

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AUGUSTINE'S *DE GRATIA NOVI TESTAMENTI*

Augustine's Letter 140, included by him among his longer treatises in the *Retractationes* (II, 62 [63]), is one of the most interesting of his compositions, in that it provides an insight into some of the fundamental assumptions of his theology. Although the work undoubtedly had the nascent Pelagian movement in mind, as the long concluding exhortation makes clear (37, 83-85), it has a range and comprehensiveness which goes beyond the immediate context and makes it, in certain respects, a microcosm of Augustine's theological thinking. The purpose of this article is to examine the development of the argument of the treatise, as an example of Augustine's views before they were hardened by the polemics of controversy, by an analysis of the text.

Of Honoratus, the inspirer of the letter, we know only what we are told by Augustine. There is no compelling reason to identify him with the recipient of the *De Utilitate Credendi*, though equally there is no evidence which would decisively exclude such identification¹). The statement in Cassiodorus' *Institutes* that he was a presbyter²) is contradicted by the letter itself, which speaks of him as being not yet baptised (19, 48). It is conceivable that Cassiodorus was misled by Augustine's opening phrase, *dilectissime mi frater Honorate*, into supposing that he was in holy orders; but it may be that Augustine's use of the word *frater*, commonly employed in writing to his fellow

¹) G. BARDY, *Les Révisions* (Bibliothèque Augustinienne 12) (Paris, 1950), 585: 'Le traité «*De gratia noui Testamenti*» ... est adressé à ce même Honorat à qui avait été naguère dédié le *De Libero arbitrio* (sic!)'; John H.S. BURLEIGH, *Augustine: Earlier Writings* (The Library of Christian Classics Volume VI) (London, 1953), 287: 'There is nothing in the Epistle to suggest that the two men are identical, though they well may be. It would be pleasant to think that St Augustine won his case'; Mary Inez BOGAN, *Saint Augustine. The Retractations* (The Fathers of the Church Volume 60) (Washington, D.C., 1968), 63: 'It would be interesting to know more about this addressee [of *De Utilitate Credendi*] but it is not possible to do so with certainty, for we do not have definite grounds on which to identify him as ... the Honoratus whose five queries ... are answered by Augustine in ... Letter 140'.

²) *Institutiones* I, 16. 4: 'scripsit etiam quinque quaestiones de nouo Testamento ad Honoratum presbyterum ...' (ed. Mynors 54. 21-23).

clergyman, is to be here understood as being inspired by pastoral concern. In Letter 139, addressed to Count Marcellinus, Augustine refers to the heavy burden of urgent correspondence laid upon him and speaks of a letter to *Honoratus noster* which he has in hand for immediate reply, since the *ordo amandi* requires that those most in need of assistance should be helped first: 'for love deals with her sons as a nurse does with children, devoting her attention to them, not in the order of the love felt for each, but according to the urgency of each case'³).

So far as the dating of the letter is concerned, Augustine's own language in the *Retractationes* supplies fairly precise information. It was written, he says, 'at the time when I was strenuously engaged in controverting the Donatists and had already begun to oppose the Pelagians'⁴). Furthermore, he places the composition of the *De Gratia Novi Testamenti* after the *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* but before the *De Spiritu et Littera*, which would locate it in the period 411-412. Such a date is confirmed by a reference in the work itself (5, 13) to *Enarratio in Ps. 72*, which was preached *nocte, qua inlucescerebat sollemnitatis beatissimi Cypriani*, that is, 13-14 September 411⁵); and by the reference in Letter 139, dated by Goldbacher to the winter of 411-412: 'Nunc in manibus habeo librum ad Honoratum nostrum de quaestionibus quibusdam quinque, quas mihi proposuit et per litteras intimavit, cui non continuo respondere uides quam minime oporteat'⁶). Altogether, the most satisfactory date would seem to be the early months of 412.

Honoratus had asked Augustine to explain the meaning of five passages of Scripture: the cry of dereliction from the Cross: *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*; the passage in Ephesians: ... *that you, being rooted and grounded in love, may have power to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and depth ...* (3: 17, 18); the significance of the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins (Matt. 25: 2); the outer darkness (Matt. 8: 12; 22: 13); and the declaration: *The Word was made flesh*. To these Augustine added a

³) *Ep.* 139, 3: '... sicut nunc in manibus habeo librum ad Honoratum nostrum de quaestionibus quibusdam quinque, quas mihi proposuit et per litteras intimavit, cui non continuo respondere uides quam minime oporteat. caritas enim, quae tamquam nutrix fouet filios suos, non ordine amandi sed ordine subueniendi infirmiores fortioribus anteponit'; ed. Goldbacher, *CSEL* xliv, 153. 7-12.

⁴) *Retr.* 2, 62 [63]. *CCSEL* lvii, 119. 3-4.

⁵) O. PERLER, *Les voyages de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1969), 456-7.

⁶) *CSEL* xliv, 153. 7-10.

sixth of his own, designed to combine the questions into a coherent theological whole: What is the grace of the New Testament? The resulting treatise, based upon so variegated a collection of texts, is something of a *tour de force*, in view of the fact that Augustine did not choose the topics of his exegesis, but had them imposed by another. The one concession which he allowed himself in answering Honoratus' questions was to alter the order and to treat first the meaning of the declaration that *the Word was made flesh*, thus setting the tone of his discussion, which would be determined by the meaning of the Incarnation.

At the outset, however, Augustine makes a distinction between two possible human lives: the temporal life, which pursues transitory and sensual pleasures; and the life of the intellect, chosen by the reason and aided by divine providence, in order that the reasonable soul may so make use of temporal happiness that it may hereafter enjoy the eternal God. Although things temporal are not in themselves evil, since they are God's creation and are therefore naturally good, the reasonable soul must nevertheless love them with an ordered love, so that it may rise from the lower goods to the higher, and thence come to the God who is the source of all goodness.

This short passage (2, 3-4) is an exposition of familiar themes in Augustinian theology. We find them discussed in greater or lesser detail in earlier writings: in the Cassiciacan dialogues; in the first and second books of the *De Doctrina Christiana*; and in the *De Natura Boni*. In Letter 140 they serve as an introduction to the section (2, 5) in which Augustine introduces what will be a recurring theme throughout the whole work: temporal benefits and earthly happiness are in themselves good things and the gift of God; but they are not an end in themselves and are only shadows of higher goods — a truth which is made clear in the Old Testament, in which the true and lasting blessings of the New were prophesied and understood, though only by a few — the prophets who were made worthy by divine grace. It is by the prophets that the coming of Christ was foretold, which would teach mankind the truly good things, for whose sake earthly felicity should rightly be rejected.

This notion was not new for Augustine in 412. It had been expressed in a famous passage in the *De Vera Religione* (27, 50), composed at Thagaste in 389/90, in which Augustine speaks of the 'two lives' of the old and earthly man and the new and heavenly man (I Cor. 15: 47), revealed in a succession of people devoted to the one God.

But from Adam to John the Baptist [the people of the one God] live the life of the earthly man under a kind of servile righteousness. Their history is called the Old Testament, which promised a sort of earthly kingdom, all of which was nothing more than an image of the new people and of the New Testament, which promises the Kingdom of Heaven⁷).

Augustine returns to this idea in *Ep.* 140, with a special emphasis. In the *De Vera Religione* he had spoken of the possibility of the 'old man' obtaining 'what the common herd calls happiness in a well-ordered earthly city' (26, 48: *quam uulgi uocat felicitatem in bene constituta terrena ciuitate*). In *Ep.* 140, 5, 13 he emphasises the fact that God has bestowed worldly felicity even on the wicked, to discourage Christians from worshipping Him for the sake of a material reward, which they see that the wicked may also enjoy, and refers Honoratus to his sermon on Psalm 72 for more detailed treatment. In this psalm, Augustine sees the Jews in the Old Dispensation as serving God rightly, but for earthly ends; while the heathen also seek the same good things, but from the demons⁸). Yet the good things enjoyed by the Jews were only symbols of the happiness of the New Testament. The psalmist sees the wicked in prosperity and almost loses faith in God, until he *comes into the sanctuary* and sees their final end at the Last Judgement⁹). Christ has come in the fulness of time to teach men to scorn the temporal, not to set a high value on what the wicked desire, and to endure what they fear. Christ has been made the Way. He has called men back to deep reflexion and has warned us what should be sought from God¹⁰). Earthly goods are to be despised, and things eternal

⁷) *Vera rel.* 27, 50: '... sed ab Adam usque ad Iohannem Baptistam terreni hominis uitam gerens seruili quadam iustitia. Cuius historia Vetus Testamentum uocatur, quasi terrenum pollicens regnum. Quae tota nihil est aliud quam imago noui populi et Noui Testamenti pollicentis regnum caelorum'. *CSEL* lxxvii, 36. 7-10.

