro, sed corpora simplicia et lucida quae appellat apostolus spiritalia, nonnulli autem vocant aetherea. Et ideo non carnis resurrectioni contradicit illud, quod ait: caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt, sed quale futurum sit, quod nunc caro et sanguis est, praedicat, in qualem naturam quisquis hanc carnem converti posse non credit, gratibus ducendus est ad fidem". *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,24, CSEL 41,30-31. See also *De Genesi ad Litteram* 10,12, CSEL 28(1),310.

There is the background to Augustine's justification of Paul's logic. Augustine was very much influenced by Paul in his conception of "flesh". For Paul, "flesh" stands for sinfulness. Augustine's assimilation of this is shown in *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,23. He goes as far as calling soul (*anima*) flesh (*caro*), insofar as the soul, not originally (*non natura*) but as a consequence of sin inherited from the first man and by the acquired habit of sinning, has a proclivity to sin. Here Augustine contrasts the soul (*anima*), called "flesh", with *mens*, which is also called *spiritus* because of its subservient relationship to the Spirit of God³⁸).

*The soul, however, when it still craves for carnal goods, is called flesh; and it resists the spirit not because of its original nature but because of the habit of sinning. From this it is said, "With my mind I serve the law of God, but with my flesh I serve the law of sin" (Rom. 7,25). This habit (of sinning) has been poured into nature through generation of the mortal flesh because of the sin of the first man*³⁹).

Augustine's concept of "flesh and blood" as referring only to corruptible physical substance becomes even clearer in *Contra Adimantum* 12 (393/394), an anti-Manichean work, where he compares verse 50 with Gen. 6,3: "My spirit will not abide in these man, because they are flesh". Augustine opines that "flesh" here should be taken as meaning the corruptible physical substance, and as such it is barred from possessing the kingdom of God, in the literal sense expressed in verse 50. However, the whole of Gen. 6,3 should be understood likewise in the light of verse 53. This means that the corruptible substance of the flesh will have first to undergo transformation into incorruptible substance of the body in order to merit the kingdom of God. Augustine argues for this, because, as he contends, in the Old Testament very often God promised future rewards to the just. The corruptible flesh, therefore, will undergo transformation, and it will become an incorruptible body. The just will be like angels in heaven (Mt. 22,30).

³⁸) *Spiritus* is sometimes called *mens*. This name came not only from Paul but also from the *bona mens* which was made classical by Seneca. See H. I. MARROU, *The Resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*, Villanova, 1966, p. 16. See also *De Trinitate* 14,16,22, CCL 50A,452; *De Natura et Origine Animae* 32,36, CSEL 60,414; *De Genesi ad Litteram* 12,7, CSEL 28(1),389.

³⁹) "Anima vero, cum carnalia bona adhuc adpetit, caro nominatur et resistit spiritui non natura, sed consuetudine peccatorum. Unde dicitur: *mente servio legi dei, carne autem legi peccati*. Quae consuetudo in naturam versa est secundum generationem mortalem peccato primi hominis". *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,23, CSEL 41,28-29.

However, the apostle's statement, "Flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50), had also been said in the Law: "My spirit will not abide in these men, since they are flesh" (Gen. 6,3). And, indeed, very often in the Old Testament a future reward is promised to the souls of the just. But the apostle, wishing to insinuate what sort the body of the just will be through transformation at the resurrection — because they neither marry nor will be given in marriage, but they will be like angels in heaven (Mt. 22,30) — and wishing to insinuate that there will, therefore, be a transformation of the bodies of the just (verse 53), said, "For I tell you, brethren, that flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50)⁴⁰.

The same idea of "flesh and blood" appears in *De Agone Christiano* 32,34 (396):

Let us not listen to those who deny the future resurrection of the body and who appeal to what the apostle Paul says, "Flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50), without understanding what the apostle himself adds, "It is necessary for this corruptible (sc. flesh) to put on incorruption and this mortal (sc. flesh) to put on immortality" (verse 53). For after this has happened, it will no longer be flesh and blood, but a heavenly body. The Lord promises this also, when He says, "They neither marry nor are given in marriage, but they will be like the angels of God" (Mt. 22,30). For they will no longer live for men, but for God, when they have become like the angels. Therefore, flesh and blood will be transformed and will become a heavenly and angelic body; "for the dead will be raised incorrupted, and we shall be changed" (verse 52); in order that the former statement may be true, the flesh will rise; and in order that the latter may be also true, "flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50)⁴¹.

⁴⁰) "Quod autem ait apostolus: caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt, etiam in lege dictum est: non permanebit in istis spiritus meus, quia caro sunt. Et totiens in veteribus libris iustorum animis praemium futurum promittitur. Sed tamen apostolus volens insinuare, quale corpus iustorum per inmutationem in resurrectione futurum sit, quia neque nubent neque uxores ducent. Sed erunt sicut angeli in caelis, hanc ergo inmutationem futuram corporum sanctorum volens insinuare dixit apostolus: dico enim vobis, fratres, quia caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebunt". *Contra Adimantum* 12, CSEL 25(1), 140-141.

⁴¹) "Nec eos audiamus, qui carnis resurrectionem futuram negant et commemorant, quod ait apostolus Paulus: caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt, non intelligentes, quod ipse dicit apostolus: oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Cum enim hoc factum fuerit, iam non erit caro et sanguis, sed caeleste corpus. Quod et Dominus promittit, cum dicit: neque nubent neque uxores ducent, sed erunt aequales angelis Dei. Non enim iam hominibus, sed deo vivent, cum aequales angelis facti fuerint. Immutabitur ergo caro et sanguis et fiet corpus caeleste et angelicum; et mortui enim resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur, ut et illud verum sit, quod resurget caro, et illud verum sit, quod caro et sanguis regnum dei non possidebit". *De Agone Christiano* 32,34, CSEL 41, 136-137.

We may confirm our discovery, that up to and including 396 Augustine still maintains that "flesh and blood" stands only for the physical corruptible substance of man's components by adding the results of our investigations concerning *De Agone Christiano* 24,26 (written in 396). Here, in trying to prove the reality of Christ's resurrection in body, Augustine uses *corpus* for the risen body of Christ, and not *caro*, even when he has already appealed to Lk. 24,39 (a text which later became his main proof from 397 on), for the resurrection of the true flesh of Jesus Christ. It is curious to note that in *De Agone Christiano* 24,26, in appealing to Lk. 24,39, he uses *nervos* instead of *carnem*: "*Palpate et videte, quoniam spiritus ossa et nervos non habet, sicut me videtis habere*".

Let us not listen to those who deny that the same body (corpus) of the Lord as it was laid in the sepulcher had risen up. For if it were not the very same one, He himself would not have said to His disciples after the resurrection, "Touch and see, since a spirit has no bones and nerves, just as you see that I have" (Lk. 24,39). For it is sacrilegious to believe that our Lord, when He himself is truth, lied about something⁴²).

That this risen body of the Lord is not *caro* but a *corpus* may further be proved from what Augustine gives later as its description. It is a glorified body, which has the power of penetration, of walking on water, and the Lord Himself in His risen body had the power to make Peter too walk on water⁴³). Does this not connote that before 397 Augustine had thought the *caro Christi* had been transformed into the *corpus Christi*?

Sermo 264,6 may, however, be presented as the basis of a position contrary to ours. Anne-Marie La Bonnardière and A. Kunzelmann, according to P. Verbraken in *Études Critiques sur les Sermons Authentiques de Saint Augustin*, are of the opinion that this sermon was written between 413 and 420. Anne-Marie La Bonnardière does not give reasons for her opinion. A. Kunzelmann gives two reasons for his

⁴²) "*Nec eos audiamus, qui negant tale corpus domini surrexisse, 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*". *De Agone Christiano* 24,26, CSEL 41,126-127. *Nervos* is not found in other old Latin versions of the Bible, *Vetus Latina*. Augustine is the only one to preserve this reading.

