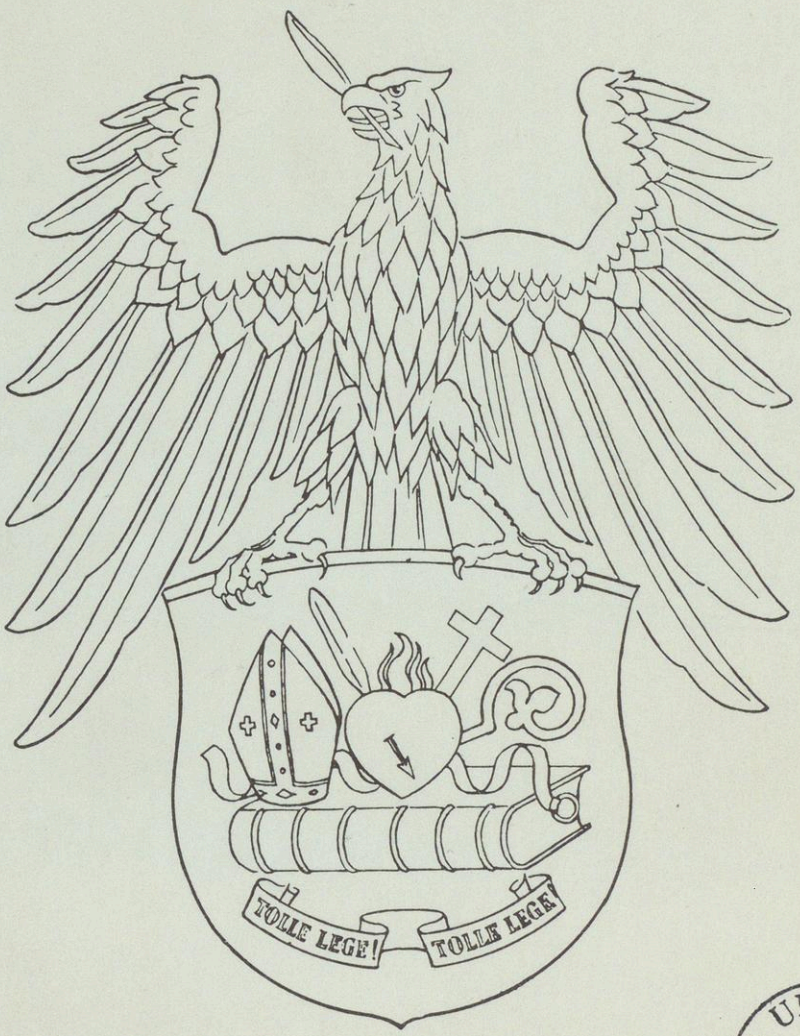
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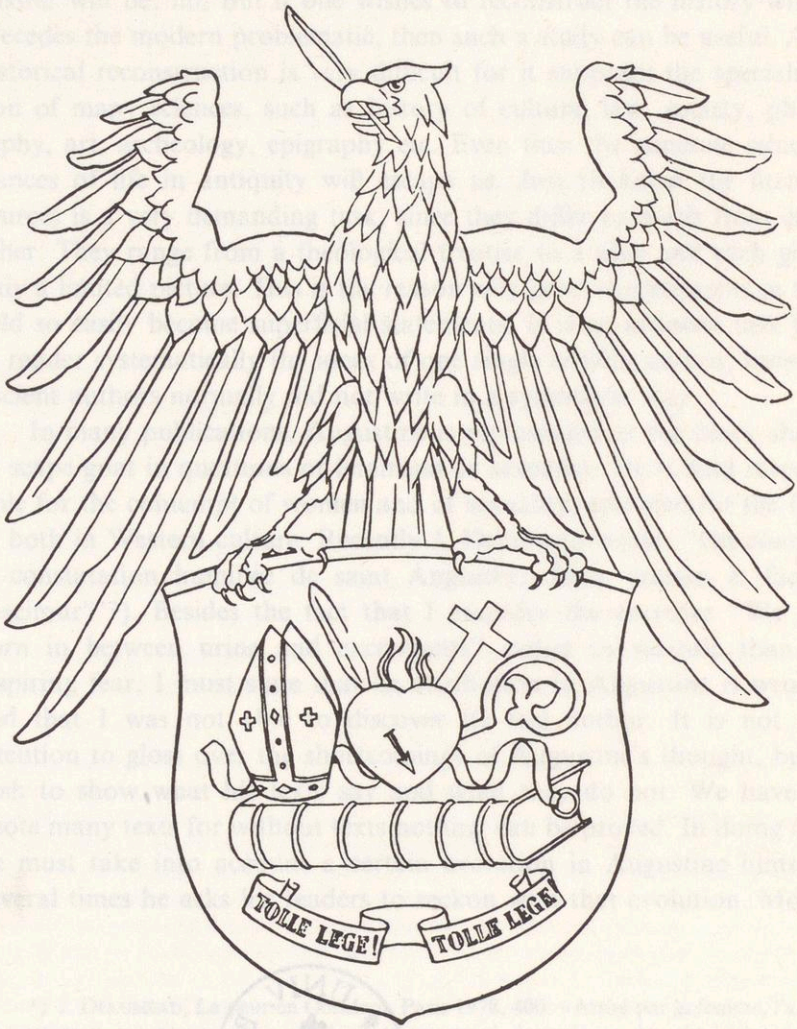
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Augustine's View on Women.

Is it meaningful to investigate the thought of an author who lived at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century regarding women? If one expects to find there an answer to modern questions, the answer will be: no. But if one wishes to reconstruct the history which precedes the modern problematic, then such a study can be useful. Any historical reconstruction is very difficult for it supposes the specialization of many sciences, such as history of culture, law, society, philosophy, art, archeology, epigraphy etc. Even then the concrete circumstances of life in antiquity will escape us. Just to know the literary sources is a very demanding task, since they differ so much from each other. They range from a theological treatise to a play and each gives only a limited picture. This is the reason why general statements in this field so easily become superficial statements. It is an arduous task just to render systematically the ideas of one single ancient author, because ancient authors normally did not write in a systematic way.

In many publications, Augustine is represented as the black sheep or scape-goat in questions of feminism or sexuality. He is held responsible for the contempt of women and of sexuality, and also for the fear of both in Western culture. Recently J. Delumeau wrote: "On connaît la constatation humiliée de saint Augustin: 'Inter urinam et faeces nascimur'"[1]). Besides the fact that I consider the sentence "We are born in between urine and excrements" rather as realistic than as inspiring fear, I must state that its attribution to Augustine is wrong, and that I was not able to discover its real author. It is not my intention to gloss over the shortcomings of Augustine's thought, but I wish to show what his texts say and what they do not. We have to quote many texts for without texts nothing can be proved. In doing this we must take into account a certain evolution in Augustine himself. Several times he asks his readers to reckon with that evolution. More-

[1]) J. DELUMEAU, La peur en Occident, Paris 1978, 400: «Attiré par la femme, l'autre sexe est tout autant repoussé par le flux menstruel, les odeurs, les sécrétions de sa partenaire, le liquide amniotique, les expulsions de l'accouchement. On connaît la constatation humiliée de saint Augustin 'Inter urinam et faeces nascimur'».

over, he does not wish that one follows him blindly, since he declares himself frightened by a sentence of Horace: "A word once spoken can never return (to the speaker)":

> "I do not wish that someone accepts all my opinions in such a way that he or she follows me blindly, except in those points where the reader has come to the conviction that I was not mistaken. This is the reason why I am now writing books (= the *Retractationes*) in which I revise my own works, in order to show that not even I myself have followed myself in all points. I think that — with the help of God's mercy — I have written books constantly making progress. But I did not start off in perfection, and to claim that I now, in my old age, write perfectly and without any error would be more a sign of conceit than of veracity"[2]).

The subordination of the weaker sex.

As a child of his time Augustine considered the woman as subordinate to the man. He adopted the prevailing idea of antiquity about the inferior condition of women in society. Valerius Maximus offers a good example of this inferiority:

> "The weakness of mind (*imbecillitas mentis*) and the refusal of their desire for hard work ought to admonish women that they should rally all their efforts to work studiously at self-formation"[3]).

As Augustine does always after his conversion, in the question of subordination of women, he bases himself primarily on the Bible, especially on 1 Peter 3:7: "Husbands, do honour to your wives as is due to the weaker vessel". In one of his early works, Augustine writes that the man is the more honourable (*honorabilior*) sex[4]). The use of

[2]) *De dono perseverantiae* 21,55. PL 45,1027-1028: «Quamvis neminem velim sic amplecti omnia mea, ut me sequatur, nisi in iis in quibus me non errasse perspexerit. Nam propterea nunc facio libros, in quibus opuscula mea retractanda suscepi, ut nec meipsum in omnibus me secutum fuisse demonstrem, sed proficienter me existimo Deo miserante scripsisse, non tamen a perfectione coepisse; quandoquidem arrogantius loquor quam verius, si vel nunc dico me ad perfectionem sine ullo errore scribendi jam in ista aetate venisse». *Epist.* 143,4. CSEL 44,254: «Sed angit me plane Horatiana sententia 'Nescit vox missa reverti'. Hinc est, quod periculosissimarum quaestionum libros de genesi et de trinitate diutius teneo».

[3]) VALERIUS MAXIMUS, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri* 9,1,3: «feminas ... imbecillitas mentis et graviorum operum negata affectatio omne studium ad curiosiorem sui cultum hortatur conferre».

[4]) *De div. quaest. 83*, q. 11. CCL 44A, 18: «Hominis autem liberatio in utroque sexu

this word is not frequent. On the other hand, he speaks always of the female sex as weaker, using various terms: *infirmior* (= physically weak), *imbecillior* (= in need of support), *fragilitas* (= frailty), *delicatior* (= having a delicate constitution)[5]). Speaking of the weaker sex, Augustine means in the first place physical weakness. He does so particularly in his sermons on the feast of female martyrs. The enemy supposed that Perpetua and Felicitas were not able to endure the hardness and cruelty of persecution because of the weakness of their sex, but he was seriously mistaken[6]).

Besides physical weakness Augustine seems to consider women intellectually inferior to men. In a work which he himself characterizes as sketchy annotations which should still be worked out, he writes:

> "There is a natural order among human beings: wives have to serve their husbands, and children their parents. Justice reigns there also, and that justice consists herein that the weaker intellect serves the stronger intellect. The person who prevails intellectually should have a greater dominance. This is a question of justice in all forms of dominance and servitude"[7]).

This is the only text in which Augustine asserts explicitly that women are intellectually inferior to men. Another text regarding this subject is written completely in the conditional mood:

> "Eve could have been on a lower intellectual level than Adam, and she could perhaps have lived still according to the corporeal senses... It may be that she had to receive the true knowledge of God through the guidance and the service of her husband"[8]).

debuit apparere. Ergo quia virum oportebat suscipere, qui sexus honorabilior est, consequens erat ut feminei sexus liberatio hinc appareret, quod ille vir de femina natus est».

[5]) Some of these expressions apply also to good-class men who never had to work hard: Augustine, *Praeceptum* 3,4 (ed. L. VERHEIJEN, La Règle de S. Augustin, Paris 1967, I, 422): «qui venerunt ex moribus delicatioribus».

[6]) *S.* 282,2,2. PL 38,1285: «... istae tantarum virtutum atque meritorum, non solum feminae, verum etiam mulieres fuerunt. Quarum altera et mater, ut ad infirmitatem sexus impatientior adderetur affectus, ut in omnibus eas hostis attentans, tanquam non valentes dura et crudela persecutionis onera sustinere, cessuras sibi continuo ... Sed illae interioris hominis cautissimo et fortissimo robore omnes ejus obtuderunt insidias».

[7]) *Quaest. in Hept.* I,153. CCL 33,59: «Est etiam ordo naturalis in hominibus, ut serviant feminae viris et filii parentibus, quia et illic haec iustitia est, ut infirmior ratio serviat fortiori. Haec igitur in dominationibus et servitutibus clara iustitia est, ut qui excellunt ratione, excellant dominatione».

[8]) *De Gen. ad Litt.* XI, 42(58). CSEL 28^1,377: «... mulier addita est, quae parvi intellectus esset et adhuc fortasse secundum sensum carnis, non secundum spiritum mentis

We see here that Augustine leaves the possibility of intellectual inferiority open, without making any categorical statement.

It is not easy to say whether Augustine considered women intellectually inferior to men yes or not. There are more arguments against than for such an inferiority. In one of his earliest writings, Augustine treats the same question of relationships between husband and wife with those between parents and children, but his answer differs from the above quoted text of the *Quaest. in Heptat.* The term domination is used only for the relationship between parents and children, whereas the relationship between husband and wife is described as "the man being the head of the wife through sincere love"[9]). In his letters and sermons, Augustine clearly considers women as intellectually equal to men. His theological works which are not always easy to understand, are destined to both sexes. Among the nineteen letters written to women, we find not only theological treatises, but also a request to Fabiola to help him in a thorny affair, and the offer made to a certain Maxima to make copies of all his works for her. We see his mother Monnica taking part in the philosophical dialogues at Cassiciacum. When she expresses substantially the same ideas as Cicero, her son praises her:

"Mother, you have attained the top of philosophy"[10]).

He esteems her mind (*mens*) perfectly capable of true philosophy. When she asks if it is becoming for women to participate in philosophical discussions, her son refers to the fact that in the past there were also female philosophers, and he adds that her philosophy pleases him very much[11]). Moreover, Augustine mentions the existence of convents for women where capable women take care of the moral formation of the sisters as well as of their intellectual formation through instruction

viveret ... fortassis illa hoc nondum perceperat, quod fit in agnitione dei et viro regente ac dispensante paulatim fuerat perceptura».

[9]) *De moribus eccl. cath.* I,30,63. PL 32,1336: «Tu feminas viris suis, non ad explendam libidinem, sed ad propagandam prolem et ad rei familiaris societatem, casta et fideli obedientia subjicis. Tu viros conjugibus, non ad illudendum imbecilliorem sexum, sed sinceri amoris legibus praeficis ... parentes filiis pia dominatione praeponis».

[10]) *De beata vita* 2,10. CCL 29,70-71: «Ipsam, inquam, prorsus, mater, arcem philosophiae tenuisti».

[11]) *De ordine* I,11,31. CCL 29,105: «Numquidnam in illis quos legitis libris etiam feminas umquam audivi in hoc genus disputationis inductas? ... Nam et feminae sunt apud veteres philosophatae et philosophia tua mihi plurimum placet». ib. II,1,1. ib. 106: «tanta mihi mens eius apparuerat, ut nihil aptius verae philosophiae videretur».

(*instruendis mentibus*)[12]). The most explicit text, however, is found in the *Confessions*:

> "In her mind regarding intellectual understanding, the woman certainly possesses a nature equal to that of the man"[13]).

In order to demonstrate that Augustine holds a lesser intellectual capacity for women, a number of scholars base themselves on texts in which Augustine elucidates certain oppositions within one and the same human mind. Augustine sets man over against woman as the mind over against the concupiscential faculty, as reason over against soul, as the leading mind over against rational action. They forget that all these texts have a figurative meaning, as we will see later. It is true that one can use a symbol only if it has some ground in reality. The crucial question is then: What is the ground of this figurative speech? According to me, the ground is not intellectual female inferiority, but rather the social inferiority of women.

Female subordination within marriage.

Augustine maintains always that woman as well as man is created by God. The female body is not created by some evil power:

> "God himself created the body and the soul of the women, the shape of the members of her body, all her interior organs and all her senses"[14]).

There is nothing in the female body that had to be shunned by Jesus Christ[15]). God created the woman as a helpmate equal to the man (Gen. 2,18). This help consists primarily in giving birth to children[16]).

[12]) *De moribus eccl. cath.* I,33,70. PL 32,1340: «... praesunt singulae gravissimae probatissimaeque, non tantum in instituendis componendisque moribus, sed etiam instruendis mentibus peritae ac paratae».

[13]) *Conf.* XIII,32,47. CCL 27,270: «... sic viro factam esse etiam corporaliter feminam, quae haberet quidem in mente rationalis intellegentiae parem naturam».

[14]) *De Gen. ad litt.* IX,15 (28). CSEL 28[1],288: «Certissime tamen dixerim... ipsiusque feminae corpus et animam conformationemque membrorum, omnia viscera, sensus omnes et quidquid erat, quo illa et creatura et homo et femina erat, nonnisi illo opere dei factum».

[15]) *S.* 51,2,3. PL 38,334: «Tu dicis, ad nascendum utquid elegerit feminam. Respondetur tibi: Imo ad nascendum cur fugeret feminam? Puta me non posse ostendere quid elegerit, ut de femina nasceretur; tu ostende quid fugere in femina debuit... Sed hoc nobis ostendit, ut scilicet in nullo sexu de se desperaret humana creatura».

[16]) *De Gen. ad litt.* IX,3 (6). CSEL 28[1],271: «Si autem quaeritur, ad quam rem fieri oportuit hoc adiutorium, nihil aliud probabiliter occurrit quam propter filios procreandos».

We may not be surprised that Augustine insists strongly on procreation. The first reason of this is his discussion with Manicheism which rejected radically procreation. The second reason is that in choosing procreation as the first meaning of the creation of man and woman, Augustine makes an end to his own hesitations. Before 410, he was not so sure that the creation of both sexes had a corporeal goal. He left the question open, and inclined to the opinion that the union of man and woman had possibly a spiritual character, namely the bringing forth of spiritual fruits, i.e. good works done in honour of God[17]). The following often-quoted text is to be read in that light:

> "If the woman were not created as a help for the man by giving birth to children, for which other kind of help should she then have been created? It was not to help the man in tilling the land, for there (= in paradise) was no labour which required help. If such a help were needed, the help of a man would have been more appropriate. The same can be said of consolation that one needs when loneliness depresses. If it is a question of living together and communication, then the living together of two friends would be preferable to that of man and woman. And if living together of two friends supposes that the one rules and the other obeys — otherwise discord of will can break the peace — even then it was possible to preserve the order within creation. One of the friends could have been created before the other, or the second could have been taken from the first man... If one rejects giving birth to children as the reason why woman was created, I do not see for which other help the woman was made for the man"[18]).

The tone of this text is very radical. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to draw conclusions from it too quickly. Elsewhere in his works, Augus-

[17]) *De Gen. c. Man.* II,11,15. PL 34,204: «... femina ... facta dicitur in adjutorium viri, ut copulatione spirituali spirituales fetus ederet, id est bona opera divinae laudis».

[18]) *De Gen. ad litt.* IX,5 (9). CSEL 28[1],273: «Aut si ad hoc adiutorium gignendi filios non est facta mulier viro, ad quod ergo adiutorium facta est? Si, quae simul operaretur terram, nondum erat labor, ut adiumento indigeret, et, si opus esset, melius adiutorium masculus fieret. Hoc et de solacio dici potest, si solitudinis fortasse taedebat. Quanto enim congruentius ad convivendum et conloquendum duo amici pariter quam vir et mulier habitarent? Quodsi oportebat alium iubendo, alium obsequendo pariter vivere, ne contrariae voluntates pacem cohabitantium perturbarent, nec ad hoc retinendum ordo defuisset, quo prior unus, alter posterior, maxime si posterior ex priore crearetur... Quapropter non invenio, ad quod adiutorium facta sit mulier viro, si pariendi causa subtrahitur». See P. Agaësse - A. Solignac, La femme, la sexualité et le mariage dans le De Genesi, in: Bibliothèque augustinienne 49 (Paris 1972) 516-530.

tine insists frequently on the consoling role of women and on friendship between married people.

We will speak later of friendship in marriage, and turn now to the question of consolation. Investigating why people choose to be married, Augustine states that marriage remains always a good, be it that some choose it as an obligation, others as a remedy of their infirmity on the sexual level, and still others as a consolation in human existence[19]). Very often, he impresses the bad example of Job's wife upon the faithful of Hippo: she failed seriously in her role of helpmate of her husband, for instead of consoling him in his suffering she incited him to rebell against God[20]). Man and woman have to be a source of consolation for one another even in the sexual domain by meeting one anothers sexual desires, so that fidelity among them may be preserved[21]). Consolation means also rest. Among the pleasures in human life which we enjoy licitly, Augustine enumerates: a man seeking rest in his house, in his family, with his wife and with his children[22]). If a husband has a good wife, he finds rest in her company; if he has a bad wife, he runs into the streets[23]).

The foregoing texts do not hold Augustine back from maintaining the subordination of the wife to her husband for this is the order of creation. A wife has to serve her husband. Female subordination has in the first place a corporeal character: the woman is according to her sex orientated to the man. Augustine bases himself on Gen. 3:16: "You shall direct yourself towards your husband, and he will lord it over you". The natural order is constituted by the order of creation:

> "There can be no doubt that the man shall lord it over the woman according to the natural order, rather than vice versa"[24]).

[19]) *De bono vid.* 8,11. CSEL 41,317: «Nuptiarum igitur bonum semper est quidem bonum; sed in populo dei fuit aliquando legis obsequium, nunc est infirmatis remedium, in quibusdam vero humanitatis solacium».

[20]) *En. 2 in ps.* 29,7. 55,20. 90, s. 1,2. 93.19. 103, s. 4,7. 132,5. CCL 38,179. 39,692-693. 1256. 1320. 40,1526. 1930. *In epist. Joh.* 6,7. PL 35,2023.

[21]) *S.* 51,13,22. PL 38, 345: «Caeterum qui uxoris carnem amplius appetit, quam praescribit limes ille, liberorum procreandorum causa ... Sed si non possunt (aliquando jam ista diximus), exigant debitum; non progrediantur ultra debitores suos. Et femina et vir infirmitatem suam in se consolentur».

[22]) *En. in ps.* 40,5. CCL 38,453: «... ad innocentem hominem veniamus; adquiescit in domo sua, in familia sua, in coniuge, in filiis».

[23]) *En. in ps.* 35,5. CCL 38,325: «Bonum est ut vel in domo sua requiem habeat. Si autem patitur foris inimicos, intus forte malam uxorem, procedit in publicum».

[24]) *De nupt. et concup.* I,9,10. CSEL 42,222: «Nec dubitari potest naturali ordine viros potius feminis quam viris feminas principari».

However, even within the natural order, Augustine makes a distinction between the situation before and after the Fall. In the original order of creation the woman was orientated towards the man, but this was an act of love, and love leaves no room for a domination which is a burden to the other. Burdensome domination is a consequence of the Fall. After the Fall something has changed, although the love command remained:

> "It is not fitting to believe that before the Fall the woman was created in such a way that the man should not lord it over her, and she had not to turn towards him by serving him. But the words of Gen. 3:16 can be rightly explained in the following sense: they evoke the idea of a service connected with a certain life situation (*condicio*) rather than that they evoke the idea of a service through love. This life situation can be compared with the service by which later human beings have become the slaves of other human beings, for that service is also a consequence of sin. The apostle says: 'Serve one another in love' (Gal. 5:13), but never he will say: 'Lord it over one another'. Therefore, married people are able to serve one another in love, but the apostle does not allow the woman to lord it over the man (1 Tim. 2:12). God's judgment adjudged rulership rather to the man. But the reason why the husband became the lord of the wife did not lie in her nature, but in her guilt"[25]).

We see here a radical maintenance of subordination of the woman. However, the distinction between *condicio* (= actual situation, condition, lot) and *natura* (= the original state of things) is not without some importance. Augustine is here probably influenced by Ambrosiaster who writes:

> "Because the woman as a person is inferior to the man as a result of a condition of life, not as a result of nature, she is subordinate to the man"[26]).

[25]) *De Gen. ad litt.* XI,37 (50). CSEL 28[1],372: «Neque enim et ante peccatum aliter factam fuisse decet credere mulierem, nisi ut vir ei dominaretur et ad eum ipsa serviendo converteretur. Sed recte accipi potest hanc servitutem significatam, quae cuiusdam condicionis est potius quam dilectionis, ut etiam ipsa talis servitus, qua homines hominibus postea servi esse coeperunt, de poena peccati reperiatur exorta. Dixit quidem apostolus: 'per caritatem servite invicem', sed nequaquam diceret 'invicem dominamini'. Possunt itaque coniuges per caritatem servire invicem; sed mulierem non permittit apostolus dominari in virum. Hoc enim viro potius sententia dei detulit et maritum habere dominum meruit mulieris non natura, sed culpa».

[26]) AMBROSIASTER, *Ad Ef.* 5,33. CSEL 81[3], 119: «Mulier autem, quia persona inferior est conditionis causa, non naturae, viro subiecta; timere autem eum iubetur».

Augustine's intention becomes more clear from his comparison with slavery: slavery is not natural; it is an unnatural situation due to the sinfulness of humanity, particularly by its bellicosity. God gave the human being dominance over animals, but not over other human beings:

> "A human being shall not dominate another human being... Nobody is the slave of a human being in virtue of the nature in which he has been created originally"[27]).

The modern reader expects now that Augustine will elaborate his distinction between nature and condition in the sense that the original order between man and woman should be restored by us. But unfortunately he does not do so. The social hierarchy caused by sin, which is in fact a disorder, is for him the real situation of life on earth, and this order ought to be respected:

> "Although the differences between nations, life situations and sexes are abolished by the unity of faith, yet these differences remain in existence within our mortal relationships with one another, because our body is still dead because of sin (Rom. 8:10). On our way through this life, we have to keep this order. The apostles too prescribe it: they gave salutary prescriptions how Jews and Greeks had to live with one another according to their national differences, how masters and slaves had to live according to the difference of their social situations, how men and women had to live according to the difference of their sex"[28]).

Elsewhere we read:

> "God submits the female to the male creature, the less powerful to the more powerful being, the more needy to the more rich person"[29]).

It is evident that such texts have become unacceptable in our day, for

[27]) *De civ. dei* XIX,15. CCL 48,682: «Rationalem factum ad imaginem suam noluit nisi inrationabilibus dominari, non hominem homini ... Nullus autem natura, in qua prius Deus hominem condidit, servus est hominis ...».

[28]) *Ep. ad Gal. exp.* 28. CSEL 84,93: «Tamen quia adhuc mortuum est corpus propter peccatum, differentia ista vel gentium vel conditionis vel sexus iam quidem ablata est ab unitate fidei, sed manet in conversatione mortali eiusque ordinem in huius vitae itinere servandum esse et apostoli praecipiunt, qui etiam regulas saluberrimas tradunt, quemadmodum secum vivant pro differentia gentis Iudaei et Graeci et pro differentia conditionis domini et servi et pro differentia sexus viri et uxores».

[29]) *De Gen. ad litt.* VIII,23 (44). CSEL 28^1,262: «... subdit primitus omnia sibi, deinde creaturam ... femineam masculinae, minus valentem valentiori, indigentiorem copiosiori».

they promote a status quo of social hierarchy. That is the negative side of these texts. But there is also a positive undertone, namely Augustine's refusal to consider the subordination of one human being to another as something natural, and his view of faith as the abolition of such subordinations. On precisely this point we find a difference of opinion between the Pelagian Julian of Eclanum and Augustine. Julian's thought has a more rationalistic character, and in that line he considered the subordination of women to men as totally natural according to Gen. 3:16. Augustine replies him:

> "Why do I need to discuss with you the question whether the domination of the man is to be considered as a punishment for the woman or whether it belongs to the order of nature? In creating the human being God did not mention this order, but He did so in punishing the human being. According to you, God would have spoken these words ... as a command, and not as a judgment"[30]).

What does the subordinate situation of woman contain? First that she as a servant (*ancilla*) has to serve and to obey her husband as lord (*dominus*)[31]). Augustine refers to the Paulinian text: "The man is the head of the woman" (1 Cor. 11:3 and Eph. 5:23) and also to 1 Peter 3:1.6: "Wives should be obedient to their husbands ... like Sarah, who was obedient to Abraham, and called him her lord".

The wife is not allowed to behave haughtily vis-à-vis her husband, but should follow the example of Christ and Mary who both were a model of humility[32]). In his *Confessions*, Augustine portrays his mother Monnica, by telling how she impressed upon her female friends who blamed their husbands' lives, that they had to consider the marriage-contract as an official record whereby they were made servants. But from the same passage it appears that Monnica did not submit herself slavishly to her husband, for when he was angry, she did not resist him; but when he was smoothed and tranquil, she gave an account of her actions[33]). These last words show a certain independence of Monnica

[30]) *C. Jul. o.i.* VI,26. PL 45,1566: «Quid opus est ut tecum inde confligam, utrum ista dominatio viri poena sit feminae an ordo naturae? Quem tamen ordinem non commemoravit Deus, quando condidit, sed quando punivit ... Prorsus Deus ... jubendo non damnando dixerit: 'Ad virum tuum conversio tua, et ipse tui dominabitur».

[31]) *S.* 332,4. PL 38,1463. *S.* 392,4,4. PL 39,1711-1712. In his letters, Augustine addresses also women as *domina*.

[32]) *S.* 51,11,18. PL 38,343.

[33]) *Conf.* IX,9,19. CCL 27,145: «Sed noverat haec non resistere irato viro, non tantum facto, sed ne verbo quidem. Iam vero refractum et quietum cum opportunum

vis-à-vis her own husband. Unfortunately, no specimen of a marriage-contract of that time has been preserved. From Augustine's texts, however, we can deduce that it contained at least two clauses, namely that procreation was the first goal of marriage and that wives had to be obedient to their husbands. The custom that the man had to buy a wife did not longer exist in Augustine's time, although some authors have drawn this (wrong) conclusion from a text in which Augustine sees the church as a servant ransomed by Christ in order to make her his wife[34]).

Obedience is not the only duty of the wife. She has also the task to keep the peace among people[35]). The peace between wife and husband is for Augustine an image of the Spirit of God who brings peace in the human heart. He describes marital peace as follows:

> "When two natures are in conflict with one another, then it is a difficult and dangerous job to restore the order. We would have a false peace, if the man were submitted to a domineering woman. The right order exists there where the woman is submitted to the man as master, with the following difference however: man and woman do not have a different nature, for the woman is made out of the man"[36]).

Moral superiority of women.

In theory it should be so that the man as head of the woman surpasses her by his example of a morally good life. He should be the

viderat, rationem facti sui reddebat, si forte ille inconsideratius commotus fuerat. Denique ... inter amica conloquia illae arguebant maritorum vitam, haec earum linguam, veluti per iocum graviter admonens, ex quo illas tabulas, quae matrimoniales vocantur, recitari audissent, tamquam instrumenta, quibus ancillae factae essent, deputare debuisse».

[34]) *S.* 37,6,7. CCL 41,454: «Ipsa enim quamquam mater familias, tamen ancilla se esse non dedignatur. Attendat pretium suum, diligat dominum suum ... tabulas matrimoniales instrumenta emptionis suae deputat».

[35]) *C. Faust.* XXII,31. CSEL 25[1],625: «Ut cum in ceteris actibus ad humanam pacem pertinentibus mulier viro debeat servitutem, huius unius rei, qua sexus utriusque ... carnali conmixtione concernitur, similem in se habeant potestatem vir in uxorem et uxor in virum».

[36]) *En. in ps.* 143,6. CCL 40,2077: «Non enim contraria natura contra aliam naturam pugnat, sed tamquam in domo maritus et uxor. Si adversus se dissentiant, molestus et periculosus labor; si maritus vincatur et uxor dominetur, pax perversa; si autem uxor marito dominanti subiciatur, pax recta; non tamen aliud ex alia natura, quia ex homine facta mulier viro».

leader and she the companion (*comes*) on their journey towards God[37]). Augustine interprets in this sense 1 Cor. 11:7: "The woman is man's glory"[38]). But from his experience as a bishop, he knows all too well that mostly men are not the spiritual leaders of their wives, and that it is women who carry their husbands to a higher moral life. He does not shrink away from lecturing men and to incur their rage:

> "Some one will say: 'She is not a whore, but she is my concubine. — You who are saying this, do you have a wife? — Yes, I have. — In that case, whether you will or not, she is a whore. If you have a wife and you have at the same time sexual intercourse with another woman, go, and tell her that the bishop has insulted you. Whosoever she may be, she is a whore"[39]).

The bishop finds comfort in the words of Gal. 4:16: "Telling you the truth has made me your enemy":

> "If it is necessary, I prefer being your enemy to being an enemy of justice. I impress on your wives to guard you. They are my daughters just as you are my sons... I do not wish that Christian women have patience with their adulterous husbands and remain indifferent in such a situation... One orders a woman to tolerate her adulterous husband. But what kind of justice is this? I ask you: Why? Why? You answer: Because I am a man. But are you truly a man? Then prove it by your strength. Conquer your lust (*libido*). Where is your masculinity if your wife is stronger than you?"[40]).

Although Augustine mentions sometimes the moral weakness of both sexes, he adresses his reproaches particularly to men. They feel themselves superior and think that they can do with impunity all that they

[37]) *De coni. adult.* II,8,7. CSEL 41,389: «Christianis equidem loquor, qui fideliter audiunt 'Caput mulieris vir', ubi se agnoscunt duces, illas autem comites esse debere».

[38]) *De cat. rud.* 18,29. CCL 46,154: «Fecit illi etiam adiutorium feminam ... ut haberet et vir gloriam de femina, cum ei praeiret ad deum, seque illi praeberet imitandum in sanctitate atque pietate».

[39]) *S.* 224,3,3. ed. LAMBOT, *Rev. Bén.* 79(1969)203: «Dicere habet nescio quis: 'Sed meretrix non est, concubina mea est'. Habes uxorem, qui hoc dicis? Habeo. Illa ergo, velis nolis, meretrix est. Vade, et dic quia iniuriam tibi fecit episcopus, si habes uxorem, et alia tecum dormit. Quaecumque illa est, meretrix est». *S.* 9,4. CCL 41,113: «Timeo ne ego ipse adversarius sim quibusdam quia haec loquor. Quid ad me pertinet? Fortem me faciat qui terret ut loquar».

[40]) *S.* 392,4,4-5,5. PL 39,1711-1712: «Si necesse est ut inimicus sim vobis, melius vobis opto esse quam justitiae. Commendo vos custodiendos etiam uxoribus vestris. Filiae meae sunt, sicut et vos filii mei estis... Nolo talem patientiam habeant christianae mulieres; prorsus zelent viros suos... Et imperatur feminae ut ferat adulterum virum! O justitia! Quare, rogo te? Quare? Quia ego sum vir. Vir es? In fortitudine tua probemus, quia vir es. Vir es? Vince libidinem. Quomodo vir, quo uxor est fortior?».

want, whereas they are unreasonably exacting vis-à-vis their wives. They excuse themselves by saying that their body makes fidelity impossible, as if "women do not have a body or do not experience the passionate ardour of youth"[41]). Nevertheless, women show a greater self-control and conjugal fidelity:

> "It is deplorable that many husbands are surpassed by their wives. Wives remain chaste and men do not even want to be chaste... The wife struggles and conquers (her passions)... Man, go to school to her in order to learn that a chaste life is possible, for a woman is able to be chaste"[42]).

The male's pretension "I am unable to be chaste" is in Augustine's eyes something criminal and discriminating. A woman can be chaste; does she not have a body?[43]). Therefore, because of their higher moral dignity women possess masculine qualities:

> "There is also something masculine in women, by which they are able to subject their feminine lust, to serve Christ and to control their concupiscence"[44]).

Augustine praises the masculine mind (*virilis animus*) and the strength of mind (*virtus mentis*) of the martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas, and he finds that men would do better to follow these women than to admire them[45])

The conclusions from the so far quoted texts are:

1) Augustine maintains strongly the social and physical subordination of women.

[41]) *De coni. adult.* II,20,21. CSEL 41,408: «Neque enim carnem non habent feminae ... Quin immo cum a feminis utique habentibus carnem tantam flagitant castitatem, ut, quando ab uxoribus diutissime peregrinantur, velint eas ab adulterino concubitu incontaminatas fervorem transigere iuventutis». Augustine does not agree with Julian who wishes to deny the presence of libido in women: *C. Jul.* V,23. PL 44,798.

[42]) *S.* 132, 2,2. PL 38,735: «Et tamen quod dolendum est, multi viri a feminis vincuntur. Servant feminae castitatem, quam viri servare nolunt... Femina pugnat, et vincit... Quia vero illa potest, doceat te quia fieri potest».

[43]) *S.* 9,12. CCL 41,130: «Scelus est ut vir dicat: 'Non possum'. Quod femina potest, vir non potest? Quid enim, illa carnem non portat?».

[44]) *De vera rel.* 41,78. CCL 32,239: «Hoc et feminis praecipi potest non maritali, sed fraterno iure, quo iure in Christo nec masculus nec femina sumus. Habent enim et illae virile quiddam, unde femineas subiugent voluptates, unde Christo serviant et imperent cupiditati».

[45]) *S.* 280,1,1. PL 38,1281: «Quid enim gloriosius his feminis, quas viri mirantur facilius quam imitantur? ... secundum interiorem hominem, nec masculus, nec femina inveniuntur; ut etiam in his quae sunt feminae corpore, virtus mentis sexum carnis abscondat».

2) It is very questionable, however, whether he assumes also an intellectual inferiority of women.
3) His appreciation of the moral superiority of women is incontestable.

Especially this last point shows that it is incorrect to say that Augustine depicts women as the great seducers. Although Eve was seduced first by the snake, this does not mean that Adam was less guilty than she was[46]). Some authors refer here to the following text:

> "In every woman, whether it be in a wife or in a mother, one should shun Eve"[47]),

but they forget to mention the context of these words. They appear in a letter in which Augustine protests against an excessive mother-fixation. A "possessive" mother does not give to her son the freedom to follow his own vocation. The son has to show thankfulness and love for his mother, but he should not allow to be seduced by her. Also men are accused of seduction by Augustine. He distributes fairly the roles of the paradise story over both sexes:

> "When the wife seduces her husband to an evil action, she is for him an Eve. When the husband seduces his wife to an evil action, he is for her a devil. Either she is for him an Eve, or he is for her a snake"[48]).

Woman as the image of God.

> "In many respects animals surpass us, human beings, but not in intellect, in which we are created in the image of God"[49]).

All human beings, even the most wicked slave[50]), are images of God in

[46]) *De civ. dei* XIV,11 (2). CCL 48,433: «... nec ideo minus reus, si sciens prudensque peccavit. Unde et apostolus non ait: 'Non peccavit', sed: 'Non est seductus'».

[47]) *Epist.* 243,10. CSEL 57,577: «Sed (mater) non vult sequi? Non impediat. Non vult converti in melius? Cave, ne in deterius pervertat et evertat. Quid interest, utrum in uxore an in matre, dum tamen Eva in qualibet muliere caveatur?».

[48]) *En. in ps.* 93,20. CCL 39,1321-1322: «Quare non facis quod faciunt et alii? ... Et hoc forte non in platea tibi dicit amicus, sed in domo uxor, aut forte maritus uxori fideli bonae et sanctae, deceptor ipsius. Si mulier marito, Eva est illi; si vir uxori, diabolus est illi; aut ipsa tibi Eva est, aut tu illi serpens es».

[49]) *En. in ps.* 54,3. CCL 39,657: «Porro autem, carissimi, meminisse debemus ad imaginem Dei nos esse factos, nec alibi quam in ipso intellectu. Nam in multis rebus a bestiis superamur; ubi autem homo ad imaginem Dei factum se novit, ibi aliquid in se agnoscit amplius esse quam datum est pecoribus».

[50]) *En. in ps.* 96,12. CCL 39,1364: «Quando irasceris nequissimo servo tuo, hoc nomen illi imponis: 'Satanas, diabole'; hoc illi dicis. Fortasse in hoc erras, quia homini hoc dicis, et immoderata ira raperis ad conviciandam imaginem Dei».

virtue of their rational mind through which they are capable of distinguishing good from evil, justice from injustice, truth from falsehood[51]). The image of God is not situated in the body; it is something interior, there where faith, hope and love reside[52]). Man and woman do not differ in the spiritual character of their common human nature, but they differ bodily:

> "In the original situation of the human being, the woman also possessed her own mind, and certainly this mind was rational, because she too was a human being. She too was created in the image of God because of her mind. In view of the unity of the alliance (between man and woman) Holy Scripture declares: 'God created the human being (*homo*) in the image of God' (Gen. 1:27)"[53]).

Some years earlier Augustine wrote:

> "Which person somewhat instructed in the Catholic doctrine, does not know that it is in the body that some are male and some female, not in the highest aspect of the mind (*spiritus mentis*)[54]) in which we are renewed after the image of God (Eph. 4:23)? Elsewhere the apostle teaches once more that God is the maker of both sexes, saying: 'Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord. For as the woman is of the man, so is the man by the woman. But all things are of God' (1 Cor. 11:11-12)"[55]).

[51]) *En. 2 in ps.* 29,2. CCL 38,176: «Quia intellegit et sapit, quia discernit bonum a malo; in hoc factus est ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei». *En. in ps.* 42,6. CCL 39,479: «Ergo intellegimus habere nos aliquid ubi imago Dei est, mentem scilicet atque rationem... Ipsa est qua capimus iustum et iniustum; ipsa est qua discernimus verum a falso».

[52]) *En. in ps.* 48, s. 2,11. CCL 39,574: «Imago Dei intus est, non est in corpore ... ubi est fides, ubi est spes vestra, ubi caritas vestra, ibi habet Deus imaginem suam».

[53]) *De Gen. ad litt.* III,22(34). CSEL 28[1],89: «... sic et in ipsa prima conditione hominis secundum id, quod et femina homo erat, habebat utique mentem suam eandemque rationalem, secundum quam ipsa quoque facta est ad imaginem dei. Sed propter unitatem coniunctionis, fecit deus, inquit, hominem ad imaginem dei. Ac ne quisquam putaret solum spiritum hominis factum, quamvis secundum solum spiritum fieret ad imaginem dei, fecit illum, inquit, masculum et feminam, ut iam etiam corpus factum intellegatur».

[54]) For Augustine *spiritus* is a general term, and *mens* a further specification of the human mind; the expression *spiritus mentis* indicates the most spiritual aspect of the human being. See P. AGAËSSE, Anima, animus, mens, spiritus, in: Bibliothèque augustinienne 16 (Paris 1955) 581-583, and: 'Spiritus' dans le livre XII du De Genesi, in: Bibliothèque augustinienne 49 (Paris 1972) 559-566.

[55]) *C. Faust.* XXIV,2. CSEL 25[1],723-724: «Nam quis catholica veritate instructus ignorat secundum corpus esse alios homines masculos, alias feminas, non secundum spiritum mentis, in quo renovamur secundum imaginem dei? Verumtamen quia utrumque

We mentioned already Augustine's statement in the *Confessions* that the woman by nature possesses a mind equal to that of the man[56]). Referring to Eph. 4:23-24: "You must be renewed in the highest aspect of your mind, and you must put on the new human being that has been created after God", Augustine comments:

> "What? Do women not possess this renewal of the mind in which the image of God resides? No. Who can contend something like that?"[57]).

As long as Augustine sticks to the text of Genesis, he has no difficulty to maintain the image of God for women. But problems arise when he has to explain 1 Cor. 11:7: "A man, however, should not cover his head, since he is the image and the glory of God; but woman is man's glory".

Why does Paul call only the man image of God, and not the woman also? As usual Augustine tries to do justice to both Scriptural texts, and to reconcile them. He bases himself on Gen. as an incontestable affirmation that human nature, which is but complete in both sexes, has been made in the image of God, and that one cannot exclude woman, when the question is to understand the image of God. How then can Paul mention man alone as the image of God?[58]). Augustine solves this problem by stating that Paul uses figurative speech (*figura* = a rhetorical technical term: a figure of speech which contains allusions to another reality)[59]). Something that takes place on a bodily level (*in corpore*),

deus fecit, rursum idem apostolus testis est, ubi dicit: 'Neque mulier sine viro neque vir sine muliere in domino; sicut enim mulier ex viro, ita et vir per mulierem; omnia autem ex deo».

[56]) *Conf.* XIII,32,47. CCL 27,270. See note 13.

[57]) *De opere monach.* 32,40. CSEL 41,594: «'Renovamini autem spiritu mentis vestrae et induite novum hominem, eum qui secundum deum creatus est'. Quid ergo? Mulieres non habent hanc innovationem mentis, ubi est imago dei? Quis hoc dixerit?».

[58]) *De Trin.* XII,7,10. CCL 50,364: «Sed videndum est quomodo non sit contrarium quod dicit apostolus non mulierem sed virum esse imaginem dei huic quod scriptum est in genesi: 'Fecit deus hominem ad imaginem dei; fecit eum masculum et feminam; fecit eos et benedixit eos'. Ad imaginem quippe dei naturam ipsam humanam factam dicit quae sexu utroque completur, nec ab intellegenda imagine dei separat feminam». See my article: Woman as the image of God in Augustine's De Trinitate XII, in: Signum Pietatis. Festgabe für C.P. Mayer OSA zum 60. Geburtstag. Herausg. von A. ZUMKELLER. Würzburg 1989, 267-288.

[59]) *De util. cred.* 3,5. CSEL 25[1],8: «Secundum allegoriam (ergo traditur), cum docetur non ad litteram esse accipienda quaedam, quae scripta sunt, sed figurate intellegenda». *De doctr. christ.* III,5,9. CCL 32,82: «... cavendum est, ne figuratam

such as the covering of the head, alludes to something that takes place on a spiritual level (*in mente*). The latter level is to be found in the human mind, where we discover distinct activities or aspects: one activity consists in giving guidance, and the other in being guided. Only woman can symbolize the aspect of being guided, for she is sexually subordinate to the man. That a symbol is at stake, follows clearly from the fact that both activities are found in every human mind, in that of a man as well as in that of a woman. Man and woman have the task to keep the right order of the mind, i.e. not to allow that the lower activity domineers over the higher one.

In his oldest interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:7, Augustine starts from the tripartition: mind-soul-body. The mind has to lead the soul (= *pars animalis*, the general life-principle). The woman is an example of this reality, since she is subordinate to the man. Even in this early text, Augustine cautions that the control of the mind over the soul must take place in every human being[60]). We find the same reasoning in a subsequent text. After having stated that also woman is the image of God, Augustine declares that because of her bodily sexual characteristics she signifies the concupiscential aspect of the human being[61]), which must be subordinate to the mind:

locutionem ad litteram accipias». See E. AUERBACH, Figura, in: Archivum Romanicum 22(1938) 437-489. C.P. MAYER, Die Zeichen in der geistigen Entwicklung und in der Theologie Augustins II, Würzburg 1974, 338: «Wir haben also im Grunde genommen nur zwei Weisen der Textinterpretation bei Augustin, eine eigentliche (*proprie*) oder wörtliche (*ad litteram*) und eine übertragene (*figurate*) oder geistige (*ad spiritum*)». Suzanne POQUE, Le langage symbolique dans la prédication d'Augustin d'Hippone I, Paris 1984, p. XVIII: «'Image' désigne un rapport, mais aussi témoigne d'un écart, avec le réel concerné ... Cependant une fonction pleinement symbolique est assumée par l'image linguistique, en ce qu'elle est présentation de deux réalités différentes, qu'unit entre elles une relation parfois étroite, parfois ténue ...».

[60]) *De Gen. c. Man.* II,11,15-12,16. PL 34,204-205: «... virilis ratio subjugaret sibi animalem partem suam, per quod adjutorium imperaret corpori. Ad hujus rei exemplum femina facta est, quam rerum ordo subjugat viro; ut quod in duobus hominibus evidentius apparet, id est in masculo et femina, etiam in uno homine considerari possit: ut appetitum animae ... habeat mens interior tanquam virilis ratio subjugatum ... Ipsa enim cognitio, qua intelligitur in nobis aliud esse quod ratione dominetur, aliud quod rationi obtemperet; ipsa ergo cognitio veluti effectio mulieris est de costa viri, propter conjunctionem significandam».

[61]) See G. BONNER, Libido and concupiscentia in St. Augustine, in: Studia Patristica VI (ed. F.L. Cross), Berlin 1962, 303-314. *Concupiscentia* and *cupiditas* do not have always a negative meaning in Augustine: *En. in ps.* 118, s. 8,3. CCL 40, 1687: «multa alia reperiuntur bonae concupiscentiae testimonia». *C. duas epist. Pelag.* II,17 and 21. CSEL 60,479 and 482: «bona cupiditas».

> "That what mind and concupiscence are in one single human being, where the first has to give guidance and the second has to be guided, the first has to dominate and the second has to be submitted, is symbolized in two human persons, man and woman"[62]).

Later texts show an evolution in Augustine. The woman is no longer called a symbol of the soul or of concupiscence. Now he considers her as a symbol of an activity within the human mind itself. I think that the reason of this evolution is the fact that the former comparisons (with soul and concupiscence) can easily lead to misunderstanding, since they do not express sufficiently the natural equality between man and woman. Men and women possess the same intellectual nature, as we have seen in the *Confessions*. But even there, he says that because of her sex woman is subject to the man in like manner (*quemadmodum*) as the appetite of acting receives the skill of right-doing from the highest aspect of the mind. Something new is here in that rational activity forms part of the mind itself, be it as subordinate to a still higher intellectual activity, as (*tanquam*) the woman is subordinate to the man[63]). The terms *quemadmodum* and *tanquam* indicate clearly a comparison, and nothing more.

In his great commentary on Genesis, Augustine specifies further the different mental activities: on the one hand we have the contemplation of eternal truth, and on the other hand the administration of temporal reality. Augustine calls the explanation of 1 Cor. 11:7 based

[62]) *De opere monach.* 32,40. CSEL 41,593-594: «... ubi non est masculus neque femina et non intellegunt secundum carnalis sexus concupiscentiam hoc esse dictum, quia in interiore homine, ubi renovamur in novitate mentis nostrae, nullus sexus huius modi est... Illud ergo, quod de non velando capite viris praecipitur, in corpore quidem figuratur, sed in mente agitur, ubi est imago et gloria dei... Renovamini autem spiritu mentis vestrae et induite novum hominem, eum qui secundum deum creatus est. Quid ergo? Mulieres non habent hanc innovationem mentis, ubi est imago dei? Quis hoc dixerit? Sed corporis sui sexu non eam significant; propterea velari iubentur. Illam quippe significant partem eo ipso, quo mulieres sunt, quae concupiscentialis dici potest, cui mens dominatur, etiam ipsa subdita deo suo, quando rectissime et ordinatissime vivitur. Quod ergo est in uno homine mens et concupiscentia — illa regit, haec regitur; illa dominatur, haec subditur — hoc in duobus hominibus, viro et muliere, secundum sexum corporis figuratur».

[63]) *Conf.* XIII,32,47 and 34,49. CCL 27,270-272: «Et quemadmodum in eius anima aliud est, quod consulendo dominatur, aliud, quod subditur ut obtemperet, sic viro factam esse etiam corporaliter feminam, quae haberet quidem in mente rationalis intellegentiae parem naturam, sexu tamen corporis ita masculino sexui subiceretur, quemadmodum subicitur appetitus actionis ad concipiendam de ratione mentis recte agendi sollertiam ... mentem ... renovasti ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam praestantique intellectui rationabilem actionem tamquam viro feminam subdidisti».

upon this distinction of mental activities a very subtle one. Moreover, he thinks that the foresaid subdivision of mental activities does not do justice to the idea of the image of God, for a human being is image of God only in the most spiritual activity of the mind, i.e. in the contemplation of divine truth. Therefore Augustine cautions: it is true that Paul calls only the man image of God, but he does this merely "as a *figura* of this reality (= the subordination of the mental activities)". And he continues: although two persons are used as symbols, the point is the duality within the mind of every person, since everybody's mind possesses the capacity of contemplation and action. Thus woman is not excluded from the image of God, for

> "the woman also has to be renewed in the highest aspect of the mind unto the knowledge of God after the image of Him who created her (Col. 3:10)"[64]).

We see in this text that Augustine keeps a certain critical distance regarding this explanation of 1 Cor. 11:7 which he describes rather as the opinion of others[65]).

In *De Trinitate*, however, he adopts it as his personal opinion. One passage in that book has given much offence and is sometimes qualified as a "disastrous interpretation":

> "(The book Genesis) says that human nature itself, which is complete in both sexes, has been made after the image of God, and

[64]) *De Gen. ad litt.* III,22(34). CSEL 28¹,88-89: «Licet enim subtilissime disseratur ipsam mentem hominis, in qua factus est ad imaginem dei, quandam scilicet rationalem vitam, distribui in aeternae contemplationis veritatem et in rerum temporalium administrationem, atque ita fieri quasi masculum et feminam illa parte consulente, hac obtemperante; in hac tamen distributione non recte dicitur imago dei, nisi illud, quod inhaeret contemplandae incommutabili veritati. In cuius rei figura Paulus apostolus virum tantum dicit imaginem et gloriam dei ... Itaque quamvis hoc in duobus hominibus diversi sexus exterius secundum corpus figuratum sit, quod etiam in una hominis interius mente intellegitur, tamen et femina, quia corpore femina est, renovatur etiam ipsa in spiritu mentis suae in agnitionem dei secundum imaginem eius, qui creavit, ubi non est masculus et femina. Sicut enim ab hac gratia renovationis et reformatione imaginis dei non separantur feminae, quamvis in sexu corporis earum aliud figuratum sit, secundum quod vir solus dicitur esse imago ... dei, sic... et femina ... quoque facta est ad imaginem dei». ib. XI,42,58. ib. 377: «Sic enim ait: 'Vir quidem non debet velare caput, cum sit imago et gloria dei; mulier autem gloria viri est', non quo mens feminae eandem imaginem capere non possit, cum in illa gratia nos dicat nec masculum esse nec feminam».

[65]) *De Gen. ad litt.* VI,7(12). CSEL 28¹,178: «... sexus ipse masculi et feminae nisi in corporibus esse non potest. Quod si quisquam secundum intellectum et actionem tamquam utrumque sexum in una anima accipiendum putaverit...».

it does not exclude woman from being understood as the image of God... How then did the apostle declare that man is the image of God, and consequently is forbidden to cover his head, whereas a woman is not, and on this account is commanded to cover hers (1 Cor. 11:7)? The solution, I think, lies in that which I already said when discussing the nature of the human mind: the woman together with the man is the image of God, so that the whole substance (= the whole human nature, man and woman) is one image. But when one distributes functions and she is assigned as a helpmate, a function which pertains to her alone, she is not the image of God. However what pertains to man alone, he is the image of God just as fully and completely as he is joined with the woman into one. We have said the same regarding the nature of the human mind: if as a whole it contemplates the truth, it is the image of God. But when something of the mind is detached and a part of its attention is diverted to the handling of temporal things, it is not the image of God. Nevertheless that part which consults the truth is the image of God, but that other part, which is directed to the handling of inferior things, is not the image of God... Rational action ... ought to have a power over its head, and this is indicated by the veil which signifies that action ought to be kept in check"[66]).

If one reads this text isolated from its context, it would be possible to draw the conclusion that the woman is the image of God only together with the man, but not by herself personally as Rosemary Ruether does indeed: "Woman, by herself, is not this image, but only when taken together with the male, who is her 'head'"[67]). Has Augustine

[66]) *De Trin.* XII,7,10. CCL 50,364: «Ad imaginem quippe dei naturam ipsam humanam factam dicit (in genesi) quae sexu utroque completur, nec ab intellegenda imagine dei separat feminam... Quomodo ergo per apostolum audivimus virum esse imaginem dei unde caput velare prohibetur, mulierem autem non et ideo ipsa hoc facere iubetur nisi, credo, illud esse quod iam dixi cum de natura humanae mentis agerem, mulierem cum viro suo esse imaginem dei ut una imago sit tota illa substantia; cum autem ad adiutorium distribuitur, quod ad eam ipsam solam attinet non est imago dei; quod autem ad virum solum attinet imago dei est tam plena atque integra quam in unum coniuncta muliere? Sicut de natura humanae mentis diximus quia et si tota contempletur veritatem, imago dei est, et cum ex ea distribuitur aliquid et quadam intentione derivatur ad actionem rerum temporalium, nihilominus ex qua parte conspectam consulit veritatem imago dei est; ex qua vero intenditur in agenda inferiora non est imago dei... Quia vero illi rationali actioni quae in rebus corporalibus temporalibusque versatur periculosa est nimia in inferiora progressio, debet habere potestatem super caput, quod indicat velamentum quo significatur esse cohibenda». See also P. AGAËSSE - A. SOLIGNAC, La doctrine augustinienne de l'image et la tradition patristique, and: L'âme image de Dieu, in: Bibliothèque augustinienne 48 (Paris 1972) 622-633.

[67]) Rosemary RUETHER, Religion and Sexism, New York 1974, 156: «Inexplicably, Augustine must also affirm that Eve, too, has a rational nature, being likewise a

abandoned his symbolic interpretation, and did he adopt a realistic one? I do not think so. The difference between this and other Augustinian texts is that Augustine, in paragraph 10, does not explicitly mention that this interpretation is to be understood in a symbolic sense, but does so only later on in paragraphs 11 and 12:

> "Paul speaks in a figurative and mystical sense about the obligation for a woman to veil her head. His words would have no meaning at all, unless they refer to some hidden mystery (*secretum sacramenti*). For as not only true reason, but also the authority of the apostle declares that the human being was not made after the image of God according to the form of the body ... or according to any part of the soul, but according to the rational mind where the knowledge of God can reside... According to this renewal (mentioned in Eph. 4:23-24 and Col. 3:9-10) we also become the children of God through the baptism of Christ... Who, then, would exclude women from this fellowship, since they are with us co-heirs of grace?... 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3:28). Have believing women, therefore, lost their bodily sex? No. But they are renewed after the image of God there where is no sex... But because the woman differs from the man by her bodily sex, she can in conformity with religious custom symbolize by her corporeal veil ... that the image of God does not remain except in that part of the human mind in which it clings to the contemplation and inspiration of the eternal values (*rationes*). And, as is evident, not only men but also women possess this capacity"[68]).

compound of spirit and body. Yet in relation to man she stands for body vis-à-vis male spirit. Moreover, Augustine persists in calling this latter her 'nature', not only with a view to sin but in the order of nature as well. Augustine defines the male as, alone, the full image of God. Woman, by herself, is not this image, but only when taken together with the male, who is her 'head'». For a more differentiated approach see Kari BØRRESEN, Imago Dei, privilège masculin? Interprétation augustinienne et pseudo-augustinienne de Gen. 1,27 et 1 Cor. 11,7, in: *Augustinianum* 25 (1985) 213-234.

[68]) *De Trin.* XII,7, 11-12. CCL 50,366-367: «... apostolus ... ideo figurate ac mystice quia de velando muliebri capite loquebatur, quod nisi ad aliquod secretum sacramenti referatur inane remanebit... Sicut enim non solum veracissima ratio sed etiam ipsius apostoli declarat auctoritas, non secundum formam corporis... neque secundum quamlibet animi partem sed secundum rationalem mentem ubi potest esse agnitio dei hominem factum ad imaginem eius qui creavit eum. Secundum hanc autem renovationem efficimur etiam filii dei per baptismum Christi ... Quis est ergo qui ab hoc consortio feminas alienet cum sint nobiscum gratiae cohaeredes...' non est iudaeus neque graecus, non est servus neque liber, non est masculus et femina; omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu'? Numquidnam igitur fideles feminae sexum corporis amiserunt? ... ibi renovantur ad imaginem dei ubi sexus nullus est... Sed quia sexu corporis distat a viro,

The last sentence puts beyond doubt that man and woman equally are the image of God. It shows also that neither the man nor the woman is the image of God on account of the body or the sex. Moreover, the woman is here not taken together with the man, but she is considered as an individual person. This being so, how should we interpret Augustine's statement:

> "Taken together with the man, the woman is the image of God ... as a helpmate for the man she is not the image of God"?

In other words, why can a man fully symbolize the image of God, and a woman cannot? The answer is to be sought in the fact that the image of God consists in the highest activity of the mind, i.e. in the contemplation of the divine, and this climax of human life is incompatible with subordination. One cannot impose limits to the contemplation of the divine, for it is God-oriented, and there is no authority above God. On the contrary, the part of the mind which is diverted to the government of temporal actions needs an authority over it, otherwise it could be absorbed by inferior realities. This subordination within the mind (present in every single human being) can be symbolized by man and woman, since woman is socially subordinate to man according to Augustine. The guiding man and the guided woman are symbols of the hierarchical order which reigns between contemplation and action. This is the figurative sense mentioned again and again by Augustine. The mistake made by many modern authors is that they confuse the symbolic and the realistic levels. Augustine does not deny that the woman personally and realistically is the image of God. This is confirmed by two other passages of the same book:

> "This discussion ... must only be listened to ... in order to understand that the apostle ... intended something (= the tension between contemplation and action) to be sought in each individual human being"[69]),

and:

rite potuit in eius corporali velamento figurari pars illa rationis quae ad temporalia gubernanda deflectitur ut non maneat imago dei nisi ex qua parte mens hominis aeternis rationibus conspiciendis vel consulendis adhaerescit, quam non solum masculos sed etiam feminas habere manifestum est».

[69]) *De Trin.* XII,12,19. CCL 50,373: «... quamvis in diverso sexu duorum hominum aliquid tamen significare voluisse quod in uno homine quaereretur».

> "Therefore, in their minds (= of man and woman) a common nature is recognized"[70]).

Another important idea occurs in *De Trinitate*. Augustine refuses to compare woman with sensory activity:

> "It does not escape me that some eminent defenders of the Catholic faith before me ... asserted that the man was the mind, but that the woman was the bodily sense".

He rejects this view on account of Gen. 2:20 which says that woman is created as a helpmate "equal to the man". Bodily sense does not express this equality, for it is common to us and the beasts. Augustine prefers something that transcends the animal level, namely the human mind. Woman is the symbol of something within the human mind. A second reason for the rejection of this opinion is that the serpent is a much more appropriate symbol of bodily sense, since Gen. 3:1 tells us that the serpent is the most crafty of all the beasts[71]).

From an analysis of *De Trinitate* book XII it appears clearly that Augustine considers woman as a symbol of the active aspect of the mind on account of her subordination to the man. Although his conception of social female subordination is no longer acceptable for us today, his description of the active aspect of the mind is neither something banal nor is it so denigrating for women as we may think. The most important human activities are science (*scientia*) and wisdom (*sapientia*). Science however is subordinate to wisdom. Wisdom is directed to the contemplation of the divine, while science — without which life on earth becomes impossible — is directed to the good use of this world. Science is needed to acquire the virtues of prudence, fortitude, temperance and justice. There is no morally good life without these virtues. Consequently, rational knowledge of temporal realities is very valuable, and its importance increases if one takes into account

[70]) *De Trin.* XII,8,13. CCL 50,367: «Ergo in eorum mentibus communis natura cognoscitur».

[71]) *De Trin.* XII,13,20. CCL 50,373: «Nec me fugit quosdam qui fuerunt ante nos egregii defensores catholicae fidei... in homine uno... virum mentem, mulierem vero dixisse corporis sensum... In omnibus bestiis et volatilibus scriptum est non esse inventum viro adiutorium simile illi et tunc est ei mulier facta de latere. Propter quod ego non putavi pro muliere sensum corporis esse ponendum... sensumque corporis magis pro serpente intellegendum existimavi». Augustine has here in mind AMBROSE, *De parad.* 2,11-3,12 and 15,37. CSEL 32[1], 271-272 and 331.

that only few people are capable to attain the highest form of contemplation. Woman is the symbol of this science[72]).

A last remark regarding Augustine's interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:7 is that we may not take it too rigidly, for he himself relativizes it:

> "Whether Paul's words are explained in this, or that, or in some other way ... one thing is clear: our mind has to be formed progressively by God's eternity, truth and love"[73]).

And more explicitly in the following text:

> "The words 'He created them male and female' are immediately followed by this statement: 'And God blessed them, saying: Increase and multiply, and fill the earth and hold sway over it'. It is true that we can quite properly give this a spiritual meaning. However, we cannot interpret 'male' and 'female' as something similar to that which we find also in one human being, since there is in the individual a ruling element and a ruled one. But as it is evident from their sexual difference, man and woman are created so as to increase and to multiply by begetting children... When the Lord was asked whether it was permitted to dismiss a wife for any cause whatever (Mt. 19:3) ... his reply had nothing to do with the mind which commands and the body which obeys, or the rational soul which rules and the irrational concupiscence which is ruled, or the contemplative virtue which is preeminent and the active virtue which is subject to it, or the intellectual power of the mind and the body's senses. The Lord's answer explicitly concerned the marriage bond which binds the two sexes to one another"[74]).

[72]) *De Trin.* XII,13,21-15,25. CCL 50,374-380. See also *De Trin.* XIII, 19,24. CCL 50[a],415-417: «Si ita inter se distant haec duo ut sapientia divinis, scientia humanis attributa sit rebus, utrumque agnosco in Christo... Scientia ergo nostra Christus est, sapientia quoque nostra idem Christus est... Nec ista duo sic accipiamus quasi non liceat dicere vel istam sapientiam quae in rebus humanis est vel illam scientiam quae in divinis». G. MADEC, Christus, scientia et sapientia nostra. Le principe de cohérence de la doctrine augustinienne, in: *Recherches augustiniennes* 10 (1975) 77-85.

[73]) *De Trin.* XII,13,21. CCL 50,374: «Sed sive isto sive illo sive aliquo alio modo accipiendum sit quod apostolus virum dixit imaginem et gloriam dei, mulierem autem gloriam viri, apparet tamen cum secundum deum vivimus, mentem nostram in invisibilia eius intentam ex eius aeternitate, veritate, caritate proficienter debere formari».

[74]) *De civ. dei* XIV,22. CCL 48,444: «Nam cum scriptura dixisset: 'masculum et feminam fecit eos', continuo subdidit: 'Et benedixit eos Deus dicens: Crescite et multiplicamini et implete terram et dominamini eius' et cetera. Quae omnia quamquam non inconvenienter possint etiam ad intellectum spiritalem referri, masculum tamen et feminam non sicut simile aliquid etiam in homine uno intellegi potest, quia videlicet in eo aliud est quod regit, aliud quod regitur; sed sicut evidentissime apparet in diversi sexus corporibus, masculum et feminam ita creatos, ut prolem generando crescerent... Neque enim de spiritu qui imperat et carne quae obtemperat, aut de animo rationali qui regit et

A final argument why we should not attach a realistic significance to the male as a symbol of the mind's contemplative activity, is the fact that Augustine refers also to women as symbols of contemplative life. Mary and Rachel are for him archetypes of contemplation, in opposition to Martha and Lia who designate active life[75]).

My conclusion is that Augustine never denied women the dignity of the image of God, and this not only on the level of grace (there is neither man nor woman in Christ), but also on the level of creation (the woman possesses the same rational mind as the man). Therefore, he did not shrink from attributing female symbols to God:

> "(The psalmist) made God father; he made God also mother. God is father because He created, because He calls, because He commands, because He governs. God is mother, because God cherishes, because God nourishes, because God suckles, because God embraces[76]).

The female sex is no defect, but nature.

We find some ancient authors who assumed that after all the woman had to be a man. One supposes that they were influenced by Gnosticism or Neoplatonism[77]). But it is also possible that this opinion goes back to Aristotle who considered "the female as an imperfectly developed male" (in the middle ages this became: *mas occasionatus*). According to Aristotle both the male and the female are principles of the process of procreation, in which the male is the forming principle and the woman procures the material elements. The menstruation blood possesses only the nutritive soul, whereas the male seed is constituting the soul invested with apperception and sensitivity. Conse-

inrationali cupiditate quae regitur, aut de virtute contemplativa quae excellit et de activa quae subditur, aut de intellectu mentis et sensu corporis, sed aperte de vinculo coniugali, quo invicem sibi uterque sexus obstringitur». Cf. *De contin.* 9,23. CSEL 41,169: «Sicut ecclesia, inquit, subdita est Christo, ita et mulieres viris suis in omnibus... Nec tamen mulier a corpore vel carne accepit exemplum, ut ita esset subdita viro, sicut spiritui caro».

[75]) Anne-Marie LA BONNARDIÈRE, Les deux vies. Marthe et Marie, in: Saint Augustin et la Bible, Paris 1986, 411-425.

[76]) *En. 2 in ps.* 26,18. CCL 38,164: «Ipsum fecit patrem, ipsum fecit matrem. Pater est, quia condidit, quia vocat, quia iubet, quia regit; mater, quia fovet, quia nutrit, quia lactat, quia continet». On this point, I disagree with F.K. MAYR, Trinität und Familie in De Trinitate XII, in: *Revue des Etudes augustiniennes* 18 (1972) 51-85, p. 65.

[77]) H.-I. MARROU - A.-M. LA BONNARDIÈRE, Le dogme de la résurrection des corps et la théologie des valeurs humaines selon l'enseignement de saint Augustin, in: *Revue des Etudes augustiniennes* 12 (1966) 111-136, p. 128. K. THRAEDE, Frau, in: Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum 8, 242-243.

quently, there is something lacking in the female principle. Aristotle calls this a lack of "warmth", not warmth in a physical sense, but in a pneumatic sense[78]).

Other authors refer to the acts of the martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas, in which the following vision of Perpetua is told:

> At that moment, an Egyptian with a repugnant appearance came to me. He should fight against me together with his henchmen... One stripped my clothes off, and see I was changed into a man"[79]).

Some consider this text as echoing Gnosticism; others believe that it is an anti-Gnostic allusion to Eph. 4:13: "We become the perfect Man, unto the mature age of Christ's fulness"[80]). This latter interpretation is strongly defended by Augustine. He radically rejects any literal interpretation of Perpetua's being changed into a man. Her fight was not a bodily but a spiritual one. Moreover, one should distinguish a real body from the phantasm of a body as reproduced in our memory or in a dream:

> "I have also to say something to you about the accounts of martyr's visions, because you have thought it proper to use their testimony (in favour of your opinion that the soul is something bodily). Saint Perpetua, for example, seemed to herself in a dream wrestling with an Egyptian, after having been changed into a man. Now, who can doubt that it was her soul in that apparent bodily form, and not her physical body, which of course remained in its own female sex and lay on the bed with her senses steeped in sleep, while her soul was struggling in the similitude of a man's body?... Was that likeness a veritable body?... If it were a real body, why did it not preserve the form of its vagina? For in that female body no male genitals were found"[81]).

[78]) ARISTOTELES, De generatione animalium 736b-737a, ed. A.L. PECK, Aristotle generation of Animals (The Loeb Classical Library) London 1963, 170-175, and Introduction, XXXVIII-LXX.

[79]) *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, ed. C.J. VAN BEEK, Nijmegen 1936, 26.

[80]) E. CORSINI, Proposte per una lettura della 'Passio Perpetuae', in: Forma Futuri, Studi in onore del card. M. Pellegrino, Torino 1975, 481-541, p. 507.

[81]) *De nat. et orig. an.* IV,18,26. CSEL 60,405-406: «De conscriptis visionibus martyrum dicendum tibi est aliquid, quoniam tu etiam inde testimonium adhibendum putasti. Nempe sancta Perpetua visa sibi est in somnis cum quodam Aegyptio in virum conversa luctari. Quis autem dubitet in illa similitudine corporis animam eius fuisse, non corpus, quod utique in suo femineo sexu manens sopitis sensibus iacebat in stratis, quando anima eius in illa virilis corporis similitudine luctabatur? Quid hic dicis? Verumne erat corpus illa viri similitudo an non erat corpus...? Si corpus erat, cur non servabat vaginae suae formam? Neque enim in illius feminae carne virilia repererat genitalia».

In other texts, Augustine explains the vision of Perpetua always in the sense of becoming conformed to Christ (Eph. 4:13) through martyrdom[82]). In the same line lies Augustine's refusal of the opinion of some of his predecessors who held that at the resurrection women will be changed into men:

> "Because of these sayings 'Until we reach the perfect Man, the stature of the full maturity of Christ' (Eph. 4:13) and 'Being shaped into the likeness of God's Son' (Rom. 8:29), some people suppose that women will not keep their sex at the resurrection. According to them, all will possess the male sex, since God made the man out of clay, but the woman out of man. For my part, I think that they who do not doubt the resurrection of both sexes, have a deeper understanding. To be sure, there will be no sexual lust in that life... All defects will be removed from our bodies, but their nature will be preserved. Now, a woman's sex is not a defect; it is nature. This nature, however, will be free of intercourse and childbirth. The female organs will be there, be it no longer subserving their former use. They will be part of a new beauty... The Lord himself expressly stated that the female sex will be there, when He said 'They are not married', referring to women, and 'They do not marry wives', referring to men (Mt. 22:30)... When Paul says that we all will 'attain the perfect Man' ... nothing prevents us from supposing that the mention of 'man' implies 'woman' also. 'Man' is here used for 'human being', just as the verse 'Blessed is the man who fears the Lord' (Ps. 112:1) obviously includes the women who fear Him"[83]).

[82]) *S.* 281,2,2. PL 38,1284: «... sibi beata Perpetua de se ipsa revelatum esse narravit, virum se factam certasse cum diabolo. Illo quippe certamine in virum perfectum etiam ipsa currebat, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi».

[83]) *De civ. dei* XXII,17-18. CCL 48,835-837: «Nonnulli propter hoc, quod dictum est: 'Donec occuramus omnes in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi' et 'Conformes imaginis filii Dei', nec in sexu femineo resurrecturas feminas credunt, sed in virili omnes aiunt, quoniam Deus solum virum fecit ex limo, feminam ex viro. Sed mihi melius sapere videntur, qui utrumque sexum resurrecturum esse non dubitant. Non enim libido ibi erit... Corporibus ergo illis vitia detrahentur, natura servabitur. Non est autem vitium sexus femineus, sed natura, quae tunc quidem et a concubitu et a partu immunis erit; erunt tamen membra feminea, non adcommodata usui veteri, sed decori novo... Et cum locus esset, ut diceret (Iesus): 'De qua enim me interrogatis, vir erit etiam ipsa, non mulier', non hoc dixit, sed dixit: 'In resurrectione enim neque nubent neque uxores ducent, sed sunt sicut angeli Dei in caelo' ... Nuptias ergo Dominus futuras esse negavit in resurrectione, non feminas... 'In mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi'... Verum si hoc ad resurrectionis formam, in qua erit unusquisque, referendum esset, quid nos impediret nominato viro intellegere et feminam, ut virum pro homine positum acciperemus? Sicut in eo quod dictum est 'Beatus vir qui timet Dominum', utique ibi sunt et feminae, quae timent Dominum». Cf. *S.* 243,6,6. PL 38,1146.

Rosemary Ruether interprets this text in an anti-feminist sense: "The sexual organs of women will be transformed in some mysterious way". Her interpretation is partial, for Augustine does not say that the female organs as such will be transformed or loose their beauty, but only that at the resurrection libido and procreation will no longer have a function. And this does not apply to women alone, but to men as well[84]).

Even after death, there will be a relationship between soul and body[85]). Consequently, a relationship between husband and wife will remain in our risen state. Augustine states in an early work: If I ask a good Christian if he wishes to live together with his wife in the Kingdom of Heaven, he will passionately reply: Yes, of course, I do. In this text, he speaks also of an "angelic transformation", but later he retracts this expression, because he finds it misleading: human beings will never change into angels[86]). Augustine reproaches a certain Cornelius, who consorts with a host of whores, on the pretext of sorrow at the death of his wife, not to love her sincerely:

> "For if you were loving her truly, you would wish to be with her after death"[87]).

And to the widow Italica the bishop of Hippo writes that we do not loose our deceased; on the contrary, we will know them better after the resurrection, and therefore they will be even more dear to us; we will love them without any fear to become ever separated from one another[88]).

[84]) Rosemary RUETHER, Sexism and God-Talk, London 1983, 249: «... humans will rise in male and female bodies. The sexual organs of women will be transformed in some mysterious way, however, so they will no longer excite lust or be fitted to childbearing... Thus the female is allowed into the Christian Heaven only by having the specifically female parts of her body 'transformed' from their old 'uses' in sex and childbearing to 'a new beauty'».

[85]) *De civ. dei* XIII,19-20. CCL 48,401-404. See A. ZUMKELLER, Aurelius Augustinus Schriften gegen die Pelagianer III, Würzburg 1977, 509-510.

[86]) *De serm. Dom. in monte* I,15,41. CCL 35,45. *Retract.* I,17. CCL 57,53: «Sed quisquis ea sic accipit, ut existimat ita corpus terrenum, quale nunc habemus, in corpus caeleste resurrectione mutari, ut nec membra ista nec carnis sit futura substantia, procul dubio corrigendus est». Cf. ib. I,19,5. ib. 57-58.

[87]) *Epist.* 259,5. CSEL 57,615: «Nam utique, si amares, cum illa esse post mortem desiderares, quo profecto non eris, si, qualis es, talis eris».

[88]) *Epist.* 92,1. CSEL 34²,437: «... quosdam nostros migrantes non amisimus, sed praemisimus, ad eam vitam esse venturos, ubi nobis erunt quanto notiores tanto utique cariores et sine timore ullius discessionis amabiles».

Equal conjugal rights, but unjust laws.

It is not possible to expose fully Augustine's conception of marriage in this article, but some aspects of it are important for our subject. Augustine has defended always that marriage is something good, especially against Manicheism.

> "Married life is praiseworthy and it has its own place within the Body of Christ"[89]).

Marriage also is to be considered as a vocation[90]). Augustine writes:

> "That which food means for the well-being of the human person, sexual intercourse means for the well-being of humanity, and both are not without bodily delectation"[91]).

However, sexuality is not an unambiguous good in Augustine's eyes. It is also a redoutable and powerful force. He renders this force with the term libido, which is not to be confused with delectation. It is not easy to translate the word "libido": approximately it means "blind lust". Libido does not form part of the opposition between body and mind; it is not to be equated with the body, for libido lays hold of the whole person. It has to do with the sinful brokenness which is present in every human being, and results or manifests itself in moral disorder.

> "One rightly defines libido as follows: it is a carving of the soul for temporal realities, which are preferred to eternal goods"[92]).

Therefore, libido can affect all areas of life:

> "There are many different *libidines*. Some have a proper name, others are nameless",

such as the libido of intemperance, of vengeance, of covetousness, of stubbornness, of conceit, of domination. But according to Augustine, nowhere is the disorder as great and fundamental as in sexual excita-

[89]) *S.* 354,4,4. PL 39,1564: «Est enim conjugalis vita laudabilis, et habet in corpore Christi locum suum». Cf. E. SCHMITT, Le mariage chrétien dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin, Paris 1983.

[90]) *S.* 304,3,2. PL 38,1396: «Habet, habet, fratres, habet hortus ille dominicus, non solum rosas martyrum, sed et lilia virginum, et conjugatorum hederas... Prorsus, dilectissimi, nullum genus hominum de sua vocatione desperet: pro omnibus passus est Christus».

[91]) *De bono coni.* 16,18. CSEL 41,210: «Quod enim est cibus ad salutem hominis, hoc est concubitus ad salutem generis, et utrumque non est sine delectatione carnali».

[92]) *De mendacio* 7,10. CSEL 41,428: «Etenim libido quoque ipsa recte definitur adpetitus animi, quo aeternis bonis quaelibet temporalia praeponuntur».

tion, which escapes radically the control of the will. This disorder (be it not this alone) is a consequence of sin, which was and still is disobedience to God[93]). A husband can be guilty towards his own wife by immoderate desire, passional violence, or egoistic love of pleasure[94]). Libido in itself is not a sin, but is called sin in a broader sense, namely as a consequence of sin or as a possible cause of sin[95]). Human craving has to be subordinate to a higher goal, or in other words: it should be in control. Within marriage, that goal is procreation. Within the limits of procreation, sexual intercourse out of libido involves no guilt. Sexual intercourse with one's own partner merely out of libido, is for Augustine a venial sin. His argumentation is based upon an one-sided interpretation of 1 Cor. 7:6: "This is a concession (*secundum veniam*), not a command". The word *venia* can be translated as "concession", but also as "remission (of sin)". Augustine adopts only the latter translation. Venial sin or guilt, however, should not be exaggerated in this case. Augustine mentions intercourse merely out of libido in the same breath as a harsh word, some coarseness in associating with one another, or an uncontrollable fit of laughter. Such sins are remitted by giving alms or by praying the Our Father[96]). But Augustine never regarded the disharmony of libido as something "natural", although — during the Pelagian controversy about the year 420 — he admits for the first time the possibility of libido in paradise, be it as subordinate to reason and will[97]).

[93]) *De civ. dei* XIV,15-16. CCL 48,438: «Est igitur libido ulciscendi, quae ira dicitur; est libido habendi pecuniam, quae avaritia; est libido quomodocumque vincendi, quae pervicacia; est libido gloriandi, quae iactantia nuncupatur. Sunt multae variaeque libidines, quarum nonnullae habent etiam vocabula propria, quaedam vero non habent. Quis enim facile dixerit, quid vocetur libido dominandi...? Cum igitur sint multarum libidines rerum, tamen, cum libido dicitur neque cuius rei libido sit additur, non fere adsolet animo occurrere nisi illa, qua obscenae partes corporis excitantur».

[94]) *C. Jul.* II,7,20. PL 44,687: «Quid ergo de Ambrosio judicabis, qui intemperantem in conjugio adulterum quemdam appellat uxoris?».

[95]) *De nupt. et conc.* I,23,25. CSEL 42,238: «... modo quodam loquendi peccatum vocatur, quod et peccato facta est et peccatum, si vicerit, facit... cum iam in regeneratis non sit ipsa peccatum...».

[96]) *S.* 9,18. CCL 41,143-144: «Illa dico quotidiana peccata ... verbum durum, aut cum labitur aliquis in risum immoderatum... Quando tu uti uxore amplius quam necessitas procreandorum liberorum cogit volueris, iam peccatum est. Et ipsa talia peccata quotidianae elemosinae mundant».

[97]) *De nupt. et conc.* II,35,59. CSEL 42,318: «Hinc si forte erubuerit et dixerit tantam pacem felicitatis illius tantumque ordinem in his rebus esse potuisse, ut numquam carnis concupiscentia voluntatem illorum hominum praeveniret... hoc si dicit, saltem considerat nunc in hominibus non esse quod dicit. Et si non vult concedere vitium esse libidinem, dicat saltem per illorum hominum inoboedientiam etiam ipsam vitiatam esse carnis concupiscentiam».

The first duty of husband and wife is to live together in harmony. Therefore, they have to satisfy one another's normal and healthy sexual wishes, even without the intention of procreation. Sexual intercourse is a protection of marriage in Augustine's eyes. In the line of Paul's statement

> "The wife has no rights over her own body, but the husband has them; in the same way, the husband has no rights over his own body; the wife has them" (1 Cor. 7:4),

Augustine defends the equal right to sexual intercourse of husband and wife:

> "While in all other matters belonging to social peace, the wife ought to obey her husband, in this one matter in which the difference of sex plays a role because of a different bodily constitution by which the bodily union is performed, they have equal power over one another. The man has power over the woman, and the woman over the man"[98]).

Augustine calls this right also "mutual servitude"[99]). Men did not like this expression, but Augustine blazes out at men who claim this right only for themselves:

> "You are the lord, and she is the servant. God has created both of you... It is true, the bishop has signed your matrimonial contracts which declare that your wives are your servants. When I talked about the difference of sex and sexual intercourse, you were glad, you leapt for joy, you were proud because of these words 'A wife has no power over her own body, but the husband has'. You thought to yourselves: see, I am the lord. But listen also to that which follows, listen to the words which you do not wish to hear: 'In the same way, the husband has no power over his own body, but the wife has'"[100]).

[98]) *C. Faust.* XXII,31. CSEL 25[1],625: «Ut cum in ceteris actibus ad humanam pacem pertinentibus mulier viro debeat servitutem, huius unius rei, qua sexus utriusque carnali sorte discernitur et carnali conmixtione concernitur, similem in se habeant potestatem vir in uxorem et uxor in virum».

[99]) *De bono coni.* 6,6. CSEL 41,195: «Debent ergo sibi coniugati non solum ipsius sexus sui conmiscendi fidem liberorum procreandorum causa, quae prima est humani generis in ista mortalitate societas, verum etiam infirmitatis invicem excipiendae ad inlicitos concubitus evitandos mutuam quodam modo servitutem».