⁸) *En. Ps.* 72, 6: 'Synagoga ergo, id est, qui Deum ibi pie colebant, sed tamen propter terrenas res, propter ista praesentia; sunt enim impii qui praesentium rerum bona a daemonibus quaerunt; hic autem populus ideo melior erat gentibus, quod quamuis praesentia bona et temporalia, tamen ab uno Deo quaerebat, qui est creator omnium, et spiritualium, et corporalium'. *CCSEL* xxxix, 990. 1-7.

⁹) *Ibid.*, 23: 'Ego, inquit, de sanctuario Dei intendo oculum in finem; praesentia transgredior. Totum hoc quod uocatur humanum genus, omnis ista massa mortalitatis uentura est ad examen, uentura est ad libram; appendentur ibi opera hominum'. *CCSEL* xxxix, 998. 14-18.

¹⁰) *Ibid.*, 16: 'Cum autem uenit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum. Ipsa est plenitudo temporis, quando uenit ille temporalia docere contemni, non habere magnum quidquid mali homines cupiunt, pati quidquid mali homines metuunt. Factus est uia, reuocauit ad cogitationem intimam, admonuit quid a Deo quaerendum esset'. *CCSL* xxxix, 995. 5-10.

desired¹¹). While not condemning the possession of riches in themselves, Augustine holds out no hope for the proud rich man, who glories in his wealth and despises his poor brother.

All our rich brethren abounding in money, gold, silver, family connexions and honours may well tremble at what has just now been said: *Thou, O Lord, shalt bring their image to naught in the city*. Do they not deserve to suffer in this way, that *God should bring their image to naught in his city*, because they themselves have brought the image of God [i.e. the poor, made in the image of God] to nothing in their own earthly city?¹²)

It is to this exposition of Psalm 72 that Augustine refers Honoratus in Letter 140, to amplify his contention that the man Christ, in order to reveal the grace of the New Testament, was not recommended by earthly good fortune but by suffering and death, so that His faithful followers might learn what reward they ought to ask and expect for their devotion (*Ep.* 140, 5, 13). The grace of the New Testament — and in this context it would seem better to understand *gratia* as 'favour', as in Luke 1: 30 and Acts 7: 46 in the Vulgate version, rather than in the usual Augustinian sense of aid (*adiutorium*) — as revealed in the person of Jesus Christ, has nothing to do with material well-being or worldly happiness. The servant of Christ must, in the words of St Paul, be as those *having nothing and yet possessing all things* (II Cor. 6: 10).

This consideration suggests another approach — though by no means an exclusive one — for understanding the *De Gratia Novi Testamenti*, apart from Augustine's own account in the *Retractationes*. Augustine located the work as having been composed in the period when the Donatist Controversy was at its height and the Pelagian beginning, and he took care, at the conclusion of the treatise (37, 83-85) to utter a solemn warning against those who, although virtuous in their actions and orthodox in their beliefs, nevertheless put their confidence

¹¹) Ibid., 20: '*Et fui flagellatus tota die*. A me non recedunt flagella Dei. Bene serui, et flagellor; non seruit, et ornatur. Magnam quaestionem sibi fecit. Agitur anima, transit anima transitura ad contemnenda terrena et concupiscenda aeterna. Transitus est ipsius animae in hac cogitatione; ubi fluctuat in quadam tempestate, peruentura est ad portum'. *CCSEL* xxxix, 996. 1-6.

¹²) Ibid., 26: '*Exhorrescant omnes fratres nostri diuites, abundantes pecunia, auro, argento, familia, honoribus; exhorrescant quod modo dictum est: Domine, in ciuitate tua imaginem illorum ad nihilum rediges*. Nonne digni sunt haec pati, ut Deus in ciuitate sua imaginem illorum ad nihilum redigat, quia et ipsi in ciuitate sua terrena imaginem Dei ad nihilum redegerunt'. *CCSL* xxxix, 1000. 38-44.

in themselves, and not in the grace of God. When, however, he came to compose Letter 140, Augustine could, and did, have another consideration in mind: the theological problems raised by the sack of Rome in 410, which were eventually to lead to the composition of *The City of God*. In the first book of that work Augustine addresses himself to the complaints of those who considered that the profession of Christianity ought to have preserved Rome from the barbarians; and his answer is precisely that which he has already given in *Ep.* 140, 5, 13.

It has pleased divine providence to prepare good things in the future for the righteous, which the wicked will not enjoy, and evil things for the ungodly, by which the good will not be tormented. However, God has willed that temporal goods and evils should be common to good and bad alike, so that good things should not be too eagerly sought, which the bad are also seen to have, nor evil things shamefully avoided, by which the good are very frequently afflicted¹³).

Although he makes no allusion to it, Augustine could hardly have been unaware of the implications of the sack of Rome, when he preached on Psalm 72 in September 411, and spoke of the Incarnation as teaching that earthly goods were to be despised, and the sufferings which the wicked fear were to be embraced¹⁴).

But you — what are you doing? *It is good for me to cleave to God*. This is the sum of what is good. Do you want more? I am sorry for those who do. Brethren, what more do you want? Nothing is better than to cleave to God, when we shall see Him *face to face* (I Cor. 13: 12). What is better now? — because I speak being still a pilgrim. *It is good*, he says, *to cleave to God* — but now on our pilgrimage, because the reality has not yet come, it is good *to put my hope in God*. As long, therefore, as you do not cleave, put your hope there¹⁵).

¹³) *Ciu.* 1, 8: 'Placuit quippe diuinae prouidentiae praeparare in posterum bona iustis, quibus non fruentur iniusti, et mala impiis, quibus non excruciantur boni; ista uero temporalia bona et mala utrisque uoluit esse communia, ut nec bona cupidius adpetantur, quae mali quoque habere cernuntur; nec mala turpiter euitentur, quibus et boni plerumque adficiuntur'. *CCSL* xlvii, 7. 13-19.

¹⁴) *En. Ps.* 72, 16, cited above, note 10.

¹⁵) *Ibid.*, 34: 'Tu autem quid facis? *Mihi autem adhaerere Deo bonum est*. Hoc est totum bonum. Vultis amplius? Doleo uolentes. Fratres, quid uultis amplius? Deo adhaerere nihil est melius, quando eum uidebimus facie ad faciem. Modo ergo quid? Quia adhuc peregrinus loquor: *Adhaerere*, inquit, *Deo Bonum est*; sed modo in peregrinatione, quia nondum uenit res, *Ponere in Deo spem meam*. Quamdiu ergo nondum adhaesisti, ibi pone spem'. *CCSL* xxxix, 1003. 1-8.

The same thought underlies Augustine's introduction to Letter 140 before he addresses himself to Honoratus' questions.

These saints [of the Old Testament] proclaimed the Old Testament in a form adapted to their age, but they belonged in reality to the New Testament; for when they dealt with temporal felicity, they understood that the true and eternal felicity was to be set forth, and they declared the former in a mystery, so that they might attain to the latter in the reward. And if at any time they suffered misfortune, they suffered it to this end: that being set free by the most manifest divine aid, they might glorify God, the giver of all good things, not only those eternal things, for which they devoutly hoped, but also temporal things, which they administered in prophetic manner¹⁶).

This is the background to Augustine's treatment of the meaning of the declaration: *And the Word was made flesh*, the last of Honoratus' questions, which Augustine elected to treat first. As might be expected, he makes the Incarnation the centre of his exposition. Christ is God, the Word of God, the creator of all things and the unchangeable Son of God, omnipresent, even in the minds of the ungodly, although they do not see Him (*Ep.* 140, 3, 6). He assumed manhood; but in order that He might not be deemed to be no more than a holy man, John the Baptist was sent before to proclaim Him as the true light (3, 8). Then Christ came and gave to those who received Him the power to become sons of God.

This is the grace of the New Testament, which lay hidden in the Old yet did not cease to be prophesied and foretold under obscure images, so that the soul might know its God and be reborn to Him by His grace. This is, indeed, a spiritual birth, and therefore *not of blood, nor of the will of man, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God*. It is also called adoption, for we were something before we were sons of God and we received the favour (*beneficium*) that we might be what we were not ... And the Son Himself must be distinguished from this begetting by grace, the Son who, when He was the Son of God, came in order that He might be the son of

¹⁶) *Ep.* 140, 2, 5: 'dispensabant ergo illi sancti pro congruentia temporis testamentum uetus, pertinebant uero ad testamentum nouum. nam et quando temporalem felicitatem agebant, aeternam ueram et praeferendam intellegebant et istam ministrabant in mysterio, ut illum consequerentur in praemio, et si quando patiebantur aduersa, ad hoc patiebantur, ut euidentissimo diuino adiutorio liberati glorificarent deum bonorum omnium largitorem non solum sempiternorum, quae pie sperabant, uerum etiam temporalium, quae propheticè gubernabant'. *CSEL* xlv, 158. 16-25.

Man and give to us, who were sons of men, [the power] to be made sons of God¹⁷).