⁴³) *De Agone Christiano* 24,26, CSEL 41,127.

opinion⁴⁴): (i) It was between 413 and 420 that Augustine's sermons on ascension were written, and (ii) It was during those years that Augustine's teaching on the Trinity was in danger. Against these two authors and these two reasons we claim that this sermon was written between 393 and 396. We have three arguments against the position of A. Kunzelmann. First, we may say that his reasons, given in "Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustins", are weak. He bases his dating of *Sermo* 264 on the date of other *Sermones* on the ascension, namely, *Sermones* 261, 262 and 265, which according to him, date to the years 410, 411 and 412, respectively. His other argument is that it was between 413 and 420 that Augustine wrote anti-Arian homilies. However, he admits that Augustine does not mention in *Sermo* 264 any unorthodox group (= Arians). yet he points out that at the end of the homily Augustine exhorts his audience to hold fast to their faith in the Trinity, thus indicating that this doctrine was in danger. A. Kunzelmann's reasons boil down to the two reasons pointed to above. But, we may ask, is it enough to base one's opinion concerning the date of *Sermo* 264 on the date of the *Sermones* 261, 262 and 265? Is it true that it was only in the years between 413 and 420 that Augustine was aware of the danger of his teaching on the Trinity? Why only based it on the other *Sermones*? There are other works in which Augustine discusses the theme of the ascension and the Trinity, works which are dated much earlier than 413 and 420, and Augustine is not without apprehension. We mention the following examples: *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*

⁴⁴) "In dieselbe Periode ist *Serm.* 264 zu setzen. Hier nennt Augustin zwar keine Irrlehrer, es ist aber auffallend, dass er am Feste Christi Himmelfahrt über das Geheimnis der Trinität spricht und zudem am Schluss seine Zuhörer eindringlich ermahnt, sie mochten am katholischen Glauben über die Trinität festhalten. Das lässt schliessen, dass der *Sermo* zu einer Zeit gehalten ist, wo der Trinitätslehre Gefahr drohte, was in den angegebenen Jahren öfters der Fall war". *Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus*, M.A. 2, 484. In note 3, A. Kunzelmann writes: *Serm.* 264,7: "Tenete itaque, fratres mei, veram, germanam, catholicam fidem. Filius aequalis est patri, donum dei spiritus sanctus aequalis est patri et ideo pater et filius et spiritus sanctus unus Deus, non tres dii". Da die Himmelfartspredigten der Jahre 410, 411 und 412 in den *Serm.* 261, 262 und 265 erhalten sind, bleiben für unseren *Sermo* nur die Jahre 413-420. *Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus*, M.A. 2, 484. In note 3, A. Kunzelmann writes: *Serm.* 264,7: "Tenete itaque, fratres mei, veram, germanam, catholicam fidem. Filius aequalis est patri, donum dei spiritus sanctus aequalis est patri et ideo pater et filius et spiritus sanctus unus Deus, non tres dii". Da die Himmelfartspredigten der Jahre 410, 411 und 412 in den *Serm.* 261, 262 und 265 erhalten sind, bleiben für unseren *Sermo* die Jahre 413-420. *Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus*, M.A. 2, 484.

10 (396), *Sermo* 271 (393-405), *De Fide et Symbolo* 6,13 (393), *De Agone Christiano* (396), *En. in Ps.* 19,7 (392). Our second argument is this: Augustine does not yet make any distinction, as he does later, between *caro secundum substantiam* and *caro secundum corruptionem*. When explaining 1 Cor. 15,53 and 50, he simply says that mortal flesh will be transformed into spiritual body, thus *caro mortalis* will be called *corpus coeleste*.

Therefore, you too are able to get rid of this infirmity, according to what you have heard from the Apostle: "It is necessary that this corruptible (sc. flesh) must put on incorruption, and this mortal (sc. flesh) must put on immortality". As he says, it is because "flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 15,53,50). Why will they not possess it? Is it because the flesh will not rise? No. The flesh will rise. But, what will it become? It changes, and it becomes a celestial and angelical body. Do angels have flesh? No. But, this is the difference: it is because this flesh will rise, which is buried, which dies; this flesh which is seen, which is touched, which has the need to eat and to drink in order to survive, which becomes sick, which suffers pain, this flesh shall rise. The evil will go to everlasting punishment. The good, however, will be transformed (for the better). When the flesh has been transformed, what will it become? It will be already called celestial body, no longer mortal flesh, because "it is necessary that this corruptible (sc. flesh) must put on incorruption, and this mortal (sc. flesh) must put on immortality" (1 Cor. 15,53)⁴⁵.

Our third argument is this: Augustine still uses *nervos* instead of *carnem* in Lk. 24,39. This is similar to his use of the words in *De Agone Christiano* 24,26, which we pointed out earlier, and this work was written in 396. In *Sermo* 264,6, while asserting the reality of Christ's resurrection-life body, Augustine says

⁴⁵) "Quia es tu deponere habes ipsam infirmitatem, juxta quod in Apostolo: Oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Quia caro et sanguis, ait, regnum Dei non possidebunt (1 Cor. 15,53,50). Quare non possidebunt? quia non resurget caro? Absit: resurget caro, sed quid fit? Immutatur, et fit ipsa corpus coeleste et angelicum. Numquid carnem habent Angeli? Sed hoc interest, quia ista caro resurget, ista quae sepelitur, quae moritur; ista quae videtur, quae palpat, cui opus est manducare et bibere, ut possit durare; quae aegrotat, quae dolores patitur, ipsa habet resurgere, malis ad poenas sempiternas, bonis autem ut commutentur. Cum fuerit commutata, quid fiet? Jam corpus coeleste vocabitur, non caro mortalis: quia Oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem". *Sermo* 264,6, PL 38,1217.

Therefore, He (Christ) is the Truth, the true Word, the true wisdom, the true power of God: "The Word was made flesh" (Jo. 1,14). This is true flesh. He says, "Touch and see, since a spirit has no bones and nerves, just as you see that I have" (Lk. 24,39). For they were real bones, real nerves, real wounds. All that was touched was real, all that was spiritually understood was real⁴⁶).

It is true that in the following line Augustine says, "*Tamen deinde caro in coelum praecessit, id est caput*". But this sentence, when taken within the context of the whole *Sermo*, means that the risen Jesus is in heaven. "*Caro*" then stands for the humanity of Jesus by which He is our Head. Seen in this manner, the sentence quoted above is in accordance with what Augustine has earlier established as his interpretation of 1 Cor. 15,53, that is, that the resurrection-life body will not be called *caro mortalis* but *corpus coeleste*: "*Jam corpus coeleste vocabitur, non caro mortalis*". We may therefore say that in *Sermo* 264 Augustine is still struggling hard with the problem of reconciling 1 Cor. 15,50 and 53. Here he seems to project his uncertainty into the interpretation, since he still does not make any distinction between *caro secundum substantiam* and *caro secundum corruptionem*. We are, therefore, of the opinion that *Sermo* 264 was written between 393-396.

It is from 397 on that Augustine has a more positive approach to the term *caro*, and used it confidently for the transformed and glorified body as well. The substance of the resurrection-life body is still called *caro*. However, when asserting that the resurrection-life body still has the substance of the flesh, he is always cautious in his statement in order not to conflate it with the other meaning of "flesh", that is, mortality or corruption. Thus he proposes this distinction when describing the resurrection-life body: it is flesh (*caro*) *secundum substantiam*, or, *quantum attinet ad substantiam*, or, *secundum speciem* but it is not flesh (*caro*) *secundum corruptionem*, or *quantum attinet ad corruptionem*. In *Contra Faustum* 11,7, written in 397, when talking of the resurrection-life body of Christ and proving it to Faustus to be truly flesh, he appeals to Lk. 24,39, using the version with *carnem* and no longer that with *nervos*. He uses *nervos* only twice out of the twenty-three references to Lk. 24,39; in the rest he uses *carnem* in the works dating from 397 on — which he did in *De Agone Christiano* 24,36 (396), although he is

⁴⁶) "Ergo veritas. Verbum verum, sapientia vera, virtus Dei vera: *Verbum caro factum est, vera caro. Palpate, et videte, ait, quia spiritus ossa et nervos non habet, sicut me videtis habere. Vera enim ossa erant, veri nervi, verae cicatrices: verum quidquid tangebatur, verum intelligebatur*". *Sermo* 264,6, PL 38,1217.

confronted with the difficulty presented by 1 Cor. 15,50. He argues that in 1 Cor. 15,50 Paul uses the word *caro* in the sense of corruption. But after the transformation, which he explains in the following verses, namely, verses 51 to 53, the flesh will remain as flesh in substance but its corruptible quality will have been changed. Thus later in the same paragraph Augustine reconciles Lk. 24,39 with 1 Cor. 15,50 by saying that in the former the testimony is given with respect to the substance of the *caro*, while the latter is said with respect to the corruptible quality of the *caro*. Besides the testimony given by Christ in Lk. 24,39 Augustine gives another reason: the *caro* which died will be the very same one which will rise.

This life will certainly not be according to the flesh, just as Christ's life now is not according to the flesh. For by flesh here the Apostle means not the substance itself of our body, which the Lord after His resurrection also calls flesh by saying, "Touch and see, because the spirit has no bones and flesh just as you see that I have" (Lk. 24,39), but the corruption and mortality of flesh, which later will not be in us, just as it is now no longer in Christ. For Paul called this rightly "flesh" even when he spoke clearly enough of the resurrection itself and said what I have already quoted above: "Flesh and blood will not inherit the kingdom of God; neither will corruption possess incorruption" (verse 50). So, after what he described in the next verse has happened, "Behold, I tell you a mystery, we all shall indeed rise, but we shall not all be changed ... for it is necessary for this corruptible (sc. flesh) to put on incorruption and this mortal (sc. flesh) to put on immortality" (verses 51-53), then flesh, not in the sense of the substance itself of the body, but — as Paul means — in the sense of mortal corruption, will certainly not be flesh, because after it has been changed it will not have the corruption of mortality. However, as regards the nature of the substance itself and of the body, it will be the same flesh, because it is itself that will rise and will be changed, because what the Lord said after his resurrection is also true, "Touch and see, because a spirit has no bones and flesh just as you see that I have" (Lk. 24,39), and likewise what the apostle says is also true, "flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50). The first is said of the substance itself, which even then will exist as the subject of change; the second is said of the tendency of the flesh to corruption, which will no longer exist then, because after the flesh has been changed, it will not be corrupted⁴⁷).