[100]) *S.* 332,4. PL 38,1465: «Tu dominus es, illa ancilla: Deus fecit utrumque... Verum est: istis tabulis subscripsit episcopus. Ancillae vestrae sunt uxores vestrae, domini estis uxorum vestrarum. Sed quando venitur ad illud negotium, quo sexus discernitur, et sexus sibi uterque miscetur: 'Uxor non habet potestatem corporis sui, sed vir'. Gaudebas, erigebas te, jactabas te. Bene dixit apostolus... Quia ego sum dominus. Laudasti. Audi

If wife and husband have the same rights, then they have too the same obligations. On this point, Augustine accuses the Roman law of injustice and discrimination towards women. The woman is punished because of adultery, but the man goes scot-free. Although our information about Roman jurisdiction in Augustine's time is very poor, from the bishop's texts we can conclude that men and women were treated very discriminatingly:

> "I mention some actions which are lawfully perpetrated, such as adultery and drunkenness. But they are not lawful according to the law of God. Who has ever been put on trial for entering the brothel of a whore? Who has ever been accused before a public court because he lapsed into licentiousness and voluptuousness seduced by his female players on the lyre? Is a charge ever made for misdemeanour against a married man because he interfered with his female slave? But all this applies to the court, not to heaven; I mean: to the earthly law, not to the law of the Creator of the earth"[101]).

And Augustine concludes that it is a good thing that there is still a law which orders: "You shall not covet" (Ex. 20:17. Rom. 7:7) He is well aware of the fact that the unfaithfulness of the husband constitutes an injustice vis-à-vis the wife, and that it hurts and wounds her deeply. He finds that all too often "wounds are changed into jokes as if by magic" in this matter. Men think that they can lightly skip over their adulterous relationships[102]). By accusing men, Augustine knows that he will incur their rage, but laconicly he declares:

> "Despise Augustine, but fear at least Christ"[103]).

Men do not admit that the same laws apply to them as to women, and they prefer the civil law to the law of Christ:

quod sequitur, audi quod non vis, rogo ut velis. Quid est hoc? Audi: 'Similiter et vir', dominus ille, 'similiter et vir non habet potestatem corporis sui, sed mulier».

[101]) *S.* 153,5,6. PL 38,828: «Non dico amplius: fornicari, inquam, inebriari. Haec dixi quae licite committuntur, sed non Dei legibus. Quis enim aliquando ad judicem ductus est, quia meretricis lupanar intravit? Quis aliquando in publicis tribunalibus accusatus est, quia per suas lyristrias lascivus immundusque defluxit? Quis aliquando habens uxorem, quia ancillam suam vitiavit, crimen invenit? Sed in foro, non in coelo; in lege mundi, non in lege creatoris mundi».

[102]) *S.* 9,11-12. CCL 41,129-131: «Loquitur ergo ille (= Christus) interius et dicit, et consolatur filiam suam huiusmodi verbis: 'De iniuriis viri tui torqueris, quid tibi enim fecit? Dole, sed ipsum noli imitari'... Si quis volutatus fuerit cum ancillis suis, amatur, blande accipitur, convertuntur vulnera in ioca».

[103]) *S.* 392,2,2. PL 39,1710: «Contemnitur Augustinus, timeatur vel Christus».

> "They say, we are men. Has the dignity of the male sex to take quietly the insult of being bracketed with women in the question of punishment for adultery?".

Augustine replies:

> "Properly speaking, men should be punished more severely than women, because their lewdness is greater and worse on account of their pride and unbridled boasting".

They have no reason to go on at the faults committed by women. Augustine refers then to a decree of the emperor Antoninus who stated that a husband was not allowed to accuse his wife, if he himself did not set an example of morally good life[104]). Augustine protests also against the civil law for permitting remarriage while the partner is still alive[105]).

In that time, the established order put much greater pressure on a woman than on a man. Augustine mentions some aspects of this pressure, such as the surveillance of the parents and the husband, the female sense of shame and honour, and further the civil laws[106]). The only counter-balance of the current jurisdiction is Christian doctrine. Augustine summons wives to appeal to Christ and to the church instead to a civil judge against their unfaithful husbands[107]). As appears from the following passage, this could seriously change the conjugal relationship:

> "To men is permitted that which is not permitted to women: see here the conviction of nearly all women. For women are accustomed to hear that women by chance found in the company of their slaves, have to appear in court. Never, however, have they heard that a man caught with his female slave, had to appear in court, although it is the same sin... Today, a husband experiences that his wife knows how to hold her own, and how she dares to express

[104]) *De coni. adult.* II, 8,7. CSEL 41,388-389: «Sed nos viri sumus. An vero sexus nostri dignitas hanc sustinebit iniuriam, ut, cum aliis feminis praeter uxores nostras si quid admittimus, in luendis poenis mulieribus comparemur? ... tanto gravius eos puniri oportuerit... Quae cum ita sint, numquid ideo minor est, ac non potius maior et peior virorum inpudicitia quam inest illis superba et licentiosa iactantia?».

[105]) *De nupt. et concup.* I,10,11. CSEL 42,223: «Nec sterilem coniugem fas sit relinquere, ut alia fecunda ducatur. Quod si quisquam fecerit, non lege huius saeculi, ubi interveniente repudio sine crimine conceditur cum aliis alia copulare conubia... sed lege evangelii reus est adulterii, sicut etiam illa, si alteri nupserit».

[106]) *S.* 9,12. CCL 41,130-131.

[107]) *S.* 392,4,4. PL 39,1711: «Interpellate contra illos ecclesiam. Non dico, judices publicos, non proconsulem, non vicarium, non comitem, non imperatorem, sed Christum».

her opinion more frankly. In former days, she thought that unfaithfulness was permitted to the man. But in the church she learned that this was not permitted at all. That is the reason why a husband experiences now that his wife speaks her mind more freely, and reproaches him: 'That which you do, is not permitted. We have both heard it (in the church). We are both Christians, is it not so...? You can deceive me, but you cannot deceive Christ to whom we both belong. When a husband hears such words to which he is not accustomed, he furiously attacks me... Perhaps he will say: 'What has come over my wife now? What has happened? Did the bishop visit my house? Or did my wife visit the church this or that day?"[108]).

Love within marriage.

More than one author blames Augustine for advocating a dualism between the biological and the social order, between sexuality and love. W. Molinski writes: "Augustine ranges sexuality under the animal domain, and he does attach no specific human character to it"[109]).

If one takes into consideration that during nearly sixteen years Augustine lived together with a woman, whom he loved sincerely and with whom he had a son, this is strange. His concubinage was a faithful one, recognized by the Roman law as a marriage, be it of a lower rank than a fully lawful marriage. Augustine's wife belonged quite probably to a lower class than he, and for this reason he could not marry her in a fully lawful way as ordained by the emperor Constantine[110]). We do not know much about the relationship between Augustine and his wife. We know that Alypius tried to keep Augustine from marrying "because then they could not with undistracted leisure live together in the love of

[108]) *S.* 9,4. CCL 41,115-116: «Ita invadens omnia consuetudo pro lege observatur, ut iam et mulieribus forte persuasum sit, licere hoc viris, non licere mulieribus. Solent enim audire adductas mulieres esse ad forum, quae forte cum servis inventae sunt. Adductum virum ad forum, quia inventus est cum ancilla sua, numquam audierunt, cum sit par peccatum... Et si forte hodie acriorem quisquam passus fuerit uxorem suam et liberius murmurantem, cui iam videbatur quia licebat viro, et audivit in ecclesia quia non licet viro, si ergo passus fuerit uxorem suam liberius iam, ut diximus, murmurantem et dicentem sibi: 'Non licet quod facis. Simul audivimus. Christiani sumus... Et si me fallis, non fallis eum cuius sumus, non fallis eum qui nos emit'. Haec atque huiusmodi audiens ille quae non solet... in me fit insanus. Irascitur, maledicit. Fortassis etiam dicat: 'Quomodo factum est ut huc ille veniret, aut uxor mea ipso die in ecclesiam procederet?».

[109]) W. Molinski, in: Sacramentum Mundi I,969. Freiburg 1967.

[110]) A. Solignac, Augustin et la mère d'Adéodat, in: Bibliothèque augustinienne 13 (Paris 1962) 677-679.

wisdom". Alypius felt remorse and disdain regarding his momentary sexual experience with a woman. Augustine defends his own married life with the following arguments: married men have also devoted themselves to the quest of wisdom; they have served God acceptably; they retained and loved their friends; there is a considerable difference between momentary sexual intercourse and the joys of stable continual married life. He finds life without a wife not life, but punishment[111]). The separation from his wife touched him deeply, as appears from his own description:

> "The woman with whom I lived together was torn from my side, as a hindrance to my marriage. On the spot where my heart clung to her, it was torn and wounded, and remained bleeding... The wound caused by the separation from my first wife did not heal up. But after having burnt vehemently and caused much pain, the wound continued festering and brought about as it were a cooler but more desperate pain"[112]).

Moreover, Augustine's justification of a good concubinage, — i.e. based upon lasting mutual faithfulness and without excluding childbirth —, as a true marriage, may be seen as a delicate allusion to his own conjugal life[113]). Therefore, it seems unlikely that Augustine who takes a pride in having been faithful to his wife during all these years, would have ignored all about personal love and intimate relationship. The personal character of his conjugal relationship appears sufficiently from his wife's vow to God never to know any other man. The relationship between husband and wife is an expression of the social nature of human being, as is shown by Augustine's commentary on Gen. 2:18: "It is not good that the human being should be alone":

> "God created the human being as one single being; not with the intention that the man, left to himself, should remain alone, bereft of human society. On the contrary, by creating the human being as

[111]) *Conf.* VI,12,21-22. CCL 27,87-88.

[112]) *Conf.* VI,15,25. CCL 27,90: «... et avulsa a latere meo tamquam impedimento coniugii cum qua cubare solitus eram, cor, ubi adhaerebat, concisum et vulneratum mihi erat et trahebat sanguinem... Nec sanabatur vulnus illud meum, quod prioris praecisione factum erat, sed post fervorem doloremque acerrimum putrescebat et quasi frigidius, sed desperatius dolebat».

[113]) *De bono coni.* 5,5. CSEL 41,193: «Solet etiam quaeri, cum masculus et femina, nec ille maritus nec illa uxor alterius, sibimet... copulantur ea fide media, ut nec ille cum altera, nec illa cum altero id faciat, utrum nuptiae sint vocandae. Et potest quidem fortasse non absurde hoc appellari conubium, si usque ad mortem alicuius eorum id inter eos placuerit et prolis generationem... non tamen vitaverint».

> one single individual, it was God's intention that the unity of human society and the bonds of human union be emphasized, for in this way human beings are bound together not only by likeness in nature, but also by the affection of kinship... The human being is created as one individual, but it was not left alone. For there is nothing that is more divided by perversion, but also nothing more social than the human race... Furthermore, the fact that the woman was made for the man from his own side, shows us clearly how affectionate (*cara*) should be the union of husband and wife"[114]).

The use of the words "affection" and "affectionate" indicates that marriage is not merely based on human social character, but also on love. In the light of Gen. 2:24 "They will be two in one flesh" Augustine develops this idea:

> "Male and female are said to be one either on account of their being joined together in marriage, or because of woman's origin, since she was created from the man's side. The apostle appeals to this first example instituted by God in the beginning, when he admonishes husbands that each one of them should love his wife (Eph. 5:25-31)"[115]).

The natural unity between man and woman as depicted in the paradise story is the model of conjugal union (*societas*): "Therefore, the first natural bond (*copula*) of human society is husband and wife" and "The marriage of male and female is good ... not merely on account of the begetting of children, but also on account of the natural society itself of both sexes"[116]). Already in classical Latin the term *socialis* had the meaning of "conjugal". When Adam listened to Eve in paradise, this

[114]) *De civ. dei* XII,22 and 28. CCL 48,380 and 384: «Unum ac singulum creavit, non utique solum sine humana societate deserendum, sed ut eo modo vehementius ei commendaretur ipsius societatis unitas vinculumque concordiae, si non tantum inter se naturae similitudine, verum etiam cognationis affectu homines necterentur... factus est unus, sed non relictus est solus. Nihil enim est quam hoc genus discordiosum vitio, tam sociale natura... Quod vero femina illi ex eius latere facta est, etiam hic satis significatum est quam cara mariti et uxoris debeat esse coniunctio».

[115]) *De civ. dei* XIV,22. CCL 48,444: «... homines duos diversi sexus videmus et novimus, unum autem dici vel propter coniunctionem vel propter originem feminae, quae de masculi latere creata est. Nam et apostolus per hoc primum, quod Deo instituente praecessit, exemplum singulos quosque admonet, ut viri uxores suas diligant».

[116]) *De bono coni.* 1,1 and 3,3. CSEL 41,187: «Prima itaque naturalis humanae societatis copula vir et uxor est... Bonum ergo coniugii... quod mihi non videtur propter solam filiorum procreationem, sed propter ipsam etiam naturalem in diverso sexu societatem».

was on account of their conjugal relationship (*sociali necessitudine*). And even then it was a question of love:

> "God filled the place of Adam's rib with flesh. The word flesh indicates the loving affection (*affectus dilectionis*) by which everyone loves his own soul, and the obligation to be not hard on it by contempt"[117]).

Conjugal love in paradise was a love without inordinate libido. Consequently, Augustine considered it as an ideal for married people who renounce freely sexual intercourse as in the marriage of Joseph and Mary, for

> "It is not libido which makes somebody a wife, but it is conjugal love (*caritas*) and the bond and affection of the heart"[118]).

Love of course, is not the privilege of marriage in paradise or of its imitation through sexual continence; also a normal everyday marriage is to be seen in the light of love. In one of his earlier works, Augustine had stated that perfect love consists in loving nothing else than God, but later he retracted this, declaring:

> "If this were true, how can the apostle say: 'Nobody ever hated his own flesh' (Eph. 5:29). With these words Paul admonishes husbands to love their wives"[119]).

Elsewhere he writes:

> "The soul works through the senses ... and it does all it can in order to bring about the union (*copulatio*) of both sexes. It realizes union in a twofold nature through society and love (*amor*)"[120]).

He praises God

[117]) *De Gen. c. Manich.* II,12,17. PL 34,205: «Sane in locum illius costae carnem adimplevit, ut hoc nomine insinuaretur dilectionis affectus, quo diligit quisque animam suam, et non est durus ut eam contemnat».

[118]) *S.* 51,13,21. PL 38,344: «Non itaque propterea non fuit pater Joseph, quia cum matre Domini non concubuit; quasi uxorem libido faciat, et non charitas coniugalis». *De nupt. et concup.* I,11,12. CSEL 42,224: «Vinculum inter illos coniugale... firmius erit... non voluptariis corporum nexibus, sed voluntariis affectibus animorum». Cf. J. Doignon, Une définition oubliée de l'amour conjugal édénique chez Augustin 'piae caritatis adfectus' (Gn. litt. 3,21,33), in: *Vetera Christianorum* 19(1982)25-36.

[119]) *Retract.* I,26. CCL 57,78: «Caritas proprie dicitur purgatissima et consummata, si nihil aliud amatur. Quod si verum est, quomodo ergo apostolus ait: 'Nemo umquam carnem suam odio habuit', et ex hoc admonet ut diligantur uxores?».

[120]) *De quant. animae* 33,71. CSEL 89,219: «... intende quae sit vis animae in sensibus... pro copulatione sexus agit, quod potest, atque in duplici natura societate atque amore molitur unum».

"who set men over their wives, not to make play-things of the weaker sex, but in accordance with the laws of pure and honest love (*amor*)"[121]).

Longing is an aspect of love, and it plays an important role between an engaged couple:

"It is an established practice that the promised bride should not be given immediately. Were this so, one fears rightly that a husband should hold worthless a bride who is simply given without a delay which puts him in the position of a betrothed man craving for her"[122]).

Conjugal love is not simply merely spiritual love. The love Augustine is defending entails also earthly aspects, be it with some reserve:

"Love your children, love your wives, even in an earthly way... When you love them humanly, love more Christ. Mark: I do not say that you should not love your wives, but that you should love more Christ"[123]).

Even conjugal love dominated by libido is not to be reprehended without further ado. The life of such a couple can also have Christ as its foundation, although it will be confronted with a certain "fire". Augustine does not mean the fire of hell, but the fire of tribulation, i.e. the pain caused by the loss of our loved one's through death, or by other calamities which put an end to earthly delights. The greater the love of husband and wife for one another, the greater that pain:

"If a man loves his wife according to Christ, then who can doubt that he has Christ as his foundation? If he loves her in the way of the world with a carnal love and an unhealthy lust — just

[121]) *De mor. eccl. cath.* I,30,63. PL 32,1336: «Tu viros conjugibus, non ad illudendum imbecilliorem sexum, sed sinceri amoris legibus praeficis».

[122]) *Conf.* VIII,3,7. CCL 27,117: «Et institutum est, ut iam pactae sponsae non tradantur statim, ne vile habeat maritus datam, quam non suspiraverit sponsus dilatam».

[123]) *S.* 349,7,7. PL 39,1532: «Amate filios vestros, amate conjuges vestras, etsi saeculariter... Tamen quando et humanitus diligitis, plus Christum amate. Non dico ut non diligas uxorem, sed plus dilige Christum». ib. 2,2. ib. 1530: «... licita est humana charitas qua uxor diligitur... Non solum autem ita licita est, ut concedatur, sed ita licita, ut si defuerit, reprehendatur... Haec ergo humana est. Si ergo tali quisque crudelitate effertur, ut perdat etiam humanum dilectionis affectum, et non amet filios suos, et non amet conjugem suam, nec inter homines numerandus est». *S.* 65A, ed. R. Etaix, *Rev. Bén.* 86(1976)46: «Uxor est cuiquam; filii sunt cuiquam. Clamant: Ama nos. Responde: Amo. Dic uxori: Si non amarem, non ducerem». *S.* 81,4. PL 38,501: «Diligis eam, sicut oportet diligi uxorem: membrum tuum est». *De s. virgin.* 55,56. CSEL 41,301: «Vir et uxor amant se, quoniam vident se; et quod non vident, timent in se».

> as the pagans do who are ignorant of God (1 Thess. 4:5) — even this the apostle allows as something forgivable, or rather Christ does so through his apostle. Therefore, it is possible for such a man to have Christ as his foundation, provided that he does not put this affection and sensual pleasure before Christ... Christ is his foundation, and for that reason he will be saved 'through fire' (1 Cor. 3:15). Fire will burn up such pleasures and earthly love, which because of the bond of marriage do not incur damnation"[124]).

No wonder that, according to Augustine, a wife surpasses any mistress or whore "in feelings of faithfulness, in affection proper to marriage, and in more sincere and pure love"[125]). Of course, conjugal love ought to have all the characteristics of true love. In the first place, this love should be gratuitous or selfless; it may not be egoistic or merely passionate. Unselfish love means for Augustine that one loves a person for no other reason than the person's self. To love a person because of something else would mean a denial of a human being's value and dignity. This is the reason why marriage does not stop to exist, when sexual intercourse falls off. Love constitutes the essence of marriage; however much accidental circumstances may change, love remains the essential ground:

> "The natural union (*societas*) between both sexes is essential. Otherwise one could no longer speak of marriage in the case of aged persons, especially if either they had lost their children, or never gave birth to children. But now in a good marriage, although the partners are aged and the glow of youth withered away, the order of love between husband and wife retains its full vigour"[126]).

[124]) *De civ. dei* XXI,26. CCL 48,797: «Si quis autem diligit uxorem suam, si secundum Christum, quis ei dubitet in fundamento esse Christum? Si vero secundum hoc saeculum, si carnaliter, si in morbo concupiscentiarum, sicut et gentes quae ignorant Deum, etiam hoc secundum veniam concedit apostolus, immo per apostolum Christus. Potest ergo et iste in fundamento habere Christum. Si enim nihil ei talis affectionis voluptatisque praeponat... Christus est fundamentum, propter hoc salvus erit per ignem. Delicias quippe huius modi amoresque terrenos, propter coniugalem quidem copulam non damnabiles, tribulationis ignis exuret».

[125]) *S.* 51,16,26. PL 38,348: «Ubi vincit uxor, nisi affectu fidei, affectu conjugii, affectu sincerioris castiorisque charitatis?».

[126]) *De bono coni.* 3,3. CSEL 41,190: «Alioquin non iam diceretur coniugium in senibus, praesertim si vel amisissent filios vel minime genuissent. Nunc vero in bono licet annoso coniugio, etsi emarcuit ardor aetatis inter masculum et feminam, viget tamen ordo caritatis inter maritum et uxorem». For the context see note 116.

Neither sterility, nor an incurable illness, nor a prolonged absence of one of the partners because of captivity for example, can affect the essence of marriage[127]). This holds even more in the case of poverty or the loss of bodily beauty:

> "Wives should not love their husbands because they are rich or of a high social rank, or belong to a noble family, or possess bodily charm, but rather because they are faithful, religious, honest and good"[128]).

Unselfish love is always oriented to the person, and not to that which a person possesses:

> "You feel ashamed when your wife loves you because of your riches, or if she would meditate on adultery when you become poor. You wish that your wife loves you unselfishly"[129]).

However rich and powerful a man may be, he is not allowed to break with his wife, even if she has insulted him, or if he wishes a more beautiful wife[130]). It is simply heartless when a girl loves the gifts of her betrothed more than himself. Then the gift is no longer a pledge which brings them nearer to one another, but a cause driving a wedge between them. The betrothed gave this love-token expecting to be loved himself in his gift[131]).

Therefore, Augustine rejects the definition of marriage given by Julian of Eclanum. He finds the latter's definition too exclusively centered on sexual intercourse and procreation, not on love:

[127]) *De coni. adult.* II,10,9. CSEL 41,392: «Quid? Si enim aliquo diuturno et insanabili morbo corporis teneatur coniux, quo concubitus impeditur? Quid? Si captivitas vel vis aliqua separet?». cf. ib. 16,17 and 19,20. ib. 403 and 407.

[128]) *De nupt. et concup.* I,13,15. CSEL 42,228: «... ut eis mariti non ideo placeant, quia divites, quia sublimes, quia genere nobiles, quia carne amabiles, sed quia fideles, quia religiosi, quia pudici, quia viri boni sunt».

[129]) *En. in ps.* 53,10. CCL 39,654: «Erubesceres si te uxor tua propter divitias amaret; et forte si tibi paupertas accideret, de adulterio cogitaret. Cum ergo te a coniuge gratis amari velis, tu Deum porpter aliud amabis?».

[130]) *En. in ps.* 149,15. CCL 40, 2189: «Venit ad nos homo de saeculo potens, offendit illum uxor sua, aut forte concupivit alterius pulchriorem, aut alteram ditiorem... audit: non permittit Deus dimittere uxorem».

[131]) *In epist. Joh.* 2,11. PL 35,1995: «Certe hoc amaret quod dedit sponsus; tamen si diceret: 'Sufficit mihi annulus iste, jam illius faciem nolo videre', qualis esset? Quis non detestaretur hanc amentiam? Quis non adulterinum animum convinceret? Amas aurum pro viro, amas annulum pro sponso... Ad hoc utique arrham dat sponsus, ut in arrha sua ipse ametur».

"Julian has given a bad definition of marriage, because the essence of marriage is not identical with sexual intercourse"[132]).

According to Julian Joseph and Mary were not really married, but according to Augustine they were because there was real love for one another. From some examples given by Augustine, it appears how far unselfish conjugal love can go, although he does not wish to answer the question whether the actions he mentions are morally good or bad. He asks if Abraham's wife was allowed to have sexual intercourse with the king in order to save her husband's life?[133]). He mentions also a case which happened at Antioch under the Roman emperor Constantius II: a man should be put to death because he could not pay an important sum of money, but out of love for her husband his wife had sexual intercourse with a very rich man in order to raise the money needed[134]). Unselfish love between wife and husband becomes even the model of our love for God. The betrothed who attaches more value to the gift than to the person of the beloved, warns us of our task to love God more than His gifts:

"Appreciate all created things, and praise them. In this way, you will love the Creator... Love Him who created the world for you. However, there is something more that He wishes to give to you, namely Himself"[135]).

This theme occurs repeatedly in Augustine's sermons:

"If you wish to be loved gratuitously by your wife, why then do you love God because of something else?"[136]).

"Remember what a chaste heart in human marriages means for God. Of course, we speak about human marriage. A husband who loves his wife because of her portion, does in fact not love her. A wife who loves her husband because he has given something or even much to her, does not love him in a chaste way. A rich man

[132]) *C. Jul.* V,16,62. PL 44,818: «Vides ergo quam inconsiderate nuptias definieris, dicendo 'eas aliud non esse nisi corporum commixtionem'». See E.S. Lodovici, Sessualità, matrimonio e concupiscenza in sant' Agostino, in: R. Cantalamessa, Etica sessuale e matrimonio nel cristianesimo delle origini, Milano 1976, p. 263-265.

[133]) *C. Faust.* XXII,37. CSEL 25[1],631.

[134]) *De serm. Dom. in monte* I,16,50. CCL 35,55-56: «Nihil hinc in aliquam partem disputo. Liceat cuique existimare quod velit; non enim de divinis auctoritatibus deprompta historia est. Sed tamen narrato facto non ita respuit hoc sensus humanus».

[135]) *In epist. Joh.* 2,11. PL 35,1995: «... approbare et laudare (creaturas) ut ames creatorem... Ama illum qui fecit. Plus est quod tibi vult dare, id est, seipsum».

[136]) *En. in ps.* 53,10. CCL 39,654: «Cum ergo te a coniuge gratis amari velis, tu Deum propter aliud amabis?».

> who became poor, remains even so your husband. Many wives have loved more intensely their husbands after the confiscation of their possessions. Many good marriages have been consolidated by misfortune of the husband. Wives did not forsake their husband, but have shown that they loved nothing else more than himself, and they gave themselves more up to him. If a wife unselfishly loves a husband of flesh and blood and loves him chastely, and if the husband loves his wife in the same way ... in what manner should we then love God"?[137]).

Even a love of the most suspicious character, only looking after a beautiful body, is for Augustine an occasion to illustrate our love for God:

> "Let us in lower things pay attention to that which they can tell us about higher things. The lowest earthly love by which one pursues bodily beauty, shows us something from which we can ascend to higher and purer realities. For example, a licentious and voluptuous man loves an extremely beautiful woman. Bodily beauty excites him. Nevertheless, he is seeking something more than this; he longs after mutual love. If he hears that this woman hates him, his passion and craving for beautifully shaped limbs damp. In a certain sense, he gives his intentions up, and he feels an aversion for that woman. He feels himself insulted, and begins to hate that which he loved so much. Is there anything changed in that beautiful body? Is not all which seemed so attractive to him still there? Yes, all is still there. He burnt with desire for that which he saw. But in his heart he desired something more which he did not see, namely love. If he were sure that she loved him in return, he would even desire her more strongly. She sees him, he sees her, but no one sees love. Nevertheless, everybody loves love which is not seen. Ascend above this troubled covetousness in order to remain in the most pure love. You do not see God. Love Him, and you possess Him"[138]).

[137]) *En. in ps.* 55,17. CCL 39,690: «Dicam, fratres: in istis humanis coniugiis considerate cor castum quale sit ad Deum. Certe humana coniugia sunt; non diligit uxorem suam, qui propter dotem illam diligit; non maritum caste diligit, quae propterea diligit, quia aliquid donavit, aut quia multum donavit. Et divus maritus, et pauper factus maritus est. Quam multi proscripti a castis uxoribus amplius dilecti sunt? Probata sunt multa casta coniugia calamitatibus maritorum; ne aliud amare quam maritum putarentur, non solum non deseruerunt, sed amplius obsecutae sunt. Si ergo maritus carnalis gratis diligitur... et uxor carnalis gratis diligitur, si caste diligitur, Deus quomodo diligendus est?».

[138]) *S.* 34,4-5. CCL 41,425: «In inferioribus attendamus, quod in superioribus inveniamus. Ipse amor infimus atque terrenus, ipse amor sordidus et flagitiosus, qui corporis pulchritudines consectatur, aliquid nos admonet unde ad superiora et mundiora surgamus. Amat aliquis lascivus et impudicus pulcherrimam feminam. Movet quidem

Friendship within marriage.

From love to friendship is only one step. For friendship is nothing else but mutual love, according to Augustine. Friendship is: to love and to be loved. Its characteristic is benevolence, i.e. to will the well-being of the beloved person. Augustine describes more than once conjugal love as friendship. Stoic authors have done this before him. Augustine's texts, however, are less known.

It is noteworthy how Augustine sees the Fall in the light of friendship between Adam and Eve. Consolation, union of heart, benevolence, and friendship play a role in the story of the Fall:

> "Adam did not wish to grieve Eve, who without his comfort (*consolatio*) could have languished, and even could have perished totally because of being on bad terms with her husband, if she got estranged from his heart... Prompted by friendly benevolence (*amicalis benevolentia*), Adam sinned"[139]).

In Augustine's representation of paradise, there were only two human beings, and in that very beginning they were entirely thrown on each other's society; they stood face to face as human being before human being, as person before person, as husband before wife. They had the task to build up society, and therefore Adam listened to his wife on account of their conjugal relationship[140]).

Friendship between husband and wife was not limited to paradise. Even now it remains a great task. Explaining the first of the seven

corporis pulchritudo, sed intus quaeritur amoris vicissitudo. Si enim audiat quod illa oderit eum, nonne omnis ille aestus et impetus circa membra pulchra frigescit, et ab eo quod intenderat quodam modo resilit, avertitur, offenditur, odisse etiam ipse incipit quod amabat? Numquid forma mutata est? Nonne ibi sunt omnia quae illexerant? Ibi sunt. Et tamen ardebat in eo quod videbat, et de corde exigebat quod non videbat. Si vero cognoscat quia vicissim amatur, quomodo vehementius inardescit! Videt illa illum, videt ille illam, amorem nemo videt. Et tamen ipse amatur qui non videtur. Erigite vos ab ista lutulenta cupiditate, ut maneatis in illuminatissima caritate. Deum non vides. Ama, et habes».

[139]) *De Gen. ad litt.* XI,42 (59). CSEL 28[1],378: «Ita et Adam, posteaquam de ligno prohibito seducta mulier manducavit eique dedit, ut simul ederent, noluit eam contristare, quam credebat posse sine suo solacio contabescere, si ab eius alienaretur animo, et omnino illa interire discordia... sed amicali quadam benivolentia...». However, Augustine does not approve of this kind of friendship for it leads to a transgression of the divine will.

[140]) *De civ. dei* XIV,11. CCL 48,433: «Ita credendum est illum virum suae feminae, uni unum, hominem homini, coniugem coniugi, ad Dei legem transgrediendam ... sociali necessitudine paruisse».

commandments related to the love of neighbour: "Honour your father and mother" (Ex. 20:12), Augustine tells us why we should do so:

> "For the first thing a baby sees when opening its eyes, are its parents, and life begins with their friendship"[141]).

Elsewhere he declares that two things are necessary in this life, namely health and friendship:

> "We should esteem highly health and friendship, and we may never hold these in contempt. Health and friendship are natural goods. God created the human being so that he could exist and live: that is health. But in order that human being should not be alone, it desires friendship. Now, friendship begins with wife and children, and then it reaches out to strangers"[142]).

Augustine asserts in the same sermon that the friendship between husband and wife will always survive and will be there even in immortal life. Friendship supposes trust and faith in one another. We can perceive outward signs of love, but never we see love itself. For this reason, all love requires faith. This process applies also to conjugal love as friendship:

> "Without faith friendship will wholly perish, since it consists in nothing else than in mutual love (*amor*). If one does not believe first that the other has shown us a token of friendship, one would completely be unable to receive any token of friendship from another person. When friendship perishes totally, neither the bonds of marriage, nor of relationship and affinity will remain in the heart, because all these rest on a friendly unanimity. Husband and wife will not be able to have mutual love, if they do not believe that they love one another, because love itself is invisible"[143]).

[141]) *S.* 9,7. CCL 41,121: «Ad parentes enim suos homo aperit oculos, et haec vita ab eorum amicitia sumit exordium». See P. BROWN, Augustine and sexuality. (The Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, Colloquy 46), Berkeley 1983, p. 3: «A capacity for intimacy, above all, *fides*, for mutual trust and reliability in friendship, derived not merely from the post-conversion experience of the celebate bishop, but from late adolescence onwards, can be heard in these phrases — a tone as subtle, but as unmistakable as the ring of good crystal».

[142]) *S. Denis* 16,1. MA I,75: «Necessaria sunt in hoc mundo duo ista, salus et amicus; ista sunt, quae magni pendere, quae non debemus contemnere. Salus et amicus, naturalia bona sunt. Fecit deus hominem, ut esset et viveret: salus est; sed, ne solus esset, amicitia quaesita est. Incipit ergo amicitia a coniuge et filiis, et progreditur ad alienos».

[143]) *De fide rerum invis.* 2,4. CCL 46,4: «Si auferatur haec fides de rebus humanis... tota itaque peribit amicitia, quia nonnisi mutuo amore constat. Quid enim eius poterit ab aliquo recipere, si nihil eius creditum fuerit exhiberi? Porro amicitia pereunte neque conubiorum neque cognationum et affinitatum vinculo in animo servabuntur, quia et in

Also in his book *De bono coniugali* Augustine describes a good marriage as friendship:

> "Forasmuch as each human being is a part of the human race, and human nature is something social possessing a great natural good (namely marriage) as well as the power of friendship, God wished to create all human beings out of one. In this way they should be kept together socially, not only by equality of nature, but also by bond of kindred. The first natural bond of human society is the bond between husband and wife... Even without sexual intercourse ... there can be a bond of friendship between them as between brother and sister"[144]).

And in the same work he insists once more on friendship within marriage:

> "Truly we must consider that God gives us some goods which are to be sought for their own sake, such as wisdom, health and friendship. But also that He gives other goods which are necessary for the sake of something else, such as learning, food, drink, sleep, marriage, sexual intercourse... Marriage and sexual intercourse are necessary for the sake of friendship, since on these rests the propagation of the human race, in which friendly fellowship is a great good... Through lawful as well through unlawful sexual intercourse ... the Creator makes that numerous progeny and abundant succession do not fail, out of which new holy friendships can be constituted"[145]).

It is not easy to know what Augustine means exactly by the expression "holy friendships". The most important idea in this text, however, is that both marriage and sexual intercourse are oriented to a higher and greater good, namely friendship between husband and wife. Their

his utique amica consensio est. Non ergo coniugem coniunx vicissim diligere poterit, quando se diligi, quia ipsam dilectionem non potest videre, non credit».

[144]) *De bono coni.* 1,1. CSEL 41,187-188: «Quoniam unusquisque homo humani generis pars est et sociale quiddam est humana natura magnumque habet et naturale bonum, vim quoque amicitiae, ob hoc ex uno deus voluit omnes homines condere, ut in sua societate non sola similitudine generis, sed etiam cognationis vinculo tenerentur. Prima itaque naturalis humanae societatis copula vir et uxor est... Poterat enim esse in utroque sexu etiam sine tali commixtione... amicalis quaedam et germana coniunctio».

[145]) *De bono coni.* 9,9. CSEL 41,199-200: «Sane videndum est alia bona nobis deum dare, quae propter se ipsa expetenda sunt, sicut est sapientia, salus, amicitia; alia, quae propter aliquid sunt necessaria sicut doctrina, cibus, potus, somnus, coniugium, concubitus; hinc enim subsistit propagatio generis humani, in quo societas amicalis magnum bonum est... sed multis etiam per inlicitos concubitus luxuriantibus bono creatore de malis eorum faciente, quod bonum est, non desit numerositas prolis et abundantia successionis, unde sanctae amicitiae conquirantur».

interrelation is that of means to an end. From this and other texts, we may conclude that Augustine sees the whole of the relationship between married people — and not its sexual aspect in itself — as friendship; this speaks well for the high esteem in which he held Christian marriage[146]). Augustine uses conjugal friendship as an example which illustrates how much we should love peace:

> "May peace not be a bitter companion for us, but a sweetheart and friend, with whom we share our heart as an inviolate nuptial bed, and in whose company we find trust and rest. May peace be our beloved whose embrace comforts us and with whom we live in indissoluble friendship"[147]).

I think that these texts show unquestionably that Augustine considered married life as a personal relationship through which husband and wife participate intimately in one another's life.

> "They are joined one to another side by side, walking together, and looking together towards the goal of their journey"[148]).

Augustine does not approve the interpretation of Mt. 6:3 "Your left hand must not know what your right is doing" in the sense that left hand stands for "wife", since women in managing the home generally are rather tenacious of money, so that they are kept in the dark when their husbands in pity spend something upon the needy. He finds this interpretation absurd and ridiculous. Are not both called by the Lord to do works of mercy? Consequently, husband and wife should not conceal their good works for each other. Rather they should invite one another to communion in faith[149]). But the personal conjugal relations-

[146]) I agree with G. Bonner that Augustine does not describe physical sexuality in itself as friendship, but I attach a bit more importance to Augustine's view on friendship between husband and wife. See G. Bonner, Augustine's Attitude to Women and 'Amicitia', in: Homo Spiritalis. Festgabe für L. Verheijen (ed. C. Mayer - K. Chelius), Würzburg 1987, p. 274: «... it is difficult to believe that Augustine, or any of the Fathers, could have anticipated the modern attitude which sees the emotions accompanying physical sexuality as having a positive value as bond between two individuals independent of the begetting of children».

[147]) *S.* 357,1. PL 39,1582: «Sit ergo pax dilecta nostra et amica, cum qua sit castum cubile cor nostrum; cum qua sit fida requies et non amarum consortium, cum qua sit dulcis complexus et inseparabilis amicitia».

[148]) *De bono coni.* 1,1. CSEL 41,187: «Lateribus enim sibi iunguntur (vir et uxor), qui pariter ambulant et pariter quo ambulant intuentur».

[149]) *De serm. Dom. in monte* II,2,7. CCL 35,97: «Quasi vero soli viri christiani sint, et non hoc praeceptum etiam feminis datum sit... Quapropter non sibi debent occultare bona opera sua, quibus invitandi sunt ab invicem, ut alter alterum possit ad christianae fidei communionem invitare».

hip is not limited to communion in faith. It manifestst itself also on a material and bodily level. Marriage entails a communion of material goods, i.e. the common patrimony, to which the wife as well as the husband has a right:

> "If you possess the love which a wife ought to have, then your husband possesses nothing which you do not possess at the same time"[150]).

When the husband is in financial difficulties, the wife should be able to renounce her patrimony out of love for him. Even if the love between husband and wife is only a question of bodily beauty, each of them loves more intensely when love is reciprocated. If a lover feels himself rejected, his love will change into rage, because he does not receive back what he gives. And Augustine remarks laconicly:

> "Nobody loves a dead body however beautiful it may be"[151]).

Caresses form part of the intimate relationship of a married couple. When the king Abimelech wanted to have Rebekah, the pretty wife of Isaac, as his wife, he discovers that she is not Isaac's sister as pretended by the latter, but his wife, for looking out of the window the king saw Isaac fondling Rebekah. Augustine comments this story as follows:

> "The king would not have known that Rebekah was Isaac's wife, had he not seen him fondling her. It is not becoming to do so with a woman who is not your wife... Holy men do not act in this way thoughtlessly, but with discretion. They bend down in a certain manner to the weaker female sex by saying or doing something charming or pleasing... This is part of the rules of courtesy. I mentioned this story expressly lest some stern advocate of insensibility should find fault with a holy man even for fondling his wife... God's prophet used bodily caresses to meet the affection of his wife"[152]).

[150]) *S.* 392,4,4. PL 39,1712: «Non enim potest esse ipsius, quae non sit tua, si est charitas in te, quae debet esse in uxore».

[151]) *In Joh. evang.* 32,3. CCL 36.301: «Si ergo ipsi corporum amatores redamari se volunt, et hoc eos magis delectat si amentur, quales sunt amatores animorum? ... cadaver horrescis; et quantumcumque pulchra illa membra dilexeris, sepelire festinas».

[152]) *C. Faust.* XXII,46. CSEL 25[1],638: «Rex alienigena Rebeccam viri sui coniugem tunc esse cognovit, quando eum cum illa ludentem vidit: quod non cognovisset, nisi cum coniuge ille sic luderet, quomodo cum ea, quae coniux non esset, ludere non deceret. Quod cum sancti coniugati faciunt, non inaniter faciunt, sed prudenter; descendunt enim quodam modo ad feminei sexus infirmitatem, ut aliquid blanda hilaritate vel dicant vel

Husband and wife do not tolerate the presence of others, not even that of their children, when they prepare themselves for sexual intercourse[153]). Bodily love is also necessarily allied with a feeling of jealousy. A lover wishes to see alone the nakedness of his beloved, and he will exclude jealously any other person from seeing the nudity of his beloved[154]).

Conclusion.

From the study of Augustine's texts, it appears undoubtedly that the man occupies the central place in social life. The woman is always compared to and measured by the man. We must admit that Augustine's view is androcentric. Woman is the weaker sex, subordinate to the man and owing him obedience. In the question of subordination of women, Augustine is not only influenced by the social ideas of his time, but also — and perhaps more — by the Bible. He read the paradise story in a historical way: the first human beings lived in a perfect paradisial situation; only later they degraded because of sin. Augustine starts from an idealized picture of the first human couple, whereas we modern people expect human perfection to come only in the future. What he read as a story about the beginning, we read as a story about the end. Modern science tells us that human beings began on a very primitive level, and that they developed only slowly in a long process of evolution. For Augustine it was more or less the opposite. This implies considerable differences in view and evaluation. Augustine had to base himself on the science of his day, and could not know or realize how much the biblical narratives were socially and culturally conditioned, in general and in particular regarding the relationship between male and female. For this reason it was difficult for him to consider libido as

faciant... Verum hoc, quod ad mores humanitatis pertinet, dixerim, ne quisquam durus et sine adfectu id ipsum pro crimine obiciat sancto viro... Propheta dei carnale aliquid lusit, ut eum caperet adfectus uxoris». *S.* 159,2,2. PL 38,868-869: «Delectant conjugales amplexus; delectant etiam meretricum. Hoc licite, illud illicite. Videtis ergo, charissimi, esse in istis corporis sensibus licitas et illicitas delectationes».

153) *De civ. dei* XIV,18. CCL 48,441: «Nonne omnes famulos atque ipsos etiam paranymphos... ante mittit foras, quam vel blandiri coniux coniugi incipiat?... et tamen cum agitur, unde filii nascantur, nec ipsi filli, si qui inde iam nati sunt, testes fieri permittuntur».

154) *En. in ps.* 33, s. 2,6. CCL 38,285: «Quisquis enim amat carnaliter, necesse est ut cum zelo pestifero amet; si forte pro magno nudam videre potuerit... numquid vult ut videat illam et alius?».

something belonging originally to human nature. However, he was not completely mistaken in his observation of libido. Many psychologists, especially of the psychoanalytic school, would agree with him in seeing sexual libido as an ambiguous force. To consider libido simply as a good would be naive; it is also a source of evil. On this point Augustine was more realistic than Julian of Eclanum.

We should not be blind for the positive aspects of Augustine's view. More than once he breaks through traditional Christian opinions, opening new perspectives and instigating further evolution. It is a pity that some of his ideas have had no greater influence on posterity. Some of these positive elements of his thought are taken over from his predecessors; others are corrections of the opinions of his predecessors. The idea of the moral superiority of women is borrowed from the best of Christian tradition. In the question of woman as the image of God, he corrects the opinion of several theologians who wrote before him. Woman is created in the image of God; she is the image of God by nature, and not only through Christ's grace conferred in baptism. The same must be said regarding the presence of the female body and sex in the resurrected state of the human being. This had been denied by influential authors before him. An important point is further his protest against the discrimination of women by civil law. In doing so he assailed social injustice in his own day. He criticized vehemently and intrepidly this kind of discrimination. Augustine's own and most important contribution to a change within the relationship between husband and wife is, according to me, his emphasis on love in married life, and even more his interpretation of the conjugal relationship as friendship. In the Christian tradition before him this was seldom or never done.

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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 tou 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 being*[1]).

[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 resureection-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 merits*[2]).

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 meritorum". *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: "its 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 dam and the last dam 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 ressemble 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 insinuasse 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 resurrection[6]).

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 understood[7]).

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 infirmus fortia, ex animalibus spiritalia, hoc est ex mortalibus inmortalia, 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 qualities*[8]).

[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 quaereremus, quo modo istud fiat vel qualis illa commutatio futura sit, adiungit et dicit: *Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptelam et mortale hoc induere inmortalitatem*. 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 justification*[10]).

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 aks, 'How will the dead rise? With what body, however, will they come?'" (verse 35), that is, with what sort of body*[11]).

[9]) "De resurrectione corporis agebat, quod absorbebitur mors in victoriam, cum mortale hoc induerit inmortalitatem. Tunc ipsi morti insultabitur, quae in victoriam resurrectione corporis absorbebitur. Tunc ei dicetur: *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" claimed[12]). When applied to human beings the verse absolutely means that no one will rise unless he first dies[13]).

> *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 reparere*) 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 inmortalitatem 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, quiia, si deus potest addere, quod non erat in nudo semine, multo magis potest reparere, 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 everyhing 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 time*[16]).

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 kingdom*[19]).

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 veo 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 meritorum". *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 dam 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 inmortale 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 death*[25]).

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 soul*[26]).

The living soul differs from the life-giving spirit in that in the former the body in union with the soul is an animal body[27]), 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 inbdeed, 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 corruptiónem: 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 incarnation[29]). 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 servant*[30]).

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 inmortales 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 immortali mortalis factus est *adsumendo servi formam*, non domini mutando naturam, ut eos, qui mortales erant, faceret inmortales 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 body*[35]).

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, nundum 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 eartly, 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 it*[36]).

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 praceptivo 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, Agustine 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 be 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 faith*[37]).

[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 God[38]).

> *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 sbstance, 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 Augustin's Theology of Human Values*, Villannova, 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 inmutabimur*, 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 something*[42]).

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 water[43]). 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 resurrexisse, quale positum est in monumento. Si enim tale non fuisset, non ipse dixisset post resurrectionem discipulis: *Palpate et videte, quoniam spiritus ossa et nervos non habet, sicut me videtis habere.* Sacrilegum est enim credere dominum nostrum, cum ipse sit veritas, in aliquo fuisse mentitum". *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.

opinion[44]): (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 Epistulam Fundamenti*

[44]) "In dieselbe Periode ist *Serm.* 264 zu setzen. Hier nennt Augustin zwar keine Irrlehrer, es its aber aufallend, 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 Trinitäts 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 palpatur, 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 real*[46]).

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 corrupted*[47]).

[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 works[48]). 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 inmutabimur, 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 inmortalitatem*: 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, posteaqum 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 mutala 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 I,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, Ireneus 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 Ireneus: *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 willl rise without any blemish, without deformity, without any corruption, burden, difficulty; in*

[49]) "Iam in illius carne dicitur, quod in nostra in fine dicetur: *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 inimical[51]).

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 Pelagionorum* 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]) "Restituetur 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 inmortalitate 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 of 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 be*[54]).

[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 inmutabimur*. 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 inmutabimur*: 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 other[55]). 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 testimony[56]). 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 beings[58]). 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 place[59]).

"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 further[60]). 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 time[61]).

"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 once[62]).

"At the last trumpet". This will be the last sign[63]). 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 habits*[65]).

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 spiritalis*, 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 body[67]). 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 quarumdam 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 subsqtantia, 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. Bettenson, *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 asociates 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 νῖκος, 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 Judaeos* 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 morti dicetur 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 dicetur, *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 tangebat. Non ergo aliud. Non, inquit, pono corpus terrenum, et accipio corpus aereum, aut accipio corpus aethereum. Ipsum accipio, sed non jam mortis hujus. *Quia oportet corruptibile*, non aluid, 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 him[72]). 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 die[73]).

> *"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 scorpius 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 praying*[75]).

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 immortality*[76]).

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 soul[77]). 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 inmortalitas, 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.

ANTHROPOLOGY				
ONTOLOGY			MORAL	
Single	Bi-partite	Tri-partite	Sec. Legem Peccati	Sec. Legem Dei
	Anima	Spiritus		Mens Spiritus
Caro		Anima	Caro	
	Corpus	Corpus		Anima Corpus

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 sin[79]). 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 freedom[80]). Thus, the more a law prohibits, the more some delight in sin.

> *Therefore, "the sing 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 commmitted 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 goods*[81]).

[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 commituntur, 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 Christ[82]. 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 inmortalem 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 cornalis* 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 adjutorem, 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.

Die Illuminationslehre Augustins

EINE KRITISCHE BESTANDSAUFNAHME UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER ERGEBNISSE HESSENS

Eine der problematischsten Theorien des Augustinus ist seine Erleuchtungslehre. Sie hat im Laufe der Jahrhunderte verschiedenste Auslegungen hervorgebracht, die allerdings in einige Gruppen zusammengefaßt werden können, von denen jede wieder ihre besonderen Entwicklungsphasen hatte und zur gnoseologischen Kontroverse beitrug. Bevor jedoch die einzelnen Interpretationsansätze dargestellt werden, soll Augustins Lehre anhand seiner eigenen Texte veranschaulicht werden[1]).

Die Grundlage für eine Theorie, wonach das menschliche Erkennen unter dem Einfluß göttlicher Illumination steht, ist bei der Geisteshaltung Augustins durchaus gegeben. Nichts stand so sehr im Mittelpunkt seines Lebens als der *Deus Veritas*. Bereits im dritten *Buch über die Akademiker* klingt die Theorie der göttlichen Erleuchtung an, wenn Augustinus dem Ausspruch des Alypius, daß allein ein Licht dem Menschen zeigen könne, was wahr sei, zustimmt[2]). Dasselbe hört man aus dem Schlußwort von *De beata vita* heraus, wo gesagt wird: «hoc est beata vita, pie perfecteque cognoscere, a quo iuducaris in veritatem, qua veritate perfruaris, per quid conectaris summo modo»[3]). In den *Soliloquien* ist der Erkenntnisvorgang auf intellektuellem Gebiet ein Analogon der Sinneserfahrung. Gott ist «die Sonne im intelligiblen Bereiche, und nur dadurch vermögen wir das Intelligible zu erkennen, daß es von ihm beleuchtet wird»[4]). Von einer Erleuchtung des mensch-

[1]) Bezüglich der augustinischen Texte halte ich mich an die Zusammenstellung, die HESSEN in seiner «Begründung der Erkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus» gegeben hat. Diese Schrift wurde nahezu vollständig in sein Hauptwerk «Augustins Metaphysik der Erkenntnis» übernommen (Kapitel: «Das menschliche Erkennen im allgemeinen», S. 11-106).

[2]) *CA* 3,13 (CC 29,42): «Nihil itaque in hoc sermone nostro libentius audivi, nihil gravius, nihil probabilius et, si id numen, ut confido, assit, nihil verius».

[3]) *DBV* 35 (CC 29,48ff.).

[4]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 67.

lichen Verstandes ist hier zwar noch nichts gesagt, immerhin erkennt man aber die eine Seite der vorbildhaften plotinischen Auffassung, daß nämlich die Objekte erleuchtet werden müssen, um einsehbar zu werden[5]). Die Illumination des Intellektes erwähnt Augustinus in *De magistro*. Schon das Thema der Schrift, die nachweisen möchte, daß niemand außer Gott Lehrer der Menschen sein könne, läßt erkennen, wie sehr die Theorie, das menschliche Erkennen hänge von Gott ab, bei Augustinus Fuß gefaßt hat[6]). «Der, welcher um Rat gefragt, uns belehrt, ist Christus, von dem es heißt, daß er im Inneren des Menschen wohnt (Ephes. 3,16ff.); er ist ja die unwandelbare Kraft Gottes und ewige Weisheit. Bei ihr erholt sich zwar jedes vernunftbegabte Wesen Rats, aber ein jedes erhält nur soviel Auskunft (*cuique panditur*), als es aufgrund seiner eigenen guten oder bösen Willensrichtung fassen kann»[7]). Wie geht nun die Belehrung durch die Wahrheit vor sich? Deutlich wird gesagt, die Schau komme durch eine Erleuchtung zustande: «Wenn es sich um das handelt, was wir durch den Verstand erblicken, d.h. durch den Intellekt und die Vernunft, dann sprechen wir von dem, was wir in seiner Gegenwart anschauen in jenem inneren Lichte der Wahrheit (*in illa interiore luce veritatis*), wodurch der sogenannte innere Mensch erleuchtet wird und sich erfreut (*illustratur et fruitur*)[8]). Eine göttliche Einwirkung beim intuitiven Erkenntnisprozeß wird hier mit aller Klarheit von Augustinus gelehrt, «wenngleich die Bestimmung des göttlichen Einflusses im speziellen Sinne einer Lichtwirkung noch weniger hervortritt»[9]).

[5]) *Sol.* 1,15 (PL 32,877), vgl. PLOTIN, *Enneaden* 5, 7, 8: «Der Geist schaut bei der Intuition die geistigen Dinge durch das Mittel des Lichtes, welches das Eine über sie ausgießt». (Übersetzung nach WEINAND, S. 78).

Die Wahrheiten der Disziplinen müssen nach *Sol.* 1,12 von der geistigen Sonne, von Gott, erleuchtet werden, um mit dem geistigen Auge erfaßt zu werden; genauso, wie nur durch die Erleuchtung der irdischen Sonne die Erde und alles Irdische gesehen werden können. Kälin weist darauf hin, daß der in den *Enneaden* ausgesprochene Gedanke von der Notwendigkeit des göttlichen Lichtes für das Zustandekommen geistiger Erkenntnis Augustinus zum Ersatz für die Wiedererinnerungslehre werden konnte, «denn es liegt in der Eigenart des Kirchenvaters, die Abhängigkeit des Geschöpfes vom Schöpfer recht scharf zu formulieren, alles Sein und Geschehen in der äußeren Natur auf Gott, der alles erhält und alles Geschehen bewirkt, zurückzuführen (KÄLIN, S. 53/4).

[6]) Nach WEINAND gipfelt das Buch in der Idee, «das Wort des Heilandes: *Nec vocemini magistri, quia magister vester unus est, Christus* (Matth. 23,10) zu einem erkenntnistheoretischen Axiom zu erheben» (a.a.O., S. 78).

[7]) *DM* 38, Übersetzung nach HESSEN, Methaphysik, S. 68.

[8]) a.a.O.

[9]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 69.

In der Schrift *De vera religione*, die wie alle bisher genannten Werke noch vor der Ordination im Jahre 391 verfaßt wurde, erscheint der augustinische Gedanke der göttlichen Erleuchtung im Erkenntnisakt expressis verbis[10]).

De libero arbitrio spricht von einem Schauen der Wahrheit in den *rationes divinae*, mit denen der Mensch auf besondere Weise verbunden sei[11]). Hessen zufolge verweist dieses Werk auf die Ambivalenz des menschlichen Erkenntnisaktes: der göttlichen Erleuchtung steht die Schau der *rationes aeternae* gegenüber, Augustinus geht demnach über die formale Bedeutung der göttlichen Illumination im Sinne eines Gewißheit schaffenden Erkenntnisprozesses hinaus: «aus ihr (i.e. der Wahrheit) fließen vielmehr unserer Seele bestimmte Erkenntnisinhalte zu, die in der intelligiblen Welt als Pleroma der Wahrheit ihren metaphysischen Grund haben»[12]).

In der 46. *Quaestio* über die Ideen, nach Falkenhahn der locus classicus der Illuminationstheorie überhaupt[13]), vertritt der Kirchenvater die Vorstellung von Exemplarideen, die in Gott ruhend dort geschaut werden und nach denen alles geschaffen ist. Darüberhinaus äußert er sich auch zum psychologischen Erkenntnisvorgang: «Die Vernunftseele übertrifft alle anderen Geschöpfe Gottes; sie ist Gott am nächsten, wofern sie rein ist, und in dem Grade, als sie ihm in Liebe anhängt, schaut sie, von ihm mit jenem intelligiblen Lichte gewissermaßen durchströmt und erleuchtet, nicht mit den körperlichen Augen, sondern mit ihrem höchsten und überragenden Teil, ihrer Intelligenz, diese *rationes*, deren Schau sie beseligt»[14]). Fordert Augustinus demnach einerseits eine göttliche Kausalität im Sinne einer Verstandeserleuchtung für das Entstehen des intuitiven Erkenntnisaktes in unserer Seele, so hängt dessen Vollendung andererseits von einer bestimmten Verfassung des Erkenntnissubjektes selbst ab: die Seele muß rein sein

[10]) *DVR* 97 (CC 32,250): «Per hanc (lucem) enim intelligo vera esse, quae dicta sunt, et haec me intellegere per hanc rursus intelligo».

[11]) *DLA* 3,13 (CC 29,293): «... si verum dicit, et videt quod dicit, in illis quibus conexa est rationibus videt...». vgl. FALKENHAHN, Illuminationstheorie, S. 56.

[12]) HESSEN, a.a.O., S. 70f. Um der Diskussion der einzelnen Interpretationsrichtungen nicht vorzugreifen, sei an dieser Stelle nur angemerkt, daß sich die sogenannte franziskanische Auslegung, die ihren Begründer in Bonaventura sieht und im 20. Jahrhundert von Gilson vertreten wurde, ganz auf den formalen Gewißheitsaspekt der Illumination beschränkt (vgl. FALKENHAHN, Illuminationstheorie, S. 62).

[13]) a.a.O., S. 58.

[14]) *DDQ* 46,2 (CC 44A,73); Übersetzung nach HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 71.

(*quando pura est*) und sich auf Gott richten (*eique in quantum caritate cohaeserit*)[15]).

In den weiteren Schriften tritt die eine oder andere Seite seiner Theorie stärker hervor, ohne wesentlich Neues hinzuzufügen[16]). Im folgenden beschränke ich mich auf die Schriften *De Trinitate* und die *Retractationes*, in denen die endgültige Auffassung niedergelegt ist.

In *De Trinitate* nimmt Augustinus von der Anamnesislehre Platons Abstand und setzt an ihre Stelle die Erleuchtungstheorie[17]). Aufgrund der Verbundenheit mit Gott schaut die Seele das Intelligible *in quadam luce sui generis*. Der vollständige Text sei an dieser Stelle wegen seiner geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung wiedergegeben.

«Man muß vielmehr glauben, daß Gott die Natur des erkennenden Geistes so schuf, daß er mit den geistig einsehbaren Dingen in natürlicher Ordnung infolge der Anordnung des Schöpfers verbunden und ihnen unterworfen ist und so in einem gewissen unkörperlichen Lichte eigener Art jene Dinge sieht, wie das leibliche Auge sieht, was im körperlichen Lichte in seinem Umkreis liegt — für dieses Licht empfänglich und ihm angepaßt ist es, weil es so geschaffen ist»[18]).

Das göttliche Licht und seine direkte Einwirkung auf das Erkenntnissubjekt werden nicht erwähnt. Es ist somit trotz der Analogie aus der sinnlichen Sphäre schwer, die Natur dieses Lichtes näher zu bestimmen. Durchaus nachvollziehbar ist insofern der Streit der unterscheidlichen Schulen um die richtige Auslegung. Während der französische Jesuit Boyer in dem «besonderen» Licht den *intellectus agens* von Thomas durchscheinen sieht[19]), sucht Hessen als Exponent

[15]) a.a.O.

[16]) Hessen, Metaphysik, S. 72.

[17]) Hessen, Philosophie, S. 23. Körner versucht in seiner Studie «Die Entwicklung Augustins von der Anamnesis- zur Illuminationslehre im Lichte seines Innerlichkeitsprinzips», als gemeinsamen Grund beider Theorien die Innerlichkeit des Menschen aufzuweisen und kommt mit Recht zu dem Schluß, daß sie nur mehr oder weniger unvollkommene Ausdrucksversuche ein und desselben existenziellen Grundanliegens darstellen: «der 'innere Mensch' (= Erkenntnissubjekt), von der Außenwelt ermahnt, (muß) zu dem von innen her drängenden *Deus Veritas*, dem Inbegriff aller intelligiblen Objekte, auf dem Wege über das eigene geistige Innere gehorsam einkehren, damit durch eine gewisse geheimnisvolle gegenseitige Verbindung mit dem überinnerlichen Schöpfer- und Erlösergott der christlichen Offenbarung die erstrebte Erkenntnisrelation zustande komme» (a.a.O., S. 446).

[18]) *DT* 12, 15, 24 (CC 50,378). Falls nicht anders vermerkt, sind die deutschen Textzitate der Übersetzung von Schmaus entnommen.

[19]) Boyer, S. 213. vgl. Falkenhahn, der sich mit Gilson gegen die Auslegung Boyers wendet (Illuminationstheorie, S. 66, Anmerkung 219).

der historischen Methode eine Erklärung im Gesamtbild der Texte: «Augustin denkt hier eben realistischer und läßt die *causae secundae* gegenüber der *causa prima* mehr zur Geltung kommen, als er es sonst bei seiner religiös mystischen Denkart zu tun pflegt»[20]).

Im 14. Buch wird der göttliche Einfluß beim Erkenntnisprozeß durch einen Vergleich näher bestimmt. Die Regeln der Gerechtigkeit treffen wir nicht in uns an, sie befinden sich «im Buche jenes Lichtes, das die Wahrheit heißt. Von dorther wird jedes gerechte Gesetz abgeschrieben und in das Herz des Menschen, der Gerechtigkeit wirkt, nicht indem er zu ihm hinwandert, sondern indem er sich ihm einprägt, hineingeschrieben, wie das Bild vom Ring auch in das Wachs eingeht und den Ring nicht verläßt»[21]). Von der göttlichen Lichtquelle werden die Wahrheiten in unseren Geist eingestrahlt. Das Bild vom Siegel bringt zwar gut «die Klarheit, Unverfälschtheit und Unverwischbarkeit der ethischen Normen im Geiste des sittlichen Menschen»[22]) zum Ausdruck, verdeckt allerdings als Bild die Tatsache der unmittelbaren, gerade nicht abgebildeten Präsenz der Ideen im Geist des Menschen, welche von Augustinus an anderen Stellen ausdrücklich hervorgehoben wird[23]). So äußert er sich im 9. Buch folgendermaßen zur Schau der Wahrheit: «In jener ewigen Wahrheit also, von der alles Zeithafte geschaffen wurde, erblicken wir in geistiger Schau die Form, nach der wir sind und nach der wir in uns oder in den Körpern in wahrer und richtiger Verständigkeit etwas wirken. Die von dort empfangene wahrhafte Kenntnis der Dinge haben wir gleichsam als ein Wort bei uns, und indem wir sie innerlich sprechen, zeugen wir das Wort, und da es uns geboren wird, entfernt es sich nicht von uns»[24]). Ein Kapitel zuvor

[20]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 76f.; SCHMAUS, BdK XII, S. 154, Anmerkung; GRABMANN, göttlicher Grund, S. 21f. WARNACH behauptet zwar mit Hessen den analogen und keineswegs metaphorischen Charakter des *lux sui generis incorporea*, sieht dessen Funktion allerdings primär in der Gewißheitsbegründung menschlicher Urteile. Er versteht seine Interpretation als allgemeine Annahme gegenwärtiger Forschung (a.a.O., S. 436), vernachlässigt allerdings die Auffassung der historisch orientierten Schule um Hessen, die immer wieder die Inhaltlichkeit der Erleuchtung hervorgehoben hat. Immerhin erkennt Warnach die Gegenständlichkeit der Illumination an, "insofern als sie das wahre Wesen der Dinge erst geistig sichtbar macht, jedoch nicht durch Abstraktion aus den sinnlichen Vorstellungen, sondern durch das Aufleuchtenlassen der lichthaften Form (*ratio*) der Dinge in den bereits geistigen Wahrnehmungs- und Erkenntnisbildern, die das Gedächtnis enthält» (a.a.O., S. 437).

[21]) *DT* 15, 15, 21.

[22]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 79.

[23]) a.a.O., S. 70f; gegen KÖRNER, Entwicklung, S. 423.

[24]) *DT* 9, 7, 12.

ist von einem Schauen der Wahrheit selbst die Rede (*intuemur inviolabilem veritatem*), von der aus wir, soweit wir es vermögen, bestimmen, «nicht wie der Geist eines jeden Menschen ist, sondern wie er nach seinen ewigen Wesenszügen sein muß»[25]).

Die bisherigen Ergebnisse legen nahe, daß es sich bei der Illuminationstheorie im Grunde um den Versuch handelt, das Vorhandensein allgemeingültiger Wahrheiten im Geist des Menschen zu erklären[26]). Ausgehend vom oben zitierten Text aus dem 9. Buch *De trinitate* betont Hessen die Unterscheidung der Begriffe «Gott» und «Wahrheit» bei Augustinus. Die Schau der Wahrheit sei von der Gottesschau abzugrenzen. «Sind auch Gott und die Wahrheit materiell identisch, so ist doch das Formalobjekt in beiden Fällen verschieden, denn Gott als Wahrheit ist Idealität, die Fülle der intelligiblen Dinge. Augustin will demnach sagen, daß die Totalität des Intelligiblen vor unserem geistigen Auge steht, insofern wir aus ihr die Idealbegriffe schöpfen. Daß ein eigentlicher Theognostizismus nicht vorliegt, geht besonders aus der näheren Erklärung des Schauens der Wahrheit hervor, die er in folgenden Worten gibt: 'Wir schauten die unwandelbare Wesenheit so, daß sie nicht weit von uns und zugleich über uns war, nicht räumlich, sondern durch ihre verehrungswürdige und wunderbare Erhabenheit, so zwar, daß sie mit ihrem Lichte bei uns gegenwärtig zu sein schien' (*ita ut apud nos esse suo praesenti lumine videtur*) (*DT* 15,10). Gott ist — in diese Richtung scheint hier Augustins Gedanke zu weisen — mehr *effective* als *objective* bei der höheren Erkenntnis unserm Geiste gegenwärtig; nicht seine Substanz, sondern die Wirkung, die von ihr ausgeht, erscheint unserm Geist»[27]).

[25]) *DT* 9, 6, 9.

[26]) Wahrheiten gliedern sich nach Augustinus in Tatsachen- und Vernunftwahrheiten. Die unmittelbare Gewißheit der Bewußtseinstatsachen, die nicht mehr zerzweifelt werden kann, reicht zur Erkenntnisbegründung als Ganzes nicht aus, da sie über den Bewußtseinsbereich nicht hinausführt. Dazu sind vielmehr die apriorischen Vernunftwahrheiten, etwa auf dem Gebiet der Dialektik, Mathematik, Ästhetik und Ethik erforderlich, die im Menschen vorfindbar sind (vgl. HESSEN, Philosophie, S. 20f.).

[27]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 77/8. FALKENHAHN übernimmt als Schüler Hessens in seiner Dissertation die Unterscheidung des Gottes- und Wahrheitsbegriffs. Seine Dissertation läßt an zahlreichen Stellen ein ausgewogenes Maß an kritischer Distanz gegenüber der Position Hessens vermissen und gewinnt daher kaum ein eigenes Profil. Falkenhahn beschränkt sich im wesentlichen auf die Verabsolutierung der historischen Methode: «Die Wahrheit der historischen Methode hat sich endgültig durchgesetzt... hat sie allein ein klares und wahres Bild der augustinischen Erkenntnislehre herausgestellt» (Illuminationstheorie, S. 144).

Interessanterweise wird *DT* 8, 2, 3 von Hessen nicht im Rahmen der Illuminationstheorie abgehandelt. Augustinus beschreibt hier die Wahrheitsschau mit Worten, die Hessen ansonsten im Sinne einer mystischen Gottesschau (= *intueri deum*) deutet: *Ecce in ipso primo ictu qua velut coruscatione perstringeris cum dicitur veritas mane si potes*[28]). Dieser Text zeigt neben anderen[29]), daß sich eine durchgehende Unterscheidung von intellektueller Wahrheitserkenntnis und mystischer Gottesschau beziehungsweise eine bewußte Abgrenzung der Formalobjekte «Wahrheit» und «Gott» bei Augustinus nicht finden läßt[30]).

Unter Berücksichtigung der *Retractationes* wird abschließend eine Zusammenfassung der augustinischen Problemlösung gegeben, wobei vor allem die Ergebnisse Hessens im Mittelpunkt stehen sollen.

Alles Wahre ist nur durch Teilnahme an der Wahrheit wahr. Die

[28]) a.a.O.; HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 190ff.

[29]) z.B. *Conf* 7, 23 (CC 27,107). Augustinus spricht von einem Moment zitternder Schau dessen, was da ist: «et pervenit ad id, quod est in ictu trepidantis aspectus» (a.a.O.). Die Wendung *ad id, quod est* zielt auf eine unpersönliche Wirklichkeit, wie sie die göttliche Wahrheit ist, ab. Der persönliche Gott scheint nicht im Vordergrund zu stehen, zumal der folgende Satz nicht Gott selbst, sondern *invisibilia tua*, d.h. unsichtbare Eigenschaften Gottes erwähnt.

[30]) SCHINDLER setzt die Schau der *essentia veritatis* im 8. Buch mit der unmittelbaren Gotteserkenntnis gleich, da die Wahrheit von Augustinus als essentielles Attribut mit dem Sein Gottes identifiziert werde (a.a.O., S. 171). Seine Zusammenstellung der typischen Ausdrücke für die Unmittelbarkeit dieser Erlebnisse (a.a.O., Anmerkung 18) weist auf die terminologische Nähe der von Hessen als Beispiel mystischer Gotteserfahrung herangezogenen Stellen zum Passus aus dem 8. Buch hin. Schützinger zufolge betrachtet Hessen *DGAL* 12,49 als locus classicus der augustinischen Illuminationslehre (Erkenntnislehre, S. 182): «Grundverschieden von den Dingen, die intellektuell geschaut werden, wie z.B. die Tugenden, ist das Licht selbst, durch welches die Seele erleuchtet wird, so daß sie alles, sei es in sich, sei es in ihm, wahrheitsgemäß erkennt und schaut; denn jenes Licht ist Gott selbst, diese (die Seele) aber ist ein Geschöpf, wenn auch als vernunft- und geistbegabt nach seinem Ebenbilde erschaffen, — welches, wenn es jenes Licht zu schauen trachtet, in Verwirrung gerät und kraftlos wird» (Übersetzung nach HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 75). Mit aller Deutlichkeit wird hier die Erkenntnis des Intelligiblen von der nicht erfaßten Lichtquelle, Gott, unterschieden. Um so schwieriger gestaltet sich die Vereinbarkeit mit der ekstatischen Wahrheitsschau im 8. Buch *De Trinitate*, die in ihrem Vokabular an ein mystisches Gotteserlebnis erinnert. Hessen entzieht sich diesem Problem, da er die genannte Stelle nicht im Rahmen der Illuminationstheorie abhandelt (Hessen, Metaphysik, S. 190 ff.). SIMON dagegen betont die Identität der Wahrheits- und Gottesschau. Insofern bereitet es ihr keine Probleme, im Gegensatz zu Hessen von einer mystischen Wahrheitsschau zu sprechen: «Die rational erschlossene Erkenntnis bedarf der Vollendung durch die intellektuelle Schau, in der sich die Wahrheit darbietet, in der sie in innigster Nähe in intelligibler Weise geschaut wird und dank ihrer unmittelbaren Gegebenheit in persönlichem Konnex mystischerweise berührt und erlebt werden kann» (a.a.O., S. 22).

Wahrheit aber ist Gott selbst, oder im engeren Sinn der Sohn Gottes als Logos bzw. Verbum[31]). Sie umfaßt die intelligiblen Dinge. Die menschliche Seele ist als *res intelligibilis* Teil des Logos und kann somit nur durch ihn zur Erkenntnis gelangen. Alle *intelligibilia* haben einen Lichtcharakter, sind mit anderen Worten ein intelligibles Licht. Da nun Gott, die Wahrheiten und die menschliche Seele Licht sind[32]), muß der Erkenntnisvorgang als Wirkung dieser Lichtqualitäten, als Erleuchtung definiert werden. Der Verstand wird vom Wahrheitslicht erleuchtet und erhält so die Fähigkeit, schauen zu können. Die ewigen *rationes* andererseits strahlen in unseren Geist hinein und können dadurch in ihrem Wesen vom Intellekt ergriffen werden.

Augustinus gibt nirgends eine präzise Darstellung seiner Ansicht, er hebt jeweils die eine oder andere Seite hervor. Ob daher die Ideen von Ewigkeit her «eigene Leuchtkraft» besitzen[33]), d.h. ob sie ohne weiteres ihr Licht ausstrahlen, oder ob Gott bei jedem Erkenntnisakt gleichzeitig dem Subjekt die Sehkraft gibt und die Ideen durch sein Licht sichtbar macht, ist aus seinen Werken nicht zu entnehmen[34]). Dies ist allerdings auch irrelevant, da der Urgrund des Lichtes in jedem Fall Gott ist. Es handelt sich nur um eine andere Ausdrucksweise, wenn Augustinus in den *Retractationes* von einem Schauen im Lichte der ewigen Wahrheit spricht. «Es ist eher anzunehmen, daß auch die

[31]) Vgl HASSEL, S. 389, Anmerkung 28: «The wisdom-illumination received from God is a participation in the Verbum Himself... Concretely, this participation is our imaging of God in remembering, understanding, and loving Him, that is to say in wisdom». Die Rolle des Verbums in der neuplatonisch gefärbten Erleuchtungstheorie und weniger die Natur des Hervorgangs der zweiten Person sieht PERLER als Grund für die Weisheitsappropriation des Gottessohnes an (a.a.O., S. 117).

[32]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 83. An zahlreichen Stellen hat Augustinus selbst darauf hingewiesen, wie stark er von der platonischen Lichtmetaphysik beeinflußt ist (v.a. *DCD* 8, 7, 10). Daß Gott und das göttliche Wort als «Licht» im eigentlichen und nicht bloß metaphorischen Sinn — wie etwa GILSON behauptet («la doctrine d'illumination est une simple métaphore», a.a.O., S. 106, zitiert bei FALKENHAHN, Illuminationstheorie, S. 36) — aufgefaßt werden, belegt Falkenhahn unter Stützung auf Hessen mit *DGAL* 4, 45 (CSEL 28,1,127): «Neque enim et Christus sic dicitur lux, quomodo dicitur lapis, sed illud proprie, hoc utique figurate» (a.a.O., S. 36). Neben dem ungeschaffenen (=göttlichen) Licht unterscheidet Augustinus in der zitierten Schrift das geschaffene Licht, welches in sinnenfälliges und intelligibles Licht geteilt wird. Letzteres umfaßt geistige Lichtwesen (z.B. Engel), aber auch das menschliche Vernunftlicht (vgl. 20,7; HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 64ff.). Wenn KÄLIN gegen die thomistische *intellectus agens* Konzeption das Licht, welches die intellektuelle Erkenntnis ermöglicht, bei Augustinus von der menschlichen Seele unterschieden sieht (a.a.O., S. 64f.), bezieht er sich offenbar, ohne es direkt auszusprechen, auf die Abgrenzung von ungeschaffenem und geschaffenem Licht.

[33]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 83.

[34]) a.a.O.

Unwissenden, wofern sie richtig gefragt werden über wissenschaftliche Dinge, deshalb richtige Antworten geben, weil in ihnen, soweit sie es zu fassen vermögen, das Licht der ewigen Wahrheit ist, wo sie diese unwandelbaren Wahrheiten schauen, und nicht, wie die Platoniker und andere lehren, weil sie dies jeweils gewußt und vergessen haben»[35]).

Ist das Entstehen des Erkenntnisaktes durch die Einstrahlung der Wahrheiten, durch die Erleuchtung des Vestandes gekennzeichnet, so ist sein Verlauf, rein erkenntnistheoretisch gesehen, nicht mehr problematisch. Der Verstand braucht nur sein Auge aufzuschlagen und seinen Blick auf die Objekte zu richten (Tätigkeit der *ratio*), um dann mit der *intelligentia* die Wahrheit in seiner Seele zu schauen[36]). Die Kehrseite der Illuminationstheorie, sagt Hessen mit Recht, ist die Intuitionstheorie[37]). «Es ist das eigenartige Sich-Offenbaren, Sichkundtun der Wahrheit, die ja, wie er immer betont, über unserm Geist steht, einerseits, und das Sichöffnen des Menschengeistes gegen die Wahrheit anderseits, was er ausdrücken will und wozu sich die Symbolik des Lichtes vorzüglich eignet. Die ewigen Wahrheiten, die Inhalte der intelligiblen Welt, offenbaren sich dem Menschengeiste, so daß dieser sie nicht aus der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung und dem Gebiet des niederen Wissens (*scientia*) erarbeitet, sondern als von oben gegeben in sich antrifft und auf diese Weise zur Wahrheitserkenntnis gelangt. Das apriorische Element in unsere Erkenntnis, das, was unserm Erkennen Ewigkeitswert verleiht und es dem Flusse der Zeitlichkeit entrückt,

[35]) *Retr.* 1, 4, 4; Übersetzung nach HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 82.

[36]) HENDRIKX, S. 41ff., besonders S. 46/7. Die natürliche Verbindung des menschlichen Geistes mit den göttlichen Ideen bei Augustinus ist in der neueren systematischen Theologie durchaus umstritten. So spricht HAENCHEN von einem Scheitern der *veritas*-Religion aufgrund einer folgenreichen Verwechslung: «Das Jenseits Gottes von einer gefallenen Schöpfung, seine Transzendenz gegenüber einer sündigen Welt wird verwechselt mit der Transzendenz des Geistigen gegenüber dem Körperlichen, Materiellen. Während der Christ nach dem kommenden Reich Gottes ausspäht, in das nicht nur nicht Fleisch und Blut, sondern auch kein sündiger Christ hineinkommt, schaut Augustinus schon den *mundus intelligibilis*, das «idealistische» «Reich Gottes». Während der Christ in der Geschichte die Offenbarung Gottes erfährt, die er nicht durch die Kraft des Denkens ersetzen kann, ist für den «Idealisten» Augustin diese Offenbarung nur eine Bestätigung dessen, was er schon weiß. Wo der eine für die geschenkte Erlösung Gott dankt, genießt der andere die immer bestehende Einheit. Es ist keine Frage, daß wir eine Lösung des Gewißheitsproblemes ablehnen müssen, die uns zu einem so fremden Gotte führt» (a.a.O., S. 95). Ähnlich betont der protestantische Kirchengeschichtler H. BARTH die völlige Mißachtung des qualitativen Unterschiedes zwischen Gott und Seele bei Augustinus (a.a.O., S. 319).

[37]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 83f.

stammt hiernach nicht aus dem Gebiete der Zeitlichkeit, weder aus der Natur noch aus der Seele, sondern aus einer höheren Sphäre, der Ätherwelt des Idealen und ewig Seienden oder besser: des ewig Geltenden, das aber im höchsten Sein verankert ist»[38]).

Im folgenden soll ein kurzer Überblick über die verschiedenen Auslegungen, die die Erkenntnislehre Augustins hervorgerufen hat, gegeben werden.

Schützinger unterscheidet in der Monographie «The German controversy on Saint Augustine's illumination theory» vier Auslegungsgruppen:

1. die ontologistische,
2. die konkordistische,
3. die historische und
4. die existenzielle Interpretation.

Der ersten Methode werden van Endert, Storz, Graf Hertling und Hessen zugerechnet. Legt man die Ontologismusdefinition Schützingers zugrunde, erfolgt die Zuordnung Hessens keineswegs überraschend: «Thus, the human mind is in direct relationship with the divine intellect and is immediately enlightened by, and sees the *rationes aeternae* in, God. This vision, however, differs from the beatific vision inasmuch as the mind does not see the divine essence itself. He sees only the divine ideas, the necessary, immutable and eternal truths»[39]). Hessen wendet dagegen eine engere Definition an, die die Intuition des göttlichen Wesens (i.U. zur göttlichen Wahrheit) und die Schöpfung aller Begriffe aus dieser Intuition als Kennzeichen des ontologistischen Denksystems hervorhebt[40]). Dieses Verständnis vorausgesetzt ist es nicht verwunderlich, daß Rosmini, der im allgemeinen wegen seiner Lehre der Intuition des von Gott verschiedenen «Essere ideale» als Ontologist gilt, der Begriffsbestimmung Hessens nicht genügt und demgemäß von ihm auch nicht dem Ontologismus zugerechnet wird. Geyser kritisiert ausdrücklich diesen Sprachgebrauch[41]). Er sieht das Wesentliche des Ontologismus «in der Lehre, daß zu den unmittelbaren Erkenntnissen unseres

[38]) a.a.O., S. 84.

[39]) Schützinger, Illumination theory, S. 31.

[40]) Hessen, Metaphysik, S. 189.

[41]) Seine Behauptung, Malebranche sei nach Hessens Schrift «Die unmittelbare Gotteserkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus» kein Ontologist, ist allerdings unzutreffend. Es geht Hessen vielmehr um Rosmini, wobei er sich auch auf das Urteil des klassischen Ontologisten Gioberti beruft, der seinen «ontologismo» dem «psicologismo» Rosminis gegenüberstellt (a.a.O., S. 48; vgl. Geyser, phänomenolog. Religionsphilosophie, S. 71).

Geistes, die durch ihre Unmittelbarkeit unsere Erkenntnisquelle für andere Wahrheiten und Erkenntnisse sind, in erster Linie die Erkenntnis Gottes gehöre. Es ist aber, damit Ontologismus vorliege, nicht nötig, in dieser Lehre soweit zu gehen, die unserem Geist unmittelbar gegebene Erkenntnis Gottes für die alleinige Quelle unserer sämtlichen wahren Erkenntnisse zu halten»[42]).

Hessen beschränkt die unmittelbare Erkenntnis auf die Grundbegriffe der Idealwissenschaften, während der Mensch für alle realwissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse auf die Erfahrung angewiesen sei[43]). Die Notwendigkeit der *scientia* dient ihm als antiontologistisches Argument, vermag jedoch nicht die grundsätzliche Kritik Geysers zu entschärfen. Auch der Hinweis Hessens auf das Vorhandensein eines Gottesbeweises bei Augustinus, dessen Notwendigkeit sich die Ontologisten entzogen hätten, und der neben der mystischen Gottesschau stehe[44]), trifft auf wenig Gegenliebe[45]).

Insgesamt kommt Geyser zu folgender Einschätzung Hessens: «Indem er betont, Augustin lehre eine Intuition des Absoluten durch unsern Geist, und indem er hinzusetzt, diese Schau sei für uns die Quelle unserer Erkenntnis der Grundsätze und Grundbegriffe der Idealwissenschaften, macht er im Gegensatz zu seiner Arbeit ihn (=Augustinus) zu einem Ontologisten»[46]).

Entweder eine unmittelbare, nicht-mystische Wahrheitsschau im Sinne Hessens und seines Schülers Falkenhahns oder eine auf diskursivem Denken beruhende, in der Illumination sich vollendende Wahrheitserkenntnis im Sinne Geysers als Wesen der augustinischen Erleuchtungslehre zu vertreten, scheint auch angesichts des oben erwähnten Textes aus dem 8. Buch *De Trinitate* kaum gerechtfertigt zu sein.

Geyser übersieht die zahlreichen, von Hessen zusammengestellten

[42]) GEYSER, phänomenolog. Religionsphilosophie, S. 71.

[43]) HESSEN, Gotteserkenntnis, S. 49.

[44]) a.a.O., S. 50f.

[45]) GEYSER, phänomenolog. Religionsphilosophie, S. 71. Geyser zufolge stellt die durch Folgerung bzw. diskursives Denken errungene Erkenntnis des Daseins Gottes (i.S. des sog. Gottes oder Veritasbeweises) nicht bloß einen zweiten Erkenntnisweg neben der direkten Gotteserfahrung dar, sondern ist «genau umgekehrt das Ende und das Resultat unseres Erkennens». Augustin sei es nicht in den Sinn gekommen, für die Art und das Gebiet unseres diesseitigen natürlichen Erkennens den *ordo cognoscendi* mit dem *ordo essendi* zu verknüpfen (a.a.O., S. 73). FALKENHAHN wirft Geyser vor, die augustinische Unterscheidung zwischen *intueri veritatem* und *intueri Deum* außer acht gelassen zu haben (Illuminationstheorie, S. 120).

[46]) GEYSER, phänomenolog. Religionsphilosophie, S. 71f.

Aussagen, welche in der Tat auf ein unmittelbares Erkennen bei Augustinus verweisen, indem er sich von vornherein auf die *Confessiones* beschränkt[47]). Hessen wird *DT* 8, 3, 4 nicht gerecht, da er sowohl die mystische Wahrheitsschau als auch die diskursiv vermittelte Illumination als augustinische Erkenntnismodelle unberücksichtigt läßt.

Die bisherigen Ausführungen zeigen daß sich Hessen nicht notwendig der ontologistischen Interpretationsgruppe zuordnen läßt. Entschieden abzulehnen ist allerdings Schützingers Auffassung, Hessen habe sich bezüglich der Illuminationstheorie vom Ontologisten zum Historiker gewandelt[48]). Die Grundlagen seiner Interpretation sind durchgängig dieselben[49]).