This adoption, which Augustine elsewhere equated with deification¹⁸), is effected by participation: Christ was incarnate *ut participata natura filiorum hominum ad participandam etiam suam naturam adoptaret filios hominum* (4, 11). Augustine does not, of course, ignore the atoning power of the Incarnation; but his emphasis here is upon its deifying aspect, affected by participation. It need cause no surprise to find this Platonic conception operating in Augustine's mind at the beginning of the Pelagian Controversy. As late as 426/7, when he was completing *The City of God*, Augustine could still, in Athanasian fashion, refer to 'the mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who was made partaker of our mortality to make us partakers of His divinity'¹⁹), but it is significant that he should make it the basis of his exegesis of *the Word was made flesh* in Letter 140.

And so we, mutable beings who are to be changed to a better state (*in melius*), are made partakers of the Word; but the unchangeable Word itself, being in no way changed for the worse, was made a partaker of flesh with a reasonable soul acting between. For Christ the man did not, as the Apollinarian heretics thought, either not have a soul, or did not have a reasonable one; but Scripture, in its own fashion, put *flesh* for 'man', that it might the more clearly show Christ's humility, and not appear to avoid the name of flesh as though it was something unworthy²⁰).

¹⁷) Ibid., 3, 9 - 4, 10: 'haec est gratia noui testamenti, quod in uetere latuit nec tamen figuris obumbrantibus prophetari praenuntiarique cessauit, ut intellegat anima deum suum et gratia eius renascatur illi. haec quippe natiuitas spiritalis est, ideo non ex sanguinibus, non ex uoluntate uiri nec ex uoluntate carnis sed ex deo (4, 10). Haec etiam adoptio uocatur. eramus enim aliquid ante, quam essemus filii dei, et accepimus beneficium, ut fieremus, quod non eramus ... et ab hac generatione gratiae discernitur ille filius, qui, cum esset filius dei, uenit, ut fieret filius hominis donaretque nobis, qui eramus filii hominis, filios dei fieri'. *CSEL* xlv, 161. 18-26; 28-162. 1-3.

¹⁸) *En. Ps.* 49, 2: 'Ego dixi: Dii estis, et filii Excelsi omnes; uos autem ut homines moriemini, et sicut unus ex principibus cadetis. Manifestum est ergo, quia homines dixit deos, ex gratia sua deificatos, non de substantia sua natos. Ille enim iustificat, qui per semetipsum non ex alio iustus est; et ille deificat, qui per seipsum non alterius participatione Deus est. Qui autem iustificat, ipse deificat, quia iustificando, filios Dei facit. Dedit enim eis potestatem filios Dei fieri. Si filii Dei facti sumus, et dii facti sumus; sed hoc gratiae est adoptantis, non naturae generantis'. *CSSL* xxxviii, 574. 6 - 575. 15.

¹⁹) *Ciu.* 21, 16: '... per mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum, qui factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae, ut nos participes faceret diuinitatis suae'. *CSSL* xlviii, 782. 28-30.

²⁰) *Ep.* 140, 4, 12: 'Nos itaque mutabiles in melius commutandi participes efficitur uerbi; uerbum autem incommutabile nihil in deterius commutatum particeps carnis effectum est rationali anima mediante. neque enim homo Christus, ut Apollinaristae

So Christ, being made man, endured suffering and death to reveal that the grace of the New Testament does not pertain to temporal, but to eternal life (5, 13).

In this first section of his letter, which determines its subsequent orientation, Augustine has declared that the grace of the New Testament, the peculiar grace of Christ, bestows eternal felicity through participation in God's divinity made possible by the mediation of the divine humanity of Christ; but he is also at pains to show that this felicity is, in the present age, experienced in hope, not in fulfilment; *in spe* and not *in re*. This provides him with a theological basis for resolving the first of Honoratus' questions, discussed by Augustine secondly: the meaning of the cry of dereliction: *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*

Augustine's treatment of this text is preceded by a warning: just as the author of Psalm 72 could not resolve the problems which agonized him until he *went into the sanctuary of God*, so here it is necessary that our understanding should be enlightened by the gift of the Holy Spirit (5, 13). Augustine had already discussed Psalm 21 in a sermon of 407²¹), where his exposition, understandably, had an anti-Donatist orientation; but the fundamental principle of exegesis remained unchanged in 412: in the cry from the cross, Christ spoke with and for the voice of human infirmity, in which *our old man was crucified* with Him, so that the bond of sin *might be done away* (Rom. 6:6) (5, 14). In Psalm 21 Christ is said to represent His Body, the Church: *Haec Christus ex persona sui corporis dicit, quod est ecclesia* (6, 18) — an identification which Augustine had already made in 407: *Et cum Verbum Deus factum esset caro, pendeat in cruce et dicebat: Deus meus, Deus meus, respice me: quare me dereliquisti? Quare dicitur, nisi quia nos ibi eramus, nisi quia corpus Christi ecclesia?* (*en. Ps. 21, s. 2, 3; cf. 4*). For Augustine this whole psalm, to the exegesis of which he devotes the major part of Letter 140, is a prophetic declaration of the grace of the New Testament (6, 15). It reveals the hopes and desires of the Old Man, who is still of a carnal mind.

haeretici putauerunt, aut non habuit animam aut non habuit rationalem; sed more suo scriptura, ut Christi humilitatem magis ostenderet, ne carnis nomen quasi indignum aliquid refugisse uideretur, carnem pro homine posuit'. *CSEL* xliv, 163. 18-25. Augustine's notion of Christ's mediation requires him to assert the human soul of Christ and the union of the two natures, thus rejecting Apollinarianism openly and Nestorianism by anticipation.

²¹) *En. Ps. 21, s. 2*. For the date, see Anne-Marie LA BONNARDIÈRE, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne* (Paris, 1965), 52, 54-6, who assigns it to Wednesday, 10 April 407.

Among the good things of the Old Testament pertaining to the Old Man, length of life is principally desired, that it may be retained a little longer, because it cannot always be. All men know that the day of death will come, and yet all — or almost all — seek to defer it, even those who believe that they will live more happily after death, such great power has the sweet association of flesh and soul ... But these words, by which length of human life are desired, *are the words of transgressions* (v. 2) and are far from that salvation which we now have in hope, but not yet in actuality, concerning which it is written: *by hope were we saved; but hope that is seen is not hope* (Rom. 8: 24). And therefore in this psalm when He has said: *My God, my God, look upon me, why hast thou forsaken me?* He immediately adds: *the words of my transgressions are far from my salvation*, that is, these words of my transgressions are far removed from the salvation which is promised to me by the grace of the New Testament and not the Old²²).

The space which Augustine devotes to the exegesis of Psalm 21 (some fifty-six pages out of the total of eighty occupied by Letter 140 in Goldbacher's edition) indicates the importance which he attributes to it as a prophecy of the grace of the New Testament. It is for this reason that he declines to understand the cry of dereliction as being uttered by Christ in His own person: 'the Church suffered in Him when He suffered for the Church, just as He also suffered in the Church when the Church suffered for Him'²³). When we cry to God for temporal goods and are not heard, we are taught by Him to know what we ought to hope and ask (7, 19).

This is the grace of the New Testament; for when You taught in the Old Testament that temporal and earthly felicity ought not to be sought and hoped for from anyone but You, then *our fathers*

²²) *Ep.* 140, 6, 16-17: 'In illis autem ueteris testamenti bonis ad ueterem hominem pertinentibus praecipue concupiscitur uitae huius productio temporalis, ut aliquanto diutius teneatur, quia semper non potest. ideo mortis diem omnes quidem adfuturum sciunt et eum tamen omnes aut paene omnes differre conantur, etiam qui post mortem se beatius credunt esse uicturos; tantam habet uim carnis et animae dulce consortium ... Sed haec uerba, quibus humanus dies et uitae huius prolixitas concupiscitur, uerba sunt delictorum et longe sunt ab ea salute, cuius nondum rem sed iam spem gerimus, de qua scriptum est, quia *spe salui facti sumus: spes autem quae uidetur, non est spes*. ideoque et in isto psalmo cum dixisset: *Deus, deus meus, respice me; quare me dereliquisti?* continuo subiungit: *Longe a salute mea uerba delictorum meorum*, id est haec uerba delictorum meorum sunt et longe sunt ab illa salute mea, quam mihi non ueteris sed noui testamenti gratia pollicetur'. *CSEL* xlv, 166. 24 - 167. 4; 15-24.

²³) *Ibid.*, 6, 18: 'ecclesia in illo patiebatur, quando pro ecclesia patiebatur, sicut etiam ipse in ecclesia patiebatur, quando pro illo ecclesia patiebatur'. *CSEL* xlv, 169. 2-4.

*hoped in thee, they hoped and thou didst deliver them; they cried to thee and were saved; they hoped in thee and were not confounded*²⁴).

Augustine gives a list of Old Testament saints who trusted in God and were saved: Isaac, for whom a ram was substituted as a sacrifice; Job, recompensed doubly for his sufferings; Daniel, delivered from the lions' den; and the three holy children in the furnace.

The Jews expected that something like this would be done for Christ, from which they might test whether He was truly the Son of God ... Having regard to the time of the Old Testament and the temporal felicity of the Fathers, in which God showed them that such gifts were also His gifts, they did not see that the time had already come in which it would be revealed in Christ that God would bestow eternal good things upon the righteous alone, who bestows temporal goods upon the ungodly as well²⁵).