⁴⁷) "Quae utique vita non erit secundum carnem, sicut iam Christi vita non est secundum carnem. Carnem namque hoc loco non ipsam corporis nostri substantiam — quam dominus etiam post resurrectionem suam carnem appellat dicens: *Palpate et videte, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere* — sed corruptionem mortalitatemque carnis vult intellegi: quae tunc non erit in nobis, sicut iam in Christo non

"Flesh" used to indicate the corruptible quality of mortal flesh became the definite conception of Augustine of the phrase "flesh and blood" in verse 50. This is shown further in his subsequent works⁴⁸). In *Sermo Morin* 17,5, written in 400, when describing the resurrection-life body of Christ — and so also ours — he says, "It was flesh, but there

est. Hanc enim proprie carnem nominabat, etiam cum de ipsa resurrectione satis evidenter loqueretur et diceret, quod iam supra commemoravi: *Caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt, neque corruptio incorruptionem possidebit*. Cum ergo factum fuerit, quod ibi consequenter dicit: *Ecce mysterium vobis dico: omnes quidem resurgemus, non tamen omnes immutabimur, in atomo — id est in momento — in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba; canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur; oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem*: iam secundum id, quod carnem non ipsam corporis substantiam, sed ipsam corruptionem mortalitatis appellat, non erit utique caro, quia corruptionem mortalitatis mutata non habebit, secundum autem ipsius substantiae corporisque originem eadem caro eit, quia ipsa resurget et ipsa mutabitur, quia et illud verum est, quod ait Dominus, posteaquam resurrexit: *Palpate et videte, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere*, et hoc verum est, quod ait apostolus: *caro et sanguis regnum Dei possidere non possunt*. Illud enim dictum est secundum ipsam substantiam: quae etiam tunc erit, quia ipsa mutabitur; hoc autem dictum est secundum carnalem corruptionis qualitatem: quae tunc iam non erit, quia mutata caro non corrumpetur". *Contra Faustum* 11,7, CSEL 25(1),322-323.

⁴⁸) For references dating from 397 on and where Augustine reconciles 1 Cor. 15,50 with Lk. 24,39, thus, affirming that the resurrection-life body is also *caro* with respect to substance, see the following works: *Contra Faustum* 11,7, CSEL 25(1),322; *Contra Faustum* 16,29, CSEL 25(1),474-475: here Augustine says that the mystery of circumcision signifies the destruction of mortality and corruption which we bear through generation of the flesh; this destruction is spoken of by Paul in 1 Cor. 15,50 and following; *Contra Faustum* 22,17, CSEL 25(1),605; *Sermo* 362,13.14: here, in order to assert his position, he plays with the word *possidere* as distinguished from its passive form *possideri*: Apostolus ait, *caro et sanguis regnum Dei haereditate possidere non possunt*. Recte dixit; non est enim carnis possidere, sed possideri. PL 39,1620. *Sermo* 362,15.17, 17.20 and 19.22, PL 39,1622 and 1624; *En. in Ps.* 50,19, CCL 38,613: here he associates verse 50 with Ps. 50,14: *Erue me de sanguinibus, Deus, Deus salutis meae*. For Augustine, *sanguinibus*, being in the plural form, refers to many sins; and it is with this in mind that Paul wrote verse 50; but Paul did not use it to refer to the substance of the flesh. *Sermo* 246,6, PL 38,1217-1218; *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 91, CCL 46,98; *Epistula* 205,2.5,13,15,16, CSEL 47, 327, 334,336,337; *Retractationes* 1,17: here he corrects his previous statement in *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,23; *Retractationes* 1,22,3: he corrects his statement in *Contra Adimantum* 12; *Retractationes* 2,3: he corrects his statement in *De Agone Christiano* 32,34; *Sermo Morin* 17,5, MA 1,662; *De Civitate Dei* 22,21, CSEL 40(2), 634; *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* 1,31.35, CSEL 42,246. Before 397, Augustine must not have read Tertullian, Irenaeus of Lyons, or Hilary of Poitiers. These three Fathers had already maintained that the resurrection-life bodies will be still flesh in substance. For references in Tertullian: *De Resurrectione Mortuorum* 49,1-12, CCL pars 2,989-992; *Adversus Marcionem* 5,14,4, CCL pars 1,705-706. For reference in Hilary: *Tr. in 2 Ps.* 41, PL 9,285-286. For reference in Irenaeus: *Contra Haereses* 5,7, (W. Harvey, ed.), Cambridge, 1857, vol. II, p. 336: "Quomodo igitur Christus in carnis substantia surrexit, et ostendit discipulis figuram clavorum, et apertionem lateris (haec autem sunt indicia carnis ejus, quae resurrexit a mortuis): sic "et nos", inquit, "suscitabit per virtutem suam".

was no corruption. While its nature remains, its quality is changed”⁴⁹). In *Retractationes*⁵⁰) he corrects his previous conception expressed in *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,24, in *Contra Adiamantum* 12, and in *De Agone Christiano* 32,34, all of which, as we mentioned earlier, were written before 397. It is in the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 91 (between 421 and 423), that he exposes it very clearly. Here, too, he sees verse 50b, “and corruption will not possess incorruption”, as the explanation of verse 50a, “flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God”. This shows clearly that corruption as the quality of the flesh will change but not flesh itself as a substance. At the same time it is here that he justifies the same “spiritual” or “celestial” as applied properly to the resurrection-life bodies.

The bodies, therefore, of holy persons will rise without any blemish, without deformity, without any corruption, burden, difficulty; in

⁴⁹) “Iam in illius carne dicitur, quod in nostra in fine dicitur: *absorpta est mors in victoriam*. Caro erat, sed corruptio non erat. Manente natura qualitas immutatur: ipsa substantia, sed nullus ibi iam defectus, nulla tarditas, nulla corruptio, nulla indigentia, nihil mortale, nihil quale solemus nosse terrenum. Tangebatur, tractabatur, palpabatur, sed non occidebatur”. *Sermo Morin* 17.5, MA I,662.

⁵⁰) Referring to his earlier statement in *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,24, he modifies it as follows: “Sed quisquis ea sic accipit, ut existimet ita corpus terrenum, quale nunc habemus, in corpus coeleste resurrectione mutari, ut nec membra ista, nec carnis sit futura substantia; procul dubio corrigendus est, commonitus de corpore Domini, qui post resurrectionem in eisdem membris non solum conspiciendus oculis, verum etiam manibus tractandus apparuit, carnemque se habere etiam sermone firmavit, dicens: *Palpate et videte quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet, sicut me videtis habere* (Lk. 24,39). Unde constat Apostolum non carnis substantiam negasse in regno Dei futuram; sed aut homines qui secundum carnem vivunt, carnis et sanguinis nomine nuncupasse, aut ipsam carnis corruptionem, quae tunc utique nulla erit. Nam cum dixisset, *Caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt*; bene intelligitur, tanquam exponendo quid dixerit, continuo subdidisse: *Neque corruptio corruptionem possidebit* (1 Cor. 15,50). De qua re ad persuadendum infidelibus difficili, diligenter quantum potui me disseruisse reperiet, quisquis de Civitate Dei librum legerit novissimum”. *Retractationes* 1,17, PL 32,612-613. Referring to his earlier statement in *Contra Adimantum* 12, he says: “Quod autem dixi, *Cum induerit incorruptionem et immortalitatem, iam non caro et sanguis erit* (1 Cor. 15,54); secundum corruptionem carnalem dictum est carnem non futuram, non secundum substantiam; secundum quam Domini corpus etiam post resurrectionem caro appellata est (Lk. 24,39)”. *Retractationes* 1,22,3, PL 32,620. Referring to his earlier statement in *De Agone Christiano* 32,34 he says: “In quo illud positum est, *Nec eos audiamus, qui carnis resurrectionem futuram negant, et commemorant quod ait apostolus Paulus, ‘caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt’*; non intelligentes quod ipse dicit Apostolus: ‘*Oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem*’ (1 Cor. 15,50, 53); cum enim hoc factum fuerit, jam non erit caro et sanguis, sed coeleste corpus: non sic accipiendum est, quasi carnis non sit futura substantia, sed carnis et sanguinis nomine ipsam corruptionem carnis et sanguinis intelligendus est Apostolus nuncupasse; quae utique in regno illo non erit, ubi caro incorruptibilis erit”. *Retractationes* 2,3, PL 32,631.