Thomas von Aquin gilt als Urheber der konkordistischen Interpretation, d.h. er war weit davon entfernt, die Unterschiede zwischen Aristoteles und Ausgustinus zu betonen, sondern wünschte vielmehr die Weiterführung der augustinischen Gedanken als auch die Einführung jener des neu entdeckten Aristoteles: «This was possible only by an interpretation of St. Augustine's teaching in an Aristotelian way»[50]). Thomas identifizierte den *intellectus agens* mit dem von Gott kommenden Licht. Alle Erkenntnis kommt insofern von Gott, als er *causa exemplaris* aller Dinge und *principium effectivum* des menschlichen Verstandes ist. Im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert gab es zwei Gruppen von

[47]) a.a.O., S. 66.

[48]) SCHÜTZINGER, Illumination theory, S. 38.

[49]) Bereits sein Erstlingswerk «Die Begründung der Erkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus» bietet nach JANSEN geradezu ein «Musterbeispiel ideengeschichtlicher Betrachtung» in seiner Darstellung der Theorie der göttlichen Erleuchtung (a.a.O., S. 111). Die genannte Schrift fügt sich organisch in das Ganze der Anschauung Hessens ein, da sie lediglich die intellektuelle Wahrheitsschau im Blick hat und diesbezüglich eine direkte Gottesschau ablehnt. Letztere bleibt HESSEN zufolge dem mystischen Erleben vorbehalten (vgl. die Schrift «Die unmittelbare Gotteserkenntnis nach dem hl. Augustinus»). Eine Änderung seines Standpunktes erfolgte in erster Linie bezüglich des kosmologischen Gottesbeweises und der Abstraktionslehre, wobei entgegen Schützinger die Kritik Kälins und gerade nicht die Jansens und Mausbachs ausschlaggebend war (SCHÜTZINGER, Illumination theory, S. 38). Während Hessen zunächst in einigen Texten Ausgustins einen kosmologischen Gottesbeweis wenn auch nicht in formeller, so doch in materieller Hinsicht zu erkennen glaubte und einer Abstraktion der Begriffe empirischer Dinge das Wort redete, so bekennt er in der «Metaphysik der Erkenntnis» den offensichtlich beträchtlichen Einfluß seines Lehrers Mausbach auf die Entwicklung dieser Überzeugungen, die nicht seiner ursprünglichen Auffassung entsprochen hätten. Kälins Kritik veranlaßte ihn, gegen Mausbach sowohl eine Abstraktion als auch einen kosmologischen Gottesbeweis bei Augustinus abzulehnen (HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 40f., Gotteserkenntnis, S. 18, Anmerkung 1).

[50]) SCHÜTZINGER, Illumination theory, S. 40.

Augustinuskennern im Blick auf die thomistische Interpretation: die eine war ihr gegenüber positiv, die andere negativ eingestellt. Der französische Jesuit Boyer ist zur Wirkungszeit Hessens durch eine scholastische Erklärung der Illuminationstheorie Augustins hervorgetreten. Diese besagt im Kern, daß wir nur insofern von einer göttlichen Erleuchtung sprechen können, als uns unser eigener Intellekt erleuchtet[51]). Zur ersten Gruppe ist neben Boyer auch Stoeckl zu zählen, der in seinem Werk «Geschichte der christlichen Philosophie zur Zeit der Kirchenväter» behauptet, daß der wirkliche Sinn der augustinischen Erkenntnislehre nur von der späteren christlichen Scholastik richtig erfaßt worden sei, ganz im Sinne des *Augustinus eget Thomas interprete*[52]). Die Vertreter der anderen Gruppe betonten den großen Unterschied zwischen der Auffassung Augustins und Thomas. Schützinger nennt Graf Hertling, Grabmann, Bäumker, Hessen[53]) und Falkenhahn[54]).

Die zweite konkordistischen Gruppe ist die aristotelisch-arabische, die ausgehend von Avicenna ihre Vertreter in Wilhelm von Auvergne, Roger Bacon und Portalié fand. Im wesentlichen wird Gott die Funktion des *intellectus agens* übertragen. Er bewirkt durch das Einprägen der intelligiblen Formen die höhere Erkenntnis, ist also *effective* gegenwärtig, nicht aber *objective*. Dennoch ist die göttliche Wirkung nicht allein funktionaler, sondern auch materialer Natur (*species impressae*)[55]).

[51]) Vgl. BOYER, S. 161: «Dieu nous éclaire par le fait même que notre propre intellect nous éclaire».

[52]) SCHÜTZINGER, Illumination theory, S. 41: «Augustine's teaching — that God is known — was, according to Stoeckl, rightly understood by the Scholastics as the doctrine that God is at once the principle of all being and of knowing».

[53]) HESSEN, Erkenntnislehre, S. 69.

[54]) FALKENHAHN, Illuminationstheorie, S. 60: «... wir können Hessen... nur Recht geben, wenn er sagt, daß dieses thomistische Verfahren eine sachlich gänzlich unbegründete Umdeutung der Aussprüche des Kirchenlehrers, eine Hineinlegung eines ihnen völlig fremden, ja vielleicht widerstreitenden Sinnes bedeutet...».

[55]) PORTALIÉ, Saint Augustin, S. 2268f.: «Dieu parlerait à l'âme, en ce sens qu'il imprimerait cette représentation des vérités éternelles qui serait la cause de notre connaissance». vgl. SCHÜTZINGER, Illumination theory, S. 45f.; vgl. FALKENHAHN, Illuminationstheorie, S. 12ff.; Fellermeiers Arbeit «Die Illuminationstheorie bei Augustinus und Bonaventura und die aprioristische Begründung der Erkenntnis durch Kant» zeigt die Verwandtschaft seiner Auffassung mit der Portaliés: «Werden nach Aristoteles die intelligiblen Begriffe mittels des Lichtes des *intellectus agens* aus den sinnlichen Wahrnehmungsbildern abstrahiert, so werden sie nach der augustinischen Illuminationslehre von Gott in die Erfahrungsbilder 'hineingestrahlt. Gott vertritt also bei Augustinus gewissermaßen die Stelle des aristotelischen *intellectus agens*. Nur ist die Fähigkeit Gottes keine abstrahierende, sondern eine illuminierende» (FELLERMEIER, a.a.O., S. 298f.).

Die von Bonaventura begründete franziskanische Auslegung fällt nach Falkenhahn ebenfalls unter die konkordistische Methode. Sie lehrt, daß Gott den Menschen erleuchtet, um die Gewißheit zu geben, nicht jedoch den Erkenntnisinhalt selbst. «Man is incapable of deriving by abstraction alone an absolutely certain judgement. The divine light is required for certitude and truth»[56]). E. Gilson gilt als ihr moderner Vertreter. Er sagt in seiner «Introduction à l'étude de Saint Augustin»: «Ce que notre intellect voit dans la lumière de l'illumination et non par la sienne c'est la vérité de ses propres jugements et non le contenu de ses idées»[57]). Falkenhahn kommt zu dem Schluß, daß nach Gilson der *intellectus agens* wohl die Begriffe hervorbringe, aber das göttliche Licht Wahrheit und Gewißheit im Urteil gebe, die der Mensch aus sich nicht haben könne[58]).

Die Ergebnisse der historischen Forschung sind oben schon am Beispiel Hessens und Falkenhahns im wesentlichen erläutert worden. Schützinger hebt drei methodische Prinzipien hervor:
1. «the actual meaning of the teaching of a thinker»
2. «the factual interpretation of that teaching»
3. «the personal understanding an interpreter has of that»[59]).

Sie kritisiert mit Körner die exklusiv antidogmatische, i.e. antithomistische Ausrichtung augustinisch orientierter Interpreten. Nicht nur das thomistische Harmonisierungsbedürfnis, sondern auch die veränderte geschichtliche Situation im 13. Jahrhundert hätten zur Verbiegung der augustinischen Erkenntnislehre beigetragen[60]). Zu den Vertretern im deutschen Sprachraum können neben Hessen und Falkenhahn Bäumker, Grabmann, Kälin, Jansen, Geyser und Schmaus, im Französischen-amerikanischen Gilson, Maritain und Bourke gezählt werden[61]).

Körner gilt allgemein als Begründer der existenziellen Methode. Er ist offensichtlich nicht damit zufrieden, nur bewußt geschichtstreu zu sein, sondern versucht stets mit intuitiver Einfühlung, sich in die persönliche Daseinserfahrung des Autors einzuleben[62]). «We find that

[56]) Schützinger, Illumination theory, S. 46.
[57]) Gilson, S. 120f., zitiert von Falkenhahn, Illuminationstheorie, S. 15.
[58]) Falkenhahn, Illuminationstheorie, S. 15.
[59]) Schützinger, Illumination theory, S. 48.
[60]) a.a.O., S. 52.
[61]) Schützinger, Erkenntnislehre, S. 195.
[62]) Körner, Sein und Mensch, S. 32ff.

Körner concentrates on the principle of inwardness. Through the recognition of the *sensibilia* the soul becomes merely stimulated to attentive activity, that is, it serves as an *admonitio veritatis*. The *visio spiritualis*, however, is produced by the *interior homo*, the subject of knowledge, who again is directed toward the inmost *Deus veritate*. The *Deus veritas* is the very essence and center of the entire hierarchy of *intelligibiles*, all ordered toward this center. It is at the same time also the supreme goal of every noetic act of the human intellect, the *interior intimo meo et superior summo meo* (*Conf.* 3, 6, 11). The more man is ready to turn to the God of Truth, the more he will enjoy the light. The bipersonal God — Man relation originates in the *supra* — *interior*, divine center of all creation and causes the temporal search of man for truth and eternal fulfilment in his existential perfection. Thus the metaphysical ground of the light as well as of man's search for truth and of man's knowledge is in the Creator. Even man's striving for self-knowledge is only one of the phases on the road from the *Foris* to the *Intus* and from there to the inmost *Deus veritas*, for whom man searches, driven from within according to his being, which is created in the image and likeness of God»[63]). Wie bereits oben erwähnt (Anmerkung 17), ermöglicht der existenzielle Ansatz Körners die Zurückführung der Anamnesis- und der sie ersetzenden Illuminationstheorie auf eine gemeinsame Grundidee: die persönliche Begegnung mit dem im Innersten lebenden *Deus veritas*, dem Wahrheitslicht in Person[64]). Abschließend soll ein spezielles Problem der Illuminationstheorie Augustins erwähnt werden, das allerdings den Kern der Theorie berührt: die Natur der Erleuchtung.

Gegenüber der thomistischen Auslegung betont Hessen die Einigkeit der deutschen Augustinusforschung hinsichtlich der Inhaltlichkeit der Erleuchtung[65]). Es bleibt unerwähnt, daß der Inhalt selbst keines-

[63]) SCHÜTZINGER, Illumination theory, S. 74f.

[64]) In seiner Arbeit «Deus in homine videt» bringt KÖRNER sein Verständnis der augustinischen Erkenntnistheorie prägnant zum Ausdruck. Sie sei nichts anderes als der «gnoseologische Aspekt seiner theozentrischen Anthropologie». Wahrheitserkenntnis im eigentlichen Sinne vollzieht sich vor diesem Hintergrund «letztlich nur in einer inneren Liebesbegegnung zwischen dem gnädigen Gott und dem sündigen Menschen: *Caritas novit* (*Conf.* 7, 10, 16)» (a.a.O., S. 213). Demgegenüber betont Geyser das Fremdkörperartige der Anamnesislehre, da sie die angestrebte Parallelisierung von intellektuellem und sinnlichem Schauen über deren terminologischen Zusammenhang hinaus (*videre*) nicht erlaube (GEYSER, Anschauungen, S. 84).

[65]) HESSEN, Metaphysik, S. 95f., zitiert werden von Hertling, Bäumker, Grabmann und Baumgartner.

wegs übereinstimmend angegeben wird. Zwar spricht Grabmann wie Hessen von einem Erkennen der *rationes aeternae* in uns. Während letzterer jedoch durchgängig die göttlichen Ideen meint, stellen für Grabmann die *rationes* lediglich «Widerspiegelungen der ewigen göttlichen Wahrheiten im individuellen menschlichen Denken» dar[66]). Geyser formuliert in Weiterführung der Gedanken Grabmanns, «daß die in Gott vorhandenen Ideen oder Wahrheiten in dem Sinne in uns leuchten, daß sie in unserm Geiste einen geistigen Eindruck hervorbringen, und daß zugleich Gott uns die Fähigkeit verleiht, durch dieses in uns hineingestrahlte Bild der *veritates aeternae* hindurch diese selbst zu sehen»[67]).

Insgesamt neige ich mit Hessen und gegen Geyser zur Annahme einer unvermittelten, direkten Schau der göttlichen Ideen, wobei sich mein Urteil in erster Linie auf die von Augustinus vertretene enge Verbindung von Gott und Seele stützt[68]). Mit Geyser und gegen Hessen bin ich allerdings der Auffassung, daß einige der Texte, in denen Augustinus den Aufstieg zu Gott beschreibt, über den direkten Weg hinaus auf die Möglichkeit eines diskursiv vermittelten Erkenntnisprozesses hinweisen, der seine Vollendung in der *visio dei* findet.

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[66]) Grabmann, Philosophie des Mittelalters, S. 11f. Diese für das Verständnis Grabmanns wesentliche Bemerkung fehlt in Hessens Zitat. Auch an anderer Stelle hebt Grabmann den Gedanken der intelligiblen Realitäten als Nachbilder der göttlichen Ideen hervor (ders., göttlicher Grund, S. 19, vgl. auch ders., Grundgedanken, S. 120).

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[68]) Hessen, Metaphysik, S. 190ff.

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The Use of Scripture and the Spiritual Journey in Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*

Recent studies of medieval mysticism have paid little attention to how the mystics articulate Scripture's role in undergirding and guiding the spiritual journey. This conspicuous silence can be partially remedied by a careful explication of the biblical hermeneutic of Walter Hilton, a 14th c. English Augustinian canon and mystic whose interpretation theory fruitfully illustrates the critical dialectic that often exists between exegesis and spiritual growth.

The few commentators on Walter Hilton who discuss his use of Scripture do so briefly, frequently saying little more than that his writings are, in the words of Evelyn Underhill, "saturated" with scriptural references[1]). His use of Scripture is most often described as "typical" of 14th c. English mystical writers — although a few scholars, like Helen Gardner, observe that Hilton seems to surpass other 14th c. English mystics in his frequent use of biblical quotations[2]). While Walter Hilton's adept interweaving of scriptural motifs throughout his major middle-English work *The Scale of Perfection* may be typical in the sense that most medieval writers referred to Scripture frequently, I will suggest here that an understanding of precisely how he used Scripture is essential to comprehending Hilton's particular form of spiritual guidance.

This paper explores Scripture's critical role in Hilton's analysis of the believer's mystical journey to love and knowledge of God: the Bible not only provides resources and encouragement for the process, but,

[1]) WALTER HILTON, *The Scale of Perfection by Walter Hilton, Canon of Thurgarton*, ed. Evelyn Underhill (London: John M. Watkins, 1923), xix.

[2]) Helen L. GARDNER, "Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England", in: *Essays and Studies of the English Association* 22 (1936): 107. One notable exception to the general neglect of Hilton's scriptural ties appears in Janel MUELLER's recent book, *The Native Tongue and the Word.* She argues convincingly, and rightly, I think, that the central features of Hilton's style "can be traced and accounted for by relation to the two prominent Biblical sources used in the *Scale* — the affective and introspective portions of Paul's Epistles, and the lyrical and gnomic books of the Old Testament and especially the Psalter" (Janel MUELLER, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style 1380-1580* [Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1984], 60). Mueller, however, does not discuss Hilton's analysis of spiritual growth which is my explicit concern here.

even more, a growth in scriptural understanding accompanies spiritual progress. Growing closeness to God includes a deepening perception of Scripture's four-fold meaning. Beginners on the spiritual journey are comforted by the literal meaning of Scripture; the moral meaning of Scripture guides their personal reformation, eventually enabling them to recognize the Bible's allegorical meaning which reveals the church- and God-centered nature of reality; and, finally, the heavenly or anagogical meaning yields a special sustenance to those advanced in contemplation.

This paper will explore the significance of the particular ordering of the four types of scriptural interpretation in Hilton. The step-by-step progression of the human person in relationship to God correlates, first, with an appreciation for the literal meaning of the Bible, then with recognition of the moral meaning, and finally with an understanding of the allegorical and anagogical meanings of Scripture. As Henri de Lubac points out, medieval authors quite frequently listed moral interpretation third in the interpretive process; and mystical, or allegorical interpretation, second (in Augustine and Cassian, e.g.)[3]). As I will indicate, though, the progression here from literal, to tropological, to mystical interpretation — typical of Origen and Jerome and adopted by many of the 12th c. Cistercians, who were important sources for Hilton — better fits Hilton's understanding of spiritual psychology.

The *Scale* (or at least the first of its two books) is addressed specifically to a recluse, an anchoress committed to pursuing the contemplative life, but more generally the work serves as a spiritual guide for cultivating believers' relationships with God. Like Augustine, Hilton maintains that humans are naturally oriented toward God: "for [the soul] nothing may suffice as rest but God alone"[4]). However, since the relationship to God was damaged by the fall, persons must experience a process of restoration to God before resting in God. The *Scale*

[3]) Henri DE LUBAC, *Exégèse Médiévale: Les Quatre Sens de L'Ecriture* (Aubier: Editions Montaigne, 1959), 139-149, 177-187 (regarding Augustine), 198-219 (regarding Origen).

[4]) WALTER HILTON, *The Stairway of Perfection*, trans. M.L. DEL MASTRO (New York: Image Books, 1979), Book 2, chapter 14, page 220 (hereafter *SP*, 2.14; 220). (For Middle-English texts see Barbara E. WYKES, "Edition of Book I of 'The Scale of Perfection' by Walter Hilton" [Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1957], and S.S. HUSSEY, "An Edition from the Manuscripts of Book II of Walter Hilton's 'Scale of Perfection'" [Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1962]). — cf. AUGUSTINE, *Conf.* I, 1, 1. CCL 27, 1: "... fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te".

of Perfection describes the process by which the human person grows and moves toward God.

I

Our Augustinian canon charts progress in relationship to God in two different ways: first, in Book 1, according to three stages of contemplation[5]), and second, in Book 2, according to whether one is reformed in faith, reformed in faith and experience, or reformed in experience alone. Although the three modes of reforming do not correlate exactly with the three levels of contemplation, there are significant similarities between the two modes of charting our progress. The first stage of contemplation, attainable through reason, human teaching, and the study of Scripture, corresponds to a stage of gaining knowledge of God and spiritual things. Special grace is not necessary for this first stage of contemplation which can be achieved by anyone, even curious non-believers. In Book 2 Hilton describes the first stage as a stage of faith in which those reformed in faith "believe without spiritual experience in the forgiveness of sins"[6]). Although still battling the image of sin within themselves, they, now aided by grace, have confidence in their own reforming. Baptism removes original sin, and in the stage of reformation in faith the sacrament of Penance removes the actual sin hindering progress toward God[7]).

Intention plays a crucial role here[8]). If believers can confirm through introspection that they are firmly committed to keeping God's commandments (that, e.g., they are thoroughly turned away from mortal sin), that they have contritely confessed their infringements of God's commandments and have no intentions of repeating them, then they are reformed to God's image[9]). Although they may falter again,

[5]) cf. J.P.H. CLARK, Action and Contemplation in Walter Hilton, in: *The Downside Review* 97, n° 239 (1979) 258-274.

[6]) *SP* 2.11; 215; *SP* 2.10; 209; *SP* 2.7; 227.

[7]) "It is necessary that a soul first believe his own reforming, accomplished through the sacrament of Penance (even though he doesn't see it), and that he fully dispose himself to live justly and virtuously as his faith demands, in order that he may afterward come to this sight and this reforming in experience" (*SP* 2.11; 215). This seems to prefigure Luther's concept of the human person as *simul justus et peccator*.

[8]) cf. J.P.H. CLARK, Intention in Walter Hilton, in: *The Downside Review* 97, n° 326 (1979) 69-80.

[9]) cf. J.P.H. CLARK, Image and Likeness in Walter Hilton, in: *The Downside Review* 97, n° 328 (1979) 204-220.

occasional weakness will not disrupt their more basic desire to seek God. Even if they are in mortal sin and want to escape it, they must love themselves not as they are, but "as they want to be"[10]). Hilton advises the faithful to act as much as possible "as if" they are already reformed to God's image, assuming that with commitment, practice will begin to reflect belief.

The primary meaning of Scripture relevant to these early stages is the literal meaning: "By literal interpretation, which is the easiest and plainest, human nature is comforted"[11]). Hilton commonly appeals to Scripture as providing models or exemplars, people like ourselves through whom we can understand something of the personal struggles of God's dedicated followers[12]). Although he draws from a wide selection of biblical texts, both from the Old and New Testaments, he does have, as was quite common, a definite preference for the Psalms, or the "writings of David", and a preference for the "writings of Paul". He appeals to David and Paul consistently to support his description of the soul's journey to God; while Jesus is the ultimate goal according to which we ought to model ourselves, David and Paul are intermediate models, people to identify with and who can offer extended examples of human persons' relationships to God[13]).

Frequently, Hilton refers to the words of David and Paul comforting the faithful. For example, in speaking of the image of the earthly human or of internal sin, Hilton writes:

> Paul bore this image, often with great difficulty, for it was so burdensome to him that he cried out concerning it "O quis me liberabit de corpore mortis?" (Romans 7:24). Ah, who shall deliver me from this body (and image) of death? Then he *comforted* himself (and others too), saying, "Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum" (Romans 7:25). The grace of God through Jesus Christ[14]). (emphasis mine)

Hilton speaks of God in these early stages as "sending spiritual food"[15]), comfort in the form of Scripture's literal sense. Hilton also

[10]) *SP* 1.70; 159; cf. AUGUSTINE, *S.* 9,9. CCL 41,126: "... odit te dues qualis es, sed amat te talem qualem te esse vult... incipe primo bene velle et odisse te qualis es". *S.* 269, 15, 18. PL 38, 926: "Semper tibi displiceat quod es, si vis pervenire ad id quod nondum es".

[11]) *SP* 2.43; 329.

[12]) E.g., *SP* 1.47; 127.

[13]) Ibid.

[14]) *SP*, 1.27; 95.

[15]) *SP*, 2.29; 271.

proposes Scripture-based prayer as crucial for the beginning stages of the journey to God: "The reason you pray is to make yourself able and ready, like a clean container, to receive the grace our Lord will freely give you"[16]). The most basic prayer is prayer derived from the Bible, and spoken according to set patterns, the Our Father, and the Divine Office[17]).

II

The second stage of contemplation (for which grace is necessary), consists principally in affection, the experience of finding more delight in praising and thanking God than in doing anything else[18]). Or, the next step in the process of reformation can be understood as the beginning stages of experiencing what was previously known by faith alone. The heart of the *Scale* concerns the movement from stage 1 to stage 2 of contemplation, that is, from knowledge of God to affection for God, from faith to experience. This happens when the intellectual pursuit of virtues is transformed into affective pursuit, when believers "love virtue because it is good in itself"[19]). Christological issues emerge: the faithful are conformed first to the image of Jesus the paradigmatic human person (or "Jesus the man", as Hilton calls him) when they develop virtues and particularly the twin virtues of meekness and charity. Meekness leads one to recognize that alone one is nothing; the corresponding virtue love then strengthens the perception of human nature's God-orientedness. In saying "I covet nothing but One, and that is Jesus", charity fills the emptiness left by the retreat of stark self-centeredness with the love of Jesus. Restoration of the image of Jesus the human person constituted by virtues defeats the image of sin, the "false, mirsuled love" of the self[20]) constituted by vices. Hilton's parallelism is clear: to each vice constitutive of the image of sin there is juxtaposed a virtue constitutive of the image of Jesus[21]).

Hilton describes the alternative step of reforming in faith and experience in a similar way. In this stage, attained with special grace over a long period of time, Christians no longer perceive the image of

[16]) *SP*, 1.27; 95.
[17]) Ibid.
[18]) *SP*, 1.4; 66.
[19]) *SP*, 1.4; 74.
[20]) *SP*, 1.78; 170.
[21]) *SP*, 1.86; 179.

sin within themselves[22]). They experience the replacement of vices by virtues, the result of long spiritual labor aided by grace. This second level involves also a developing relationship to Jesus. At the first stage they loved Jesus through faith alone, "without grace-filled imagination or the spiritual knowing of God"[23]). As believers progress and are reformed in faith and experience they begin to love Jesus "through faith and by imagining Jesus in His manhood"[24]). Love arises from the experience of a deepening understanding of Jesus.

> [T]his soul sees [God] in his understanding so that he is comforted and enlightened by the gift of the Holy Spirit with a wonderful reverence and a secret burning love, with spiritual savor and delight... This sight and this knowing of Jesus, with the blessed love that these give rise to, may be called the reforming of the soul in faith and experience, which I have spoken about[25]).

Eventually, in this second stage individuals begin to contemplate Jesus spiritually as God and not simply as human: "he reverences God in man as Essential Truth, stands in awe of Him as Power, and loves Him as Goodness"[26]). Here believers have progressed beyond reformation in faith — now in addition to believing the truth, they have come to understand something of Jesus as God. Although it is reforming in experience, to some extent it is still also reforming in faith because believers still lack the fullness of knowledge attainable only after this life[27]).

In explaining the means for obtaining virtues Hilton suggests Holy Scripture, holy teachings, meditation, and prayer as resources to encourage and aid the faithful. He writes of the first type of prayer, "For a man at the beginning of his turning to God is rude, boisterous, and governed by the flesh... Therefore it seems to me that it would be more profitable for him to use this kind of prayer. He should say the Our Father and the Hail Mary and should read his Psalter and say other similar prayers"[28]). At another point Hilton prescribes scriptural readings in the form of the Divine Office[29]). This form is not surprising, of

[22]) *SP*, 2.17; 227.
[23]) *SP*, 2.30; 274.
[24]) Ibid.
[25]) *SP*, 2.32; 282.
[26]) Ibid.
[27]) Ibid.
[28]) *SP*, 1.27; 96.
[29]) *SP*, 1.27; 95.

course, since Hilton was writing to an anchoress committed to the religious life; he suggests prayers and readings associated with the religious community to assist her cultivation of religious experience. Scriptural readings, in one form or another, but particularly in the form of the Psalter, are a fundamental part of the process of the soul's return to God: believers appreciate the Scripture in different ways according to their different stages of spiritual development.

The moral meaning of Scripture guides the faithful in this second stage of contemplation and reformation in faith and experience. "By the morality of Holy Scripture the soul is informed about vices and virtues so that it can learn how to distinguish the one from the other wisely". Hilton adopts the moral interpretation of Scripture to spur believers on in the struggle to uproot vices and cultivate virtues. Interpreting Paul in 1 Cor. 15, for example, Hilton entreats his readers to recognize the need to conquer the image of sin before they can be reformed to the image of God.

> St. Paul... speaks of this image, saying, "Sicut portavimus imaginem terreni hominis sic portemus imaginem caelestis" (1 Cor 15:49). [And we who have been modeled on the earthly man will be modeled on the heavenly man]. That means, if we want to come to the love of God, just as we have previously born the image of the earthly man, the first Adam (that is, the image of sin), so now we must bear the image of the heavenly man, Jesus (that is, the image made of virtues)[30]).

Medieval moral, or tropological, interpretation of Scripture, focussing on the Bible's moral message, interprets Scripture as a dialogue between God and the soul. Our Augustinian canon reads Scripture as a special conversation with, or address by, God to the soul.

> Don't be amazed because I call the forsaking of worldly love "darkness", for the prophet calls it this, saying to the soul, "Intra in tenebras, filia Chaldaeorum" (Isaiah 47:5). Go into your darkness, O daughter of Chaldee. This is you, O soul, who are like a daughter of Chaldee because of your love of the world, forsake it, and go into your darkness[31]).

This mode of interpretation bears out Hilton's conception of Scripture as a guidebook to lead Christians to God, to reform believers

[30]) *SP*, 1.86; 179-180.

[31]) *SP*, 2.27; 265. Cf. J.P.H. Clark, The 'Lightsome Darkness'-Aspects of Walter Hilton's Theological Background, in: *The Downside Review* 95, n° 319 (1977) 95-109.

to God's image, and to address individuals personally in their present states. Scripture as a form of conversation between God and human persons becomes even more important and intimate at the higher stages of spiritual development. But in these early stages the literal meaning of Scripture comforts believers, and the moral sense guides the process of weeding out vices and nourishing virtues.

III

The third stage of contemplation consists in a union of the first two, that is, in knowing and loving God perfectly (a state which cannot be fully attained until after this life). The cultivation of self-knowledge guided by an active search for Jesus leads further: first to greater understanding and love of the self on account of the virtues and justice God has given; and second, since human persons are mirrors in which God can be seen spiritually, self-knowledge leads eventually to an understanding and love of God[32]). Once the full transformation to affection develops and humans both know and love God, then the trinitarian goal emerges[33]). The final and guiding goal of image restoration is to recover the image of the Trinity (even though the faithful might not achieve it in this life)[34]). The Augustinian triad of mind, reason, and will describes the image of the Trinity. As believers progress in contemplation, their minds, reasons, and wills are reformed, and the image of the Trinity is restored in them.

Unlike the third stage of contemplation which is partially obtainable in this life, believers cannot experience the third stage of reformation which no longer relies on faith but completely on experience, until after this life when they "see openly the face of Jesus in the bliss of heaven"[35]). In this third stage of reforming "... the soul experiences through the spiritual sight of the Godhead in the manhood of Jesus"[36]). Hilton frequently describes the God known to humans in the final stages of reforming as sovereign Goodness, sovereign Being and blessed Life, the source of all goodness[37]). Interpreting John 20:17, the "Noli me tangere" passage, Hilton writes:

[32]) *SP*, 1.92; 186.
[33]) *SP*, 1.8; 71.
[34]) *SP*, 1.45; 123.
[35]) *SP*, 2.32; 284.
[36]) *SP*, 2.30; 274.
[37]) E.g., *SP*, 2.32; 288.

> Since I am both God and man, and since the whole reason I must be loved and worshiped is because I am God, and since I have taken on the nature of man, for these reasons, make Me God in your heart and in your love, and worship Me in your Understanding — God in man, sovereign essential truth, and blessed life — for that's what I am[38]).

The subject of scripturally-based prayer arises again in the last chapters of Book 2. Referring to the prayer of those advanced in the contemplative life, Hilton develops the third type of prayer mentioned in Book 1[39]). Although the sources are the same as in the first type of prayer (he names once more the Our Father, the Psalms, and Divine Offices), the manner of praying has changed. The faithful no longer pray vocally but in "great stillness of voice and gentleness of heart"[40]). The third kind of prayer which "emerges from the heart alone, without words" is possible only for those advanced in contemplation; it describes a way of being in which one can "almost continually pray, love, and praise God" in one's mind and heart[41]). Appealing to St. Paul, Hilton explains that with this type of prayer the soul is nourished through understanding and experiences a shadow of the love it will find in heaven: in the highest stages of contemplation knowledge and love are united.

At this stage, after maturation in self-knowledge, and when the grace of Jesus in Wisdom has come to us, two further spiritual meanings of Scripture emerge. The first is the mystical or allegorical meaning through which "the soul... is made ready to apply the words of Holy Scripture to Christ our Head and to Holy Church which is mystically His body"[42]). The second is the heavenly or anagogical meaning[43]). Now the soul, prepared by hard work, and assisted by grace, comes to understand the essential truth of the Holy Scripture, whether through reading, hearing, or meditating on it.

"By the mystical meaning of Scripture, the soul is illumined that it

[38]) *SP*, 2.30; 277. Cf. AUGUSTINE, S. 243, 1, 1. 244, 2-3. 245, 2, 2-4, 4. 246, 4. PL 38, 1143-1144. 1148-1150. 1151-1153. 1154-1155. *In Joh. Ev.* 121, 3. CCL 36, 666. *En. in pr.* 58, 1, 10. CCL 39, 737.

[39]) *SP*, 1.29; 98.

[40]) *SP*, 2.42; 322.

[41]) Ibid. Cf. AUGUSTINE, *En. in ps.* 37, 14. CCL 38, 392. *En. in ps.* 119, 9. CCL 40, 1785.

[42]) *SP*, 2.43; 329.

[43]) Ibid.

may see the works of God in Holy Church and is made ready to apply the words of Holy Scripture to Christ our Head and to Holy Church, which is mystically his body"[44]). The mystical interpretation of Scripture refers to the understanding of those who reach the third level of contemplation or of those increasingly reformed in experience. This allegorical sense points to the one-to-one correspondence between earthly images of Scripture and spiritual realities. It particularly designates taking earthly images to refer to the Church and to Christ. Progress in defeating vices and cultivating love of virtue awakens one to the church- and God-centered nature of reality conveyed through the mystical meaning of Scripture. One cannot perceive the pervasiveness of the ecclesial and Christocentric orientation of the world unless one has been prepared by the previous stages:

> For the true "sun" does not show itself by special visitation in order to give a soul the light of understanding and perfect charity, unless the "firmament" has first been made bright and cleared of "clouds" — that is, unless the conscience has been made clear through the fire of burning desire for Jesus in this darkness which destroys and burns all wicked movements of pride, vainglory, wrath, envy, and all other sins in the soul[45]).

Scripture's mystical meaning appears only to those who through grace and hard work have become friends of Jesus. Once the believer is transformed by responding to the moral address of Scripture, a new worldview develops and physical images are understood spiritually: "when the inner eye has been opened... giving us a small glimpse of Jesus, then the soul will easily enough transform all such words expressing physical images into spiritual understanding"[46]). For example, in the story of the woman who has lost a coin, Hilton explains that "Jesus is the drachma you have lost, and if you want to find Him again, light up a lantern..."[47]). In another example, a woman of Canaan who asked Jesus to heal her daughter symbolizes the Church asking Jesus for help for poor ignorant souls.

> ... the woman of Canaan asked our Lord for health for her daughter who was troubled by a devil, and our Lord was at first stand-offish because she was an alien. Nevertheless she did not stop

[44]) Ibid.
[45]) *SP*, 2.26; 257.
[46]) *SP*, 2.33; 287.
[47]) *SP*, 1.48; 128. Cf. Augustine, *Conf.* X, 18, 27. CCL 27, 169.

> crying out until our Lord had granted her request and said to her, "Ah, woman! Great is your faith! Be it done as you wish!" And at that same moment her daughter was made whole. That woman symbolizes Holy Church who asks help from our Lord for simple, ignorant souls who are troubled with temptations of the world... And though it seems that our Lord is stand-offish at first because they are, as it were, alienated from Him, nevertheless, on account of the great faith and deserving of Holy Church, He grants her all she wills[48]).

Once the believers' spiritual eyes are opened, the deeper meaning of Scripture emerges: what beginners would understand only in physical terms is revealed through mystical interpretation to have spiritual meaning.

IV

"The fourth, that is, the heavenly meaning of Holy Scripture, belongs to the working of Love alone; that's why I call it heavenly"[49]). Anagogical interpretation is the fourth type of scriptural interpretation; it speaks of celestial realities, and refers to essential truths of heaven and of God. Once a person's spiritual eyes are opened in grace, she or he can be led by Jesus who begins to "speak more familiarly and more lovingly to the soul"[50]). At some point, then, the person "perceive[s] in rest and in love the sweet sound of His [Jesus'] spiritual voice and is, as it were, ravished from the awareness of all earthly things"[51]). The believer begins to recognize the importance of the "working of love". In this situation, when the believer has passed beyond reflection on the world "the actions Jesus performs in the soul are done to make it a true, perfect spouse to Him in the intensity and fulness of love"[52]). It happens sometimes, Hilton says, that this experience "comes without a special unfolding of Holy Scripture..."[53]). At other times, though, along with this experience "various illuminations visit the soul through grace". We can see spiritually the beauty of angels, the nature of Jesus, and we begin "to perceive a little of the secrets of the blessed Trinity"[54]). Love and knowledge of heavenly things are intimately connected here.

[48]) *SP*, 2.10; 211.
[49]) *SP*, 2.44; 333.
[50]) Ibid.
[51]) Ibid.
[52]) *SP*, 2.44; 335.
[53]) Ibid.
[54]) *SP*, 2.46; 340.

As Hilton describes it, Scripture's essential truth, revealed only to "those who love it and desire it with a meek heart"[55]) is the experience and perception of Jesus as human and divine and of the trinitarian nature of God[56]). At this stage Jesus' relationship to us is one of friendship. "And therefore, [Jesus] shows His secrets to him, as to a true friend who pleases him with love (rather than one who serves him through fear, like a slave)"[57]). Jesus' Wisdom opens our eyes to the spiritual meaning of Scripture and our graced reading of Scripture enables us to see Jesus' power, wisdom, and goodness. The spiritual meaning conveys the Spirit of life to us; it offers "lifegiving food and delectable sustenance"[58]).

Like the tradition, and again quoting from St. Paul, Hilton maintains that Scripture presents us with knowledge pertaining to salvation. "All that is written for our teaching is written that we might have hope of salvation through the comfort of writing... For the goal of this knowledge is the salvation of a person's soul in everlasting life..."[59]). Through the heavenly understanding of Scripture, one can comprehend, among other things, the nature of rational souls, what Jesus does in humans, the nature of angels, and the Trinity[60]).

V

In sum, then, the process of the soul's restoration to God can be understood as movement from knowledge of God, to love of God, to a state of both knowing and loving God. It is a movement from pursuit of vices to pursuit of virtues and can also be understood as a movement from faith to experience. First, persons are reformed in faith alone — they believe, in other words, although they do not fully understand. The process of growth in imitation of Christ and cultivation of meekness and charity is a process of growth from faith to experience and deeper comprehension of what our faith means.

> [B]elieve without spiritual experience... and if [we] should first believe it, [we] will later experience through grace and understand

[55]) *SP*, 2.43; 328.
[56]) Ibid.
[57]) *SP*, 2.43; 329.
[58]) *SP*, 2.44; 330.
[59]) *SP*, 2.43; 332.
[60]) *SP*, 2.45; 335.

that it is true... Belief goes first and understanding follows after it[61]).

Hilton echoes Augustine's earlier formulation: belief precedes and understanding follows. The mystical way is the way of pursuing experiential understanding of what the faithful already know by faith. Hilton encourages his readers to cultivate reading and meditation on Scripture as a source of guidance, as a source of prayer and words to express love of God, and as a source of knowledge about themselves and God. Holy Scripture leads Christians to know what they can about salvation; it provides a source of inspired knowledge to those so graced and prepared to receive it. It comforts and brings great delight[62]). Hilton's hermeneutic of scriptural texts testifies to his appreciation of the plenitude of scriptural meaning, and the very direct intersection between Scripture and the human person's relationship to God.

This discussion of Walter Hilton's use of the Bible, as an example of one medieval mystic, illustrates how intimately related Scripture is to the medieval mystical journey of the soul to love and knowledge of God. Scripture's literal meaning comforts and provides exemplars for beginners on the spiritual journey; its moral meaning shapes the believer's spiritual transformation; its mystical meaning reveals the God- and church-centered orientation of all reality; and its anagogical meaning nurtures divine intimacy for those advanced in contemplation. Herein lies the unity of our Augustinian canon's mysticism and exegesis: since in this life we can never be fully reformed or perfect knowers and lovers of God, we are in constant need of Scripture's encouragement and support as we travel the spiritual path.

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[61]) *SP*, 2.11; 215. Hilton draws here directly on Augustine's formulation in *S.* 118, 1 (PL 38, 672): "Praecedit fides, sequitur intellectus". See J.P.H. Clark, Walter Hilton and "Liberty of Spirit", in: *The Downside Review* 96, n° 322 (1978), p. 66.

[62]) *SP*, 2.43; 331.

Scholastik und Platonismus im Prolog zum Sentenzenkommentar des Aegidius von Viterbo*

Die theologische Ausrichtung der italienischen Augustinerschule im XV. Jahrhundert wurde bis jetzt nur zum Teil erforscht, besonders was die Entwicklung der theologischen Einleitungslehre des Sentenzenkommentare betrifft. Der Stand der Forschung ist auf die Lehre von einzelnen Persönlichkeiten begrenzt, — wie Paulus Venetus oder Augustinus Favaroni von Rom — die einen eigenen und bemerkenswerten Weg innerhalb der Schule verfolgt haben[1]). Was deshalb hinter der sogenannten «platonischen Augustinerschule» steht, die am Ende des XV. und am Anfang des XVI. Jhs., als wichtigen Vertreter Aegidius von Viterbo aufweist, bleibt noch fast unbekannt. Ein Grund dafür könnte natürlich die anscheinend mangelnde Originalität der Literatur der italienischen Sentenziaren dieser Epoche sein, die aber einen historischen Grund hat: Mindestens seit der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jhs. versuchten die Ordensgenerale auch durch die Generalkapitel zu verhindern, daß an gewissen Generalstudien die Lesungen über die offizielle theologische Lehre von Aegidius von Rom durch die von anderen Theologen, manchmal Nominalisten wie Gregorius von Rimini, ersetzt würden[2]). Es drohte von daher der Verlust der «unitas doctrinae». Obwohl die Geschichte der einzelnen Ordensstudia noch nicht voll bekannt ist, ist es notwendig wenigstens einige theologische Tendenzen hervorzuheben, die beweisen können, daß man diese Notwendigkeit, die Einheit der

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[1]) PAULUS VENETUS, *Super Primum Sententiarum Johannis de Ripa Lecturae Abbreviatio. Prologus*, ed. F. RUELLO, Firenze, 1980; M. CRISTIANI, *Il misticismo della conoscenza nel «Prologo» di Giovanni da Ripa al commentario delle «Sentenze» e l'«Abbreviatio di Paolo veneto»*, in *Aristotelismo veneto e scienza moderna*, Padova, 1983 (Saggi e testi 18), SS. 591-606; S. FRIEMEL, *Die theologische Prinzipienlehre des Augustinus Favaroni OSA († 1443)*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1948 (mit Ausgabe des Prologs). Im Allgemeinen über das Problem der theologischen Prinzipienlehre siehe U. KÖPF, *Die Anfänge der theologischen Wissenschaftstheorie im 13. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1974; P. DE VOOGHT, *Les sources de la doctrine chrétienne d'après les théologiens du XIV^e siècle et du debut du XV^e*, Bruges, 1954.

[2]) A. ZUMKELLER, *Erbsünde, Gnade, Rechtfertigung und Verdienst nach der Lehre der Erfurter Augustinertheologen des Mittelalters*, «Cassiciacum», 35 (1984), SS. 432-437.

Lehre zu schützen, sah. Als Zeugen und Nachfolger der aegidianischen Schule sind uns nämlich einige Magistri bekannt, die ihren eigenen *Sentenzenkommentar* in der Form einer «abbreviatio» zum Sentenzenkommentar eines anderen gut bekannten vorhergehenden Augustinertheologen verfaßt haben. Trotz ihrer Unoriginalität bleibt diese Literaturgattung wichtig, nicht nur um die Forschung über das Fortleben des Textes von Aegidius Romanus weiterzuführen, sondern auch um die lebendige Auseinandersetzung innerhalb dieser Überlieferung berücksichtigen zu können. Der *Sentenzenkommentar* Gerhards von Siena[3]) zum Beispiel, der im XIV. Jh. gelebt hatte, wurde als das Werk eines treuen Nachfolgers der aegidianischen Lehre sehr oft benutzt und abgekürzt, wie die *Abbreviationes* von Balthasar von Tolentino oder von Wilhelm Becchi von Florenz beweisen können[4]). Gleichzeitig kann man aber auch andere Beispiele finden, die im Gegensatz dazu den *Sentenzenkommentar* von Gerhards Gegner Michael von Massa als Grundtext benutzen[5]). Mit anderen Worten: Die Geschichte der Stärkung der aegidianischen Lehre ist im Einzelnen noch nicht geschrieben worden. Wir kennen aber den Ankunftspunkt dieses Versuchs in der Renaissance aus den Maßnahmen, die Aegidius von Viterbo als Ordensgeneral getroffen hat: In seinem Schreiben vom 1. November 1509, das an den Magister Regens des Generalsstudiums von Bologna gerichtet war, liest man einen eindeutigen Angriff auf die nominalistische Lehre Gregors von Rimini: «Mandavimusque regenti, ne Gregorium legeret, sed Egidium, ut definitiones mandant, et quod reformationi faveret»[6]).

[3]) Gerardus de Senis († 1336), *In primum librum Sententiarum*, Patavii, 1598. Trotz seiner Verteidigung der Stellung Aegidius' von Rom entschloß er sich für eine ganze spekulative Theologie.

[4]) Balthasar de Tolentino (XV. Jhs.), *In primum librum Sententiarum (secundum Alphonsum Vargam Toletanum et Gerardum Senensem)*, vgl. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, T. I, Würzburg, 1947, n. 93, und A. Zumkeller, *Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters: Vertreter und philosophisch-theologische Lehre*, in: *Analecta Augustiniana* 27 (1964), SS. 248-249; Guillelmus Becchius († 1491), *Expositio in primum librum Sententiarum peracta Bononie dum esset inibi Bachalaureus an. 1439*, vgl. Zumkeller, Ebd.

[5]) Michaelis de Massa († 1337), *In primum Sententiarum*, vgl. Stegmüller, n. 541. Im Gegensatz zu Gerhart von Siena hatte er die Lehren Petrus Aureolis, Jacobus' von Viterbo und Alexanders von S. Elpidio verteidigt. Im XV. Jh. hatten die Augustiner Johannes (de Marliano) aus Mailand und Andreas von Mailand (Biglia) zwei *Abbreviationes* Michaels geschrieben: Johannis de Marliano († 1451) *Abbreviationes in primum Michaelis de Massa*, vgl. Stegmüller, N. 541, 2; Andrea de Mediolano († 1435), *Michaelis de Massa Primus, Abbreviatus a magistro Andrea de Mediolano*, vgl. Stegmüller, N. 541, 1.

[6]) Aegidii Viterbiensis OSA *Resgestae Generalatus 1506-1514*, ed. Albericus de Meijer, Roma, 1988 (Fontes Historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini, Registra Priorum

1497 hatte Aegidius selbst sein Magisterium in Theologie erworben: Während der Diskussion wurde die übertriebene platonische Färbung seiner Thesen negativ beurteilt[7]). Zu dieser Zeit hatte er schon in Florenz Ficino kennengelernt und das Werk Platons — wahrscheinlich meistens in der Übersetzung Ficinos — ernsthaft studiert. Andererseits hatte er drei Jahre am Paduaner Studium verbracht, wo er drei Werke des Aegidius von Rom herausgegeben hatte[8]). Als Ergebnis und Zusammenfassung seiner verschiedenen Erfahrungen haben wir seinen *Sentenzenkommentar* «ad mentem Platonis», der wahrscheinlich innerhalb der Jahre 1506-1512 verfaßt wurde[9]). Aber in unserem Fall muß man die Tatsache im Auge behalten, daß Aegidius den Kommentar in seinen Jahren als Ordensgeneral begann, in denen er eine wichtige Rolle in der Studienreform seines Ordens spielte.

Sei es nun, daß eine Verbindung zwischen dem Kommentar und Aegidius' Studienreform besteht, sei es, daß man diese Studienreform von Aegidius' Stellung in der Geschichte des Renaissance-Platonismus trennen muß, in jedem Fall ergibt sich die Notwendigkeit einer Erklärung der im Titel versprochenen Verbindung zwischen der scholastischen Theologie und dem Platonismus, wie er in der 2. Hälfte des XV. Jhs. vorgeschlagen wurde. Schon gut bekannt ist der Einfluß des Thomismus im Rahmen des Versuchs Ficinos, die scholastische und die platonische Philosophie in Einklang zu bringen. Interessant bleibt aber das eindeutige

Generalium 17), S. 154, n. 404; vgl. ZUMKELLER, SS. 248-249. Obwohl nach Aegidius von Viterbo die «unitas doctrinae» aufgrund Aegidius Romanus innerhalb der offiziellen Literatur des Ordens geschützt werden sollte, unterstützte Aegidius in demselben Jahr die Veröffentlichung verschiedener anderer Werke: «Fr. Egidius Viterbiensis Generalis Magistro Gabrieli Veneti Provintiali S.D. Cuperem intelligere quomodo possent imprimi Iacobus Viterbiensis, et Egidii et Hugolini scripta: et hec latissime scribas. (Viterbii, 26 Sept. 1509)» (Ms. Ang. Lat. 688, Aegidius von Viterbo, *Briefe*, f. 39r).

[7]) Darüber vgl. E. GOTHEIN, *Il Rinascimento nell'Italia meridionale*, Firenze, 1915, S. 168. Die beste Arbeit über das Leben und die Werke des Aegidius ist J.W. O'MALLEY, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*, Leiden, 1968. Für die neueste Bibliographie vgl. *Egidio da Viterbo O.S.A. e il suo tempo, Atti del V Convegno dell'Istituto Storico Agostiniano*, Roma-Viterbo, 1982.

[8]) EGIDII ROMANI EREMITE *Commentaria in octo libros physicorum Aristotelis*, Patavii, 1493; Ders. *De materia coeli questio*, Patavii, 1493; Ders. *De intellectu possibili contra Averroim questio aurea*, Patavii, 1493.

[9]) *Aegidii Viterbiensis Sententiarum liber primus usque ad XVII distinctionem ad mentem Platonis* (Ms. Neap. VIII F8, f. 1r). Der Sentenzenkommentar Aegidius von Viterbo ist in 5 mir bekannten Handschriften uberliefert: Ms. Angel. 636; Ms. Neap. VIII F8; Ms. Neap. XIV H 71; Ms. Vat. Lat. 6325; Cod. philol. 308 Hamburg. Für die hier ausgewählten Texte aus dem *Prolog* wurde der Ms. Neap. VIII F8 benutzt: Die folgende Folio Angaben beziehen sich auf ihn.

Ziel des Aegidius, einen solchen Versuch auf dem spezifischen Gebiet eines *Sentenzenkommentars* durchzuführen, und damit noch einen weiteren Beitrag für die Wiederbelebung des Platonismus in der Renaissance zu liefern[10]).

Besonders interessant wird deshalb einerseits eine Wertung der Methode, die die hermeneutische Equivalenz zwischen der Gedankenstruktur der aegidianisch-thomistischen Schule und der des Platonismus erlaubt, andererseits die Analyse der Stellung, — hier besonders in Beziehung auf die theologische Einleitungslehre des *Prologs* zum *Sentenzenkommentar* dargestellt — die Aegidius als Sentenziar innerhalb seiner theologischen Schule, der Augustinerschule, erwirbt.

Der Aufbau des Prologs entspricht, mit einigen bemerkenswerten Änderungen, genau der Fragestellung der *Summa Theologica*. Der Stoff ist nicht gemäß den vier Ursachen (materialis, formalis, efficiens, finalis) gegliedert, wie bei Aegidius von Rom und anderen Sentenziaren seiner Zeit, sondern in einer Reihenfolge von fünfzehn Artikeln geordnet[11]). Der üblichen Einleitung (*Proaemium*), in der der Autor sein Thema kurz und verständlich zu behandeln verspricht[12]), folgt keine systematische Beschreibung des textinhaltes, die eine Eigenschaft dieser Literaturgattung war: Es beginnt sofort der erste Artikel. Im Vergleich mit dem Schema des Aegidius von Rom ist hier offenbar eine umfassende Vereinfachung bezweckt, die nicht nur die Fragestellung betrifft, sondern auch das Verhältnis «quaestio-articulus», deren Unterscheidung hier ganz verschwunden ist. Ich bezeichne hier diese obengenannte

[10]) Für einige Überlegungen darüber vgl. D. GIONTA, *«Augustinus Dux meus»: la teologia poetica «ad mentem Platonis» di Egidio da Viterbo O.S.A., Atti del Congresso Internazionale su S. Agostino nel XVI centenario della conversione*, Roma, 1987, SS. 189-201.

[11]) Thomas von Aquin hat für die Theologie keine Vierteilung der Ursachen vertreten. Jedenfalls hat er die Frage nach der «causa efficiens» weder im *Sentenzen-Kommentar*, noch in der *Summa* gestellt.

[12]) AEGIDII VITERB. *In primum Sent.* (Proaemium), f. 2r: «Quoniam summum hominis bonum in alia vita est, ubi Deo iungitur et divinam cernit essentiam, hic autem summum bonum assequimur, quod in terris dari homini potest — Deo iungimur quam maxime fieri potest. Potest autem quam maxime, si mente ac voluntate, contemplatione atque amore iungimur. Quapropter paranda est mensa animo, unde semper divinos sumat cibos intelligentiae voluntasque comes divinissima fruatur voluptate. Et, ne labore taediove deterreatur, idem agam quod delicatis fieri solet convivis, qui ad fastidium declinandum parum sibi ciborum apponi iubent, id verum et selectum et praeciosum. Sententias ergo divinas brevissimo compendio perstringam (*Ms.* prestringam), ut presto semper mens habeat quod sumat, unde, quantum postea placuerit, possit et quae gustaverit ruminare et quae maxime delectaverint meditari».

Gliederung des Stoffes als «articuli», obwohl diese Terminologie einige Probleme mit sich bringt: Die gesamte innere Struktur eines jeden «articulus» bleibt jedoch «sui generis», denn sie enthält einen *corpus articuli*, in dem entweder das «corpus quaestionum» mit dem «corpus responsionum» zusammengefaßt wird, oder das «corpus quaestionum» ganz übersprungen wird. Wenn man die folgende Unterteilung mit einigen Stellen des Prologs des Aegidius von Rom vergleicht, bemerkt man, daß sie einer ganzen Folge von Thesen und Gegenthesen des Romanus entspricht:

> (Scientia est: 4) Verum opinionem et fidem hanc esse quidam putant, non scientiam, quod principia non habet sensu nota, sed scientia proculdubio est. Primo quoniam est de causa rerum omnium: scire autem et scientia est omnis intelligentia quae per causam facta est. Deinde est de uno genere, partes proprietatesque contemplans non quidem causae, quae partes non habet, sed effectuum et eorum quae in causa sunt, quae intelligi a nobis, nisi distinctis cognitionum et nominum partibus, non possunt»[13]).

Wo Aegidius von Rom die Theologie als Wissenschaft und Gott als ihrem Subjekt behandelt, wählt er die gewöhnliche Unterteilung:

> «In contrarium est, quia scientia est una quae est unius generis subiecti partes et passiones considerans, sed Deus neque habet partes neque passiones»[14]).
>
> «Ad primum in contrarium dicendum quod Deus non habet partes et passiones, tamen, ut patebit, aliqua se habent ibi ut partes, aliqua ut passiones. Ad secundum dicendum quod similis ratio est de subiecto in ista scientia et de principiis in ea, quia nulla scientia potest probare directe nec principia sua nec subiectum (...) et sic probamus Deum esse per effectus non per causam. Ad tertium dicendum quod Damascenus dicit quamdiu sumus in via omnino est nobis ignotum, tamen quid est quod scitur per nomen, cum dicitur deus, scire possumus (...)»[15]).

Es ist deshalb klar, daß bei Aegidius von Viterbo keine Spur einer Überbelastung des Stoffes nach der scholastischen Methode bleibt. Es wird eine extrem vereinfachte thomistisch geprägte Struktur angewandt. Bemerkenswert ist auf jeden Fall, daß im Inneren dieser Struktur, die Aussage über die Affektivität der Theologie — die wichtigste Eigen-

[13]) Aegidii Viterb *In primum Sent.*, f. 3v.
[14]) Aegidii Romani *In primum librum Sententiarum*, Venetiis, 1521, f. 3rE.
[15]) Aegidii Romani Ebd., f. 3vO.

schaft der Einleitungslehre des Aegidius von Rom über das Wesen der Theologie — immer noch eine wichtige Rolle spielt. Der Prolog enthält nämlich, außer den Artikeln der *Summa*, einige weitere Artikel, die den affektiven Charakter der Theologie stark betonen[16]).

Ein Vergleich mit der Fragestellung der *Summa* kann notwendig sein[17]):

Erstens wird nur einer ihrer Artikel übersprungen: «Utrum sacra scriptura sub una littera habet plures sensus».

Zweitens schließt sich Aegidius von Viterbo der Definition der Theologie als «scientia argumentativa» und der Frage «Quomodo debeat uti metaphoris», die Aegidius von Rom ausgelassen hatte, an.

Drittens fügt der Autor zwei Artikel hinzu, die das Wesen der Theologie als «Poeticus» bestimmen: Diese und seine Quellen werden weiter unten betrachtet.

Bemerkenswert im Rahmen der Beschreibung des inneren Aufbaus jeder Verteilung bleibt die Betrachtung der Quellenbenützung. Die Thesen der scholastischen Quellen, die auf Thomas von Aquin und Aegidius von Rom begrenzt sind, sind kurz dargelegt, zusammengefaßt, und werden nie eine der anderen gegenüber gestellt: Der Autor sucht eine Synthese, wo er sich für eine der beiden Quellen entschließen muß. In dieser Weise wird die christliche Tradition als «una doctrina» dargestellt. Die Vereinfachung, die man formell beim Aufbau dieses Prologs, im Vergleich mit der spätmittelalterlichen Methode des Sentenzenkommentars feststellen kann, hat den Charakter dieses merkwürdigen Werkes als Ursache, indem der Verfasser mit Sicherheit keinen Angriff auf die Tradition unternehmen will — obwohl er eine klare Position einnimmt, wie man in seinen theologischen Grundlagen bemerken kann.

Nach der Vorstellung der scholastischen theologischen Meinung, die, mindestens im Prolog, die Hälfte der Artikel umfaßt, wird immer die platonische Auffassung vertreten, eine Betrachtung der Quellen, nämlich, die die scholastischen «Sententiae» neben die platonischen «Sententiae» einreiht. Die Heilige Schrift wird seltener zitiert. Diese

[16]) A. 1 Felices hic sumus, a. 2 Amor necessarius, a. 12 Poetica, a. 13 Poetica scientia, a. 15 Amor quasi formalis et quasi finis.

[17]) Die Artikel sind bei Aegidius von Viterbo in der folgenden Reihe geordnet: a. 1: Felices hic sumus; a. 2: Amor necessarius; a. 3: Scientia quae; a. 4: Scientia est; a. 5: Subalterna; a. 6: Sapientia; a. 7: Subiectum; a. 8: Una; a. 9: Praestantissima; a. 10: Argumentis ne; a. 11: Metaphoris; a. 12: Poetica; a. 13: Poetica scientia; a. 14: practica an speculativa; a. 15: Amor quasi formale et quasi finis.

präzise Unterteilung des Artikels wird im Laufe des Kommentars immer mehr abgelehnt, um einer freieren Textsauslegung Platz zu machen, in der dem Inhalt der platonischen Texte immer mehr Raum gewidmet wird.

Zu unterstreichen ist die Gewohnheit des Verfassers, die Thesen der Scholastiker immer anonym zu lassen. Das ist ein weiterer Hinweis auf seine Zielsetzung: Einerseits, und dieses Aspekt ist am wichtigsten, sein Bestreben die zwei geschichtlich verschiedenen Traditionen in Übereinstimmung zu bringen — d.h. die scholastische theologische Prinzipienlehre mit dem Inhalt des Werkes von «Plato theologus» —, andererseits die definitive Ablehnung des Verfahrens eines Angriffstextes innerhalb der verschiedenen theologischen Stellungen seines Ordens, wo die Priorität der aegidianischen Lehre nicht mehr bezweifelt werden mußte.

Die Frage nach dem Wesen und der Notwendigkeit der Theologie wird gleich am Anfang in einem bestimmten Zusammenhang gelöst, wo am besten die eigene Auseinandersetzung des Verfassers mit den Paduaner Averroisten seiner Zeit erklärt wird. Es wird nämlich eine Gegenüberstellung von zwei möglichen «scientiae, quibus contemplandum sit» dargestellt: Die aristotelische und die platonische Wissenschaft. So ein «locus communis» der platonischen Polemik gegen die «impietas» des Averroes am Ende des XV und Anfangs des XVI Jhs. (Marsilio Ficino und F. Giorgio Veneto, nur um zwei der berühmtesten zu nennen) erhält bei Aegidius von Viterbo eine gewisse Originalität, wenn er in der behandlung dieser Frage über die Notwendigkeit der Theologie, wo er zunächst fast dieselben Argumente wie Aegidius von Rom gebraucht, die Gegenüberstellung von Platonismus und Aristotelismus (d.h. Averroismus) wieder einbringt. Theologie und Philosophie stehen nämlich eine der anderen gegenüber, versteckt aber hinter der Gegenüberstellung von platonischer und aristotelischer Philosophie:

> (Scientia quae: 3.) «Sed qua scientia contemplandum sit Philosophi contendunt, rati satis esse doctrinarum, si sint illae, quas ipsi comenti sunt duce natura. Philosophi, inquam, peripatetici: alii enim non tantum sibi arrogantes pedibus in sententiam veniunt dicuntque oraculorum fidem necessariam, ut in *Timeo* Plato. Ex quatuor defendi id potest. Primo ex fine, quem cognosci oportet ut scopon a sagiptante, sed is naturae vis excedit, ergo cognitione opus est longe eminentiore quam naturae. Secundo ex convenientia et proportione: cognitio de divinis est duplex, per effectus et per essentiam; illa habet philosophiam, ergo hec aliam habeat scien-

tiam necesse est sibi convenientem. Tertio ex pluribus quae haec scientia docet, ad quae nulla alia doctrina pertingit: ut ergo obiectum dat speciem scientiae, ita etiam dat necessitatem. Quarto ex iis ipsis quae natura intelliguntur, ut communius a particularibus, ut citius non per totam aetatem, ut certius non cum philosophorum concertationibus, quae summam arguunt incertitudinem. Hinc Plato in *Timeo* (*Tim.* 29c) adeo credendum inventis ait quatenus fuerint ab oraculo confirmata. Plato in *Epistola* (*Epist.* VII, passim) scientiam divinam nunc ponit, nunc aufert; ponit ex oraculo, absque oraculo tollit»[18]).

Die Theologie und die platonische Philosophie besitzen so zu sagen einige gemeinsame Eigenschaften, und besonders wichtig erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang der Offenbarungscharakter. Schon am Anfang wird die Theologie «revelationum scientia» genannt, d.h. sieht der Verfasser die göttliche Inspiration als das erste Grundprinzip seiner Einleitungslehre vor:

«Beati igitur hic sumus, beatitudine tamen secundaria atque imperfecta. Sic Vetus Lex ait: 'Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius' (Ps. 118, 2), id est *revelationum scientiam*, quae est Theologia; ita et Nova Lex: 'Beati oculi qui vident quae vos videtis' (Lc. 10,23)»[19]).

Im Einverständnis mit der traditionellen Ansicht setzt er Gott, wie in der Hl. Schrift, als geoffenbart voraus: Seine Theologie ist eine Offenbarungs-Theologie, und seit die Platoniker «dicunt oraculorum fidem necessariam», ist es gestattet, von einer allgemeinen göttlich inspirierten Wissenschaft zu sprechen, wo die Erkenntniskraft dem Subjekt der Wissenschaft entspricht. Mit Theologie kann deshalb auch die «scientia divina» von Platon gemeint sein:

«Possunt dari rationes quinque pro Philosophia. Prima ob foelicitatem contemplatio; secundo habitu bene operari et potentia intueri omnia, cum vult perfecte; tertio rerum possessione meliore quam aurum; quarto cognitione quae est propria homini; quinto perfecta cognitione per causas. Egypti, Graeci, Sirenes, Latini: 'Foelix qui potuit' (Verg. *Georg.*, II, 490): bene vivere primo; secundo bene agere habitu; tertio bene possidere; quarto cognoscere; quinto causis.

Contra tamen pro Theologia haec eadem.

Hic quarta sententia (Plat. *Phaed.*, 99d-100a; vgl. *Resp.*, VI,

[18]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 3r.

[19]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 2rv.

494ad) ponenda est, quod maxime detestanda est Philosophia. Primo quia verae scientiae repugnat, secundo quia falsa docet de creatura et creatore, tertio quia est ruina hominis et generis humani, quia tollit felicitatem, quae aeterna esse vult, et ideo in coelo tantum, ubi semper vita, hic humi, ubi mors et ideo Mezentius (Verg. *Aen.*, X, 900-908). Quarto quia humanam corrumpit vitam et mores, qui sunt media ad finem, quia sine aeternitate nemo movetur ad bene agendum recte, cum ne illa quidem sat sit. Quinto tollit religionem et pietatem, unde auxilium ad finem et media, et ideo Egypti in *Hos*[20]) et Trismegistus, Romani, *Numae libri*, Graeci, Sirenes[21]).

Und wenn wir in Beziehung auf den weiteren Inhalt des Kommentars diese Einleitungslehre zu interpretieren versuchen, muß darauf geachtet werden, daß genau hier die Denkrichtung des Aegidius zum ersten Mal vorgeschlagen wird: Aegidius von Viterbo beachtet die «auctoritas» des Aegidius von Rom nicht, insofern als der Kontrast zwischen irdischer Philosophie und göttlicher Theologie nicht mehr behandelt wird, und zugleich nicht mehr von philosophischen und theologischen Wahrheiten gesprochen wird, sondern allgemein von geoffenbarten Wahrheiten.

Der Gegensatz Metaphysik-Theologie, geläufig bei Aegidius von Rom, um die Notwendigkeit der Theologie zusätzlich zur Metaphysik darzulegen[22]), wird deshalb hier mit diesem obengenannten grundlegenden Leitmotiv eng verbunden. Seit der Kontrast zwischen einer «scientia revelationum» und einer Wissenschaft besteht, die sich nur auf die Sinne stützt, wird die Metaphysik nicht mehr als die Wissenschaft der Philosophen im allgemeinen betrachtet, sondern als die Wissenschaft der Averroisten, die von der Erkenntniskraft der Sinne und der blossen Vernunft abhängig ist; als Wissenschaft ohne göttliche

[20]) Es geht um die *Hierogliphyca Horapolli*, (Ausgabe F. SBORDONE, Napoli, 1940) die zum ersten Mal mit Cristoforo de' Buondelmonti 1419 von Griechenland nach Italien gekommen waren. Vgl. J. SEZNEC, *La survivance des dieux antiques*, London, Warburg Institut, 1940.

[21]) AEGIDII VITERB. *In primum Sent.* (a. 3: Scientia quae), f. 3r-v.

[22]) AEGIDII ROMANI *In primum Sent.*, f. 6rG-H: «Quod autem non superfluit triplex causa assignare consuevit. Una quia etsi scientiae philosophorum (d.h. Metaphysik) determinant de omni ente, tamen hoc est cum admixtione errorum. Unde dicitur in commento Hugonis super Ang. hier. quod philosophi erraverunt, quia non habuerunt lumen gratiae et fidei christianae. Ideo necesse fuit tradi scientiam ab omni erroris contagio absolutam». Für ein neueren Versuch, den Inhalt des *Prologs* aus dem *Sentenzenkommentar* Aegidius' von Rom zu erklären vgl. P. PRASSEL, *Das Theologieverständnis des Aegidius Romanus O.E.S.A.*, Frankfurt am Main-Bern, 1983.

Erleuchtung, hat sie automatisch das recht verloren, mit der theologischen Wissenschaft verglichen zu werden, sei es im Bezug auf das Subjekt, sei es bezüglich der Frage nach dem Wesen der Theologie.

Es wird deshalb nicht nur, wie bei Aegidius von Rom, eine extreme Trennung vorgeschlagen, sondern die Auseinandersetzung Metaphysik-Theologie wird mit dem Begriff falsum-verum gelöst: «(Metaphysica) falsa de Deo predicat»[23].

Nach Aegidius von Rom verhielten sich Metaphysik und Theologie wie ein allgemeines Wissen zum speziellen, weil die Metaphysik das Sein, sofern es ist, zum Objekt habe; beide handelten nicht von Gott unter demselben Gesichtspunkt; und die Theologie allein betrachtete Gott in erster Linie[24]). Das Problem als solches wird von Aegidius von Viterbo, zumindest in dieser Form, nicht aufgegriffen: Sein Ziel ist eigentlich nicht eine punktuelle Widerlegung seines Ordenslehrers.

Seine Denkrichtung ist aber nicht erklärbar, ohne die Frage nach dem Wissenschaftscharakter und dem Subjekt der Theologie zu stellen[25]). Ganz in der Linie der thomistischen-aegidianischen Tradition bleibt die Behandlung der Theologie als Wissenschaft, obwohl man hier eine extreme Zusammenfassung und Vereinfachung des Stoffes bemerken kann: Ohne weitere Unterteilungen wird die Theologie als «scientia» und «subalterna» beschrieben. Im übrigen ist die Frage «Utrum haec scientia subalternetur sibi alias scientias humanas» und die entsprechende Artikulierung des Problems ausgelassen.

Was das Subjekt einer Wissenschaft (und somit auch der Theologie) betrifft, gibt es als Ausgangspunkt bei Aegidius von Viterbo

[23]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f.

[24]) Aegidii Romani *In primum Sent.*, f. 3vL.

[25]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.* (a. 4: Scientia est), f. 3v: «Verum opinionem et fidem esse quidam putant, non scientiam, quod principia non habet sensu nota, sed scientia proculdubio est. Primo quoniam est de causa rerum omnium: scire autem et scientia est omnis intelligentia quae per causam facta est. Deinde est de uno genere, partes proprietatesque contemplans non quidem causae, quae partes (*Ms.* partem) non habet, sed effectuum et eorum quae in causa sunt, quae intelligi a nobis, nisi distinctis cognitionum et nominum partibus, non possunt. Tertio divinum lumen non est humano imbecillius, non itaque hoc scientiam facit quam id non faciet. Quarto habet principia unde conclusiones necessaria connexione trahit: non igitur opinio, non fides sola est, sed etiam scientia. Quod vero dicitur in principio de principiis non notis, imo et illa notissima sunt et in natura et iis qui fine potiti sunt, ubi principia per essentiam dignoscunt. Hinc Plato in *Alcibiade secundo* (*Alc.*, II, 147b) non solum hanc optime scientiam vocat, sed quicunque sine hac sciant male scire testatur, ut de Margete Homerus (*Epigr., Ex Margite*, Parisiis, 1881, S. 580), qui, cum multa nosset, male norat omnia».

anscheinend keine Erwägung der Unterscheidung zwischen Subjektum und Betrachtungsbereich (de consideratione), wie bei Aegidius von Rom[26]). Dieser spricht im Bezug auf die Theologie als «scientia specialis» ausdrücklich vom «obiectum non quolibet, sed obiectum principale et formale»[27]), während die Metaphysik als «scientia communis» Gott «modo communi, inquantum ens» zum Gegenstand hat[28]). Gott muß deshalb unter diesem speziellen Gesichtspunkt (ratio) betrachtet werden: «inquantum est principium nostrae restaurationis et consummatio nostrae glorificationis»[29]). Mit dieser Subjektsbestimmung die sich nicht an Thomas von Aquin anschließt, setzten sich die Mitglieder der Augustinerschule im Laufe des Jahrhunderts in verschiedener Weise entsprechend der Einstellung des jeweiligen Theologen zur thomistischen Lehre auseinander[30]).

Die Subjektsbestimmung bietet bei Aegidius von Viterbo, der keine genaue Ausführung des Verhältnis von Theologie und Metaphysik vorlegt, einige Elemente, die dazu dienen können, das Verhältnis beider Wissenschaften besser zu erklären. Die Lösung des Aegidius besteht in einem Versuch, die thomistische und die aegidianische Lehre des Subjektes der Theologie in Einklang zu bringen, obwohl er sich stark an Thomas anlehnt. Abgesehen von allen Anspielungen auf die scholastische Tradition, die, wie schon gesagt, hinter dem Text stehen, entschließt er sich für das «ens divinum oraculis revelatum» des thomistischen Sentenzenkommentars:

> (Subiectum: 7) «Sapientiae huius subiectum alii dicunt Deum absolute: id enim subiectum scientiae esse decet, a quo scientia

[26]) Betrachtungsgegenstand und Subjektum sind bei Aegidius von Rom nicht identisch: Mit Subjektum ist das gemeint, wovon die Wissenschaft *hauptsächlich* handelt. Betrachtungsgegenstand und Subjekt verhalten sich zueinander wie universal und partikular. Vgl. PRASSEL, S. 31. Für das Problem der Subjektsbestimmung vgl. P.W. NASH, *Giles of Rome and the Subject of Theology*, in: *Medieval Studies* 18 (1956), SS. 61-92.

[27]) AEGIDII ROMANI *In primum Sent.*, f. 2rB.

[28]) AEGIDII ROMANI *In primum Sent.*, f. 3vL: «Cum igitur metaphysica sit scientia communis determinabit de Deo sub modo communi, inquantum scilicet est ens, et causa universalis entium. Theologia autem cum sit scientia specialis, de his de quibus determinat, determinabit sub speciali modo, et ideo, sicut subiectum in scientia communi est commune in eo quod commune, ita subiectum in scientia speciali debet esse speciale in eo quod speciale, et ideo Deus de quo principaliter intendit ista scientia sub aliqua speciali ratione debet esse subiectum in ea».

[29]) AEGIDII ROMANI *In primum Sent.*, f. 3vL.

[30]) Noch wichtig über die Entwicklung der «Schola Antiqua»: D. GUTIERREZ, *Notitia historica antiquae scholae Aegidianae*, in *Analecta Augustiniana* 18 (1941), SS. 39-69, bes. SS. 52-54 für die *Abbreviationes* im XV. Jhs.

denominatur. Aliis id non placet: confunduntur enim scientiae, nisi formali ratione distinguantur, quare addunt principium instaurationis et beatitudinis. Sed nec hoc plerisque satisfacit, qui dicunt subiectum non esse, nisi de omnibus dicatur quae scientia docet, nec in Metaphisica subiectum est substantia, licet praecipuum in Metaphisica sit. Volunt itaque esse ens divinum oraculis revelatum, vel per essentiam, vel per similitudinem et participationem, vel per unionem, vel per significationem — secunde sunt quatuor *Sententiarum libri.* Possunt hae opiniones omnes defendi, si prima et secunda respondetur quod non oportet dici de omnibus, sed sat est omnia ad id referre et omnia illius gratia adduci»[31]).

Diese in der Augustinerschule geläufige Methode, die die Meinungen der verschiedenen Autoritäten zu harmonisieren versucht, wird aber auch durch ein drittes Element fortgeführt, d.h. durch eine Betonung der dialektischen platonischen Erkenntnislehre, wie sie im siebten Buch der *Republik* dargestellt wurde, wo sie sich auf die dynamische Einheit des Kosmos stütze:

«Plato septimo *Reipublice* (*Resp.*, VII, 514a-517c) vult alia omnia in his (*Ms.* inicit) adduci, ut mens cognitione rerum ad originem et causam assurgere assuescat, sed per ea imagines rerum abiiciendas et in id ipsum tandem quiescendum, ubi docemur alia omnia illius gratia dici et id solum per se considerari quod vult postea solum nobis aspici»[32]).

Damit nähert sich Aegidius noch mehr der thomistische Lösung. Seine Lösung ist nämlich eben die, die von Thomas schon in der *Summa* gegeben worden war, d.h. *subiectum* ist Gott, und alles was mit Gott als sein Ursprung und Ziel in Beziehung steht oder auf ihn hingeordnet ist[33]).

In enger Verbindung mit der Subjektsbestimmung steht — wie bei Aegidius von Rom — die Lösung der Fragen nach der Weisheit, Einheit und Würde der Theologie. Aegidius von Viterbo lehnt die zentrale These seines Ordenslehrers ab, nach der die Theologie Weisheit ist, weil sie hauptsächlich (*principaliter*) die göttliche Wirklichkeit betrachtet. Die Eigenschaft Gottes als *obiectum principale* spielt hier keine Rolle mehr:

[31]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 4v.

[32]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 4v.

[33]) *S.Th.* I, q. 1, a. 7: «Omnia autem tractantur in sacra doctrina sub ratione Dei vel quia sunt ipse Deus, vel quia habent ordinem ad Deum, ut ad principium et finem».

(Sapientia: 6) «Scientia causas inferiores vestigat, sapientia superiores: hec igitur sapientia dici vult. Primo quia causas altissimas scrutatur. Secundo quoniam altissimo lumine divino, scilicet quod altius, rem pandit. Tertio sola haec sapientia est, cum Metaphisica, quae naturam sequitur, falsa de Deo praedicet. Hanc Plato (*Tim.* 46de; 48bc) ridet, quae causam ponat rerum, quam postea obliviscitur esse causam, quodque causas nosse arbitretur, quae minime norit. Et in *Timeo* (*Tim.* 46e) eos sapientes appellat, qui causas persequantur non necessario moventes, quae instrumenta sunt, sed quae et libere et voluntate, cum agere placet, agit. Quarto simile gignit simile. Sapientia itaque divina hanc in anima ut sol lucem in lunam infundit. Quare cum sola haec fiant a sapientia, sola meretur sapientiae nomen. Quinto haec divina altissima docet multo altiora quam aliae: sola ergo et altissima est et sapientia. Ideo ait: 'Ex ore Altissimi prodii' (*Sir.* 24,5), ubi et causa et altitudo significatur. Erit ergo scientia si communi ratione scientiam sumas, erit et sapientia si proprio vocabulo nominaveris»[34]).

Auch bezüglich der Einheit, hatte Aegidius von Rom seine Überlegungen aus seiner zentralen These hergeleitet: Die Einheit jeder Wissenschaft kommt aus ihrem *obiectum principale*. Das ist in der Theologie nicht Gott und das Geschöpf, sondern Gott allein. Und auch in diesem Fall geht Aegidius von Viterbo zurück zu Thomas, um sich an seinen Gedankengang anzuschließen: die Einheit der Theologie entspringt erstens aus dem Faktum der Offenbarung Gottes, und zweitens aus der Einheit der göttlichen Wissenschaft, von der die Theologie «impressio est et similitudo atque imago»[35]): Deshalb bildet sie jene ab; und mag sie auch alle Dinge kennen, so bleibt sie doch in höchstem Maß *eine*[36]). Auch das Geschöpf wird deshalb entsprechend seinem

[34]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 4rv. Es bleibt noch einmal die Exstremisierung des Verhältnisses Theologie-Metaphysik bemerkenswert. Wo Romanus Metaphysik «scientia particularis» nennt, wird sie bei Aegidius von Viterbo eine «falsa scientia».

[35]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 4v-5r.

[36]) Es scheint, daß Aegidius von Viterbo wie Thomas von der Notwendigkeit des einen göttlichen Lichtes als Ursprung der Einheit der Theologie überzeugt ist. Im selben Sinn muß man die Abwesenheit des Arguments *ex lumine* wie es bei Aegidius von Rom behandelt wird, d.h. als das sogenannte Problem der doppelten Aktualität, interpretieren. Bei Aegidius von Rom muß man ausgehen von einer Aktualität aus dem Licht und einer aus dem hauptsächlichsten Objekt: «Ista duplex actualitas sic differt ut superius innuebatur, quia *actualitas luminis est quid generale, unde unum lumen intellectus agentis sufficit ad dandam actualitatem omnibus scientiis humanis, sed ex actualitate subiecti consequitur scientia specialem unitatem*, unde secantur scientiae quemadmodum et res de quibus sunt scientiae, non quemadmodum et lumina quibus innituntur, et sicut lumen intellectus agentis comparatur ad scientiam humanam, ita lumen divinum suo modo comparatur ad theologiam, et sicut unitas luminis intellectus agentis compatitur secum diversitatem

Bezug auf Gott mit einbezogen. Diese Definition der Theologie ist geradezu das Herzstück der Einleitungslehre des Aegidius, weil sie die Möglichkeit bietet, die grundlegende Übereinstimmung zwischen der heidnischen und der christlichen Offenbarung herauszustellen: Das Wesen der Theologie als Abbild der göttlichen Wissenschaft wird von beiden in gleicher Weise bestimmt:

> (Una: 8) «Quod vero haec scientia sit ab illa sexto *Reipublicae* (*Resp.*, VI, 508e-509a) idem dicit, quod boni idea dat menti veritatem atque intelligentiam, quare ab illa est imagoque illius illam imitatur, una simplexque persistens, quamvis omnia latissime contempletur. Ideo hanc solam unam Plato vocat in *Symposio* (*Symp.*, 211e), qui dicit per ascensum et gradus amoris eundum esse, qui ducit per corpora, per animam, per leges, per Philosophiam, donec ad scientiam unam perducat, quae scilicet una est, tum ex obiecto, ut in *Parmenide* (*Parm.*, 145e), quod partes non habet, tum ex ipsa scientia, quae similitudines tandem omnes abiicit, ubi ad unum ad quod aspirat venerit»[37]).

Im Rahmen der scholastischen Augustinertradition ist die Stellung des Aegidius — wenigstens was seine Einleitungslehre angeht — ausgehend von seinem Rückgriff auf die thomistische Lehre zu interpretieren. Er legt einen starken Akzent auf den Offenbarungscharakter der Theologie und auf einen erweiterten Begriff ihres Subjectum, beides insbesondere aufgrund des für ihn wichtigen Verhältnisses zwischen der Theologie und der göttlichen Wissenschaft. Diese stark ausgeprägte Lehre der «scientia divina» über die Theologie und ihre Erkenntniskraft findet darüber hinaus einen wichtigen hermeneutischen Schlüssel in der Lehre des *Parmenides*. Dort spielt die Äquivalenz unitas-essentia-scientia eine wichtige Rolle zusammen mit der Möglichkeit, daß die Wissenschaft, obwohl sie *eine* Wissenschaft ist («una manens») alle Einzelheiten umfassen kann. Zusätzlich ist die Lehre des *Symposium* wichtig, soweit

specificam humanae scientiae, ita unitas luminis divini posset compati secum diversitatem specificam theologiae, immo multo magis, quia plus excellit lumen divinum theologiam nostram, quam faciat lumen intellectus agentis scientiam acquisitam. Et ideo oportet causam aliam assignare» (*In primum Sent.*, f. 5vP-Q). Wie schon Jacobus von Viterbo zieht Aegidius von Viterbo es vor, seine These auf die zwei thomistischen Argumente zu gründen: «Una tamen est *ex formali ratione*, quod est per oracula revelatum. (...) Secundo *ex divine scientiae excellentia*, cui haec innititur cuiusque impressio est et similitudo atque imago: *ideo illam imitatur; illa autem licet omnia cognoscat, simplicissima tamen est et maxime una*». Vgl. D. GUTIERREZ, *De B. Iacobi Viterbiensis OESA vita, operibus et doctrina theologica*, Romae, 1939, S. 77.

[37]) AEGIDII VITERB. *In primum Sent.*, f. 4v-5r.

es sich um die Beschreibung des «iter» der menschlichen Erkenntnis handelt, die vom Sensibelen bis zur theologischen einheitlichen Wissenschaft reicht.

Obwohl man hier einen starken thomistischen Einfluß unterstreichen muß, scheint in diesem Zusammenhang die Würde der Theologie klar zu sein, insofern als die Richtung des Denkens Aegidius' die Erbschaft der «Schola Antiqua» des Romanus angenommen hat. Die Theologie empfängt ihre Wurde von der unübertreffbaren Würde ihres Subjectum, Gott. Trotz einer weitgehenden Verkürzung des Gedankenganges des Aegidius von Rom hebt er die Übereinstimmung der Begriffe mit denen seines Vorgängers nicht auf: Nicht behandelt wird z.B. das Verhältnis zwischen Theologie und anderen Wissenschaften. Nur eine präzise Anspielung auf die Metaphysik wird beibehalten:

> (Praestantissima: 9) «Regina princepsque scientiarum haec est, quod ex subiecto et certitudine sustineri potest: subiecto enim eius nihil maius qui Deus est, in quo dupliciter Metaphisicam superat, primo quod vera de Deo praedicat, secundo quod multo sublimiora quam Metaphisica. Atque hanc subiecti prestantiam scientiae dedit Plato sexto *Reipublicae* (*Resp.*, VI, 505a) cum ait: 'Ideam boni esse maximam disciplinam'»[38]).