Augustine sees a double mystery in the words: *I am a worm and no man* (v. 7), since they both express humility and also hint at the mystery of the virginal conception, 'because a worm is born [spontaneously] from [corrupting] flesh without copulation, so Christ was born of a virgin ... and the Son of Man was born like something putrid, as a worm from putrescence, that is to say, a mortal from mortality'²⁶). Accordingly, the words: *I am a worm and no man* are to be understood as meaning: 'I am Christ, in whom *all* are *made alive*, and not *Adam*, in whom *all die*' (8, 21).

By this grace of the New Testament learn, O men, to desire eternal life. Why do you so greatly wish to be set free by the Lord from death, as our fathers were set free, when God has revealed that there is no other giver, even of worldly felicity, than Himself? That felicity has to do with the Old Man, with the old age beginning from Adam; *but I am a worm and no man*, Christ, not Adam. You were old men from the Old Man; be new men from the New Man; men from Adam, Sons of Men from Christ²⁷).

²⁴) Ibid., 7, 20: 'Haec est gratia testamenti noui. nam in uetere testamento quando commendabas nonnisi a te peti sperarique debere etiam ipsam terrenam temporalemque felicitatem, in te sperauerunt patres nostri, sperauerunt et eruiisti eos; ad te clamauerunt et saluti facti sunt; in te sperauerunt et non sunt confusi'. CSEL xlv, 170. 8-13.

²⁵) Ibid.: 'tale aliquid in Christo expectabant fieri Iudaei, unde probarent, si uere filius dei esset ... adtendentes quippe tempus ueteris testamenti et illam patrum etiam temporalem felicitatem, in qua illis exhibenda demonstraui deus etiam talia dona sua esse, non uiderunt iam esse tempus, quo reuelaretur in Christo bona aeterna proprie deum praestare iustis, qui bona temporalia praestat et impiis'. CSEL xlv, 170. 19-21; 171. 2-7.

²⁶) Ibid., 8, 21: 'quia uermis de carne sine concubitu nascitur, sicut natus est ille de uirgine ... et filium hominis uermem natum de putredine quasi putrem, hoc est de mortalitate mortalem'. CSEL xlv, 171. 18-19; 172. 1-2.

²⁷) Ibid., 8, 22: 'Ac per hoc discite, homines, per gratiam testamenti noui iam uitam

Christ's humiliation, and the mockery to which He was subjected on the cross, were according to His own will. He wished to suffer in the sight of his enemies so that they should think Him abandoned, and by this the grace of the New Testament would be commended, by which we might learn to seek another felicity, which is now by faith, but which will afterwards be by sight (9, 24). Again, Christ's resurrection, by which the faithful learn from His flesh what they ought to hope for in their own, was revealed only to His own followers, and not to aliens:

... to aliens, I say, not by nature but by vice, which is always contrary to nature. For He died in the sight of men but rose again in the sight of the Sons of Men, because death pertained to the man, but resurrection to the Son of Man, *for as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive* (I Cor. 15: 22)²⁸).

Christ's Passion and Resurrection provide an example for His faithful followers to despise temporal good things for the sake of eternal happiness (9, 25).

Augustine recognises that there were, in the Old Testament, a very few saints who endured to the death without being accorded relief, just as under the New Covenant there were and are many enjoying worldly prosperity; but he reminds the rich of the Apostolic injunction, that *they should not be highminded, nor have their hope set on the uncertainty of riches, but on the living God, who gives us richly all things to enjoy* (I Tim. 6: 17) (10, 27). Here, as in his later writings against the Pelagians²⁹), Augustine does not regard the possession of riches as being in itself wrong; it is the use made of the riches, and the attitude to them, by which the rich man is justified or condemned. Augustine knew only too well that in his own day there were many persons who became Christian only from the hope of temporal well-being and, when disappointed in this, fell away (11, 29).

The verses: *Thou art he that took me out of the womb, thou wast my*

concupiscere sempiternam. quid pro magno ita uos uultis a domino de morte liberari, sicut liberati sunt patres nostri, quando commendebat eius etiam terrenae felicitatis praeter se non esse alium largitorem? illa felicitas ad ueterem hominem pertinet, quae uetustas ab Adam coepit. *ego autem sum uermis et non homo*, Christus, non Adam. a ueteri ueteres fuistis, a nouo noui estote; ab Adam homines, a Christo filii hominum'. CSEL xlv, 172. 17 - 173. 1.

²⁸) Ibid., 9, 25: 'alienis dico non natura sed uitio, quod semper contra naturam est. mortuus est ergo in conspectu hominum, resurrexit autem in conspectu filiorum hominum, quia mors ad hominem pertinebat, resurrectio ad filium hominis; *sicut enim in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic et in Christo omnes uiuificabuntur*'. CSEL xlv, 175. 18-23.

²⁹) See, for example, ep. 157, 4, 23 ff.

hope from my mother's breasts. I was cast out of the womb upon thee; from the belly of my mother thou art my God (vv. 10, 11), Augustine understands, in conformity with the general pattern of his exegesis, both as showing that God is the source of all good things, earthly as well heavenly, and also as revealing how we have been brought by grace from terrestrial felicity to that of heaven.

Therefore *from the belly of my mother*, that is, from the good things of the flesh, which I drew upon in my mother's womb, *thou art my God*, so that apart from these You may be my good. It is spoken thus as if, for example, it should be said: I dwell in heaven from the earth, that is, I have removed here from thence; and this is our transfiguration in Him, those of us who, by the grace of the New Testament, change our life, passing from the Old to the New. For He, indicating this truth in the mystery of His Passion and Resurrection, changed His flesh from mortality to immortality, though He did not change His life from the old to the new, since He never lived in impiety, from whence He should pass to piety³⁰).

The apparent contradiction between the petition: *Go not from me, for trouble is hard at hand* and the opening words of the psalm: *Why hast thou forsaken me?* is resolved, for Augustine, by his distinction between temporal and eternal felicity. The cry of dereliction refers to the loss of earthly good things; the petition: *Go not from me*, asks that the psalmist may not be deprived of the hope of eternal life³¹). Furthermore, the loss of temporal benefits exposes the faithful soul to temptation, which was the reason why the devil, in tempting Job, began by despoiling him of material possessions and then afflicted his body (13, 34). So the martyr, when he begins to suffer in his body, may say to God: *Go not from me, for trouble is hard at hand* (13, 35).

In his exposition of the following verses (12-22), Augustine continues to apply them to the Church, as the Body of Christ (14, 36;

³⁰) *Ep.* 140, 12, 30: 'ideoque de uentre matris meae, id est de bonis carnis, quam sumpsi in uentre matris meae, *deus meus es tu*, ut de his tu sis bonum meum. ea locutione dictum est, ac si diceretur uerbi gratia: De terra caelum habito, hoc est hinc illo emigraui; et ista nostra in illum transfiguratio est, qui per gratiam testamenti noui mutamus uitam transeuntes de uetere ad nouam. nam ille hanc rem sacramento suae passionis resurrectionisque significans carnem mutauit de mortalitate ad immortalitatem, uitam uero non mutauit de uetustate in nouitatem, qui numquam fuit in impietate, unde transiret ad pietatem'. *CSEL* xliv, 181. 2-12.

³¹) *Ibid.*, 13, 33: 'Iam illud, quod sequitur: *Ne discedas a me, quoniam tribulatio proxima est*, uide, ut inluminet, quem ad modum dictum sit: *Quare me dereliquisti?* quo modo enim dereliquit, cui dicitur: *Ne discedas*, nisi quia dereliquit uitae ueteris temporalem felicitatem? Rogatur autem, ne discedat et deserat spem uitae aeternae'. *CSEL* xliv, 183. 7-12. Cf. 17, 43.

16, 41-42), while recognising that certain of them are better related to His Person (16, 39), and others to both (16, 40). His conclusion is that Psalm 21 is a declaration of the grace of the New Testament, which Christians now experience in the Catholic Church.

I will declare, he says, thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the Church will I praise thee. The brethren are those with regard to whom He says in the Gospel: Go and say to my brethren... (Ioh. 20: 17). The Church is she whom He has just now called His only One (Ps. 21: 21). This is the one Catholic Church, which is widely spread over the whole world and which by growth extends to the farthest nations. On this account He says in the Gospel: And this gospel shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to the nations: and then the end will come³²).

The notion of praise of God and proclamation of the Gospel by the one Catholic Church is applied by Augustine to the words: *Magnify him all ye seed of Jacob* (v. 24), and he is concerned to show that, in the words of the Apostle: *It is not the children of the flesh that are children of God, but the children of the promise are reckoned as a seed; for this is the word of promise: At this time I will come and Sarah shall have a son* (Rom. 9: 8, 9) (19, 47). The elect are the seed of Abraham and Isaac by grace, and not by works.