these bodies there will be as much as facility as happiness. For this reason they have also been called spiritual, since without doubt they will be bodies and not spirits. But just as now the body is called animal, which, nevertheless, is body, and is not soul, so also then will the body be spiritual, nevertheless body, and it will not be spirit. Hence, insofar corruption is concerned which now weighs down the soul (Wis. 9,15), and insofar as vices are concerned, because of which the flesh lusts against the spirit (Gal. 5,17), then it will not be flesh, but body, since bodies are also spoken of as celestial. On this account it has been said "Flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50); and as if explaining what he said, he added "and corruption will not possess incorruption". What he called earlier "Flesh and blood", he later called "corruption", and what he called earlier "the kingdom of God", he later called "incorruption". However, insofar as the substance is concerned it will then also be flesh. It is for this reason that the body of Christ after the resurrection has also been called flesh (Lk. 24,39). But for this reason the Apostle said, "It is sown an animal body, it will rise a spiritual body" (verse 44), since the unity between the flesh and the spirit will be so perfect, that, as the spirit vivifies the subdued flesh without any need of help from anyone, nothing within us will resist us; but just as we shall not externally suffer anyone inimical so also inside ourselves we shall not encounter ourselves as inimical⁵¹).

In *De Civitate Dei* 22,21 Augustine already calls the spiritual body *caro spiritalis*: "Erit ergo spiritui subdita caro spiritalis, sed tamen caro, non spiritus"⁵²). In *Contra Duas Epistulas Pelagianorum* 1,10,17, written

⁵¹) "Resurgent igitur sanctorum corpora sine ullo vitio, sine ulla deformitate, sicut sine ulla corruptione, onere, difficultate: in quibus tanta facilitas, quanta felicitas erit. Propter quod et spiritalia dicta sunt, cum procul dubio corpora sint futura, non spiritus. Sed sicut nunc corpus animale dicitur, quod tamen corpus, non anima est; ita tunc spirituale corpus erit, corpus tamen, non spiritus erit. Proinde quantum attinet ad corruptionem, quae nunc aggravat animam (Sap. 9,15), et ad vitia, quibus caro adversus spiritum concupiscit (Gal. 5,17), tunc non erit caro, sed corpus; quia et coelestia corpora perhibentur. Propter quod dictum est, *Caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt*: et tanquam exponens quid dixerit, *neque corruptio*, inquit, *incorruptionem possidebit* (1 Cor. 15,50). Quod prius dixit, *caro et sanguis*: hoc posterius dixit, *corruptio*: et quod prius, *regnum Dei*: hoc posterius, *incorruptionem*. Quantum autem attinet ad substantiam etiam tunc caro erit. Propter quod et post resurrectionem corpus Christi, caro appellata est (Lk. 24,39). Sed ideo ait Apostolus, *Seminatur corpus animale, resurget corpus spirituale* (1 Cor. 15,44): quoniam tanta erit tunc concordia carnis et spiritus, vivificante spiritu sine sustentaculi alicujus indigentia subditam carnem, ut nihil nobis repugnet ex nobis; sed sicut foris neminem, ita nec intus nos ipsois patiamur inimicos". *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 91, PL 40,274.

⁵²) "Restituatur ergo quidquid de corporibus vivis vel post mortem de cadaveribus periit, et simul cum eo, quod in sepulcris remansit, in spiritalis corporis novitatem ex animalis corporis vetustate mutatum resurget incorruptione adque immortalitate vestitum. Sed etsi vel casu aliquo gravi vel inimicorum inmanitate totum penitus conteratur in

in 420, in connection with Rom 7,14 and with 1 Cor. 15,44, Augustine tries to emphasize that the transformed body will be *caro spiritalis*. He maintains that there is no absurdity in calling the transformed body *caro spiritalis* because now we can also call *spiritus carnalis* the spirit of someone who still desires earthly things. What we have here exposed serves to show the continuity or identity and the discontinuity or non-identity of the flesh in the resurrection-life body.

K. VERSE 51: "MYSTERY"

In *Epistula* 205, written before 420, Augustine seems to refer to the puzzling problem of the continuity and the discontinuity of the flesh. The understanding of this "mystery" has, however, been given to Paul. For this reason Paul, in verses 51b and following, can speak of the transformation-event and explain it.

Finally, it is as though he was asked: "How will it be flesh and not flesh at the same time"? It will certainly be flesh, since the Lord, after His resurrection, said, "Touch and see, a spirit has no flesh and bones, as you see that I have" (Lk. 24,39); however, it will not be flesh, since "flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50); and he explains what he said by adding, "Look, I am telling you a mystery: all of us will indeed rise — or, as the Greek codices put it, "all of us will sleep" — but not all of us will be changed" (verse 51) ...⁵³).

In *Sermo* 362,16.19 Augustine elaborates on the meaning of "mystery". He sees it a puzzling problem, which would comprise the following questions: (i) Why will flesh and blood not possess the kingdom of God (verse 50)?; (ii) Shall all of us rise from the dead? Which ones shall be transformed (verse 51)?; (iii) Will that transforma-

pulverem adque in auras vel in aquas dispersum; quantum fieri potest, nusquam esse sinatur omnino: nullo modo subtrahi poterit omnipotentiae Creatoris, sed capillus in eo capitis non peribit. Erit ergo spiritui subdita caro spiritalis, sed tamen caro, non spiritus; sicut carni subditus fuit spiritus ipse carnalis, sed tamen spiritus, non caro". *De Civitate Dei* 22,21, CSEL 40(2), 634. See also *Contra Duas Epistulas Pelagianorum* 1,10.17, CSEL 60,439.

⁵³) "Denique, tamquam ei diceretur: 'Quo modo caro erit et caro non erit? Caro quippe erit, quoniam dominus post resurrectionem ait: *Palpate et videte, quia spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere*, caro autem non erit, quoniam *caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebunt*', exponit, quid dixerit, adiciens: *Ecce mysterium dico vobis; omnes quidem resurgemus — vel. sicut Graeci codices habent, omnes quidem dormiemus —, non tamen omnes inmutabimur ...*". *Epistula* 205,2.14, CSEL 57,334. For a similarity in reading of verse 51, see *Speculum* 27, CSEL 12,429.

tion be for the better (verse 52)?; (iv) If our bodies will be changed for the better, how much will they change (verse 53)? Paul knew the answers to these questions and imparted them to his anxious listeners.

Then he (sc. Paul) resolved that question which his anxious listeners would have asked him, because he himself was more anxious to be understood by these children (sc. the faithful) than children are anxious about the words of their parents. He therefore goes on to say, "Look, I am telling you a mystery" (verse 51). O man, whoever you may be, cease your thought. For you had started to think about the words of the apostle that the human flesh will not rise, when you heard, "Flesh and blood will not possess the kingdom of God" (verse 50). But listen to the following words and correct the presumption of your thoughts. He says, "Behold, I tell you a mystery: All of us will rise, but not all of us will be changed" (verse 51). What does this mean? Certainly the change is either for the worse or for the better. If, therefore, this change has been expressed in such a way that we do not know yet whether it will be for the better or for the worse, the apostle then continues and explains it. Why should we suspect it? Perhaps the authority of the apostle does not permit you in your conjectures to lapse from human suspicion into error, for he explains clearly which kind of change he wishes to be understood. What did he mean then when he said, "All of us will rise, but not all of us will be changed". I see that all will rise, both the good and the evil; but let us see which ones will be changed; and from this we shall understand whether this change will be for the better or for the worse. For if this change is for the evil ones, it will be for the worse; however, if it will be for the good ones, then it will be for the better. He says, "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the last trumpet will sound, and the dead will rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed" (verse 52). Now, therefore, this change will be for the better, when he says, "we shall be changed"; but it has not been said yet as clearly as it should how much our body changes for the better. It has not been said yet what that change for the better will be⁵⁴).