Philosophie ist auch in diesem Fall kein Synonym für Metaphysik; Metaphysik kann sich irren, weil sie sich nur auf die Sinne stützt. Die Distanz zwischen Theologie (Philosophie) und Metaphysik tritt noch stärker hervor, wenn die Würde der Theologie sich auf ein zweites Element stützt: die «certitudo adhaesionis»[39]), eine Eigenschaft, die nach der Meinung des Aegidius von Viterbo aber auch einige heidnische Philosophen besaßen. Deshalb hatten nicht nur die Märtyrer des Alten und Neuen Testament keine Angst vor dem Tod, sondern auch Socrates: Und er besaß eine «certitudo», die sich nicht auf die bloße Vernunft stützte, sondern prinzipiell auf die Liebe. Obwohl der Socrates der Apologie das Alte und Neue testament nicht kannte, bewies er denselben Gewißheitsgrad[40]).

[38]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 5rv.

[39]) Das Argument wurde von Romanus im Rahmen der «causa formalis» vorgezogen. Die Lehre der Erkenntnissicherheit der Theologie stützt sich auf die folgende Punkte: «ex obiecto» (aus dem, was sie hauptsächlich betrachtet); «ex lumine» (aus dem natürlichen oder übernatürlichen Erkenntnislicht); «ex cognoscentibus» (mit der Unterscheidung von «certitudo adhaesionis» und «certitudo speculationis». Vgl. Aegidii Romani *In primum Sent.*, f. 7rC-F.

[40]) Und dieser Begriff wird auch von einer anderen Stelle erklärt: Aegidius von

«Deinde ex certitudine, quae tripliciter haberi potest: ex obiecto, quod est manifestissimum in natura; secundo ex lumine, quod divinum cum sit nullo modo falli potest, ideo omni certitudine certius; tertio ex cognoscentibus, qui a Deo certitudinem habent, claram ut vitam exponant, quod Socrates in *Apologia* (*Apol.*, 40a-c) testatus est, qui tanta certitudine Deo herebat, quod etiam, si saepe mori oporteret, libens fuerat mortem subiturus. Illum postea innumerabiles martyres secuti sunt in Veteri Lege, in Nova, et in Socrate, qui neutram novit, eamdem videmus esse certitudinem confirmatam. Quare et in *Phoedone* (*Phaed.*, 63c): 'Certum habeo, inquit, me ad deos esse profecturum', ubi certitudinem exprimit»[41]).

Die Heiden hatten an der ursprünglichen Offenbarung teil und besaßen eine göttliche Wissenschaft: Durch das Zeugnis der Liebe erwarb die heidnische Theologie eine weitere Verwandschaft mit der christlichen: den Affektivitätscharakter. Obwohl man die Theologie mehr spekulativ als praktisch definieren muß, bleibt ihr wichtigste Merkmal die Affektivität. Die Rolle der Liebe wird am Anfang wie am Schluß des Prologs wiederholt: zwei Artikel sind nämlich diesem Argument gewidmet[42]), um auf die Bedeutung dieser direkten Verbindung zwischen Gott und Mensch ein volles Licht zu werfen. Mehr als die unoriginelle Wiederholung des Gedankengangs der aegidianisch-scholatischen Lehre zu diesen Fragen interessieren uns hier die Übereinstimmende Elemente der zwei verschiedenen Offenbarungstheologien, die uns hier dargelegt wurden. Ein starker Akzent wirt nämlich auf das wichtige in der Renaissance unendlich widerholte Thema der Weisheitstradition gelegt: Die Lehre des Apostels und die Lehre, die im neoplatonischen Gedankenbaum Ficinos deutlich wird, das Thema «charitas-amor», das die unersetzliche Einigung zwischen Mensch und Gott, sonst unerreichbar, ermöglicht. Obwohl der Name von Ficino im Laufe des Prologs (und des *Sentenzenkommentars* im allgemeinen) nie auftaucht, kann ein Anzeichen seines Einflusses — nicht nur im Rahmen dieser Liebeslehre — einfach gefunden werden. Als Vorbemerkung

VITERBO, *Sentenzenkommentar*, f. 7v: «Non fidei articuli, sed fides qua articulos intelligimus principium huius sapientiae est, et utrorumque principiorum cognitio intellectus dicitur, ideo quoniam hoc secundum a Deo est, ideo ait tam saepe orans David: 'Da mihi intellectum'. Sequitur ex iis eum qui fidem non habet sive Christianus sit, sive non sit, Theologiam non habere, ut caecus de colore».

[41]) AEGIDII VITERB. *In primum Sent.*, f. 5v.

[42]) A. 2: «Amor necessarius» und a. 15: «Amor formale et quasi finis».

hatten wir nämlich festgestellt, daß es innerhalb des Prologs einen Artikel gab, («Poetica scientia») der ziemlich außergewöhnlich — im Vergleich mit denen der *Summa* oder des *Sentenzenkommentars* Aegidius' von Rom — schien. Die Beschreibung dieser weiteren Eigenschaft des Wesens der Theologie wird nämlich nach zwei anderen Artikeln eingefügt. Erstens nach dem Artikel über die Anwendung der Analogie («Metaphoris»), wo Aegidius sich noch einmal an Thomas anstatt an Romanus anschließt, der nämlich, wie bereits gesagt, diesen Artikel ausgelassen hatte, zweitens nach dem Artikel über das Wesen und die Unterteilung der Poesie («Poetica»).

Die Möglichkeit aber, die Theologie als poetische Wissenschaft («poetica scientia») zu definieren, muß in diesem Zusammenhang besser erklärt werden. Das Benutzen von Metaphern ist hier erlaubt (wie bei Thomas) einerseits aufgrund ihrer Nützlichkeit, um von den tiefen theologischen Wahrheiten durch «repraesentationes» eine Ahnung zu bekommen, andererseits, um dieselben Wahrheiten gegen die Gegner zu verteidigen. Nicht zu vergessen ist schließlich die protreptische Rolle der Allegorie, die von Augustinus her unterstrichen worden war[43]).

> (Metaphoris: 11) «Primo ex obiecto, quod cum excellentia illa infinita comprehendi nisi per finita (*Ms.* finitam) non potest. Secundo essentia non nisi in patria videatur; hic per ea quae videntur declarari oportet. Tertio ex infinitate, cui similis doctrina esse debet, unde metaphora multas recipit expositiones et multas sententias feta complectitur. Quarto pro nostra imbecillitate, ut oculus senis per vitrum res aspicit. Quinto cum fides sit universalis, sic scientia esse debet, unde omnes capiant. Sexto adversus derisores, ne pateat; et hoc Plato (*Ep.* VII, *passim*) et Trismegistus. Septimo ad memoriam firmandam, quae sensibus confirmatur. Octavo quod est maxime huic scientiae proprium ad affectum movendum, quod rerum enarratio efficacissime facit, ut que de filio prodigo recitata»[44]).

Wir haben deshalb hier nichts anderes als eine unoriginelle Beschreibung des Zwecks der biblischen Allegorie vor uns. Die sprachliche Ausdrucksform und die Begriffe sind scholastisches Erbe — in der

[43]) Darüber vgl. J. Pépin, *Saint Augustin et la fonction protreptique de l'allégorie*, in: *Recherches Augustiniennes* 1 (1958), SS. 243-286. Über die Rolle des Augustinus im Rahmen des *Prolog* des Aegidius von Viterbo vgl. Gionta, *«Augustinus Dux meus»: la teologia poetica...*

[44]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 6r.

Scholastik normalweise in Verbindung mit dem Begriff «sacra doctrina» gebraucht.

Dagegen scheint in dem begriff «poetica» schon die Kultur der Renaissance durch, die den Hintergrund zu diesen Gedanken bildet:

> (Poetica: 12) «Dionysius (vgl. *Coel. Hier.*, VII, 4, 212b) dicit hanc poetica uti. Sed quomodo, si utilissimam illam putant et Plato a republica (*Resp.*, II-III *passim*) pellit? Dividunt poesim vel voluptatis causa vel commodi; et commodi vel inhoneste vel honeste fingunt. Primum locum Catullus tenet, secundum Homerus, ubi turpia deorum adulteria numerat, tertium Homerus et alii, ubi vel de demonibus vel de divinis poeticis operiunt velaminibus. Duos superiores reprehendere est, duos posteriores accusari non debent. Et quoniam quartus proprie poeta dicitur, ut in *Ione* (*Ion.*, 534a-535b) Plato testatur, ideo ille vel theologus et sapiens nominari vult, vel sapientie proximus. Ait enim Dionysius (*Coel. Hier.*, I, 733b) divinum radium ad nos venire non posse, nisi poeticis velaminibus circumductum. Aut ergo sapientia est, aut id est quod sapientiae est maxime necessarium»[45]).

Unter allen möglichen Arten von profaner Poesie gibt es mindestens eine, die man retten konnte: Die Poesie Homers, die einen besonderen Offenbarungscharakter besitzt. Schon das ist ein Beispiel, das bei Pico sehr geläufig war[46]). Die geläufige Identifikation zwischen dem Theologen und dem Dichter wird deshalb auch hier dargelegt, eine Identifikation, die aufgrund der gemeinsam gebrauchten hermeneutischen Methode entsteht: d.h. beide teilen durch Allegorien die höchsten Wahrheiten mit. Orpheus ist der theologus-poeta, der hier beschrieben wird. Mit anderen Worten: Die Grenzen zwischen biblischer und profaner Poesie werden niedergerissen.

Die Verteidigung der Poesie, die schon lange mit Mussato und Boccaccio vorbei war, hatte mit Landino, Ficino und Pico einen weiteren Begriff entwickelt: Den Begriff von «Theologia poetica». Die Diskussion über die Poesie wird aber hier mit Aegidius von Viterbo unter einem weiteren Gesichtspunkt von neuem aufgenommen: Die

[45]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 6rv.

[46]) Über Pico und sein Buchprojekt einer poetischen Theologie vgl. G. Bader, *«Theologia poetica». Begriff und Aufgabe*, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 83 (1986), SS. 188-237 und bes. SS. 190-192; und E. Monnerjahn, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Ein Beitrag zur philosophischen Theologie des italienischen Humanismus*, Wiesbaden, 1960. Über das Verhältnis zwischen der poetischen Theologie und der bildenden Kunst in XV. Jh. vgl. auch S. Meltzoff, *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savonarola. Theologia Poetica and Painting from Boccaccio to Poliziano*, Firenze, 1987.

poetische Theologie empfängt nämlich einen außerordentlichen Ehrenplatz im Rahmen der Frage nach den traditionellen *scholastischen* Eigenschaften der Theologie; in einem Zusammenhang — besonders thomistisch-geprägt — wo die Notwendigkeit, den Wissenschaftscharakter der Theologie festzuhalten, offenbar sehr wichtig bleibt. Der folgende Artikel stellt zwei scheinbar gegensätzliche Eigenschaften nebeneinander: *poetica* und *scientia*:

> (Poetica scientia: 13) «Verum similitudinibus innixa quomodo scientia dicetur. Illuminatio siquidem vel rapit mentem tantum ad divina, et tunc furor Bacchi, vel etiam ad futura vaticinia, et tunc Apollinis, vel ad elegantem divinorum futurorumque scribendorum rationem, et tunc poeticus et Musae, vel ad corpus etiam in aera rapiendum, et tunc Veneris. Hec in *Ione* (*Ion.*, 534c) Plato: quibus manifestum est poesim scientiam esse a Deo datam, ut supra de hac scientia dictum est»[47]).

Die Beschreibung der Theologie als «poetica scientia» stützt sich auf die Lehre der vier «furores». Was die Verbreitung dieser Lehre angeht, ist der Brieftraktat des Marsilio Ficino an Pellegrino Agli im Jahre 1457 nicht wegzudenken: Seine Zirkulation hatte einen bemerkenswerten Einfluß auf die Rezeption dieser Lehre, besonders in Beziehung auf die platonische Religionsphilosophie, Erkenntnislehre und Liebeslehre[48]). Dieser präzise Bezug auf die Problematik seiner Zeit ist

[47]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.*, f. 6v.

[48]) Vgl. S. Gentile, *In margine all'epistola «De divino furore» di Marsilio Ficino*, in: *Rinascimento* 23 (1983), SS. 33-77. Nicht nur «amor» — wie bei dem *Phaedrus* — sondern auch «poesis» bekommt bei Ficino eine gnoseologische Valenz. Cfr. M. Ficini, *Opera*, Basileae, 1567, S. 615: «Sequuntur post haec reliquae furoris divini species, quas ille bifariam dividit, earumque alteram circa mysteria, alteram circa futurorum eventus, quod vaticinium vocat, versari putat. Primum quidem furorem definit vehementiorem animi concitationem in iis, quae ad deorum cultum, religionem, expiationem, sacrasque caeremonias pertinent perficiendis. Affectum vero mentis, qui eiusmodi furorem falso imitatur, superstitionem nominat. Postremam vero furoris naturam, in qua vaticinium ponit, nihil aliud esse putat, nisi divino afflato inspiratam praesentionem, eamque propriori vocabulo, divinationem ac vaticinium nominavimus. Quod si anima in ea ipsa divinatione acrius exarserit, furorem nuncupat. Quum mens a corpore abstracta divino instincta concitatur. Si quis autem humana potius solertia et sagacitate, quam divina infusione futura praeviderit huiusmodi praesensionem, coniectionemque appellandam censet, ex iis omnibus iam perspicuum est, quatuor divini furoris species esse: amorem, poesim, mysteria, vaticinium. Amorem divinum, amor ille mater vulgaris penitusque insanus, falso imitatur, poesim, levior, ut diximus, musica, mysteria superstitio, divinationem coniectio. Primum quidem furorem Veneri, alterum Musis, tertium Dionysio, postremum Apollini apud Platonem Socrates tribuit. Caeterum in eo furore, qui ad amorem divinum poesimque pertinet, describendo duabus de causis longior esse malui, quod videlicet utroque te affici

übrigens durch die Quellenbenutzung bewiesen: *Phedrus* und *Ion* sind — wie bei Ficino — die einzigen Quellen, die bei der Beschreibung der vier «furores» benutzt worden sind: Es wird keine scholastische Quelle hinzugefügt.

Die Frage betrifft noch einmal die Möglichkeit für die Theologie «similitudines» zu benutzen und gleichzeitig immer noch eine *Wissenschaft* zu bleiben. Eine Tatsache kann man einfach feststellen: Die Bedeutung der Termini hat sich geändert. Der Verfasser hat nämlich schon oben dieser Frage eine thomistische Lösung gegeben, wo man aber von biblischen «similitudines» sprach. Im Gegensatz dazu spricht man hier eindeutig von der Dichtung der Heiden. Deshalb taucht eine wichtige Fluktuation in der Benutzung der Worte «theologia» und «scientia» auf: «theologia» kann im Laufe des Prologs zwei Valenzen haben und entweder als ursprüngliche Offenbarung oder als scholastische Lehre der Theologen verstanden werden. Und sie wird «scientia» genannt, insofern sie also ein Wissen umfaßt, das sich auf eine gewisse Erleuchtung stützt: «scientia a Deo data». Diesen Erkenntnismodus had die heidnische Theologie mit der christliche gemein, aber diese Aspekt interressiert uns hier nicht. Was nämlich verschwunden ist, ist die reduzierende scholastische Äquivalenz «theologia» — «sacra pagina»: Das Wort «theologia» muß ab jetzt auch das ursprüngliche «theologein» umfassen.

In Beziehung auf den Begriff «theologia poetica» kann man deshalb sagen, daß Aegidius im Rahmen der Auseinandersetzung seiner Epoche einen Schritt weiter geht: Er führt nämlich den Begriff des Wesens der Theologie als Wissenschaft und Poetik als den zentralen Punkt in seine thomistisch-aegidianischen Auslegung ein. Obwohl wir annehmen müssen, daß alle Elemente der Entstehung dieses Begriffes schon bei Ficino vorhanden waren, bleibt Pico unser Ausgangspunkt. Er hatte in der *Oratio* eindeutig versprochen, durch die poetische Theologie die Wissenschaft der göttlichen Dinge («divinorum scientia») — die in den Werken der Heiden versteckt war — zu erklären. Wenn wir dort den Höhepunkt des Rückschlags der Renaissance-Poetik gegen Thomas lesen wollen[49]), müssen wir Aegidius' Gesichtspunkt als einen weiteren synkretistischen Versuch annehmen.

vehementer agnovi, et, ut memineris quae a te scribuntur ab Iove Musisque, quarum spiritu ac divinitate compleris, non abs te proficisci».

[49]) Vgl. BADER, S. 201.

Nur einige Schlußbemerkungen:

1. Das Benutzen der Illuminationslehre Platons bildet deshalb, auch was eine «theologia poetica» betrifft, den Treffpunkt der zwei Offenbarungen: Das Wesen der poetischen Theologie war auch für die Heiden wissenschaftlich, insofern sie das Göttliche durch eine übernatürliche Erkenntnis, ein «scire supra rationem» gemäß seinem Subjectum, erfaßte.

Die augustinische Illuminationslehre wird auch in diesem Fall mit der platonischen Autorität verglichen und harmonisiert. Noch einmal kann man sich auf das wertvollste Prinzip des Prologs beziehen, um diese apologetische Technik besser zu verstehen: das «theologein», sei es in Beziehung auf die ursprüngliche Offenbarung, sei es in Beziehung auf die christliche, bleibt direkt von der göttlichen Wissenschaft geprägt («quaedam impressio divinae scientiae»)[50]).

2. Als Grundlinie der Interpretation des *Prologs* bleibt aber, abgesehen von dem traditionnellen Gedanken der Unersetzbarkeit der Offenbarung, das Fehlen jedes Widerspruches zwischen Glauben und Vernunft deutlich. Der Glaube, geschenkt von Gott, ist der Ursprung, von dem alles entsteht, auch die «intelligentia» der göttlichen Dinge, die «nisi ab illustrante Deo» unerreichbar sind.

Das Niederreißen der scholastischen Äquivalenz «theologia» — «sacra doctrina» darf deshalb nie als Verteidigung der Autonomie der Vernunft gegenüber der Offenbarung verstanden werden. Schon dieses Ergebnis der Analyse der theologischen Einleitungslehre kann als Schlüssel für verschiedene umstrittene Fragen des *Sentenzenkommentars* gelten. In Bezug auf die Erkennbarkeit des Dogmas der Trinität z.B., wo das Verhältnis *ratio-fides* besonders rätselhaft erscheint, sollte dieser Versuch einer thomistisch-platonischen Synthese eindringlich beachtet werden. Die Pflichten der Vernunft bleiben nämlich dieselben wie in der der thomistisch-aegidianischen Schule:

— Der Beweis der «preambula fidei»;

— die Erklärung der Glaubensinhalte durch die Analogien der Geschöpfe, — die, wie gesagt, die Entstehung der poetische Theologie erlaubt —;

— die Verteidigung des Glaubens[51]).

[50]) Aegidii Viterb. *In primum Sent.* (a. 5: Subalterna), f. 4r: «(...) Ita haec scientia a divina scientia, ut a causa, gignitur, quam sequitur, quam imitatur, cuius similitudo impressio quaedam est atque imago».

[51]) Thomas Aquinas, *In Boethium De Trinitate*, q. II, a. 3.

3. Schließlich, bietet der Versuch des Aegidius auf theologischer Ebene innerhalb der Wiederbehauptung der «unitas doctrinae» seines Ordens einige hermeneutische Schlüssel, um die Anwendung des platonischen Geistes in der Renaissance noch zu vertiefen, sei es, daß dieser den letzen Schritt der Wiederbelebung Platons darstellt, sei es daß er den ersten Schritt der Rückkehr der italienischen Kirchenreform «in suos fontes» verkörpert.

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Quaestiones de Divinis Praedicamentis:
Quaestio XIX

La question XIX est conçue en ces termes: Utrum situs vel positio dicatur de Deo proprie et realiter. Pour en rétablir le texte nous nous sommes servis principalement des manuscrits de Bordeaux (B) (Bibliothèque de la Ville *ms.* 167 ff. 59vo-62a), de Naples (N) (Biblioteca Nazionale *ms.* VII C 4 ff. 51b-53vob) et de Toulouse (T) (Bibliothèque de la Ville *ms.* 56 ff. 158a-160voa)[1]).

Dans les manuscrits divers le texte présente quelques différences. Les mêmes arguments, au total vingt-quatre, introduisant l'exposé, figurent dans les cinq manuscrits ayant conservé la question. Cependant à ces arguments correspondent autant de réfutations en B et en N, tandis que les manuscrits de Toulouse (T), de Padoue (P) (Bibliothèque de l'Université *ms.* 2006 ff. 31voa-32voa) et de Rome (R) (Bibliotheca Angelica *ms.* 213 ff. 77vob-81a) en énumèrent vingt-cinq. Ils partagent en deux la réfutation «Ad decimum septimum».

Ensuite, des notes et des références plus ou moins longues ont été insérées dans le texte de B et de N, après les lignes 194 et 505 ...[2]). Des omissions homoiotéleutiques ou autres et des modifications se trouvent dans tous les manuscrits.

Généralement nous référons à la Patrologia Latina et Graeca de Migne, en ajoutant éventuellement des renvois au Corpus Christianorum; pour S. Augustin nous renvoyons également au Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.

Quant à Aristote et Averroès, nous référons à l'édition de leurs œuvres, parue à Venise en 1562-1574, publiée de nouveau en 1963[3]). Nous y renvoyons aussi pour le «Liber Sex Principiorum».

[1]) Voir: Jacobi de Viterbio o.e.s.a. Quaestiones de Divinis Praedicamentis. Quaestio XVIII. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988), 68-69.

[2]) Après les lignes 194 et 505.

[3]) Aristotelis omnia quae extant opera, selectis translationibus ... illustrata ... Averrois Cordubensis in ea opera omnes ... Commentarii. ed. Venetiis 1562/74; re-ed. Frankfurt 1963. Vol. I, IV etc. Suppl. II = Vol. VI pars I.

En ce qui concerne Simplicius, Jean Damascène, Anselmus, et le «Liber de Causis» nous utilisons l'édition critique de leurs ouvrages[4]).

Eelcko YPMA, O.S.A.

DE PRAEDICAMENTIS IN DIVINIS QUAESTIO XIX

Quaestio est: utrum situs vel positio dicatur de Deo proprie et realiter. Et arguebatur quod sic, scilicet proprie.

(1) In quo sunt perfectiones omnium generum proprie, in illo est situs, cum situs sit unum de decem generibus entium. Sed in Deo sunt perfectiones omnium generum secundum Commentatorem, II Metaphysicae. Ergo, et cetera.

(2) Praeterea, de eo proprie dicitur situs de quo proprie dicitur ubi, cum utrumque dicat comparationem ad locum; sed de Deo dicitur proprie ubi, quia Boetius, de Trinitate, solum removet situm et passionem de Deo. Alia autem ostendit dici de Deo; sed non dicuntur de Deo translative, quia sic etiam situs diceretur translative, nec oporteret ipsum removeri a Deo. Ergo, et cetera.

(3) Praeterea, ubi est ordo naturae proprie, ibi est situs proprie. Quod patet, quia, sicut dicitur in Sex Principiis, positio est naturalis ipsius substantiae ordinatio, qualis quidem a principio innata est. Substantia autem et natura idem sunt. Sed in Deo est proprie ordo naturae; quare et situs.

(4) Praeterea, ubi invenitur aliquid proxime assistens substantiae, ibi

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[4]) Simplicius. Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote. Traduction de Guillaume de MOERBEKE. Édition critique par A. PATTIN O.M.I. ed. Louvain-Paris 1971; Leiden 1975, 2 vol.

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2 arguebatur / arguitur *NT*; *corr.* B1; *om.* B scilicet proprie *om.* BN 3 perfectiones *add.* scilicet B in illo *add.* proprie BN 4 (cum) situs *om.* BN 7 eo / Deo B 9 cum utrumque ..... proprie ubi *om.* TP Trinitate / ubi BN removet *add.* ab eo BN; *add.* a Deo R situm *lect. inc.* T 10 de / scilicet a BN dicuntur / dicitur TP 11 oporteret / oportet BN 12 ipsum *corr.* B1; *om.* B 14 naturalis *add.* sub BN 16 quare / igitur T 18 proxime / maxime B assistens *mss frequenter* asistens

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5. In II Metaphysicae. Vol. VIII 30 AB text. com. 4
9. PL 64, 1253 C
14. Liber Sex Principiorum. Vol. I pars I 66 D

proprie invenitur positio. Quod patet, per illud quod dicitur in Sex Principiis, quod maxime proprium est positionis proxime assistere substantiae, et ita est proprium eius quod convertitur cum eo, ut ibi dicitur. Omne enim quod proxime assistit substantiae est positio et econverso omnis positio proxime assistit substantiae. Sed in Deo invenitur aliquid proxime assistens substantiae. Est enim ibi relatio quae est assistens substantiae et affixa, secundum Boetium, et proxime assistens substantiae, quia immediate fundatur in substantia divina, non aliquo mediante; ergo, et cetera. Minor patet, quia Deus dicitur esse supra alia ordine perfectionis. Maior declaratur. Situs in quantitate fundatur et eam consequitur; sed quantitas dicitur proprie non solum de quantitate dimensiva, sed etiam virtuali, licet analogice. Analogia autem proprietatem non tollit; quare similiter situs dicetur proprie, non solum de ordine secundum locum, sed etiam de ordine secundum perfectionem, licet analogice. Ubi autem est quantitas virtutis, ibi est ordo perfectionis. Hic autem est in Deo; quare, et cetera.

(5) Praeterea, de illo dicitur positio proprie de quo dicitur aliquis modus positionis propriae, sicut de aliquo dicitur proprie albedo, de illo dicitur proprie color. Sed de Deo dicitur proprie aliquis modus positionis; ergo, et cetera. Probatio Minoris. Secundum Philosophum, V Metaphysicae, positio est ordo habentis partes, aut secundum locum aut secundum potentiam aut secundum speciem. Licet autem in Deo non sit ordo partium secundum locum, est tamen in eo ordo partium secundum potentiam, quia partes universi praeexistunt in eius potentia

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19 dicitur / habetur BN 20 proprium *corr.* B1; *om.* B proxime *om.* B 21 eo / ea BN ibi / ubi TP 22 proxime / maxime B 23 omnis / omnino N positio *om.* N; proprie R est positio ..... assistit substantiae *om.* B 24 (assistens) substantiae *om.* BN 26 fundatur *post* divine BN non aliquo / ut T 27 esse *post* alia BN, *et add.* in B supra *add.* omnia BM; *add.* omnia BN 28 et / in T 29 consequitur / consequi N dicitur *om.* T 30 analogice *mss.* anologice (*ac ita deinceps*) proprietatem *post* tollit BN 31 similiter / simpliciter BN dicetur / dicitur BN proprie *add.* de Deo N 34 hic autem est in Deo *om.* BN quare / ergo BN; *om.* T 36 aliquo / quo BN (de Deo) dicitur *om.* B tamen *om.* T Ergo *om.* T convenit *ante* proprie BN Dionysius in libro / secundum Dionysium BN agit / ait BN

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19. Liber Sex Principiorum. Vol. I pars I 66 D
25. De Trinitate PL 64. 1253 C; cfr. Quaestio XII 77 sqq.
38. Vol. VIII 133 A; Bekker 1022b

secundum illum ordinem secundum quem sunt in se ipsis. Ergo, et cetera.

(6) Praeterea, cui proprie statio convenit, ei proprie convenit positio, cum sit species positionis. Sed Deo proprie convenit statio. Dionysius in libro De Divinis Nominibus, ubi agit de nominibus proprie dictis de Deo, attribuit Deo stationem et exponit quomodo dicitur de ipso, et cetera.

7) Praeterea, si situs vel positio non dicuntur de Deo proprie, hoc est quia important imperfectionem. Sed hoc non obstat, ut videtur. Quod sic patet, quia situs non importat imperfectionem, nisi ratione fundamenti; quod est partialitas eius, quia positio dicitur et distensio. Sed aliqua sunt, quorum fundamentum imperfectionem dicit, et tamen ipsa dicuntur de Deo, ut similitudo et aequalitas proprie dicuntur de Deo, non tamen fundamentum ipsorum, scilicet quantitas et qualitas; non dicuntur de Deo proprie, cum ipsa imperfectionem dicant. Quare similiter dicetur de positione.

(8) Praeterea, illud dicitur de Deo proprie quod non ponit imperfectionem in ipso dictum de ipso, vel quod potest dici de ipso sine imperfectione, sicut dicitur: «Domine refugium factus es nobis». Factio dicitur de ipso proprie; sed situs est huiusmodi. Ergo, et cetera. Probatio Minoris. Illud quod praedicatur de aliquo non denominatur praedicatione, sed est per inhaerentiam. Sed extrinseca non ponit imperfectionem in illo quantumcumque dicat imperfectionem, ut patet de motu, qui dicitur de movente et moto; sed de moto dicitur per inhaerentiam, de movente autem praedicatione extrinseca. Motus enim, ut dicitur de movente, dicitur actio; ut dicitur de moto, dicitur passio; non autem importat imperfectionem in movente, sed in moto. Sed situs praedicatur

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50 vel / et BN 51 imperfectionem *add.* sed non important imperfectionem nisi ratione fundamenti BN quod / quia TP 52 quia / quod TP situs / sicut BN importat / important B 53 eius *om.* BN quia / quare BN positio / poni T; ponitur BN 55 ipsa *add.* proprie BN 56 ipsorum / eorum BN 57 non dicuntur de Deo proprie *om.* BN ipsa *om.* BN 58 similiter / simpliciter BN 59 ponit *corr.* B1; *om.* B 60 dictum de ipso *corr.* B1; *om.* B sine / sit BN 61 sicut / sic T refugium *add.* tu BN es / est T 63 denominatur *om.* BN 64 sed / quae BN 65 de / in BN 66 movente *add. et cancell.* sed T 67 movente / motore T 68 dicitur *lect. inc.* T 69 importat / ponit BN

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46. De Divinis Nominibus cap. 9. PG 3. 915 BC
61. Ps. 89,1; cfr. 9,10

de Deo, immo et de omnibus de quibus dicitur praedicatione extrinseca. Ergo non ponit imperfectionem in Deo, et cetera.

(9) Praeterea, diversus modus essendi aliquid non tollit aut impedit proprietatem perfectionis, sicut patet. Nam genus aliter est in specie quam species in genere, cum genus se habeat ut continens, species ut contentum; et tamen proprie dicitur genus esse in specie et econverso; quare similiter, licet esse in loco diversimode conveniat corpori et spiritui, et Deo et creaturae, tamen utrumque dicuntur in loco proprie, licet analogice. Et sic, licet Deo non conveniat positio sicut corpori, tamen proprie dicitur de ipso.

(10) Praeterea, si non dicitur proprie positio de Deo, aut hoc est ratione fundamenti aut ratione habitudinis. Non ratione fundamenti, quia fundamentum dicit imperfectionem, quia actio dicitur proprie de Deo; cuius tamen fundamentum, quod etiam motus est, dicit imperfectionem. Nec ratione habitudinis, quia habitudo non distinguitur ab habitudine nisi ratione fundamenti. Habitudo autem, secundum quod habitudo, non repugnat divinae perfectioni, cum relatio dicatur proprie de Deo. Proprie ergo positio dicitur de Deo.

(11) Praeterea, cui convenit proprie genus, convenit et proprie species; et si non actu, tamen aptitudine, cum genus contineat species potentia. Sed Deo convenit proprie illud quod est genus positionis, scilicet ubi; ergo et positio. Minor probatur. Quod enim sit ubi genus positionis videtur, quia situs dicit quemdam modum essendi in loco, scilicet situaliter. Quod autem ubi conveniat Deo patet, quia Deus proprie dicitur esse ubique.

(12) Praeterea, in Deo est passio de qua numerus videtur; ergo et situs.

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70 immo *om.* BN 71 et cetera *om.* BN 72 aliquid / alicuius P; in BN 73 perfectionis *om.* BN aliter *lacuna* T est *om.* B 74 quam / et aliter BN: aliter *corr.* B1; *om.* B species *add.* autem N 75 et *om.* BN 76 quare / quia BN licet *corr.* B1; *om.* B 77 dicuntur in loco / est in situ BN 78 licet / sed forte BN positio *add.* proprie BN 79 de ipso / de eo *ante* proprie B; de Deo *ante* proprie N 80 dicitur / diceretur BN positio de Deo *ante* non BN aut hoc / hoc autem N; hoc *om.* T 81 est *corr.* B1; esset N fundamenti aut ratione *om.* T fundamenti *lect. inc.* TP; *add.* ut NR 83 fundamentum *lect. inc.* TP quod / tamen quod T; *add.* etiam BN est *om.* BN non ratione fundamenti ..... Nec ratione habitudinis *om.* B proprie *post* dicitur BN convenit et proprie / et BN contineat / continet BN est *om.* B situs / sicut BN essendi *add.* dicit B 93 scilicet situaliter / actualiter BN ubi / non BN 95 qua / quo BN et situs / et cetera BN

Probatio quod sit in eo passio, quia est in eo potentia passiva. Illud enim ex quo aliquid producitur videtur esse potentia passiva. Filius autem producitur ex divina natura; ergo habet rationem potentiae passivae. Ergo, et cetera.

(13) Praeterea, translative aliqua dicuntur de Deo ratione alicuius perfectionis quae non est perfectio absolute, ut agnus ratione mansuetudinis. Sed in situ nulla est perfectio absolute, nec ratione fundamenti quia dicit imperfectionem, nec ratione respectus quia dicit terminationem, et sic imperfectionem. Igitur situs non dicitur translative de Deo; quare proprie dicitur, et cetera.

(14) Praeterea, quando aliqua sunt convenientia, si unum dicitur proprie de aliquo, et aliud. Sed illa sex praedicamenta sunt ad invicem convenientia, tum quia omnino sunt adventitia, tum quia omnia conveniunt rei ut habent ordinem ad motum, ut quidam dicunt. Ergo, si unum dicitur proprie de Deo, et alia; sed actio dicitur proprie de Deo, ergo et alia.

(15) Praeterea, illud quod nihil dicit in re de qua dicitur, non repugnat divinae perfectioni quin proprie possit dici de Deo. Sed positio nihil dicit in re de qua dicitur, scilicet in re posita; ergo, et cetera. Probatio Minoris. Positio enim non dicit in re posita aliquid absolutum, quia nec substantiam nec qualitatem nec quantitatem nec respectum; quia tunc diceret relationem quae est respectus; quod non est verum. Discurrendo enim per omnes modos relatorum, nullum eorum dicit positio.

(16) Praeterea, illa habitudo cuius ratio sumitur ab extra non repugnat divinae perfectioni, ut patet de relatione dominii. Dicitur enim Deus Dominus, quia habet servum. Sed ratio positionis ab extra sumitur;

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97 ex / de BN producitur / producetur N Illud enim ... potentia passiva *om.* P Filius / situs N 98 producitur ex *add.* potentia passiva T 99 ergo *om.* T; quare P 101 (quae) non *om.* BN 102 fundamenti *lect. inc.* TP; *add.* dicit perfectionem BN 103 quia *add.* haec BN 104 imperfectionem / perfectionem TP 104 situs / sicut N de *om.* N 105 proprie dicitur *add.* Deo T 107 ad invicem *om.* BN 109 rei / ei BN 113 (quin) proprie / propositio N positio / sicut BN 114 dicitur *lect. inc.* T; praedicatur P scilicet / sed N non *om.* BN 115 dicit / dicitur TP quia / quod BN nec qualitatem *post* respectum B 116 quantitatem nec *add.* dicit T tunc *om.* TR 118 omnes / singulos BN positio / positionem TP 121 habet *add.* suum B sed / ergo BN ratio positionis *add.* non repugnat divinae perfectioni quia BN

quod patet, quia sex principia dicuntur extrinsecus adventitia. Ergo, et cetera.

(17) Praeterea, cui proprie convenit esse in loco, ei proprie convenit situs. Sed Deo proprie convenit esse in loco. Quod patet. Substantiae spirituali creatae proprie convenit esse in loco determinato; ergo similiter convenit Deo esse in loco, non tamen determinato sed in infinito, si esset. Ergo, et cetera.

(18) Praeterea, cui convenit proprie locus, ei convenit proprie positio. Sed Deo proprie convenit locus, quia ei conveniunt conditiones loci principales et formales, scilicet continere, terminare et huiusmodi. Ergo, et cetera.

(19) Praeterea, cuicumque convenit ubi, convenit situs. Sed Deo convenit proprie ubi; ergo, et cetera. Maior declaratur; quia ubi convenit habitus, et situs, cum ubi non sit nisi habitus conversus, ut dicit Commentator, in V Metaphysicae. Cui autem convenit habitus, convenit situs, quia situs etiam est habitus conversus, ut dicit Simplicius. Minor patet, et cetera.

(20) Praeterea, illa quae dicunt imperfectionem solum ratione subiecti proprie possunt dici de Deo, ut sapientia et huiusmodi. Sed habitus dicit imperfectionem solum ratione subiecti, scilicet partium in quibus ordo consideratur; ipse ordo autem imperfectionem non dicit. Ergo, et cetera.

(21) Praeterea, magis videtur imperfectionem importare relatio quam habitus; quare, cum relatio sit in Deo, et situs erit in ipso. Maior probatur dupliciter, quia relatio dicit distinctionem, quae est oppositio quaedam, situs autem dicit unionem; distinctio autem imperfectior unione.

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124 ei *om.* B 125 situs / positio BN 126 creatae *om.* BN 127 Quod patet ... Deo esse in loco *om.* T 128 Ergo *om.* T; quare P 129 convenit *corr.* B1; *om.* B proprie *om.* BN ei convenit *om.* BN proprie *add.* et BN continuere *add.* et BN 133 (ubi) convenit / et N (convenit) proprie *om.* BN 134 (quia) ubi / cui N 135 Sed Deo... et situs *om.* B 136 (Commentator) in *om.* BN (habitus) convenit / et BN 140 habitus / situs BN 142 ipse *corr.* N1; *om.* N 144 imperfectionem *post* relatio BN 145 habitus / situs BN 146 quae / quia T 148 unione / est quam unio BN

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136. In V Metaphys. Vol. VIII 135vo J. text. com. 28
137. ed. Pattin II 491, 492

Item, relatio minimum habet de entitate inter cetera praedicamenta; ergo et de perfectione.

(22) Praeterea, illud quod convenit alicui proprie secundum rationem sui formalis proprie dicitur de ipso simpliciter, absolute et proprie. Sed situs convenit Deo proprie ratione sui formalis, quia est ordo, licet non ratione materialis, quia est partes. Ergo, et cetera.

(23) Praeterea, quando aliquid convenit alicui ratione eius a quo nomen imponitur, illud dicitur de ipso proprie, ut lux, quia a manifestatione imponitur proprie in spiritualibus. Sed situs convenit Deo proprie ratione eius a quo nomen imponitur; imponitur enim ab immobilitate quae proprie Deo convenit. Ergo, et cetera.

In contrarium arguebatur, quia positio est ordo partium in loco. Sed Deo non convenit habere partes, cum sit impartibilis, neque sibi convenit esse in loco, cum a nullo contineatur sed omnia contineat. Ergo, et cetera.

Ad huius quaestionis dissolutionem hoc ordine procedendum est:

I Primo enim videndum est, quid est positio, et quot modis accipitur.

II Secundo considerandum est, an positio faciat distinctum praedicamentum, et quomodo.

III Tertio videndum est, propter quid requiratur positio in rebus quae positionem habere dicuntur.

IV Quarto ex his considerandum erit, an positio dicatur proprie de Deo vel non.

V Quinto et ultimo videndum, an dicatur de ipso realiter.

I Quantum ergo ad primum sciendum quod Philosophus in V Metaphysicae describit positionem et assignat modos eius, dicens quod positio vel «dispositio dicitur ordo habentis partes aut secundum locum

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152 proprie *om.* BN 153 Deo *om.* BN ratione *om.* B quia est / quam BN 154 quia / quod BN 154 partes / partialitas BN 156 ipso / Deo BN quia / quod BN 161 arguebatur / arguitur N positio / situs BN 162 partes *om.* T 163 convenit *om.* T contineat / continet BN 168 (considerandum) est *om.* TP 172 (considerandum) erit *om.* BN positio / poni B 173 de Deo vel / aut B; an N 175 et ultimo *om.* BN An *add.* res N realiter *ante* dicatur B; *om.* N 176 in *om.* BN

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176. Vol. VIII 133 A; Bekker 1022b

aut secundum potentiam aut secundum speciem». Cum enim dicit quod dispositio est ordo habentis partes, ponit descriptionem; non est enim proprie definitio; et haec descriptio analoga est sicut et nomen. Cum vero subdit: «aut secundum locum» et cetera, tangit diversos modos positionis et, ut quidam exponunt, per hoc innuit tres modos, quia dispositio est uno modo ordo partium in loco, et quantum ad hoc dicit «secundum locum».

Alio modo est ordo partium secundum potentiam vel virtutem, et hoc modo, ut dicunt, pertinet ad primam speciem qualitatis.

Tertio modo est ordo partium in toto; et hoc tangit cum dicit «aut secundum speciem», scilicet totius.

Sed ista expositio est dubia, quia dispositio, quae est in prima specie qualitatis, non dicit ordinem sed aliquid aliud, nec attenditur secundum partes, quia ibi nulla est partialitas, est huius dispositio in anima, nec est potentia, quia potentia magis pertinet ad secundum speciem qualitatis.

Et ideo aliter dicendum est, quod hic solum intendit assignare duos modos principales positionis, licet unum illorum subdividat.

Cum enim positio sit ordo partium, vel huiusmodi ordo accipiatur per comparationem ad locum; et iste est unus modus qui facit praedicamentum speciale ut iam dicebatur; vel accipitur ordo partium ad invicem in toto; et iste est alius modus, qui est differentia qualitatis, secundum quod quaedam quantitates dicuntur habere positionem, quaedam non. Sed ille modus subdividitur, quia partes alicuius totius sunt distinctae, non actu sed potentia solum, vel intellectu, ut partes

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180 dispositio / positio BN ponit *add.* enim B; *add.* eius N (est) enim *om.* T 181 definitio *mss.* diffinitio 183 et *om.* T ut quidam ... tres modos *om.* BN 184 dispositio / positio BN 187 ut / non T 188 hoc *add.* modo BN 190 ista / haec BN est / videtur esse BN; *om.* T 191 sed / vel BN 192 in / ut N 193 nec / ut BN est *add.* in BN quia *add.* in B 194 speciem qualitatis *add.* Aliter exponit Simplicius primam speciem qualitatis circa finem illius speciei. Require ibi BN 195 dicendum est *add.* et dicendum B; *add.* et ad hoc N quod / quia T 196 licet / sed T 198 iste / sic N 199 dicebatur / dicetur N 200 iste / sic T differentia *lect. inc.* T; vel accipitur... differentia quantitatis *om.* BN 201 quaedam / quidem BN 203 non / in T ut / et B; vel T; *add.* quod BN

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182. Vol. VIII 133 A; Bekker 1022b
188. Vol. VIII 133 A; Bekker 1022b
194. ed. Pattin 401-405

totius, quod est similium partium. Alicuius autem totius partes distinctae sunt secundum speciem, idest formam, ut in his quae componuntur ex partibus dissimilibus secundum formam, ut animata quae constant ex carne, osse, manu, pede et huiusmodi; differunt autem et secundum figuram et secundum virtutem et formam accidentalem, secundum substantiam autem non. Ideo dicit «aut secundum potentiam aut secundum speciem».

Commentator autem in V ibi sic dicit: «Situs invenitur in omni habente partes, aut per ordinem partium in loco, et ille est situs qui est praedicamentum, aut per ordinem partium rei ad invicem, et ille est situs qui est una differentiarum quanti secundum quod dictum est in praedicamentis, quod quantum aliud habet positionem» sive situm, «aliud non habet positionem, et quod partes rei distinguuntur ab invicem aut secundum formam et hoc est in rebus compositis ex partibus <diversis> compositis secundum formam aut in magnitudine, sicut in magnitudine partium lineae et corporis et universaliter corporum consimilium partium, et istae partes non sunt distinctae in hac dispositione» vel positione «nisi potentia, actu non. Et ideo dicit aut secundum potentiam aut secundum formam, et quasi intendebat quod situs dicitur in habente partes secundum ordinem partium aut in loco aut ad invicem; et hoc est quando distinguuntur partes aut secundum potentiam aut secundum formam».

Si quis autem quaerat quomodo positio dicitur de suis modis,

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204 autem / aut T 205 (formam) ut / non T 206 ut in his ... secundum formam *om.* BN animata / animam T 207 (carne) et *om.* BN manu *add.* et B huiusmodi / cetera B autem et / enim BN 208 (secundum) figuram / formam BN accidentalem / accidentale B 211 ibi / ut supra N 212 per / propter BN 213 (aut) per / propter N 214 quanti / quantitatis BN 215 (quantum) aliud / alia B; *om.* T 216 (situm) aliud / alia B quod / quia BNP; *add.* per T distinguuntur / different B 217 invicem / intellectu BN aut / et hoc est BN 218 et hoc est in ... secundum formam *corr.* B1; *om.* BTPR magnitudine *mss* ymaginatione 219 partium *om.* BN: *post* corporis TP; et corporis *om.* P consimilium / similium BN 220 istae partes / illae BN (non) sunt *om.* N dispositione vel positione / positione vel dispositione B 221 nisi *add.* in BN potentia *add.* in BN aut *om.* N 223 aut secundum formam *om.* BN habente / habentes BN (loco) aut *add.* in toto N 224 aut secundum potentiam / in potentia BN 226 dicitur / dicatur BN aut secundum formam ... suis modis *corr.* B1; *om.* B

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209. Vol. VIII 133 A; Bekker 1022b
211. Vol. VIII 133 BC. text. com. 24

dicendum quod non univoce nec pure aequivoce, sed analogice situs designans aliorum nominum quae distinguuntur in V, ut dicit Commentator.

Sed de quo modo dicitur per prius, dicendum quod per prius de ordine partium ad invicem in toto, quia ordo partium in loco praesupponit ordinem earum ad invicem; et ideo dicuntur poni in loco, quia ponuntur in toto ad invicem. Sicut enim partes loci copulantur ad eundem terminum ad quem partes corporis, sic ordo in loco ex ordine in toto dicitur determinari. Ex alia tamen ratione videtur quod prius dicatur de ordine partium in loco, quia omne quod ponitur in aliquo, ponitur quod est ab illo distinctum. Unde, licet partes sint in toto, quia tamen actu distincte non sunt, ideo, et cetera.

Tamen quia partes ponuntur in loco, ideo etiam dicuntur habere positionem ad invicem.

Potest ergo dici quod, quantum ad nominis impositionem, primo dicitur de positione partium in loco; quantum vero ad rem, prius de ratione partium ad invicem.

Est autem et alius modus quo termini corporum poni dicuntur in his quorum sunt termini, ut punctus in linea; et hic attribuitur illi modo quo positio est ordo partium in toto.

Sed hoc potest sic intelligi: linea enim est in superficie, et ideo partes eius dicuntur habere positionem; punctus et unitas positionem habent in superficie; non quod esse in superficie sit positio, sed ordo partium lineae est positio; sed quia linea et partes eius in alio sunt, ideo dicuntur in alio positionem habere.

Similiter dicendum de superficie respectu corporis. Punctus autem dicitur secundum attributionem, quia est terminus habentium positionem.

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230 (dicitur) per prius / proprius BN (quod) per *om.* BN 231 partium / earum BN 233 in loco quia ponuntur *om.* B 235 determinari / materia PRT 237 ab illo *om.* BN 239 Tamen quia partes ponuntur / Videtur ergo quod partes habent BN ideo *lect. inc.* T; non BN 241 ergo / tamen T; *in marg. repetit.*: potest ergo ... ad invicem B1 242 vero *om.* BN 247 superficie *add.* non sunt esse superficies B; *cancell.* B1 244 quod *add.* est T (esse) in *om.* BN superficie / superficiei BN 250 (sed) quia *corr.* B1; *om.* B 252 punctus / corpus BN

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228. Vol. VIII 133vo GHJ. text. com. 25

Est autem sciendum quod, sicut positio, quae est ordo partium, distinguitur, ita etiam positio, quae est ordo partium in loco, habet plures modos et species. Nam, ut dicit Damascenus in Logica sua, sitorum hoc quidem secundum naturam sita sunt, ut elementa in propriis locis, hoc autem secundum artem, ut statua et columna.

Similiter et aliae divisiones assignari possunt; de quibus nihil ad praesens.

Patet igitur quid est positio secundum Philosophum, et quot modis dicitur, et quomodo.

Simplicius autem aliter accipit descriptionem et modos ipsius positionis. Accipit enim specialiter et determinate positionem illam quae est praedicamentum, et describit eam sic: Positio vel poni est collocari vel terminari alterum in altero. Unde dicit quod «complicatio» vel adaptatio «illocatorum et exhibentium locationem propriissima et prima est ipsius poni descriptio».

Et iuxta hanc descriptionem, sic accipit modos positionis quia aliquid in aliquo dicitur collocari vel terminari, et per consequens poni, vel secundum distensionem vel secundum distantiam vel secundum potentiam vel secundum actionem. Et licet isti videantur quatuor modi, non tamen sunt nisi duo, quia aliquid dicitur collocari in aliquo vel sicut in loco dimensionali, et hoc est collocari secundum distensionem, etiam sicut in causa principali et hoc est collocari in aliquo secundum substantiam vel potentiam vel actionem; aliqua est causa quae largitur effectui haec tria; et hoc est indubitanter Deus principaliter, quamvis aliquo modo convenire possit causae alicui creatae. Unde omnia collo-

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256 positio quae ... positio quae est *om.* BN loco *add.* sed T 257 (modos) et *om.* BNT Nam / non BN Logica *mss.* Loyca 259 autem / etiam BN columna *mss* columpna 260 (Similiter) et *om.* BN 262 est positio / sit B; sit situs N 263 dicitur *om.* BN 266 poni / positionis BN; est *om.* N (collocari) vel / et T 267 dicit / dicendum B complicatio *lect. inc.* B adaptatio / adoptatio B 268 illocatorum / locatorum BN locationem / locatorum BT propriissima / propriissimam BNT prima / primam P: est *om.* T 269 poni / positionis BN 270 Et / vel T iuxta *lect. inc.* T quia / quod BN 271 aliquo *add.* modo B 275 sicut / secundum B et / vel T 276 aliquo / alio N 277 actionem *add.* si BN 278 (hoc) est *om.* BN quamvis / licet TR 279 convenire *post* alicui B; *om.* N

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257. cap. 53. PG 94, 612A
264. ed. Pattin II 458; 465
267. ed. Pattin II 458

cantur in Deo, et terminantur secundum substantiam, potentiam et operationem. Ideo signanter dicit Simplicius quod aliqua collocantur in principalibus causis.

Sed tunc est considerandum, quomodo dicatur positio de istis duobus modis. Circa quod Simplicius tangit duplicem opinionem. Una est opinio Iamblici quod positio proprie dicitur de utroque modo, tamen analogice. Et similiter ratio ipsius positionis una est in omnibus quae dicuntur poni, tamen analogice dicta. Unde secundum ipsum propriissime dicuntur omnia poni in Deo.

Alia opinio est, quam ipse Simplicius magis videtur approbare, quod de uno modo dicatur proprie, scilicet de collocatione in loco dimensionali, de alio autem translative et secundum metaphoram, scilicet de collocatione in causa. Unde dicit: «Forte autem non omnem illocationem poni <significat> nisi aliquis secundum metaphoram accipiat, sed eam quae <velut casus> corporum; et ideo, ut dicit, in corporeis secundum se non convenit poni alicui, nisi aliquis secundum metaphoram dicat in intellectu; et ideo poni omnia tamquam contenta in principio et causa.

Haec autem secunda opinio videtur esse rationabilior. Sicut enim secundum metaphoram dicitur quod anima est locus specierum, et quod Deus est locus entium omnium, quia, licet Deo conveniat continere, tamen huiusmodi continere est secundum causalitatem et non localiter, ita et metaphorice dicuntur poni in Deo. Tamen, si etiam vera esset prima opinio, non multum variaretur propositum.

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280 terminantur / terminans N; *om.* T 281 collocantur / dicantur BN 283 est *om.* T 288 opinio Iamblici / positio Sabilina BN dicitur / dicatur N 286 Et similiter ... tamen analogice dicta *om.* BN 287 Unde / tamen BN 288 omnia *ante* propriissime BN 290 de / positio BN 291 (dimensionali) de *om.* BN alio *om.* T autem / modo BN et / vel BN metaphoram *mss* methaphoram (*ac ita deinceps*) 292 scilicet / videlicet BN Unde *lect. inc.* TP Unde dicit: Forte autem / Unde forte dicit BN 293 Illocationem *mss.* collocationem poni / positionem BN nisi *add.* solum P aliquis / aliquid T 294 eam / etiam BN (eam) quae *lect. inc.* N ut dicit / quod BN 275 alicui / alicubi N (nisi) aliquis / aliquid B 296 metaphoram *add.* accipiat N ideo / in eo BN omnia *om.* T contenta / contempta TP 297 principio et *add.* in BN 298 autem / enim BN esse *om.* BN 299 specierum et quod deus est locus *om.* N 300 quia / quod BN 301 tamen / quia BN 223 (continere) est *om.* T 302 (ita)(et *om.* BN dicuntur *add.* aliqua BN

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281. ed. Pattin II 460; 462
284. ed. Pattin II 462-465

Sic ergo patet primum principale, scilicet quid est positio, et quot modis dicatur.

II Secundo considerandum an positio faciat distinctum praedicamentum, et quomodo. Circa quod sciendum quod quidam dixerunt quod positio non esset distinctum praedicamentum, quia in paucis invenitur.

Ad hoc autem dicendum, ut Simplicius dicit, quod non in paucis, quia in omnibus corporibus, tam incorruptibilibus quam corruptibilibus, praeterquam de ultima sphaera, quae in loco non est et ideo non dicitur poni.

Sed potest dici quod ultima sphaera in loco est, licet aliter quam alia corpora, ut in quaestione de ubi dictum fuit. Et sicut convenit sibi esse in loco, ita et poni.

Alii vero dixerunt quod non est distinctum praedicamentum, quia est in praedicamento ad aliquid vel relationis, ut patet per Philosophum in Praedicamentis; in principio enim capituli de ad aliquid, positionem enumerat inter ea quae sunt ad aliquid.

Sed hoc non est sufficiens argumentum; ut enim ait Simplicius, positio est ad aliquid, quia ei accidit et supervenit ad aliquid; tamen ipsa positio secundum se habet propriam naturam et rationem praeter ad aliquid. Nam, si poneretur in ad aliquid, nullum exciperetur genus, sed omnia ponerentur in ad aliquid, cum omnibus superveniat et in omnibus inveniatur ad aliquid.

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304 ergo *om.* T 306 autem *om.* BN dicendum *add.* quod BN dicit *om.* BN 310 quia / sed BN corporibus *om.* N incorruptibilibus quam corruptibilibus / corruptibilibus quam incorruptibilibus BN; corruptibilibus *om.* T 311 (quam) de / in BN 314 sphaera *mss.* spera (*ac ita deinceps*) est / invenitur BN et ideo ... in loco est *om.* T (in loco) est *om.* N aliter *om.* T 315 (ita) et *om.* T 316 quod / positionem BN est / esse BN 317 ut / ista BN per *corr.* B1; *om.* B 318 principio enim capituli de / primo capitulo BN ad aliquid *add.* ubi BN 319 inter / in BN 320 enim *om.* BN 321 positio *add.* enim BN 322 ipsa / illa T exciperetur / excipietur T 329 Nam si poneretur ... acciperetur genus, sed / Unde si proprter hoc in aliquid poneretur cum genere ab ad aliquid accipiatur vel excipiatur ut sic BN 324 ad *om.* BN cum omnibus ... ad aliquid *om.* BN

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309. ed. Pattin II 461 sq.
314. Quaestio XVIII l. 410 sqq.; *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 85
317. Vol. I pars I 36vo LM, 37 AB; Bekker 6a/b
320. ed. Pattin II 464

Quod autem inducitur de auctoritate Philosophi in Praedicamentis, dicendum est quod ubi numerat positionem, nominat sensum et scientiam, quae tamen constant esse qualitates. Unde patet quod haec dicuntur ad aliquid, ut dictum est.

Alii vero dixerunt quod positio non est distinctum praedicamentum, quia non videtur esse aliud ab ubi. Ubi enim significat esse in loco; et hoc idem videtur significare positio.

Si autem aliquid aliud videatur importare positio ad ubi, hoc non est, nisi figura quaedam. Poni enim dicit esse in loco secundum figuram aliquam vel figurari in loco. Unde etiam secundum diversam figurationem in loco accipiuntur diversae positiones. Aliter enim figuratur in loco sedens, aliter iacens, et sic de aliis. Figura autem est in praedicamento qualitatis, scilicet in quarta specie. Ex diversis autem praedicamentis non constituitur aliquod unum praedicamentum.

Sed ad hoc dicendum primo, quod positio, licet habeat habitudinem ad locum, sicut et ubi, tamen non est idem quod ubi. Nam ubi significat esse in loco absolute; positio autem significat esse in loco secundum quemdam ordinem vel quamdam coaptationem partium; et hoc est diversa habitudo. Ideo aliquibus convenit ubi proprie, quibus non convenit positio proprie, ut angelo, qui dicitur proprie esse in loco, licet non secundum eundem modum quo corpora. Tamen proprie non dicitur poni, quia non est in loco secundum coaptationem partium, cum non habeat partes secundum quas coaptetur partibus loci ut singulae particulae eius obtineant singulas particulas loci, sicut accidit corporibus.

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326 de *om.* BN 327 dicendum est quod / dicitur quod B; *om.* N numerat / enumerat BN nominat / etiam BN sensum *add.* et substantiam BN; *et add* et positionem B 328 quod / quae B; per T 329 ut *om.* B 330 positio ... praedicamentum / praedicamentum non est positio BN 331 esse *om.* BN enim / autem BN 333 autem *add.* ad BN 263 videatur / videtur BN 264 nisi *lect. inc.* B 265 quaedam *add.* vel figuralitas BN poni / positio B poni enim ... figuram aliquam *om.* P 335 figurari *lect. inc.* N in loco / aliquo B 270 figurationem *add.* esse B 336 positiones *corr.* T enim / vero T 338 Ex / in BN 340 dicendum *add.* est T quod *om.* B; quia N habeaf / dicat BN; *om.* T 341 (idem) quod *om.* T 243 coaptationem / adaptationem BN 344 ubi *om.* BN 345 (positio) proprie *om.* BN 340 corpora / corpus BN 348 coaptetur *add.* diversis B (loci) ut / et BN 349 obtineant *mss.* optineant accidit *add.* in BN

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326. Vol. I pars I 36vo M

Ad illud autem quod dicitur de figura, dicendum est quod sine dubio in situ vel positione consideratur aliqua figuratio. Sed, sicut Simplicius ait, positio non dicit figuram simpliciter, sed figuram secundum positionem.

Unde et talis figura non dicit simpliciter qualitate sed quantitatem, quae est ipsius, ita quod secundum hoc dicemus quod poni non est sic figurari; tamen figuratio consequitur positionem, ut quaedam qualitas eius, sicut rectitudo lineam consequitur.

Utrum autem talis qualitas positionis debeat dici esse in praedicamento qualitatis vel in praedicamento positionis, est duplex modus dicendi. Quidam enim dicunt quod proprie qualitates alicuius reducuntur ad genus eorum quorum sunt qualitates, ut rectitudo ad genus lineae; et similiter dicendum de figura positionis.

Sed videtur melius dicendum, quod pertinent ad genus qualitatis, licet possint denominari nomine illius generis in quo est illud cuius sunt qualitates; et hoc secundum quamdam attributionem, sicut magnum et parvum et huiusmodi, quae sunt relationes quia sunt passiones quantitatis et dicuntur quanta secundum attributionem, sicut proprietates substantiae dicuntur substantiaales. Et similiter figurae positionis possunt dici situales.

Sic ergo exclusis et remotis his, ex quibus posset videri quod positio non dicit distinctum praedicamentum, dicendum quod sitio est praedicamentum distinctum et unum de decem.

Sed sciendum quod, cum multis modis dicatur positio, non secundum quemlibet modum facit distinctum praedicamentum.

Positio enim partium in toto non facit distinctum praedicamentum,

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353 ait / dicit BN aliqua figuratio ... dicit figuram *om.* B sed figuram *om.* T; secundum *add.* quid et secundum P 356 (quod) secundum *om.* T poni / positionem N non / in BN 357 sic *om.* T figuratio *add.* non T 359 Utrum / unde BN debeat / debet BN dici *om.* BN 360 vel / ut T in praedicamento *om.* BN 361 reducuntur ... sicut qualitates *om.* BN 363 dicendum *add.* est B 364 melius *om.* BN pertinent / pertinet BN 366 sicut / ut B 367 passiones *add.* quanti vel BN 368 et dicuntur quanta *om.* BN secundum *add.* quam dum dicuntur B; *add.* quamdam N sicut / sic T 369 possunt *add.* etiam N 370 situales *add.* et cetera BN 371 sic / sicut N 372 dicit / dicat B 373 est / dicit TR; sit P 374 (distinctum) praedicamentum *om.* B

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353. ed. Pattin II 463

nec positio alicuius in causa et in principio, sed solum positio partium in loco dimensionali, qui proprie locus dicitur.

Et huius ratio potest sumi ex his quae dicta sunt in quaestione de ubi; quia, cum multis modis aliquid esse dicatur in aliquo, non omnis talis modus facit praedicamentum distinctum et speciale; cuius ratio fuit ibi assignata.

Unde illi modi essendi in, qui non faciunt speciale praedicamentum, possunt pertinere ad relationem vel pertinent ad idem praedicamentum cum eo quod in alio esse dicitur. Unde positio partium in toto dicitur pertinere ad praedicamentum quantitatis sicut differentia quantitatis; aliqua horum pertinent ad relationem, ut causa et causatum, pars et totum. Et sic dictum est de ubi, quod ubi non est res quae est in loco ut compositum ex ambobus, nec compositum ex habitudine et re aliqua, sed nuda habitudo dicitur. Unde positio partium eius quod est in loco ad ipsum locum. Sic positio nec est res locata nec locus nec ex his compositum nec etiam aliquid compositum ex re et habitudine, sed nuda habitudo rei locatae ad locum, non simpliciter sed secundum coaptationem partium. Unde dicit Damascenus in Logica sua: Non ostendit autem iacere nec iacentem neque locum, sed ipsam positionem iacentis ad locum.

Et idem ait Simplicius, scilicet quod neque compositum corpus neque locus, sed nuda et simplex habitudo est positio ut sit praedicamentum simplex, licet positio det intelligere locatum et locum secundum partes suas.

III Tertio considerandum est propter quid requiritur positio in rebus

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378 et in / nec BR; vel N 380 quae *add.* supra BN sunt *om.* N 381 quia / qui T aliquo / alio BN 382 modus / motus T distinctum et *om.* TR et speciale *om.* P 384 faciunt *add.* distinctum B 385 relationem / praedicamentum relationis BN 386 (eo) quod / quia B 387 praedicamentum *add.* et praedicamentum N 380 causa / creatum N 390 (ambobus) nec / ut BN 391 Unde positio partium / ubi BN (quod) est om. T 395 coaptationem / compositionem B Unde / ut BN 396 ostendit / dicit BN positionem *add.* et B 397 compositium / ponit BN 399 neque locus / in locum BN 402 Tertio considerandum / secundo videndum BN

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380. Quaestio XVIII, II l. 176 sqq.; III l. 320 sqq. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988), 75-80
389. Quaestio XVIII, l. 297 sqq. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 80
395. Dialectica cap. 53 PG 94, 642 AB
398. ed. Pattin II 463

quae positionem habere dicuntur; ex quo magis patebit differentia ubi et positionis, et etiam prima ratio positionis.

Circa quod sciendum quod omnia indigent Deo sicut causa conservante et continente, non omnia tamen indigent corporali loco. Spirituales enim substantiae non indigent loco, quia esse possent etiam sine loco; corporalia autem non, ut patuit per auctoritatem Augustini in quaestione praecedenti. Non tamen dicitur hic quid per divinam potentiam posset fieri. Indigent autem corpora loco propter duo, secundum duo in quibus deficiunt a natura spirituali.

Primo quidem, quia natura spiritualis, propter sui perfectionem et actualitatem et appropinquationem ad principium, est se ipsam tenens et in se manens, non tamen excludendo Dei operationem, sed respectu naturae corporalis. Corporalis autem, propter sui imperfectionem et elongationem a principio, quia non est in se ipsa, se ipsam non tenens, sed urgit ad causam, nisi retineatur ab alio; et ideo indiget loco ipsam suscipientem.

Et quod propter imperfectionem corporum hoc sit, patet, quia minus perfecta magis sunt in loco, et semper corpus locans perfectius est.

Secundo, quia natura spiritualis est impartibilis, corporalis autem partibilis propter quantitatem dimensivam, ideo indiget loco propter coaptationem partium. Et secundum haec duo accipiuntur duo praedicamenta per comparationem ad locum, vel duplex habitudo ad locum, scilicet habitudo ipsius ubi, secundum quod locus suscipit ipsum corpus, et habitudo situs, secundum quod aptat partes eius; ex quo magis patet differentia inter ubi et positionem.

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403 quae / quibus B; quam T dicuntur / dicunt B 414 prima / propria *post* positionem BN 406 omnia *om.* B indigent *add.* sicut B 407 esse possunt *post* sine loco BN 408 corporalia / corpora TR autem *om.* BN 409 dicitur hic quid / haec dicuntur BN per / quod B divinam / differentiam N 410 posset / hoc BN 412 quidem *om.* BN 413 actualitatem / auctoritatem BN se ipsam / in se ipsa BN 414 in se *add.* ipsa BN 415 autem *add.* natura BN 416 principio *lect. inc.* N non omnino TP (in se ipsa) se / sed B tenens / tenet BN 417 ad causam / in non esse B; a non esse N 419 Et / Sed BN hoc sit *ante* propter BN quia *add.* et BN 420 corpus *om.* BN 435 per / propter BN comparationem / coaptationem BN (locum) vel / quia BN duplex *add.* est BN 427 situs / sicut BN 428 inter / in capitulo BN

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408. Ep. 187 Ad Dardanum VI,18 PL 33, 836; CSEL 57, 96

Requiritur ergo positio in corporalibus propter aptationem partium.

Unde dicit Simplicius: «Forte non omnem illocationem poni significat ... sed eam quae <velut casus> corporum quam habent remota a natura se ipsam tenente impartibilium specierum, et indigentia his quae suscipiant casum ipsorum et dirigant. <Nam> locus hanc exhibet opportunitatem, scilicet suscipere et aptare ea quae non retinent se ipsa, sed exciderunt et dispersa sunt.

Ambo enim habent elongata ab impartibili natura, scilicet et illud quod est in alio esse, sed non in se ipso, et illud quod est dispersum esse, sed non manere impartibile; propter quod <et> indigent loco et suscipiente ipsa et exhibente ordinem partibus et adaptationem. Nam <semel> dispersa indigent adaptatione, ut caput proprium locum habeat et collum», et cetera.

Et sic patet tertium principale.

IV Quarto videndum an proprie de Deo. Circa quod sciendum quod non est quaestio utrum dicatur ut genus, quia hoc modo nihil dicitur proprie de Deo, cum ipse non sit in genere proprie, ut alias declaratum est; sed est quaestio utrum analogice. Analogia autem non tollit proprietatem, ut saepe dictum est.

Item, hic sumitur hoc quod est proprie, ut distinguitur a transsumptive et metaphorice, ut sicut et in aliis quaestionibus dicendum est.

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429 positio / primo BN corporalibus / corporibus P aptationem / coaptionem B; coadaptationem N; adaptationem P 431 non omnem / est non tantum BN illocationem / illationem BN poni / positionem BN significat / assignat TPR 432 (quae) velut casus *om.* BN; est TP quam habent / quantum BN remota / remotam TPR 433 a natura *ante* remota BN tenente / tenentem BNR indigentia *lect. inc.* BN; indigentiam T 434 suscipiant / suscipiunt BN casum *lect. inc.* TR dirigant / diriguntur BN; indirigat T; dirigat RP hanc / autem B 435 opportunitatem *lect. inc.* B aptare / adaptare BN 438 non *om.* BN dispersum *om.* BN 439 indigent / indigens BN 440 exhibente / exhibentem B partibus / partibilium BT; partium PR adaptationem / aptationem TPR Nam / non BN 441 dispersa / dispoerata BN 442 et cetera *om.* BN 446 utrum dicatur *om.* BN 447 cum ipse non sit genere proprie / sumendo genus BN 448 analogice *mss.* analogice; Analogia *mss.* Anologia (*ac ita deinceps*) autem / enim BN 450 est *om.* T ut / non T (distinguitur) a / contra BN ut sicut et / sicut BN 451 dicendum est *om.* BN; dictum est P

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431. ed. Pattin II 460
447.Quaestio VI 167-169
449. cfr. l. 30 sqq.

Dicendum igitur quod simpliciter et absolute loquendo non dicitur proprie de Deo, non solum illa quae est praedicamentum, sed etiam nullum dictorum modorum. Nam positio, secundum quod dicitur collocatio, est alicuius in aliquo ut in causa et principio, sive huiusmodi positio dicatur proprie sive metaphorice, nullatenus Deo convenit, quia a nulla causa vel principio continetur, cum ipse sit prima causa omnium et primum principium.

Item, positio quae est ordo partium ad invicem, in Deo toto non convenit, qui est impartibilis omnino. Licet enim in Deo ponatur aliqua pluralitas, nullo modo partibilitas, ut alias declaratum est, nec ipse coordinatur alicui sicut pars, nec in ipso coordinantur sicut in toto aliqua, quia illa plura quae sunt in Deo, non sunt partes Dei, sed sunt id idem quod ipse secundum rem, et cetera.

Quod autem positio, quae est ordo partium in loco, Deo non conveniat ex dictis etiam patet, quia talis positio dicit esse in loco secundum coaptationem partium locati ad partes loci; quod in Deo dici non potest, quia, ut in quaestione praecedenti dictum est per auctoritatem Augustini, Deus ubique totus est, non pars in parte.

Unde et ex prima ratione huius positionis, quae est esse in loco secundum coaptationem et ex opportunitate rationis, scilicet propter quam requiritur, patet quod positio non est in Deo.

Et ideo dicendum cum Boetio quod situs et positio non sunt in Deo proprie aliquo modo, sed quandoque est quod aliqua insinuantia

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452 Dicendum / Est dicendum BN 453 illa *add.* positio BN est *om.* BN 454 secundum quod / prout BN 455 (collocatio) est *om.* BN (alicuius) in / de BN (causa) et *add.* in BN 456 (dicatur) proprie / positio proprie positio B 457 (quia) a / in BN 459 Item / ideo B (quae) est *om.* B 465 qui / quia BN 466 pluralitas / prioritas BN modo *add.* tamen BN 462 coordinantur *post* in toto BN 463 (plura) quae *om.* B (partes) Dei *om.* BN 466 in loco *add.* et BN 467 locati / loci BN loci / locati N in Deo *corr.* B1; *om.* B 469 Deus *add.* dicitur et est BN est *om.* BN parte / partes T 470 (Unde) et *om.* T prima / proprie BN 471 coaptationem / comparationem P scilicet *om.* BN 473 Et *om.* BN dicendum *add.* est BN 474 quandoque est quod / quandocumque N; est quod *om.* B; in loco *add.* de Deo dicuntur BN

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461. Quaestio IV 101-107
468. Quaestio XVIII l. 500 sqq. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 89
469. Ep. 187. Ad Dardanum VI,18, PL 33, 836; CSEL 57, 96
473. De Trinitate PL 64, 1253 C

positionem, sive partium in toto sive partium in loco, secundum similitudinem et metaphoram accipienda sunt, sicut et partes corporales. Dicitur enim caput Dei, manus, pedes, oculi, aures, et cetera; analogice dicuntur de Deo.

Similiter illa quae dicunt situm partium in toto, ut dextrum, sinistrum, et quae dicunt ordinem partium in loco, ut sedere et huiusmodi.

Et sic patet quartum principale.

V Quinto videndum an realiter dicatur. Ad quod breviter dicendum quod aliquid dicitur de aliquo realiter dupliciter.

Uno modo quia dicit rem secundum quod dividitur contra modum vel circumstantias rei; et hoc modo situs de nullo realiter dicitur, sicut nec alia quae habitudinem dicunt.

Alio modo quia ponit aliquid reale in illo de quo dicitur, sicut in subiecto et non solum secundum intellectum, sive illud reale sit res sive circumstantia rei. Sic dicitur quod Deus est realiter Pater. Et dicendum quod situs vel positio dicitur translative de Deo. Unde, si illud aliud quod transfertur dicit aliquid reale in Deo, tunc et ipsa positio dicit aliquid reale; si autem non, non. Verbi gratia, si sedere Dei significat immutabilitatem, cum hoc dicatur realiter de Deo, et sedere similiter.

Si autem dicit praesidentiam respectu creaturarum, cum haec praesidentia dicat respectum ad creaturas, non dicit aliquid reale in Deo ut aliquid in subiecto, sed aliquid secundum rationem, licet dicat aliquid reale in ipso ut in termino. Quare similiter dicendum erit de sedere. Et ita dicendum de aliis quae videntur importare positionem, quae de Deo dicuntur.

Patet igitur quid sit dicendum ad quaestionem, et quid sit pro veritate tenendum.

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476 accipienda sunt / accipiendum T; sunt *om.* TPR sicut / situs BN 477 dicitur / dicere BN aures *om.* BN; et nares R et cetera *om.* T 478 analogice ... Deo *om.* BN 479 situm / ordinem B dextrum *add.* et BN 480 (et) quae / qui TP 485 realiter *om.* BN 487 modum vel circumstantias / circumstantiam vel modum BN; circumstantias / circumstantia B 490 reale *add. et rep.* in illo ... illud reale B 491 Et *add.* tunc BN 492 dicitur / dicuntur BN aliud *add.* ad BN 494 (non) non *om.* T significat / dicit BN immutabilitatem / mutabilitatem BN 495 realiter *om.* BN 497 dicat / dicant T 498 ut aliquid / sicut BN; non aliquid T 499 (dicat) aliquid *om.* T ut / sicut BN erit / est BN 500 dicendum *om.* T videntur / dicuntur B 502 (quid) sit *om.* BN

Illa vero, quae aliquam dubitationem videntur facere in quaestione, patebunt in solutione argumentorum.

1) Ad primum igitur dicendum, quod omnia genera dicuntur de Deo secundum illud quod perfectionis important. Ideo signanter dicit quod perfectiones omnium generum sunt in ipso.

Positio vero sub nomine positionis imperfectionem dicit; ideo non dicitur de ipso proprie.

Dicit autem perfectionem in quantum ens vel bonum vel aliquid huiusmodi commune; et secundum haec nomina dicitur de Deo.

2) Ad secundum dicendum quod argumentum arguit oppositum, quia positio verificatur de ipso ratione naturae assumptae, et non ratione divinae naturae; ideo non convenit Deo secundum quod Deus, sicut quaestio quaerit absolute, tamen dicitur de ipso propter unionem hypostaticam.

3) Ad tertium dicendum quod, sicut dictum est supra in alia quaestione, ubi non dicitur de Deo proprie et simpliciter et absolute loquendo; sed secundum quid potest proprie dici. Positio autem nullo modo potest dici proprie secundum quod positio est; et ideo Boetius excludit situm, non autem ubi a Deo.

Tamen sciendum quod positio, licet sit diversa habitudo ad ubi, tamen praesupponit ipsum et includit. Unde ratione ubi quod praesup-

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506 solutione argumentorum *add.* Nota, quod situs multipliciter dicitur prior aliis sex principiis; est enim prior quando quia prior est habitudo quam habitudo ad tempus.

Item, actio et passio praesupponunt esse in loco.

Item, situs prior est ubi, ut partes in toto quam in loco, nec obstat quia aliter praedicta solent ordinari. Aliud est enim considerare ordinem istorum praedicamentorum secundum doctrinam in quo attenditur vel vocis significatio vel realitas vel entitas vel aliquid talium, et aliud est considerare ordinem quem in eodem subiecto habent.

Nota, ad rationem positionis in toto requiritur extensio quae Deo repugnat. De his quae ad huiusmodi positionem requiritur, quaere in II° Quolibet. Unde positionis ratio numquam ita generaliter accipitur quod absolvatur ab intellectu partium. BN 507 igitur *om.* BN 508 Ideo / Unde Commentator BN 510 vero / autem BN 512 in quantum *add.* dicitur BN 513 (commune;) et / de BN 514 argumentum *add.* non BN 511 sicut / secundum quod BN absolute *add.* tamen dicitur BN de ipso *post* hypostaticam BN propter / secundum B unionem / naturam BN 518 hypostaticam *mss* ypostaticam 520 et absolute *om.* BN 524 (habitudo) ad / ab BN 525 praesupponit / includit BN

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505. ed. Ypma 151-155
508. Vol. I pars I,30, text. com. 4; cfr. V Metaphys. Vol. VIII 131 D; Bekker 1122
521. Quaestio XVIII, IV l. 478 sqq. *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 88 sq.

ponit, positio dici potest proprie de Deo secundum quid, sicut ubi; secundum autem quod positio est, nullo modo. Licet enim dicat habitudinem ad locum, tamen aliter quam ubi, ut dictum est, et magis importatur imperfectionis in positionis habitudine quam ubi.

4) Ad quartum dicendum quod Auctor ille mixtim loquitur de utraque positione, scilicet partium in toto et in loco, quasi utraque pertineat ad idem praedicamentum. Illud autem quod dicitur, quod positio est naturalis substantiae ordinatio, de utraque potest exponi; patet per exempla sua.

Dicit enim quod haec ordinatio substantiae naturalis vel est innata a principio, ut in asperis et levibus, et hoc est positio partium in toto, vel est a consueto motu naturae, ut sessio et accubitus, et hoc est positio partium in loco.

Ordinatio autem substantiae debet hic intelligi secundum partes suas. Substantia autem partibilis est secundum quantitatem; talis autem ordinatio substantiae in Deo non est, sed est ibi ordo naturae, idest originis naturalis quo alter est ex altero. De tali autem ordine non loquitur Auctor ille.

5) Ad quintum dicendum quod ibi loquitur de substantia habente partes; talis autem non est differentia. Sed tunc videndum an sit verum, scilicet quod positio proxime assistat.

Et dicendum quod hoc est verum de positione partium in toto; quae quidem convenit substantiae ut partibilis est; quod ei convenit per quantitatem. Quantitas autem est proxime assistens substantiae; quare et positio quae est passio vel proprietas quantitatis.

Vel dicendum quod loquitur de utraque positione; et tunc verum est quod proxime assistit substantiae, ut ipse dicit proxime, magis quam

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526 positio dici potest proprie / proprie potest dici positio BN sicut / situs BN ubi *lect. inc.* N 528 quam *add.* in BN et / etiam T ut dictum est ... quam ubi *om.* BN 530 Auctor / Actor BN mixtim / mixtum B 533 de / dici TP exponi *add.* sicut BN 535 (naturales vel) est *om.* TPR 536 (levibus et) hoc / haec B 537 est a consueto / eam consequitur BN (accubitus, et) hoc / haec B 541 ibi *om.* BN 542 originis / ordinis B 543 Auctor / Actor BN 544 autem *om.* BN tunc *om.* BN 546 assistat / asistat BN (*ac ita deinceps*) 547 (hoc) est *om.* N 548 quae / quod BN 550 (quare) et *om.* B 552 proxime *add.* id est BN

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528. l. 340 sqq.
530. Liber Sex Principiorum. Vol. I pars I 66 D
544. l. 35 sqq.
552. Vol VIII 133A

omnia alia accidentia extrinsecus advenientia, scilicet haec sex. Unde dicit omnibus aliis formis suppositis; ideo dicit assistere, non in-esse. Sed et hoc non videtur, quia ubi prius est secundum naturam, licet forte sit simul tempore, nisi forte dicatur quod positio sit prior eo modo quo partes sunt priores toto, scilicet secundum viam generationis; ubi amplius via perfectionis.

Sed dicendum ad hoc est quod differentia inter ubi et positionem non attenditur secundum partes et totum, sed secundum susceptionem et coaptationem, ut dictum est. Susceptio autem prior videtur secundum naturam quam coaptatio; ideo dubium est dictum Auctoris.

6) Ad sextum dicendum quod primo propter illud quod dicitur in Maiori, scilicet an ordo positionis possit dici positio, et si sic, ad quam positionem pertinet. Et dicendum quod potest dici positio secundum quod partes universi habent ordinem ad invicem secundum perfectionem, et pertinet ad positionem, quae est partium in toto, ita quod positio dicitur non solum ordo partium in toto continuo, sed etiam in discontinuo; et non solum secundum quantitatem molis, sed etiam perfectionis. Tamen dicitur analogice positio de his, licet improprie, quia in distinctis est ordo, sed in continuis situs. Unde potest dici quod non est positio analogice, sed magis in secundo et aequivoce.

Si quis autem quaerat, an secundum perfectionem possit accipi positio quae est ordo partium in loco, dicendum quod sic, ut supra dictum est, prout aliqua dicuntur poni in causa et principio suo, et cetera.

Sed tunc secundo dicendum est ad Minorem, quod in Deo non est ordo perfectionis, licet enim possit dupliciter intelligi:

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554 dicit *lect. inc.* B assistere / consistere BN in-esse / tamen esse BN; enim esse R 555 (Sed) et *om.* BN ubi / ut T 556 tempore / tempra T sit / est BN 557 modo *om.* B sunt *om.* BN secundum viam / via BN 560 amplius / autem B; autem prius N; *add.* prius *post* perfectionis B 561 (dicendum) ad hoc *om.* BN 562 coaptatio *add.* et T (dubium) est om. BN Auctoris / actoris BN 563 (quod) primo *om.* BN 564 (et) si *om.* T 565 dicendum quod *om.* B (dici) positio / quod compositio BN 566 (secundum) quod / quam BN ad invicem *om.* BN 567 pertinet / pertinent BN 568 dicitur *post* non solum BN toto *add.* in BN 569 molis / mobilem N 571 in distinctis *mss* indistinctus sed / scilicet B continuis *lect. inc.* TPR 572 analogice *om.* BN in secundo et *om.* BN 574 quod sic *post* dictum est BN 575 (causa) et *add.* in BN 577 secundo *om.* BN 578 enim *add.* hoc BN possit / potest T

561. l. 422
562. cfr. l. 35 sqq.
574. III. l. 401 sqq.

Uno modo quod in ipso essent aliqua plura quae haberent ad invicem ordinem perfectionis; et hoc non est verum.

Alio modo ita quod ipse haberet ordinem ad aliquid aliud secundum perfectionem; et hoc non, quia ipse non est coordinatus creaturis. Unde non se habet ut pars, sed magis ut continens totum.

Et quod dicitur esse supra omnem creaturam, non dicit in ipso realem ordinem, sicut in subiecto, sed sicut in termino, ut dicatur supra quia creatura infra; ita tamen aliquo modo posset concedi quod est in eo positio proprie sicut in termino, non sicut in parte et subiecto, quia proprie creatura est infra.

7) Ad septimum dicendum quod argumentum procedit ex inconvenienti acceptione eius quod dicitur secundum positionem; non enim sic intelligit Philosophus, ut supra patet.

Sed, dato quod sic posset intelligi, adhuc non haberetur intentum, sed magis sequitur quod alia ponantur in Deo quam quod ipse ponatur alicubi. Utrum autem proprie dicatur, supra patet.

8) Ad octavum dicendum quod statio tripliciter accipitur:

Uno modo idem est quod motus realiter, differt autem secundum rationem; et sic accipitur in VI Physicorum, ubi dicitur quod «omne aut movetur aut quiescit». Stans autem non quiescit, quare movetur. Differt autem secundum Commentatorem a motu dupliciter:

Uno modo, quia dicitur motus ut respicit terminum qui est forma; dicitur autem statio ut respicit terminum, qui est quies. Unde sicut motus dicitur forma imperfecta, ita statio potest dici quies imperfecta.