Therefore the sons of the promise are the sons of God's favour (*beneficii*). This is grace, which is given gratis, not for the merits of the worker, but by the mercy of the giver. Hence we give thanks to our God, which act of thanksgiving, *Gratias agimus*, is a great mystery (*sacramentum*) in the sacrifice of the New Testament, with regard to where and when and in what manner it is offered, you will find out when you have been baptised³³).

We have here a characteristic statement of Augustine's doctrine of grace, which he will be concerned to maintain in his later debates with the Pelagians. Augustine is not, however, here concerned to develop it, except by emphasising, for Honaratus' benefit, that the Gentiles are

³²) Ibid., 17, 43: '*narrabo, inquit, nomen tuum fratribus meis; in medio ecclesiae cantabo te. fratres illi sunt, de quibus in euangelio ait: Vade et dic fratribus meis. ecclesia illa est, quam modo dixit unicam suam; haec est unica catholica, quae toto orbe copiosa diffunditur, quae usque ad ultimas gentes crescendo porrigitur, unde in euangelio dicit: Et praedicabitur hoc euangelium in uniuerso orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus et tunc ueniet finis*'. CSEL xlv, 191. 20 - 192. 5.

³³) Ibid., 19, 48: '*filii ergo promissionis filii sunt beneficii. haec est gratia, quae gratis datur non meritis operantis sed miseratione donantis. hinc gratias agimus domino deo nostro, quod est magnum sacramentum in sacrificio noui testamenti, quod et ubi et quando et quo modo offeratur, cum fueris baptizatus, inuenies*'. CSEL xlv, 195. 26 - 196. 3.

reckoned as belonging to the seed of Israel by the mercy of God, who has grafted them in, like a wild olive into a cultivated tree (Rom. 11: 17-20), on account of the pride of the natural branches, and not for any merit of their own (20, 49-50). It was pride which has caused the children of Abraham after the flesh to go into the outward darkness,

... because, boasting themselves to be of the seed of Abraham, they did not wish to be made the [true] seed of Abraham, that they might be *sons of the promise*; because they did not receive the faith of the New Testament, where the righteousness of God is commended, *seeking to establish their own*, that is, as though trusting too much in their own merits and works, they scorned to be *sons of the promise*, that is, sons of grace, sons of mercy. *So let him who glories, glory in the Lord* (I Cor. 1: 31), believing in Him who *justifies the ungodly* (Rom. 4: 5), that is, who makes a godly man out of the ungodly, so that *his faith* may be *reckoned for righteousness* and that there may be fulfilled in him, not what his merit sought, but what has been promised by the Lord as a favour ... On this account, although the Apostle may say to the faithful, with regard to the New Testament, what I cited a little earlier [20, 49]: *You have not received the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but you received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry: Abba, Father* (Rom. 8: 15); that is, that the *faith* may be in us, *which works by love* (Gal. 5: 6), not by fearing punishment, but by loving righteousness (cf. I Ioh. 4: 18). Yet because the soul is not made righteousness except by participation in a Better, who *justifies the ungodly* — for what does it have, which it has not received? (cf. I Cor. 4: 7) — it ought not, by attributing to itself what is of God, so to glory as if it had not received³⁴)

Augustine has here linked two themes which are characteristic of, and fundamental to, his theology: the doctrine of grace, and the need for humility. In this sense we have here a classical piece of Augustinian argument; but to it, in Letter 140, Augustine joins the notion of

³⁴) Ibid., 20, 50 - 21, 52: '... quia iactantes se de semine Abrahae semen Abrahae fieri noluerunt, ut essent filii promissionis; quia fidem noui testamenti non receperunt, ubi dei iustitia commendatur, suam constituere uolentes, id est tamquam de suis meritis et operibus praefidentes spreuerunt esse filii promissionis, hoc est filii gratiae, filii misericordiae, ut, qui gloriatur, in domino gloriatur credens in eum, qui iustificat impium, hoc est qui ex impio facit pium, ut deputetur fides eius ad iustitiam et impleatur in eo, non quod postulabat eius meritum, sed quod a domino promissum est beneficium ... (21, 52). Quapropter quamuis fidelibus ad nouum testamentum pertinentibus dicat apostolus, quod paulo ante commemorauimus: *Non enim accepistis spiritum seruitutis iterum in timorem, sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: «Abba, pater»*, id est ut fides in nobis sit, quae per dilectionem operatur, non tam timendo poenam quam amando iustitiam, tamen, quia non fit anima iusta nisi participatione melioris, qui iustificat impium — quid enim habet, quod non accepit? — non debet sibi tribuendo, quod dei est, ita gloriari, tamquam non acceperit'. CSEL xlv, 197. 20 - 198.2; 198. 18 - 199. 2.

participation, introduced in his discussion of the text: *the Word was made flesh* (4, 11). God was made man that men might be made gods; by His participation in our humanity, we may come to that condition described in the First Epistle of St John in which love, being made perfect, casts out fear - the servile fear of punishment, not the chaste fear of losing the grace by which it delights in refraining from sin (19, 53).

This is the righteousness of God, that is, what God gives to man when He justifies the ungodly. The proud Jews, *being ignorant of God's righteousness and seeking to establish their own, did not subject themselves to the righteousness of God* (Rom. 10: 3). By this pride they were cast down, that the humble wild olive might be grafted in; and they will go *into the outer darkness* (Matt. 8: 12), about which, among other matters, you enquired, with *many coming from the east and the west, who will sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven*³⁵).

Augustine now introduces the penultimate of Honoratus' questions, which he elects to treat within the context of his exposition of Psalm 21. He makes a distinction between the outer darkness (*tenebrae exterae*) which is the present condition of souls which have not received light and grace and which is capable of being cured, and the more outward darkness (*tenebrae exteriores*), where healing is impossible, the darkness into which the devil and his angels have fallen by pride (22, 54). In language which is curiously reminiscent of Origen's account of the fall of souls in the *De Principiis* Augustine declares:

The devil and his angels, having turned away from the light and warmth of love and gone too far in pride and envy, have become numb with a kind of glacial hardness³⁶).

³⁵) Ibid., 22, 54: 'Haec est iustitia dei; hoc est, quod deus donat homini, cum iustificat impium; hanc *dei iustitiam ignorant* superbi Iudaei *et suam uolentes constituere iustitiae dei non sunt subiecti*; hac superbia deiciuntur, ut humilis inseratur oleaster. et illi *ibunt in tenebras exteriores*, de quibus inter alia requisisti, uenientibus ab oriente et occidente multis, qui recumbant *cum Abraham, Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum*'. CSEL xlv, 200. 11-18.

³⁶) Ibid., 22, 55: 'Diabolus igitur et angeli eius a luce atque feruore caritatis auersi et nimis in superbiam inuidiamque progressi uelut glaciali duritia torpuerunt'. CSEL xlv, 201. 15-17. Cf. *De Princ.* 3, 8, 3: 'Si ergo ea quidem, quae sancta sunt, ignis et lumen et feruentia nominantur, quae autem contraria sunt, frigida, et «caritas» peccatorum dicitur «refrigescere», requirendum est ne forte et nomen animae, quod graece dicitur *psyche*, a refrigescendo de statu diuiniore ac meliore dictum sit et translatum inde, quod ex calore illo naturali et diuino refrixisse uideatur, et ideo in hoc quo nunc est et statu et uocabulo sita sit'. GCS: Origenes, 5er Bd., 157. 12 - 158. 2.

Men, however, may still be warmed, and so it is said in the Song of Songs, speaking of the grace of the Saviour which is to come: *Awake, O north wind, and come thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out* (Cant. 4: 16), and in the Psalms: *Turn, O Lord, our captivity, as the rivers of the south* (Ps. 125: 4) (22, 55).

The thought behind these images of the *auersio-conuersio* conception arises from the idea of participation.

Accordingly the reasonable creature, whether an angelic spirit or a human soul, has been so made that it cannot itself be its own good by which it may be made happy; but its mutable nature, if it is turned to the unchanging Good, may be made happy, from which, if it is turned away, it is wretched. Its aversion is its vice and its conversion its virtue ... But just as among corporal bodies, those that are inferior, like earth and water and the air itself, are made better by participation in something better — that is, when they are illuminated by light and enlivened by heat — so bodiless creatures, endowed with reason, are made better by participation in their creator, when they cleave to Him with the purest and most holy love, which, if they wholly lose, they become, in a certain manner, darkened and hardened.

Accordingly, unbelievers are darkness; but those who are converted to God through faith are made light, by a certain illumination bestowed upon them. If they come from faith to sight by going forward in that light, so as to deserve the sight of what they believe — so far as so great a good is able to be seen — they will receive the perfected image of God³⁷).