⁵⁴) "Deinde solvit jam ipse quaestionem, quam possent ab eo solliciti auditores exquirere: quia sollicitior ipse de intellectu filiorum, quam filii sunt de verbis parentum. Subjungit ergo, et dicit: *Ecce mysterium vobis dico*. Quiescat cogitatio tua, o homo, quisquis es. Coeperas enim cogitare de verbis Apostoli, quod caro humana non resurgat, cum audires, *Caro et sanguis regnum Dei non possidebit*: sed praebe aurem consequentibus verbis, et corrige praesumptionem cogitationis. Ecce, inquit, *mysterium dico vobis: omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur*. Quid est hoc? Mutatio quippe aut in pejus est, aut in melius. Si ergo posita est mutatio, ut nondum videamus qualis erit, utrum in aliquid melius, an in aliquid deterius: ergo sequatur et exponat; quid nobis est suspicari? Et fortasse humana suspicione labi in errorem te non permittet in conjecturas tuas apostolica auctoritas, et hoc liquide exponit, cujusmodi mutationem velit intelligi. Quid ergo? Cum dixisset, *Omnes resurgemus, non tamen omnes immutabimur*: video omnes

Let us now turn to the expressions "We shall all rise" or "We shall all sleep" (Modern version: "We shall not all die" or "We shall not all sleep"). The first version *omnes resurgemus* is taken from the Latin codices, and the second from the Greek codices. They do not contradict each other⁵⁵). Rather, the latter serves as the basic argument for the former. The latter is a statement of a reality that every man is confronted with after the first man committed the first sin, the reality of death. This reality came as a sentence pronounced upon everyman: "you are earth, and to earth you shall return" (Gen. 3,19). The term "sleep" in verse 51, in the version from the Greek codices, is to be understood to mean death. The version found in the Latin codices is a statement of an event that will happen to *every human being*; which statement is based upon the truth expressed in the version found in the Greek codices. Thus, basing ourselves upon this explanation, we may formulate Augustine's thought as follows: No one will rise (the reading of the Latin codices) unless he first undergoes death (the reading of the Greek codices).

Augustine is very much aware that objections could be raised to this idea because of a difficulty contained in 1 Thes. 4,13-17. In this pericope Paul and some of his contemporaries believed that they will not die, and that Christ will find them still alive at His second coming. Augustine tackles this difficulty in *De Civitate Dei* 20,20. He understands this pericope to mean that Paul and his contemporaries represented the people living at the end of time when Christ will come to judge the living and the dead. Here Augustine brings in his teaching on the extension of personality. It was, however, clear to him that all will die. Thus, he argues, at that precise moment when these people are caught up in the clouds, it is not impossible for them to pass with a marvelous speed from death to immortality.

He supports his statement with three arguments:

resurrecturos et bonos et malos; sed qui immutabuntur, videamus; et hinc intelligamus mutationem, utrum in melius an in deterius sit futura. Si enim malorum est ista mutatio, in pejus; si autem bonorum, in melius erit. *In atomo*, inquit, *in ictu oculi*, *in novissima tuba*. *Canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos immutabimur*. Jam ergo in melius erit ista mutatio, cum dicit. *Et nos immutabimur*: sed nondum expressum est quantum exprimi oportuit, quousque corpus nostrum commutatur in melius. Quid est ipsum melius, nondum dictum est". *Sermo* 362,16.19, PL 39,1624.

⁵⁵) See the following: *Epistula* 205,2.14, CSEL 57,334; *De Civitate Dei* 20,20, CSEL 40(2),477; *Epistula* 193,4,9-10, CSEL 57,172-174: here Augustine brings together 1 Cor. 15,36 and 51 and 1 Thes. 4,14-16.

(i) Paul's own testimony⁵⁶). In 1 Thes. 4,13-17, Paul seems to demand that we take his words to mean that those whom the Lord will find alive when He comes will undergo death and will receive immortality in that brief space of time. This interpretation is confirmed by Paul himself in 1 Cor. 15,22: "In christ *all* men will be brought to life", and in 1 Cor. 15,36, where he speaks of the resurrection of the body itself: "What you sow does not come to life unless it dies". Both verses prove that no one will rise unless he first dies. Since no one will rise unless he first dies, then it is impossible that those whom Christ will find alive here when He comes will come to life in Him by receiving immortality without first dying.

(ii) From the comprehension of "all"⁵⁷). If it is not correct to say that those whom Christ will find alive when He comes will not die at all in the sense of "sowing" (verse 36) or in the sense of "returning to earth" (Gen. 3,19), then it has to be admitted that they are not covered by the words of Paul in 1 Cor. 15,36 and by the words in Gen. 3,19. However, Paul himself said in 1 Cor. 15,51: "We shall all rise" or "We shall all sleep". This means that even they who will be alive at the end of time are included in the "all" and are covered by the reality of death expressed in verse 36 and in Gen. 3,19. Now, since resurrection cannot happen without a preceding death, it is not possible to say that "all" will sleep and later will rise, if there will be so many whom Christ will find here when He comes who will neither sleep nor rise.

(iii) Death, however momentary, will come even to holy human beings⁵⁸). Not even holy human beings (*sancti*) whom Christ will find here when He comes will be brought to life unless they first die, however momentarily. To say that they will not die at all, will be to encounter difficulties with the words of Paul in 1 Cor. 15,36: "What you sow will not come to life unless it first dies", and in verse 51: "We shall rise" or "We shall all sleep". Therefore those saints, whom Christ will find here when He comes, will be "sown" in a certain fashion in the air, where they will come to life again straightaway. After all Paul himself says very explicitly that the resurrection will happen very quickly, "in a twinkling of an eye" (verse 52).

⁵⁶) See *De Civitate Dei* 20,20, CSEL 40(2),476.

⁵⁷) *De Civitate Dei* 20,20, CSEL 40(2),476-477.

⁵⁸) *De Civitate Dei* 20,20, CSEL 40(2),477.

L. VERSE 52: "IN A MOMENT", "IN A TWINKLING OF AN EYE",
"AT THE LAST TRUMPET"

Paul used images (sc. the above-mentioned) to describe the event of the resurrection of the bodies and to solve the difficulties of his simple hearers, especially concerning rapidity and the precise time at which the resurrection of the bodies will take place⁵⁹).

"In a moment". The Latin equivalent of this expression is *in atomo*. *Atomos* comes from *τομή*, which means a part. *ἄτομος* is said of that which cannot be further divided into parts. When applied to time *ἄτομος* stands for the briefest moment and, therefore, can no longer be divided further⁶⁰). It is equivalent to the quickest or shortest moment. Thus, to say that resurrection will take place "in a moment" (*in atomo*) means that it will be accomplished in an instant of time⁶¹).

"In a twinkling of an eye". This was said in order to further clarify what "in a moment" means. "In a twinkling of an eye" is an image used to demonstrate how much action or change could be produced in an instant. "Twinkling" does not refer to the movement by which we close and at once open our eyes. Rather, it is said of the rapidity with which rays are emitted for our eyes to perceive something. For example, as soon as we look towards the sky, the rays emitted reach the sky at once⁶²).

"At the last trumpet". This will be the last sign⁶³). It will also be a very clear and unmistakable sign (*evidentissimum et praeclarissimum signum*)⁶⁴).

M. VERSE 53: "THIS"

The word "this" is used to indicate very specifically, as if with a

⁵⁹) See *Sermo* 362,17.20, PL 39,1624.

⁶⁰) "Atomus dictus est *ατομή*, quod est sectio: *ἄτομος* graece quod secari non potest ... Atomus autem in tempore momentum est breve, quod jam non habet ubi dividatur". *Sermo* 362,17.20, PL 39,1624. See also *Epistula* 205,2.14, CSEL 57,335.

⁶¹) See *Contra Faustum* 11,7, CSEL 25(1),322.

⁶²) See *Sermo* 362,17.20, PL 39,1625. *Epistula* 102,5, CSEL 34(2),548.

⁶³) See *Sermo* 362,18.20, PL 39,1625. *De Trinitate* 14,19.25, CCL 50A,457; *Sermo* 277, 10 and 11, PL 38,1262-1263.

⁶⁴) See *Epistula* 205,2.14, CSEL 57,335; *Sermo* 362,18.20, PL 39,1625; *Epistula* 140,78, CSEL 44,326: Here Augustine says that this sign made with the sound of the last trumpet is the call for the last judgment described in Jo. 5,28-29, and the calling for the ten virgins to rise and give an account of their deeds; this is narrated in Mt. 25,5-6.

finger, that it is the flesh, the visible component of man, and not his soul, which is also morally corruptible, that will be transformed.

For the apostle Paul seems to point at it (the flesh) as if with a finger, when he says, "It is necessary that this corruptible (sc. flesh) put on incorruption" (verse 53). For when he says, "this", it is as if he directs his finger at it. However, that which can be shown with a finger is visible. Corruptibility can also be predicated of the soul, for it is itself corrupted by vicious habits⁶⁵).

N. VERSE 54: "WHEN THE PERISHABLE PUTS ON THE IMPERISHABLE, AND THE MORTAL PUTS ON IMMORTALITY"

Besides the transformation of the animal body into a spiritual body, that is, from *caro animalis* to *caro spiritualis*, the putting on of an "imperishable" or "immortal" body also brings about the disappearance of the lust of the flesh against the spirit.

When will you have a body in which there will be no concupiscence any more? "When this perishable (sc. flesh) puts on the imperishable, and the mortal (sc. flesh) puts on the immortal" (verse 54)⁶⁶.

In *Sermo* 278,5 Augustine thinks that verses 53-55 mean the future fulfillment of the promise by God of the complete restoration of health. This promise was given through Paul.