Alio modo differt, quia dicitur statio respectu acquisiti, dicitur motus respectu acquirendi. Unde Commentator habet in sua transla-

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579 essent / sint B 582 ipse / ipsa BN coordinatus / coordinabilis BN; *et add.* in B 583 habet *om.* N continens / contines N 584 dicitur esse / dicit BN 586 posset *ante* aliquo modo BN est *post* in eo BN 587 (parte) et *add.* in B 588 ita tamen ... est infra *om.* P 589 dicendum *om.* B inconvenienti / convenienti BN 591 patet / patuit BN 592 haberetur *lect. inc.* T; habet P 594 patet / patuit BN 597 (dicitur) quod *om.* BN 599 Commentatorem / communis N motu / moto B; a motu *ante* secundum BN; 549 dupliciter / tripliciter B 601 (statio) ut / quia T 602 ita / sic BN; ita statio / ista T 603 Alio modo / secundo BN 604 Unde / ut B

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591. I l. 17 sqq.
591. I l. 190 sqq.
594. IV. l. 455 sqq.
597. Vol. IV 291 C
599. Vol. IV 291 E text. com. 67
604. Vol. IV 291 E text. com. 67

tione loco stationis «cessationem»; sic non sumit Dionysius stationem.

Alio modo sumitur prout dicit situm; sic sumit Philosophus in Praedicamentis, nec sic accepit Dionysius. His autem duobus modis non proprie dicitur de Deo statio.

Tertio modo statio significat quietem et immutabilitatem; et sic accipit Dionisyus, sicut ipse exponit quod statio et sessio Dei significant immutabilitatem naturae et operationis in ipso. Et hoc modo proprie dicitur de Deo, sicut et immutabilitas non est motus privatio, sed negatio.

Statio, quae est situs, dicitur metaphorice et significat sedere praesidentiam virtutis suae. Stare autem paratum significat ipsum esse ad adiuvandum vel aliquid aliud, secundum diversas similitudines.

Vel dicendum quod Dionysius, libro De Divinis Nominibus, licet principaliter intendat de dictis proprie de Deo, tamen ibi interserit aliqua dicta etiam translative, sicut patet in eodem capitulo de cessione et motu. Nam et si statio secundum aliquam sui significationem posset dici proprie, non tamen cessio vel motus.

9) Ad nonum dicendum quod similitudo et aequalitas dicuntur de Deo proprie, ita et quantitas et qualitas, cum haec sint proprietates qualitatis et quantitatis secundum Philosophum in Praedicamentis; et si ista non, nec etiam illa.

Quomodo autem hoc possit dici de Deo proprie, patuit in superioribus quaestionibus. Unde, si fundamentum imperfectionem importat, habitudo non potest Deo attribui, cum habitudo semper supponat

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605 cessationem *add.* et BN 606 sumitur / dicitur B 606 accepit / recepit BN 608 proprie dicitur / sumitur BN statio *ante* de Deo BN 609 (modo) statio *om.* BN quietem / convenientem T immutabilitatem *add.* naturae et operationis BN 610 Dionysius *add.* et T sicut / sic BN quod / ut BN 611 immutabilitatem / immobilitatem BN 612 non est / sicut nec est BN motus *lect. inc.* N 614 Statio *add.* autem BN (metaphorice) et *add.* sic BN 615 suae *add.* stare T autem *add.* enim BN significat ipsum *om.* BN esse *add.* ad N 621 proprie / de eo N 622 quod *add.* sicut BN aequalitas dicuntur / aequa dicitur T 623 ita *om.* N ita et / sicut P 624 (qualitatis) et *om.* BN 625 non *add.* sunt N (nec) etiam *om.* T 626 patuit *om.* BN 627 quaestionibus *add.* tactum est BN

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605. cfr. De Divinis Nominibus cap. 8,9 PG 3 915; 919-922
606. Vol. I pars I 37 A
617. cap. 9(8) PG 3,915 BC
619. cap. 9(8,9) PG 3,915 BC
624. Vol. I pars I 33vo LM, 34 A
627. Quaestio IX 281-284; Quaestio X 288, 289

proprie fundamentum. Unde, si fundamentum situs non dicitur de Deo, nec etiam situs dicitur.

10) Ad decimum dicendum quod Maior est vera, sed ad Minorem et eius probationem dicendum. Cum enim dicitur illud quod dicitur de aliquo praedicatione extrinseca, non dicit imperfectionem in illo, verum est exemplum tamen de actione et passione, quia agens denominatur ab habitudine quae est in ipso; sed exemplum ad hoc est cum dicitur: Deus factus refugium et cetera, ut supra.

Quod autem dicitur quod situs dicitur de omnibus praedicatione extrinseca, dicendum quod non est verum. Licet enim dicat habitudinem, tamen inhaerens est ei de quo dicitur. Unde sicut paternitas dicitur de Patre praedicatione per inhaerentiam, ita sessio; tamen denominat per inhaerentiam, in comparatione tamen ad aliud et non absolute.

Sed adhuc non est soluta ratio. Diceret enim aliquis quod, licet situs non dicatur de creaturis praedicatione extrinseca, sed per inhaerentiam, tamen de Deo diceretur solum praedicatione extrinseca, sicut dominus dicitur de aliquo homine per inhaerentiam, de Deo autem praedicatione extrinseca; dicitur enim Dominus, non quia ipse referatur, sed quia aliud refertur ad ipsum.

Et dicendum, sicut alias dictum fuit, proprium est habitudinis esse in pluribus, in uno ut in subiecto, in alio ut in termino. Et hoc convenit non solum relationi, sed etiam omni habitudini. Quando ergo habitudo dicitur de eo in quo est sicut in subiecto, dicitur denominatio per inhaerentiam, ut scientia de sciente. Quando autem dicitur de eo in quo

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632 (enim) dicitur *add.* quod B (illud quod) dicitur *om.* BN 633 de aliquo *add.* praedicatur BN imperfectionem / perfectionem BN 634 (verum) est *om.* T exemplum / de exemplo BN de actione *add.* et motu, Utrum sit verum patet per dicta in quaestione de actione BN et *add.* etiam T 635 cum dicitur *om.* BN 636 refugium / re BN 638 (non) est *om.* B 639 inhaerens est / inhaeret BN 640 tamen / cum quem BN 641 per inhaerentiam *add.* denominat BN comparatione / operatione N 641 (non) est *om.* B ratio *om.* B 645 diceretur / dicitur N 646 dicitur *post* homine BN 647 ipse / vere BN 648 aliud / alius BN 649 Et *add.* ideo BN (dictum) fuit / est BN 650 (in uno) ut / sicut BN ut / sicut BN Et hoc *add.* non N 652 subiecto *add.* et hoc BN 653 eo in quo est sicut in *om.* BN

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635. Ps. 89
636. l. 39 sqq.
649. Quaestio XVI 289-297; Quaestio VII 205 sq.

est sicut in termino, tunc dicitur extrinseca denominatio, ut de scibili. Denominatur enim scibile non a scientia quae est in ipso, sed in alio. Sic Deus dicitur Dominus non relatione quae sit in ipso, sed in alio. Ideo enim dicitur Dominus, quia creatura est serva.

Quando autem quaeritur utrum positio dicatur de Deo, intelligendum est utrum dicatur de ipso ut de subiecto; quod esse non posset, nisi diceretur de ipso per inhaerentiam. Ideo, dato quod positio posset dici de Deo ut de termino et praedicatione extrinseca, quod idem est, non facit ad quaestionem. Utrum autem verum sit quod positio dicatur de Deo ut de termino, posset dici quod, accipiendo positionem secundum quod effectus dicuntur poni in causis, dicendum quod dicitur de Deo extrinseca denominatione. Si autem sumatur positio proprie, non, quia secundum hanc nec ipse ponitur alicubi, nec alia ponuntur in ipso.

11) Ad undecimum dicendum quod diversus modus essendi, qui attenditur secundum attributionem unius modi ad aliud, et qui habent unam rationem analogam saltem non tollit proprietatem, sicut esse in loco convenit analogice corpori et spiritui, et etiam Deo secundum aliquid, licet non simpliciter. Sed diversi modi essendi in quibus non est attributio et una communis ratio, sed solum similitudo quaedam, sumpta ex aliquibus proprietatibus extrinsecis, rei tollit proprietatem; et sic est in proposito.

Positio dicitur de Deo secundum similitudinem, ut sedere, quia sessionem consequitur immutabilitas vel praesidentia, sed non est una communis ratio analogice dicta, et cetera.

12) Ad duodecimum dicendum quod positio non dicitur proprie de Deo ratione utriusque, scilicet fundamenti et habitudinis; ratione quidem fundamenti, quia est in particulari aliquo. Et quod dicitur de actione, dicendum quod actio quae Deo proprie attribuitur, non fundatur in motu, nec est verum de actione universaliter quod fundetur in motu, ut supra patuit.

Item, ratione ipsius habitudinis non dicitur proprie. Et quod

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654 de scibili/cum dicitur scibile BN 655 Denominatur *post* scibile enim B (quae) est/sit BN 656 sic/sicut N non *add.* a BN 659 (intelligendum) est *om.* TP posset/potest BN 660 inhaerentiam *add.* et BN 661 (idem) est *om.* N 662 (facit) ad *om.* B 663 posset/potest BN 670 analogice *post* spiritui B 671 aliquid/quid BN non est *add.* una BN 672 (attributio) et/nec BN 676 immutabilitas/mu6tabilitas BN vel/ut N 679 scilicet *add.* ratione BN 680 (particulari aliquo) Et *om.* B 682 de actione *om.* BN

683. I l. 176 sqq.

dicitur quod habitudo non differt ab habitudine, et cetera, dicendum quod, immo licet enim innotescat differentia huiusmodi per fundamenta, tamen etiam secundum diversam rationem habitudinis differt, ut quia haec est advenientia, haec non, et aliis modis.

Vel dicendum quod habitudo est analogum, sicut accidens et ens. Unde, sicut diversi sunt modi accidentis, sic et habitudinis et sicut illi differunt secundum diversos modos accidentis, et non solum secundum substantiam.

Unde et in eodem praedicamento habitudinis distinguitur species non per fundamenta, sed secundum rationes habitudinis, ut in relatione, quia aliqua suppositionis, et cetera; de hoc supra dictum est.

Et si obicitur de Simo et Rico, quae non differunt per subiectum, dicendum quod non est simile. Haec autem non differunt specie, sed solum materialiter; unde non sunt proprie diversae species canitatis, sicut nec albedo in lacte et nive. Sed quando et ubi et relatio sunt diversi modi habitudinis et plus differentes quam species, scilicet genere.

13) Ad decimum tertium dicendum quod positio non est species, licet sit minus quam ubi, ut supra patuit.

14) Ad decimum quartum dicendum quod in Deo non est passio proprie nec potentia passiva. Divina autem Persona non dicitur ex essentia Patris sicut ex potentia passiva, quia «ex» dicit habitudinem omnem originantis. Unde de Patre originaliter et substantialiter, non

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685 (dicitur) quod *om.* BN differt / derivatur BN 686 immo / ymo NP enim / non BN huius *add.* nisi BN 687 (rationem) habitudinis *om.* T differt *om.* BN 688 ut quia / utraque et B (haec) est *om.* BN (non) et / vel BN 689 est analogum *add.* et ens T 691 accidens *om.* BN 692 secundum substantiam *add.* sic et hoc secundum diversos modos habitudinis ut non solum secundum substantiam BN 693 (et) in *om.* B 694 sed secundum / quia semper BN; *et add.* habet B habitudinis *add.* diversas BNR 695 suppositionis / similiter positionis B; super positionis NR de hoc / ut BN 696 differunt *add.* nisi BN subiectum / subiecta BN 697 autem *om.* BN; enim RP 698 (unde) non *om.* B 699 (relatio) sunt *add.* diversae rationes B; diversae relationes N 700 specie *corr.* B1; *om.* B 701 species *add.* ubi BN 704 (Persona) non *om.* B 705 quia *add.* praepositio BN 706 omnem / causae BN de / ex BN Patre *add.* est BN substantialiter *add.* et B

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695. l. 375 sqq.
702. l. 316 sqq.

autem materialiter. Potentia autem est principium transmutandi ab alio secundum quod aliud. De hoc supra, et cetera.

15) Ad decimum quintum dicendum quod in situ est perfectio absoluta, ut in sessione immutabilitas vel praesidentia, et cetera.

16) Ad decimum sextum dicendum quod, dato quod in aliquo conveniant, tamen in pluribus disconveniunt et praecipue secundum speciales rationes; nec est verum quod conveniant in motu, nisi improprie sumatur motus, quia est actio aliqua proprie sine motu.

De hoc autem quod est esse adventitium dictum fuit supra, et cetera.

17) Ad decimum septimum dicendum quod situs dicit in re posita respectum; non autem omnis respectus vel habitudo est relatio. Habitudo quae sumitur ab extra, ita quod non ponit habitudinem realem in eo de quo dicitur, illa non repugnat divinae perfectioni: situs autem sumitur ab extra, cum ponit reale aliquid in eo de quo dicitur.

Vel dicendum quod aliqua habitudo importat imperfectionem, et ratione termini et ratione subiecti, aliqua solum ratione subiecti. Divinum enim dicitur de Deo ut de termino, licet non ut de subiecto; situs autem neutro modo. Unde non est vera Maior.

18) Ad decimum octavum dicendum quod supra dictum fuit, quomodo Deo convenit esse in loco proprie et quomodo non, sive finito sive infinito si esset, quia non terminatur loco nec indiget, et cetera.

19) Ad decimum nonum dicendum quod argumentum probat quod Deo convenit quod ipse sit locus. Sed ex hoc non sequitur quod ei conveniat positio, quia locus in quantum locus non ponitur sed est illud

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707 autem *om.* B 710 sessione *add.* est BN et cetera *om.* BN 712 conveniant / convenirent BN pluribus *add.* differunt vel BN praecipue / possibile BN secundum *add.* quod BN 713 rationes / res N conveniant / conveniunt BN 714 sumatur / sumantur BN motus *om.* BN proprie *add.* dicta BN 716 dicit *post* in re posita BN 717 (vel habitudo) est relatio *om.* BN; *add.* Ad decimum octavum dicendum quod illa TPR habitudo *om.* BN 719 illa non / quod B; *om.* N 720 sumitur *corr.* B1; *om.* B 721 importat *corr.* B1; *om.* B 722 (subiecti) aliqua / aliquo BN 723 (enim) dicitur *om.* BN 725 octavum / nonum TPR 726 quomodo / quod ideo BN in loco *add.* et quomodo N proprie et *om.* B 728 decimum nonum / vigesimum TPR 729 ipse sit *om.* B 730 positio *ante* ei conveniat N

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708. l. 264 sqq.
715. l. 316 sqq.
725. IV l. 445 sqq.

in quo alia ponuntur, nisi forte in quantum est superficies, et superficies dicitur poni in corpore in quo est. Utrum tamen proprie dicatur locus, dictum est supra.

20) Ad vigesimum dicendum quod Deo non convenit ubi proprie simpliciter. Vel, dato quod conveniat ei proprie, dicendum est ad Maiorem quod infra patebit, quomodo ubi est habitus conversus et similiter quomodo situs est habitus conversus, in quo est habere.

Vel dicendum quod ubi est habitus conversus, et cetera, accipiendo magis coartate et non communiter, ut supra sumebatur. Et similiter habitus sumitur magis stricte, cum dicitur quod situs est habitus conversus, et cetera.

21) Ad vigesimum primum dicendum quod non dicit imperfectionem solum ratione subiecti, sed etiam secundum propriam rationem. Ideo non est simile de sapientia, quae secundum suam rationem non dicit imperfectionem, nec ut contrahitur ad subiectum.

Ut enim supra dictum est, habitudines distinguuntur ex propria ratione habitudinis et non solum ratione subiecti; quod patet ex propriis rationibus ipsorum, quae non sumuntur ex subiectis. Agere enim est habere causam in se, pati in alio. Propria autem ratio habitudinis sumitur ex extrinseco, nec tantum ex extrinseco nec tantum ex fundamento, sed ex utroque, cum sit habitudo huius ad hoc.

Et quod non ex fundamento, patet, quia in eodem fundamento sunt diversae habitudines, scilicet relatio, ubi, quando et huiusmodi.

22) Ad vigesimum secundum dicendum quod distinctio, quam relatio dicit, nullam imperfectionem importat secundum quod distinctio,

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731 et superficies *om.* BN 732 (superficies) dicitur *lect. inc.* T 733 supra *add.* et cetera T 734 vigesimum *add.* primum TPR (convenit) ubi *om.* B; *post* simpliciter N proprie *add.* et BN 735 (dicendum) est *om.* BN 737 (in)quo est / quaestione de BN 738 (dicendum) quod *om.* BN; *corr.* est B1 739 coartate / coarte N communiter / convenit B Et *om.* B 742 primum / secundum TPR 744 (rationem) non *om.* BN; ut T 745 imperfectionem / perfectionem BN nec / non BN; *om.* P 747 et non / tamen B solum *add.* ex B proprius *om.* B 748 ipsorum / eorum BN 749 habere causam / agere BN in se *add.* et BN 750 (extrinseco) nec / non B 753 huiusmodi *add.* et cetera BN 754 secundum / tertium BTPR 755 (quod) distinctio / dictio T

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733. Quaestio VII 206-208
739. l. 124 sqq.
746. II l. 306 sqq.

nisi in quantum accipitur distinctio in relationibus aliquibus importantibus imperfectionem. Unde potest dici quod non omnis unio importat imperfectionem, ut unio formarum in materia, nec omnis distinctio imperfectionem.

Item dicendum quod situs nec unionem nec distinctionem importat, licet praesupponat distinctionem, et etiam sit ei annexa unio, sicut ubi non dicit unionem, quia unio est relatio, sed consequitur unio ipsum ubi.

23) Ad vigesimum tertium dicendum quod ordo non sicut formalis, non tamen ordo absolute.

24) Ad vigesimum quartum dicendum quod positio nec imponitur a stabilitate nec a motu, quia sine tali invenitur, sicut habere aliqua vel in statu, ut terra, vel in motu, ut corpora caelestia, ut Simplicius dicit et Damascenus in Logica sua.

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756 (nisi) in *om.* T 759 imperfectionem *add.* substantiae BN 760 Item, dicendum / Sciendum BN 761 licet *add.* etiam B; *add.* et N et etiam *add.* si B1; N (sicut) ubi *om.* BN 764 tertium / quartum TRP ordo non sicut / unio licet / sit BN 766 quartum / quintum TPR (nec) imponitur / impones BN; imponens T 767 a stabilitate / astabilitatem T a motu *add.* vel BN quia *add.* vel quia T sine tali / tales BN; *lect. inc.* T sicut / ut BN 768 ut terra *om.* BN 769 Logica sua *add.* et sic sufficit BN; et sic est finis huius quaestionis R

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768. ed. Pattin II 460
769. Cap. 53 PG 94, 642 B

Boekbespreking — Compte rendu

AEGIDII ROMANI, *Opera Omnia. I. Catalogo dei manoscritti (294-372).* 1/3** *Francia (Parigi)*, a cura di Concetta LUNA. (Unione Accademica Nazionale. Corpus philosophorum medii aevi. Testi e studi, VII). Firenze, Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1988, XXIX-364 p. Lire 98.000.

«Gilles (de Rome) n'a pas eu la chance de ces grands docteurs ni celle de saint Bonaventure: nous ne possédons pas une bonne édition de ses *opera omnia*. Celles qui existent sont anciennes, d'accès difficile et toujours incomplètes». Cette remarque très juste faite par David Gutiérrez dans son article consacré à Gilles de Rome (*Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, t. VI, 1967, p. 387) sera bientôt — espérons-le — dépassée par les circonstances. En effet, la maison d'édition Leo S. Olschki de Florence a commencé récemment à publier les œuvres complètes de ce grand penseur du moyen âge dans la collection *Corpus philosophorum medii aevi* de l'Unione Accademica Nazionale. Il s'agit d'une entreprise louable parce qu'elle comble une grave lacune, mais en même temps hasardeuse car l'œuvre de Gilles est vaste et le 'piano editoriale' de l'éditeur prévoit non moins de 16 volumes pour les *Opera philosophica*, 17 volumes pour les *Opera theologica*, 5 pour les *Opera varia* sans compter les *Prolegomena* (16 volumes: catalogues de manuscrits et d'éditions, la tradition universitaire, la diffusion et la chronologie).

Jusqu'à présent un seul texte a été publié (l'*Apologia*, 1985, *Opera theologica*, vol. III, 1; a cura di R. Wielockx; XVI-292 p.) et 3 catalogues de manuscrits (vol. I. 1/1: *Catalogo dei manoscritti, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, a cura di B. Faes de Mottoni e C. Luna, 1987, XXXVI-278 p.; vol. I. 1/3*: *Catalogo dei manoscritti, Francia (Dipartimenti)*, a cura di F. del Punta e C. Luna, 1987, XXIV-308 p.; et le volume I. 1/3 signalé plus haut). Ce dernier volume (les manuscrits des bibliothèques parisiennes) dresse l'inventaire des manuscrits d'œuvres de Gilles conservés dans la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (7 mss.), la Bibliothèque Mazarine (12 mss.), la Bibliothèque Nationale (53 mss.) et la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne (6 mss.). Chaque manuscrit est décrit selon le même schéma: numéro de catalogue, signature, datation, reliure, composition, écriture et décoration, indication des pièces, corrections et annotations, contenu, origine, histoire et données bibliographiques. Le livre se termine par plusieurs index (manuscrits, œuvres de Gilles, incipit, noms propres, œuvres anonymes) et un petit glossaire italien-français qui facilite énormément l'utilisation du volume au lecteur non habitué à la terminologie technique italienne employée dans la description des manuscrits.

Tous les volumes parus à ce jour se distinguent par leur présentation claire et soignée, par la qualité du travail fourni et par la précision des descriptions. Espérons que le rythme de publication ne sera pas ralenti car il faudra évidemment encore plusieurs années avant de voir la fin d'une telle entreprise. Je me permets d'exprimer un seul regret qui concerne la reliure des volumes: une couverture plus résistante, pleine toile, aurait encore augmenté la valeur de l'ensemble. Dans quelques années on disposera donc enfin d'une édition des œuvres complètes de Gilles de Rome et on pourra alors se rendre pleinement compte de l'étendue de son génie.

Jozef VAN HOUTEM, O.S.A.
Leuven

Bibliographie Historique de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin 1985 - 1989

Avec des compléments des années antérieures

Comme résultat de nos recherches nous pouvons offrir aux lecteurs de notre revue une autre série consacrée à la *Bibliographie Historique de l'Ordre de Saint-Augustin*, qui comprend une période de cinq ans, à savoir de 1985 jusqu'à août 1989, avec beaucoup de compléments pour les années antérieures.

Quant à la numérotation la bibliographie présente se joint à celles déjà publiées depuis 1976[1]) et la division est celle pratiquée par nous jusqu'ici.

Pour faciliter la recherche des personnes, des lieux et de certaines matières, nous avons ajouté un vaste registre en trois parties, étant donné que plusieurs personnes, etc. sont mentionées sous plusieurs numéros.

Nous tenons à remercier tous ceux de nos confrères, nommément Joseph van Houtem (Heverlee), et les employés de la Bibliothèque Universitaire d'Utrecht, qui nos ont fournis des renseignements pour composer cette cinquième série bibliographique.

ALBÉRIC DE MEIJER O.S.A.

[1]) *Augustiniana* 26 (1976), 39-340 (nn. 1-2841); 28 (1978), 448-516 (nn. 2842-3224); 31 (1981), 5-159 (nn. 3225-4198) et 35 (1985), 5-192 (nn. 4199-5370). Les bibliographies sont en vente comme tirés-à-part à l'administration de la revue: Pakenstraat 109, B-3030 Heverlee-Louvain.

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Tables

Les chifres renvoient aux numéros de la bibliographie.

Les noms des personnes imprimés en italiques n'appartiennent pas à l'Ordre des Augustins.

Les personnes qui ont vécu avant 1500 sont registrées par leur prénom, ceux qui moururent après 1500 par le nom de famille. En quelques cas on a fait des renvois.

Dans la Table des lieux le nom des villes et villages signifie la présence d'un couvent ou de personnes individuelles, citées dans la bibliographie.

Dans l'ordre alphabétique ä, ö, et ü sont classés comme ae, oe et ue; Mc comme Mac.

Abréviations

(*A*)	Autriche
AA	Assumptionniste
(*AUS*)	Australie
(*B*)	Belgique
B.	Bienheureux, Bienheureuse
(*CDN*)	Canada
(*CH*)	Suisse
(*CS*)	Tchécoslovaquie
CSB	Prêtre de St. Basile
(*D*)	Allemagne et DDR
(*E*)	Espagne
(*EAK*)	Kenya
(*EC*)	Équateur
(*F*)	France
(*GB*)	Angleterre
(*H*)	Hongrie
(*I*)	Italie
(*IND*)	Inde
(*IRL*)	Irlande
(*J*)	Japon
(*MEX*)	Mexique
MSC	Missionnaire du S. Cœur
N.D.	Notre Dame
(*NL*)	Pays-Bas
OAD	Ordo Augustinensium Discalceatorum
OAR	Ordo Augustinianorum Recollectorum
O(E)SA	Ordo Fratrum (Eremitarum) S. Augustini
OFM	Franciscain
OP	Dominicain
OSB	Bénédictin
(*P*)	Portugal
(*PE*)	Pérou
(*PI*)	Philippines
(*PL*)	Pologne
(*RB*)	Bolivie
(*RC*)	Chili
SDB	Salésien
SJ	Jésuite
St, Ste	Saint, Sainte
(*USA*)	États-Unis d'Amérique
(*WAN*)	Nigeria
(*YV*)	Venezuela

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Galberry, Thomas; Gallardo, Rafael; Gamboa, François; Geoffroy Grandfeld; Gérard Carrara; Gérard Orlandini; Gervasio, Augustin; Gilles de Rome; Gomis y Galtés, Jacques; Goñalons, Guillaume; González de Mendoza, Jean; Goold, Jacques; Gracht, Gédéon van der; Grégoire de Lucca; Guerrero, Hernando; Guevara, Diego de; Guillaume Amidani; Guillaume Becchi; Guillaume Gonème.

Hugolin d'Orvieto.

Jacques Pérez de Valencia; Jacques de Viterbe; Jean de Fermentaria; Jean Goldener; Jean Hiltalingen; Jean Antoine d'Imola; Jean Ludovici; Jean Schulte; Jean Ymminck; Jones, Guillaume Ambroise.

Landucci, Ambroise; Laynez, Joseph; Le Drou, Pierre Lambert; Lierde, Petrus Canisius van; Limperger, Tilmann; López Ortiz, José; López de Solís, Louis.
McNabb, John; Meneses, Alexis de; Menochio, Joseph Barthélemy; Moreno, Ezéchiel.
Nicolas de Cascia; Nicolas Palmieri.
Pierre Ameil; Pierre Arsenh; Pierre Assalbit, Pierre de Bruniquelle; Polanco, Anselme; Pontes y Cantelar, Vincent.
Raymond d'Acono; Robert Waldeby; Rodríguez de Arriaga, Bernardin; Rodríguez Gamoneda, Ange; Rojas, Pierre de.
Sébastien de St. Pierre.
Thomas de Villanova; Thomas Visconti.
Valvasori, Dominique.
- *Hagiographie*
Saints: Augustin, Jean de Sahagún, Nicolas de Tolentino, Thomas de Villanova.
Saintes: Claire de Montefalco, Julienne de Cornillon, Madeleine de Nagasaki, Monique, Rita de Cascia.
Bienheureux: Augustin de Tarano, Barthélemy Gutiérez, Clément d'Osimo, Gonzalve de Lagos, Gratia de Cattaro, Guillaume de Toulouse, Hugolin de Gualdo Cattaneo, Jacques de Viterbe, Jean Bon, Martin de St. Nicolas, Melchior de St. Augustin, Ezéchiel Moreno; Orozco, Alphonse d'; Sante de Cori; Simon Fidati.
Bienheureuses: Christiane de S. Croce, Hélène Valentinis, Véronique de Binasco.
- *Liturgie* – voir: Breviaria, Cantualia, Missalia.
- *Magister clericorum*: 5382.
- *Missalia*: 5798.
- *Missions*: 5828, 5830, 5832, 5859, 5862, 5865-66, 5871, 5874-75, 6490.
voir en général tous les pays extra-européens.
- *Musiciens*: 5739-40, 6161, 6431, 6505, 6541, 6582.
- *Prieur local*: 5380-81.
- *Prieurs généraux*: 5387.
voir: Alexandre Oliva; Alexandre de S. Elpidio; Ambroise Massari; Augustin Favaroni; Augustin de Tarano; Bellelli, Fulgence; Christophe de Padova; Clément d'Osimo; Esteban, Eustasio; Fuhl, Clément; Gérard de Rimini; Ghettis, Jérôme de; Gilles de Rome; Gilles de Viterbe; Gioia, Augustin; Giovannetti, Nicolas; Grégoire de Rimini; Guillaume Amidani; Guillaume Becchi; Hugolin d'Orvieto; Neno, Antoine; Nicolas de Cascia; Nolan, Martin; Orcasitas, Miguel; Pierre de Vena; Rubio, Luciano; Serani, Nicolas; Seripando, Jérôme; Thomas de Strasbourg; Trapè, Augustin; Valvasori, Dominique; Vázquez, François Xavier.
- *Provinces et congrégations*:
- Prov. Californiae: 5837.
- Prov. Canadiensis: 5834.
- Prov. Coloniae: 5480.
- Prov. Franciae: 5600.
- Prov. Hispaniae: 5540.
- Prov. Michoacanensis: 6445.
- Prov. Peruviana: 6483.
- Prov. Philippinarum: 5876.
- Prov. Portugalliae: 5807.
- Prov. Villanovensis: 5835-36.
- Prov. Umbriae: 5648.
- Viceprovincia Nigeriensis: 5830.
- Communauté de Bourges: 5606.
- Congr. de Centorbi: 6429.
- Congr. S. Mariae de Colorito: 6408.
- Congr. Montis Orthonae: 5664.
- *Revues*: 5383-87, 5424.
- *Spiritualité*: 5408-10.
- *Statistiques*: 5388.
- *Tiers ordre et confréries*: 5429, 5507, 5579, 5863-64.

Augustins Déchausés: 5626, 5720, 5809, 5813, 5815-17, 6443, 6547, 6573.
Augustins Récollets: 5413-22, 5841, 5858, 5861, 5871, 6435-38, 6446, 6449-50, 6505, 6508, 6543, 6545, 6547, 6552-54, 6564, 6577.
Manuscrits: 5407, 5414-15, 5422, 5480, 5487-89, 5491, 5495, 5503, 5590, 5600-1, 5629, 5635, 5637, 5649, 5666, 5714, 5718, 5743-46, 5757, 5823, 5864, 5887, 5893, 5937, 5945, 5963, 5978, 5986, 6014, 6025, 6029, 6049, 6059, 6082-83, 6152, 6162, 6265-66, 6338, 6340, 6364, 6389, 6421, 6431, 6485.
Marie, Ste, mère de Jésus: 5377, 5425, 5427, 5445, 5720, 5750, 5787, 5813, 6184, 6208, 6218, 6222-23, 6228, 6233, 6282, 6292-93, 6312, 6317, 6379, 6411, 6446-48.
- N.D. du Bon Conseil (Genazzano): 5719.
- N.D. de Regla (Chipiona): 5545.
Règle de St. Augustin: 5389-5407, 5412, 6096, 6623.

Augustine, Julian of Aeclanum and E. Pagels' *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent**)

Except for the sixth and final chapter, E. Pagels' new book is a compilation of articles which have previously been published elsewhere. Pagels discusses Augustine and Julian particularly in chapters five and six, which are entitled "The Politics of Paradise" (p. 98-126) and "The Nature of Nature" (p. 127-150) respectively.

The object of our contribution is to enter into dialogue with these articles and to indicate a number of points which we believe should be further nuanced. Indeed, we have the impression that Pagels has not always done justice to the multicolored mosaic of Augustine's thought among other things. Also, there are a number of points where we think Pagels has erred. By means of our reflections, we do not intend to summarize Pagels' articles. Rather, on the basis of some of her statements, we hope to offer a modest contribution with regard to a few themes from an interesting dispute.

Our first reflection concerns *Rom.* 5,12. According to Pagels, Augustine based himself on an "idiosyncratic interpretation of Romans 5:12" in his observation that human nature became evil as punishment for the sin of the first people. The reason for his faulty interpretation, Pagels claims, lay in the fact that he "read the passage in Latin, and so either ignored or was unaware of the connotation of the Greek original; thus he misread the last phrase as referring to Adam"[1]). Yet the list of studies, which she mentions with regard to Augustine's interpretation of *Rom.* 5,12, does not include those articles which negate this widespread view. S. Lyonnet[2]) indeed has convincingly proved that the interpretation of *Rom.* 5,12 did not play an important role in Augustine's *development* of this theory of original sin. Lyonnet pointed out that Augustine did not appeal to *Rom.* 5,12 but that he referred to 1 *Cor.*

* New York, Random House, 1988, XXVIII + 189 p.

[1]) See Pagels, p. 109; cf. also p. 143.

[2]) *Rom. V,12 chez saint Augustin. Note sur l'élaboration de la doctrine Augustinienne du péché originel*, in *L'Homme devant Dieu.* Mélanges offerts au père Henri de Lubac (Théologie 56), Lyon, 1963, p. 327-339; cf. also *id.*, *A propos de Romains 5,12 dans l'œuvre de S. Augustin. Note complémentaire*, in *Biblica* 45 (1964) 541-542; *id.*, *Augustin et Rm. 5,12 avant la controverse pélagienne*, in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 89 (1967) 842-849.

15,22 as proof of all humanity's incorporation into Adam, when he definitively shaped the main lines of his view on original sin in 396/397[3]). In Adam, all of us die because in him lies the source of God's resentment. Because of Adam, we all belong to the *massa peccati* which, in light of divine justice, deserved to be punished[4]). Up until the beginning of the Pelagian controversy, it is conspicious that *Rom.* 5,12 was never referred to as an argument to prove this view which compelled Lyonnet to duly remark: "On ne saurait affirmer, et aussi bien nul ne le prétend, qu'avant 412 saint Augustin ignorait le dogme du péché originel. Or le moins qu'on puisse dire est que jusqu'alors le rôle joué par Rom. 5,12 n'apparaît guère!»[5]).

However, Augustine's specific references to 1 *Cor.* 15,22 are quite numerous. Moreover, in his work *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, in which he explicitly opposed the Pelagian view of Adam as *exemplum* for the first time, Augustine once again introduced his exegesis of *Rom.* 5,12a-b by means of 1 *Cor* 15,21-22[6]). Already this should sufficiently prove that Augustine's interpretation of *Rom.* 5,12 cannot be referred to in order to portray his concept of original sin as being a theory based on a faulty reading of the text. Clearly, Augustine developed his opinion without the aid of *Rom.* 5,12d.

In passing, we need to point out that Augustine dealt more elaborately with the *in quo* of *Rom.* 5,12 in his work *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV, 7[7]). In his exposition, he explicitly referred to the Greek text. According to Augustine, *in quo* could not point to *mors* because then the text would have read *in qua* since *mors* is feminine. Moreover, Augustine considered a concept such as *in morte peccaverunt omnes* rather meaningless. Death follows sinfulness and not vice versa. This left Augustine with two options: *in quo* referred either to Adam or to *peccatum*. The former option, which Augustine preferred, implied that all were in Adam when he sinned. In the latter case, all

[3]) *Rom. V,12 chez saint Augustin*, p. 329. On this topic, see *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* I,2,16-20, *CCL* 44, p. 41-53; here as in *De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*, q. 68,3, *CCL* 44A, p. 177-179, *Rom.* 9,11-21 plays an important role.

[4]) "Sint igitur omnes homines – quando quidem, ut apostolus ait 'in Adam omnes moriuntur', a quo in universum genus humanum origo ducitur offensionis Dei — una quaedam massa peccati supplicium debens divinae summaeque iustitiae, quod sive exigatur sive donetur, nulla est iniquitas."; *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* I,2,16, *CCL* 44, p. 41-42; see also I,2,17, *CCL* 44, p. 43.

[5]) *Rom. V,12 chez saint Augustin*, p. 331.

[6]) See *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* I,8, *CSEL* 60, p. 9-10.

[7]) *CSEL* 60, p. 527-528.

sinned in Adam's sin because his sin has, in general (*generaliter*), become the sin of all of us. For Augustine, this possibility offered no satisfactory solution since the Greek word for sin ἁμαρτία is feminine and thus, ἐφ' ᾧ could not be used as a relative pronoun pointing to it[8]). Finally, Augustine referred to a text by Ambrosiaster which he mistakenly ascribed to Hilary. This text also related *in quo* to Adam[9]). It is definitely true that Augustine did not assume that *in quo* could have a causal meaning as well (i.e. 'because' or 'insofar as').

Besides all of this, we consider it unfortunate that, with regard to *Rom.* 5,12, Pagels posits that "Augustine insisted that it meant that death came upon all men in whom all sinned: that the sin of that 'one man' Adam brought upon humanity not only universal death, but also universal, and inevitable, sin"[10]). Statements such as this can be misleading. Indeed, on the basis of our seminal presence in Adam, we are born with guilt. Augustine, however, always stressed that this sin was not ours. In other words, it is not a personal sin, and thus not a sin in the full sense of the word, but rather the sin of our forefather[11]). *Peccatum originale* is certainly not the same as *peccatum* as such.

[8]) "Non enim movere debet, quia non dixit 'in qua', sed 'in quo omnes peccaverunt'; mors quippe in graeca lingua generis masculini est. Quodlibet ergo eligant, aut enim 'in illo homine peccaverunt omnes' ideo dictum est, quando ille peccavit, in illo erant omnes; aut in illo peccato peccaverunt omnes, quia generaliter omnium factum est, quod nascentes tracturi erant omnes; aut restat, ut dicant, quod in illa morte peccaverint omnes. Sed hoc quemadmodum possit intellegi non plane video. In peccato enim moriuntur homines, non in morte peccant; nam peccato praecedente mors sequitur, non morte praecedente peccatum. 'Aculeus' quippe 'mortis est peccatum', id est aculeus, cuius punctione fit mors, non aculeus, quo pingit mors, sicut venenum, si bibitur, appellatur poculum mortis, quod eo poculo facta sit mors, non quod morte sit poculum factum aut a morte sit datum. Quodsi propterea non potest illis verbis apostoli peccatum intellegi, in quo omnes peccaverunt, quia in graeco, unde translata est epistula, peccatum femino genere positum est, restat, ut in illo primo homine peccasse omnes intellegantur, quia in illo fuerunt omnes quando ille peccavit, unde peccatum nascendo trahitur, quod nisi renascendo non solvitur."; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV,7, *CSEL* 60, p. 527-528. See also G. Bonner, *Augustine on Romans* 5,12, in *Studia Evangelica* V, Berlin, 1968, p. 242-247, esp. p. 242-244.

[9]) *Ibidem*; cf. also Ambrosiaster, *Ad Romanos* V,12, *CSEL* 81,1, p. 165. See also A. de Veer, *Saint Augustin et l'Ambrosiaster*, in *BA* 23, p. 817-824; Bonner, *Augustine on Romans* 5,12, p. 243.

[10]) Pagels, p. 109.

[11]) See e.g. *Contra Iulianum* VI,28, *PL* 44, 839; *Opus imperfectum* I,48, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 40; II,163, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 284; IV,104, *PL* 45, 1401. See also R. Jolivet, *Le problème du mal d'après saint Augustin*, Paris, 1936, p. 91-92; A. Solignac, *La condition de l'homme pécheur d'après saint Augustin*, in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 78 (1956) 359-387, esp. p. 375-379; 386-387.

Our second reflection concerns Pagels' presentation of Augustine's concept of freedom. According to Pagels, Augustine stated that, because of Adam's sin, humanity had irrevocably lost its freedom. "Instead of the freedom of the will and humanity's original royal dignity, Augustine emphasizes humanity's enslavement to sin. Humanity is sick, suffering and helpless, *irreparably* damaged by the fall, for that 'original sin', Augustine insists, involved nothing else than Adam's prideful attempt to establish his own autonomous self-government"[12]).

First of all, I would like to note that in Augustine's thinking in general there is a certain distinction between *libertas* and *liberum arbitrium*. The term *libertas* generally designates a freedom which implies a capability toward goodness. This sort of freedom encompasses both wanting to do good and actually doing what is good. On the basis of the absence of any interior or exterior obstacles, this freedom implies the *posse non peccare*[13]). Mankind lost this freedom because of Adam's fall and it can only be restored through the gift of Christ's grace. As far as we know, Augustine never stated that this *libertas boni* was irreparably lost. It is liberated by faith which of course implies that it has the capability of being liberated. Every person therefore remains potentially *capax boni* but the actualization of this initial capability can only be effected in the context of faith[14]).

[12]) Pagels, p. 99; see also e.g. p. 105; 107; 109; 120.

[13]) "Libertas quidem periit per peccatum, sed illa, quae in paradiso fuit, habendi plenam cum immortalitate iustitiam."; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 425-426. Concerning Augustine's view of freedom and free will, see, among others, esp. M. Huftier, *Libre arbitre, liberté et péché chez saint Augustin*, in *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 33 (1966) 187-281; F. Clodius, *El libre albedrío según el "Opus imperfectum" de san Agustín*, in *Annales de la Facultad de Teología* 13 (1961) 5-51. Very useful are also J. Ball, *Libre arbitre et liberté dans saint Augustin*, in *L'Année théologique* 6 (1945) 368-382; *id.*, *Les développements de la doctrine de liberté chez saint Augustin*, in *L'Année théologique* 7 (1946) 400-430; G. de Plinval, *Aspects du déterminisme et de la liberté dans la doctrine de saint Augustin*, in *Revue des Études augustiniennes* (REA) 1 (1955) 345-378; M.T. Clark, *Augustine, Philosopher of Freedom*, New York-Tournai-Rome-Paris, 1958, p. 83-116; F.-J. Thonnard, *La notion de liberté en philosophie augustinienne*, in *REA* 16 (1970) 243-270; *id.*, *La vraie liberté selon saint Augustin*, in *BA* 23, p. 753-762; A. Trapè, *Libertà e grazia nella storia della salvezza*, in *Providenza e Storia. Atti della Settimana Agostiniana Pavese* 4, Pavia, 1974, p. 45-57; A. Mengarelli, *La libertà cristiana in Agostino e Pelagio*, in *Augustinianum* 15 (1975) 347-366; *id.*, *La libertà nelle opere antipelagiane di san Agostino*, in *Sapienza* 29 (1976), 73-87; J.A. Galindo, *Libertad y libre albedrío en san Agustín*, in *Augustinus* 31 (1986) 343-355; F.J. Weismann, *The Problematic of Freedom in St. Augustine: Towards a New Hermeneutics*, in *REA* 35 (1989) 104-119.

[14]) See Thonnard, *La notion de liberté en philosophie augustinienne*, p. 255; *id.*, *La vraie liberté selon saint Augustin*, in *BA* 23, p. 757.

Besides this, Augustine also spoke of a *liberum arbitrium*, free will. During the Pelagian controversy, he vehemently protested against the criticism that he denied the existence of free will[15]). In Augustine's opinion, the essence of this truly inseparable free will was to be situated in every person's quest toward happiness[16]). As such, one can posit that Augustine's statements concerning free will and freedom reveal two aspects. On the one hand, there is the psychological quest for happiness. On the other hand, there is the freedom directed toward the highest good. These aspects interfere with each other. The person who wishes to be happy can find true happiness only insofar as he directs his striving for happiness toward God which in turn is only possible if God approaches the person in grace. In other words, it is only possible if God reveals himself to mankind as the source of happiness. Since in and with Adam, mankind has turned away from God, the restoration of the relationship duly belongs to the rejected party, God.

With regard to the loss of the *libertas boni*, we should keep in mind that Augustine was speaking about freedom *theologically*. In Augustine's thinking, the essence of the *libertas boni* could not be located in an absolute freedom of choice because, in that case, God himself would no longer be free. For God possesses the *non posse peccare*[17]). Augustine related the essence of true freedom to the invariable Good. God possesses a freedom which can be described as *beata necessitas*: a *non posse peccare* which is connected to *nolle peccare, feliciter vivere, non mori* and *in deterius non mutari*. It is a necessity which one enjoys[18]).

[15]) "Quis autem nostrum dicat, *quod primi hominis peccato perierit liberum arbitrium de genere humano?*"; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 425; see also II,9, *CSEL* 60, p. 468; *De civitate Dei* XXII,30, *CCL* 48, 863-865.

[16]) "Hominis vero liberum arbitrium *congenitum* et omnino *inamissibile* si quaerimus, illud est quo omnes beati esse volunt, etiam hi qui ea nolunt, quae ad beatitudinem ducunt."; *Opus imperfectum* VI,11, *PL* 45, 1521; cf. also VI,12, *PL* 45, 1524; VI,26, *PL* 45, 1565-1566. This free will is a gift of God, a *munus Dei*; see V,38, *PL* 45, 1474. Cf. also H. Staffner, *Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus über das Wesen der Erbsünde*, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 79 (1957) 385-416, p. 397; F.-J. Thonnard, *La notion de nature chez saint Augustin. Ses progrès dans la polémique antipélagienne*, in *REA* 11 (1965) 239-265, p. 257-259; Huftier, *Libre arbitre, liberté et péché chez saint Augustin*, p. 197-199; 262-266; Mengarelli, *La libertà nelle opere antipelagiane di san Agostino*, p. 78.

[17]) "Si liberum non est nisi quod duo potest velle, id est bonum et malum, liber Deus non est, qui malum non potest velle"; *Opus imperfectum* I,100, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 118; see also e.g. I,103, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 120; V,38, *PL* 45, 1474; V,61-62, *PL* 45, 1496-1498; VI,10, *PL* 45, 1518; VI,11, *PL* 45, 1521; VI,19, *PL* 45, 1544; *De civitate Dei* XXII, 20, *CCL* 48, p. 863-864.

[18]) "Hac necessitate non premuntur sancti angeli sed fruuntur"; *Opus imperfectum*

For this reason, it would be rather futile to initiate an exposition on Augustine's concept of freedom based on the notion "freedom of choice", since God's freedom would be overlooked. On the contrary however, God's freedom should be the starting point. Moreover, every person can acquire such freedom in the life hereafter, in a state of definitive wholeness.

Compared to God's freedom, Adam's freedom is of a lower order. Adam possessed the *posse non peccare*, which is closely related to the *posse non mori*[19]). If Adam had remained faithful to God's command, he would have received the *non posse peccare* and the *non posse mori* as a reward. In other words, Adam's freedom implied a task. Living in God's presence, free of any obstacle or contingency, Adam's freedom was spontaneously directed toward the highest good, God. Adam was free before God. His choice against God led to his exile from paradise. Deprived of the Tree of Life, suffering and death became part of his life and, through him, part of our life.

We should also note here that, on the basis of *Gen.* 2-3, Augustine considered Adam as someone of extraordinary intelligence, free from all suffering and burdens and free to do what he had to do. Against this background, Augustine noted that contemporary man was no longer an "open book" to himself[20]). This was not only an introspective statement but also an universal observation. Augustine's own experience proved that this freedom to do good was not without difficulty for the believer and, looking around him, he noticed that many people did not live as truly free people or, to put it differently, as people who lived for God.

To my knowledge, the observation that, even as a believer, it was not so easy to perform good deeds did not lead Augustine to conlude that the *libertas boni* was definitively lost. Augustine held the opinion that fallen mankind had lost the *libertas cum immortalitate*. The *bene vivere* no longer belonged to the proper natural capabilities of fallen humanity[21]). Mankind no longer had disposal of the *libertas non*

I,103, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 120; see also V,62, *PL* 45, 1499-1500; VI,26, *PL* 45, 1565-1566; cf. also Huftier, *Libre arbitre, liberté et péché chez saint Augustin*, p. 283f.

[19]) See e.g. *Opus imperfectum* I,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 83-84; IV,79, *PL* 45, 1384; VI,16, *PL* 45, 1536; VI,22, *PL* 45, 1553; VI,23, *PL* 45, 1555.

[20]) See, among others, Huftier, *Libre arbitre, liberté et péché chez saint Augustin*, p. 202-206; Clodius, *El libre albedrío según el "Opus imperfectum" de san Agustín*, p. 10; Thonnard, *La notion de nature chez saint Augustin*, p. 252-253.

[21]) "Non dicimus hominum vanos haereticosque sermones, qui asserunt Deum

peccandi[22]) and instead, a *necessitas peccandi* replaced it. I prefer to view this *necessitas* as the inevitability that people will sin no matter what. I do not mean to say that people can only sin but rather that every person *will* sin in intention and action during his or her lifetime.

With regard to this, one should also keep in mind that Adam's children have in a way lost their perspective. Their cognitive faculties have been obscured[23]). Acting in freedom presupposes that one knows exactly what one should do. For Augustine, this implied that a correct perspective on faith preceded a correct perspective on knowledge. Subsequently, the person who did not know the truth, which was Christ, would inevitably sin since only *per fidem* could one come to know Christ and thus aim oneself in the right direction. If a person lived without knowing God, without a reference to God, he was definitely misdirected, according to Augustine[24]).

Pagels does not seem to realize that *ignorantia* is essentially connected to *peccatum originale*. Such ignorance also flows from our relationship to Adam which causes us not to recognize God and thus to go our own way because we have turned from Him. For the unbaptized, this ignorance is moreover related to guilt since such people are not directed toward the aim of their existence which is God. The baptized, however, are granted forgiveness for this *reatus*. Nurtured by Scripture

iustum ad bonum opus liberum hominem condidisse. Talem quippe Adam condidit, in quo fuimus omnes; sed peccando perdidit se et omnes in se. Unde nunc non est in potestate filiorum hominis a malo liberari, nisi gratia Dei det potestatem filios Dei fieri."; *Opus imperfectum* II,7, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 167-168; cf. also *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 425-426 and *Opus imperfectum* VI,12, *PL* 45, 1522. See also Ball, *Les développements de la doctrine de la liberté chez saint Augustin*, p. 410; Clodius, *El libre albedrío según el "Opus imperfectum" de san Agustín*, p. 11; Huftier, *Libre arbitre, liberté et péché chez saint Augustin*, p. 232; Clark, *Augustine*, p. 90.

[22]) Cf. *Opus imperfectum* I,47, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 34; I,104, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 121; II,17, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 174; II,38, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 190; II,110, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 431; IV,90, *PL* 45, 1392; IV,96, *PL* 45, 1395; V,28, *PL* 45, 1407; V,51, *PL* 45, 1482; V,62, *PL* 45, 1499; VI,17, *PL* 45, 1539; VI,21, *PL* 45, 1550; *Retractationes* I,15, 3-4, *CCL* 57, p. 46-48; see also Huftier, *Libre arbitre, liberté et péché chez saint Augustin*, p. 220f.

[23]) "Deinde cogitare te existimo, quid appetendum, quid vitandum sit in agenda vita, quanto labore discatur. Qui autem hoc nesciunt, ipsa boni appetendi malique vitandi ignorantia patiuntur peccandi necessitatem. Necesse est enim ut peccet, qui nesciendo quid facere debeat, quod non debet facit."; *Opus imperfectum* I,105, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 122; cf. also VI,17, *PL* 45, 1539; VI,21, *PL* 45, 1550.

[24]) See *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,7, *CSEL* 60, p. 428; *Opus imperfectum* I,106, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 124.

[25]) Cf. *Opus imperfectum* I,47, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 36; VI,17, *PL* 45, 1539 and already *Contra Iulianum* V,8, *PL* 44, 787; V,12, *PL* 44, 790. See also J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des heiligen Augustinus* II, Freiburg, 1929(2), p. 226-239.

and prayer, they slowly transcend their ignorance[26]). Progress in the knowledge of truth leads a person to grow in doing that which is true. As a believer, a person is essentially ethical.

Concerning the non-believers, Augustine was of the opinion that, theologically speaking, they were sinning even when performing acts which were good in themselves. The reason for this was that, without faith, one could not please God (*Heb.* 11,6) and that which was not done in faith was to be qualified as sin[27]). By this, Augustine meant that, from a moral point of view, the ethical actions of pagans were not performed against the background of a correct objective. Only when God is the aim of our ethical acts, can those acts be qualified as good acts from a theological point of view. Only in faith can a person lead a truly intelligent, brave, moderate and just life. The believer alone lives virtuously and wisely[28]). One should therefore never claim that, according to Augustine, people can do no other than sin.

Further, it should be evident that, because of its reference to God, *peccatum* has a very broad meaning for Augustine. Every deed which was not performed *propter Deum* (either directly or indirectly) fell under this category. Augustine thus recognized that the deeds of charity performed by pagans were good as such but that, theologically speaking, one could not qualify pagans as *boni* precisely because of the lack of this reference to God[29]). Augustine readily accepted that one could

[26]) "Ignorantia minuitur veritate magis magisque lucente."; *Contra Iulianum* VI,50, *PL* 44, 851. See also F.-J. Thonnard, *Le péché d'ignorance selon saint Augustin*, in *BA* 23, p. 782-783.

[27]) Augustine uses both verses often in his works against the Pelagians; see e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,4, *CSEL* 42, p. 214; I,5, *CSEL* 42, p. 216; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,7, *CSEL* 60, p. 429; *Contra Iulianum* IV,24, *PL* 44, 750; IV,27, *PL* 44, 751-752; IV,30, *PL* 44, 754; IV,32, *PL* 44, 755; V,34, *PL* 44, 805. See also A. de Veer, *Rom. 14,23b dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin (Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est)*, in *Recherches augustiniennes* VIII (Etudes augustiniennes), Paris, 1972, p. 149-185, esp. 154-159 and 168-185; *id.*, *Le sens de Rom. XIV,23b*, in *BA* 23, p. 764-769; Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, *L'Epître aux Hébreux dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, in *REA* 3 (1957) 137-162, p. 157.

[28]) "Ex hac enim fide prudenter, fortiter, temperanter et iuste, ac per his omnibus veris virtutibus recte sapienterque vivit, *qui fideliter vivit*"; *Contra Iulianum* IV,19, *PL* 44, 747. Concerning Pagels' impression of Augustine's attitude towards the Stoa, it is to be remarked that Augustine is an occasional writer. Therefore, his appreciation or depreciation of the Stoic philosophy depends on the situation and the context; see the study of Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. II. Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 35), Leiden, 1985, p. 142-238.

[29]) See e.g. *Contra Iulianum* IV,21, *PL* 44, 749; IV,22, *PL* 44, 749; IV,26, *PL* 44,

observe a gradual difference in ethical living in the pagan world as well. Even though a non-believer would be punished, the person who lived according to true virtues would be punished less severely than the person whose lifestyle was further removed from this way of living[30]).

The presence of the grace granted by God would therefore be the mark of distinction between believers and non-believers. The former would live according to God's love, the latter according to "wordly" inspiration[31]).

In passing, we should also stress that Augustine continuously stated that people sinned voluntarily[32]) and that they were therefore fully responsible for their deeds[33]). One cannot claim that, according to Augustine, people should stop trying to do good because they are "morally defenseless".

Moreover, I do not think we can stress enough that, for Augustine, a person was truly capable of performing good deeds in freedom when he was in God's grace. Pagels claims that Augustine denied that humanity possessed any capability to act in freedom[34]). Admittedly, as far as salvation is concerned, God takes the first initiative but He does not undertake this against mankind's free consent. Augustine himself said that to claim otherwise would be an absurdity[35]). The terminology which Augustine employed to indicate God's first initiative in people's hearts, clearly proves that this was not a mere lip service. Terms such as

751; IV,30, *PL* 44, 753-754; IV,32, *PL* 44, 754-755; for Augustine, not only an act but even the intention to sin is designated as *peccatum*; see *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,15, *CSEL* 60, p. 436; I,27, *CSEL* 60, p. 446; *Opus imperfectum* I,105, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 122.

[30]) Cf. *Contra Iulianum* IV,24-25, *PL* 44, 750.

[31]) See e.g. *Opus imperfectum* I,84, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 96.

[32]) See *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 426; I,6, *CSEL* 60, p. 428; I,7, *CSEL* 60, p. 428; I,27, *CSEL* 60, p. 446; cf. also Clodius, *El libre abedrío según el "Opus imperfectum" de san Agustín*, p. 17-18; G. Bonner, *Libido and Concupiscentia in St. Augustine*, in *Studia Patristica* 6 (TU 81), Berlin, 1962, p. 303-304; A. de Veer, *La théorie augustinienne de la "délectation victorieuse"*, in *BA* 23, p. 779-780.

[33]) "Ex quo autem *incipit uti voluntatis arbitrio*, et peccare et non peccare potest; sed alterum horum non facit nisi ad intus ab eo, qui dixit: 'Sine me nihil potestis facere' (Joh. 15,5), alterum vere *propria voluntate, sive a se ipso sive ab alio deceptore* seductus, vel peccato sicut servus addictus."; *Opus imperfectum* I,98, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 116; see also *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,6, *CSEL* 60, p. 428; I,7, *CSEL* 60, p. 428; *Opus imperfectum* I,105, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 123.

[34]) Pagels, p. 120.

[35]) "Ammoneo, ut intelligatis, cui gratiae sitis inimici negando operari Deum voluntates in mentibus hominum, *non ut nolentes credant, quod absurdissime dicitur*, sed ut volentes ex nolentibus fiant"; *Opus imperfectum* II,157, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 279.

delectatio[36]), *amor libens*[37]), *inspiratio dilectionis*[38]), *dilectio*[39]), *excitare*[40]), *accendere*[41]), *attrahere*[42]), *cupiditas boni*[43]), *tangere cor*[44]), *dulcescere*[45]), *inspirare*[46]) or *adducere*[47]) seem very revealing in this regard. No matter how much God took the initiative in people's conversion, it was obvious to Augustine that this conversion was the work of both God and the individual. The person who believed in God truly chose to believe in Him[48]).

The same argument was valid with regard to people's actions. The person who wished to act correctly, did this freely, never against his own will. God again took the first initiative but no one followed Christ against his will. "Nemo ergo imitatur, nisi velit"[49]). God forces no one

[36]) So *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,33, *CSEL* 42, p. 245; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,15, *CSEL* 60, p. 436; I,18, *CSEL* 60, p. 440; I,22, *CSEL* 60, p. 443; I,27, *CSEL* 60, p. 446; *Opus imperfectum* I,107, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 126; II,217, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 328; II,226, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 342.

[37]) Cf. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,33, *CSEL* 42, p. 245; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,22, *CSEL* 60, p. 443 (*amore iustitiae*); II,21, *CSEL* 60, p. 483.

[38]) Cf. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV,11, *CSEL* 60, p. 532.

[39]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,15, *CSEL* 60, p. 436; III,14, *CSEL* 60, p. 503; *Opus imperfectum* III,122, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 439.

[40]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,37, *CSEL* 60, p. 453.

[41]) So *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV,13, *CSEL* 60, p. 534.

[42]) Cf. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,37, *CSEL* 60, p. 454; *Opus imperfectum* III,122, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 433.

[43]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,17-18, *CSEL* 60, p. 479-480; II,21, *CSEL* 60, p. 482-483; *Opus imperfectum* VI,18, *PL* 45, 1542.

[44]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,19, *CSEL* 60, p. 481.

[45]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,21, *CSEL* 60, p. 483.

[46]) *Opus imperfectum* I,84, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 97.

[47]) *Opus imperfectum* II,146, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 269; concerning the relation between grace and free will, see esp. de Plinval, *Aspects du déterminisme et de la liberté dans la doctrine de saint Augustin*, p. 353; Clodius, *El libre albedrío según el "Opus imperfectum" de san Agustín*, p. 38-39; H. Rondet, *La liberté et la grâce dans la théologie augustinienne*, in *Saint Augustin parmi nous*, Le Puy-Paris, 1954, p. 212-215; R. Lorenz, *Gnade und Erkenntnis bei Augustinus*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1964) 21-78, p. 31-32; R. Strauss, *Der neue Mensch innerhalb der Theologie Augustins*, Zürich, 1967, p. 119-125; Huftier, *Libre arbitre, liberté et péché originel chez saint Augustin*, p. 251-252; S. Iodice, *Legge e Grazia in S. Agostino*, Napoli, 1977, p. 111-113; J.P. Burns, *The Developpement of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace* (Études augustiniennes) Paris, 1980, p. 110-111.

[48]) So e.g. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,36, *CSEL* 60, p. 453; I,37, *CSEL* 60, p. 454; II,20, *CSEL* 60, p. 481-482; *Opus imperfectum* VI,10, *PL* 45, 1518.

[49]) "Imitatio (Christi) quippe in voluntate est; sed cum bona est, praeparatur, sicut scriptum est, voluntas a Domino (*Prov.* 8, 35b). *Nemo ergo imitatur, nisi velit.*"; *Opus imperfectum* VI,34, *PL* 45, 1588. See also A. Sage, *Praeparatur voluntas a Domino*, in *REA* 10 (1964) 1-20, p. 1-2. This verse plays an important role in Augustine's dispute with the Pelagians; cf. Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, *Biblia augustiniana. A.T. Le Livre des Proverbes* (Études augustiniennes), Paris, 1975, p. 209-210.

to act either rightly or wrongly. The person who acts rightly, desires to act this way[50]) on the grounds of his salvation by Christ, which gives his deeds a new fervor[51]). Such a person experiences himself as being truly free in that he no longer wishes to act rightly because of external pressure but because of a possitive inner conviction[52]). The new person sincerely consents to God's invitation[53]).

Augustine's notion of the true existence of our free will *sub gratia* was essentially connected to a concrete and practical experience recognized in faith. Grace and the gift of grace were identified with love[54]) which was the desire toward that which was good. This in turn led to the One who is good so that ultimately, the initiator in love becomes the aim of our love[55]). This new freedom is, in other words, not due to an ontological transformation within the person but rather to a new relationship. The contours of our existence are reshaped so that God

[50]) "Nec ex Dei potentia vel in malum vel in bonum invitum aliquem cogi, sed Deo deserente pro meritis ire in malum et Deo adiuvante sine meritis converti ad bonum. Non enim est homo bonus, si nolit, sed gratia Dei etiam ad hoc adviuvatur ut velit."; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,36, *CSEL* 60, p. 453.

[51]) "Nemo nisi per gratiam Christi ad bonum quod vult agendum et ad malum quod odit non agendum potest habere liberum voluntatis arbitrium, non ut voluntas eius ad bonum sicut ad malum captiva rapiatur, sed ut a captivitate liberata ad liberatorem suum liberali suavitate amoris, non servili amaritudine timoris attrahatur."; *Opus imperfectum* III,112, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 433; cf. also *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,37, *CSEL* 60, p. 454; IV,13, *CSEL* 60, p. 534; *Opus imperfectum* III,122, *CSEL* 85,1, 439; see also J. Burnaby, *Amor Dei. A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine* (The Hulsean Lectures for 1938), London 1947 (2), p. 227-228.

[52]) "Ibi sumus veraciter liberi, ubi non delectamus inviti."; *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,33, *CSEL* 42, p. 246; see also e.g. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,21, *CSEL* 60, p. 483. Cf. also de Veer, *La théorie augustinienne de la "délectation victorieuse"*, in *BA* 23, p. 778-782; Clark, *Augustine*, p. 118; 120-121.

[53]) Cf. *Opus imperfectum* I,87, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 100; II,72, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 216; II,165, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 286; II,166, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 287; II,227, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 343; V,29, *PL* 45, 1467; VI,41, *PL* 45, 1606; Thonnard, *La notion de nature chez saint Augustin*, p. 263-264.

[54]) "Ut cognita sancto amore faciamus, quae proprie gratia est."; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV,11, *CSEL* 60, p. 532; cf. also É. Bailleux, *La liberté augustinienne et la grâce*, in *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* 19 (1962) 30-48, p. 39.

[55]) "Amor autem Dei quo pervenitur ad Deum, non est a Deo Patre per Iesum Christum cum Spiritu Sancto. Per hunc amorem creatoris, bene quisque utitur etiam creaturis. Sine hoc amore creatoris, nullis quisquam bene utitur creaturis. Hoc ergo amore opus est ut bonum beatificum sit."; *Contra Iulianum* IV,33, *PL* 44, 756. Only the love, given by God, really wants the good, that makes us happy: "Caritas ex Deo est (1 *Joh.* 4,7b) quae sola vult beatificum bonum."; *Opus imperfectum* I,95, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 110. This love gives us the capability to act well: "Ut enim faciat homo, Deus facit; quia ut diligat homo, Deus prior diligit."; I,134, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 150; see also *Contra Iulianum* IV,41, *PL* 44, 759; cf. Clark, *Augustine*, p. 122; Clodius, *El libre albedrío según el "Opus imperfectum" de san Agustín*, p. 36-37.

becomes the desirable object. God is loved unselfishly[56]) by the person who spontaneously reacts positively to God's demands and performs them[57]); by the person who, in other words, does the will of the Father as Jesus had taught and demonstrated by his own life.

Only if one abandons this new perspective, that God's love leads to love for God, can one arrive at the conclusion that Augustine denied human freedom. Yet in my opinion, this implies an unacceptable distortion of Augustine's thoughts. I think that Augustine was sincere in his last work when he maintained that he was a *defensor liberi arbitrii* by professing God's grace[58]). As a believer, he realized and professed that what was good on earth primarily existed thanks to the One who is good. This presupposed the awareness of one's own sinfulness, of being loved in such a way that one was lifted from one's own sinfulness and that one, within one's own act of love wanted to act rightly and actually performed good deeds[59]). As a believer, Augustine was convinced that

[56]) See *Contra Iulianum* V,9, *PL* 44, 788; V,32, *PL* 44, 804.

[57]) "Fortitudinem gentilium mundana cupiditas, fortitudinem autem christianorum Dei caritas facit, quae diffusa est in cordibus nostris, non per voluntatis arbitrium, quod est a nobis, sed per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis."; *Opus imperfectum* I,83, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 96; see also *Contra Iulianum* IV,33, *PL* 44, 706; V,32, *PL* 44, 804; *Opus imperfectum* III,106, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 426; III,114, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 434.
According to Augustine, one will only receive the gift of love within faith. From this theological point of view, pagans cannot act morally good, precisely because they have not received faith and love and therefore they cannot be *iusti* in the christian sense of this word; see *Contra Iulianum* IV,25, *PL* 44, 750-751; cf. also IV,16, *PL* 44, 745.
In addition to this, also the conviction that Christ is the one and only mediator and therefore the only way to reconciliation with God, plays an important role: "Neminem recte vivere, nisi ex fide per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum (cf. *Rom.* 7,25), unum Dei et hominum mediatorem."; *Contra Iulianum* IV,14, *PL* 44, 743; "Scito nos illud bonum hominum dicere, illam voluntatem bonam, illud opus bonum, sine Dei gratia quae datur per unum mediatorem Dei et hominum, nemini posse conferri."; IV,33, *PL* 44, 755. Otherwise, one will put the uniqueness of Christ's death at risk: "Quam si eis tribuerimus, nihil erit causae cur non eos ad illud regnum pervenire dicamus, de quo scriptum est: 'Concupiscentia sapientiae deducit ad regnum' (*Wisd.* 6,21). Ac per hoc Christus gratis mortuus est, si homines sine fide Christi ad fidem veram, ad virtutem veram, ad iustitiam veram, ad sapientiam veram, quacumque re alia, quacumque ratione perveniunt. Prorsus sicut de lege verissime ait apostolus: 'Si per legem iustitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est' (*Gal.* 2,21): ita verissime dicitur: 'Si per naturam voluntatemque iustitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est.'"; *Contra Iulianum* IV,17, *PL* 44, 746; cf. also V,18, *PL* 44, 795; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,13, *CSEL* 60, p. 434-435; III,2, *CSEL* 60, p. 487; IV,11, *CSEL* 60, p. 532; *Opus imperfectum* II,72, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 216; III,114, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 434; IV,129, *PL* 45, 1427 etc. On this point, see the pertinent remarks of R.M. Pizzorni, *Il diritto naturale nel pensiero di S. Agostino*, in *Apollinaris* 57 (1984) 517-546, p. 521-522.

[58]) Cf. *Opus imperfectum* III,214, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 505; see also III,108, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 428; III,110, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 432; IV,124, *PL* 45, 1409; *De correptione et gratia* 17, *PL* 44, 926.

[59]) "Alia est remissio peccatorum in eis, quae mala facta sunt, alia caritas, quae

the gift of the Spirit was not merely fictitious. The Spirit endows our hearts with love and thus, our will becomes what God's will is[60]). The gift of the Spirit[61]) renews a person[62]) in such a way that he is raised above his selfish actions which are unfree actions since they are related to sinfulness[63]). This inner renewal makes people free to follow Christ[64]). The baptized person can in fact honor God in the right manner[65]), do what is good[66]) and live justly[67]); all elements which belong to a *arbitrium laudabiliter liberum*[68]). It is on this level that a person can find true happiness, which is true freedom[69]). As a *filius Dei*[70]), reconciled with God[71]) and clothed with Christ[72]), he possesses a *fidelis voluntas*, a characteristic of the *bona voluntas*. People are

facit liberum ad ea quae bona facienda sunt. Utroque modo liberat Christus, quia et iniquitatem ignoscendo aufert, et inspirando tribuit caritatem."; *Opus imperfectum* I,84, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 97; cf. also I,83, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 96; I,94, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 109-110; I,107, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 126; II,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 215; II,165, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 286; *Contra Iulianum* VI,72, *PL* 44, 866-867; cf. also Burns, *The Development of Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace*, p. 118.

[60]) See *Opus imperfectum* I,98, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 116.

[61]) Cf. *Rom.* 5,5,; see also Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, *Le verset paulinien Rom., V,5 dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, in *Augustinus Magister* II, Paris, 1954, p. 657-665.

[62]) So e.g. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* III,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 491.

[63]) See *Contra Iulianum* VI,72, *PL* 44, 866-867: "Verum tu a vestro dogmate non recedis, quo putatis gratiam Dei per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum sic in sola peccatorum remissione versari ut non adiuvet ad vitanda peccata et desideria vincenda carnalia, diffundendo caritatem in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui ab illo datus est nobis (cf. *Rom.* 5,5)"; *Opus imperfectum* II,165, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 286: "Iustificat quippe impium Deus non solum dimittendo, quae mala facit, sed etiam donando caritatem, ut declinet et a malo et faciat bonum per Spiritum sanctum."; see also Ph. Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins* (Cassiciacum V), Würzburg, 1938, p. 136-137; J.P. Burns, *The Interpretation of Romans in the Pelagian Controversy*, in *Augustinian Studies* 10 (1979) 43-54, p. 45.

[64]) "Per sumministrationem Spiritus sancti, ut eum (= Christus) imitentur, adducti, quem Spiritum super suos ditissime effudit."; *Opus imperfectum* II,146, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 268-269.

[65]) *De nuptiis et cuncupiscentia* II,8, *CSEL* 42, p. 260; *Opus imperfectum* I,86, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 98-99; I,7, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 100; II,72, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 216 etc.

[66]) *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,8, *CSEL* 42, p. 260; *Opus imperfectum* III,118, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 436; III,119, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 437.

[67]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 426; II,9, *CSEL* 60, p. 468.

[68]) *Opus imperfectum* I,79, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 94.

[69]) "Hoc arbitrium liberum adiuvatur per Dei gratiam, ut quod naturaliter volumus, hoc est beate vivere, bene vivendo habere possimus."; *Opus imperfectum* VI,26, *PL* 45, 1506.

[70]) See e.g. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,11, *CSEL* 60, p. 471; II,16, *CSEL* 60, p. 478; III,5, *CSEL* 60, p. 491.

[71]) Cf. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV,8, *CSEL* 60, p. 529.

[72]) See e.g. *Contra Iulianum* VI,27, *PL* 44, 838; *Opus imperfectum* II,193, 309.

certainly helped and supported by God[73]) but they themselves must continuously take up their responsibilities and resist sinful desires while sincerely attempting to obey the demands of the Law. What is involved therefore is a process of personal growth whereby one is situated between two extremes, namely that which *a iustitia deficit* and that which *ad iustitiam proficit*[74]). Thanks to grace, the *delectatio iustitiae* is present in people, which acts, as it were, as a counterbalance and which enables people to truly conquer the *delectatio peccati*[75]). Once again, the person himself has to obey the spirit of justice and resist the tendency to sin[76]). In the dynamic process of growth, the person will attempt throughout his life — which is characterized by incompleteness since a true completeness is only expected in the life hereafter — to lessen his *vitia* by not giving in to them and by living moderately, sincerely and religiously[77]). Complete happiness will be granted to this person as a reward for his good deeds[78]). Thus, it is obvious that, for Augustine, human freedom really existed. How could he have otherwise spoken of a reward? I therefore think that it is incorrect to speak of Augustine's notion of freedom without mentioning this aspect of grace. Every author, even Augustine, has the right to be discussed from the

[73]) "(Ipsa voluntas) ... Dei gratia ... ad omne bonum actionis, sermonis, cogitationis adiuta."; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,9, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 469; "Hominis autem propositum bonum adiuvat quidem subsequens gratia"; II,2, *CSEL* 60, p. 484; "Utroque enim modo adiuvat gratia, et dimittendo, quae male fecimus, et opitulando, ut declinemus a malis et bona faciamus."; *Opus imperfectum* II,227, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 343; see e.g. also II,84, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 222. Cf. also de Plinval, *Aspects du déterminisme et de la liberté dans la doctrine de saint Augustin*, p. 256.

[74]) "Dum contra hoc nostrum quod a iustitia deficit, illo nostro quod ad iustitiam proficit dimicatur: ut vincente profectu totum surgat in melius, non vincente defectu totum vergat in peius."; *Contra Iulianum* II,8, *PL* 44, 679; see also *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,36, *CSEL* 42, p. 248.

[75]) "Ille liberat, qui (...) donat per spiritum caritatem, cuius delectatione vincatur delectatio peccati"; *Opus imperfectum* I,107, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 126; see also II,217, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 329; II,226, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 342; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,27, *CSEL* 60, p. 446.

[76]) So *Opus imperfectum* II,228, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 344.

[77]) *Opus imperfectum* VI,8, *PL* 45, 1514; cf. already *De natura et gratia* 84, *CSEL* 60, p. 298-299; see also A. Sage, *Vie de perfection et conseils évangéliques dans les controverses pélagiennes*, in *Sanctus Augustinus vitae spiritualis magister* I, Roma, 1958, p. 199-207; R.B. Eno, *Some Patristic Views on the Relationship of Faith and Works in Justification*, in *Recherches augustiniennes* XIX (Études augustiniennes), Paris, 1984, p. 18-19; Iodice, *Legge e Grazia in S. Agostino*, p. 88.

[78]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* III,17, *CSEL* 60, p. 506; III,23, *CSEL* 60, p. 515; *Opus imperfectum* I,33, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 147; VI,8, *PL* 45, 1514-1515.

point of view of their most essential concerns. Only then can one justly assess an author.

Concerning the *concupiscentia carnis*, I have the feeling that Pagels does not delve deep enough. First of all, I would like to note that Augustine was intrigued by the fact that the *concupiscentia carnis*, which also belongs to a person's lower, bodily functions, could act autonomously from the soul, which should be the governing principle since it is higher in distinction and function. According to Augustine, this inverted situation did not exist prior to the fall. In saying this, he based himself on Scripture, namely on *Gen.* 2,25: "The man and his wife were both naked, yet they felt no shame"[79]). The absence of shame was fundamentally related to the absence of sin[80]). *Concupiscentia carnis* as such could have very well been present in the first people prior to the fall. Yet if this was the case, it coexisted in harmony with the will[81]). Moreover, Augustine did not exclude the possibility that some *concupiscentia carnis*, such as eating and drinking, could be part of the paradisal experience if they enhanced the body's well-being or if they helped effect procreation. In light of what has been said, I think it is clear that Augustine's discussion of *concupiscentia carnis* as rebellion

[79]) Cf. Augustine's commentary in e.g. *De civitate Dei* XIV,17, *CCL* 48, p. 439-440; *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,6, *CSEL* 42, p. 218; *Contra Iulianum* IV,82, *PL* 44, 761; *Opus imperfectum* I,68, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 75; IV,36, *PL* 45, 1356.

[80]) "Audimus enim scripturae manifestissimum testimonium, contra quod vos obsurdescitis, cum ommutescere deberetis. Quis enim audiens, quod illi primi homines nudi erant et non pudebat eos, non videat, unde sit factum, ut post peccatum puderet eos nudos esse et ea membra, quorum puderet, festinarent succinctoriis qualibuscumque velare?"; *Opus imperfectum* III,74, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 404.

[81]) Cf. *Contra Iulianum* III,57, *PL* 44, 732; see also *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,59, *CSEL* 42, p. 317-318; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,34-35, *CSEL* 60, p. 450-452; *Contra Iulianum* IV,57ff., *PL* 44, 765ff.; V,22, *PL* 44, 797; *Opus imperfectum* I,68, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 75; I,70, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 79-80; I,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 83; II,42, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 193; II,45, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 195; II,122, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 253; III,177, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 478; IV,19, *PL* 45, 1349 etc. See e.g. also A. Zumkeller, *Aurelius Augustinus. Schriften gegen die Pelagianer* III (Sankt Augustinus. Der Lehrer der Gnade), Würzburg, 1977, p. 471; M. Müller, *Die Lehre von der Paradiesesehe und ihre Auswirkung in der Sexualethik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts bis Thomas von Aquin*, Regensburg, 1954, p. 19-32; B. Honings, *Morale coniugale agostiniana*, in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* 20 (1969) 259-319, p. 310; Y. de Montcheuil, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane*, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 44 (1956) 193-218, p. 205-207; D. Covi, *Valor y finalidad del sexo según san Agustín. La ética sexual en el paraíso según san Agustín*, in *Augustinus* 18 (1973) 3-21, p. 14-16; E. Schmitt, *Le mariage chrétien dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin. Une théologie baptismale de la vie conjugale* (Études augustiniennes), Paris, 1983, p. 101-105; Elizabeth A. Clark, *Ascetic Piety and Women's Faith. Essays on Late Ancient Christianity* (Studies in Women and Religion 20), Lewiston-Queenston, 1986, p. 293.

after the fall should not be viewed as an exposition on *concupiscentia carnis* as such. Rather, it should be regarded from the viewpoint of the antinomy between flesh and spirit. Because of his sinfulness, man's lower functions (*caro*) turn against his higher functions (*mens*)[83]). We should also note that Augustine derived this *discordia carnis et spiritus* from the opposition between *Gen.* 2,25 and 3,7 which expressed the idea that before the fall, Adam and Eve were naked yet they were not ashamed. After the fall however, they experienced shame. This *confusio* was, according to Augustine, the consequence of an inappropriate rebellion of the *genitalia*[84]). Because of the flesh's disobedience (*inobedientia carnis*), a person realized what his own disobedience to God led to[85]). Due to his own hubris, the first man had disturbed the hierarchical order. His task as a free human being was to obey God[86]). The original harmony, in which the human spirit was given control over the body and over creation in general, was based on obedience to the creator. Man destroyed this harmony and along with it, the harmony within himself.

The rebellion of the flesh, or desire which goes its own way[87]), indicates that one has lost control over oneself[89]). This loss or, this uncontrollability of the *libido carnalis* as a sexual drive, brings about shame[90]). Shamefulness refers to the spirit: man knows he is guilty. He

[82]) "Ut omni modo rationali subdita voluntati, non alias adesset, nisi cum per illam vel *saluti esset corporis*, vel stirpis propagini consulendum"; *Contra Iulianum* IV,69, *PL* 44, 773.

[83]) See *Opus imperfectum* V,16, *PL* 45, 1449 and already *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* I,21, *CSEL* 60, p. 20-21.

[84]) Cf. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,6, *CSEL* 42, p. 216; see also Augustine's lengthy discussion of this feeling of shame in *De civitate Dei* XIV,17ff., *CCL* 48, p. 439ff.

[85]) "Iniustum enim erat ut obtemperaretur a servo suo, id est a corpore suo ei qui non obtemperat domino suo"; *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,7, *CSEL* 42, p. 218; cf. also I,24, *CSEL* 42, p. 237; II,14, *CSEL* 42, p. 266.

[86]) It has to be emphasized that neither Augustine nor his predecessors ever questioned the fact that human beings must obey God. In the Bible, true happiness depends on the doing of God's will. The resurrection of Christ is also based on his obedience to God till death. Therefore, one may not confuse the person's duty to obey with the question concerning the theoretical possibilities of the free will. Moreover, in a Christian view, true obedience leads human beings to true freedom.

[87]) "Velut sui iuris libido commoveat"; *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,7, *CSEL* 42, p. 219.

[88]) Augustine's considerations in *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,7, *CSEL* 42, p. 219 are put in the form of questions.

[89]) *Ibidem*; see also *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,32, *CSEL* 60, p. 450.

[90]) See also F.-J. Thonnard, *Pudeur, révolte des sens et lois psychologiques*, in *BA* 23, p. 671-675.

is aware of the fact that his sinfulness entails the loss of harmony as a punishment[91]).

Nevertheless, it remains true that, in Augustine's thought, *concupiscentia carnis*, insofar as it is related to fallen humanity, possessed a negative connotation. It referred to vices such as anger, avarice, obstinacy, ostentation, lust for power and sexual desires[92]). Its presence pointed to a fundamental inner tension between *caro* and *spiritus*, between the tendency to sin and the desire to do good. The content of this *concupiscentia carnis* could in the first place be better unterstood by means of its counterpart, the *bona concupiscentia*, which was a *concupiscentia spiritus* (*Gal.* 5,17b) or also a *concupiscentia sapientiae* (*Wis.* 6,21)[93]). Elsewhere, Augustine spoke of a *cupidatis boni*, where *boni* was identified with the love which is from God[94]).

Alongside this concept, Augustine also spoke of *concupiscentia naturalis* which indicated the natural desire for happiness[95]). This desire is correct if it is directed toward God. In order for the desire to be correct, it should involve a desire for God. In light of this, one can already anticipate the significance of *concupiscentia carnis*. It is a desire which is not directed toward God but toward oneself. It is a desire which pulls a person away from God. I believe that Augustine's discussion of *concupiscentia carnis* should be interpreted within this theological-ethical framework. Moreover, I believe it is incorrect to reduce *concupiscentia carnis* to sexual desires. Augustine himself reacted against such an understanding in his discussion with Julian. According to Augustine, every sinful desire (which I think is the most adequate

[91]) Cf. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,14, *CSEL* 42, p. 266; II,36, *CSEL* 42, p. 290; III,52, *CSEL* 42, p. 308-309; *Contra Iulianum* IV,82, *PL* 44, 781; see also Zumkeller, *Schriften gegen die Pelagianer* III, p. 413-414.
Augustine connects the getting dressed of Adam with mortality, actualized by sin. The dressing refers to the fact that the body became *corruptibile*. The first man will have to die; cf. *Opus imperfectum* IV,37, *PL* 45, 1387; see also J. Pépin, *Saint Augustin et le symbolisme néoplatonicien de la vêture*, in *Augustinus Magister* I, Paris, 1954, p. 302-305.

[92]) *De civitate Dei* XIV, 15-16, *CCL* 48, p. 438; cf. also Zumkeller, *Schriften gegen die Pelagianer* III, p. 413-414.

[93]) See *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,23, *CSEL* 42, p. 275; II,52, *CSEL* 42, p. 308; *Contra Iulianum* IV,17, *PL* 44, 746; *De civitate Dei* XIV,7, *CCL* 48, p. 422; see also Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le livre de la Sagesse* (Études augustiniennes), Paris, 1970, p. 103; 280.

[94]) So *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* II,17. *CSEL* 60, p. 479; II,21, *CSEL* 60, p. 482.

[95]) "Nonne concupiscentia beatitudinis est concupiscentia naturalis?"; *Opus imperfectum* IV,67, *PL* 45, 1378.

translation of the term) is directed against the spirit[96]). This sort of desire was present in every person, believer included[97]). It was a desire which monopolized. In this regard, it is interesting to note that Augustine, by means of a reference to *Matt.* 5,28 ("What I say to you is: anyone who looks lustfully at a woman has already committed adultery with her in his thoughts"), indicated that there was a difference between a perception as such and a perception originating in an evil desire[98]). One could therefore posit that, with the expression *discordia spiritus et carnis*, Augustine was claiming that a person experienced an inner tension within himself as a "total" experience: "Concupiscentia carnis sentitur sensu et mentis et carnis"[99]). Thus, *concupiscentia carnis* could also be a desire of the soul. What is involved is the desires of the spirit which are called desires of the flesh since the spirit longs for the flesh[100]). Here, we are dealing with a *vitium* within the spirit[101]), a

[96]) "Ita hoc dicis, quasi nos concupiscentiam carnis in solam voluptatem genitalium dicamus aestuare. Prorsus in quocumque corporis sensu caro contra spiritum concupiscit, ipsa cognoscitur; et quoniam si non adversus eam spiritus fortius concupiscat, ad mala pertrahit, malum esse convincitur."; *Opus imperfectum* IV,28, *PL* 45, 1352; cf. also *De civitate Dei* XIV,15-16, *CCL* 48, p. 436-439.