The wicked, on the other hand, will go to the more outward darkness of the devil and his angels (23, 57), where there will be no such delights as they are able to enjoy in the present world (23, 58). Therefore the Psalmist says: *Let all the seed of Israel fear the Lord, for he has not despised or scorned the prayer of the poor* (v. 25). Augustine identifies *the poor* with the humble, who resemble Christ who, *though he was rich became poor for our sake so that by his poverty we might*

³⁷) Ibid., 23, 56-57: 'Proinde rationalis creatura siue in angelico spiritu siue in anima humana ita facta est, ut sibi ipsa bonum, quo beata fiat, esse non possit, sed mutabilitas eius, si conuertatur ad incommutabile bonum, fiat beata; unde si auertatur, misera est. auersio eius uitium eius et conuersio uirtus eius est ... sed quem ad modum in ipsis corporibus ea, quae inferiora sunt, sicut terra et aqua et ipse aer, meliora fiunt participatione melioris, id est cum luce inluminantur et feruore uegetantur, sic incorporeae creaturae rationales ipsius creatoris fiunt participatione meliores, cum ei cohaerent purissima et sanctissima caritate; quam omni modo si caruerint, tenebrescent et obdurescent quodam modo (57). Proinde infideles homines tenebrae sunt, qui per fidem conuersi ad deum quadam praemissa inluminacione lux fiunt, in qua proficiendo si ex fide ad speciem peruenerint, ut id, quod credunt, etiam conspiciere, sicut tantum bonum potest conspici, mereantur, perfectam recipient imaginem dei'. *CSEL* xlv, 202. 12-16; 202. 24 - 203. 12.

become rich (II Cor. 8: 9). The prayer of the poor is: *Go not from me, for trouble is hard at hand* (24, 59). Once again Augustine urges that it is not the loss of earthly goods which constitutes abandonment by God. *My praise is of thee in the great Church; I will pay my vows before those who fear thee* (v. 26). Augustine contrasts the synagogue, which mocked Christ upon the cross, apparently abandoned by God, with the great Church, extended among all the nations, which believes in the resurrection of Him who was not abandoned (24, 60). The *vows* are the sacrifice of Christ's body, which is the sacrament of the faithful. *The poor, who shall eat and be filled with the bread which comes down from heaven* (Ioh. 6: 50), are those who imitate Christ's humility by cleaving to Him and maintaining His peace and love. Those *who seek the Lord and will praise him* (v. 27) are *the poor* who understand that it is by His grace and not by their own merits that they have been *filled*. *Their hearts shall live for ever*, even though their flesh may suffer temporal tribulation while they praise Him. These are the poor who follow the precept of charity and do not give way to pride (24, 61).

The beginning of all sin is pride (Eccli. 10: 15), by which the devil has irrevocably proceeded into the more outward darkness and by envying man and persuading him to similar pride hast cast him down. To that man in a certain writing it is said: *Why is earth and ashes proud, since in his life he has cast away his inmost parts?* (Eccli. 10: 9, 10). *In his life* is said as though it meant 'in his own possessions' or 'in his private affairs,' in which all pride delights.

It is on this account that love, having regard to the common, rather than to the private good, is said *not to seek her own* (I Cor. 13: 4). Their *hearts live for ever* by her, as though *filled* with heavenly bread, of which the filler Himself says: *Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood, you will not have life within you* (Ioh. 6: 54). Justly then do the *hearts* of those *that are filled, live for ever*. For their life is Christ, who dwells in their hearts, for the time being by faith, and afterwards by sight also³⁸).

³⁸) Ibid., 24, 61 - 25, 62: 'initium autem omnis peccati superbia, qua diabolus irrevocabiler in exteriora progressus est hominemque inuidendo et ei simile aliquid suadendo deiecit. cui homini in quadam scriptura dicitur: *Quid superbit terra et cinis, quoniam in uita sua proiecit intima sua?* «in uita sua» dictum est tamquam in propria sua et quasi priuata, qua delectatur omnis superbia (25, 62). Unde caritas in commune magis quam in priuatum consulens dicitur non quaerere, quae sua sunt, hac uiuunt corda in saeculum saeculi tamquam saturata pane caelesti, de qua dicit ipse saturator: *Nisi manducaueritis carnem meam et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis uitam in uobis*. merito ergo istorum, qui saturantur, *uiuent corda in saeculum saeculi*. uita enim Christus est, qui habitat in cordibus eorum interim per fidem post etiam per speciem'. CSEL xlii, 207. 11 - 208. 1.

It is from this notion of love, brought into the hearts of the faithful by the indwelling of Christ, that Augustine turns to consider the meaning of the passage of Ephesians on *the length and breadth and height and depth*, which he sees in the activity of love: extending itself in good works — the width; enduring adversity — the length; doing all this for the sake of eternal life, which is promised on high — the height; and the hidden grace of God, of which the Apostle cries: *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgements and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord?* (Rom. 11. 33, 34) — the depth (25, 62; cf. 26, 63). Augustine's citation of the *O altitudo!* warns the reader that the saint regards the passage in Ephesians as signifying a mystery, which Augustine finds expressed in the figure of the cross³⁹).

Augustine has not, however, come to the end of his exposition of Psalm 21.

All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the Lord and all the nations of the peoples shall worship in his sight, for the kingdom is the Lord's and he shall rule over the peoples (vv. 28, 29). He who was mocked, He who was crucified, He who was abandoned, has acquired this kingdom and will, at the end, deliver it up to God the Father, not as though He should lose it, but rather that what He sowed in faith when He came lower than the Father, He should bring to sight, in which sight He, being equal, did not withdraw from the Father⁴⁰).

In verse 30: *All the rich of the earth have eaten and adored*, Augustine sees a reference to the proud, who approach Christ's table and receive His Flesh and Blood, but only adore and are not filled, as are the poor — that is, the poor in spirit, the humble — because they do not *hunger and thirst after righteousness* (Matt. 5: 6). It is those who hunger and thirst who are filled.

³⁹) Ibid., 26, 64: 'In hoc mysterio figura crucis ostenditur. qui enim, quia uoluit, mortuus est, quo modo uoluit, mortuus est. non frustra igitur tale genus mortis elegit, nisi in eo quoque latitudinis huius et longitudinis et altitudinis et profunditatis magister existeret'. CSEL xlv, 211. 11-15.

⁴⁰) Ibid., 27, 66: 'Commemorabuntur, inquit, et conuertentur ad dominum uniuersi fines terrae et adorabunt in conspectu eius uniuersae patriae gentium, quoniam domini est regnum et ipse dominabitur gentium. ille inrisus, ille crucifixus, ille derelictus hoc regnum acquirit et tradet in fine deo et patri, non ut ipse amittat, sed, quod in fide seminauit, cum uenit minor patre, hoc perducatur ad speciem, in qua aequalis non recessit a patre'. CSEL xlv, 212. 11 - 18.

Although perfect fulness will be in that life eternal, when we shall have come out of this pilgrimage *from faith to sight*, from the *mirror, face to face* (I Cor. 13: 12), from riddles to manifest truth, the man may not unfittingly be said to be filled by the poverty of Christ (cf. II Cor. 8: 9) who, for the righteousness of Christ, that is, for participation in the Eternal Word, which he has now begun by faith, not only temperately sets little value on temporal goods, but also patiently endures evils⁴¹).

Such were the fishermen and publicans who were Christ's disciples. They were the poor, who ate and were filled; but through their preaching, *all the ends of the earth* remembered and turned to the Lord and *all the nations of the earth* worshipped in His sight. Through the extension of the Church *the rich of the earth* — that is, the proud — *have eaten* and, although they have not been filled, *have adored*. These are they *who fall down prostrate in his sight, who go down into the earth* (v. 30), that is, all those who, by loving earthly goods, do not ascend into heaven. Indeed, it is to the extent by which, through earthly possessions, they seem the happier that they *go down into the earth* and so *fall prostrate in his sight* (27, 67).

Accordingly, the psalmist says: *My soul lives to him; my seed shall serve him* (v. 31). The Apostle exhorts us, not to live to ourselves but to Him who for our sakes died and rose again (II Cor. 5: 11).

For by this He was made a Mediator, to reconcile us to God by humility to God, from whom we had fallen away by ungodly pride⁴²).

We have here the familiar Augustinian conception of the 'region of unlikeness'⁴³), from which fallen humanity needs to be recalled to the Father's house, a conception which admirably harmonises with the idea of participation in the Word, by which we are made children of God by adoption (4, 10-12). It is pride which has caused our falling away from God, and the cure is, not to live to ourselves but for Christ. By

⁴¹) Ibid.: 'quamquam perfecta saturitas in illa uita aeterna erit, cum ex ista peregrinatione uenerimus ex fide ad speciem, ab speculo ad faciem, ab aenigmate ad perspicuam ueritatem, non tamen inconuenienter saturatus dicitur paupertate Christi, qui pro iustitia eius, hoc est pro participatione uerbi aeterni, quam inchoauit interim fide, omnia temporalia non solum temperanter contemnit bona, uerum etiam patienter sustinet mala'. *CSEL* xlv, 213. 24 - 215. 5.

⁴²) Ibid., 28, 68: 'per hoc enim mediator effectus est, ut nos reconciliet deo per humilitatem, a quo per impiam superbiam longe recesseramus'. *CSEL* xlv, 215. 13-15.