"Death is swallowed up in victory". Death is swallowed up in victory when it ceases to exist in the body where it had existed. However, death is not like a substantial being which departs. The swallowing up of death is the definite ceasing of corruption and mortality in the body⁶⁷). In *Sermo* 362,19.22, by referring to 1 Pet. 3,22 and to

⁶⁵) "Videtur enim Paulus apostolus eam tamquam digito ostendere, cum dicit: *Oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem*. Cum enim dicit 'hoc', in eam quasi digitum intendit. Quod autem visibile est, id potest digito ostendi, quoniam potest etiam anima corruptibilis dici; nam vitiis morum ipsa corrumpitur". *De Fide et Symbolo* 10,23, CSEL 41,30. See also *Sermo* 256,2, PL 38,1192: against those who say that *caro* is *carcer* or *catena*; *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistula ad Romanos* 40,48, CSEL 84,24; *Sermo* 359,2, PL 38,1192: Augustine's analysis of the sentence structure should be noted.

⁶⁶) "Quando corpus habebis, ubi nulla concupiscentia remanebit? *Cum mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, et corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem*". *Sermo* 151,8, PL 38,819. See also *Epistula* 177,16.17, CSEL 44,686-687; *Sermo* 168,7, PL 38,892; *Sermo* 255,8, PL 38,1190.

⁶⁷) Here Augustine gives the concept of death as evil. He defines evil as that which does not exist except in what is good; it is not a substance in itself. Thus, when a certain sickness, for example, is cured, it simply ceases to exist where it was; it does not disappear

2 Cor. 5,4, Augustine seems to say that Christ, with His resurrection, has abolished (*deglutivit*) death, and this means, too, that the swallowing up of death signifies the cessation both of physical and moral corruption. Augustine says, "It will not exist in any manner". That is, with the swallowing up of death, sin, also, which is the sting of death (verses 55 and 56) is swallowed up.

Death, therefore, will be taken away, and it will not exist in any way. As the apostle says, "that which is mortal will be swallowed up by life" (2 Cor. 5,4). For thus it has also been said of the Lord that He abolished death (1 Pet. 3,22). For it is not as if death has in itself a substantial being which disappears; rather, it ceases to exist in the body itself where it was, so that you may see the form and feel the form (of the resurrected body); you may look for the corruption and its mortality, and you will not find it. Has corruption, therefore, departed to a certain place? No, but in that very place where it has been taken away, there itself it has been absorbed. For this reason, after Paul has said, "It is necessary that this corruptible (sc. flesh) put on incorruption; and this mortal (sc. flesh) put on immortality", he adds, "then shall come to pass the saying that is written: "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is your strife; O death, where is your sting" (verses 53-55). He does not say, Death departs in victory, but, "Death is swallowed up in victory" (68).

from there and go to another place: "Quid est autem aliud quod malum dicitur, nisi privatio boni? Nam sicut corporibus animalium nihil est aliud morbis et vulneribus affici, quam sanitate privari (neque enim id agitur, cum adhibetur curatio, ut mala ista quae inerant, id est, morbi ac vulnera recedant hinc, et alibi sint; sed utique ut non sint. Non enim ulla substantia, sed carnis substantiae vitium est vulnus aut morbus: cum caro sit ipsa substantia, profecto aliquod bonum cui accidunt ista mala, id est privationes ejus boni quod dicitur sanitas); ita et animorum quaecumque sunt vitia, naturalium sunt privationes bonorum: quae cum sonantur, non aliqua transferuntur: sed ea quae ibi erant, nusquam erunt, quando in illa sanitate non erunt". *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 11, PL 40,236. See also *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 12-14, PL 40,236-238; *De Civitate Dei* 14,11, CSEL 40(2),27: here Augustine states that moral evil comes from the shortcoming of the will; however, as evil it is not from nature although it exists in nature; *Sermo* 182,5, PL 38,987.

⁶⁸⁾ "Mors ergo tollitur, et non erit quodam modo: sicut Apostolus ait, *Absorbebitur mortale a vita* (2 Cor. 5,4). Sic enim dictum est et de Domino, quia *deglutivit mortem* (1 Pet. 3,22). Non enim quasi recedit mors habens aliquam substantiam: sed in ipso corpore ubi erat, esse desinet, ut speciem videas, speciem teneas, quaeras corruptionem et mortalitatem, et non invenias. Discessit ergo aliquo corruptio? Non: sed ibi interempta est, ibi absorpta est. Propterea cum dixisset, *Oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc immortalitatem induere: tunc fiet*, inquit, sermo qui scriptus est, *Absorpta est mors in victoriam. Ubi est, mors, contentio tua? Ubi est mors, aculeus tuus?* Et non ait, *Discessit mors in victoriam*; sed, *Absorpta est mors in victoriam*". *Sermo* 362,19.22, PL 39,1626. In *In Ionnis Evangelium Tractatus* 12,11, CC 36,127, Augustine uses *deglutere* with the same meaning as *absorbere*: "*Sed in morte Christi mors mortua est;*

On another occasion, in *De Civitate Dei* 20.17, Augustine refers to 2 Cor. 5,4 and claims that swallowing up of the mortal by life is the objective even now of the desire of the suffering righteous. It has to be noted, however, that he says this in the context of everpresent suffering in this life. Augustine has consistently held that in this life there is and always will be suffering. In this context, therefore, it is righteousness that is desired and not death.

Are we really to suppose that those people are not God's children who groan in oppression because they do not wish to be stripped, but rather to have the new clothing on, so that this mortal (sc. flesh) may be swallowed up by life (2 Cor. 5,2-4)?⁶⁹.

O. VERSE 55: "DEATH, WHERE IS YOUR STRIFE? WHERE IS YOUR STING?"

At the very outset, we would like to point out that Augustine uses *contentio* (strife)⁷⁰ instead of *victoria* (victory) in all his references to

quia vita mortua occidit mortem, plenitudo vitae deglutivit mortem; absorpta est mors in Christi corpore". See also *Sermo* 141,3, PL 38,815: Against the Manicheans; *Sermo* 233,5, PL 38,1114; *Contra Epistulam Parmeniani* 2,7.14, PL 43,58; *Sermo* 56,8, PL 38,380.

⁶⁹) "Aut vero non eius filii sunt, qui ingemescunt gravati, in quo nolunt spoliari, sed supervestiri, ut absorbeatur mortale a vita?". *De Civitate Dei* 20,17, CSEL 40(2),467. Trans. by H. BETTENS, *Augustine City of God*, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 929. See also *Sermo* 277,8, PL 38,1261; *Sermo* 299,9, PL 38,1374; *Sermo* 351,3, PL 38,1538; *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 6,14, PL 45,1530.

⁷⁰) Augustine uses *contentio* in all his references to the verse, except in *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20, where he uses the version with *victoria* four times and in *Sermo* 233,4.5. The works, where he uses the version with *contentio* are the following: *En. in Ps.* 64,4, CCL 39,826, where he identifies the strife of death with *delectationes carnales*. Here he also associates death with *holocaustum*. While death gives an end to *delectationes carnales*, with death, too, we are transported to a state where we shall burn with love like a whole offering. *De Vera Religione* 12,25.69, CSEL 77,19: here he seems to identify the strife of death with sin and its consequences. In *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 41,13, CCL 36,365, by associating verse 55 with Gal. 5,17, he conceives of the strife of death as the conflict between the flesh and the spirit in Pauline thinking. In *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 12,11, CCL 36,127, he imagines verse 55 as a song of victory in a similar way to that in *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20. *Sermo* 278,5, PL 38,1271; *Sermo* 141,2, PL 38,815. P. Sabatier, in *Vetus Latina* III, p. 272, in a note to verse 54, has commented that it is probable that Tertullian (c. 155 - after 200), Cyprian (c. 200-258), and Hilary of Poitiers (315-367), had read νεῖκος which means *jurgium* or *contentio* instead of νῆκος, which means *victoria*. The same thing, we suspect, must have happened in verse 55. We have personally read the referred works of the above-mentioned Fathers, and we found that Tertullian also uses *potentia*. Let us give here all the versions we have found: *De resurrectione Mortuorum* 47,13, CCL pars II,986: "Ubi est mors, aculeus tuus? Ubi est mors, contentio tua?"; *De Resurrectione Mortuorum* 51,6, CCL pars II,994: "devorata est mors in contentione. Ubi est mors, aculeus tuus? Ubi est, mors, potentia tua? Aculeus autem mortis deliquentia, virtus autem delinquentiae lex"; *De*

this verse, except in *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20 and in *Sermo* 233,4.5, where *victoria* is used twice in verse 55. Moreover, whenever he appeals to the verse and gives commentary on it, it is usually the version with *contentio* that he uses. He gives a commentary