[97]) "Omnibus quippe congenita est carnis concupiscentia, qua caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, etiam recta fide atque doctrina pietatis imbutum."; *Opus imperfectum* VI,9, *PL* 45, 1515.

[98]) See esp. *Contra Iulianum* IV,65, *PL* 44, 769-770; cf. also VI,56, *PL* 44, 856; *Opus imperfectum* IV,29, *PL* 44, 856; IV,47, *PL* 45, 1366; IV,48, *PL* 45, 1366; IV,53, *PL* 45, 1370. See also Schmitt, *Le mariage chrétien dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, p. 102-104.

[99]) See *Opus imperfectum* IV,69, *PL* 45, 1379. Augustine's negative judgement concerning sexual desire has therefore to do with its opposition to the *bonum rationis*: "Congruere enim cum cogitatione magna voluptas corporis non potest."; *Contra Iulianum* IV,72, *PL* 44, 774; see also *Opus imperfectum* IV,58, *PL* 45, 1374. It is a problem for the rational human being, not for e.g. animals, in which the *bonum rationis* is absent: "Hoc de libidine pecorum dici potest, quibus ideo non est malum, *quia non habent rationis bonum*"; *Opus imperfectum* IV,58, *PL* 45, 1374; see also *Contra Iulianum* IV,74, *PL* 44, 776; *Opus imperfectum* II,122, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 253; IV,37, *PL* 45, 1357; IV,38, *PL* 45, 1359; IV,39, *PL* 45, 1359-1360; IV,43, *PL* 45, 1362-1363; IV,56, *PL* 45, 1372; V,8, *PL* 45, 1436; V,20, *PL* 45, 1453. See also de Montcheuil, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane d'après l'Opus imperfectum*, p. 215; F. Réfoule, *Misère des enfants et péché originel d'après saint Augustin*, in *Revue Thomiste* 63 (1963) 341-362, p. 352; A.-M. Dubarle, *Le péché originel. Perspectives théologiques* (Cogitatio Fidei 118), Paris, 1983, p. 37-38.

[100]) "Sed aliae sunt rerum corporalium qualitates (...), et aliae sunt animae cupiditates, quae propterea carnis dicitur, quia secundum carnem anima concupiscit, cum sic concupiscit, ut ei spiritus, id est pars eius melior et superior, debeat repugnare."; *Contra Iulianum* V,28, *PL* 44, 802; cf. also V,16, *PL* 44, 793; VI,41, *PL* 44, 845; *Opus imperfectum* I,72, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 86-87. See also N. Cipriani, *Una teoria neoplatonica alla base dell'etica sessuale di S. Agostino*, in *Augustinianum* 14 (1974) 351-361, esp. p. 357.

[101]) "Sed ego ipsum vitium, quo animus vel ulla pars eius modo vitiosa est, libidinem dico, ut omni vitio sanata salva erit tota substantia"; *Contra Iulianum* VI,53, *PL*

tension within the spirit between good and evil desires[102]). In short, what is at stake is the tension between being directed toward God as opposed to being directed toward oneself. In a way, this sinful desire escapes the control exercised by the spirit. Even though one knows one should love one another and one sincerely attempts to do so, one does not always succeed.

Concerning the experience of sexual arousal, Pagels notes the following: "The experience of arousal apart from any action taken, Augustine insists, itself is sin"[104]). Here, she refers to *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* II, 22, 36[105]). As opposed to Pagels, I would like to quote Augustine's text in its entirety. "Neque enim Deo pudendum est aut molestum, si nos ei non oboedimus, cuius in nos summam potestatem nullo modo minuere valemus, sed nobis pudendum est, quod imperio nostro caro non servit, quia hoc fit per infirmitatem quam peccando meruimus, vocaturque peccatum habitans in membris nostris. Sic est autem hoc peccatum, ut sit poena peccati". Augustine clearly had Paul in mind (*Rom.* 7,17.23) when he stated *peccatum habitans in membris nostris.* He further claimed that this was so sinful that it was the punishment for sin. Elsewhere, Augustine had already explained in which sense this *concupiscentia carnis* was a *lex peccati.* It was a *lex peccati* because it induced and commanded sinfulness. When the spirit subsequently gives in to it, a person will sin. It is called sin because it originates in sin and desires to sin. Baptism takes away its guilt but its conflict, which entails a constant struggle, remains active[106]). The desire is therefore the consequence of Adam's sin and

44, 854; cf. also *De civitate Dei* XIV,19, *CCL* 48, p. 441; Plato, *Republica* IV,436a-b; IX,580d-581a; *Timaeus* 70a. See also Cipriani, *Una teoria neoplatonica*, p. 357, n. 16.

[102]) "Motibus igitur suis anima quos habet secundum spiritum, adversatur aliis motibus suis quos habet secundum carnem, et rursus, motibus suis quos habet secundum spiritum; et ideo dicitur caro concupiscere adversus spiritum et spiritus adversus carnem (*Gal.* 5,17)."; *Contra Iulianum* VI,41, *PL* 45, 845; see also *De continentia* 29, in *BA* 3, p. 92: "Spiritus itaque hominis adhaerens spiritui Dei, concupiscit adversus carnem, id est *adversus se ipsum.*"; for the date of this work (416-418?), see Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, *La date du "De continentia" de saint Augustin*, in *REA* 5 (1959) 121-127.

[103]) Augustine therefore also speaks of *concupiscentia peccatorum*; cf. *Contra Iulianum* VI,48, *PL* 44, 850; *Opus imperfectum* I,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 82.

[104]) Pagels, p. 111.

[105]) *CSEL* 60, p. 108.

[106]) The *concupiscentia carnis* is a *lex peccati*: "Quia suadet peccata atque (...) iubet, et si ei mente servatur, sine excusatione peccatur. Peccatum dicitur, quia peccato facta est appetitque peccare. Reatus eius regenerationis solutus est, conflictus eius ad agonem relictus est."; *Opus imperfectum* I,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 84.

his aspiration toward sin. It is sinfulness but not sin in the strict sense of the word. It is an aspiration toward sin which only leads to actual sin if a person gives his assent[107]). A person's negative answer however, is inspired by the *spiritu concupiscere*[108]). Thus, when one surrenders to sexual arousal, regardless of procreation, it becomes sinful though it is merely a *peccatum veniale* if one consents. In other words, a person's action is presupposed and therefore, the ethical judgement is very much based on people's actions.

However, there are instances when Augustine did not speak positively about sexual desires, mostly because of their irrational character. According to Augustine, this desire did not only strive for what was permitted but also for what was not permitted. Ethically speaking therefore, it was evil because it did not avoid that which was not permitted if rational man did not intervene[109]). Sexual desire had negative connotations because it did not conform to reason but pursued its own gratification. It was disorderly and brought about shamefulness[110]). In spite of the fact that the desire resisted the *voluntas iubens*[111]) and tried to seduce a person regardless of his defenses[112]),

[107]) Cf. the obvious examples given by Augustine in *Contra Iulianum* IV,66-67, *PL* 44, 770-771.

[108]) *Contra Iulianum* IV,66, *PL* 44, 771.

[109]) "Eius quippe impetus non sua sponte moderatus est: a nullo namque illicito sese abstinet, si membra desiderio eius inserviant. Ac per hoc eius motus, non in ipso, cuius inquietus est motus, sed in refrenante ac bene utente laudatur."; *Contra Iulianum* IV,2, *PL* 44, 737; "Concupiscentia vero carnis indifferenter illicita et licita cupiuntur, quae non concupiscendo, sed intelligendo diiudicantur"; *Opus imperfectum* IV,69, *PL* 45, 1379; see also *Contra Iulianum* IV,7, *PL* 44, 739; VI,50, *PL* 44, 852.

[110]) See e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,1, *CSEL* 42, p. 212; I,6, *CSEL* 42, p. 217-218; I,7, *CSEL* 42, p. 218-219; I,8, *CSEL* 42, p. 219-220; I,9, *CSEL* 42, p. 221; I,13, *CSEL* 42, p. 226; I,18, *CSEL* 42, p. 230; I,19, *CSEL* 42, p. 232; I,24, *CSEL* 42, p. 237; I,27, *CSEL* 42, p. 239; II,14, *CSEL* 42, p. 266; II,16, *CSEL* 42, p. 269; II,17, *CSEL* 42, p. 270; II,18, *CSEL* 42, p. 271; II,20, *CSEL* 42, p. 272; II,22, *CSEL* 42, p. 275; II,23, *CSEL* 42, p. 275; II,26, *CSEL* 42, p. 279; II,29, *CSEL* 42, p. 283; II,36, *CSEL* 42, p. 290; II,37, *CSEL* 42, p. 291; II,42, *CSEL* 42, p. 296; II,52, *CSEL* 42, p. 308-309; II,53, *CSEL* 42, p. 310; II,54, *CSEL* 42, p. 312; II,55, *CSEL* 42, p. 312; II,59, *CSEL* 42, p. 316; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,33, *CSEL* 60, p. 450; *Contra Iulianum* III,26, *PL* 44, 715; III,27, *PL* 44, 716; III,38, *PL* 44, 722; III,42, *PL* 44, 723; IV,40, *PL* 44, 741; V,30, *PL* 44, 803; *Opus imperfectum* III,184, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 483; IV,37, *PL* 45, 1357; IV,43, *PL* 45, 1363; IV,63, *PL* 45, 1376.
Cf. also de Montcheuil, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane d'après l'Opus imperfectum*, p. 205-206; Thonnard, *Pudeur, révolte des sens et lois psychologiques*, in *BA* 23, p. 671-676.

[111]) See e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,7, *CSEL* 42, p. 219; II,20, *CSEL* 42, p. 272; II,53, *CSEL* 42, p. 310; II,54, *CSEL* 42, p. 311; *Contra Iulianum* III,26, *PL* 44, 715; III,27, *PL* 44, 716; III,57, *PL* 44, 732; V,19, *PL* 44, 796; *Opus imperfectum* II,45, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 195; IV,39, *PL* 45, 1360; V,13, *PL* 45, 1445; V,17, *PL* 45, 1451.

[112]) So *Opus imperfectum* II,45, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 195 "Nuptiae porro quas benedixit

Augustine also stressed that a person could truly resist this desire with reasonable success[113]). Augustine remained very formal during his discussion with Julian regarding this issue. He emphatically denied Julian's reproach that his opinion allowed for immoral behavior[114]). In Augustine's thinking however, tension was not the same as blind compulsiveness. Desires could be counteracted. They only won if a person gave in to his arousal[115]).

In light of this, I find it rather unfortunate that Pagels states: "And since he (= Augustine) insists everyone, event he most advanced ascetic, confronts the same continual insurrections within, Augustine concludes that humanity has wholly lost its original capacity for self-government"[116]). It is true that being in total control of oneself is no longer evident but this definitely does not mean that one no longer has any self-control. Humanity indeed lost the "original capacity" but not "wholly". It is certainly not true that "we cannot even control our sexual impulses"[117]) because a person *can* in fact do this. What is beyond our control is the arousal of these impulses, not their curbing.

According to Augustine, a person can and should resist desires[118]).

(Deus), si peccatum non fuisset amissum, quo natura vitiata est, aut, sic uterentur genitalibus membris, quemadmodum aliis utimur sine ulla libidine oboedientibus voluntati, aut pudenda ibi libido non esset, quoniam numquam resisteret voluntati, qualis nunc utique non est, quod profecto etiam tu sentis, quando ab ea sollicitante atque illiciente dissentis."; cf. also II,122, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 253.

[113]) "Concupiscentiam sive naturalem, sive carnalem tibi placeat appellare, eam nos concupiscentiam vituperamus, qua caro concupiscit adversus spiritum et trahit ad illicita, nisi et spiritus adversus eam fortius concupiscat"; *Opus imperfectum* V,5, *PL* 45, 1436; cf also *Contra Iulianum* II,33, *PL* 44, 696-697; IV,34, *PL* 44, 756; IV,73, *PL* 44, 775; *Opus imperfectum* III,185, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 484; III,187, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 490; III,212, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 504; IV,10, *PL* 45, 1344; IV,57, *PL* 45, 1373; IV,61, *PL* 45, 1375; IV,67, *PL* 45, 1378; V,16, *PL* 45, 1449; V,19, *PL* 45, 1452; V,30, *PL* 45, 1469; VI,3, *PL* 45, 1508; VI,24, *PL* 45, col. 1558 etc.
See also de Montcheuil, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane d'après l'Opus imperfectum*, p. 208.

[114]) "Sic autem dicis: 'Qua ratione quaereret iustos in Sodomis Deus (*Gen.* 18,26), si illos tales natura faciebat?' tamquam nos dicamus, mentes excellentiore natura concupiscentiam carnis non posse frenare."; *Contra Iulianum* III,39, *PL* 44, 722; V,24, *PL* 44, 799; V,27, *PL* 44, 801; V,32, *PL* 44, 804: "Invictam sane *numquam* ego voluptatem carnis (...) dixi."

[115]) This is very obvious in e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,58, *CSEL* 42, p. 316; *Opus imperfectum* VI,3, *PL* 45, 1511; VI,6, *PL* 45, 1511.

[116]) Pagels, p. 113.

[117]) Pagels, p. 131.

[118]) "Lex quippe ista peccati, quae in membris est corporis mortis huius, et remissa est regeneratione spirituali, et manet in carne mortali: remissa scilicet, quia reatus eius solutus est sacramento, quo renascuntur fideles; manet autem, quia operatur desideria, *contra quae dimicant et fideles*."; *Contra Iulianum* II,5, *PL* 44, 675; see also e.g. VI,47, *PL* 44, 849-850; VI,53, *PL* 44, 853; VI,62, *PL* 44, 860-861.

Moreover, this is the *conditio sine qua non* for making progress as a believer[119]). Once again, grace is active, liberating[120]) and helping[121]), and a dynamic interaction between God's help and human effort is operative. The more a person wishes to please God, the more he will fight off sinful desires[122]). He is able to do this because he has been granted the gift of love[123]). Thanks to a *spiritalis delectatio*, he can say no to sinful desires[124]).

Because of his struggle, a believer progresses and succeeds in diminishing the *concupiscentia carnis* through a growing renewal[126]). As a reward, a person will receive a definitive healing of this disease in the life hereafter[127]). Augustine noted moreover that many people

[119]) See e.g. *Contra Iulianum* II,3, *PL* 44, 673; III,49, *PL* 44, 727.

[120]) Cf. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,18, *CSEL* 60, p. 440.

[121]) So *Contra Iulianum* II,5, *PL* 44, 676; II,9, *PL* 44, 680; V,65, *PL* 44, 820; VI,20, *PL* 44, 829; *Opus imperfectum* I,70, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 78; II,218, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 330; IV,57, *PL* 45, 1373; VI,8, *PL* 45, 1514.

[122]) "Adversus eam confligant etiam baptizati, tanto fortius atque vehementius, quanto magis placere student oculis eius, cuius gratia adiuvantur, ne in tali certamine superentur."; *Contra Iulianum* II,5, *PL* 44, 676.

[123]) Cf. *Contra Iulianum* V,32, *PL* 44, 804; V,56, *PL* 44, 815; VI,41, *PL* 44, 845-846; VI,71, *PL* 44, 866; *Opus imperfectum* II,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 215; II,137, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 262; II,140, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 264; II,233, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 347; VI,15, *PL* 45, 1535.

[124]) *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,17, *CSEL* 60, p. 440.

[125]) "Hoc (...) diligentissime proficit et Spiritu Dei agitur (cf. *Rom.* 8,14)"; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,27, *CSEL* 60, p. 445; cf. also Platz, *Der Römerbrief in der Gnadenlehre Augustins*, p. 143; de Montcheuil, *La polémique de saint Augustin contre Julien d'Éclane d'après l'Opus imperfectum*, p. 201-202; 214-215; Schmitt, *Le mariage chrétien dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, p. 186.

[126]) "Proficiente renovatione interioris hominis de die in diem"; *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,28, *CSEL* 42, p. 240; "Et si nobis admeliora proficientibus magis magisque minuuntur."; *Contra Iulianum* II,7, *PL* 44, 678; "Quo proposito perfectionis exemplo (= Christus), ad hoc se debet omnis imitator extendere, ut concupiscentias carnis, quas vetat apostolus perfici (cf. *Gal.* 5,16), nitatur atque optet penitus non habere: sic enim eas potest *provectu quotidiano* minuere, quas nullas habeat salute perfecta."; *Opus imperfectum* IV,57, *PL* 45, 1373; "Non est ergo huius vitae iustitiae, vitium non habere, sed vitia non eis consentiendo minuere, eisque resistendo, temperanter et iuste et pie vivere."; VI,8, *PL* 45, 1514; cf. also e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,30, *CSEL* 42, p. 242; I,32, *CSEL* 42, p. 244; I,33, *CSEL* 42, p. 245; I,56, *CSEL* 42, p. 248; *Contra Iulianum* VI,41, *PL* 44, 845; VI,50, *PL* 44, 852; VI,56, *PL* 44, 856; VI,60, *PL* 44, 859; *Opus imperfectum* III,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 403.

[127]) "Hoc autem malum non in baptismate ponitur: sed baptizatis per gratiam regenerationis ab eius obligatione iam liberis, ne ad illicita pertrahat, salubriter vincitur. Ut autem resurrectionis tempore non sit omnino in vivente corpore nec dolente, praemium est eorum qui contra eam fideliter certaverant, qui languore sanato, immortalitate beatissima vestientur."; *Contra Iulianum* VI,50, *PL* 44, 852; cf. also IV,3, *PL* 44, 738; this reward has to be given to the just; cf. *Opus imperfectum* VI,7, *PL* 45, 1512.

during his time fended off this *concupiscentia carnis*, strove toward a virtuous life and were successfull in their attempts[128]).

I am rather surprised to observe that Pagels succeeds in discussing Adam's fall and its consequences for humanity without dealing with Adam's counterpart, Christ our Savior. She states that, according to Augustine, "everyone, arising as he does from a condemned stock, is from the first necessarily evil and carnal through Adam"[129]), but she omits the essential completion, namely "Quod si in Christum renascendo profecerit, post erit bonus et spiritalis"[130]). On the basis of this second part of the sentence, better justice is done to Augustine's text by translating *primo* as "first" instead of "from the first". There is a clear continuity in the mentioned passage: "primo ... post". I admit that Pagels' inaccurate translation[131]) fits her argumentation very well but she does not take one of the essential viewpoints of Augustine's doctrine into account. Initially, every human being is born for the world, the *civitas terrena*, but this is not the ultimate purpose of procreation. Christians propagate in order to offer their children through baptism *per Christum* to God.

In the dispute with the Pelagians, Augustine frequently placed Adam and Christ in opposition to each other[132]). A human being belongs either to Adam or to Christ[133]). In this context, one can speak

[128]) See *Opus imperfectum* VI,7, *PL* 45, 1513.

[129]) Pagels, p. 114.

[130]) *De civitate Dei* XV,1, *CCL* 48, p. 452.

[131]) Ph. Levine, *Saint Augustine. The City of God against the Pagans* IV, books XII-XIV (The Loeb Classical Library) London-Cambridge (Mass.), 1966, p. 413 translates *primo* very correctly as *first*. At least here, Pagels does not follow Levine, although she maintains to follow him "generally"; cf. p. 168, n. 42.

[132]) For this point, see, among others, H. Rondet, *Le Christ nouvel Adam dans saint Augustin*, in *Études Mariales. La nouvelle Ève II. Bulletin de la Société Française d'Études Mariales* 13 (1955) 25-41; E. Franz, *Totus Christus. Studien über Christus und die Kirche*, Bonn, 1956, p. 6-93; W. Geerlings, *Christus Exemplum. Studien zur Christologie und Christusverkündigung Augustins* (Tübinger Theologische Studien 13), Mainz, 1978, p. 74-77; G. Remy, *Le Christ médiateur dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin*, Lille-Paris, 1979, t. 1, p. 395ff.; 644-648; G. Bonner, art. *Adam*, in *Augustinus-Lexikon* I, 1/2, Basel-Stuttgart, 1986, 84-86.

[133]) "Et ideo manifestum est ad illum pertinere omnem, qui ex illo successione propaginis nascitur, sicut ad istum pertinet omnis, qui in illo gratiae largitate renascitur; unde fit, ut totum genus humanum quodammodo sint homines duo, primus et secundus."; *Opus imperfectum* II,163, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 285.
This opposition between the first and second man is often found; see *Contra duas epistulas* IV,8, *CSEL* 60, p. 529; *Contra Iulianum* VI,10, *PL* 44, 828; VI,48, *PL* 44, 850; *Opus imperfectum* II,97, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 229; II,187, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 306; II,190, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 307; II,192, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 309; II,216, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 327; VI,31, *PL* 45, 1585;

of a twofold birth: the first in Adam (*generatio*) and the second in Christ (*regeneratio*)[134]). By the second birth, the calamity caused by Adam is rectified[135]). I think that the "negative" side of our existence alone should not be emphasized. It is not an isolated reality. For Augustine, both Adam and Christ are involved. Support for this idea can be found in *Rom.* 5,12-19 and 1 *Cor.* 15,21-22[136]). In light of Adam and Christ, no one is "neutral"[137]).

Augustine sometimes calls Christ the second Adam. So he indicates that Christ stands at the beginning of our salvation, just as Adam stood at the beginning of our doom. See e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,35, *CSEL* 42, p. 289; *Contra Iulianum* IV,16, *PL* 44, 745; VI,48, *PL* 44, 850; *Opus imperfectum* VI,7, *PL* 45, 1512.

[134]) Such opposition can also be indicated by e.g. *nasci-renasci*; see e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,21, *CSEL* 42, p. 233; II,35, *CSEL* 42, p. 289; II,46, *CSEL* 42, p. 301; II,58, *CSEL* 42, p. 316; *Contra Iulianum* I,4, *PL* 44, 545; I,14, *PL* 44, 649; II,8, *PL* 44, 679; II,31, *PL* 44, 694; II,110, *PL* 44, 680; III,15, *PL* 44, 709; III,35, *PL* 44, 721; III,46, *PL* 44, 725; III,54, *PL* 44, 730; III,58, *PL* 44, 732; III,63, *PL* 44, 734; IV,3, *PL* 44, 738; IV,5, *PL* 44, 738; IV,49, *PL* 44, 763; V,56, *PL* 44, 815; V,63, *PL* 44, 819; VI,6, *PL* 44, 824 (*De nuptiis et concupiscentia* I,21); VI,29, *PL* 44, 839; VI,42, *PL* 44, 846; VI,55, *PL* 44, 855; VI,60, *PL* 44, 859; *Opus imperfectum* II,31, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 185; II,45, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 195; II,54, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 202; II,71, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 215; II,76, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 218; II,101, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 232; II,105, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 239; II,108, *CSEL* 85,1,, p. 242; II,109, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 242; II,135, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 261; II,137, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 262; II,146, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 269; II,177, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 297; II,187, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 306; II,190, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 307; II,191, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 308; II,192, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 308; II,193, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 309; II,218, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 330; III,51, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 391; III,175, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 476; IV,129, *PL* 45, 1426; V,12, *PL* 45, 1442; V,23, *PL* 45, 1458; V,29, *PL* 45, 1467; VI,22, *PL* 45, 1553; VI,36, *PL* 45, 1593.
See also Franz, *Totus Christus*, p. 26-27; G. Folliet, *'Trahere'/'contrahere peccatum'. Observations sur la terminologie augustinienne du péché*, in C. Mayer-K.H. Chelius (ed.), *Homo Spiritalis*. Festgabe für Luc Verheijen, zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, Würzburg, 1987, p. 118-135, esp. p. 125-129.

[135]) "Exordium vero parvulorum, ex quo nascerentur, in Adam fuit, quo per peccatum vitiato atque damnato, alterum eis Christus ex quo renascerentur, instituit."; *Contra Iulianum* III,58, *PL* 44, 732; "Dicimus ideo divinitus esse provisum secundae spiritalis nativitatis auxilium quam fieri in se ipso Christus instituit, quoniam secundum Adam carnaliter nati contrahunt mortis antiquae prima nativitate contagium."; *Opus imperfectum* I,106, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 125; see also II,177, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 297; II,187, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 306; II,216, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 327; III,92, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 418.

[136]) See e.g. *De nuptiis et concupiscentia* II,46, *CSEL* 42, p. 300; *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV,8, *CSEL* 60, p. 569; *Contra Iulianum* IV,1, *PL* 44, 737; VI,9, *PL* 44, 827; VI,43, *PL* 44, 847; *Opus imperfectum* II,54, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 202; II,101, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 232; II,108, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 242; II,135, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 261; II,136, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 262; II,138, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 263; II,177, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 297; II,180, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 300; II,182, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 301; II,184, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 301-302; II,203, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 315; II,204, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 316; II,215, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 326; III,38, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 381; III,107, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 428; VI,7, *PL* 45, 1512; VI,31, *PL* 45, 1585; VI,36, *PL* 45, 1593-1594.

[137]) "Nullus enim hominum nisi per Adam trahitur ad damnationem, de qua per lavacrum regenerationis homines liberantur, et nullus hominum nisi per Christum ab hac

It is precisely because Augustine wanted to safeguard the essential role of Christ as the unique mediator between God and humanity that he insisted on the "dark side" of humanity[138]). Salvation implies a transition *ex Adam ad Christum*[139]). Since, according to the message of the New Testament, Christ came for sinners, we must as it were belong to Adam in order to receive salvation. This is indeed the basic reason why Augustine, time and again, repeated that children were born with guilt. It was the only possibility for them to be affected by Christ. The salvation of Christ can only become salvation for children if they belong, in one way or another, to sinful humanity.

With regard to Pagels' considerations concerning Augustine's view on society, I agree with the statement that the bishop of Hippo saw slavery as a consequence of the fall of man[140]). Augustine was not alone in that opinion[141]). It is certainly true that Augustine did not question the system as such but this is not to say that he was insensitive

damnatione liberatur."; *Opus imperfectum* II,135, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 261; "Ex prima origine generis humani nemo ad mortem, nisi per Adam et nemo per Adam nisi ad mortem et nemo ad vitam nisi per Christum et nemo per Christum nisi ad vitam."; *Contra Iulianum* VI,80, *PL* 44, 872. See also *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* IV,8, *CSEL* 60, p. 529; *Opus imperfectum* II,197, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 310-311; VI,31, *PL* 45, 1585.

[138]) Augustine's source of inspiration is 1 *Tim.* 2,5: "Unus mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus"; see e.g. *Contra duas epistulas pelagianorum* I,12, *CSEL* 60, p. 432; I,39, *CSEL* 60, p. 457; IV,60, *CSEL* 60, p. 526; *Contra Iulianum* IV,14, *PL* 44, 743; IV,33, *PL* 44, 755; *Opus imperfectum* I,124, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 138; I,138, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 154; VI,7, *PL* 45, 1512; VI,36, *PL* 45, 1594. For this christocentric emphasis in Augustine's view on salvation, see esp. A. Vanneste, *L'histoire du dogme du péché originel*, in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 38 (1962) 895-903; *id.*, *Saint Paul et la doctrine augustinienne du péché originel*, in *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus 1961*, v. II (Analecta Biblica 18), Roma, 1963, p. 513-522; *id.*, *Het dogma van de erfzonde: zinloze mythe of openbaring van een grondstructuur van het menselijk bestaan* (Woord en beleving II,9), Tielt, 1969; Remy, *Le Christ médiateur*, p. 173-174; 403; 635-657 and *passim*; J. Plagnieux - F.-J. Thonnard, *L'unique médiateur, l'homme Christ-Jésus*, in *BA* 22, p. 729-732; P. Ciarlatini, *Mediator: Paganismo y cristianismo en 'De civitate Dei' VIII, 12-XI,2 de San Agustín*, in *Revista Agustiniana* 24 (1983) 9-62; 25 (1984) 5-60; 325-402; 26 (1985) 5-47; 301-322.

[139]) See e.g. *Contra Iulianum* IV,38, *PL* 44, 757; IV,54, *PL* 44, 764; V,56, *PL* 44, 815; *Opus imperfectum* I,60, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 58; II,193, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 309; II,218, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 331.

[140]) Cf. Pagels, p. 114.

[141]) One may not forget that it were not the slaves, but the little tenant farmers (*coloni*) and the seasonal workers who hired themselves out as harvesters, who were the real poor in Augustine's day. For a good discussion, see R. Klein, *Die frühe Kirche und die Sklaverei*, in *Römishce Quartalschrift* 80 (1985) 259-283; *id.*, *Die Sklaverei in der Sicht der Bischöfe Ambrosius und Augustinus* (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 20) Stuttgart, 1988; G. Corcoran, *Saint Augustine on Slavery* (Studia Ephemeridis "Augustinianum" 22), Roma, 1985.

to the lot of slaves[142]). Augustine often taught masters their duties towards their slaves. In *De civitate Dei* XIX,16[143]), he firmly emphasized that the true *pater familias* had to take the same care for all the members of his *familia*, included the slaves, when it came to honoring God and seeking His favor. A good master is concerned about his slave's welfare. He does not act out of tyranny. Moreover, according to Augustine, the obedience of slaves was conditional. The moment that a master's demands were contrary to faith, a slave must say no. Augustine was convinced that slavery would disappear after this life. He regarded ex-slaves and free men living together in the monastery as an anticipation of that future classless society.

However, concerning the relationship between master and slave, a good Christian master was not allowed to possess his slave in the same way that he possessed a horse, money or clothes, for he had to love the slave as himself and to care for his spiritual well-being[144]). For Augustine, no one was born rich or poor, and no one died as such. By nature, we are all equal[145]). The bishop of Hippo emphasized that the rich, possessing the superfluous goods, in fact usurped the necessary goods of the poor[146]). Thus to give help was nothing other than to repay a debt[147]).

It is not suprising to see that Augustine identified Christ with the poor. It is an inner consequence of his doctrine on the *Christus totus*. The identification of Christ with the poor was a recognition of their human dignity as well as a motivation for feeding and clothing them[148]). Moreover, according to Augustine, one of the fundamental tasks of the Church lay in teaching that love was due to everyone and that is was forbidden to treat a human being unjustly, whoever it may be[149]).

I am not convinced that Augustine favored a "political quietism". Indeed, Augustine frequently asked for new laws or criticized existing

[142]) See Klein, *Die frühe Kirche und die Sklaverei*, p. 273-278.

[143]) *CCL* 48, p. 683.

[144]) See *De sermone Domini in monte* I,59, *PL* 34, 1260.

[145]) Cf. *Sermo* 61,9, *PL* 38, 412.

[146]) So *Enarratio in psalmum* 147,12, *CCL* 40, p. 2148; *Sermo* 206,2, *PL* 38, 1041; cf. also *Sermo* 50,4, *PL* 38, 327.

[147]) *Enarratio in psalmum* 95,15, *CCL* 39, p. 1353.

[148]) See e.g. *Sermo* 41,7, *PL* 38, 251-252; *Sermo* 86,3, *PL* 38,524; *Sermo* 236,3, *PL* 38, 1121; *Sermo* 239,7, *PL* 38, 1129-1130.

[149]) *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* I,63, *PL* 32, 1336.

laws. In 401, the North African bishops requested the reintroduction of the institution of "defenders in view of the distress of the poor". Their request probably remained unanswered; for in 420, Augustine asked for the mediation of the bishops Alypius and Peregrinus, who were in Italy at that time, in order to obtain such a defender for the city of Hippo.

Further, he was quite distressed by the sale of children[150]). The Christian emperors had allowed the sale of children in order to prevent infanticide when parents were unable to feed their new born babies. The tenant farmers especially had to resort to the desperate measure of hiring out or even selling their children. This often led to perpetual slavery which was not permitted by the law. Augustine vehemently protested against such an abuse of children and he strongly insisted that selling children's labor should only be permitted for the fixed number of 25 years. After that period, they were to become freemen again. The bishop held the fate of the children very close to his heart. He considered it his task to protect orphans so that they would not be oppressed by strangers. He also saw it as his duty to care for abandoned children[151]).

Regarding the poor, it was the Church's custom to provide help for every person whoever he or she might be, whether a prostitute or a fighter in the arena, on account of their human nature[152]). After the destruction of Rome, Augustine beseeched the people of Hippo to help and provide hospitality for the crowd of refugees[153]). We should also mention a number of letters written by Augustine, protesting the injustice of the powerful. For instance, he intervened on behalf of the small farmers who were being forced to pay taxes twice[154]). Four letters were written in order to defend the administrator Faventius, who had come into conflict with his master and who sought refuge in the diocese of Hippo where he enjoyed the rights of asylum. After having

[150]) See *Epistula* 10* (ed. J. Divjak), in *BA* 46B, p. 166-183; *Epistula* 24* (ed. J. Divjak), in *BA* 46B, p. 382-387.

[151]) Cf. *Sermo* 176,2, *PL* 38, 951; *Epistula* 98,6, *CSEL* 34,2, p. 527-528.

[152]) Cf. *Enarratio in psalmum* 46,5, *CCL* 38, p. 532; *Sermo Lambot* 28, *Revue Bénédictine* 66 (1956), p. 156-158; Possidius, *Vita Augustini 24* (ed. A.A.R. Bastiaensen), in *Scrittori greci e latini*, Verona, 1975, p. 188-195.

[153]) *Sermo*, 81,9, *PL* 38, 506.

[154]) Cf. *Epistula* 247, *CSEL* 57, p. 585-589.
In *Epistula* 251, *CSEL* 57, p. 599-600, Augustine intervenes to protect oppressed farmers living at the estate of a certain Pancarius.

been kidnapped, however, he disappeared. Augustine was terribly alarmed by this and did all he could to find him again[155]).

Finally, as *pastor* Augustine reacted vehemently against the practice of slave traders who led people off into captivity and sold them into slavery abroad. But even in this case, he took the slave traders into account. He wanted to prevent them from being submitted to the death penalty for such malpractice[156]). Here, Augustine proved himself to be very consistent. He always resisted the maltreatment and cruel exploitation of slaves or *coloni*. He also refused to grant the master the right to decide in an arbitrary way on the life of his slave. But at the same time, he opposed the death penalty for the slave traders. As bishop, Augustine wanted to attend to the well-being of the whole community. He considered it his duty to preserve the unity of that community. In his time, that entrailed pleading for a harmonious coexistence of master and slave, rich and poor, within the existing structures. According to Augustine, such a coexistence was to be based on natural respect rather than on coercion.

I also agree with Pagels when she states that Augustine did not trust political leaders of his day but I would like to nuance her statement that the later Augustine "came to endorse, for the church as well as the state, the whole arsenal of secular government that Chrysostom had repudiated — commands, threats, coercion, penalties, and even physical force"[157]). A simple reading of letter 134, addressed to Apringius, already proves how Augustine made a real effort to rescue some *circumcelliones* and Donastists, who had killed two Catholic priests, from the death penalty[158]). It is certainly true that Augustine, wizened by the controversy with the Donatists, was no longer opposed to the intervention of the secular power in religious affairs[159]). However,

[155]) *Epistulae* 113-116, *CSEL* 34,2, p. 659-663. From *Epistula* 268, *CSEL* 57, p. 652-654 we learn that Augustine intervened for a person who was bowed down by a burden of debts. Augustine himself had not the sum needed to help him, and borrowed the money from a rich man. However, in doing so Augustine himself got in trouble, for he could not give the money back, and had to ask the help of the people of Hippo.

[156]) See *Epistula* 10*, mentioned in note 150 and the *Notes complémentaires*, in *BA* 46B, p. 466-474.

[157]) Pagels, p. 115; 117.

[158]) *Epistula* 134, *CSEL* 44, p. 84-88.

[159]) See e.g. *Contra Iulianum* III,5, *PL* 44, 703-704; *Opus imperfectum* I,10, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 11; II,14, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 181; II,103, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 235. However, one may not forget that the Catholic African Church at the beginning really tried to propose a revolutionary program of reconciliation with the Donatists; see *Epistula* 128, *CSEL* 44,

till the end of his life, he was only too aware of the fact that external coercion had absolutely no effect if conversion did not occur in a man's heart on the basis of a free endorsing of God's initiative in love[160]). Therefore, I think that it is not correct to simply blame Augustine for using violence without making reference to the context within which Augustine came to certain statements and without regard for Augustine's conviction that political intervention was necessary in light of the salvation of those who erred. It should be said that Augustine was especially concerned about the *civitatis Dei*. For Augustine, its aims were different from those of the *civitas terrena*. No structure of society has the right to obstruct that which was essential: the honor of God[161]).

Let us now deal with Pagels' view on John Chrysostom and Julian. We should first make a small remark. Pagels' presentation of the course of events which occurred during April 418 should be nuanced[162]). Only the exile of the Pelagians by the emperor took place in this month (30 April 418). On 1 May at Carthage, several theses were condemned by nine *canones* but without mentioning either Pelagius or Caelestius by name. The *Epistula tractoria* of Zosimus, the bishop of Rome, is to be dated later, probably around the end of the spring or the beginning of the summer[163]). Only then did Julian come into prominence. Together with 18 *collegae*, he refused to sign Zosimus' letter. Concerning the banishment of the Pelagians, it is interesting to note that a revolt, caused by the Pelagians in Rome, gave rise to their exile[164]).

I see no grounds for Pagels' statement that Julian "once shared the nearly universal admiration for Augustine's learning and teaching"[165]).

p. 30-34. Augustine's later position is in fact also inspired by the stubbornness of the Donatists.

Against the reproaches of bribery Augustine always protested forcibly; see *Opus imperfectum* I,42, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 30-31; I,74, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 90; III,35, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 375.

Contrary to Pagels, p. 120, I am not convinced that Julian's reproaches are true. However, one is not able to prove which of them tells us the truth.

[160]) An excellent example is given in *Opus imperfectum* II,157, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 279-280; see also II,11, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 170; III,106ff., *CSEL* 85,1, p. 426ff.; III,114, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 434-435.

[161]) See *De civitate Dei* XIX,17, *CSEL* 48, p. 683-685.

[162]) See Pagels, p. 130.

[163]) See esp. O. Wermelinger, *Das Pelagiusdossier in der Tractoria des Zosimus*, in *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 26 (1979) 336-366.

[164]) Cf. *Collectio Quesnelliana* XIV, *PL* 56, 490-492.

[165]) Pagels, p. 132.

It is true that Augustine held Julian in esteem and that Julian's father was on good terms with Augustine but concerning Julian's own attitude toward the bishop of Hippo in the period before 418, nothing is known[166]).

I find it difficult to believe that "Augustine argued against those who agreed with John Chrysostom, and then against followers of Pelagius, both of whom insisted that Christians, through their baptism, are free to make moral choices..."[167]).

In the foregoing, I have sufficiently pointed out that, for Augustine as well, believers were able to make moral choices and to fulfill them. It is highly questionable whether Augustine was far removed from Chrysostom who considered that, "through baptism", man regained the capability to "self-government"[168]). Moreover, it is not completely correct to say that Pelagius believed that through baptism one became capable of making free choices. It is more accurate to say that, for Pelagius, everyone, believer and non-believer, is by nature truly able to make moral choices. Pelagius even referred to the moral life of pagans which sometimes could be a model for believers[169]).

Further, I think that one should be cautious in drawing a connection between Chrysostom and the Pelagians. There are serious differences between Chrysostom and Julian of Aeclanum for example, concerning Adam's state before the fall or the consequences of the fall on him and on humanity[170]). Of course, it is true that Chrysostom did not present

[166]) Cf. *Epistula* 101, *CSEL* 34,2, p. 539-543.

[167]) Pagels, p. 129.

[168]) Pagels, p. 103 and *infra*, p. 000.

[169]) "Cuius bonum ita generaliter cunctis institutum est, ut in gentilibus quoque hominibus, qui sine ullo cultu Dei sunt, se nonnumquam ostendat, ac proferat. Quam multos enim philosophorum et audivimus et legimus, et ipsi vidimus castos, patientes, modestos, liberales, abstinentes, benignos, et honores mundi simul, et delicias respuentes, et amatores iustitiae non minus quam scientiae! Unde, quaeso, hominibus alicuius a Deo placent? Unde autem illis bona nisi de naturae bono? Et cum ista, quae dixi, vel omnia in uno, vel singula in singulus haberi videamus, cum omnium natura una sit, exemplo suo invicem sibi ostendunt, omnia in omnibus esse posse, quae vel omnia in omnibus, vel singula in singulis inveniantur. Quod si etiam sine Deo homines ostendunt, quales a Deo facti sunt: vide quid Christiani facere possunt, quorum in melius per Christum natura et vita instructa est et qui divinae quoque gratiae iuvantur auxilio."; *Epistula ad Demetriadem* 3, *PL* 30, 18.

[170]) For Chrysostom's view on Adam's sin and its consequences for his descendants, see J. Gross, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas. I. Von der Bibel bis Augustinus*, München-Basel, 1960, p. 181-190 and esp. L. Scheffczyk, *Urstand, Fall und Erbsünde. Von der Schrift bis Augustinus* (Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte II,3a.1), Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1981, p. 167-171.

a systematic treatise on these themes, although both Julian and Augustine wished to turn to him in order to bolster their arguments. Chrysostom was primarily a preacher and a pastor. He was not really interested in *begriffliche Klärungen*[171]).

Concerning Adam's state before the fall, Chrysostom claimed that Adam was created in the image of God[172]). He was free of ἐπιθυμία, care, corruptibility and mortality[173]). In Adam, a perfect harmony between soul and body existed. The body obeyed the soul. Adam was gifted with unbelievable intelligence, for he gave a name to all the animals[174]). Living in a place where suffering did not exist, he ruled all creation, including the animals[175]). Totally free, he knew precisely what he must do and he was aware of the gravity of God's commands and of the punishment which he would incur should he disobey[176]).

Because of his sin, disobedience[177]), Adam caused much damage to himself and to his progeny. Because of Adam, humanity was condemned[178]). As a punishment for his sin, death came upon all[179]). Although it is true that death sometimes can be a consolation or a blessing to people, as in the case of martyrs for example, it is primarily a punishing death, closely connected to the πάθοι to which concupiscence also belongs[180]). Adam's punishment, as a result of his sin, had the following consequences: loss of God's presence, mortality, physical

[171]) For a nuanced discussion, see Scheffczyk, *Urstand, Fall und Erbsünde*, p. 167; see also J.N.P. Kelly, *Initiation à la doctrine des Pères de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1968, p. 361.

[172]) Cf. *In Genesim homilia* 8,4, *PG* 53, 73.

[173]) "Επεὶ μέχρις ἐκείνου καθάπερ ἄγγελοι οὕτω διῃτῶντο ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, οὐχ ὑπό ἐπιθυμίας φλεγόμενοι, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἑτέρων παθῶν πολιορκούμενοι, οὐ ταῖς ἀνάγκαις τῆς φύσεως ὑποκείμενοι, ἀλλὰ δι' ὅλου ἄφθαρτοι κτισθέντες καὶ ἀθάνατοι, ὅπου γε οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν ἱματίων περιβολῆς ἐδέοντο"; *In Genesim homilia* 15,4, *PG* 53, 123.

[174]) See *In Genesim homilia* 15,3, *PG* 53, 122.

[175]) See *In Genesim homilia* 9,3-4, *PG* 53, 77-79. For Chrysostom, the woman is from the very beginning submitted to Adam; see *In Genesim homilia* 8,4, *PG* 53, 73.

[176]) *In Genesim homilia* 16,5, *PG* 53, 131f.; see also F.-J. Thonnard, *Saint Jean Chrysostome et saint Augustin dans la controverse pélagienne*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 25 (1967) 189-218, esp. 215-216.

[177]) On this point, I see no difference between Augustine and Chrysostom, although Augustine is criticized by Pagels because of his view; see Pagels, p. 108.

[178]) "Ὅτε γὰρ ἥμαρτεν ὁ Ἀδὰμ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐκείνην τὴν χαλεπὴν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων κατεδίκασε γένος"; *Epistula ad Olympiam* 10,3, *SC* 13bis, p. 248.

[179]) Cf. Scheffczyk, *Urstand, Fall und Erbsünde*, p. 170; Schelkle, *Paulus, Lehrer der Väter. Die altkirchliche Auslegung von Römer 1-11*, Düsseldorf, 1959², p. 170; 181.

[180]) "Μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου, φησὶ, καὶ ὁ τῶν παθῶν ἐπεισῆλθεν ὄχλος. Ὅτε γὰρ θνητὸν ἐγένετο τὸ σῶμα ἐδέξατο καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναγκαίως λοιπὸν, καὶ ὀργὴν καὶ λύπην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα"; *In Romanos homilia* 13,1, *PG* 60, 507.

and moral misery and proclivity to do evil. Adam's progeny participates in this punishment[181]). Therefore, one may state that Adam's fall has brought about an ontological deterioration of the human state, as is proved in Chrysostom's exegesis of *Rom.* 5,12-21. Mortality befell us because of Adam[182]). However, Chrysostom, unlike Augustine, did not connect mortality with guilt. For Chrysostom, such an idea was contrary to God's righteousness. Moreover, guilt always involved personal sin. Therefore, we participate only in Adam's punishment, not in his guilt[183]).

Of course, some texts seem to indicate, at least implicitly, the idea of an universal condemnation. Thus we read in *Oratio* III,21 that Adam was the first to assume guilt and that we, because of our sins, have augmented the burden[184]). But even though the content of this guilt is curse, sin, death and condemnation by the Law, I am still convinced that the augmentation involves our personal sins. Indeed, Chrysostom always emphasized our own responsibility and did not refer to an idea of inherited guilt[185]). For Chrysostom, the free will of every individual person was at the basis of that person's moral activity. The inner tension, which resulted from Adam's sin and which was experienced by humanity, does not cancel our freedom. This freedom is a gift from God. It belongs to the essence of our nature. Sin is the result of a free choice[186]) and we are responsible for such a choice[187]). Sinning is

[181]) See E. Nowak, *Le chrétien devant la souffrance. Étude sur la pensée de Jean Chrysostome* (Théologie historique 19), Paris, 1970, p. 123; Scheffczyk, *Urstand, Fall und Erbsünde*, p. 169.

[182]) Cf. *In Romanos homilia* 10,1, *PG* 60, 474; 10,3, *PG* 60, 476-477. For this rather strange interpretation, see J. Freundorfer, *Erbsünde und Erbtod beim Apostel Paulus. Eine religionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Untersuchung über Römerbrief 5,12-21* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 13,1-2), Münster, 1927, 118-120; S. Lyonnet, *Le sens de ἐφ' ᾧ en Rom. 5,12 et l'exégèse des Pères grecs*, in *Biblica* 36 (1955) 436-456, p. 447; *id.*, *Le péché originel en Rom. 5,12. L'exégèse des Pères grecs et les décrets du concile de Trente*, in *Biblica* 41 (1960) 325-355, p. 330; D. Weaver, *The Exegesis of Romans 5/12 among the Greek Fathers and its Implication for the Doctrine of Original Sin: the 5th-12th Centuries*, in *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 29 (1985) 133-159, p. 140.

[183]) Schelkle, *Paulus, Lehrer der Väter*, p. 170; H. Rondet, *Le péché originel dans la tradition patristique et théologique*, Paris, p. 127; Scheffczyk, *Urstand, Fall und Erbsünde*, p. 170.

[184]) *SC* 50bis, p. 163; Augustine refers to this text in e.g. *Contra Iulianum* I,26, *PL* 44, 689; according to Wenger, *SC* 50bis, p. 163, "Augustin a été bien inspiré en citant se passage contre Julien d'Éclane".

[185]) Cf. J. Quasten, *Patrology* III, Westminster, 1963, p. 478.

[186]) "Ἡ μὲν γὰρ βούλησις, ἔμφυτον καὶ παρὰ Θεοῦ· ἡ δὲ τοιάδε Βούλησις, ἡμέτερον καὶ τῆς γνώμης ἡμῶν."; *In Romanos homilia* 13,2, *PG* 60, 510.

[187]) See *In Romanos homilia* 19,6, *PG* 60, 591-592; *In Acta apostolorum homilia* 23,3, *PG* 60, 181-182.

therefore not the result of coercion. Weakness of the flesh, hope of reward or fear of punishment can at the most push someone into a corner but they never cancel one's freedom or responsibility[188]). Concerning Adam's sin and its consequences, it should be mentioned that Chrysostom also saw some positive aspects. According to him, Adam's sin was relieved by the shame which he experienced[189]), the birth of children was a consolation for the torment of the *concupiscentia*[190]) and the prospect of motherhood softened the pains of childbirth[191]). However, temptation was still inherent in human life. Even after our baptism (!) we must constantly struggle against all kinds of temptation[192]).

It seems important to me that, according to Chrysostom, true freedom was only given to those who belonged to Christ. But even then, man, being prone to sin, still needed God's grace[193]). God himself effects that a person who really wants to chose the good indeed desires and realizes that good. A man can reject God's grace but he is never in a position in which he no longer needs this grace. Even if one consents to God's appeal, God's grace is still required[194]). The effectiveness of one's acceptance also depends on God's grace[195]). In spite of the emphasis on freedom and autonomy, for Chrysostom, grace was also a *conditio sine qua non* for a good life.

I would like to conclude by remarking that we remain most faithful to Chrysostom when we consider him as a representative of the

Cf. also A. Stötzel, *Kirche als "neue Gesellschaft". Die humanisierende Wirkung des Christentums nach Johannes Chrysostomus* (Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie 51), Münster, 1984, p. 154-155; I. Sanna, *Spirito e Grazia nel "Commento alla lettera ai Romani" di Teodoreto di Ciro e sua dispendenza in quest'opera da Giovanni Crisostomo e Teodoro di Mopsuestia*, in *Lateranum* 48 (1982) 238-260, p. 251-257.

188) See E. Osborn, *La morale dans la pensée chrétienne primitive. Description des archétypes de la morale patristique* (Théologie historique 68), Paris, 1984, p. 186; D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'Antiquité Grecque. Recherche sur la survivance de l'argumentation antifataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles* (Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philosophie III, 19), Louvain, 1945, p. 493-496.

189) *In Genesim homilia* 16,6, *PG* 53, 133.

190) *In Genesim homilia* 18,4, *PG* 53, 153f.

191) *In Genesim homilia* 17,7-8, *PG* 53, 143f.

192) *In Genesim homilia* 13,2, *PG* 53, 107f.

193) *In Hebraeos homilia* 13,3, *PG* 63, 99; *In Genesim homilia* 25,7, *PG* 53, 228-229; 58,5, *PG* 53, 513; *In Romanos homilia* 14,7, *PG* 60, 532-534; 19,1, *PG* 60, 583-584.

194) See Kelly, *Initiation à la doctrine des Pères de l'Eglise*, p. 363; Osborn, *La morale dans la pensée chrétienne primitive*, p. 185-187.

195) See the pertinent remarks of Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'Antiquité Grecque*, p. 497-498.

traditional *Erbübellehre*. Chrysostom was not blind to the consequences of Adam's sin. While emphasizing human responsibility, he was in agreement with his predecessors (as we have seen, this was also true for Augustine). Concerning the positive effect of salvation, Chrysostom, as a believer, gave priority to God's grace, without thinking that he had neglected the capacities of the free will.

Julian, as well as Pelagius[196]), took quite a different view on Adam[197]). Of course, according to Julian also, God took great concern in the creation of the first man[198]). After the creation of Adam, God remained close to him. He only commanded him not to eat a certain fruit. The observance of this prohibition would be proof of Adam's devotion. Julian further mentioned that God gave Adam a companion in order that he could become a father. He concluded by stating that God also remained benevolent to Adam thereafter[199]).

According to Julian, although Adam was created as a mortal[200]),

[196]) For Pelagius, see the recent article of Th.S. de Bruyn, *Pelagius's Interpretation of Rom. 5:12-21: Exegesis within the Limits of Polemic*, in *Toronto Journal of Theology* 4 (1988) 30-43, esp. p. 33-38.

[197]) Concerning Julian's view on Adam's condition before the fall, his sin and its consequences, see esp. *Ad Florum* VI. Pagels' outline of Julian's view is in general correct.

[198]) "Vide quod negotium in formando et animando homine pietas divina suscepit."; *Ad Florum* VI,20, *PL* 45, 1545.

[199]) "Verum nec perfectum eum reliquit familiaritas conditoris: transfertur ad amoeniorem locum, et quem clementer fecerat, munifice locupletat. Nec hoc tamen praestitisse contentus, illustrat eum impertitione colloquii: dat ei praeceptum ut libertatem suam intelligens, videret sibi suppetere per quod fieret amicior Conditori: quod praeceptum non in multa distenditur, ne quid oneris de multiplicata lege sentiret; sed interdictu unius pomuli, testimonium devotionis expetitur. Postea quoque ut haberet consortem, per quam pater fieret, denuo illius manus, qua conditus erat, nobilitatur attactu; divino quoque subinde colloquio fovetur atque honoratur."; *Ad Florum* VI,20, *PL* 45, 1545.
Elsewhere, the interdiction on eating is seen as a test of the obedience of the first man: "Ad communionem generis humani primi mandati pertingit auctoritas: nam interdicta ligni abstinentia non gustum pomi invidit, sed oboedientiam hominis exploravit."; *Expositio libri Iob* XXVII, 28, *CCL* 88, p. 78.

[200]) "Adam etiam mortalem factum, qui sive peccaret, sive non peccaret, fuisse moriturum: nec hoc esse (...) ratione subnixum; sed qui si non peccasset, per gustum ligni vitae, virtutem posset immortalitatis adipisci. Male igitur dictum est, sive peccaret, sive non peccaret fuisse moriturum."; *Epistula ad Zosimum*, frg. 5, *CCL* 88, p. 336; cf. also *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 26, *CCL* 88, p. 347. See also A. Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum. Sein Leben und seine Lehre. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pelagianismus* (TU 15,3) Leipzig, 1897, p. 144; A. von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* III, Tübingen, 1932(5), p. 195.
The view of F. Refoulé, *Julien d'Eclane, théologien et philosophe*, in *Recherches de Science religieuse* 52 (1964) 42-84, esp. p. 66-72 to whether Julian should distinguish between a "philosophical" and a "theological" level, is criticized by F.-J. Thonnard, *L'artistotelisme de Julien d'Éclane et saint Augustin*, in *REA* 11 (1965) 296-304. On this point, Ch. Pietri,

he could have received immortality as a personal reward. However, that gift would never have been the general rule for humanity as such[201]). In this regard, Julian referred to Enoch and Elijah. Although they personally did not die, the children of Enoch had to die. Moreover, death came over many righteous men such as Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and others as well[202]).

For Julian, Adam's sin did not harm his nature as such. His sin was to be situated on the level of the will but it did not change Adam's constitution as a free, created human being in any way[203]). Adam's sin was a slight offense of an inexperienced and, morally speaking, rather primitive human being[204]). Julian did not explain how this could be reconciled with the statement that Adam had been created as good. One may wonder what then was the value of God's benevolent presence. More than likely, Julian, in a polemic context, intended to minimize the gravity of Adam's sin.

Due to his sin, Adam lost his natural innocence[205]), innocence that was also attributed to newborn children[206]). For Julian, Adam's death was not the result of his sin. Death was part of his natural

Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440) (Bibliotheque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 224), Rome, 1976, t. 2, p. 939-940 agrees with Thonnard and adds new arguments to the discussion.

[201]) "Haud sane impugnavero eos qui autumant Adam, si dicto audiens exstitisset, ad immortalitatem potuisse pro remuneratione transferri. (...) Exercuisset se igitur in reliquis innata mortalitas, etiamsi primus ille in aeternitatem a diurnitate migrasset."; *Ad Florum* VI,30, *PL* 45, 1579.

[202]) See *Ad Florum* VI,30, *PL* 45, 1579-1580. For Enoch and Elijah, see resp. *Gen.* 5,24 and II *Kings* 2.

[203]) See *Ad Florum* VI,20, *PL* 45, 1545.

[204]) "Iussum fuerat ut edulio unius arboris abstineret: rudis, imperitus, incautus, sine experimento timoris, sine exemplo iustitiae, suggestu mulieris usurpavit escam, cuius illexerat et suavitas et venustas."; *Ad Florum* VI,23, *PL* 45, 1554.

[205]) "Hic dicat aliquis, Quid ergo? tu negas illam innocentiam, in qua fuerat conditus, spontanei peccati admissione corruptam? Nam etsi possibilitas revertendi ad bonum commissa iniquitate non pereat; tamen certum est meritum innocentiae, cum qua humanum procedit exordium, voluntatis vitio deperire. At ego ista id esse non abnuo: sed illud est, quod his illuminatum exemplis volo, quia cum talis sit conditio facta qualitatum, per quas boni et mali dicimur, ut sub iure agitent voluntatis tamque hoc sit serio constitutum, ut nec innocentis, quae pro dignitate auctoris officium antevenit voluntatis et naturalis est; tamen nulla se potestate in animo repugnante custodiat"; *Ad Florum* VI,19, *PL* 45, 1542-1543.

[206]) See in this respect M. Lamberigts, *Julian of Aeclanum: a Plea for a Good Creator*, in *Augustiniana* 38 (1988) 5-24, esp. 10ff.

condition. *Gen.* 3,19: "Qui terra es et in terram ibis" must be understood literally[207]). If death was caused by sin, then the author of *Genesis* had to mention it[208]). Therefore Julian considered death as more of a consolation for Adam because of the fact that after the fall, Adam would lead a hard and painful life. Even before the fall, Adam had to work[209]) but the exile from paradise seriously aggravated his life. Julian emphasized that this punishment was personal. Worry and pain plagued Adam and Eve personally. These burdens were not to be seen as a punishment for all humanity as such[210]). For Julian, the pains of childbirth were also not equated with punishment. *Multiplicare* in *Gen.* 3,16 at most indicated a personal augmentation of pain. *Multiplicare* proved in fact that pain would have existed even if Adam and Eve had not sinned. Moreover, *Eph.* 5,25 and 1 *Cor.* 11,9 also clearly prove that the obedience of a woman to her husband belonged to her natural condition[211]). Julian noticed that the pains of childbirth varied from

[207]) "Verum non semper ista patieris; sed 'donec convertaris in terram de qua sumptus es; quia terra es', inquit, 'et in terram ibis' (*Gen.* 3,19b). Cur non, postquam dixit, 'donec convertaris in terram de qua sumptus es'; subdidit, Quia peccasti et mea praecepta transgressus es? Hoc enim dicendum erat, si resolutio corporum ad crimina pertineret. Verum quid dixit? 'Quia terra es', inquit, 'et in terram ibis.' Causam cur in terram rediturus esset, ostendit: 'Quia terra es', inquit. Quomodo autem esset terra, superior sermo patefecerat: 'Quia de terra', inquit, 'sumptus es.'
Si ergo redeundi in terram, hanc esse rationem dixit Deus, quoniam fuerat assumptus e terra, porro ut assumeretur, ad iniquitatem spectare non potuit; procul dubio non iniquitatis, sed naturae mortalis fuit, ut qui aeternus non erat, in corporis parte solveretur."; *Ad Florum* VI,27, *PL* 45, 1568.

[208]) "Sequitur autem: 'Donec convertaris in terram ex qua sumptus es; quoniam terra es', inquit, 'et in terram ibis.' (*Gen.* 3,19b) Haec sane pars extrema sententiae, sicut illa mulieris, ad indicium, non ad supplicum respicit: quin imo, ut res indicat, promisso fine consolatur hominem."; *Ad Florum* VI,27, *PL* 45, 1567-1568.

[209]) For this statement, Julian refers to *Gen.* 2,15: "Et sumpsit Dominus Deus hominem quem fecit, et posuit illum in paradiso, operari eum et custodire." According to Julian, *operari* proves that Adam already had to work before the Fall. Therefore, "In sudore faciei tuae edes panem tuum" (*Gen.* 3,19a) is not to be considered as a punishment. The work Adam had to do in the paradise, led up to sweat. Moreover, sweating does a human being good. So, Julian concluded: "Si ergo etiam in paradiso noluit eum Deus pabula examussim illaborate suscipere, sed indicto operationis, quem indiderat, excitavit industriam; quid ei novum accidisse credimus, si sentiret sudorem, qui experiebatur laborem?" *Ad Florum* VI,27, *PL* 45, 1567. Cf. also Pagels, p. 137.

[210]) "Illa ergo sterilitas arborum, illa veprium ubertas, illa agri partus aucta calamitas, *personis* hominum sunt illata, *non generi.*"; *Ad Florum* VI,27, *PL* 45, 1568; "Cibos autem et spinas et sudores primo fuisse naturalitate instituta, post in aliquibus aucta iudicialiter, ad nostram vero aetatem sine peccati illius admiratione venisse; res tam apertae sunt, ut longiore penitus assertione non egeant."; *Ad Florum* VI,28, *PL* 45, 1576; cf. also VI,29, *PL* 45, 1577.

[211]) Cf. *Ad Florum* VI,26, *PL* 45, 1561-1563.

woman to woman. Women who had worked very hard, were better prepared for such pain than rich women, whose bodies had become soft as a result of their comfortable lifes[212]). Therefore, I am not sure that Julian admitted that "male domination (...) may become, through sin, both painful and oppressive"[213]). In fact, Julian explicitly stated that the submission of a woman to her husband was not a punishment and he referred to Scripture in support of this. A woman must obey her husband by nature. Obedience as such was therefore not "painful and oppressive" but would become so if a woman no longer obeys. A woman therefore sinned only if she ran counter to the order established by nature[214]). Moreover, Pagels is mistaken when she states that Julian "says, Adam began to die morally and spiritually from the day he chose to sin"[215]). It is certainly not true that Adam, after his fall, began leading a sinful life. According to Julian, Adam sinned only once. In this, Julian explicitly referred to history[216]). He also emphasized that Adam repented and was purified, making reference to *Wis.* 10,2 and to the current tradition[217]). With regard to Julian's view of freedom as a freedom of choice with a permanent capacity to do either good or evil, the interpretation presented by Pagels, without the support of any textual evidence, makes absolutely no sense.

In Julian's view, there was a close relationship between marriage, procreation and *concupiscentia.* The existence of *concupiscentia* was a fundamental condition for successful procreation. Thus, it belongs to our created nature as such. Therefore, Julian refused to see *concupiscentia carnis* as a result of the fall[218]). Adam's feeling of shame and his effort to hide his nakedness were seen as merely a shock reaction[219]).

[212]) See *Ad Florum* VI,29, *PL* 45, 1577; Pagels, p. 136-137.

[213]) Pagels, p. 137.

[214]) *Ad Florum* VI,26, *PL* 45, 1562-1563.

[215]) Pagels, p. 132.

[216]) "Prudenter ergo, eum de Adam loqueretur, nominavit unum peccatum, quod voluit intellegi formam praevaricationis fuisse; ideo, inquam, unum et non multa memoravit, quia sciebat *unum tantum Adae peccatum* in legis historia contineri. (...) Quod ergo praemisit unum peccatum, *fidem servavit historiae*"; *Ad Florum* II,109, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 212.

[217]) "Denique Adam ipsum, et ille liber qui Sapientia dicitur, et multorum opinio, secuta emendatione asserit expiatum."; *Ad Florum* VI,30, *PL* 45, 1580.

[218]) See Lamberigts, *Julian of Aeclanum*, p. 16-19.

[219]) "Non igitur quia peccaverant genitalia vel diabolica vel inhonesta fecerunt, sed quia pavitabant, in ea qua primam fuerant honestate permanentia membra texerunt."; *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 151, *CCL* 88, p. 372; cf. also frg. 79, *CCL* 88, p. 360-361; frg. 81, *CCL* 88, p. 361; frg. 91, *CCL* 88, p. 363; frg. 149, *CCL* 88, p. 371-372; frg. 153, *CCL* 88, p. 372.

Adam's initial nakedness was explained as a proof of the absence of moral concern to dress himself[220]). Clothing oneself was the result of a growing culture and depended on people, places and circumstances[221]).

Moreover, Julian continued, *concupiscentia carnis* in its broad meaning, existed even before the fall[222]) due to the fact that the desire for the forbidden fruit which, because of its beauty and appetizing appearance, compelled Adam and Eve to eat it[223]). However, according to Julian, the mind led and governed the body. Julian was convinced that this mind was really able to govern and to keep the human impulses under control[224]).

It goes without saying that for Julian, unlike Chrysostom, Adam's fall did not have consequences for his progeny. Adam was seen by Julian as a simple man who died long ago[225]). For Julian, suffering and

[220]) "Ideo (...) homnines fuisse primitus nudos, quia ad sollertiae humanae operam ut se tegerent pertinebat, quae nondum in illis fuit."; *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 150, *CCL* 88, p. 372.

[221]) "Quis ergo neget, honestatem hanc, qua genitalia nostra contegimus, pro personis, locis, officiis moribusque variari? Sic in conventiculis publicis obscenior nuditas, nihil habet turpitudinis in lavacris. Sic alter est cubicularis habitus, seminudus et securus; alter vero forensis, sollicitior et profusior. Quid, quod ad testimonium crebro familiaritatis, respicit negligentia cautionis, et quanto persona aut ignotior aut honoratior adfecerit, tanto diligentior habitus comparatur? Quid, quod nautis et opificibus plerisque nemo vitio nuditatem dedit? Ac ne ista simplicitas personis magis quam negotiis imputetur, more omnium etiam Petrus apostolus, et post resurrectionem Domini nudus in navigio piscabatur (*Joh.* 21,7). Dirige hinc oculos ad medicantum munera: ducunt artem studio salutis in locos pudoris. Athletis nuditas etiam decora est. Iam vero non solum adolescentulis, et petulanti sibi societate coniunctis, sed etiam totis quibusdam gentibus uterque sexus retectus, et sine secreti est electione commixtio. Quid tamen mirum, si id Scotus vicinarumque gentium barbaries agat"; *Ad Florum* IV,44, *PL* 45, 1363-1364; "Ita natura praescripsit esse quaedam, quae ut ratio, ita fides cum religione pronuntiet; et tamen pudor et decentia conversationis oculis non permittat exponi."; *Ad Florum* IV,55, *PL* 45, 1371. Cf. also *Ad Florum* III,74, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 404; IV,30, *PL* 45, 1353; IV,43, *PL* 45, 1361-1362; IV,64-65; *PL* 45, 1376-1377; IV,67, *PL* 45, 1377.

[222]) "Prius in homine concupiscentiam carnis, quae spem imitat saporis et oculorum, fuisse quam culpam."; *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 144a, *CCL* 88, p. 370.

[223]) "Hanc autem voluptatem concupiscentiam ante peccatum in Paradiso fuisse res illa declarat, quia ad delictum via per concupiscentiam fuit, quae cum pomi oculos incitasset, spem etiam iucundi irritavit saporis. Non ergo potuit haec concupiscentia (...) fructus esse peccati, quae docetur non suo quidem vitio, sed voluntatis, occasio fuisse peccati."; *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 144b, *CCL* 88, p. 370.

[224]) "Quoniam ex imparibus bonis compositi sumus, animum corpori debere dominari, quorum alterum nobis cum diis, alterum cum beluis (...) esse commune; et ideo id quod est melius, id est animum, virtute praeditum (...) et membris corporis bene et cupiditatibus imperare."; *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 116, *CCL* 88, p. 366; see also frg. 233, *CCL* 88, p. 383.

[225]) "Olim defuncti hominis"; *Ad Florum* II,163, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 284.

death were natural conditions. Sinfulness was, as it were, not ingrained in human nature[226]). Sin was always personal sin and the result of a free decision made by an individual who knew what he must and must not do[227]). Adam's sin would not be more than an example and even then only for someone who knew Adam's story[228]). I will leave aside the question of whether there is a contradiction between the fact that, in *Ad Florum*, book VI, Adam's sin was called a slight offense while in book II, it was described as the *maxima forma peccati*[229]).

However, one should not forget that Julian's reaction against the doctrine of *peccatum originale* was, in spite of his polemic tone, inspired by serious theological arguments[230]). First of all, Julian was truly concerned about defending God Himself. Julian wanted above all to safeguard the goodness of God's creative activity.

Since in the doctrine of original sin newborn children were burdened with guilt, although they had not yet developed personal moral activity, God's good creative activity and thus his own goodness were brought into question. For God was, is and will be the creator of the human being, especially of the human soul. As a convinced creationist, Julian could not believe that any guilt should be present on the level of the

[226]) J. Gross, who cannot be suspected of sympathy for Augustine, noticed correctly in his work *Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas* I, p. 312: "Wie immer man dieses psychologische Rätsel lösen mag, in einem Punkte wenigstens hat Augustinus nach seiner Bekehrung seine Meinung nie geändert und sich mit vollem Recht gegen die Pelagianer auf die Ueberlieferung berufen: stets hat er im Tode und in der Sündhaftigkeit der geschichtlichen Menschheit Straffolgen der Ursünde gesehen. Die Leugnung dieser grosskirchlichen Tradition durch die Pelagianer dürfte einer der Hauptursachen ihres Misserfolgs gewesen sein."
Therefore, I think that Pagels, p. 133-135 misjudges a broader tradition while criticizing Augustine's view on suffering and death.

[227]) Cf. e.g. *Ad Turbantium*, frg. 108, *CCL* 88, p. 345; frg. 263, *CCL* 88, p. 386; *Ad Florum* I,79, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 94; I,94, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 109; II,17, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 174; II,151, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 274; II,185, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 302; IV,39, *PL* 45, 1359; IV,43, *PL* 45, 1361; IV,59, *PL* 45, 1374-1375; IV,129, *PL* 45, 1436; V,26, *PL* 45, 1464 etc.

[228]) See e.g. *Ad Florum* II,53, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 201-202; II,55, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 202-203; II,56, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 203 etc.

[229]) "Ita etiam in parte contraria Adam dicitur forma peccati non prima sed maxima"; II,189, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 306; see also Augustine's reaction in *Opus imperfectum* VI,23, *PL* 45, 1557.

[230]) I am not sure that Refoulé, *Julien d'Eclane*, p. 66-72 is right with his distinction in Julian's teaching between a philosophical and a theological level. I think that Julian's distinction between nature and will is to be understood from a deeper background, namely his view on God. The distinction is included in the idea that a good God created a good human nature. God wants that this free and autonomous nature enters into a relation with him. The nature then refers to God's creating activity, the will to the human capacity, to enter or not into a relation desired by God.

soul, precisely because God Himself gave the soul to every newborn child[231]).

With this, I would like to draw attention to another theological category which was of great importance to Julian, namely God's justice. God rewards or punishes everybody according to their merits[232]). This being the case, it would be unjust to blame a child for the sin of someone else, be it Adam or even the child's own parents. Here also, Julian's reaction really involved his notion of God. God was just and therefore it was inconceivable that He should act in an unjust way. Since, according to Julian, one's relationship with God was always personal, one therefore had to judge one's own moral activity. Only such activity was subject to God's just judgement. Thus and only thus, do we do justice to both God *and* man.

The fact that God desired to create a free man was yet another theological concern for Julian. I think that one is mistaken if one understands Julian's definition: "Libertas arbitrii, qua a Deo emancipatus homo est, in amittendi peccati et abstinendi a peccato possibilitate consistit"[233]) in the sense of an alienation, as Augustine did[234]. Rather, I believe that *a Deo emancipatus homo est* should be translated as "man is emancipated *by* God". In fact, in I,79, Julian explicitly stated: "*Factum est* enim rationale, mortale, *capax virtutis et vitii*, quod posset ex concessa sibi possibilitate"[235]). In other words, man is created like this and has received the capacity to choose. The will is only free if it is not compelled by nature. Only a *emancipata voluntas*

[231]) See article, mentioned in note 206.

[232]) "Iustitia est virtus, fungens diligenter officio ad restituendum sua unicuique sine fraude sine gratia, id est sine personarum acceptione."; *Ad Florum* I,35, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 26; cf. also I,131, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 143; III,2, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 352.
This definition is already found in Cicero; see e.g. *De natura deorum* III,38; *De finibus* V,65; *De inventione* II,160; *De republica* II,18; *De legibus* I,19; *De officiis* I,15.
Cf. also T. Mayer-Maly, *Gemeinwohl und Naturrecht bei Cicero*, in *Das neue Cicerobild* (Wege der Forschung 27), 1971, p. 371-387; F.-J. Thonnard, *Justice de Dieu et justice humaine selon saint Augustin*, in *Augustinus. Strenas augustinianas P. Victorino Capánaga oblatas* (ed. J. Oroz-Reta), Madrid, 1967, p. 387-402; A.E. Mc Grath, *Divine Justice and Divine Equity in the Controversy between Augustine and Julian of Eclanum*, in *Downside Review* 101 (1983) 312-319.

[233]) See *Ad Florum* I,78, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 93.

[234]) "Emancipatum hominem dicis a Deo nec attendis hoc cum emancipato agi, ut in familia patris non sit."; *Opus imperfectum* I,78, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 93. However, from a juridical standpoint, Augustine's reaction is correct: *emancipare a* contains such an idea of alienation.

[235]) See *Ad Florum* I,79, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 94 and already I,76, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 92.

can be free[236]). This *libertas arbitrii* is a gift from God. The capacity to sin or to act justly is a *bonum aeque opus Dei*[237]). The capacity to choose, which is included in the term freedom, is desired by God Himself. He is the creator of the good nature as well as of free will[239]) and He has done so in such a way that no pressure is brought to bear on that will. This was one of Julian's basic reasons for reacting against what he called the *peccatum naturale*, where sin and guilt were considered to belong to our nature. They belong to the realm of necessity and therefore accuse the creator Himself. Moreover, in this case, man was not really free in his desires and actions. For Julian, it was clear that God Himself desired a free human being. This was true not only for the first man but for every human being. So, Julian made room for real moral activity and real responsibility in every human being. Only if we are free, are we able to do what we must do and only then can we be called to account or be rewarded[240]). That we exist as free human beings is a necessity. How we shall live, on the other hand, belongs to the realm of the possible. The concrete living out of our personal moral life, the choice for good or evil, implies a possibility for change. This change depends on the will but it does not effect our nature. Sinning is the result of an act of the will, not of created nature as such[241]). Sin does not cancel our freedom of judgement, for this freedom belongs to our nature and offers the framework within which we desire and do that which is morally good or evil[242]). Morality belongs to the level of the will and an act performed on this level has no consequences for one's own nature or the nature of other people[243]).

It is true that Julian was not able to explain how it was possible for some people to sin so often that it became a *secunda natura* for them.

[236]) Cf. *Ad Florum* V,28, *PL* 45, 1466.

[237]) *Ad Florum* V,56, *PL* 45, 1489.

[238]) *Ad Florum* V,57, *PL* 45, 1490.

[239]) *Ad Florum* V,47, *PL* 45, 1483.

[240]) See e.g. *Ad Florum* I,81, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 95; I,82, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 95; II,7, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 167; III,107, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 427; V,61, *PL* 45, 1496.

[241]) See *Ad Florum* V,63, *PL* 45, 1500-1501; see also Refoulé, *Julien d'Éclane*, p. 75-77; Clodius, *El libre albedrío según Julián de Eclano*, in *Anales de la Facultad de Teología* 14 (1962) 99-134, p. 111; L. Arias, *Pecado original y concupiscencia en el "Opus imperfectum" de S. Agustín*, in *Religión y Cultura* 31 (1985) 567-586, p. 569-570.

[242]) Cf. *Ad Florum* I,108, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 187; V,47, *PL* 45, 1483; V,55, *PL* 45, 1489; V,56, *PL* 45, 1489.

[243]) See e.g. *Ad Florum* IV,98, *PL* 45, 1396; IV,99, *PL* 45, 1396; cf. also Clodius, *El libre albedrío según Julián de Eclano*, p. 111.

He was also not able to reconcile this factual situation with his view that, thanks to our innate virtues, we all know what we should do and that we really are able to do it[244]). What precisely was the link between a good creation and moral activity? What was the value of the innate virtues? Moreover, concerning the mental deficiencies in man, Julian kept silent. How could these be explained within a creationist view? This is one of the reasons why Augustine referred to the so-called *moriones*[245]). The point here was in fact how to explain why some people, although having received a newly created soul directly from God, did not possess the most characteristic feature of the soul, namely the intellect. However, it should still be recalled what Julian really wanted to safeguard: man was, by his created nature, able to sin or to act rightly and he was always responsible for his own acts. Although Julian deviated from the tradition of his time in his opinion on Adam, he was rather close to the viewpoint of Chrysostom for example and in fact also to Augustine if he is understood correctly.

I hope that these few considerations, which in no way pretend to be exhaustive[246]), will be proof of the interest with which I have read the last part of Pagels' work. Personally, I am convinced that, concerning the Pelagian controversy, only one valid approach will lead to a correct interpretation. One has to read both Augustine and Julian in light of their own particular points of view. Only a constant respect for the ideas of each of the two antagonists enables us to recognize the values and the limitations of their exposition. Both men give evidence of great shrewdness and deep religious conviction to such a degree that it becomes difficult to completely agree with either one or the other. I believe that assessing the controversy on the basis of an 'either-or' attitude is insufficient. Further, I do not believe that it is the correct approach to link the possible rehabilitation of Pelagius or Julian to a repudiation or rejection of Augustine's positions. Such an attitude

[244]) See e.g. *Ad Florum* I,16, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 13; I,67, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 67; I,69, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 75-76; I,94, *CSEL* 85,1, p. 109; IV,121, *PL* 45, 1416.
Cf. also the pertinent remarks of A. von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* III, p. 197.

[245]) "Quis autem nesciat, quos vulgo moriones vocant, natura ita fatuos, ut quibusdam eorum pene sensus pecorum conferatur?"; *Contra Iulianum* III,10, *PL* 44, 707.

[246]) Much could be said concerning Pagels' presentation of Augustine's view on *Rom.* 7,15-25; see Pagels, p. 143-144; see in this regard Schelkle, *Paulus, Lehrer der Väter*, p. 242-258. Also the attitude of A. Bruckner, *Julian von Eclanum* is not as favourable to Augustine as Pagels, p. 144 pretends. According to Bruckner, Augustine's doctrine of original sin is in a convincing way refuted by Julian; see p. 64ff.

would only result in a mirror image of former approaches to the matter and would not truly advance the scientific research into this dispute. To begin with, it was a pity that Augustine and Julian responded to each other by means of a polemic genre. Perhaps, after the intervention of several authorities in 418, this was the only possible way. It is sufficiently known that, because of this, certain valuable insights of both Pelagius and Julian have been erroneously suspect and also that, due to such condemnation, a latent conflict remained operative within the world of theological thought. This conflict has re-emerged periodically and frequently in other forms. One only has to think of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

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Sur l'emploi et l'origine du terme «essentia» chez Augustin

Une éventuelle influence de l'œuvre théologique de Marius Victorinus sur les écrits d'Augustin reste, on le sait, une question ouverte[1]). On affirme parfois, mais sans preuve décisive, que la pensée du premier a laissé sa trace dans l'œuvre augustinienne. Récemment, A.A.R. Bastiaensen a reconsidéré cette question, mais lui aussi reconnaît que nous ignorons encore beaucoup sur les contacts qui existent entre Victorinus et Augustin[2]). A la suite de P. Hadot[3]), il distingue deux éléments principaux. 1. Dans sa théologie trinitaire, Augustin n'est pas tributaire de Victorinus. 2. Dans son exégèse du *corpus paulinum*, Augustin a pu s'inspirer des commentaires de Victorinus sur les Epîtres aux Galates, aux Ephésiens et aux Philippiens[4]). Toutefois, comme il vient d'être dit, les arguments décisifs font défaut.

Dans le présent article, nous nous proposons d'examiner un aspect de la théologie d'Augustin, à savoir son emploi du terme *essentia*. P. Hadot se demande si Augustin «a ignoré la théologie trinitaire de Victorinus ou a renoncé à l'utiliser», sans choisir l'un des termes de l'alternative[5]); peut-être une lecture attentive de quelques passages montrera-t-elle qu'Augustin a volontairement renoncé à suivre son prédécesseur.

[1]) Les textes de Marius Victorinus sont cités d'après l'édition d'A. Locher, Opera theologica Marii Victorini Afri, Leipzig (Teubner) 1976.
Sur la théologie de Marius Victorinus, on consultera, P. HADOT, *Marius Victorinus. Recherches sur sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris 1971; M.T. CLARK, *The Neoplatonism of Marius Victorinus*, Stud. Patr. 11, T.U. 108 (1972) 13-19; idem, The Neoplatonism of Marius Victorinus the Christian, dans *Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought*, éd. H.J. Blumenthal et R.A. Markus, London 1981, 153-59; idem, A Neoplatonic Commentary on the Christian Trinity: Marius Victorinus, dans *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, Albany 1982, 24-33. Sur l'état de la question, voir M.T. CLARK, *Marius Victorinus, Theological Treatises on the Trinity. The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 69, Washington 1981, 3-44, en particulier 3-10.

[2]) A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN, Augustin et ses prédécesseurs latins chrétiens, dans *Augustiniana Traiectina. Communications présentées au Colloque International d'Utrecht*, Paris 1987, 25-57.

[3]) P. HADOT, *L'image de la Trinité dans l'âme chez Victorinus et chez saint Augustin*, Stud. Patr. 6, T.U. 81 (1962) 409-42.

[4]) *Ibid.*, 433.

[5]) P. HADOT, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, Paris 1968, 477.

I. *L'introduction par Augustin du terme essentia dans la traduction de μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*

La traduction de cette formule n'était plus en question à l'époque d'Augustin, qui a dû accepter la tournure traditionnelle *una substantia, tres personae*. Mais il pensait qu'elle était incorrecte et suggérait donc lui-même *una essentia, tres substantiae*[6]). Toutefois, il se rendait bien compte qu'il faisait ainsi violence à une tradition vieille déjà de 200 ans. Il accepte donc la formule, mais en critiquant souvent la traduction habituelle. Ses critiques portent sur deux points distincts. Le terme *persona* peut nous entraîner au trithéisme, car on est toujours une personne par rapport à soi-même[7]), de sorte que ce mot cache un sens substantiel. D'où sa conclusion que le mot *persona* recèle une aporie[8]). A propos du terme *substantia*, il s'exprime encore plus nettement. Le mot *essentia* est franchement préférable, comme il le souligne à plusieurs reprises[9]), pour la raison suivante. *Substantia* comme *essentia* est un dérivé d'un verbe[10]). Mais dans le cas de *subsistere*, le verbe ne saurait convenir à Dieu. Car il faudrait alors supposer que Dieu ne soit que le sujet de quelque propriété en Lui, à laquelle Il serait subordonné. Songeons par exemple à des qualités telles que grand, omnipotent et bon. Dans ce cas-là, l'être de Dieu ne serait plus un être simple[11]) — la réalité que pareil terme devrait évoquer — ce qui amène Augustin à rejeter le terme *substantia* comme impropre: *unde manifestum est deum abusiue substantiam uocari*, dit-il dans *De Trin.* VII,V,10. Et il poursuit: *ut nomine usitatiore intellegatur essentia quod uere ac proprie dicatur*[12]).

[6]) *De Trin.* V,VIII,10; VII,IV,7; VII,IV,8; VII,VI,11; VIII,I,1; XV,III,5.

[7]) *De Trin.* VII,VI,11: *Ad se quippe dicitur persona.*

[8]) *De Trin.* V,IX,10: *Tamen cum quaeritur quid tres, magna prorsus inopia humanum laborat eloquium. Dictum est tamen tres personae non ut illud diceretur sed ne taceretur.* Des expressions de la même veine se trouvent en VII,VI,11 et VIII,I,1.