⁴³) *Conf.* 7, 10, 16. On this see P. COURCELLE, *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire* (Paris, 1963), Appendix V, pp. 623-40.

following our own will we were made darkness; by coming to Him, *the light which enlightens every man coming into the world* (Ioh. 1: 9), we are enlightened (28, 68).

The prophetic character of Psalm 21 is proved for Augustine in the concluding verses, 30 and 31: *Adnuntiabitur domino generatio uentura et adnuntiabunt iustitiam eius populo, qui nascetur, quem fecit dominus*. He observes that the phrase *Adnuntiabitur domino generatio uentura* can be understood in two ways: it can mean: 'the coming generation will be pleasing to the Lord which ascribes its good works not to itself but to Him by whose grace they are done', or: 'the generation will be declared which will come to the Lord', that is, the generation of the devout and holy, for it is only by participation in God, the Self-same (Ps. 121: 3: *cuius participatio eius in idipsum*)⁴⁴), that the reasonable creature, being mutable, can be made happy, being freed from pride by coming to the unchanging Good which is common to all. When the faithful soul has been converted by coming to God, whatever good it does is done to His praise, by whose grace it is done: 'whence comes that act of thanksgiving, which is celebrated in the most secret mystery of the faithful' (29, 70).

Such an understanding is confirmed by the words: *And they shall declare his righteousness to the people which shall be born, whom the Lord hath made*. Ours is not the righteousness by which God Himself is just; but we are made righteous by His grace, not by works (30, 71), just as we were made whole (*salui*), not by the wholeness (*salus*) which God is, but by that by which He saves us (30, 72).

Thus, when we read of the righteousness of God in the verse: *Being ignorant of the righteousness of God and wishing to establish their own* (Rom. 10: 3), we should not understand the reference to be to the righteousness by which God is righteous, but that by which men are righteous ... Pride is the contrary of this righteousness of God, which puts its trust as though in its own works, and therefore there follows: *Let not the foot of pride come upon me* (Ps. 35: 12). This righteousness is the grace of the New Testament, by which God's faithful are made righteous, while still living by faith, until with their salvation made perfect, they also come to bodily immortality⁴⁵).

⁴⁴) Cf. *En. Ps.* 121, 5: '... Quid est *idipsum*? Quod semper eodem modo est; quod non modo aliud, et modo aliud est. Quid est ergo *idipsum*, nisi, quod est? Quid est quod est? Quod aeternum est. Nam quod semper aliter atque aliter est, non est, quia non manet; non omnino non est, sed non summe est. Et quid est quod est, nisi ille qui quando mittebat Moysen, dixit illi: *Ego sum qui sum*?' *CCSL* xl, 1805. 11-17.

⁴⁵) *Ep.* 140, 30, 72-73: '... sic, cum legitur dei iustitia in eo, quod scriptum est:

Augustine has here combined two theological conceptions. The notion of participation, which might outside a Christian context be effected by the powers of the individual himself, is modified by the Pauline conception of unmerited grace, without which participation is impossible. Again, Augustine has been careful to emphasise that human righteousness is not the same as the righteousness of God; we are justified by grace of adoption, and not by nature. The radical gulf between the Creator and the created is maintained, even though the Creator has bridged that gulf by the Incarnation.

Him who knew no sin he made to be sin in our behalf (II Cor. 5: 21) — that is, a sacrifice for sin, for the things which were offered for sins were called sins in the Law — that we might be the righteousness of God in Him, that is, in His Body, which is the Church, of which He is the Head⁴⁶).

It is within the Church that we participate in the righteousness of God. The characteristic of the created being, and the weakness which brought about the Fall, is its instability.

The mutability of the reasonable soul teaches it that it cannot be righteous, whole, wise and happy, except by participation in the unchanging Good; nor by its own will can it be a good to itself, but an evil. By its own will the soul is turned away from the unchanging Good, and by that turning away it is corrupted. Nor can it be healed by itself, but only by the unmerited mercy of its Creator, which establishes it in this life, living by faith, in hope of eternal salvation. On this account, let it *not be highminded, but fear* (Rom. 11: 20), and by that chaste fear let it cleave to God, who has cleansed it from its impurity, by which it loved inferior good things in an unordered fashion, as though by a kind of spiritual fornication. Let it not be numbered among those foolish virgins rejoicing in the praise of others — and this remains the final one of your questions for consideration⁴⁷).

Ignorantes dei iustitiam et suam uolentes constituere, non est illa intellegenda, qua deus iustus est, sed qua iusti sunt homines ... huic igitur iustitiae dei contraria superbia est, qua fiditur tamquam de operibus propriis, ideoque ibi sequitur: *Non ueniat mihi pes superbiae* (73). Haec iustitia, qua eius fideles iusti sunt interim uiuentes ex fide, donec perfecta iustitia perducantur ad speciem sicut salute perfecta etiam ad ipsius corporis immortalitatem, gratia testamenti noui'. CSEL xlv, 219. 25 - 220. 1; 220. 15-21.

⁴⁶) Ibid., 30, 73: *Eum, qui non nouerat peccatum, peccatum pro nobis fecit* — id est sacrificium pro peccatis; nam et ipsa in lege peccata appellabantur, quae pro peccatis offerebantur — *ut nos simus iustitia dei in ipso*; id est in eius corpore, quod est ecclesia, cui caput est'. CSEL xlv, 221. 1-5. Augustine's reference is to Gen. 20: 9 and Ps. 39 [40]: 7 (Hebr. *ḥatā'āh*) (I owe this information to my colleague, Dr Robert Hayward).

⁴⁷) Ibid., 31, 74: *Animae igitur rationalis mutabilitas admonetur, quo nouerit nisi participatione incommutabilis boni iustam, saluam, sapientem, beatam se esse non posse*

Augustine has contrived to bring his discussion to Honoratus' last question, which is (once again) to be discussed in terms of humility. He has argued that the good things of the New Testament are spiritual and not material; he has understood *the poor* as meaning the humble, and has urged the rich not to be puffed up with pride of possession. He now sees the foolish virgins as symbolising those Christians who put their trust in their own virtues, and the merchants of oil as the flatterers, who sell their praise to the proud and foolish as if it were oil (21, 74). The saying: *Perhaps there will not be enough for us and you* (Matt. 25: 9), he understands as an expression of humility; no one can safely trust in his own merits; the wise virgins wish that their good deeds may be seen by men, not to their own glory, but to the glory of God, of whom comes the grace by which they do good (21, 75). The foolish virgins, on the other hand, do good for the sake of human praise, and therefore their lamps go out when that oil is taken away. The sleep which overcomes the virgins while they wait for the bridegroom is the sleep of death (32, 76). Their lamps are their good works; the oil, participation in the highest Good.

The man who, having participated to some degree in the highest Good, with the intention of participating yet more; who performs good works, and lives in the sight of men in praiseworthy fashion, has with him the oil through which the good works which he performs in the sight of men are not put out, because love does not grow *cold* in his heart *when iniquity is multiplied* (Matt. 24: 12) but *endures to the end* (Matt. 10; 22)⁴⁸.

The coming of the bridegroom is the resurrection to judgement (34, 78), when all the consolations of human praise will be taken away and everyone must *bear his own burden* (Gal. 6: 5) and give account of his own work (34, 79). The wise virgins will enter *into the joy of the Lord* (Matt. 25: 21; 23).

nec sibi eam bonum esse posse propria uoluntate sed malum. propria quippe uoluntate auertitur a bono incommutabili eaque auersione uititur; nec sanari per se ipsam potest sed gratuita misericordia sui creatoris, quae in hac uita eam ex fide uiuentem in spe constituit salutis aeternae. unde *non altum sapiat, sed timeat eoque timore casto inhaereat deo, qui eam a propria immunditia, qua inordinate bona inferiora dilexit, uelut a quadam spiritali fornicatione mundauit; nec humanis laudibus extollatur, ne sit in uirginibus stultis aliena laude laetantibus — hoc enim de quaestionibus tuis restat extremum...*. CSEL xliv, 221. 20 - 222. 5.

⁴⁸) Ibid., 33, 77: 'cuius boni aliquantum participati et plenius perfectiusque participandi intentione qui bene operatur et laudabiliter etiam in conspectu hominum conuersatur, habet oleum secum, quo bona opera eius etiam in conspectu hominum lucentia non extinguantur, quia non in eius *corde* caritas refrigescit abundante iniquitate, sed perseuerat usque in finem'. CSEL xliv, 226. 1-7.

... where participation in the unchangeable good will have been made perfect, of which a kind of pledge is now held, as it were, by faith, so that we may live according to this grace, in as much as we live to God and not to ourselves⁴⁹).

The foolish virgins will be rejected, and the words: *I know you not* (Matt. 25: 12), mean nothing other than: 'You do not know Me, because you chose to trust in yourselves rather than in Me'.