resurrectione Mortuorum 54,5, CCL pars II,1001: "*Devoravit mors invalescendo, devorata est in contentionem. Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Ubi est, mors, contentio tua?*"; *Adversus Marcionem* 5,10.16, CCL pars I,695: "*Ubi est, mors, [victoria, ubi] contentio tua? Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus?*". The bracket sign [] indicates that the words *victoria, ubi* were added by the copyist: [] "*his uncinis includuntur ea vocabula quae etsi in codice comparent, a librario falso addita sunt* (see *Monitum*, CCL pars I,10). For reference in Cyprian, see *testimonia adversus Iudaeos* 3,58,763, PL 4,793. For reference in Hilary of Poitiers, see *De Trinitate* 11,35,396, PL 10,422. It is interesting to note that as far as we have seen Ambrose uses only *victoria* and never *contentio*. All these references, when combined, prove that before Augustine both versions, namely, the one with *contentio* or *potentia* and the other with *victoria*, were already known. It is possible that Augustine borrowed both versions from them and possibly may have been influenced also by them. In *Contra Julianum* 2,4.8 he makes reference to these Fathers, without mentioning Tertullian, although probably he also has him in mind and Gregory of Nazianzus: "*Ergo ad beatum redeamus Ambrosium. Etiam Pauli caro, inquit, corpus mortis erat, sicut ipse ait, 'Quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus?'* Ita intellexit Ambrosius, ita Cyprianus, ita Gregorius, ut de aliis interim taceam simili praeditis auctoritate doctoribus. Huic mortis dicitur in fine. *Ubi est, mors, contentio tua?*". PL 44,678. The version with *victoria* must have been known by Augustine through Ambrose. But we are curious to know why Augustine prefers *contentio* to *victoria*. Are the two words not coherent in meaning? Does the strife (*contentio*) of death not mean for him also the victory of death? We are inclined to believe that for him the two words are coherent in meaning. This seems to be shown in *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20, where he speaks of the victory of death as the dominion of death over everybody, even over the Son of God. In *Sermo* 163,7 although he uses *contentio*, he takes verse 55 as a song of victory (*Triumphantium vox est*) at the resurrection in contrast to Ps. 6:3,4, which he takes as a song of struggle (*Pugnantium vox est*). In *Sermo* 163,9 he speaks of verse 55 as a song of victory that will be sung only by those who are humble here in the present life. In *Sermo* 359,2 he comments on verse 55 as our joint victory with Christ who came to join us in suffering death: "*Dedit pretium se ipsum, et factus est Redemptor noster. Non enim sic se dedit pretium, ut nos inimicus dimitteret, et ipsum possideret. Dedit se morti, occidens mortem. Morte quippe sua mortem occidit, non morte occisus est; et morte occisa, liberavit nos a morte. Vivebat enim morientibus nobis mors, morietur viventibus nobis, quando ei dicitur, Ubi est, mors, contentio tua?*". PL 39,1591. In *Sermo* 233,4.5 he takes very clearly verses 53-55 as words of triumph over and of ridicule at death; here he uses the version with *victoria* twice. In *Sermo* 256,2 using the version with *contentio*, he thinks of verses 53-56 as a song of triumph over death, which will be a reason for singing the song of praise to God: Alleluia: "*Fratres mei, quando dicebat Apostolus corruptibile hoc, mortale hoc, quodam modo carnem sua voce tangebatur. Non ergo aliud. Non, inquit, pono corpus terrenum, et accipio corpus aereum, aut accipio corpus aethereum. Ipsum accipio, sed non iam mortis hujus. Quia oportet corruptibile, non aliud, sed hoc, induere incorruptionem; et mortale, sed hoc, induere immortalitatem. Tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est, Absorpta est mors in victoriam. Cantetur Alleluia. Tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est: qui sermo, non iam pugnantium, sed triumphantium: Absorpta est mors in victoriam. Cantetur Alleluia. Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus? Cantetur Alleluia. Aculeus autem mortis est peccatum (1 Cor. 15,53-56). Sed quaeres locum ejus, et non invenies (Ps. 36,10)*". PL 38,1192.

on this version in several works, but treats it most comprehensively in *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83,70, written in 396. Here he opines that by death, as used in verse 55, is meant the habit of the flesh (*carnalis consuetudo*) which resists good will by seeking to enjoy and to delight in temporal goods. And the strife (*contentio*) of death is the lust of the flesh against the spirit, as described in Galatians 5,17.

I think that by death in this passage is meant the habit of the flesh, which resists good will by its delight in enjoying temporal goods. For, "Death, where is your strife?" would not have been said if it did not resist and fight back. The strife of death is described in that passage: "The flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. For they resist and oppose each other, so that you are prevented from doing what you will to do" (Gal. 5,17)⁷¹.

In *Contra Julianum* 2,3.6 the words, "Death, where is your strife?" are conceived as a question addressed to a personified death. The question signifies the end of the discord between the spirit and the flesh.

"Where is your sting"? Augustine pictures the sting of death as the sting of a scorpion. When a scorpion stings a person, it injects poison into him⁷²). The sting of death is sin, and not the reverse. Sin is itself the poison which has been injected into our bodies such that death dominates over them. Our bodies are not just mortal, but they shall of necessity die⁷³).

"Where is your sting?", this is, sin, with which we have been punctured and poisoned such that you fixed yourself in our bodies and had dominion over them for a very long time?⁷⁴).

⁷¹) "Morte significari arbitror hoc loco carnalem consuetudinem, quae resistit bonae voluntati delectatione temporalium fruendorum. Non enim diceretur, *Ubi est, mors, contentio tua?* si non restitisset et repugnasset. Ipsius contentio etiam illo loco describitur: *Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, et spiritus adversus carnem. Haec enim invicem sibi resistunt et adversantur, ut non quae vultis illa faciatis* (Gal. 5,17)". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83,70, PL 40,79-80. See also *Sermo* 128,8.10, PL 38,718; *Sermo* 299,9, PL 38,1374-1375.

⁷²) "*Aculeus autem mortis est peccatum: cujus punctione facta est mors. Peccatum quasi scorpium est: pupugit nos, et mortui sumus*". *Sermo* 141, PL 38,818. See also *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20, CSEL 60,146. In *Epistula* 130,8.16, in connection with Luke 11,9-13 and Mt. 7,7-11, Augustine says that scorpions, because of their sting behind, symbolize what is contrary to hope.

⁷³) "Sicut etiam illud, *corpus quidem, inquit, mortuum est propter peccatum; nec ibi ait mortale, sed mortuum, quamvis utique et mortale, quia moriturum*". *De Genesi ad Litteram* 9,10, CSEL 28(1),278.

⁷⁴) "*Ubi est aculeus tuus? hoc est peccatum, quo puncti et venenati sumus, ut etiam in nostris corporibus fieres et ea tam longo saeculo possideres?*". *De Peccatorum Meritis*

In *De Civitate Dei* 20,15, in connection with Rom. 8,10: "The body is dead, to be sure, because of sin; but the spirit is life because we have been justified", Augustine expresses very clearly that although a human being is still alive and still in the bodily frame, there is already in him a body that is dead and a spirit which is alive. In *De Civitate Dei* 20,17, he goes on to say that the sting of death pricks the holiest of the holy even more. It pricked Paul, who felt deep sadness and continual grief in his heart for the Israelites (Rom. 9,2). It pricked John who cried out: "if we say that we are without sin, we are fooling ourselves and we are remote from the truth" (1 Jo. 1,8). It pricked the "citizens of Jerusalem" who put completely their hope in the Lord and prayed: "My tears have been my only food, day and night", and, "Every night I shall soak my bed and drench my couch with my tears", and "My groaning is not hidden from you", and "My sorrow was renewed" (Ps. 42,3; 6,6; 38,9; 39,2). This extends the meaning of "sting of death", which is sin, to genuine sorrow for the misfortunes and weakness of others and of oneself. And this genuine sorrow is even deeper in those who have a deeper desire for holiness.

But who could be so absurd and so crazed with a perverse argument, as to dare to maintain that in the midst of the troubles of this mortal state — I do not say holy people, but every individual saint, who either lives this life, or will live it, or has lived it, has no tears and sorrows in this life? Since the more holy someone is and the deeper is his or her holy desire, the more abundant are his or her tears in praying⁷⁵).

On another occasion, Augustine takes the whole of verse 55: "Death, where is your victory? Death, where is your sting?" both as a statement of triumph and as an insult from personified immortality to the personified death. But here we have to take note that Augustine uses the version with *victoria* and not that with *contentio*.

et Remissione 3,11,20, CSEL 60,147. See also *Sermo* 256,2, PL 38,1192; *De Gestis Pelagii* 30,55, CSEL 42,110.