[9]) *De Trin.* III,X,21: *substantia uel si melius dicitur essentia*; *ibid.* V,II,3: *substantia uel si melius hoc appellatur essentia*; *Epist.* 120,3,17: *unius eiusdemque substantiae, uel si hoc melius dicitur essentiae*; *Contra serm. Ar.* 36,34: *unius eiusdemque substantiae, uel, ut expressius dicatur, essentiae.*

[10]) *De Trin.* VII,IV,9: *Sicut enim ab eo quod est esse appellatur essentia, ita ab eo quod est subsistere substantiam dicimus.*

[11]) *Ibid.*, VIII,V,10: *Deus autem si subsistit ut substantia proprie dici possit, inest in eo aliquid tamquam in subiecto, et non est simplex cui hoc sit esse quod illi est quidquid aliquid de illo ad illum dicitur sicut magnus, omnipotens, bonus, et si quid huiusmodi de deo non incongrue dicitur.*

[12]) La *Bibliothèque Augustinienne* (vol. 15, Paris 1955, 539) traduit par erreur: «et l'on voit, pour nous servir d'un mot plus courant, qu'il est essence, terme juste et propre». Ce n'est pas le mot «essence» qui est plus courant, comme le montre bien le texte de

Augustin justifie donc sa préférence pour le terme *essentia* en rappelant le lien entre *esse* et *essentia*. Et parce que le mot *essentia* est rare en latin, il est possible d'examiner si Augustin s'est inspiré ici d'autres auteurs. Or, aux dires de Sénèque comme on le sait[13]), le terme *essentia* aurait été forgé par Cicéron, et il fut employé ensuite par Sénèque lui-même et Quintillien. Ces deux auteurs mettent en avant qu'il s'agit d'un néologisme: *licet enim nouis rebus noua nomina imponere*, comme le dira plus tard Sidoine[14]). Après le I^er^ siècle, le terme tombe apparemment en désuétude et ce n'est qu'avec Hilaire qu'il réapparaît. Se peut-il que ce dernier se soit inspiré — comme dans la composition du *De Trin.*[15]) — de Quintillien? Nous l'ignorons, mais les textes hilariens (*De Syn.*, *De Trin.*) ne sont guère en faveur de cette hypothèse. Toutefois, à peu près à l'époque où Hilaire rédigeait ses ouvrages, le terme fait aussi sa réapparition dans l'œuvre de Victorinus[16]). Mais les deux auteurs ne s'en servent pas de la même façon et c'est donc probablement indépendamment l'un de l'autre qu'ils ont réintroduit le mot *essentia*.

Augustin a-t-il lu Hilaire? On le conteste. Selon J. Doignon, Augustin a puisé ses citations d'Hilaire dans un florilège, sans avoir eu recours à l'œuvre même de l'évêque de Poitiers[17]). H. Somers, par

V,VIII,9: *essentiam ... quam usitatius substantiam uocamus*. Comparez également *De Mor.* II,II,2: *essentiam, quam plerumque substantiam etiam nominamus*, et *De Ciu.* XII,2: *essentia, nouo quidem nomine, quo usi ueteres non sunt Latini sermonis auctores, sed iam nostris temporibus usitato*. La traduction pourrait être: «le nom plus courant pour la notion de l'essence, le terme juste et propre».

[13]) Voir J. De Ghellinck, *L'entrée d'essentia, substantia et autres mots apparentés dans le latin médiéval*, Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Bulletin Du Cange) XVI (1942) 77-112; et, G.C. Stead, The Concept of Divine Substance, nr. VII dans *Substance and Illusion in the Christian Fathers*, London 1985; et, idem, Divine Substance in Tertullian, nr. II dans *Substance and Illusion*.

[14]) *Carmina* XV.

[15]) La vieille suggestion de Jérôme, *epist.* 70,5, confirmée par les recherches modernes. Voir, J. Doignon, *Hilaire de Poitiers avant l'exil. Recherches sur la naissance, l'enseignement et l'épreuve d'une foi épiscopale en Gaule au milieu du IV^e^ siècle*, Paris 1971, 520; E.P. Meijering, *Hilary of Poitiers on the Trinity*, Leiden 1982, 5 sqq.

[16]) Pour les questions portant sur la datation du *De Trin.*, l'on consultera, J. Doignon, *op. cit.*, 80-83; E.P. Meijering, *op. cit.*, 9-11; et, P. Smulders, *Praefatio* à l'édition du *De Trin.* dans le *C.C.L.* 62 (1979) 1*-3*. Quant aux dates de composition des livres *Ad Arr.*, on verra P. Hadot, *Introduction* aux *S.C.* 68 (1960) 7-100, en particulier 41-59. Les œuvres d'Hilaire et de Victorinus dont nous avons fait état dans cet article datent toutes des années 356-363.

[17]) J. Doignon, *«Testimonia» d'Hilaire de Poitiers dans le Contra Iulianum d'Augustin*, RevBén 91 (1981) 7-19, où l'auteur conclut à la dernière page: «car au début du V^e^ siècle l'Afrique ne devait pas posséder des œuvres d'Hilaire. Ce n'est qu'un siècle plus tard

contre, affirme qu'Augustin a lu le *De Trin.* d'Hilaire avant 399[18]). Quoiqu'il en soit, l'emploi du terme *essentia* est entièrement différent chez Hilaire et chez Augustin. Pour le premier, le terme représente l'*aeternitas* de Dieu, alors que pour le second il évoque l'incommutabilité divine. De plus, Hilaire n'a pas introduit le terme *essentia* dans la traduction de μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις et n'est donc pas, en cela, le précurseur d'Augustin. Il ne nous semble donc pas qu'Augustin puisse être tributaire d'Hilaire dans son emploi d'*essentia*.

Augustin a-t-il connu les œuvres théologiques de Victorinus? Nous voudrions montrer qu'Augustin a bel et bien connu certains éléments de la théologie de Victorinus, mais qu'il les a récusés. Augustin justifie son emploi d'*essentia*, dans le V[e] livre du *De Trin.*, en rappelant le lien entre *esse* et *essentia*, nous venons de le voir. Comme il écrit à plusieurs reprises: *ab eo quod est esse dicta est essentia*[19]). Se réfère-t-il ainsi à *Ad Arr.* IV,6 (1117 A), *ab eo quod est esse, essentitas uel essentia*, la phrase par laquelle Victorinus justifie son rare emploi d'*essentia*[20])? Vu le fait qu'*essentia* a connu une diffusion restreinte[21]), cela ne paraît pas impossible. De plus, quand Augustin expose, au même chapitre, qu'*essentia* est dérivée d'*esse*, il fait précéder cette remarque par la tournure concessive: *est* (*sc. deus*) *tamen sine dubitatione substantia.* Ferait-il allusion ainsi à *Ad. Arr.* II,3 (1091 A): *non dubitandum ergo dicere substantiam dei*? De nouveau, cela n'aurait rien d'impossible, mais il convient de pousser plus loin l'examen de la terminologie de l'être.

II. *Victorinus et le terme substantia*

Augustin affirme à plusieurs reprises que le terme *essentia* est pour lui la traduction du grec οὐσία, mais il se rend bien compte que pareille

que, du moins pour le *De Trinitate*, un texte complet venu du Sardaigne vient aux mains de Fulgence de Ruspe». Nous devons cette référence à l'article de A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN (comparez note 2).

[18]) H. SOMERS, Image de Dieu. Les sources de l'exégèse augustinienne, REAug 7 (1961) 105-25, en particulier 122. Nous devons cette référence à l'article de A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN (comparez note 2).

[19]) *De Trin.* V,II,3; VII,IV,9; *De Mor.* II,II,2; *De Ciu.* XII,2. Une variante de cette expression est peut-être *De Uera Rel.* XI,22: *quoniam summa essentia esse facit omne quod est, unde et essentia dicitur.*

[20]) Dans les œuvres théologiques de Victorinus, le terme *essentia* n'apparaît que 4 ×, *essentitas* 5 ×, *essentialitas* 2 ×.

[21]) A l'exception d'Hilaire, le seul parmi les Pères de l'âge d'or à utiliser ce terme est Jérôme. Ambroise ne s'en sert pas; voir M.R. HANSLIK, *Wortindex zu den Schriften des hl. Ambrosius*, Wien 1979 (éd. L. Krestan).

traduction entraîne des difficultés. Son but était de trouver une meilleure description de l'unité divine, et le terme *essentia* devrait donc recouvrir exactement le mot *substantia*, dont on se servait en latin depuis Tertullien: *Essentiam dico quae οὐσία graece dicitur, quam usitatius substantiam uocamus*, comme il le dit en V,VIII,9. Cependant, la suite de cette phrase montre combien Augustin est conscient de la complexité de cette question terminologique. Car il poursuit:

> *Dicunt et illi ὑπόστασιν, sed nescio quid uolunt interesse inter οὐσίαν et ὑποστασιν ita ut plerique nostri qui haec graeco tractant eloquio dicere consuerint μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, quod est latine, unam essentiam tres substantias.*
> «Les Grecs, cependant, appellent cela aussi ὑπόστασιν, mais j'ignore ce qu'ils veulent entendre comme différence entre οὐσίαν et ὑπόστασιν. Ce qui explique que la plupart des nôtres qui traitent cette question en grec, a pris l'habitude de dire μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ce qui est en latin *unam essentiam tres substantias*».

En d'autres termes, si l'on traduit littéralement μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, il n'y a plus d'équivalence entre *essentia* et *substantia*, mais une différence[22]). Toutefois, la façon dont Augustin formule sa conclusion — qui a donc plutôt le caractère d'une impasse — n'est pas sans ambiguïté. Voici la difficulté principale de son affirmation. Il commence par dire «*dicunt et illi ὑπόστασιν, sed nescio quid uolunt interesse inter οὐσίαν et ὑπόστασιν*, mais faut-il entendre par là qu'Augustin ignore quelle est la différence entre οὐσία et ὑπόστασις, bien qu'il sache que ces notions se traduisent respectivement par *essentia* et *substantia*, et que par suite, il ne sait pas trancher la question de savoir si οὐσία correspond à *essentia* ou à *substantia*? Ce n'est pas probable, car la tournure consécutive *ita ut plerique* ... perd alors son sens. A vrai dire, le fait qu'on dit en grec μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις n'explique nullement sa prétendue ignorance, mais la contredit et réfute. Dès qu'on sait correctement traduire la tournure μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, on a trouvé un repère. Ce qui rend donc difficilement compréhensible l'aveu *nescio quid uolunt interesse inter οὐσίαν et ὑπόστασιν*.

Je suggère donc d'interpreter le passage comme suit. Augustin commence par dire qu'il appelle essence ce qui est en grec οὐσία. Mais,

[22]) On trouvera un clair aperçu de la terminologie trinitaire de l'être chez H. DÖRRIE, *«Hypostasis». Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte. Nachrichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse 1955 Nr. 3*, 35-92, repris dans *Platonica Minora*, München 1976, 12-69, en particulier 52-69. Voir aussi G.C. STEAD, *Divine Substance*, Oxford 1977.

constate-t-il, οὐσία est plutôt appelée chez nous *substantia*. Toutefois, *substantia* est en vérité l'équivalent de ὑπόστασις et j'ignore si *et* οὐσία *et* ὑπόστασις recouvrent exactement *substantia*. Ce qui explique bien d'ailleurs que nos auteurs se sont habitués à différencier entre οὐσία et ὑπόστασις en écrivant μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ce qui, en effet, est en latin *unam essentiam tres substantias*.

Cette interprétation a comme avantage qu'elle respecte la logique du discours augustinien et qu'elle met clairement en avant le caractère feint de l'affirmation *nescio quid uolunt interesse inter οὐσία et ὑπόστασιν* (remarquez d'ailleurs qu'Augustin écrit *quid uolunt interesse* et non *quid intersit*). Il ne peut ignorer quelle est la différence entre οὐσία et ὑπόστασις, car il présente cette différence comme argument en faveur de sa traduction *una essentia tres substantiae*. Il a donc un autre but en suggérant une certaine ignorance. Acceptons donc pour un instant son affirmation et suivons-le. Nous découvrirons certainement la raison de cette remarque si peu claire.

Quoiqu'il en soit, Augustin se serait certainement donné de la peine pour saisir la différence entre ces deux termes — qui est au cœur de la question trinitaire. En I,IV,7, il se réfère, par exemple, à *omnes quos legere potui qui ante me scripserunt de trinitate quae deus est, diuinorum librorum ueterum et nouorum catholici tractatores*. Est-il dès lors vraisemblable que le passage où Victorinus s'applique à distinguer οὐσία et ὑπόστασις lui ait échappé? Victorinus qui est d'ailleurs le seul, parmi les auteurs qu'Augustin a pu consulter, à s'attaquer expressément à la différence entre οὐσία et ὑπόστασις! Ce dernier avait consacré tout le deuxième tome de son *Ad Arr.* à répliquer aux reproches des ariens qui soutenaient que le mot οὐσία était intraduisable et qu'il ne figurait pas dans l'Ecriture. Evoquant le texte de *Hébr.* 1,3, *qui (sc. Christus) character substantiae eius*, Victorinus remarque, en II,4: *At enim apud Graecos posita est ὑπόστασις, non οὐσία. Videamus quid intersit*. Voyons donc où se situe pour lui cette différence, qui fait l'objet des chapitres 4-6 (1091 D - 1093 D).

Victorinus aborde son exposé en disant que Dieu est, dans les choses éternelles, la cause, la source et l'origine de tous les existants: τῶν ὄντων πάντων. S'il en est ainsi, à plus forte raison faudra-t-il Lui attribuer l'être qu'on accorde à tous les existants. Cependant, pareil être divin est inconcevable, à moins de comporter une certaine forme. Dès

lors, cet être divin portera le double nom de ὕπαρξις et ὄν. L'ὄν est donc l'être déterminé, qui est égal à l'être pur, à l'être antérieur à toute détermination[23]). Inversement, l'être n'est pas forcément égal à l'ὄν, comme il l'explique: *Omnis ὕπαρξις habet, quod est esse. Quod autem est esse, non continuo καὶ ὕπαρξις est neque ὄν (1092 A). Autrement dit,* ὄν représente ici l'équivalent des hypostases dont parlait la foi de Nicée, ou en termes néoplatoniciens, la seconde hypostase. Et Victorinus de dire succinctement: *omne enim, quod est ὄν, esse est cum forma ... hoc et existentia dicitur et substantia et subsistentia. Quod enim ὄν est, et existit et subsistit et subiectum est* (1092 B). Cette deuxième hypostase est donc caractérisée par une triple distinction: existence (ὕπαρξις), subsistence (dans sa qualité de *esse*), et *subiectum* (dans sa qualité de *forma*). Une tripartition qui s'oppose donc à l'être pur, comme la phrase suivante le précise: *hoc autem est, quod est sine connexo ullo, quod simplex est, quod unum.* En fait, dit-il, l'ὄν est la manifestation de l'être: *Manifestior igitur subsistentia et existentia et substantia dicitur* (1092 C). D'où sa conclusion: *Si ergo dicitur de deo subsistentia, magis de deo substantia et magis ista, quoniam subiectum significat et principale quod convenit deo* (1092 C). Si Dieu est la forme de l'être, Il sera bien plus encore l'être qui est déterminé par cette forme. Ce qui n'est pas difficile à comprendre dès que l'on se rend compte que *substantia* ne veut rien dire d'autre que «sujet», «sujet principal». Et afin d'éviter des méprises, il ajoute aussitôt: *Non sic autem subiectum, sicut in mundo substantia, sed quod honoratius et antiquius et secundum fontem universitatis, uerum quod est esse, quod praestat deus his, quae sunt, ut unumquodque sit* (1092 C). Et il termine ce passage comme suit: *ὁμωνύμως ergo esse formam habens et primum et solum. Verum quoniam, quod est illud esse, purum est, hoc magis substantia est, sed hoc ὑπόστασις dicitur* (1092 C).

La distinction dont Victorinus se sert est donc entre *esse sine connexo ullo, quod simplex est*, et *esse cum forma*, entre *esse primum et solum*, et *esse formam habens*. Cet ὄν comporte ensuite une triple distinction où l'accent est mis tantôt sur *esse*, tantôt sur *forma*, tantôt sur l'existence, le terme qui résume qu'il s'agit d'un *esse qui est manifestior*, un être qui est plus manifeste que l'*esse sine connexo ullo, quod simplex*.

Qu'est-ce qui, en résumé, justifie donc pour Victorinus la tournure *una substantia* comme expression de l'unité divine? Certes, on peut

[23]) D'après l'expression de P. HADOT, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, 112.

appeler l'ὄν *substantia*, en mettant ainsi l'accent sur *esse* dans l'expression *esse cum forma*. Mais justement parce que le terme *substantia* indique que c'est l'être qui prévaut dans l'*esse cum forma*, le terme s'applique même plus justement à l'*esse primum et solum*. En fait, conclut-il, l'*esse primum et solum* et l'*esse formam habens* sont homonymes. Voilà donc ce qui justifie l'emploi du terme *substantia*, dont il avait déjà dit, dans le 3e chapitre: *non dubitandum ergo dicere substantiam dei*.

Réduite à l'essentiel, l'argumentation de Victorinus soutient que ὄν peut nous enseigner que la triple nature remonte à un seul être, autrement dit, que les trois formes de l'ὄν se rencontrent dans un seul être, qu'elles sont ὁμοούσιον (ayant l'οὐσία en commun), comme il le souligne trois fois[24]). Mais nous l'avons déjà vu, cela implique que le terme *substantia* est utilisable tant au niveau de l'*esse purum et solum* qu'au niveau de l'*esse cum forma*. Autrement dit, Victorinus a tendance à passer sur la distinction dans la Trinité en insistant sur l'unité qui Lui est propre (ce qui est dû, naturellement, à son anti-arianisme). Il montre chaque fois que les hypostases (*esse manifestior*) équivalent réellement à l'*esse purum et solum*, effaçant ainsi la distinction entre ὑπόστασις et οὐσία. Enfin, à propos de *Rm.* 11,33, *O altitudo diuitiarium sapientiae et scientiae dei*, il explique que ces *diuitiae* ne sont rien d'autre que la *sapientia* et la *scientia* qu'est le Christ. Mais puisque le Fils est dans le Père — et donc pour Victorinus dans l'être divin lui-même[25]) — il peut conclure: *Iam igitur nihil interest utrum ὑπόστασιν diuitias intellegamus an οὐσίαν, dummodo id significetur, quod ipse deus est*. Résultat décevant, si on le confronte avec la promesse initiale d'exposer la différence entre οὐσία et ὑπόστασις. Il est clair que, pour Victorinus, la question de savoir si *substantia* équivaut à οὐσία ou à ὑπόστασις perd son sens. Et dans le *De Hom rec.*, le problème n'est même plus mentionné: *esse Graeci οὐσίαν uel ὑπόστασιν dicunt, nos uno nomine Latine substantiam dicimus* (1138 C).

On le voit, le dessein anti-arien de son discours conduit Victorinus à une position quasi-modaliste. L'observation d'Augustin, dans *De*

[24]) *Ad Arr.* I,16 (1050 B), IV,10 (1120 C), IV,14 (1123 C).

[25]) Pour Victorinus, l'être lui-même équivaut à la première personne de la Trinité, comme le croit la théologie orientale. Augustin, par contre, conçoît l'être comme se rapportant aux trois personnes et pour lui, cet être ne s'identifie donc pas au Père. Voir sur cette question compliquée, R.C.P. HANSON, The Filioque Clause, dans *Studies in Christian Antiquity*, Edinburgh 1985, 279-97, en particulier 291.

Trin. V,VIII,9, *nescio quid uolunt interesse inter οὐσία et ὑπόστασις* devient très compréhensible après la lecture d'un tel passage. Dans cette perspective, elle ne serait plus une preuve d'ignorance, mais plutôt signe d'ironie. L'accent serait alors à placer sur *uolunt*, Augustin ayant pu écrire *nescio quid intersit*, comme nous avons déjà signalé ci-dessus. En résumé, dans le V^e^ livre du *De Trin.*, Augustin fait peut-être allusion à la théologie de Victorinus. Tout d'abord, parce qu'il justifie son emploi d'*essentia* en insistant sur le lien entre *esse* et *essentia*. Ensuite, parce qu'il a pu trouver une raison de rejeter le terme *substantia* dans l'explication du mot par Victorinus. Le refus de ce dernier de différencier entre ὑπόστασις et οὐσία — rendant ainsi toute discussion inutile — a pu susciter l'ironie d'Augustin, constatant que son prédécesseur était incapable de saisir la différence entre ὑπόστασις et οὐσία.

Il faut avouer cependant que les indices en faveur d'une telle interprétation sont minces et non indiscutables. Pour cette raison, considérons maintenant un passage du VII^e^ livre du *De Trin.*, là où Augustin disserte longuement de la substance divine. Y aurait-il dans le VII^e^ livre — qui date plus ou moins de la même époque que le V^e^ livre[26]) — des indices confirmant l'idée qu'Augustin a connu, mais sans les partager, les opinions de Victorinus sur la substance? Dans les chapitres IV,9-V,10, Augustin résume en effet l'essentiel de sa position, d'où nous extrairons les passages susceptibles d'évoquer Victorinus.

III. *Augustin rejète les idées victoriennes sur la substance divine*

En VII,5,10, Augustin explique que le terme *substantia* ne convient pas à Dieu, car il implique que Dieu soit le sujet de quelque chose à quoi Il serait abandonné. D'où il conclut: *Nefas est autem dicere ut subsistat*, en se servant du mot *nefas* qu'on ne trouve nulle part ailleurs dans le *De Trin.* Mais le terme est déjà chez Victorinus. Celui-ci s'était demandé si Dieu n'était nullement substance, ou s'Il était entièrement au-dessus de la substance. A cette question, il avait répondu: *deum non esse nobis nefas dicere. substantia est enim, quod deus est* (1090 D). Il confesse pourtant que le terme *substantia* s'emploie faute de mieux: *non dubitandum ergo dicere substantiam dei, quia, cum nos circa prima uel*

[26]) Les livres V-VIII, qui forment une unité, ont probablement été écrits dans la période 405-415. Voir A.M. La Bonnardière, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Paris 1965, 165-177, et A. Schindler, *Wort und Analogie in Augustins Trinitätslehre*, Tübingen 1965, 7-11.

summa proprie uerba deficiunt non incongrue de noetis apud nos (1091 A). Augustin, par contre, prétend que c'est le terme *substantia* qui est *incongrue*, à l'encontre des qualités telles que grand, omnipuissant, bon *et si quid huiusmodi de deo non incongrue dicitur*. Le terme *incongrue*, déjà présent chez Victorinus, ne se trouve qu'en un seul autre passage du *De Trin.* (VIII,VI,9). Victorinus, de son côté, soutenait que le terme *substantia* montrait clairement que c'est l'*esse purum* qui est le principal, le sujet, en Dieu, et il concluait: *magis de deo dicitur substantia* (1092 C). Ce raisonnement peut être adopté par Augustin, car *substantia* est toujours dit par rapport à soi-même. Il confirme donc: *Omnis enim res ad se ipsam subsistit. Quanto magis deus* (*sc. subsistit*). Mais ceci est en fait le seul point commun entre les deux rhéteurs convertis. Car Victorinus continue en soutenant que le terme *substantia – quoniam subiectum significat* — est apte à être l'équivalent de l'*esse quod simplex est*. Comme il le dit: *quod est illud esse, purum est, hoc magis substantia est* (1092 C). Augustin, quant à lui, s'oppose à cette conception: *deus autem si subsistit ut substantia proprie dici possit, inest in eo tanquam in subiecto, et non est simplex*. Voilà en résumé l'essentiel de leur divergence.

IV. *Conclusion*

C'est en s'inspirant de Victorinus qu'Augustin a probablement justifié son emploi du terme *essentia*. En même temps, il critique son prédécesseur, qui identifiait οὐσία et ὑπόστασις, ce qui donne au terme *substantia* une grande ambiguïté. Une ambiguïté qui, en fin de compte, s'attaque à la simplicité de Dieu, et c'est pourquoi Augustin conclut: *nefas est dicere ut subsistat*.

Augustin aurait donc connu, et rejeté, au moins un aspect de la théologie trinitaire de Marius Victorinus.

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Résumé

La question de l'influence des œuvres théologiques sur la doctrine trinitaire d'Augustin reste une question très compliquée. Dans cet

article, nous essayons de rendre plausible qu'Augustin a certainement connu les raisons qui mènent Victorinus à qualifier l'être divin comme *substantia*, mais qu'il les a rejetées en substituant le terme *substantia* par celle d'*essentia*.

Le thème du médecin dans les premiers dialogues philosophiques de saint Augustin

Introduction

Augustin dans sa prédication utilise une image, héritée de la tradition chrétienne[1]), à laquelle il donne une grande importance: celle du médecin des corps et des âmes[2]). Elle représente de manière particulière, le Christ qui, en son incarnation, vient sauver l'homme de son état de péché. Ce thème qui appartient à la maturité de l'évêque d'Hippone est déjà présent dans les dialogues philosophiques de Cassiciacum. Que signifie-t-il alors? Est-il directement lié au Christ, ou bien est-il le témoin d'une première étape de la réflexion d'Augustin?

Celui-ci, dans les *Confessions* relate, avec l'abondance du cœur, son itinéraire philosophique et spirituel. Il le présente comme l'accomplissement de la recherche philosophique dans l'incarnation du Christ[3]). De la sorte l'image du médecin pourrait être le lieu de passage et d'intégration d'une double tradition: l'enseignement philosophique et le thème évangélique résumé en *Mt.* 9,12, *Lc.* 5,31, *Mc*, 2,17.

I. *La tradition philosophique*

Le souci de la guérison, les soins que le corps devait recevoir, ne sont pas le seul apanage de la religion antique et de ses mystères, mais ils trouvent une utilisation métaphorique importante dans la réflexion philosophique. Le témoin le plus proche d'Augustin et le plus

[1]) Voir M. COMEAU, *Saint Augustin, exégète du quatrième Evangile*. Paris, Beauchesne, 1930, p. 327-331; J. COURTES, «Saint Augustin et la médecine», dans *Aug. Mag.* I, Paris, 1954, p. 48; R. ARBESMANN, «Christ the medicus humilis in St Augustine», dans *Aug. Mag.* II, p. 624.

[2]) Voir M.F. BERROUARD, «Bibliothèque Augustinienne» (= B.A.) 71, note complémentaire 15, p. 854-855. Aux références Bibliographiques qu'il donne, il est possible d'ajouter: T. VAN BAVEL, compte rendu du livre de P.C.J. EIJKENBOOM, *Het Christus-Medicus-motief in de preken van Sint Augustinus*. Assen, 1960, dans *Rev. Hist. Eccl.*, 56, 1961, p. 488-491; G. DUMEIGE, article *Medecin (Le Christ.)*, dans *Dict. Spir.* X, Beauchesne, 1980, p. 891-901; M.F. BERROUARD, B.A. 73A, p. 55-57.

[3]) Voir A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin: L'Aventure de la Raison et de la Grâce*. Paris, *Et. Aug.*, 1968, p. 458-536; G. MADEC, «La Délivance de l'Esprit», dans *Le «Confessioni» di Agostino d'Ippona*. Palerme, 1985, p. 45-69.

lié aux préoccupations de Cassiciacum est sans conteste Cicéron. Celui-ci écrit dans ses *Tusculanes*: «Assurément il existe une médecine de l'âme (*animi medicina*), la philosophie (*philosophia*). Pour en avoir le secours, il n'y a pas, comme pour les maladies du corps, à s'adresser au dehors (*petendum est foris*), et nous devons déployer toutes nos ressources et toutes nos forces pour nous mettre en état de nous soigner nous-mêmes. Au reste, en ce qui concerne la philosophie en général, j'ai assez dit, je pense, dans mon *Hortensius*, combien elle méritait d'être recherchée et cultivée, et d'autre part je n'ai guère cessé depuis de discuter et d'écrire sur les questions philosophiques les plus importantes»[4]).

Ce texte qui n'est pas isolé[5]), est remarquable en plusieurs points. D'une part il présente les éléments fondamentaux de la retraite d'Augustin et du travail de réflexion entrepris à Cassiciacum. L'ensemble de la petite communauté y poursuit une purification morale[6]), elle étudie les auteurs classiques parmi lesquels Cicéron et l'*Hortensius* tiennent une place de choix[7]). Enfin l'ensemble des réflexions qui y sont menées a pour but de donner le goût de la philosophie à ses jeunes élèves[8]) ou de l'entretenir s'il est déjà présent.

D'autre part, ce passage nous montre de manière très explicite une liaison entre l'œuvre de la médecine et celle de la philosophie. Celle-ci est une *curatio animi*[9]), une purification des passions conduisant vers une vie vertueuse et paisible. Enfin dernier point important, la philosophie dans sa médication ramène l'homme vers lui-même, elle est une thérapie intérieure qui réclame toutes les ressources de l'intériorité afin de «se soigner soi-même».

Si le thème du retour à soi, central dans les méditations néoplatoniciennes[10]), est ici associé à celui de la médecine, ce dernier apparaît plus rarement dans les œuvres de Plotin ou de Porphyre. Le terme «médecin» n'est présent que cinq fois dans les *Ennéades*[11]) et ce n'est

[4]) III,3,6. Trad. J. Humbert, *Les Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1960.

[5]) Voir aussi, entre autres, *Tuculanes*, I,1,1; III,4,7; IV,12,27; IV,27,58; IV,27,59-28,61.

[6]) En ce qui concerne Augustin lui-même voir *Soliloquia* I,9,16-12,21, la dédicace à Romanianus en *Contra Academicos* I,1,1,-4, l'ensemble du *De Beata uita*, et les exhortations du *De ordine* I,10,28-30.

[7]) *Contr. Acad.* I,1,4.

[8]) Ibidem, *De ord.* I,8,24; II,5,17.

[9]) *Tusculanes*, IV,28,60 utilise déjà le terme de *curatio*.

[10]) Voir par exemple *Ennéades*, V,1,1, Porphyre, *Sent*, 32 (E. Lamberz), *Ad Marc.* 6-8,10.

[11]) *Ennéades*, III,1,1,30; III,3,5,51; IV,4,11,3; VI,4,5,16; VI,8,5,19. (ed. E. Brehier.)

qu'en III,3,5,51 qu'une comparaison entre le médecin et la providence est utilisée. De même chez Porphyre, la *Vie de Plotin* mentionne ses amitiés médicales sans aller plus loin[12]). Les *Sententiae* sont muettes sur ce sujet, la *Lettre à Marcella* donne un passage associant la philosophie et le médecine, mais il appartient à la tradition épicurienne[13]). Cette maigre moisson ne peut permettre de parler ici de tradition néoplatonicienne. Il serait peut-être possible d'expliquer cette absence par un certain dédain pour le corps[14]) et par un refus d'images trop «sensibles» qui ne seraient alors qu'un obstacle au retour de la pensée vers «là-bas».

Il reste donc à conclure pour l'instant qu'Augustin connaissait le couple métaphorique: médecine/philosophie et que celui-ci lui est parvenu par ses lectures cicéroniennes, plutôt que par ses connaissances du néoplatonisme.

II. *Les textes du* De Ordine

Le dialogue sur l'ordre et la providence est le premier des écrits philosophiques qui utilise cette image. Elle apparaît en deux occurences qui se révélent particulièrement riches et suggestives.

A: De ord. *I,1,3*

Après avoir posé le problème de l'ordre de l'univers ainsi que son rapport à la providence en des termes qui trahissent une influence plotinienne et porphyrienne[15]); Augustin dénonce l'erreur de ceux qui, en ne percevant qu'une petite partie du monde, refusent d'y voir la marque d'une volonté divine. Il écrit alors: «*Cuius erroris maxima causa est, quod homo sibi ipse est incognitus. Qui tamen ut se noscat, magna opus habet consuetudine recedendi a sensibus (cf. Retr. I,3,2.) et animum in seipsum colligendi atque in seipso retinendi. Quod ii tantum assequuntur, qui plagas quasdam opinionum, quas unitae quotidianae cursus infligit, aut solitudine inurunt, aut liberalibus medicant disciplinis*».

[12]) *Vie de Plotin*, 7.

[13]) *Ad Marc.* 31, qui selon E. des Places a sa source en Epic., *Frag.* 221 U., 247 A. edition E. des Places, p. 124. *Les Belles Lettres* 1982. Le paragraphe 9 utilise la comparaison entre les passions et les maladies, sans faire explicitement référence au médecin où à la médecine.

[14]) *Sent*, 32. (ed. E. Lamberz), *Vie de Plotin*, 1, *Ad Marc.*, 10.

[15]) Voir A. Solignac, «Réminiscences plotiniennes et porphyriennes dans le début du «*De ordine*» de saint Augustin», dans *Archives de Philosophie*, 20, 1957, p. 446-465.

L'important en cette remarque, est qu'elle conjuge une double tradition. D'une part le thème de la connaissance de soi-même et celui du «retrait» du sensible sont des éléments qui appartiennent de manière directe au domaine du néoplatonisme[16]). D'autre part l'action thérapeutique exercée par les *disciplines libérales* se rattache plus à l'héritage cicéronien, comme le texte des *Tusculanes* le montrait.

Il est ainsi possible de découvrir une première synthèse opérée par Augustin. Alors que la tradition néoplatonicienne ne retenait pas particulièrement l'image du médecin, présente dans la tradition rhétorique, Augustin les relie entre elles, sans doute par l'intermédiaire du thème du retour à soi. Si celui-ci était inscrit dans l'exhortation philosophique de l'*Hortensius*[17]), Augustin en le retrouvant dans les *libri platonicorum* a pu considérer que le médicament proposé par la philosophie correspondait à cette unification et à ce retour à soi dans lequel l'âme se ramasse (*colligere*) et se contient (*retinere*). Ici le thème de la médecine apparaît donc comme inscrit dans la pure tradition philosophique, et ne semble pas devoir référé à la tradition chrétienne.

B: De ord. *I,8,21-24*[18])

Le second passage du *De ordine* relatif à cette image relate une discussion entre Augustin et Licentius. Ce dernier qui éprouvait un amour immodéré pour la poésie, découvre la grandeur de la philosophie, grâce aux arguments de son maître et ami.

Il considère ce fait comme une conversion et l'exprime en ces termes: «Mais que ce soit l'effet de ma risible inconstance et de ma légéreté d'enfant ou celui d'une inspiration et d'une disposition divines, je n'hésiterai pas à vous déclarer que je suis subitement devenu assez indifférent pour ces travaux de poésie: maintenant, il y a je ne sais quoi qui resplendit à mes yeux sous une autre, une tout autre lumière (*alia,*

[16]) Voir note 10. P. Brown dans *La vie de saint Augustin*, trad. J.H. Marrou, Paris, 1971, p. 130, voit dans le terme *solitudo* une allusion à Antoine et aux fonctionnaires impériaux de *Conf.* VIII,6,14-15. Cette interprétation viendrait, dès les premières allusions au thème du médecin, doubler les références néo-platoniciennes avec une évocation plus chrétienne. Il reste cependant que dans le *De ordine* l'esprit philosophique demeure primordial. D'autre part en *Sol* I,15,30 Augustin en parlant de *Cassiciacum* écrit: «le silence où nous vivons». Le silence n'est-il pas caractéristique de la solitude?

[17]) Comme exhortation à la philosophie, l'*Hortensius* devait sans doute utiliser cette métaphore ainsi que peut le laisser penser le passage des *Tusculanes* déjà cité.

[18]) Voir J. Doignon, «*De ordine*: son déroulement, ses thèmes.» dans *L'Opera letteraria di Agostino tra Cassiciacum e Milano*. Palerme, 1987, p. 113-150.

longe alia nescio quid mihi nunc luce resplenduit). La philosophie je l'avoue est plus belle (*pulchrior est philosophia*) que Thysbée, que Pyrame, que les fameux Vénus et Cupidon et tous les amours de ce genre. Et il rendait grâces au Christ en soupirant (*et cum suspiro gratias Christo agebat*).»[19]). Ce qu'il semble, pour l'instant, essentiel de retenir, c'est la conjonction de trois points. Tout d'abord la prise de conscience d'une conversion à la philosophie, puis sa liaison avec la foi chrétienne qui s'exprime en une action de grâces rendue au Christ. Enfin la présence des thèmes de l'amour et de la lumière qui manifestent un avertissement ou une action divine.

Puis, pressé par Licentius de lui dire ce qu'il pense de lui, Augustin fait l'éloge des disciplines libérales et l'exhorte de la sorte: «A ce mot (bonheur), tous se redressent et semblent regarder nos mains, pour voir si l'on a quelque chose à donner aux malheureux et aux victimes de tant de maladies (*utrum habeas quod dare possis egentibus uariisque morbis impeditis*). Mais ceux-ci dès que la sagesse leur enjoint de supporter le médecin et de se laisser soigner avec un peu de patience (*quibus sapientia cum praecipere coeperit ut medicum perferant, seque cum aliqua patientia curari sinant*), ils retombent sur leurs guenilles. Empoisonnés par la chaleur qu'elles leur donnent, ils sont trop portés à irriter la démangeaison de leurs déplorables voluptés pour tolérer et exécuter les prescriptions du médecin (*monita medici*), dès qu'elles sont un peu dures et pénibles pour leur état, et pour retrouver ainsi la santé et la lumière (*ualetudini sanorum lucique reddantur*). Voilà pourquoi ils vivent misérablement, satisfaits à peu de frais du nom et de l'idée du Dieu tout puissant. Ils vivent cependant. Mais il est d'autres hommes, ou, pour parler plus exactement, d'autres âmes, que recherche, dès leur vie terrestre, comme dignes de sa couche, le grand et magnifique époux des âmes (*iam thalamo suo dignas coniux ille optimus ac pulcherrimus quaerit*); pour elles, vivre ne suffit pas, elles veulent vivre heureuses.» (I,8,24).

Enfin, lui enjoignant de terminer son poème pour y décrire les méfaits de la passion humaine, il termine par ces mots: «puis de toute ton âme, chante la louange de l'amour pur et vrai par quoi les âmes enrichies par les sciences et embellies par la vertu s'unissent à l'intelligence par le moyen de la philosophie (*quo animae dotatae disciplinis et*

[19]) *De ord.*, I,8,21. trad. R. Jolivet. Voir aussi M. Lods, «La personne du Christ dans la «conversion» de saint Augustin». Paris, *Rech. Aug.* 11, p. 29-34.

uirtute formosae copulantur intellectui per philosophiam), et non seulement évitent la mort, mais encore jouissent du plus grand bonheur.» (I,8,24).

La richesse de ces longs passages, et les influences plotiniennes et porphyriennes qu'ils recèlent[20]), dépassent les quelques notations qui éclairent notre actuel propos. Tout d'abord, ces paroles d'Augustin comparent les vices et les passions à des maladies, la philosophie à une médecine, thèmes qui sont présents dans un passage antérieur du même dialogue, et chez Cicéron.

Puis apparaît la figure de la sagesse. Celle-ci peut revêtir une double identité. Soit elle exprime seulement le but naturel de la recherche intellectuelle humaine, soit elle revêt la figure du Christ. Cette seconde hypothèse qui englobe la première, semble préférable. Car d'une part Licentius rend grâce au Christ pour sa conversion philosophique montrant ainsi qu'il «assimile» en quelque sorte les deux démarches, d'autre part les thèmes nuptiaux des passages suivants[21]) ne sont pas sans rappeler certains thèmes évangéliques[22]). Enfin, Augustin à la fin du *De beata uita* (5,34) identifie le Fils de Dieu avec la Sagesse et avec la Vérité faisant référence au verset six du chapitre quatorze de l'Evangile de Jean. Cette conjonction de la Sagesse (*sapientia*) et de la Vérité (*ueritas*) se retrouvent dans ce chapitre du *De ordine* et peuvent permettre de penser que la Sagesse conseillant de suivre les prescriptions du médecin, n'est autre que le Verbe-Christ qui désire ainsi se préparer des âmes dignes de sa couche nuptiale.

Enfin l'apport de la philosophie est comparé à une dot (*dotatae*) qui permettra aux âmes de s'unir (*copulantur*) à l'intellect (*intellectui*) qui est lui aussi, à travers l'héritage platonicien, une figure du Fils[23]).

L'exhortation d'Augustin à Licentius file donc et entrecroise plusieurs métaphores dont le point commun est de se rapporter à un thème chrétien relatif à la personne du Verbe-christ. Celui-ci conseille la bonne médecine qu'est la philosophie, afin de s'unir les âmes qui sont appelées à la vie bienheureuse. Tout semble donc en place pour une identification

[20]) Les thèmes néo-platoniciens présents dans ces passages sont: l'importance de la métaphore lumineuse, la purification morale, le thème de l'amour et de la beauté comme ascension vers l'intellect, l'embellisement des vertus, l'union à l'intellect.

[21]) *De ord.*, I,8,24, «*iam thalamo suo dignas coniux ille optimus ac pulcherrimus quaerit*».

[22]) Voir *Mt.* 9,15; 22,10; 25,1-10; *Jn.* 3,39.

[23]) Par exemple le fragment 8 du *De regressu animae* signalé par J. Bidez p. 36* et qui reprend *De ciu. Dei*, X,23.

du Christ avec le médecin qui dans son incarnation vient sauver l'homme «des immondices corporelles et aussi des ténèbres dont l'erreur nous enveloppe.» (I,8,23). La comparaison avec l'époux annonce le thème de l'incarnation, la comparaison avec le médecin assume l'héritage philosophique. Tout est prêt, mais rien n'est encore explicitement dit, comme si la fameuse réserve d'Alypius rappelée par les *Confessions* (IX,4,7) pesait encore de tout le poids de l'amitié dans l'esprit d'Augustin. Et puis, seconde raison possible, la richesse et le brillant des métaphores ne peuvent que mieux emporter l'adhésion d'un jeune Licentius qui vient seulement de se détacher des charmes de la poésie.

III. *Les textes des* Soliloquia

Dans le long dialogue qu'Augustin entreprend avec lui-même sous la conduite de la raison, l'image de la médecine se précise, elle se personnifie, et devient celle du médecin. Cette œuvre présente donc une certaine progression par rapport au dialogue précédemment étudié. Il semble qu'un pas soit franchi. Cependant l'identité de ce médecin reste encore à déterminer avec précision.

A: Sol. *I,6,12*[24])

La première apparition de ce thème se fait au cœur d'une vaste comparaison dans laquelle Augustin montre que la raison est à l'intelligence (*mens*) ce que le regard est aux yeux, que l'âme aussi possède des yeux qu'il lui faudra purifier par la foi, l'espérance et la charité afin d'être capable de voir ce qu'elle brûle de contempler. Lors de cette première étape: la purification des yeux, il écrit: «R: Mais quoi? si elle (l'âme) admet qu'il en est comme on le dit, qu'elle verra, dès là qu'elle sera en mesure de voir, mais que d'autre part elle désespère de pouvoir guérir, ne tombe-t-elle pas dans l'abattement, dans le mépris d'elle-même, ne refuse-t-elle pas d'obéir aux prescriptions du médecin (*nec praeceptis medici obtemperat*)? A: C'est tout à fait cela; d'autant plus que les ordonnances du médecin (*praecepta*) paraissent nécessairement désagréables au malade. R: A la foi, il faut donc joindre l'espérance?» Puis le dialogue se poursuit pour conclure que le soutien de la charité est le seul moyen de ne pas repousser le médecin.

[24]) Voir O. Du Roy, *L'Intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin. Etudes Augustiniennes*, Paris, 1966, p. 196-206.

Par delà le caractère désagréable de la médication proposée, qui se trouvait déjà en *De ordine* I,8,24[25a]), il est remarquable que l'atmosphère de ce texte soit résolument chrétienne en faisant appel au trois vertus fondamentales (la foi, l'espérance, la charité). Ensuite, l'identité de ce médecin qui donne des *praecepta* semble dépasser le simple cadre de la démarche philosophique. Un passage du second livre du *De ordine* en donnera un portrait plus précis: «Il faut donc appeler divine l'autorité qui non seulement transcende, dans ses manifestations sensibles, toute puissance humaine, mais encore, en se revêtant de l'homme lui-même[25b]), lui montre jusqu'à quel point elle s'est abaissée pour lui (*sed et ipsum hominem agens, ostendit ei quousque se propter ipsum depresserit*). Elle ordonne aussi de ne pas s'en tenir aux sens, à qui s'adressent les prodiges dont je parlais, mais de s'élever jusqu'à l'intelligence[26]). Elle démontre en même temps quel est le pouvoir de celle-ci, pourquoi elle accomplit ces prodiges et le peu de cas qu'elle en fait. Car il faut que l'autorité divine enseigne sa puissance par les actes, sa clémence par humilité et sa nature par le commandement (*doceat enim oportet et factis potestam suam, et humilitate clementiam, et* praeceptione *naturam*): tout cela, les vérités auxquelles nous sommes initiés nous les livrent d'une manière secrète et forte, et par elles, la vie des hommes de bien se purifie très aisément, grâce non pas aux disputes subtiles, mais à l'autorité des mystères.»

De ces affirmations trois points sont essentiellement à retenir. Premièrement Augustin envisage l'incarnation du Christ. Quant il évoque l'abaissement de l'autorité divine qui vient revêtir l'homme, il vise la kénose du Verbe qui «ne retint pas jalousement le rang qui l'égalait à Dieu; mais qui s'anéantit lui-même»[27]). Deuxièmement l'enseignement de l'autorité divine doit permettre à la créature de s'élever jusqu'à l'intellect (*ad intellectum*)[28]), ce qui déjà devait être un

[25a]) Le même thème se retrouvera dans la prédication d'Augustin, *En. in Ps.* 102,5; 58, s. 2,11.

[25b]) Dans son ouvrage *Recherches sur la Christologie de saint Augustin: l'humain et le divin dans le Christ d'après saint Augustin* Paradosis 10, Fribourg, 1954, p. 6 le père T. Van Bavel signale la faiblesse de la traduction de R. Jolivet «en dirigeant l'homme» et propose très judicieusement, une traduction qui rend mieux compte de la dimension christologique et kénotique de ce passage. Il préfère rendre «hominem agens» par «se comportant comme un homme» ou «se revêtant de l'homme lui-même».

[26]) Une référence identique à l'intellect se trouvait déjà en *De ord.* I,8,24.

[27]) *Phil.* 2,5-11.

[28]) Cet itinéraire vers l'intellect est l'annonce du thème de la voie et de la patrie qui sera développée ultérieurement dans la prédication d'Augustin; voir M.F. Berrouard, B.A. 71, p. 854-855, et aussi O. Du Roy, o.c., p. 96-106.

effet de la cure médicale proposée par la Sagesse, et correspond au thème poétique donné par Augustin à Licentius comme thérapie (*De ordine* I,8,24). Enfin l'enseignement du Christ en son incarnation doit révéler sa nature (*natura*) grâce à une *praeceptio* qui annonce les *praecepta* de ce passage des *Soliloquia*.

Ceux-ci se retrouvent dans une lettre postérieure d'Augustin, et sont associés à l'œuvre du Fils en son incarnation. En réponse à Nébridius, Augustin déclare dans sa lettre 11: «*Itaque quoniam per illam susceptionem hominis id actum est, ut quaedam nobis disciplina uiuendi, et* exemplum praecepti, *sub quarundam sententiarum maiestate ac perspicuitate insinuaretur, non sine ratione hoc totum Filio tribuitur.*» (11,4). Il semble donc bien que le don des *praecepta* soit caractéristique de l'acte sauveur du Verbe qui vient assumer la condition humaine. Ces quelques références viennent donc préciser l'identité de ce mystérieux médecin des *Soliloquia*: le Christ[29]).

B: Sol. *I,14,25-15,27*

Les occurences suivantes présentent un ensemble de textes caractéristiques, en ce qu'ils se situent pendant la seconde journée de la méditation d'Augustin. Après avoir rappelé l'adage porphyrien: il faut fuir absolument toutes les choses sensibles[30]); il fait le point sur son état moral et sur ses quelques progrès. «L'âme se dupe souvent; en se croyant saine et en se vantant de l'être; et parce qu'elle ne voit pas encore, elle croit avoir le droit de se plaindre. Mais la Beauté (*illa pulchritudo*) sait quand elle doit se montrer. Elle joue le même rôle que le médecin; elle reconnaît mieux ceux qui ont vraiment la santé, que ne s'en rendent compte ceux qui se font soigner (*ipsa enim medici fungitur munere, meliusque intelligit qui sint sani, quam iidem ipsi qui sanantur*).» Puis il achève cette première constatation en retrouvant cette image: «Ainsi le médecin intérieur (*secretissimus ille medicus*) t'a révélé tout à la fois, et le mal dont ses soins t'ont tiré, et ce qu'il en reste encore à guérir.»

Cependant, la difficulté de cette progression ascétique et le chemin qu'il reste à parcourir semble effrayer Augustin qui ne perd pas courage: «Je ne te promets plus rien; je ne me flatte plus de rien. Ne

[29]) En ce qui concerne la lettre 11, voir O. Du Roy, o.c., p. 391-401; G. Folliet, «La correspondance entre Augustin et Nébridius», dans *L'Opera letteraria di Agostino tra Cassiciacum e Milano*. Palerme, 1987, p. 191-215.

[30]) Voir entre autres *Ad Marc.*, 10.

m'interroge plus là-dessus. Tu dis, n'est-ce pas, que Celui que je brûle de contempler (*ille ipse quem uidere ardeo*) sait quand je dois être vraiment sain (*sanus*); qu'il fasse ce qu'il lui plaît, qu'il se montre à moi quand il voudra; je me confie désormais tout entier à sa clémence et à ses soins (*iam me totum eius clementiae curaeque committo*). Je suis fermement convaincu qu'il ne peut manquer de soutenir ceux qui lui témoignent cette confiance (*illo credidi*). Je ne dirai plus rien de la santé (*sanitate*) de mon âme, tant que je n'aurai pas vu sa divine beauté (*illam pulchritudinem uidero*).»

Enfin à la charnière des deux livres des *Soliloquia*, il synthétise l'ensemble de ces métaphores dans une affirmation de la raison qui lui promet l'aide et le soutient de celui qu'il cherche avec tant d'ardeur. «Le médecin dont je parlais a pour toi des complaisances, car je ne sais quel trait de feu me frappe et m'invite à te guider (*gerit tibi ille medicus morem. Nam nescio quis me quo te ducam fulgor invitat et tangit*). Recuille donc avec soin mes paroles.» (I,15,27).

Ces quelques textes qui possèdent une unité certaine appelent plusieurs remarques. D'une part, l'identification entre le médecin et la Beauté se fait de manière explicite. Ce trait était déjà présent en *De ordine* I,8,24 à propos du Christ dont il écrivait: *coniux ille optimus ac pulcherrimus*. Il se retrouve en *Sol.* I,1,2-3. Tout au début de ce dialogue, sous l'impulsion de la raison, Augustin demande l'aide de Dieu. La beauté y apparaît comme le Fils du Père: *pater boni et pulchri* et comme la source et le lieu de réalisation de toutes les choses belles et bonnes: *Deus bonum et pulchrum in quo et a quo et per quem bona et pulchra sunt, quae bona et pulchra sunt omnia*. La *pulchritudo* est donc associée au Verbe, reprenant, en quelque sorte, une bonne part de l'héritage platonicien[31]).

D'autre part le médecin est désigné aussi comme *secretissimus*. Ce terme déjà présent dans les *Soliloquia* était alors associé à Dieu: *ita in illo secretissimo Deo quem uis intelligere, tria quaedam sunt; quod est quod intelligitur, et quod caetera facit intelligi*. Il exprime en quelque sorte l'essentiel de la recherche d'Augustin. Ce qu'il désire ce n'est pas seulement une sagesse humaine, mais une véritable connaissance. Le caractère intérieur de ce médecin, qui jouit des mêmes prérogatives que Dieu ne peut que le désigner de nouveau comme le Fils, ou le Verbe. En outre il semble préfigurer le thème du maître intérieur qu'Augustin

[31]) Voir P. De Labriolle, B.A. 5, note 5, p. 402.

developpera par la suite[32]), même si à cette époque, cette synthèse n'est pas encore accomplie. Nous retrouvons pourtant l'interpénétration de différentes traditions. D'une part le médecin associé à la cure des âmes reprend les éléments cicéroniens rencontrés lors de sa formation rhétorique, d'autre part le thème de la beauté assume l'héritage platonicien reçu par la voie porphyro-plotinienne, enfin la foi chrétienne vient non seulement subsumer, mais accomplir l'ensemble de ces métaphores en leur donnant une réalité véritable dans la personne du Fils.

Dès lors, il semble qu'Augustin aille plus loin encore. Le médecin n'est pas seulement le Verbe ou le Fils, mais il s'identifie au Christ. Un premier passage de ce dialogue (I,6,12) employait le terme (*praecepta*) proche d'une passage du *De ordine* (II,9,27) (*praeceptio*) dans lequel Augustin faisait explicitement référence à l'incarnation du Fils. En *Sol.* I,14,26 de nouveau un terme identique se retrouve: *clementia*. A propos de l'incarnation Augustin écrivait: «*Doceat enim opportet et factis potestatem suam, et humilitate* clementia, *et praeceptione naturam.*» (*De ord.* II,9,27), dans les *Soliloquia* il reprend: «*iam me totum eius clementiae curaeque committo*»[33]). De la sorte le médecin ne représente pas seulement la sagesse humaine ou même divine, mais le Christ qui, en son incarnation, vient apporter ses soins aux hommes. Ce thème semble donc presque parfaitement structuré dès les premières œuvres d'Augustin, mais ne prendra toute sa vigueur que dans la prédication de l'évêque.

Enfin, ce médecin qui s'identifie au Verbe-Christ, vient réaliser l'essentiel de la quête philosophique. Non seulement il soigne, prépare les âmes à sa couche nuptiale, mais il est le but recherché par la contemplation et par la quête intellectuelle de l'ancien rhéteur: «*Certe dicis quod ille ipse quem uidere ardeo nouerit quando sim sanus; faciat quod placet: quando placet sese ostendat.*» Les verbes *ostendat* et *uidero* se trouvent déjà associés à la *pulchritudo* quelques lignes plus haut et reprennent les comparaisons antérieures de ce dialogue sur la vision[34]).

[32]) *De mag.* 11,38-14,46.

[33]) Dans la prédication ultérieure, le thème de l'humilité de l'incarnation sera l'élément essentiel de l'utilisation de cette métaphore. Voir M.F. BERROUARD, B.A. 71, p. 854-855. En outre la conjonction des termes *cura* et *clementia* montre bien la synthèse opérée entre la coloration philosophique (*cura*) et l'accent plus spécifiquement chrétien (*clementia*).

[34]) *Videre* est présent une seconde fois dans ce passage: *Ego nihil de mea sanitate, nisi cum illam pulchritudinem uidero, pronuntiabo.* En outre il annonce encore un thème majeur de la prédication de l'évêque d'Hippone. Voir M.F. BERROUARD, *art. cit.*

La beauté en tant que but recherché s'identifie à l'intellect dont le *De ordine* (I,8,24) faisait l'époux des âmes purifiées. En *Sol.* I,6,12 Augustin concluait en effet: «Le regard (*aspectum*) aboutit à la vision de Dieu (*ipsa uisio dei*), qui en est la fin: non que le regard cesse d'exister, mais il n'a plus d'objet vers où se porter; et c'est en cela même que consiste la véritable perfection de la vertu, — la raison (*ratio*) parvenue à sa fin, avec pour conséquence, la vie heureuse (*beata uita*). Or la vision (*uisio*), c'est cette conception (*intellectus*) qui est dans l'âme et qui s'achève par le concours du sujet concevant (*intelligente*) et de l'objet conçu (*eo quod intelligitur*), de même que pour les yeux, voir implique deux termes, le sens qui voit et l'objet sensible: supprimez l'un ou l'autre, impossible qu'il y ait vision.»[35]).

De la sorte en assumant l'ensemble de ces métaphores, l'image du médecin est une synthèse de ce que la tradition néo-platonicienne possédait de plus parfait. L'ensemble de l'héritage philosophique d'Augustin trouve en cette comparaison le lieu de son intégration. Ce n'est pas seulement une lecture philosophique qu'Augustin fait de sa conversion et de sa quête de la vie heureuse, mais c'est la philosophie qui trouve en la personne du Christ son point de réalisation et de synthèse[36]). Augustin put faire ce passage grâce à cette image, car elle lui permettait d'assimiler et d'unir les trois traditions dont il était redevable.

Cette synthèse est bien résumée en *Soliloquia* I,15,27. Le terme *tangit* annonce cette union désirée par la contemplation, et le substantif *fulgor*[37]) préfigure le thème du maître intérieur, d'autant plus qu'en ce passage, la raison se prépare à guider Augustin sur une nouvelle voie plus lente mais aussi plus sûre pour accéder à ce qu'il cherche[38]).

[35]) Ce texte reprend des éléments antérieurs: la vertu, la vie heureuse, l'intellect étaient déjà évoqués en *De ord.* I,8,24.

[36]) En *Sol.* I,14,25, Augustin utilise le terme *demonstare* à propos du *medicus secretissimus*, puis dans le paragraphe suivant se rencontre le terme *credere* toujours associé à ce même médecin. De nouveau la synthèse entre la philosophie qui démontre par le biais de la dialectique et la foi qui connaît par la confiance donnée et reçue est clairement exprimée. Sur le Christ comme point d'aboutissement de la démarche et de la pensée d'Augustin, voir A. MANDOUZE, *Saint Augustin: L'Aventure de la Raison et de la Grâce*, Paris, *Et. Aug.* 1968, p. 458-536; G. MADEC, «Christus, scientia et sapientia nostra: le principe de cohérence de la doctrine augustinienne», *Rech. Aug.* 10, 1976, p. 77-85.

[37]) Le terme *fulgor* reprend la métaphore de *Sol.* I,8,15 et indique bien la relation qu'il peut y avoir entre le Fils et le médecin.

[38]) *Concludamus, si placet, hoc primum uolumen, ut iam in secundo aliquam, quae commoda occurerit, aggrediamur uiam.*

IV. *Un passage du* De quantitate animae

Dans ce dialogue rédigé après le séjour à Cassiciacum, Augustin reprend avec Evodius certains thèmes de ses œuvres antérieures. Et vers la fin de cet écrit il dresse les différents degrés de la grandeur de l'âme dans sa quête de Dieu. La comparaison avec le médecin y apparaît de manière détournée au sixième degré, juste avant la possession du bien suprême. Elle se situe dans le contexte du regard et de la vision déjà rencontrés dans les *Soliloquia*[39]). Augustin écrit donc: «Ceux qui prétendent y réussir (contempler la vérité) avant de s'être purifiés et guéris sont tellement rebroussés par cette lumière de Vérité (*luce reuerberantur ueritatis*) qu'ils s'imaginent qu'il n'y a en elle rien de bon et même beaucoup de mauvais. Ils lui dénient le nom de vérité; et non sans une sorte de passion mauvaise, de pitoyable volupté, ils se réfugient dans leurs ténèbres, dont leur maladie s'accomode, car ils maudissent le remède (*et cum quadam libidine et uoluptate miserabili in suas tenebras, quas eorum morbus pati potest, medicinae maledicentes refugiant*) (33,75).»

A travers le thème de la maladie et du remède, les mêmes caractéristiques se retrouvent; purification morale et rectitude intellectuelle[40]). Cependant une insistance nouvelle apparaît et prépare les tonalités des sermons ultérieurs[41]). Car ce que dénonce surtout Augustin en ce passage, c'est l'orgeuil de la recherche philosophique qui refuse l'humilité de l'incarnation du Fils. La quête philosophique est bonne et utile dans la mesure où elle permet d'accéder à la lumière en purifiant l'esprit, mais quand elle refuse de s'accomplir dans la foi en l'incarnation, elle devient alors une source de maladie, une «passion mauvaise». En se refermant ainsi sur elle-même elle oublie sa source et ne peut alors que se corrompre comme une eau qui n'est plus vivifiée ni renouvelée.

Conclusion et synthèse

L'image du médecin dans les dialogues philosophiques de Cassiciacum présente donc un double intérêt. Premièrement elle permet de suivre la manière dont peuvent se construire ce que P. Hadot appelle les

[39]) *Sol.* I,6,12-8,15.

[40]) Ces thèmes sont renforcés par la référence au *Ps.* I,12 qui suit immédiatement ce passage. L'image de la lumière peut être une préfiguration de la métaphore du maître intérieur.

[41]) Cf. note 2.

«schémas augustiniens»[42]). Celle-ci montre un triple héritage. D'une part l'association entre la médecine et la philosophie qui lui vient de son éducation et de ses lectures cicéroniennes, se trouve assimilée et personnalisée par la rencontre du thème traditionnel chrétien. D'autre part cette image englobe aussi un héritage plotinien et porphyrien qui ne semblait pas beaucoup être familiarisé avec elle. En effet le médecin identifié au Christ est aussi assimilé à la beauté néoplatonicienne ou à l'intellect dont chaque âme recherche l'union. Les deux dimensions de l'incarnation sont donc associées à travers cette image. Le Christ en se faisant homme vient épouser les âmes qui peuvent être en quelque sorte «dotées» par la recherche philosophique. Enfin, cet acte du Verbe assumant la chair, n'est pas seulement une conversion intellectuelle, mais un salut, car la kénose du Fils guérit l'homme de son péché, par la clémence manifestée dans cet acte d'humilité. Il semble donc bien que cette image du médecin vienne en quelque sorte apporter un équilibre à une compréhension trop pédagogique de l'incarnation qu'Augustin aurait eue dès cette époque. Si le Christ assume le rôle médical de la philosophie, il revêt alors ses deux dimensions essentielles: il est le médecin (*medicus*) et le remède (*medicina*).

Le second intérêt de cette image est qu'elle prépare l'un des grands thèmes de la prédication de l'évêque d'Hippone. Le caractère salutaire de l'incarnation fusionnera avec l'élément pédagogique, la croix devant la «chaire» d'où le Christ enseigne à l'humanité le salut[43]). En outre le caractère d'enseignement que récèle cet événement rejaillira sur la compréhension de l'histoire du salut, car chaque instant de l'incarnation sera la source d'une leçon pour les hommes. Ainsi chaque face de ce double héritage enrichira l'autre, montrant de nouveau que la foi au Christ ne vient pas nier la démarche philosophique mais qu'elle l'assume en lui donnant une réalité. Le chemin de la paideïa devient la Voie du Christ, le remède se fait médecin, la sagesse et la science se rencontrent et s'embrassent[44]).

[42]) Voir P. Hadot, «Citations de Porphyre chez Augustin». *Rev. Et. Aug.* 6, 1960, p. 205-244. En particulier p. 244: «En second lieu, une *étude générique des schémas augustiniens*, de ces complexes de pensée, dans lequels souvenirs plotiniens et porphyriens, citations scripturaires et réflexion théologique forment un bloc presque impossible à décomposer. Autrement dit, il faudrait une étude des méthodes de travail d'Augustin».

[43]) *En. in Ps.* 58,7.

[44]) Voir G. Madec, «*Christus, scientia et sapientia nostra*: le principe de cohérence de la doctrine augustinienne», *Rech. Aug.* 10, 1976, p. 77-85.

Résumé

L'image du Christ-médecin qui est une des grandes figures de la prédication d'Augustin n'était pas étrangère à la tradition philosophique ou rhétorique. Elle est en outre présente dès les écrits de Cassiciacum. Ce travail s'efforce de montrer comment peut s'élaborer un «schéma augustinien», et comment l'enseignement de Cicéron, le néoplatonisme et la foi chrétienne se rencontrent à travers cette métaphore, et se synthétisent en la personne du Christ.

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St. Augustine's Confessions: A Prelude to Psychoanalytic Theory

Some years ago, Jean Guitton, in a study entitled "The Interior Man in History" attempted to compare St. Augustine's insights on the theme with those of modern thinkers[1]). Not surprisingly, the first to be considered was Sigmund Freud. Guitton indicated that in Augustine are already found the notion of libido, the idea of the "actual perversion" of infancy, and the existence of the unconscious[2]). Albeit his judgement is in need of abundant clarification, Guitton is certainly on the right track. The more one reads Augustine with Freud in mind the more intimations of psychoanalytic theory come to the surface, insights which lead to Freudian themes, though they are encountered within a complex of radically different presuppositions.

Freud, in the *Standard Edition* of his psychological works, cites Augustine only twice, on curiosities rather than speculative themes[3]). Nevertheless, in spite of this absence of substantive references, it is possible to expand on Guitton. A good case can be made that many of Freud's themes are anticipated by Augustine and that the *Confessions* proves the point. Some themes are not found in his speculations but are acted out, performed, in the unfolding of a life which is so vividly depicted in nine of the thirteen books. It dovetails with the meaning of the verb '*confiteri*' which, as Guardini suggested "signifies a stepping forth from the inmost reserve to the open, the public ... here ... it is taken Godwards"[4]). Augustine tells us as much[5]).

[1]) *The Modernity of St. Augustine*, trans. by A.V. Littledale (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1959), pp. 19-24.

[2]) *Ibid.* p. 20.

[3]) *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1971-1974), 24 Volumes, the Standard Edition (S.E.). Augustine is mentioned in the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, SE, 6, p. 10 as an example in free association and the *The Psychology of Love*, SE, 11, p. 104 with regard to a Roman Marriage custom.

[4]) *The Conversion of Augustine*, trans. by Elinor Briefs (Westminster (Maryland): The Newman Press, 1960), p. 3.

[5]) *Confessions*, 10, 1-2, Translation used is R.S. Pine-Coffin (New York: Penguin, 1985).

In the *Confessions* we are faced by incisive remarks on a multiplicity of psychological topics: infancy, adolescence, the affects, concupiscence, laughter, dreams, and memory, all of which point in the general direction of the Freudian notions of libido, the stages of psychic development, the unconscious, narcissism, and the splitting of the personality. Moreover, we find hints of what Freud would later call the "oceanic feeling" (of intra-uterine existence), as well as relevant observations concerning body-language, aggression, play, ambivalence, overdetermination, and other Freudian ports-of-call. All while portraying what a Freudian would doubtless interpret as a slow and painful resolution of the Oedipal conflict, possibly only resolved by the death of the indomitable Monica.

A brief study can scarcely cover all of these points. The most that can be done is to cover those themes which can be discussed with a modicum of clarity and precision in spite of the complexity of the subject matter. Three principal themes will be addressed: infancy, concupiscence, and memory, Augustine's analogue to Freud's unconscious. Of course, the spiritual dimension of Augustine's thought cannot be sacrified. As Gilson has indicated, "Augustine's metaphysical analysis of the inner life has shown us a mind whose awareness of God's hidden presence within moves it to try to see Him more clearly"[6]). His psychology begins with original sin and its two principal effects, concupiscence and ignorance[7]). Freud's position is opposed to Augustine. He secularizes psychic life while remaining sensitive to the exigencies of the spirit viewed solely as phenomena. His aspiration to extend the domain of the Ego over regions of the Id, to reduce the irrational factor in man, fails to take the trans-psychic, [in which the believer finds his fulfillment], into account. Freud seems to be left with Augustine's Devil while losing Augustine's Angel on the way. That the former has been so speculatively fruitful is a tribute to both thinkers.

Infancy

The reader of the *Confessions* is usually unsettled by Augustine's portrait of himself as an infant, a portrait derived from observation and

[6]) *The Christian Philosophy of St. Augustine*, Trans. L.E.M. Lynch (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 116.

[7]) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

personal experience. The infant is seen as dominated by desire for immediate gratification:

> I began to realize where I was and to make my wishes known to others, who might satisfy them ... if they were not carried out ... I would get cross with my elders ... and take my revenge by bursting into tears[8]).

Infants try to hurt, to strike, others. Although they desire to do harm, as they are physically unable to carry out their will they are considered to be innocent[9]). Augustine was troubled by the Scriptural injunction that "the kingdom of heaven belongs to such as these" (Matthew 19,14). As infants are neither virtuous nor truly innocent, he concluded that Jesus used children to symbolize humility simply because they are small[10]).

Augustine provides a vivid description of his adolescence, moving from his dislike for studies, beatings, the first urges of lust, petty lies and evasions, and, not least, the pervasive influence of his mother Monica. Looking back after many years he views these early years as the seedbed of both his misfortunes and his conversion to Christianity. In the midst of his account, Augustine veers away to discuss such psychologically interesting topics as body language and intra-uterine existence[11]). Body language, with Freud, will become incorporated into psychoanalytic technique, while intra-uterine existence becomes the origin of that "oceanic feeling" which Freud thought was intimately connected with the genesis of religion[12]).

Freud was no less realistic than Augustine in his assessment of infancy. He adopted the ponderous term "polymorphous perversity" to characterize the stage. But this frequentyly misunderstood term (perhaps even by Guitton) simply means that the infant's constitution contains the 'germs' of all perversions, not that the infant is in fact morally perverse. In some persons these 'germs' develop into what Freud calls "the actual vehicules of sexual activity", which is to say perversions. In other persons, submitted to insufficient repression, they develop as neurotic symptoms, and in yet others, through effective

[8]) *Conf.*, 1, 6, 7.
[9]) *Ibid.*, 1, 7.
[10]) *Ibid.*, 1, 19.
[11]) *Ibid.*, 1, 6.
[12]) *Ibid.*, 1, 19.

restriction, they bring about relative normality[13]). There is a radical difference between the child and the adult in who these 'germs' have developed. Although Freud was considered liberal in his day, he considered homosexuality to be a perversion, a judgement which has been set to one side by many of his followers.

Infancy is crucial in other ways. Freud believed that the unconscious was, in a way, the infantile, a part of the self which had detached itself in infancy and consequently had not participated in the later stages of the self's development[14]). He agreed with Rank that the child's attachment to the mother can be traced back to the "pre-historic intra-uterine period" and that this provided the biological foundation of the Oedipus complex, of such central importance in his speculations, which he once described as "unconscious love relations marked by abnormal consequences"[15]). Moreover, Freud believed that the religious *Weltschauung* is determined in childhood, that the adult exalts the childhood image of his father. In this way, the child transforms this image into something contemporary and real, which is to say, into a god[16]).

Augustine's remarks on education, observations on corporal punishment and the relation of learning to smut have Freudian intimations. He indicated that "the words (of a poem) are certainly not learnt any the more easily by reason of the filthy moral ... (the words) ... are like choice and costly glasses which contain the wine of error"[17]). Yet he knew his Terrence well, wept over the fate of Dido, enjoyed the theatre, but never learnt Greek adequately. Freud believed that children have a sexual life (not to be equated with genital), and that education is society's way of taming and restricting their sexuality. This, Freud insisted, is an important task since if it were left undone civilization itself would be in jeopardy[18]). The child enjoys playing with words. Sexually stimulating words are memorized more easily because of his natural interest in sexual matters. Augustine's complaint that "grownup games are known as business, and even though boy's games are much

[13]) *Three Essays on Sexuality*, SE, 7, pp. 171-172.

[14]) *A Case of Obsessional Neurosis*, SE 10, pp. 177-178.

[15]) *A Case of Histeria*, SE, 7, p. 56; *Three Essays in Sexuality*, SE, 7, p. 226, note 1 (added in 1924).

[16]) *New Introductory Lectures*, SE, 23, p. 163.

[17]) *Conf.*, 1, 16.

[18]) *General Theory of Neurosis*, SE, 16, pp. 311-312.

the same, they are punished for them by their elders"[19]) is echoed centuries later by Freud's observation that children are made to feel that everyone except themselves fulfills ethical demands. He adds that preparing children for life under this misapprehension is like equipping people going on a polar expedition with summer clothing and maps of the Italian lakes[20]).

Concupiscence

The theme of concupiscence is possibly found on more pages of the *Confessions* than any other theme except the love of God. The "*carnales corruptiones animae meae*" is a constant refrain. Towards the end of the book, perhaps recalling Plato's image of the soul as a many-headed beast[21]), Augustine indicates that if the soul follows in the steps of Christ, the "beasts within" will become good, gentle, and tame[22]). This did not occur until a relatively late date in his own case. Throughout the *Confessions* his outrage at the effects of concupiscence makes itself heard ... loudly, berating himself continuously. He lived in "a hissing cauldron of lust"[23]) chained to a habit which would never be sated[24]), "a prisoner of lust"[25]), a person who muddied the stream of friendship with the filth of lewdness[26]). And so on. In point of fact, Augustine's own friendships could be painfully intense. His youthful reaction to the death of a friend was more anguished than his later reaction to the death of Monica[27]), a relationship which he realized was overly intense on both sides[28]). Augustine learned that concupiscence in all its forms diminishes in man only to the extent that charity grows[29]).

Here again it is the side remark, the isolated insight, the occasional but profound analysis, which merit attention: the pear-tree incident[30]),

[19]) *Conf.*, 1, 9.

[20]) *Civilization and its Discontents*, SE, 21, p. 134, note 1.

[21]) The soul is a fantastic compound of a man, a lion surrounded by snakes, and a many-headed beast having tame and wild animal heads which it can produce and change by itself.. *Republic*, 588b.

[22]) *Conf.*, 13, 21.

[23]) *Ibid.*, 3, 1-2.

[24]) *Ibid.*, 6, 12.

[25]) *Ibid.*, 6, 15.

[26]) *Ibid.*, 3, 1-2.

[27]) *Ibid.*, 4, 14.

[28]) *Ibid.*, 5, 8, 9, 13.

[29]) *Ibid.*, 13, 7 et al.

[30]) *Ibid.*, 2, 4.

exploited but still worthy of mention, remarks on the relation of friendship of lust[31]), glimpses of sadism at the arena with Alypius as the counter-Augustine[32]). The noxious attraction of Manichaean dualism in which Freudian mechanisms of defense move under the surface[33]), and his magisterial analysis of the senses, come together in an impressive collage. Augustine indicates that the sense of smell hardly interested him[34]) — rather odd in a self-proclaimed sensualist! — but that sounds did. Before and after his conversion he enjoyed religious hymns and, as a good Platonist, noted the affinity between music and the emotions: certain modes in song and voice correspond to emotions and are able to stimulate them[35]). Augustine is primarily a visual man. The eye delights in beautiful shapes and bright colors; "for light, the Queen of colors, pervades all I see ... and by the everchanging pattern of its rays it entices me even when I am occupied with something else"[36]). Sight remained a temptation, especially as its "sensuality" can be displaced from the bodily to the mental 'eye' in the form of *curiositas*, the vain desire for useless knowledge[37]).

Augustine's frenetic life led him to God, that abode of peace where he was meant to be: "*amor meus, pondus meum*"[38]). At the end he found himself "whole and entire", in God, rescued from a world which had, through its structures, disfigured and polluted him[39]). The increase of charity brought about a muting of the four fundamental passions (desire, joy, fear, and sorrow) and a loosening of their grasp on the soul. Following a Platonic principle, now made Christian, he advises man to turn away from the love of perishable, material things (which make him perishable) to the love of God which prods him towards God and ultimate deification. The divine initiative working

[31]) *Ibid.*, 3, 2.

[32]) *Ibid.*, 3, 8; 10. 35; 6. 8.

[33]) *Ibid.*, 5, 10: "I still thought that it is not we who sin but some other nature that sins within us ... I preferred to excuse myself and blame this unknown thing which was in me but no part of me". This later developed into the notion of two wills "one servant of the flesh, the other of the spirit". *Conf.*, 8, 5.

[34]) *Ibid.*, 10, 32.

[35]) *Ibid.*, 10, 33.

[36]) *Ibid.*, 10, 34.

[37]) *Ibid.*, 13, 21.

[38]) *Ibid.*, 13, 9.

[39]) *Ibid.*, 12, 16.

through his life secured Augustine's release from the fetters of lust binding him to the things of the world[40]).

In Freud the spiritual dimension has been emptied and is present only as a mere phenomenon. Religion is reduced to an illusion which fixates the believer in a state of psychic infantilism. He held several rather fanciful explanations regarding the origins of the God-notion[41]). Lacking a metaphysical explanation of reality did not prevent Freud from elaborating an explanation of the genesis of Deity in the domain of psychic activity. It derives from the economics of the libido, the energy of the instinctual forces of sexual life[42]).

In a poetic mood, Freud once compared libido to the *Eros* of the poets and philosophers which holds all living things together, citing Empedocles with approval in his last major and least optimistic work, because he anticipated the psychoanalytic theory of instincts[43]). In any case, to attach too much libido to the things of the external world or to retain it avaricously in the Ego can lead to painful variations on the spectrum of neurosis. Unlike Augustine's concupiscence, libido is not the result of an original fault. There is no original fault! Libido is part of the structure of man as he is.

It has a direct connection with the religious. In the draft of an early letter to Fliess, Freud states that holiness is the product of the sacrifice of libido for the benefit of the larger community[44]). At this point he begins to elaborate the important notion of sublimation, a developmental process which is able to channel and utilize the sources of energy which neurotics sacrifice to their neuroses. The libido remains at hand while the "unserviceable aim" is replaced by a higher aim which need not be sexual[45]). If Freud was correct in assuming that premature repression makes sublimation of the repressed instinct impossible, we all may be very much in debt to Augustine's 'wild years' and his consequent laborious, painful, and anguished transformation. In any case, the energy expended by him in these early years, was, in

[40]) *Ibid.*, 8, 6.

[41]) *Civilization and its Discontents*, SE, 21, pp. 84-85; *The Future of an Illusion.*, SE, 22; *An Infantile Neurosis*, SE, 17, p. 114, et at.

[42]) *General Theory of Neurosis*, SE, 16, p. 413; *New Introductory Lectures*, SE, 22, p. 96.

[43]) *Analysis Terminable and Interminable*, SE, 23, pp. 245-246.

[44]) Draft N, Note 3 (May 31, 1987), SE, 1, pp. 255-257.

[45]) *Five Lectures in Psychoanalysis*, SE, 11, pp. 53-54.

retrospect, far less impressive in outcome than that expended during his lengthy and prolific career as Bishop and scholar.

A further note on the senses. Freud was more attuned to olfactory phenomena than Augustine. At one time he sympathized with Fliess' rather bizarre theories concerning the intimate connection between the nose and sexuality, urging that the sense of smell has particular importance in obsessional neuroses[46]). The auditory sense was not his forte. Music was a closed book to him. He admitted that "some rationalistic turn of mind in me rebels against being moved by a thing without knowing why I am thus affected"[47]). He regarded speech as the connecting link between material in the Ego and the residues of visual and auditory perception in the unconscious[48]). Freud enjoyed works of art, especially sculpture, and accorded sight a privileged role in the development of civilization. None the less, Freud's rather drab collection of artifacts would probably not have impressed a man in love with brilliant colors such as Augustine.

Memory

Although the discovery of the unconscious has often been attributed to Freud by the uninformed, even his biographer-disciple, Ernest Jones, cites two obscure, nineteenth century predecessors[49]). More illustratious antecedents can be unearthed: the notion of the unconscious is already found, not fully articulated, in Plato's speculations on the tyrannical man in the Ninth Book of the *Republic*[50]). Closer at hand, Eduard von Hartmann's monumental *Die Philosophie des Unbewussten* was published in 1869.

In Augustine's thought there is no exact equivalent to Freud's unconscious though his notion of memory (*memoria*) comes closest. Memory contains past and present, the objects both of sense and intellect, ideas and things, mathematical principles and feelings, all that is known regardless of the mind's consciousness[51]). No wonder Augus-

[46]) *A Case of Obsessional Neurosis*, SE, 10, pp. 247-248.

[47]) *The Moses of Michelangelo*, SE, 13, p. 211.

[48]) *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, SE, 23, pp. 162-163.

[49]) According to Jones these two predecessors were Sir Samuel Wilkes and Theodor Lipps. *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work*, Vol. 1 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1972), pp. 435-436.

[50]) *Republic*, 9, 571e.

[51]) *Conf.*, 10, 14; 16.

tine exclaims: "although it is part of my nature, I cannot understand all that I am ... the mind is too narrow to contain itself entirely"[52]). The memory may even be said to contain God Himself as He is present as giver of life and light. Because of this, the soul is able to recollect God, be attentive to His continuous presence[53]). The memory is truly awe-inspiring in its profoundity and incalculable complexity[54]).

Augustine, unlike Freud, makes no direct connection between dreams and the unconscious even though when he does speculate on dreams his observations are to the psychological point. Inhibitions are less weighty in dreams than in the waking state, so that lewd dreams not only generate pleasure but are acquiesced to by the dreamer. The "illusory images" of the dream seem to be more powerful than waking vision. But this is subject to modification. Augustine believes that God will deliver him, that more abundant grace will make it possible for him not to embrace these images, even in sleep[55]). In any case, the *Confessions* says little of his dreams while stressing those of Monica. As Peter Brown suggests, Monica clung to the traditional practices of the African Church, in which dreams were given privileged status[56]). Augustine recounts several of these dreams and though it is difficult for a post-freudian not to think of them as wish-fulfillments, at least on a human level, Monica was hardly credulous and claimed to be able to discern between ordinary dreams and revelations[57]).

Augustine's inner pilgimage has very little in common with Freud's self-analysis. He enters himself, not to understand the workings of the human psyche, or cure a neurosis, but to find God:

> You were there before my eyes, but I had deserted even my own self. I could not find myself, much less find you[58]).

Through a movement of transcendence Augustine arrives at the vision of the light which never fails. Above the frenetic activity of the soul described with such verve, he encounters the stable, permanent, never

[52]) *Ibid.*, 10, 10.
[53]) The most notable passages are found in *De Trinitate*. 14, 7-9; 15-21.
[54]) *Conf.*, 10, 17.
[55]) *Ibid.*, 10, 30.
[56]) Peter BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 29; 32-33.
[57]) *Conf.*, 6, 13.
[58]) *Ibid.*, 5, 2.

changing eternity of God[59]). The delightful account of Augustine and Monica's experience at Ostia, perhaps best described as an elevation in tandem, illustrates this spiritual ascent:

> While we spoke of the eternal Wisdom, longing for it and straining for it with all the strength of our hearts, for one fleeting moment we reached out and touched it[60]).

In contrast to Augustine, Freud viewed the unconscious as hermetically sealed off from transcendence. If Augustine's theory can be said to be, with only some exaggeration, Platonic recollection baptized, Freud's theory could be considered Platonic recollection turned on its head. In the unconscious the laws of the "conscious system" do not apply. The unconscious does not contain negation, doubt, degrees of certainty, contradiction, time, or change[61]). Freud warned against the analyst's temptation to treat unconscious processes as if they were conscious ones, as they are bound to seem preposterous from the vantage-point of consciousness[62]). The dividing line between conscious and unconscious processes fluctuates in children but is clearly drawn in adults. Freud once made a crude illustration comparing the unconscious to a large entrance hall where mental impulses jostle one another, attempting to enter a drawing room while passing the inspection of a watchman-censor[63]).

In a phrase since become notorious, Freud called the interpretation of dreams the royal road to the unconscious. But there are other, less exhalted paths: parapraxes of all sorts, forgetting, slips of the tongue and pen, bungled actions, and so forth[64]). In all of these instances the true instigator is the unconscious impulse. The higher elaborations of the human mind are excluded. There is no exit! To probe into the unconscious is always to probe ... below! From Freud's viewpoint the danger at hand consists in projecting these unconscious impulses outwards to generate an illusory world. Very much the sceptic, he believed that the most venerable beliefs of mankind, such as God, paradise, the Fall, and immortality, came into being in precisely this way, through

[59]) *Ibid.*, 8, 10-16.
[60]) *Ibid.*, 9, 10.
[61]) *The Unconscious*, SE, 14, esp. pp. 186-189.
[62]) *An Infantile Neurosis*, SE, 17, p. 79; *New Introductory Lecture*, SE, 22, pp. 16-22.
[63]) *General Theory of the Neurosis*, SE 16, pp. 295-296.
[64]) *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, SE, 6.

the transformation of Metaphysics into Metapsychology[65]). The mythical in its most primitive form still exists in the underbelly of modern religion and is, to a great extent, responsible in charting its course.

Conclusion

In this brief study we have attempted to indicate points of resemblance and contrast, similarities of tone, and theme, between Augustine and Freud. None the less, perhaps the two most fascinating themes have been carefully avoided because of their complexity and ambiguity. These are the relation between Augustine's Manichaean background and the splitting of the personality, and the possible resolution of his Oedipal conflict. Many precious texts refer to these themes. The first is a task of major proportions which falls outside the scope of the present modest study. The second is blatantly irreverent, an exercise in superficial psycho-history. To resuscitate this tremendous personality so as to subject him to psychoanalytic scrutiny is inane. In any case, the themes here presented in a fragmentary and arbitrary manner, can become points of departure for future exploration.

Doubtless, there is a vast field to which the present speculations can lead, albeit tangential to the theme under direct consideration. One of these, perhaps the most important, is the structure of society, at which point the *City of God* is not lacking points of contact with *Civilization and its Discontents*. For Augustine, social life, like man, is fallen and subject to sin. The role of government is to secure the fabric of society against the forces of chaos and disintegration. Freud has an equally realistic not to say pessimistic view of society where the ever increasing weight of repression provides the impetus for civilization.

But where Freud views mankind as basically uniform, subject to multiple variations only on the individual level, Augustine distinguishes a social duality, the "two cities" constituted by different loves. Only the *civitas terrena*, having abandoned God as its center and ultimate allegiance by accepting a perverse and selfish love, is fully subject to the vicissitudes described by Freud. More could be said about Augustine's notion of "*libido dominandi*", and other related themes[66]), but here we

[65]) *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.