⁷⁵) "Quis vero tam sit absurdus et obstinatissima contentione vesanus, qui audeat adfirmare in huius mortalitatis aerumnis, non dico populum sanctum, sed unumquemque sanctorum, qui hanc vel ducat vel ducturus sit vel duxerit vitam, nullas habentem lacrimas et dolores; cum potius quanto est quisque sanctior et diserii sancti plenior, tanto sit eius in orando fletus uberior?". *De Civitate Dei* 20,17, CSEL 40(2),467. See also *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 41,9, CCL 36,362.

Then death itself will be insulted, which will be swallowed up in victory at the resurrection of the body. Then will be said to it, "Death, where is your victory? Death, where is your sting?". This will, therefore, be said to death of the body. For victorious immortality will swallow this up, when this mortal is donned with immortality⁷⁶).

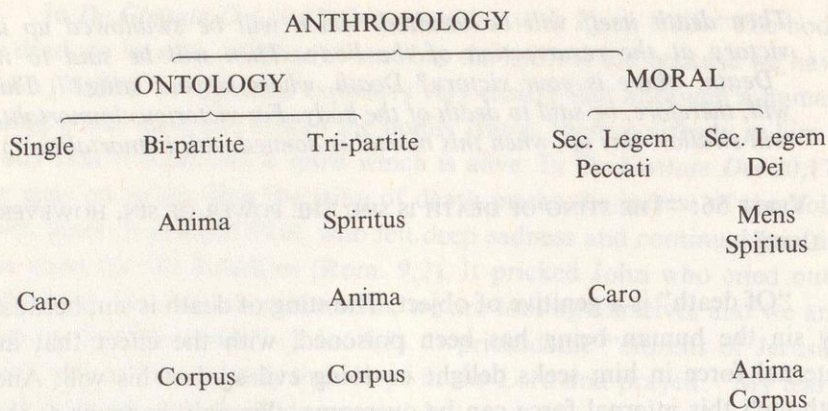
P. VERSE 56: "THE STING OF DEATH IS SIN; THE POWER OF SIN, HOWEVER, IS LAW"

"Of death" is a genitive of object. The sting of death is sin, because by sin the human being has been poisoned, with the effect that an internal force in him seeks delight in doing evil against his will. And although this internal force can be overcome, this only happens at the cost of much pain. With the presence of sin in man, and because of sin a delight in perversion constitutes itself the corruption (*defectus*) of the soul, this delight itself is called death. We see death, in this context, as having a "quasi-ontological" presence in a form of corruption, that is, in a deteriorated condition of the soul. Delight in perversion has become second nature to a deteriorated soul⁷⁷). We also see reflected here the range of Augustine's anthropology, which covers both ontological and moral considerations of man. At this stage, we would like to refer to an illustration of Augustine's anthropology which H.I. Marrou gives in *The resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*⁷⁸).

⁷⁶) "Tunc ipsi morti insultabitur, quae in victoriam resurrectione corporis absorbebitur. Tunc ei dicetur: *Ubi est, mors, victoria tua? Ubi est, mors, aculeus tuus?* Morti ergo corporis hoc dicetur. Hanc enim absorbebit victoriosa immortalitas, cum mortale hoc immortalitate induetur". *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 11,3,20, CSEL 60,147.

⁷⁷) See *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia* 2,34.57, CSEL 42,315: "unde illo magno primi hominis peccato natura ibi nostra in deterius commutata".

⁷⁸) H.I. MARROU, *The Resurrection and Saint Augustine's Theology of Human Values*, Villanova, 1966, p. 16. This work was later published in French in *Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes*, Paris, 1966, p. 111-136. the section on anthropology can be found on p. 121.



In order to be freed completely from the sting of death, man has to be saved in every respect of his whole self — see above the illustration. Meanwhile, there is always the danger of succumbing to one's proclivities. This is a psychological phenomenon which happens in human existence after the human ontological constitution has been ruptured by sin⁷⁹). In this condition law, which is made and enforced in order to direct human actions and to put them within the bounds of righteousness, becomes even the power of sin in those who intentionally abuse their freedom⁸⁰). Thus, the more a law prohibits, the more some delight in sin.

Therefore, "the sting of death is sin"; it is by sin that pleasure, which can already resist good will, is aroused, and it can be restrained but with pain. This pleasure we justly call death, because it exists as a lack (in defectu) in the soul, the condition of which has deteriorated. "The power of sin, however, is law" because in a much more shameful and flagitious manner deeds which the law prohibits are committed than when they were not prohibited by any law. Death will then have been absorbed in victory, when through the sanctification of man in every respect the carnal pleasures are overpowered by perfect pleasure in spiritual goods⁸¹).

⁷⁹) See *Sermo* 141,7, PL 38,818; *Sermo* 163,10, PL 38,894; *De Anima et ejus Origine* 4,22,36, PL 44,545: in connection with 1 Thes. 5,23, Job 7 (LXX), Rom. 7,25, Gal. 5,17.

⁸⁰) See *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 118, PL 40,287: in connection with Rom. 5,20, Gal. 5,17 and Rom. 1,17.

⁸¹) "*Ergo aculeus mortis peccatum est: quia peccato facta est delectatio, quae jam possit resistere bonae voluntati, et cum dolore cohiberi. Quam delectationem, quia in defectu est animae deterioris effectae, jure mortem vocamus. Virtus autem peccati lex est: quia multo sceleratius et flagitius quae lex prohibet committuntur, quam si nulla lege prohibentur. Tunc itaque absorpta erit mors in victoriam, cum per sanctificationem in*

With this text, we can say that for Augustine the sting of death extends to *delectio carnalis*. We already have then three concepts, which comprise the sting of death: (i) death or immortality of the body; (ii) sorrow, and; (iii) *delectatio carnalis* or *carnalis consuetudo* which is properly said of the strife of death which is manifested by the lust of the flesh against the spirit (Gal. 5,17).

Q. VERSE 57: "THANKS BE TO GOD WHO HAS GIVEN US VICTORY THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST"

In the *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20 Augustine gives three meanings to victory. First, in connection with verse 56 and with Romans 5,20: "The law entered that sin might abound", victory means grace overwhelming sin. Second, in connection with Gal. 3,22, it means the conquest of sin through faith in Jesus Christ. This connotes that, because of our union in faith with Jesus Christ, we establish union with God, from whom we draw strength, with which we conquer sin. Augustine may have also included the theology of Paul as expressed in the following verses of Galatians 3, namely, verses 23 to 26.

Now before faith came, we were confined under the law, kept under restraint until faith should be revealed. So that the law was our custodian until Christ came, that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith has come, we are no longer under a custodian; for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith.

And thirdly, victory means the overcoming of death or mortality of the body by resurrection to immortality, and the overcoming of the sting of death, which is sin or moral corruption, by justification through grace. The victory is given to us by God through Jesus Christ⁸². It does not come from our own power.

omni parte hominis perfecta delectatione spiritualium delectatio carnalis obruetur". *De Diversis Quaestionibus* 83,70, PL 40,80. See also *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum* 2,220, PL 45,1235.

⁸²) "*Aculeus autem mortis est peccatum, virtus vero peccati lex. Peccavimus in uno omnes, ut moreremur in uno omnes; Accepimus legem, non ut emendatione finiremus peccatum, sed ut transgressione augeremus. Lex enim subintravit, ut abundaret peccatum, et: conclusit scriptura omnia sub peccato: Sed Deo gratias, qui dedit nobis victoriam per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, ut, ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundaret gratia atque ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi daretur credentibus et vinceremus mortem per immortalem resurrectionem et aculeum eius peccatum per gratuitam iustificationem*". *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* 3,11.20, CSEL 60,148.

On the one hand since the sting of death is sin, the power, however, of sin is law, on the other hand it is from the providence of God that human beings be confined under sin and seek for divine help, seek God, and not be presumptuous of their own power. Therefore what he has said here: "For the sting of death is sin and the power of sin is law" (verse 56), what are you afraid of? what are you working for? what do you sweat for? Listen to what follows: "Thanks however to God who has given us victory through Jesus Christ" (verse 57). Do you really give yourself the victory? "Thanks be to God, who has given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ"⁸³).

In conclusion we may safely say that the three meanings of "victory" correspond to the three conquests over the three representations of the "sting of death", namely, conquest over death or mortality of the body (the swallowing up of death), conquest over sorrow, and conquest over *delectatio carnalis* or *consuetudo carnalis*. Victory is given us by God through Christ.

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⁸³) "Ergo quia aculeus mortis est peccatum, virtus autem peccati lex; et hoc de bona providentia Dei, ut concluderentur homines sub peccato, et quaererent adiutorem, quaererent gratiam, quaererent Deum, non de sua virtute praesumerent; ideo et hic cum dixisset, *Aculeus autem mortis peccatum, virtus autem peccati lex*: quid times? quid laboras? quid sudas? Audi quid sequitur: *Gratias autem Deo, qui dedit nobis victoriam per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*. Certe tu tibi das victoriam? *Gratias Deo, qui dedit nobis victoriam per Dominum nostrum Christum*". *Sermo* 163,11, PL 38,895.