[66]) Refer to R.A. MARKUS, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of St. Augustine* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988).

cross the border into new, interesting, and promising investigations, but also, at the moment, to the end of the present study.

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Le P. Baudouin ab Housta O.S.A. et sa thèse soutenue à Saint-Trond en 1709

La partie limbourgeoise de l'ancien diocèse de Liège n'eut guère à souffrir des querelles jansénistes et antijansénistes. Luttant plutôt contre la pauvreté, elle restait à l'écart des courants intellectuels. Pourtant Saint-Trond, petite ville, avait son ancienne abbaye bénédictine hébergeant une trentaine de moines, sa collégiale de treize chanoines, son Petit Séminaire avec quatre professeurs, plusieurs paroisses, un couvent de récollets, un autre de capucins, de plus un béguinage et plusieurs communautés féminines desservies par des prêtres[1]). Mais aucun ecclésiastique résidant ne fut suspect de jansénisme ou d'antijansénisme[2]), à part un certain Pierre Reynders, vicaire au béguinage, inquiété pour refus de la bulle *Unigenitus*[3]).

Toutefois, plus d'un Trudonais se firent remarquer ailleurs pour leurs tendances jansénistes ou antijansénistes[4]).

[1]) L'abbaye de Saint-Trond a bien attiré l'attention des historiens, surtout du Moyen Age, mais sur la ville comme telle il n'existe guère d'études d'ensemble. Très utile reste toujours G. Simenon, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire des paroisses qui dépendaient de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond*, Liège, 1908.

[2]) Pour une orientation voir G. Simenon, *Le jansénisme au pays de Liège*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastisque de Liège*; 16 (1924) 87-99; P. Gorissen, *Bonaventura Moors Ord. Erem. S. Augustini*, dans *Verzamelde Opstellen*, Hasselt, 15 (1939) 173-183; Bruno Demoulin, *Politique et croyances religieuses d'un évêque et prince de Liège, Joseph-Clément de Bavière (1694-1723)*, Liège, 1983.

[3]) Voir J. Daris, *Histoire du diocèse et de la principauté de Liège pendant le XVIIe siècle*, Liège, 1877, II, 390; Id., *Notices sur les églises du diocèse de Liège*, Liège, 1899, XVII, 52. Ce vicaire se réfugia plus tard en Hollande et devint curé à Amersfoort.

[4]) Laurent Neesen (1612-1679), durant 40 ans directeur du Grand séminaire à Malines, fut l'auteur d'un manuel de théologie dogmatique et morale; cf. *Biographie nationale ... de Belgique*, XV, 560-561.

Josse-Théodore Hiegaarts, bénéficiare à Klein-Vorsen, chanoine de Saint-Barthélémy à Liège, sous-régent au collège du Lys à Louvain de 1728 à 1731, se réfugia en Hollande où il devint vicaire à Leyden et curé à Alsmeer; A. Kempeneers, *De oude vrijheid Montenaken*, Louvain, 1861, I, 193; G. Simenon, *Le jansénisme au pays de Liège*, art. cit., 99; E. Reusens, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'université de Louvain*, Louvain, 1886-88, IV, 240.

Le P. Tranquillin de Saint-Trond (Banx) (1647-1728), provincial, fut à l'époque de la bulle *Unigenitus* un ardent antijanséniste, qui mit le trouble dans la communauté des capucins de Saint-Trond; cf. L. Ceyssens, *De difficultatibus praetextu jansenismi in provincia Flandro-Belgica Min. Capuccinorum excitatis*, dans *Collectanea franciscana*, 8 (1939) 384-

Contrairement à Saint-Trond, la petite ville abbatiale, Liège, la grande ville épiscopale, avec son séminaire[5]), ses chapitres, ses paroisses, ses monastères et couvents, connut largement le jansénisme, venu de France, et encore plus l'antijansénisme qui servait tant d'intérêts inavoués. Même l'évêque Joseph-Clément de Bavière (1694-1723)[6]) en profita volontiers pour obtenir l'indulgence des papes, du fait que sa haute situation était bien irrégulière, tant par le cumul de plusieurs évêchés (il était entre autres aussi archevêque de Cologne à partir de 1688) que pour n'avoir pas reçu d'ordres sacrés (avant 1706) et pour mener une vie sacerdotale peu édifiante[7]). Voulant renforcer son équilibre, il cherchait aussi l'appui des jésuites[8]) auxquels — non sans rencontrer des résistances — il confia son grand séminaire en 1699[9]).

394; cf. 9 (1939) 383-388. Voir aussi le P. Hildebrand, *De kapucijnen in de Nederlanden*, VII, Antwerpen, 1952, 606, où on trouvera d'autres références.

[5]) André Grandsard, *Histoire du Grand Séminaire de Liège jusqu'au milieu du XVIIe siècle*, Liège, 1955.

[6]) *Biographie nationale ... de Belgique*, X, 552-557; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, VII, 9-11; J. Daris, *Histoire du diocèse*, II, 344-423; R. Bragard, *Fénelon, Joseph-Clément de Bavière et le jansénisme à Liège*, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 43 (1948) 473-491; l'ouvrage de B. Demoulin cité dans la note 2.

[7]) C'était su, il vécut d'abord avec la comtesse Fugger, épouse du compte François, son serviteur et plus tard ministre; ensuite avec la Lilloise Clémence-Constance Desgrosseillers (Madame de Ruysbeck) dont il aura deux fils — plus tard légitimés, Jean-Batiste-Victor et Antoine-Liévin-Joseph, comtes de Grosberg — et qui restera malgré les nonces et le général des jésuites — avec lui jusqu'à la fin de sa vie. A l'exemple de Madame de Maintenon (femme secrète de Louis XIV), elle influa à Liège et à Bonn sur la conduite des affaires. Maur van de Heyden, abbé de Saint-Trond, aura en 1722 recours à elle; cf. Demoulin, *Politique*, passim, et plus spécialement p. 319. Cf. *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, Paris, 1863, II, 590-593.

[8]) Les jésuites furent très influents à Liège. Ils y avaient deux maisons, l'une appartenant à la province Gallo-belge; l'autre à la province anglaise en exil. De plus Joseph-Clément tirait de la province bavaroise ses confesseurs et prédicateurs successifs. Les Ignaciens étaient présents au séminaire comme directeurs et professeurs (cf. infra) et au synode, comme examinateurs et comme conseillers; cf. Demoulin, *Politique*, passim.

[9]) Cet épisode attira l'attention des historiens. Voir entre autres J. Daris, *Histoire du diocèse*, II, 367-383; Simenon, *Le jansénisme au pays de Liège*, art. cit. 88-96. J'ai publié moi-même *«L'affaire du Séminaire de Liège» d'après l'historien janséniste Gabriel du Pac de Bellegarde (1786)* dans *Annuaire de la Commission de l'Ancien Pays de Liège*, 3 (1947) 665-762.

Le P. Louis Sabran, jésuite anglais, nouveau directeur du Séminaire fut un antijanséniste ardent qui par deux fois, en 1703 et 1704, transporta à ses confrères du Collège de Louis le Grand à Paris, la partie à intérêt français des papiers de Quesnel qui venaient d'être confisqués à Bruxelles. Louis XIV et Madame de Maintenon purent en faire leur lecture. De la sorte, ce directeur contribua à l'origine de la bulle *Vineam Domini* (1705) et *Unigenitus* (1713). Il n'aura pas été étranger aux difficultés que rencontra à Liège en 1709 la thèse de Saint-Trond.

Pendant les guerres de la Succession d'Espagne, ayant choisi pour la France, Joseph-Clément doit fuir devant les armées alliées. Du 2 novembre 1702 au 28 juillet 1704, il réside à Namur d'où il lance le 20 mars 1704 un décret contre le jansénisme, qui est renforcé le mois suivant[10]). Le 6 septembre 1705, il publie la bulle pontificale *Vineam Domini*[11]), profitant de l'occasion pour introduire le formulaire anti-janséniste, qui pourtant avait déjà causé ailleurs tant de difficultés. Le bref pontifical du 13 juillet 1708, condamnant le *Nouveau Testament* de Quesnel, ne trouva aucune répercussion à Liège. Il n'en fut pas de même quant à la thèse soutenue à Saint-Trond le 4 juin 1709.

L'énoncé

Elle parut en imprimé: *Conclusiones theologicae ex prima parte et prima secundae quas praeside F. Balduino de Housta Ord. FF. Erem. S. Augustini in imperiali et perantiqua abbatia S. Trudonis S. Theolog. Professore, defendent D. Lambertus Roelants, D. Amandus vander Eycken, D. Philippus van Leeuw eiusdem abbatiae religiosi, Trudonopoli in praefato monasterio S. Trudonis 4 Junii 1709, hora 8. ante et 2. post meridiem. Lovanii, typis Guilielmi Stryckwant, sub Lampade aurea.* In-12°, 34 pages non numérotées.

Une thèse à soutenir publiquement, c'était certes une rareté à Saint-Trond. Le président de la joute le fit remarquer en parlant dans son adresse à l'abbé de *prima conamina*. Qu'elles furent imprimées à Louvain, n'a rien d'étonnant; ce ne fut qu'en 1720 que le premier imprimeur s'installa dans la ville abbatiale[12]).

Le président

Le professeur abbatial, présidant la thèse, Baudouin ab Housta n'appartenait pas à l'ordre de saint Benoît, mais à celui de saint

[10]) Par le premier décret il condamna le jansénisme et flétrit le *Cas de conscience* et 83 autres publications jansénistes; par le second il excommunia même ceux qui entretiendraient des relations avec les jansénistes infiltrés dans le diocèse de Liège tels que Quesnel, Ernest Ruth d'Ans, Guillaume van de Nesse, mais il fut obligé par Rome de révoquer cette dernière mesure, dont il attribua la responsabilité à son vicaire général pendant son absence; Simenon, *Le Jansénisme*, art. cit., 96-97.

[11]) L. Ceyssens, *La bulle «Vineam Domini» (1705) et le jansénisme français*, dans *Antonianum*, 64 (1989) 388-430.

[12]) Cf. J. Grauwels, *Bijdrage tot de biografie van J.B. Smits, drukker te Sint-Truiden*, dans *Historische bijdragen opgedragen aan P. Archangelus Houbaert o.f.m.*, Sint-Truiden, 1980, 89-93.

Augustin. La présence de ce professeur étranger étonne un peu, parce que l'abbaye hébergeait des moines qui avaient fait des études aux universités de Cologne ou de Louvain. Il arriva même qu'elle céda un théologien pour enseigner chez les confrères de Malmédy[13]). Toutefois, nous apprenons aussi que le futur abbé Maur vander Heyden, dont nous reparlerons, fit sa théologie à Saint-Trond sous «le très savant» Dom Gérard Wullfrack, confrère de Saint-Pantaléon à Cologne, et que sous lui il soutint des thèses à l'abbaye[14]). Rien d'étonnant donc que, à la suite de son expérience personnelle, Maur, devenu abbé, fit appel à un habile professeur étranger.

Le P. Baudouin ab Housta[15]) naquit d'une famille originaire d'Allemagne à Tubize en 1677, entra chez les augustins d'Enghien en 1693, fit ses études d'abord à Anvers où il défendit des thèses en 1696, ensuite à Louvain, où, en 1699, il était répondant à d'autres thèses. En 1701, il reçut la prêtrise, en 1705 il s'inscrivit à l'université de Louvain, sans doute pour légaliser son degré académique de bachelier formé en théologie. Chez les siens, il enseigna pendant quelque temps la philosophie. Ensuite, pendant dix ans, il professa la théologie dans différentes abbayes bénédictines, successivement à Saint-Trond, Grammont, Affligem et Tournai. En 1718, il devint prieur des augustins à Louvain, où, le 19 novembre de la même année, il souscrivit avec sa communauté le formulaire antijanséniste du cardinal d'Alsace, archevêque de Malines[16]), et où, de 1720 à 1730, il enseigna la théologie; il fut trois fois définiteur (membre du conseil provincial) 1736-39; 1745-48; 1757-60; et deux fois provincial: 1739-42; 1748-51. Il mourut à Enghien le 13 mai 1760, dans la 83e année de son âge, la 68e de sa vie religieuse, la 39e de son sacerdoce.

Homme d'étude, Baudouin ne s'occupait pas seulement de philosophie et de théologie, mais également d'histoire. A la suite de son enseignement chez les bénédictins, il écrivit entre autres des Vies des

[13]) C'était le cas d'Erard (Joseph) Govaerts, qui enseigna à Malmédy de 1699 à 1701, lorsqu'il devint maître des novices à Saint-Trond; *Necrologium* (ms.) n° 97.

[14]) J. Hoyoux, *Trois procès de nominations d'abbés de Saint-Trond*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 35 (1963) 324; cf. 315.

[15]) Cf. *Biographie nationale ... de Belgique*, IX, 542; F.X. Feller, *Biographie universelle*, IV (1856) 500; Reusens, *Documents*, V, 317; Nicolas de Tombeur, *Provincia belgica Ord. ... Augustini*, Louvain, 1727, 134; les fichiers de feu Norbert Teeuwen à Louvain-Heverlee, qui ont été mis aimablement à ma disposition.

[16]) *Acta ecclesiae Mechliniensis anni 1718 circa bullam Unigenitus*, Bruxelles, (1718), 111-113.

Saints, en 1722 d'Adrien, patron de Grammont, en 1723, de Trudo et d'Eucher, patrons de Saint-Trond. En 1733, il attaqua l'immense *Histoire ecclésiastique* de Claude Fleury, dont il flétrit «la mauvause foi» et «la grande conformité ... avec les hérétiques des derniers siècles», mais non sans être refuté[17]).

Le 9 juin 1709, il fit donc défendre sa thèse à l'abbaye de Saint-Trond.

Les défendants

Jean Roelants (en religion Dom Lambert) naquit à Saint-Trond le 26 mai 1679; il avait donc, à deux ans près, l'âge du président; entra en 1696, fit profession en 1798, et devint prêtre en 1702 de sorte qu'il fut déjà un vétéran au moment d'entrer en scène comme défendant[18]).

Pierre van der Eycken (en religion Dom Amand) naquit à Saint-Trond, fils de Mathieu et de Gertrude Celis, entra en 1698, fit profession en 1701, fut prêtre en 1706. Trois ans plus tard, il défendit sous le P. Housta. Encore trois ans plus tard il se rendit à Louvain pour des études complémentaires; à partir de 1716 il enseigna philosophie dans son abbaye, devint en 1718 maître des novices, enseigna la théologie et fut élu abbé en 1730. Il se montra antijanséniste et mourut le 11 septembre 1751[19]).

Pierre van Leeuw (en religion Dom Philippe) troisième défendant, naquit à Léau en 1863 de Jacques et d'Isabelle Claire van Roye, entra en 1700, à l'âge de 17 ans, fit profession en 1703, et devint prêtre en 1707; en 1710, après la défense, il devint maître des novices «zelosissimus»; en 1712, comme ses deux collègues défendants, il se rendit à Louvain pour études complémentaires[20]); en 1730 on le rencontre comme «dispensator vigilantissimus» (économe très vigilant). Il mourut en 1732, à l'âge de 49 ans[21]).

[17]) Cf. Feller, *Dictionnaire*, IV, 500.

[18]) Voir le *Necrologium* de l'Abbaye, n° 119.

[19]) Ibid., n° 121; cf. *Monasticon Belgicum*, VI, 64.

[20]) A partir du 5 mars 1712 ces trois religieux furent logés à Louvain au collège de Liège, où ils prirent part «à la seconde table», mais furent si mal traités que le 20 août suivant ils quittèrent le logis; Archives du Royaume à Hasselt, Abbaye de Saint-Trond, reg. 131, f° 90.

[21]) *Necrologium*, n° 121.

Le contenu

Dans une brève dédicace la thèse est offerte à Maur vander Heyden[22]), abbé de l'abbaye impériale et *exempte* (notez le mot) de Saint-Trond, ville dont il est en même temps le seigneur temporel. «Ces premiers essais» plairont à cet abbé qui favorise les lettres et donne un exemple à suivre; «si nous défendons la grâce efficace invincible, c'est que nous la voyons incarnée en vous».

Le président n'offre pas des thèmes brefs et précis, mais des schémas doctrinaux concernant les deux premiers livres de la Somme de Saint Thomas: il touche notamment: la doctrine sacrée; Dieu et ses attributs; Dieu et la préscience; la prédestination et la réprobation; Dieu Trinité; les anges; l'état de nature intègre et pure[23]); l'amour et la vision de Dieu; les actes humains; leur fin, leur moralité, leur liberté; le péché actuel; le péché originel; la loi humaine et divine; la grâce efficace; la nécessité de la grâce; l'économie de la grâce; la justification; le mérite.

Naturellement, «l'impertinent» habituel ne manque pas. Il prend même une intéressante couleur locale. Le professeur augustin, spécialisée dans la doctrine de son saint père, sait l'importance que, pour la doctrine de la prédestination augustinienne, prend la lecture du *vellent* ou du *vellet* de l'*Enchiridion* de saint Augustin[24]). Certes, en écriture, la différence est minime, le *n* de vell*en*t s'exprimant par un mince signe d'abréviation; mais pour la doctrine de la providence active de Dieu chez Augustin, elle est de conséquence. Elle a mis les éditeurs des Œuvres de ce saint Père dans l'embarras, les anciens manuscrits les uns portant *vellent*, les autres *vellet*. Cependant les Mauristes, dans leur

[22]) Voir une notice biographique dans *Monasticon Belgicum*, VI, 63.

[23]) Comme nous le verrons, la thèse sera dénoncée comme janséniste; le seul point connu de cette dénonciation se rapportait à l'impossibilité de la nature pure. L'abbé écrivit le 30 novembre 1709 au nonce de Cologne: le président de la thèse soutint: «impossibilem hominem in puris iuxta praesentem ordinem»; Reg. 961, f° 2.
De fait, Baudouin, dans son paragraphe 6, relève plusieurs textes de saint Augustin et conclut: «Ex quibus abunde conficitur sub justo, bono et sapienter providente Deo, non esse possibilem statum rationalis creaturae omni auxilio supernaturali destitutae, seu in puris, ut aiunt, naturalibus relictae».
Albizzi, assesseur du Saint-Office, plus tard cardinal tout puissant, avait déjà voulu condamner cette doctrine dans sa bulle *In Eminenti* (1643), mais le P. Vincent Maculano O.P., commissaire du Saint-Office, l'en avait empêché; cf. L. Ceyssens, *L'origine romaine de la bulle In Eminenti*, dans *Jansenista, Etudes*, III, 56.

[24]) Cf. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, XL, 231.

édition de la fin du XVIIIe siècle, choisirent *vellent*[25]) tout en notant expressément que le *vellet* se lit aussi dans tel et tel ancien manuscrit. Ils mentionnèrent en particulier plusieurs manuscrits, mais non pas ceux de Saint-Trond qu'ils n'examineront qu'en 1713[26]). Le P. Baudouin les a devancés. En 1709, il a compulsé ces trésors et constaté qu'un très ancien manuscrit en parchemin porte clairement («lucidissimo caractere»; en caractères très clairs) *vellet* et non pas *vellent*. Il n'en tire aucune conclusion, mais la suggère.

Le président de la thèse, voulant être actuel, n'évita donc nullement les thèmes si âprement débattus à l'époque du jansénisme et de l'antijansénisme. Toutefois à un fils et disciple de saint Augustin, on ne peut reprocher de tenir un augustinisme intégral. Cependant c'est à voir s'il agissait prudemment.

La soutenance

Elle eut lieu le 4 juin 1709, un mardi ordinaire, lorsque, après un hiver extrêmement dur et tard, le printemps s'annonçait finalement. Puisque la thèse était «une nouveauté» du professeur, la salle impériale aura été, pour la session du matin et du soir, bien comble. Outre l'abbé avec ses moines, elle aura accueilli des représentants du chapitre, du Petit Séminaire, des curés, des récollets, des capucins, peut-être aussi des augustins de Bree, de Hasselt, de Tongres. Les amis de l'abbaye, prêts à applaudir, n'auront pas manqué ni les adversaires, observateurs soupçonneux.

Y eut-il des objectants sérieux, exigeant des explications suffisantes, insistant sans désister? Il semble que tout se passa au contentement général, à la gloire du président. Les défendants s'en tirèrent si bien que bientôt on leur offrirait d'aller compléter leurs études à Louvain.

Conséquences

Mais il y eut des assistants et sans doute aussi des lecteurs qui n'étaient pas contents, flairant le jansénisme. Bientôt, par précaution,

[25]) l.c.

[26]) La continuation de la Chronique de Saint-Trond note: «22 augusti 1713, hospitati fuerunt in nostro monasterio duo confratres Sancti Dionisii ex Gallia, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti congregationis Sancti Mauri, qui ex manuscriptis nostrae bibliothecae aliqua exscripserunt»; Archives du Royaume à Hasselt, Abbaye de Saint-Trond, reg. 131, f° 95.

l'abbé se rend à Liège et y restera plusieurs semaines, car il constate combien le «tumulte» autour de la thèse y est grand[27]). Le cas a été rapporté à l'évêque absent. Le président de la thèse a été cité à Liège, devant les examinateurs synodaux et n'a pas donné satisfaction à ces inquisiteurs[28]). Cela a rendu le cas encore plus alarmant: non seulement l'évêque à Valenciennes, mais le nonce à Cologne, dont la juridiction s'étend sur Saint-Trond, le pape et sans doute aussi le Saint-Office ont été mis au courant.

Le pape ordonne au nonce de visiter le plus tôt possible l'abbaye de Saint-Trond[29]). Le nonce avertit l'abbé qu'il examinera lui-même sérieusement la doctrine de la thèse, sans cependant y revenir par après dans sa correspondance[30]).

Sans se préoccuper de la thèse et de sa doctrine, Joseph-Clément a pris le 28 août 1709, deux mois après la soutenance de Saint-Trond, sa décision[28]). A la suite de la dénonciation qui lui a été faite, et des réponses insuffisantes que le P. Housta a données aux examinateurs synodaux, vu aussi que la thèse a été publiée sans autorisation épiscopale[31]), le président de la thèse doit être immédiatement renvoyé[32]).

[27]) Le 18 décembre 1709, l'abbé écrit de Liège au nonce de Cologne qu'il a prié l'évêque «ut theses examinentur quae tantum tumultum excitarunt»; Reg. 961, f° 6-7. En ce moment précis les antijansénistes liégeois élevèrent de vives contestations contre le chanoine Henri Denis et le carme Henri de Saint-Ignace, tenus pour jansénistes. Cf. Demoulin, *Politique*, passim.

[28]) Cf. infra note 32.

[29]) Registre 131, f° 28.

[30]) J.B. Bussi, d'abord internonce à Bruxelles (1698-1707), puis nonce à Cologne (1706-1712), d'après Fénelon (IV, 354) sans zèle suffisant contre les antijansénistes, écrit le 4 décembre 1709 à l'abbé: «...Praeterea nimis perfunctorie de thesibus ... ad nos scribit ... Paternitas vestra; volimus illas videre ... et quatenus doctrinae suspectae inveniantur obnoxiae prospeciemus...»; reg. 964, f° 5. Le 21 décembre le nonce ajoute: «...Brevitas temporis non permisit theses ... examinare; faciemus post expeditionem cursoris romani. Optimum tamen fuisset quamcumque vel dissitam erroris umbram devitare...» ibid., f° 5.

[31]) C'était pourtant admis que les thèses ne devaient pas être soumises à l'approbation ecclésiastique ou civile. En 1641, des thèses antijansénistes de l'ampleur d'un in-folio échappèrent à la censure sans conséquences. Mais par décret du 1er avril 1703, Joseph-Clément avait defendu d'imprimer «thèses et oraisons sans un examen de deux ou trois examinateurs synodaux et sans la permission du vicaire général; Demoulin, *Politique*, 132-133. Mais une impression lovaniste devait échapper à la juridiction liégeoise.

[32]) Voici le texte de cet important document épiscopal qui se trouve en tête du gros registre 964 contenant le dossier de la longue procédure qu'il va provoquer: «Perpensa denunciatione quae nobis facta est doctrinae Patris Balduini Housta, S. Theologiae lectoris in monasterio *nostro* Trudonensi contentae, in thesibus quas publice et sine nostra licet requisita licentia in eodem *nostro* monasterio nuper defensis, excessis etiam responsionibus quas ad quaestiones ea de re sibi propositas idem Pater examinatoribus nostris synodalibus dedit, venerabili et nobis dilecto abbati praetacti *nostri* monasterii auctoritate

Sans doute, le P. Housta ne s'attendit nullement à cette mesure discutable. Cependant, il ne semble pas s'y être opposé; d'autres abbayes bénédictines étaient prêtes à le recevoir. L'abbé de Saint-Trond ne semble pas non plus avoir résisté à l'évêque, du moins pas sur ce point. Car son attention fut entièrement concentrée sur l'exemption abbatiale que le décret épiscopal du 28 août voulait méconnaître. En effet, Joseph-Clément s'était froissé de l'adjectif *exempt* dont, dans sa dédicace, le président de la thèse avait orné l'abbaye de Saint-Trond. Désormais, de part et d'autre, le P. Housta, sa thèse et sa doctrine, seront oubliés. Pendant des années, avec des incidents imprévisibles, une procédure autour de cette exemption va traîner à Rome devant la Signature au grand dam de l'abbaye de Saint-Trond et de l'évêché de Liège.

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nostra ordinaria iniungimus ut, si theologiae lectore indigeat, alium sibi procuret, et Patrem Housta ad suos quamprimum remittat, utque deinceps in scriptis typo publico committendis et aliis quibusque a titulo *exempti monasterii Sancti Trudonis* abstineat nec eumdem exigat vel admittat».

Hugolin von Orvietos Lehre von der *scientia Dei* im Rahmen der Lehrentwicklungen 1250-1350*)

Einleitung

Das Problem des göttlichen Wissens, oder mehr abstrakt-philosophisch formuliert, die Frage nach der Intellektualität des ersten Prinzips und dem Verhältnis dieses intellektuellen Prinzips zur Wirklichkeit, gehört zu den ältesten und meistdiskutierten Fragen der Philosophie. Daß der Struktur der Wirklichkeit ein geistiges, ordnendes Prinzip zu Grunde liegt, wurde bereits in der Antike von Denkern wie Anaxagoras († 428 v. Chr.), Diogenes von Apollonia (zweite Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.) und Platon († 348/7 v. Chr.) behauptet. Die dabei vorausgesetzte Kopplung zwischen Weltordnung und Vernunft hat, wie bekannt, von Platons Ideenlehre über den Neuplatonismus eines Augustin († 430) bis hinein in die Neuzeit (Hegel) die Philosophie beherrscht. Auch heute noch steht das Problem des göttlichen Wissens im Brennpunkt des Interesses, nicht nur bei den Philosophie- und Theologiehistorikern, sondern auch bei den Logikern und Religionsphilosophen, wie unter anderem die Studien von A.N. Prior, N. Pike, R. Swinburne und A. Kenny beweisen[1]).

Betrachten wir nunmehr den mittelalterlichen Beitrag zur Problematik des göttlichen Wissens im Besonderen, so läßt sich als die entscheidende Periode die Zeit zwischen ca. 1250 und 1350 ansehen[2]).

*) Diese Studie wurde ermöglicht durch finanzielle Unterstützung von Seiten der Niederländischen Organisation für wissenschaftliche Forschung (NWO) und der Niels Stensen-Stichting (Amsterdam).

[1]) Vgl. etwa A.N. Prior, *Papers on Time and Tense*, Oxford 1968; N. Pike, *God and Timelessness*, Studies in Ethics and the Philosophy of Religion, London 1970; R. Swinburne, *The Coherence of Theism*, Clarendon Library of Logic and Philosophy, Oxford[2] 1986 und A. Kenny, *The God of the Philosophers*, Oxford[2] 1986.

[2]) Über den mittelalterlichen Beitrag zur Problematik, vgl. C. Normore, «Future Contingents», *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy from the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism* 1100-1600, eds. N. Kretzmann, A. Kenny, J. Pinborg (Cambridge usw. 1982), 358-81; *Divine Omniscience and Omnipotence in Medieval Philosophy. Islamic, Jewish and Christian Perspectives*, ed. by T. Rudavsky, Synthese Historical Library 25, Dordrecht-Boston-Lancaster 1985; W.L. Craig, *The Problem of Divine Foreknowledge and Future Contingents From Aristotle to Suarez*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 7, Leiden usw. 1988.

In diesem Zeitabschnitt fanden drei wichtige Entwicklungen statt, die die Behandlung der Problematik des göttlichen Wissens für längere Zeit maßgebend bestimmt haben: die Herausforderung durch Aristoteles und Averroes († 1198) (ab ca. 1250), die Frage der Beweisbarkeit theologischer Wahrheiten (ab ca. 1298) und die logisch-semantische Methode (ab ca. 1317 bzw. 1342). Ohne Einsicht in diese Neugestaltungen der Problematik lassen sich die Standpunkte und Aussagen über das göttliche Wissen, wie man sie bei Theologen des 14. Jahrhunderts vorfinden kann, kaum richtig bewerten. Wir möchten deshalb auf diese drei Entwicklungen kurz eingehen.

Zuerst die Herausforderung durch Aristoteles und Averroes. Die Rezeption einer großen Anzahl von Aristotelestexten, vor allem der Metaphysik, seit der ersten Hälfe des 12. Jahrhunderts, wie auch der lateinischen Übersetzungen mehrerer Werke des Avicenna († 1037) und des Averroes aus der letzten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts bzw. den Jahren 1220-1235, veranlaßte um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts die Philosophen und Theologen zu einer neuen Positionsbestimmung bezüglich der Frage des göttlichen Wissens[3]). In den meisten philosophischen und theologischen Werken aus der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts fehlte noch ein deutliches Problembewußtsein dessen, ob Gott als höchstes Prinzip der Wirklichkeit die Welt erkennen kann[4]). Ab der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts jedoch wurde das — wie aus mehreren Texten hervorgeht — anders, wohl auch dadurch, daß ab 1255, nach einer Anzahl von früheren Verboten (1210, 1215, 1231, 1245), die *libri naturales* des Aristoteles an der Pariser Artesfakultät zur Pflichtlektüre wurden[5]). Das Studium der Schriften des Aristoteles and Averroes, vor allem das Studium der Metaphysik Lambda mit ihren doppeldeutigen Aussagen über das göttliche Wissen und des Averroischen Kommentars zur Metaphysik, konfrontierte die Philosophen und Theologen nunmehr unausweichlich mit der Frage, ob es mit der göttlichen Vollkommenheit zu vereinbaren sei, daß Gott etwas anderes als sein eigenes Wesen erkenne. Der Averroische Kommentar schien das zu verneinen.

[3]) Über die Rezeption dieser Texte im Mittelalter, siehe F. van Steenberghen, *La philosophie au XIII^e siècle*, Philosophes médiévaux IX (Louvain-Paris 1966), 72-117, und B.G. Dod, «Aristoteles Latinus», *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (...), 45-79.

[4]) Siehe die Belege bei R. Imbach, *Deus est intelligere. Das Verhältnis von Sein und Denken in seiner Bedeutung für das Gottesverständnis bei Thomas von Aquin und in den Pariser Quaestionen Meister Eckharts*, Studia Friburgensia NF 53 (Freiburg 1976), 41-48.

[5]) Vgl. R. Imbach, *op. cit.*, 41.

In dieser Schrift wurde an Hand einer Reihe aus Aristoteles geschöpfter Argumente dargelegt, Gott könne, da er vollkommen und einfach sei, nur sein eigenes Wesen erkennen[6]). Wie unter anderem aus Aegidius Romanus' Schrift De erroribus philosophorum (entstanden ca. 1270) und den Pariser Zensuren von 1270 und 1277 hervorgeht, erreichte die Diskussion in den siebziger Jahren einen Höhepunkt[7]). Obschon nun bereits in den neunziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts die Diskussion ihre ursprüngliche Schärfe verloren hatte, zeigen die Sentenzenkommentare von Theologen wie Petrus Aureoli († 1322) (entstanden ca. 1312-1318), Gregor von Rimini († 1358) (entstanden 1343-1346) und Marsilius von Inghen († 1396) (entstanden 1392-1394), daß die Frage nach der richtigen Interpretation der Lehre des Aristoteles und Averroes noch sehr lange Gegenstand weitgehender Meinungsverschiedenheiten war[8]).

Durch die Rezeption der *libri naturales* des Aristoteles, im Besonderen aber durch die bereits länger bestehende Praxis der Lektüre und des Kommentierens von schon früher bekannten Aristotelischen Schriften zur Logik, entstand um die Jahrhundertwende eine neue Einstellung zur Wissenschaftlichkeit der Theologie und Philosophie[9]). Auf dem Gebiete des göttlichen Wissens manifestierte sich diese neue Einstellung in aller Deutlichkeit in den Sentenzenkommentaren des Duns Scotus († 1308) (bereits in der Lectura Oxoniensis, begonnen 1298, vor allem aber in den Reportata Parisiensia), Wilhelm von Ockham († 1347) (entstanden 1317-1319) und Johannes Baconis († 1348) (1322/1323 Magister der Theologie in Paris). Das Problem der Intellektualität Gottes wurde mehr und mehr ein Problem der Beweisbarkeit: die Fragestellung bezog sich nicht mehr, wie es vorher üblich war, allein

[6]) Vgl. Averroes, *In Metaphysicam*, ed. Iuntina VIII (Venetiis 1562, Unveränderter Nachdruck Frankfurt am Main 1962), Lib. XII t. comm. 51, foll. 335^{rb}-337ra.

[7]) Siehe Aegidius Romanus, *Errores philosophorum*, Critical Text with Notes and Introduction by J. Koch, English Translation by J.O. Riedl (Milwaukee, Wisc. 1944), 12 (Aristoteles), 24 (Averroes), 36 (Avicenna), und *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* I, edd. H. Denifle et Ae. Chatelain (Paris 1889, Nachdruck Bruxelles 1964), 487 (= 1270, prop. 11) u. 544 (= 1277, prop. 3).

[8]) Siehe Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (Romae 1596), Lib. I d. 35 p. 3 a. 1, foll. 789^{a}-792^{a}; Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura super primum et secundum Sententiarum*, edd. A.D. Trapp et V. Marcolino, Tom. III (Berlin-New York 1984), Lib. I dd. 35-36 q. 1, 211-222, und Marsilius von Inghen, *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum* (Straßburg 1501, Unveränderter Nachdruck Frankfurt am Main 1966), Lib. I q. 38 a. 3, fol. 156ra.

[9]) Vgl. etwa K. Flasch, *Das philosophische Denken im Mittelalter. Von Augustin zu Machiavelli*, Universal-Bibliothek Nr. 8342 (Stuttgart 1986), 426-430.

auf das inhaltliche, sondern es wurde zugleich eine kritische Untersuchung über die rationelle Lösbarkeit des behandelten Problems angestellt. Es wurde z.B. nicht mehr lediglich gefragt: «Hat Gott eine intellektuelle Natur?» oder «Erkennt Gott die Geschöpfe?», wie es bei Thomas von Aquin († 1274) und vielen anderen Theologen des 13. Jahrhunderts gefragt wurde, sondern vielmehr: «Kann man beweisen, daß Gott eine intellektuelle Natur hat?», bzw. «Kann man beweisen, daß Gott die Geschöpfe erkennt?» Diese kritische Art des Fragenstellens hat sich das ganze 14. Jahrhundert hindurch erhalten.

Als direkte Folge dieser kritischen Einstellung zur Wissenschaftlichkeit, ergänzt aber und verstärkt durch die Entwicklungen auf dem Gebiete der Logik, vor allem durch die Analysen der *proprietates terminorum*, der synkategorematischen termini und verschiedenerlei Fallazien, zeichnete sich in England ab ca. 1317 und in Paris ab ca. 1342 eine weitere wichtige Entwicklung in der Behandlung der Problematik des göttlichen Wissens ab[10]). Die Probleme in Bezug auf das Vorherwissen, wie dessen Unveränderlichkeit und die Frage, ob die Unfehlbarkeit des Vorherwissens sich mit der Freiheit der rationellen Kreaturen vereinbaren lasse, wurden nunmehr vor allem sprachlogisch gelöst, indem man untersuchte, welche Sätze als wahr und welche Sätze als falsch zu bezeichnen sind, bzw. welche Sätze sich gegenseitig ausschließen und welche nicht. Es ist sehr gut möglich, daß auch die schon ganz früh einsetzende und manchmal sogar sehr scharfe Kritik an den inhaltlichen Lösungen des Thomas von Aquin und Duns Scotus dazu beigetragen hat, daß der Akzent sich von einer inhaltlichen zu einer rein äußerlichen Behandlung der Problematik des Vorherwissens verschoben hat. Dieses sprachlogische Verfahren läßt sich zuerst in England um 1317 bei Richard von Campsall († vor 1330-1331), Walter Chatton († um 1344) und Wilhelm von Ockham feststellen, und wurde nachher von Johannes von Rodington († 1348), Robert Holcot († 1349) und Adam Wodam († 1358) übernommen[11]). In Paris hingegen fand es erst später, zu Beginn der vierziger Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts, aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach als Folge der Rezeption der Werke der soeben genannten englischen Theologen, bei Denkern wie Gregor von Rimini

[10]) Über die mittelalterlichen Entwicklungen der Logik, siehe jetzt A. de Libera, *La philosophie médiévale*, Que sais-je? 1044 (Paris 1989), 34-52.

[11]) Siehe die Belege in M.J.F.M. Hoenen, *Marsilius van Inghen († 1396) over het goddelijke weten. Zijn plaats in de ontwikkeling van de opvattingen over het goddelijke weten ca. 1255-1396*, Deel I: Studie (Nijmegen 1989), 234.

und Johannes Mirecourt Eingang[12]). Wie aus dem Sentenzenkommentar des Marsilius von Inghen hervorgeht, wurde dieser wohl typisch englische Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Problems des göttlichen Wissens auch später noch, zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts, übernommen[13]).

Hugolin von Orvieto über das göttliche wissen

Kommen wir nun zum eigentlichen Thema unseres Beitrags: die historisch-philosophischen Hintergründe der Auffassungen des Augustinertheologen Hugolin von Orvieto über das göttliche Wissen.

Hugolin von Orvieto zählt zweifelsohne zu den einflußreichsten Theologen der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Sein Kommentar zu den Sentenzen des Lombarden (entstanden 1348/9 in Paris, endgültige Redaktion, die sogenannte *recollectio*, 1365 von Simon von Cremona († nach 1390) verfaßt[14]) hatte, wie bekannt, nicht nur einen großen Einfluß auf Theologen des Augustinerordens, wie Johannes Hiltalingen von Basel († 1392) und Dionysius von Montina (1374 Magister der Theologie in Paris), sondern auch auf Theologen außerhalb des Ordens, wie Konrad von Ebrach († 1399) und Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl († 1433)[15]). Bedeutende Theologen setzten sich mit seinen Standpunkten auseinander: der Heidelberger Theologe Marsilius von Inghen z.B. kritisierte in seinem Sentenzenkommentar eingehend die Auffassungen des Hugolin über die Unmöglichkeit wahren Gotterkennens *in puro lumine natrurali*[16]).

Die Wirkung Hugolins wird zusätzlich dadurch hervorgehoben, daß er in Italien und Wien Anhänger (*sequaces*) hatte. Er leitete, wie bekannt, 1357-1359 das *studium* der Augustiner in Perugia und war 1364-1368 an der theologischen Fakultät zu Bologna tätig[17]). Sein Einfluß in Wien (zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts) läßt sich vor allem

[12]) *Op. cit.*, 234 u. 283-292.

[13]) *Op. cit.*, 394-404.

[14]) Siehe Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* I, quem edendum curavit W. Eckermann, Cassiciacum, Supplementband VIII (Würzburg 1980), XVIII (Einleitung).

[15]) Für den Einfluß von Hugolins Sentenzenkommentar, siehe A. Zumkeller, «Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters: Vertreter und philosophisch-theologische Lehre (Übersicht nach dem heutigen Stand der Forschung)», *Analecta Augustiniana* 27 (1964), 225-226 und Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattor libros Sententiarum* I (...), V-VI (Einleitung).

[16]) Siehe Marsilius von Inghen, *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. cit.), Lib. I q. 5 a.1, fol. 34^{ra-b}.

[17]) A. Zumkeller, «Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters (...)», 226.

mit der dortigen Dozentur des bereits erwähnten Konrad von Ebrach erklären[18]).

In Anbetracht der Wirkung und Einflußnahme des Hugolinschen Sentenzenkommentars scheint uns eine historisch-philosophische Untersuchung der von Hugolin entwickelten Gedanken von erster Wichtigkeit zu sein: inwieweit lassen sich seine Auffassungen den damals gängigen Standpunkten bezüglich des göttlichen Wissens zuweisen. Eine derartige historisch-philosophische Untersuchung über Hugolins Lehre des göttlichen Wissens ist unserer Kenntnis nach noch nie unternommen worden.

Wir möchten in der nachfolgenden Untersuchung auf drei Punkte in der Lehre Hugolins über das göttliche Wissen eingehen, die sich aus der historischen Betrachtung heraus als die wesentlichen heraus kristallisiert haben:

1. Hugolins Auffassung über die Beweisbarkeit der göttlichen Intellektualität.

2. Seine Deutung der Lehre des Aristoteles und des Averroes und seine Kritik an Petrus Aureoli.

3. Die Frage wie sich nach Hugolin göttliches Wissen und menschliche Freiheit vereinbaren lassen.

1. *Die Beweisbarkeit der göttlichen Intellektualität*

Es ist auffallend, daß sich in dem Sentenzenkommentar des Hugolin, anders als z.B. bei Gregor von Rimini, keine ausführliche Darstellung des Problems der Beweisbarkeit der göttlichen Intellektualität finden läßt. Nur wenige Argumente werden von ihm angeführt. Sein erstes (und deshalb wohl wichtigstes) Argument lautet wie folgt: Daß Gott eine «natura intellectualis» ist, ist eine «communis animi conceptio»[19]). Hugolin expliziert den Begriff «communis animi conceptio» nicht. Gehen wir aber von der seit Boethius († 524) gängigen Bedeutung dieses Begriffes aus, so heißt es, daß der Satz «Gott ist eine intellektuelle Natur» ein Grundsatz der Seele oder ein Axiom ist, das nicht

[18]) M. Schulze, 'Via Gregorii' in Forschung und Quellen», *Gregor von Rimini, Werk und Wirkung bis zur Reformation*, hrsg. von H.A. Oberman, Spätmittelalter und Reformation Bd. 20 (Berlin-New York), 41 Anm. 67.

[19]) Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 35 q. u a. 1, 296: «Prima conclusio: Deus est natura intellectualis. Est communis animi conceptio».

verneint werden kann[20]). Als Begründung dieses Axioms führte Hugolin unter anderem das herkömmliche Argument an, ein Wesen mit einer intellektuellen Natur sei höher und vollkommener als ein Wesen ohne eine solche Natur. Da es nun unmöglich ein Wesen geben kann, das vollkommener ist als Gott, ist Gott, so Hugolin, eine intellektuelle Natur[21]).

Der Standpunkt, «Gott ist eine intellektuelle Natur» sei eine «communis animi conceptio», ist unserem Wissen nach für das 14. Jahrhundert neu und verdient eine nähere Untersuchung, zumal Hugolin selber keinen direkten Hinweis darauf gegeben hat, wie er zu diesem Standpunkt gekommen ist. Einer der Gründe, weshalb Hugolin die göttliche Intellektualität als ein Axiom, d.h. als einen nicht aus einem höheren Prinzip herzuleitenden Satz verstand, war wohl die von ihm mehrfach hervorgehobene göttliche Einfachheit[22]): Da Gott das erste Prinzip der Wirklichkeit ist und seine Natur nicht zusammengesetzt sein kann, gibt es kein höheres Prinzip, aus dem sich die Eigenschaften der göttlichen Natur herleiten lassen.

Betrachten wir jedoch diese Stellungnahme Hugolins nunmehr aus der breiteren historischen Perspektive der Auseinandersetzungen im 14. Jahrhundert, so können es auch die oft fundamentalen Kritiken an den herkömmlichen Argumenten gewesen sein, die Hugolin zu seinem Standpunkt geführt haben. Gehen wir kurz auf diese Argumente und die an ihnen geübte Kritik ein.

Die göttliche Intellektualität wurde seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts grundsätzlich mit den folgenden drei Argumenten begründet: Gott hat eine intellektuelle Natur 1. da er immateriell ist und Immaterialität Intellektualität impliziert, 2. da ihm jede Vollkommenheit zuerkannt werden muß und Intellektualität eine Vollkommenheit ist und 3. da er den Geschöpfen eine Natur gegeben hat, die sie zu ihrem Ziel

[20]) Über den Begriff «communis animi conceptio», siehe Art. «Communes conceptiones» (H.K. Kohlenberger), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* Bd. I (Darmstadt 1971), 1024.

[21]) Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 35 q. u a. 1, 296: «Item: Esse naturam intellectualem est nobilioris perfectionis quolibet genere essendi, ubi deest esse intellectivum. Sed impossibile est aliquid esse nobilius deo; igitur».

[22]) Vgl. Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 8 q. u a. 1, 188; d. 8 q. u a. 2, 197; d. 35 q. u a. 1, 296; d. 39 q. u, 311.

führt und er (Gott) bei der Kausalität der Geschöpfe mittätig ist, was den Besitz eines Erkenntnisvermögens voraussetzt.

Das erste Argument stammt von Avicenna[23]) und wurde unter anderen von Thomas von Aquin, Heinrich von Gent († 1293) und verschiedenen der früheren Thomisten, unter ihnen Jean de Paris († 1306) und Hervaeus Natalis († 1323), übernommen und weiter ausgearbeitet[24]). Von Denkern wie Scotus und Wilhelm von Ockham jedoch wurde es stark kritisiert: sie führten unter anderem das im Rahmen unserer Untersuchung sehr wichtige Gegenargument an, man könne für die Intellektualität einer Sache unmöglich einen Grund (*ratio*) angeben, auch nicht die Immaterialität. Denn die Intellektualität wird nicht aufgrund von etwas anderem, z.B. der Immaterialität, der Sache zuerkannt, sondern lediglich aufgrund ihrer Natur, da die Intellektualität nur ein Aspekt der Natur der Sache selbst ist[25]).

[23]) Vgl. Avicenna, *Liber de philosophia prima sive scientia divina* V-X, Éd. critique de la traduction latine médiévale par S. van Riet, Avicenna Latinus (Louvain-Leiden 1980), Tract. VIII c. 6, 414.

[24]) Vgl. Thomas von Aquin, *Summa theologiae*, cura et studio Instituti Studiorum Mediaevalium Ottaviensis (Ottawa, Can. 1953), Pars. I q. 14 a. 1 c, 92[a]: «Unde cum Deus sit in summo immaterialitatis, ut ex superioribus patet, sequitur quod ipse sit in summo cognitionis»; Heinrich von Gent, *Quodlibeta* (Parisiis 1518, Unveränderter Nachdruck Louvain 1961), Quodl. VIII q. 1, fol. 299[vA]; Jean de Paris, *Commentaire sur les Sentences*, Reportation, Livre I, Éd. critique par J.-P. Muller, Studia Anselmiana fasc. XLVII (Romae 1961), q. 113 (d. 35 q. 1), 344, und Hervaeus Natalis, *In quatuor libros Sententiarum commentaria* (Parisiis 1647, Unveränderter Nachdruck Westmead, Farnborough 1966), Lib. I d. 33 q. 1 a. 1, fol. 137[aB-bB].

[25]) Vgl. Duns Scotus, *Reportata Parisiensia* (ed. Wadding XI.1, Lugduni 1639, Unveränderter Nachdruck Hildesheim 1969), Lib. I d. 35 q. 1 a. 1 n. 14, fol. 193[b]: «(Deum esse intelligentem, *MH*) non potest a priori probari: quia sicut homo, vel humanitas est prima ratio constitutiva hominis, vel entitatis specifice talis, non potest ostendi sibi inesse per aliquem conceptum sibi immediatorem, vel priorem, quia tunc non esset prima ratio constitutiva eius (...), ita etiam quod intellectualitas sit prima ratio entis intelligibilis, constituens ipsum in *esse* tali, et nihil exigat re prius essentialiter ea, quo hoc posset de eo ostendi», und Wilhelm von Ockham, *Scriptum im librum primum Sententiarum, Ordinatio*, edd. G.I. Etzkorn et F.E. Kelly, Opera Theologica IV (St. Bonaventure, New York 1979), Lib. I d. 35 q. 1, 427: «Nec potest aliqua ratio generalis dari quare aliquid est cognitivum, sed ex natura rei habet quod sit cognitivum vel quod non sit cognitivum». Bemerkt werden soll, daß der Text der Reportata Parisiensia, wie er in der Wadding-Edition abgedruckt ist, nicht immer die authentischen Gedanken des Scotus wiedergibt. Die hier und weiter unten zitierten Auffassungen können deshalb nur unter einem gewissen Vorbehalt Scotus zugeschrieben werden. Eine kritische Edition der Reportata Parisiensia steht noch aus. Über die textkritischen Probleme dieses Textes, siehe A. Pelzer, «Le premier livre des Reportata Parisiensia de Jean Duns Scot», in: id., *Études d'histoire littéraire sur la scolastique médiévale*, recueil d'articles mis a jour a l'aide des notes de l'auteur par A. Pattin et E. van de Vijver, Philosophes médiévaux VIII (Louvain-Paris 1964), 422-467 und V. Richter, «Zu der frühen Rezeptionsgeschichte von

Wie aus den Werken der nachfolgenden Periode hervorgeht, war diese Kritik sehr wirkungsvoll. Nur noch sehr wenige Theologen, wie z.B. der Augustiner Thomas von Straßburg († 1357) und der Thomist Johannes Capreolus († 1444), stützten sich in ihren Sentenzenkommentaren auf dieses Argument[26]).

Das zweite Argument, das die göttliche Vollkommenheit betraf, rührte von Augustin und Anselm († 1109) her[27]) und wurde von vielen Theologen übernommen. Scotus jedoch kritisierte auch dieses Argument. Obwohl er der Meinung war, daß die Intellektualität eine Vollkommenheit sei und deshalb Gott zuerkannt werden müsse, war es seines Erachtens unmöglich, dies schlüssig zu beweisen. Denn, so Scotus, der Prüfstein, ob etwas eine reine Vollkommenheit ist, ist Gott. Wenn etwas Gott zukommt, dann ist es eine reine Vollkommenheit, sonst nicht. Das bedeutet, daß man zuerst untersuchen muß, ob Intellektualität Gott zukommen kann, bevor man überhaupt weiß, ob es eine reine Vollkommenheit ist. Dem Argument der göttlichen Vollkommenheit lag nach Scotus also eine *petitio principii* zugrunde[28]).

Auf Grund des Scheiterns dieses Arguments, wie auch auf Grund der von ihm hervorgebrachten Einsicht, daß Intellektualität sich nicht aus etwas Höherem ableiten läßt, kam Scotus zu der Annahme, die Intellektualität Gottes könne unmöglich mit a priori-, sondern nur mit a posteriori-Argumenten, d.h. mit Argumenten, die auf die Beziehung zwischen Gott und Schöpfung aufgebaut sind, bewiesen werden[29]).

Scotus' Reportatio», in: id., *Studien zum literarischen Werk von Johannes Duns Scotus*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt Bd. 14 (München 1988), 79-97.

[26]) Vgl. Thomas von Straßburg, *Commentaria in IIII libros Sententiarum* (Venetiis 1564, Unveränderter Nachdruck Ridgewood, New Yersey 1965), Lib. I d. 35 q. 1, fol. 102^{vb}, und Johannes Capreolus, *Defensiones theologiae divi Thomae Aquinatis*, Tom. II, De novo editae cura et studio C. Peban et Th. Pèques (Turonibus 1900), Lib. I d. 35 q. 1, 349^{a}-350^{a} u. 367^{b}-368^{b}.

[27]) Vgl. Augustin, *De doctrina christiana*, cura et studio I. Martin, CCSL XXXII, Opera Pars IV/1 (Turnholti 1962), Lib. I, VII-VIII (7-8), 10-11 und Anselmus, *Monologion*, Opera omnia I, recensuit F.S. Schmitt (Seckau 1938, Nachdruck Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1968), c. 15, 28-9.

[28]) Duns Scotus, *Reportata Parisiensia* (ed. Wadd. XI.1), Lib. I d. 35 q. 1 a. 1 n. 14, fol. 193^{b}: «(...) oportet prius probare quod intellectus, et *intelligere* sint sibi (= Gott, *MH*) compossibiles, quam accipere quod sint perfectio simpliciter (...)».

[29]) *Ibidem*: «Ideo dico sicut prius, quod a posteriori potest probari tantum Deum esse intelligentem, et intelligere, et quod ita est, ostendunt necessario effectus in universo, qui sunt ab eo mediate, vel immediate: et non potest a priori probari (...)».

Hiermit kommen wir zum dritten Argument: Gott ist eine intellektuelle Natur, da er die Geschöpfe zu ihrem Ziel führt und ihnen bei ihrer Aktivität hilft. Dieses von Scotus als a-posteriori gekennzeichnete Argument war im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert wohl das bekannteste: es läßt sich bei vielen Theologen in mehreren Formen nachweisen. Es gab jedoch auch Kritiker. Bereits Petrus Aureoli führte in seinem Sentenzenkommentar an, daß dieses Argument, wie auch jedwedes andere a posteriori-Argument, unmöglich Beweiskräftig (*efficax*) sein kann, da es einen Glaubenssatz voraussetzt, dem die Philosophen (Aristoteles und Averroes) nicht zustimmen, nämlich, daß Gott die Welt und die Geschöpfe geschaffen hat[30]). Auch Ockham legte, wie bekannt, in seinen Quodlibeta (entstanden 1322-1325) dar, die göttliche Kausalität könne, obwohl sie nicht zu leugnen sei, mit natürlichen Argumenten (*naturali ratione*) unmöglich schlüssig bewiesen werden[31]).

Hugolin muß die an diesen drei Intellektualitätsargumenten ausgeübte Kritik gekannt haben: sie wurde hervorgebracht von Theologen, deren Werke zur Zeit Hugolins viel gelesen und benutzt wurden und dessen Auffassungen von Hugolin zitiert wurden. Es ist daher sehr gut möglich, daß gerade diese Kritik, die ja nicht darin bestand, das Faktum der göttlichen Intellektualität als solches zu leugnen, sondern nur die Möglichkeit einer philosophischen Begründung derselben, Hugolin dazu geführt hat, den Satz «Gott ist eine intellektuelle Natur» als einen wahren, aber nicht zu begründenden Satz, oder wie es bei Hugolin heißt, als eine «communis animi conceptio» zu verstehen.

2. *Hugolins Deutung der Lehre des Aristoteles und Averroes und seine Kritik an Petrus Aureoli*

Kommen wir nun zum zweiten Punkt: Hugolins Deutung der Lehre des Aristoteles und des Averroes und seine Kritik an Petrus Aureoli.

Das erste was auffällt ist, daß Hugolin keinen Unterschied zwischen den Auffassungen des Aristoteles und des Averroes macht. Er

[30]) Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 35 a. 2, fol. 759^{bA}: «(...) haec ratio non est efficax, quia supponit unum creditum, et a Philosophis negatum, videlicet quod Deus sit principium effectivum totius universi, et partium ipsius».

[31]) Wilhelm von Ockham, *Quodlibeta Septem*, ed. J.C. Wey, Opera Theologica IX (St. Bonaventure, New York 1980), Quodl. II q. 1, 108: «(...) dico quod non potest probari naturali ratione quod Deus sit causa efficiens alicuius effectus (...)».

steht damit in einer Tradition, die sich vor allem in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts bei Denkern wie Petrus Aureoli, Johannes Baconis, Matheus de Eugubio (1333-1347 *magister artium* in Bologna) und Gregor von Rimini herausgebildet hat: die Frage nach der richtigen Deutung des Standpunkts des Aristoteles wurde geklärt an Hand der Aristoteles-Interpretation des Averroes, wobei die Standpunkte dieser beiden Philosophen als identisch betrachtet wurden[32]). Andere Theologen hingegen, insbesondere die des 13. Jahrhunderts, wie Thomas von Aquin, Aegidius Romanus († 1306) aber auch noch Wilhelm von Ockham, setzten die beiden Standpunkte nicht gleich. Die Auffassung, daß Gott die Geschöpfe nicht oder nur zum Teil erkenne, wurde nur Averroes, nicht Aristoteles zugeschrieben[33]).

Daß die Standpunkte des Aristoteles und Averroes in Bezug auf das göttliche Wissen im 14. Jahrhundert vielfach gleichgesetzt wurden, bedeutet nicht, daß man sich über die richtige Interpretation dieser Standpunkte einig war. Ganz im Gegenteil.

Hugolin z.B. war der Meinung, daß Gott nach Aristoteles und Averroes nur sich selbst, nicht aber die Geschöpfe erkenne[34]). Diese Deutung läßt sich auch bei Gregor von Rimini finden, der in seinem Sentenzenkommentar der Interpretation der Lehre dieser beiden Philo-

[32]) Vgl. Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (ed. cit.), Lib., I d. 35 p. 2 a. 1, foll. 770^{bC}-771^{aB}; Johannes Baconis, *Quaestiones in quatuor libros Sententiarum* (Cremonae 1618, Unveränderter Nachdruck Westmead, Farnborough 1969), Lib. I d. 35 q. u a. 1, foll. 359^{aE}-360^{aA}; *Averroïsme Bolonais au XIV^e siècle*. Édition des Textes, par Z. Kuksewicz, Institut de philosophie et de sociologie de l'academie polonaise des sciences (Wroclaw usw. 1965), 252-262 (Matheus de Eugubio) und Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I dd. 35-36 q. 1, 211-213.

[33]) Vgl. Thomas von Aquin, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, editio nova, cura P. Mandonnet, Tom. I (Parisiis 1929), Lib. I d. 35 q. 1 a. 3 c., 816; Aegidius Romanus, *Errores philosophorum* (ed. cit.), 12: «(...) aliqui voluerunt ei (Aristoteles, *MH*) imponere quod Deus nihil cognoscit extra se (...). Sed quod non intelligant Philosophum, et quod illa non sit intentio sua, patet per ea quae dicuntur in capitulo De bona fortuna (...)», und Wilhelm von Ockham, *Scriptum* (OTh IV), Lib. I d. 35 q. 2, 434-435: «Et istum errorem imponit ipse (Averroes, *MH*) Philosopho, XII *Metaphysicae*, commento 51».

[34]) Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 35 q. u a. 1, 298-299: «(...) Ex tali forma arguitur contra modum Aristotelis et Averrois. Nam quod deus sit nobilissimus entium et aeterna intellectio et non cognoscat se nobiliorem aliquo ente, nec sciat suum excessum, nec secundo sciat aliquid aliud esse nisi se, nec sciat aliquid de rebus aliis plus, quam materia prima, et tamen anima rationalis novit res inferiores, et tertio: Aliae intelligentiae possunt movere orbem et intelligunt orbem et intelligunt, quid boni provenit ex motu eorum et quid gubernationis, deus autem, quo omnia reguntur et in quem ordinata sunt, nihil novit, hoc autem est contra omnem sectam et contra naturale iudicium».

sophen einen sehr langen Abschnitt gewidmet hatte[35]). In dem Sentenzenkommentar des Nachfolger Gregors in Paris, des Augustinertheologen Alfons Vargas († 1366), wurde auf die Auffassung einiger verwiesen: Gott erkenne nach Aristoteles und Averroes nur sichselbst[36]). Möglicherweise handelt es sich hier um einen Verweis auf Gregor, zumindest aber läßt sich diesem Verweis entnehmen, daß die Aristoteles- und Averroesdeutung, wie wir sie später bei Hugolin finden können, bei den Augustinern durchaus bekannt war. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang vielleicht auch wichtig darauf hinzuweisen, daß in dem Sentenzenkommentar des Aegidius Romanus, der bereits seit dem Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts zur Pflichtlektüre der Augustiner gehörte[37]), dargelegt wurde, daß Averroes, wenn man ihn beim Wort nehme (*si secundum quod sonat littera eum intelligere volumus*), der Meinung war, Gott erkenne nichts, außer sichselbst[38]).

Ganz anders wurde der Standpunkt des Aristoteles und des Averroes von Petrus Aureoli und Johannes Baconis gedeutet. Sie vertraten die Ansicht, daß Gott nach der Aristotelesdeutung des Averroes, indem er (Gott) sein eigenes Sein erkenne, gleichzeitig auch die Formen und Wesenheiten aller singulären Dinge, mit Ausnahme der Individualität, erkenne. Gott erkennt den ganzen Löwen und Ochsen, nur nicht diesen Löwen da und diesen Ochsen[39]). Interessant dabei ist, daß Petrus

[35]) Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I dd. 35-36 q. 1, 211: «Opinio Aristotelis et Commentatoris sui Averrois fuit quod deus nihil aliud a se intelligit».

[36]) Alfons Vargas von Toledo, *In primum Sententiarum* (Venetiis 1490, Nachdruck Cassiciacum, Studies in St. Augustine and the Augustinian Order II (American Series), The Meriden Gravure Co. 1952), Lib. I dd. 35-37, q. 1, col. 611.

[37]) Vgl. A. Zumkeller, «Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters (...)», 169-170.

[38]) Aegidius Romanus, In primum librum Sententiarum (Venetiis 1521, Unveränderter Nachdruck Frankfurt a/Main 1968), Lib. I d. 35 a. 1 q. 3, fol. 181^{rbF}: «Commentator in 12. Metaphysice, si secundum quod sonat littera eum intelligere volumus, velle videtur deum alia a se non cognoscere (...)».

[39]) Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 35 p 3 a. 1, fol. 790^{aB-C}: «Sic ergo intellexit Averroes, quod Deus non cognoscit entia in particulari, quod non intellexit secundum eum individua signata, et singularia, utpote hunc leonem, vel bovem; sed non intellexit, quin cognoscat entia in singulari, singularitatem ad formas specificas referendo, immo voluit, quod Deus cognoscat formas proprias, et quidditates specificas, et distinctas omnium rerum», und Johannes Baconis, *Quaestiones in quatuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. cit.), Lib., I d. 39 q. u a. 2, fol. 382^{aE}: «(...) dicit (Commentator, *MH*) enim, quod intelligendo se tantum (...) consecutive intelligit creaturas distincte, et hoc est dicere ideas distinctas creaturarum in intellectu suo (...)», u. id., op. cit., Lib. I d. 39 q. u a. 1 par. 3, fol. 382^{aA} (= 378^{aA}): «Commentator enim ibidem vult Deum scire illa, quae sunt extra, sed non scientia particulari (...)».

Aureoli und Johannes Baconis, in völligem Gegensatz zu Gregor von Rimini, der Meinung waren, Aristoteles und Averroes stimmten, was ihre Theorie des göttlichen Wissens anbetrifft, ganz mit Augustin überein[40]).

Zurück zu Hugolin. Anschließend an seine Darlegung des Standpunktes des Aristoteles und des Averroes führte er einige anonyme Gegenargumente an, die zeigen sollten, daß Gott die Geschöpfe (*inferiora*) nicht als von seinem Wesen getrennt, sondern *superaequipollenter* erkenne[41]). Der terminus «superaequipollenter», wie auch die angeführten Argumente, zeigen, daß es sich hier um Ansichten des Petrus Aureoli handelt, die er (Petrus) im Rahmen seiner Averroes-Interpretation entwickelt hatte[42]). Auch bei der Frage, ob das göttliche Erkennen sich direkt auf das Geschöpf als solches richte, zitierte Hugolin für die Ansicht «quod non» eine Anzahl von anonymen Argumenten, die sich leicht als Argumente des Petrus Aureoli erkennen lassen[43]).

[40]) Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 35 p. 2 a. 1, fol. 774^{bB-C}: «(...) haec fuit intentio Augustini, et in hoc cum Philosopho concordavit, scilicet, quod nil aliud extra Deum esset in ipsius intuitu obiectivo, quinimmo sui ipsius intuito esset intuitio omnium aliorum aequipollenter, et eminenter (...)», und Johannes Baconis, *Quaestiones in quatuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 39 q. u a. 1 par. 4, fol. 382^{aC-D} (= 378^{aC-D}).

[41]) Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 35 q. u a. 1, 299: «Sed dicetur contra, quod Aristoteles vult deum intelligere se ipsum, qui est supereminenter quaelibet natura intelligibilis, et ideo omnia inferiora contenta intelligit superaequipollenter nec intellectio creaturarum addit ad perfectionem intellectionis sicut nec quoad esse et cetera».

[42]) Vgl. Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 35 p. 2 a. 2, fol. 775^{aF-bB}: «Si vero quaeratur, an sic intelligat creaturas Deus, quod suum intuitum terminet ad essentiam, ibi sistendo, nec ulterius procedendo; sic tamen quod ibi sistendo, dicatur attigisse eminenter, et plusquam aequipollenter omne aliud extra se, et omnem creaturam; et secundum hoc non sit aliqua multitudo intellectorum in Deo, nec ponant in numerum creaturae, ut et intellectae cum divina essentia, ut intellecta, sed est penitus unum simplicissimum intellectum: sic concedi oportet, quod Deus non ignorat, immo perfectissime et supereminenter novit omnem creaturam, et omne aliud extra se, secundum quod ait Commentator 12. Metaphysicae, quod intellecta multa, et plura sunt unum intellectum, et sunt adunata perfecta adunatione, ita ut fiant simplex, et unum omnibus modis, videlicet una Dei essentia, quae quidem, sicut est omnia eminenter, sic eius intellectio est omnium intellectio, eminens, et excellens». Über die Bedeutung von Petrus Aureoli für das Denken im 14. Jahrhundert, siehe neulich K. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham. Optics, Epistemology and the Foundations of Semantics 1250-1345*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters Band XXII (Leiden usw. 1988), 85-86 u. 315-316.

[43]) Wir zitieren nur das erste Argument, Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 35 q. u a. 3, 302: «Contra istam conclusionem (quod deum intueri antichristum est visionem divinam esse absque medio de antichristo non aliter, quam si esset in re antichristus, *MH*) arguitur primo sic: Divinus

Nach Petrus Aureoli richtet sich das göttliche Erkennen nicht auf das Geschöpf als solches (*terminative*). Gott erkennt das Geschöpf nur, indem er seine eigene Essenz erkennt (*aequipollenter*)[44]). Denn, so Aureoli, das Geschöpf kann kein direktes Objekt des göttlichen Erkennens sein, sondern lediglich Gott selber, da man sich anders in Widersprüche verwickelt, z.B. bezüglich der unendlichen Teilbarkeit des Kontinuums. Denn, erkennt Gott die Geschöpfe direkt, so erkennt er auch das Kontinuum. Wird das Kontinuum von Gott in all seinen Teilen erkannt, so kann es nicht weiter geteilt werden, was mit seiner unendlichen Teilbarkeit in Widerspruch steht. Wird es von Gott nicht ganz, sondern nur teilweise erkannt, so ist Gottes Wissen unvolkommen, was mit der göttlichen Vollkommenheit in Widerspruch steht. Fazit: Gott erkennt das Kontinuum, und folglich die Geschöpfe, nicht direkt, sondern nur indem er seine eigene Essenz erkennt[45]).

Dieses, wie auch die anderen Unendlichkeitsargumente des Petrus Aureoli, wurden im 14. Jahrhundert viel zitiert und kritisiert, nicht nur von Hugolin, sondern auch von Gregor von Rimini, Alfons Vargas, und später auch von Gottschalk von Nepomuk und Marsilius von

intuitus videret tunc omnes partes continui realiter distinctas. Aut igitur sistit ad aliquas aut quodam processu discurrit ad minores et minores. Sed neutrum contingit. Non secundum, quia intuitus dei non est perfectivus. (...) Nec primum, quia tunc aut sistit ad indivisibilia et sic ex illis componitur, nisi deus erraret, aut ad ulterius divisibilia et sic non videt divisiones illorum et cetera. Confirmatur, quia tunc in prospectu dei esset evacuata divisio continui secundum realem distinctionem partium. Hoc autem implicat contradictionem». Siehe den Text von Aureoli in Anm. 45.

[44]) Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 35 p. 2 a. 4, fol. 786^{bA-B}: «(...) nulla creatura dici potest esse obiectum terminans intellectum divinum, quamvis aequipollenter, immo et eminenter causatum quodlibet cognoscatur ab ipso. (...) supra declaratum est, quod divinus intuitus non aspicit res in se, sed aliquid aequipollens, et plusquam aequipollens, scilicet suam essentiam».

[45]) Petrus Aureoli, *Commentariorum in primum librum Sententiarum pars secunda* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 35 p. 2 a. 1, fol. 772^{bD-F}: «(...) manifestum est, quod si divinus intuitus aliquid extra se attingeret obiective, ponendo illud in eius prospectu (esse prospecto, *Ed.*), de necessitate divisio continui esset evacuata in eius intuitu, aut prospectu. Aut enim tantummodo ponerentur in ipsius intuitu omnes partes continui divisae, et distinctae, ita ut non relinquatur ulterior divisio; et sic habetur propositum, quod divisio continui erit evacuata; aut ponerentur tantum aliquae partes sub certo numero, quarum quaelibet erit ulterius divisibilis; quod esse non potest, quia tunc divinus intuitus esset in potentia, et posset aliquid sibi accrescere, dividendo videlicet unamquamque illarum partium; quinimmo posset, sic dividendo, procedere in infinitum, sicut et noster intellectus. Ergo impossibile est, quod aliquid aliud a Deo ponatur in eius intuitu, vel prospectu in actu: qua ratione namque aliquid poneretur, omnes partes continui ponerentur».

Inghen[46]). Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ist Hugolin durch die Diskussion in den von ihm öfters zitierten Werken des Gregor von Rimini und Alfonsus Vargas zu einer Behandlung dieser Argumente veranlaßt worden.

In seiner Kritik am oben erwähnten Argument schloß er sich Gregor von Rimini an, der Petrus Aureoli entgegenhielt: das Kontinuum sei aus Teilen (*partes*), die selber wiederum potentiell oder aktuell geteilt seien (*potentia vel actu divisae*), aufgebaut. Deshalb sei eine unendliche Teilung möglich und trotzdem könne das Kontinuum von Gott aktuell erkannt werden. Die einzelnen Teile, so Gregor und Hugolin, die potentiell stets weiter geteilt werden können, sind im göttlichen Geiste in unendlich viele Teile aktuell aufgeteilt. Welchen Teil man auch nimmt, wie klein auch, er enthält im Geiste Gottes aktuell unendlich viele Teile[47]).

Auch in den Erwiderungen auf die anderen Argumente des Petrus Aureoli folgt Hugolin den Darlegungen des Gregor von Rimini. Die Betrachtung dieser Argumente möchten wir aber an dieser Stelle nicht fortsetzen, sondern uns dem letzten Punkt, der von Hugolin benutzten logisch-semantischen Methode, zuwenden.

[46]) Vgl. Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I d. 35-36, q. 1, 213-214; Alfonsus Vargas, *In primum Sententiarum* (ed. cit.), Lib. I dd. 35-37 q. 1 a. 2, coll. 605-606; Gottschalk von Nepomuk, *Quaestiones super IV libros Sententiarum* (Krákow, Bibl. Jag., 1499), Lib I dd. 35-40, fol. 44ra «(...) arguit unus doctor Petrus Aureoli sic: Si deus omnia distincte cognosceret, tunc sequeretur quod possibile esset divisionem continui totaliter evacuari (...)», und Marsilius von Inghen, *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. cit.), Lib. I d. 38, foll. 153^{rb} u. 156va. Gottschalk von Nepomuk las die Sentenzen 1365-1366 in Paris, siehe W.J. Courtenay, *Adam Wodeham. An Introduction to his Life and Writings*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought Vol. XXI (Leiden 1978), 141.

[47]) Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I d. 35-36 q. 1, 224: «Unde dico quod, quamcumque partem quantumcumque parvam sumpseris, illa includit partes actu divisas in conceptu divino, immo infinitas includit, nec aliquam potes sumere quin sumas infinitas. Et, sicut de facto quodlibet continuum habet infinitas partes potentiales et quaelibet quantumlibet parva includit infinitas nec aliqua sumi potest indivisibilis et quin sumantur tales partes potentiales infinitae, sic dico quod in conceptu dei continuum est totaliter actu divisum in partes, quarum quaelibet etiam est totaliter actu divisa et includit infinitas actu divisas». Vgl. Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 35 q. u a. 3, 304: «(...) Et tunc patet, quod divisio continui est evacuata sic, quod nulla restat, quae non sit cognita. Non tamen est evacuata, quasi sit aliqua ultima divisio vel possit designari pars, cuius non sit infinite et cetera». Für Gregors Ansicht bezüglich des Unendlichen und der Teilbarkeit des Kontinuums, siehe A.G. Molland, «Continuity and Measure in Medieval Natural Philosophy», *Mensura, Mass, Zahl, Zahlensymbolik im Mittelalter*, 1. Halbband, hrsg. von A. Zimmermann, Miscellanea Mediaevalia 16/1 (Berlin-New York 1983), 137.

3. *Die logisch-semantische Methode*

Wie schon öfters betont wurde und aus dem Obigem klar hervorgeht, ist Hugolin an mehreren Punkten seines Denkens durch Gregor von Rimini beeinflußt worden[48]). Das gilt auch für die Anwendung logisch-semantischer Techniken bei der Behandlung der Problematik des göttlichen Vorherwissens, was uns nicht verwundern mag, denn Gregor spielte bei der Verbreitung dieser Techniken auf dem europäischen Festland eine entscheidende Rolle. Er rezipierte die in England entstandenen Methoden in seinem Sentenzenkommentar und machte sie so Denkern wie Hugolin bekannt[49]). Daß Hugolin diese Methoden übernommen hat, paßt in das Gesamtbild seines Werkes, das, wie A. Zumkeller sich treffend ausdrückt, «eine starke logische Begabung bezeugt»[50]).

Wir möchten im Rahmen unseres Beitrages auf das wohl interessanteste Beispiel der Hugolinschen Anwendung dieser Technik eingehen: können menschliche Freiheit und göttliches Wissen zusammengehen?

Vielsagend für die Bedeutung, die Hugolin gerade bei der Behandlung dieses Problems einer logischen Technik zugemessen hat, ist wohl, daß er fast ganz auf eine inhaltliche Antwort verzichtet hat, wie wir sie bei Thomas von Aquin und Duns Scotus finden können, deren Ansichten diesbezüglich trotz der vielfältigen Kritik im 14. Jahrhundert immer noch von Theologen übernommen wurden[51]). Er erklärte das Zusammengehen von menschlicher Freiheit und göttlichem Wissen, obwohl er weder wie Thomas auf die göttliche Ewigkeit, noch wie Scotus auf die Rolle des kontingenten göttlichen Willens verwies. Auch lehnte er, wie Gregor, die auf Bonaventura und den Sentenzenkommentar des Tho-

[48]) Vgl. W. Eckermann, *Der Physikkommentar Hugolins von Orvieto OESA. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnislehre des spätmittelalterlichen Augustinismus*, Spätmittelalter und Reformation 5 (Berlin-New York 1972), 119-122; id. *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Das Sprachverständnis in der Theologie Gregors von Rimini und sein Weiterwirken in der Augustinerschule*, Cassiciacum 33 (Würzburg 1978), 238-253 und M. Schulze, «'Via Gregorii' in Forschung und Quellen», 29-34.

[49]) Vgl. W.J. Courtenay, «The Role of English Thought in the Transformation of University Education in the Late Middle Ages», *Rebirth, Reform and Resilience. Universities in Transition 1300-1700*, ed. by J.M. Kittelson and P.J. Transue (Columbus 1984), 121-137.

[50]) Vgl. A. Zumkeller, *Hugolin von Orvieto und seine theologische Erkenntnislehre*, Cassiciacum Bd. IX (Würzburg 1941), 99.

[51]) Für die Rezeption der Auffassungen des Scotus, siehe (noch immer grundlegend), H. Schwamm, *Das göttliche Vorherwissen bei Duns Scotus und seinen ersten Anhängern*. Philosophie und Grenzwissenschaften V/1-4, Innsbruck 1934.

mas[52]) zurückgehende Auffassung ab, Gott erkenne das Kontingente durch seine Ideen. Nach Hugolin erkennt Gott die Geschöpfe direkt, ohne Medium[53]). Nur ein einziges mehr oder weniger inhaltliches Argument läßt sich bei ihm finden: Kontingenz (menschliche Freiheit) und göttliches Wissen gehen zusammen, da Gott alles genau so vorherweiß, wie es in Zukunft sein wird. Einen zukünftigen Willensentschluß erkennt er als kontingenten Willensentschluß, da jedes Zukünftige kontingent ist. Aus diesem Grunde vernichtet Gottes Wissen die Freiheit des Menschen nicht. Dieses Argument wurde auch von Gregor angeführt[54]).

Jetzt zu Hugolins logischer Argumentation: Als Ausgangspunkt diente ihm die göttliche Allwissenheit und die von Gregor stammende Definition der Kontingenz: B ist in A (A ist ein Moment der Zukunft) kontingent, wenn beide folgenden Sätze wahr sind: «Es ist möglich, daß B in A sein wird» und «Es ist möglich, daß B in A *nicht* sein wird». Anders gesagt: Der Satz «B ist in A kontingent» ist wahr, wenn nicht nur gilt «Es ist möglich, daß B in A sein wird» (denn das gilt auch für das Notwendige), sondern auch (und vor allem) «Es ist möglich, daß B in A *nicht* sein wird»[55]). Diese beiden Ausgangspunkte (die göttliche

[52]) Vgl. M.J.F.M. Hoenen, «A propos de Lectura I d. 39: un passage dissimulé de Thomas d'Aquin chez Duns Scot?», *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 52 (1985), 231-236.

[53]) Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 40 q. 2 a. 1, 328. Vgl. Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I d. 38 q. 2, 280-281.

[54]) Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 40 q. 2 a. 2, 332: «Simul stant: omne futurum deus praescit esse futurum et omne futurum est contingenter futurum. Probatur, quia de quolibet futuro sic est et deus praescit praecise taliter fore, qualiter in re erit, quia videt. Nam quodlibet futurum est contingenter futurum, et sic esse futurum est verum scitum a deo, qui novit omne verum distincte et evidenter». Vgl. Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I d. 38 q. 2 a. 3, 289: «Et ita posset argui de quolibet actu voluntario et generaliter de quolibet futuro contingenti. Nam dei praescientia non aliter praevidet res fore quam illae futurae sint, cum falsa esse non possit. Talia autem sunt futura mere contingenter, igitur deus praevidet illas contingeter esse futuras. Et ideo non solum ex praescientia dei non excluditur contingentia futurorum, quin certe potius necessario concluditur».

[55]) Vgl. Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I d. 38 q. 2 a. 3, 285: «(...) futura non ideo dicuntur contingenter futura, quia erunt et non erunt, nec quia non erunt nec non erunt — nam utrumque praedictorum est impossibile —, nec quia vel erunt vel non erunt, quia tunc quolibet possibile esset futurum contingens — quodlibet enim erit vel non erit —, nec quia possunt fore vel possunt non fore propter eandem rationem, sed praecise, quia possunt fore et possunt non fore».

Allwissenheit und die genannte Definition der Kontingenz) dienten ihm als Prämissen für folgende Argumentation:

Wenn B (= Petrus) in A kontingent sündigt, gilt der Satz *p*: «Petrus wird in A sündigen» und, auf Grund der Definition der Kontingenz, der Satz $M \neg p$: «Es ist möglich, daß Petrus in A nicht sündigen wird». Auf Grund der Prämisse der göttlichen Allwissenheit gilt, wenn Petrus in A sündigt, der Satz *GWp*: «Gott weiß, daß Petrus in A sündigen wird». Da nun der Satz *GWp*: «Gott weiß, daß Petrus in A sündigen wird» aus dem Satz *p*: «Petrus wird in A sündigen» folgt, und der Satz *p*: «Petrus wird in A sündigen» mit dem Satz $M \neg p$: «Es ist möglich, daß Petrus in A niemals sündigen wird» zusammengeht, geht der Satz *GWp*: «Gott weiß, daß Petrus in A sündigen wird» auch mit dem Satz $M \neg p$: «Es ist möglich, daß Petrus in A niemals sündigen wird» zusammen. Denn, so Hugolin, wenn etwas ($= M \neg p$) mit dem *antecedens* ($= p$) zusammengeht, geht es auch mit dem *consequens* ($= GWp$) zusammen. Da nun (so Hugolin) das gleichzeitige Wahr-sein von *p* und $M \neg p$ bedeutet, daß Petrus kontingent sündigt, muß auch gelten, daß beide folgenden Sätze: «Gott weiß, daß Petrus in A sündigen wird», und «Petrus wird in A kontingent sündigen» zusammengehen[56]).

Diese von Gregor herrührende Argumentation[57]) läßt sich in fast gleicher Form auch in dem Sentenzenkommentar des Marsilius von

[56]) Hugolin von Orvieto, *Commentarius in quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. Eckermann II), Lib. I d. 40 q. 2 a. 2, 332: «Sed in terminis probo conclusionem (quod simul stant: omne futurum deus praescit esse futurum et omne futurum est contingenter futurum, *MH*) in uno et sic patebit de singulis. Capio hoc futurum 'B Petrus peccat in A'. Sit A meridies crastina. Haec stant simul: B erit in A et possibile est B numquam fore in A. Igitur haec stant simul: Deus praescit B fore et possibile est B numquam fore. Igitur stant simul: Deus praescit B fore in A et B contingenter erit in A. Haec secunda consequentia patet, quia si B erit et possibile est B numquam fore, igitur B contingenter erit. Primam consequentiam probo dupliciter. Primo, quia sequitur: B erit in A, igitur deus praescit B fore in A. Sed cuicumque est composibile antecedens, est composibile consequens. Antecedens autem nunc datum est composibile cum ista 'Possibile est B numquam fore', id est possibile est 'Petrum numquam peccaturum in A', igitur deum praescire 'Petrum peccaturum in A' stat cum toto isto 'Petrus peccabit in A et possibile est numquam peccaturum in A', quae duo integrant futurum contingens. (...)».

[57]) Vgl. Gregor von Rimini, *Lectura* (ed. Trapp-Marcolino III), Lib. I d. 38 q. 2 a. 3, 287: «Hae sunt compossibiles 'Petrus peccabit in A' et 'Petrus potest non esse peccaturus in A', igitur hae sunt compossibiles 'deus praescit Petrum peccaturum in A' et 'Petrus potest non esse peccaturus in A', et igitur simul stant quod dues praesciat Petrum peccaturum in A et quod Petrus contingenter et non necessario peccabit in A. Et haec ultima consequentia patet, quia, si Petrus peccabit in A et potest non esse peccaturus in A, igitur non necessario peccabit in A, sed contingenter. (...)».

Inghen finden[58]). Man kann in diesem Punkt also von einer deutlichen Konvergenz der Auffassungen dieser drei Denker sprechen.

Kommen wir zum Schluß. Was Hugolin in seinem Sentenzenkommentar über das göttliche Wissen dargelegt hat, ist nicht überraschend originell. Er hat weder neue Probleme entdeckt noch neue Lösungen gefunden. Dennoch darf man seine Leistung nicht unterschätzen. Wie aus den ausgewählten Beispielen hervorgegangen ist, hat er die wichtigsten Entwicklungen in Bezug auf die Problematik des göttlichen Wissens in der Periode 1250-1350 rezipiert und in seinen Darlegungen ausgewertet. Insofern stellt seine Behandlung ein Muster des Entwicklungstandes um die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts dar. Hugolins Standpunkt, die göttliche Intellektualität sei eine «communis animi conceptio», läßt sich nur als Reaktion auf die Debatte der Beweisbarkeit in seiner vollen Bedeutung erfassen, und Hugolin gehörte mit Gregor von Rimini, Johannes Mirecourt und Alfons Vargas zu den ersten Pariser Theologen, die in ihren Werken die in England entstandene logisch-semantische Methode rezipiert und weiterentwickelt haben. Vielleicht hat gerade diese Aufgeschlossenheit dazu beigetragen, daß sein Sentenzenkommentar einen so großen Einfluß hat gewinnen können. Aber darüber kann letztendlich nur eine genaue Untersuchung der Texte derjenigen Autoren, die sein Werk benutzt und zitiert haben, entscheiden.

M.J.F.M. Hoenen

[58]) Vgl. Marsilius von Inghen, *Quaestiones super quattuor libros Sententiarum* (ed. cit.), Lib. I q. 40 a. 2, fol. 166va.

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