For when it is said that God knows us, He furnishes knowledge of Himself to us, that by this we may know that not even the fact that we know God is to be attributed to ourselves, but that we should also ascribe that knowledge to His mercy. On that account, when the Apostle said in a certain place: *Now that you have come to know God*, he corrected himself and said, *or, rather, to be known of God* (Gal. 4: 9). What else does he wish to be understood, except that God Himself has made them know Him? For no one knows God, except him who understands God to be that highest and unchanging Good, by whose participation he is made good, as is stated in the conclusion of this psalm: *And they shall declare his righteousness to the people which shall be born, whom the Lord hath made*, from whence comes the saying in another psalm: *It is he that hath made us and not we ourselves* (Ps. 99: 3). But this saying should not be applied to the nature by which we are human, although He is Himself the creator of that nature, as He is of heaven and earth and the stars and all living things, but rather to that of which the Apostle says: *For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared that we should walk in them* (Eph. 2: 10)⁵⁰).

Augustine concludes his discussion of Honaratus' five questions by returning to his own, concerning the grace of the New Testament, for

⁴⁹) Ibid., 34, 80: '... ubi erit perfecta participatio incommutabilis boni, cuius modo uelut arra quaedam per fidem tenetur, ut secundum hanc gratiam uiuamus, in quantum deo non nobis uiuimus'. CSEL xlv, 229. 5-8.

⁵⁰) Ibid., 35, 81: 'cum enim dicitur, quod nos cognoscit deus, cognitionem sui nobis praestat, ut per hoc intellegamus ne hoc quidem nobis esse tribuendum, quod nos scimus deum, sed eam quoque scientiam illius misericordiae tribuamus. unde, cum quodam loco apostolus diceret: *Nunc autem cognoscentes deum*, correxerat et ait: *Immo cogniti a deo* quid aliud uolens intellegi, nisi quod eos ipse fecerit cognitores suos? nemo autem cognoscit deum, nisi qui intellegit illud esse summum atque incommutabile bonum, cuius participatione fit bonus, quod in huius psalmi conclusionem positum est: *Adhuc iustitiam eius populo, qui nascetur, quem fecit dominus*; inde est et illud, quod in alio psalmo: *Ipse fecit nos et non ipsi nos*. hoc enim non ad eam naturam, qua homines sumus, cuius naturae idem ipse creator est, qui caeli et terrae et siderum omniumque animantium, sed ad illud potius referendum est, quod apostolus ait: *Ipsius enim sumus figmentum creati in Christo Iesu in operibus bonis, quae praeeparauit deus, ut in illis ambulemus*'. CSEL xlv, 229. 17 - 230. 11.

which the starting point of his answer was the Johannine declaration that *the Word was made flesh*.

... that is, that He that was the Son of God was made man, by taking our nature and not losing His own, by which the power is given to us who receive Him that we who were men should be made *sons of God*, having been changed to a better state by participation in the unchanging Good, not to temporal felicity but by adoption to eternal life, which alone is happy. On this account I decided to go through the prophetic psalm, whose first verse Christ recalled in His Passion, showing how God has in one way forsaken us, and in another has not gone from us, drawing us on to eternal good things, and sometimes usefully furnishing us with temporal goods, and at other times usefully withdrawing them, that we should learn not to cleave to them lest, having despised the interior light which pertains to the new life ... we should gladly dwell in outer darkness⁵¹).

Augustine concludes Letter 140 with a warning against the opponents of the Grace of the New Testament, who wish to attribute the fact that they are good to themselves, and not to God. He recognises that they are continent and deserving of praise for their good works, and that they are orthodox in belief; but they are *ignorant of the righteousness of God and wish to establish their own*, so that, at the last, God will say to them, as to the foolish virgins: *I do not know you* (37, 83). Like the foolish virgins, they do not recognise God as the giver of all good (37, 84).

For it is necessary that he loves God too little, who thinks himself made good, not by God but by himself⁵²).

There can be no doubt about the identity of these opponents of the grace of the New testament.

Nevertheless, the *De Gratia Novi Testamenti* is more than merely an anti-Pelagian treatise. Although composed just after the *De*

⁵¹) Ibid., 36, 82: '*uerbum caro factum est, id est, qui dei filius erat, homo factus est naturam suscipiendo nostram non amittendo suam, per quod et nobis recipientibus eum potestas daretur, ut, qui eramus homines, filii dei fieremus participatione incommutabilis boni in melius commutati non ad temporalem felicitatem sed ad uitae aeternae, quae sola beata est, adoptionem. unde placuit etiam propheticum psalmum percurrere, cuius primum uersum in passione commemorauit ostendens, quo modo nos derelinquat et quo alio modo non recedat a nobis, ad bona aeterna nos colligens temporalia uero aliquando utiliter tribuens et aliquando utiliter subtrahens, ut eis non haerere discamus, ne contempta luce interiore, quae ad nouam pertinet uitam ... ne in exteris tenebris libenter habitemus*'. *CSEL* xlv, 230. 14 - 231. 1-2, 4-5.

⁵²) Ibid., 37, 85: '*necesse est autem, ut parum diligit deum, qui non ab illo sed a se ipso bonum se arbitratur effectum*'. *CSEL* xlv, 233. 20-21.

Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione, it is not concerned with Original Sin and the need for baptism. Its approach is closer to that of the *De Spiritu et Littera* which followed it, the two having in common the doctrine of participation in the unchangeable Good which is God, *ut ex illo ei bene sit, a quo habet ut sit*⁵³). This notion of participation constantly recurs in Letter 140⁵⁴), and is made possible by the Incarnation. Christ the Word became partaker in our flesh that we might be made partakers of Him and so be changed *in melius*, to a better condition.

If the inspiration of Letter 140 is the Incarnation, the text of Scripture from which the grace of the New Testament is understood is Psalm 21. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that the whole letter is an extended commentary on this one psalm, with two short excursuses on Ephesians 3: 18 and the *outer darkness*, and a longer concluding section on the Wise and Foolish Virgins. Christ's cry of dereliction provides the theme; and it is here that we may notice a change from the exegesis of Psalm 21 given in 407. In both of his expositions Augustine recognised that the words uttered by Christ were spoken on behalf of his Body, the Church; but in 407 he was concerned to preach against Donatism⁵⁵). In Letter 140 his intention was rather to emphasise that Christians should not expect material favours from God while living in this world, and he refers Honoratus to his sermon on Psalm 76 for a more extended treatment of the theme (rather unnecessarily, it might be thought, in view of the space which he was to devote to the topic in his letter). This, however, indicates that Augustine's initial conception of his treatment of the grace of the New testament in the letter to Honoratus was to expound it in terms of divine favour: material favour in the Old Testament, which symbolised and prophesied the spiritual favour bestowed in the New through the Incarnation. While Augustine does not say that this treatment was

⁵³) *Spir. et litt.* 3, 5: 'Nos autem dicimus humanam uoluntatem sic diuinitus adiuuari ad faciendam iustitiam, ut praeter quod creatus est homo cum libero arbitrio praeterque doctrinam qua ei praecipitur quemadmodum uiuere debeat accipiat spiritum sanctum, quo fiat in animo eius delectatio dilectioque summi illius atque incommutabilis boni, quod deus est, etiam nunc cum per fidem ambulatur, nondum per speciem, ut hac sibi uelut arra data gratuiti muneris inardescat inhaerere creatori atque inflammetur accedere ad participationem illius ueri luminis, ut ex illo ei bene sit, a quo habet ut sit'. CSEL lx, 157. 10-19. Cf. *ep.* 140, 23, 56-57 (quoted above, note 37); 34, 80 (quoted above, note 49); 35, 81 (quoted above, note 50) and 36, 82 (quoted above, note 51).

⁵⁴) *Ep.* 140, 3, 7; 3, 9-4, 11; 23, 56; 27, 66; 29, 69; 29, 70; 31, 74; 33, 77; 34, 80; 36, 82.

⁵⁵) *En. Ps.* 21, s. 2, 2; 31. CCSL xxxviii, 122-3; 132-4.

inspired by reflections on the theological implications of the sack of a Christian Rome, which were to find later expression in *The City of God*, all probabilities would seem to point in that direction.

Augustine's development of this process of theological exegesis of Honoratus' five questions, by which the apologetic of *The City of God* is turned to a moderately-expressed anti-Pelagian polemic, is extremely skilful. The transition occurs during his discussion of the meaning of the outer darkness. Here he argues that created beings who turn aside from the light of the highest Good, their creator and the source of their well-being (23, 56-57), fall into spiritual darkness through the sin of pride, the head and fount of all sin (24, 61 - 25, 62). The cure for this sin is humility, shown forth supremely in the Incarnation and Christ's death upon the Cross; and in a brief paragraph Augustine sees the Cross as the great example of the mystery of divine grace (26, 64). Christ, by His sufferings, has obtained the kingdom (27, 66). The thought here, if not the language, anticipates the devotion to the Cross of later Latin hymnography.

Hic acetum, fel, arundo, sputa, clavi, lancea;
Mite corpus perforatur; sanguis, unda profluit,
Terra, pontus, astra, mundus quo lavantur flumine.

... per hoc enim mediator effectus est, ut nos
reconciliet deo per humilitatem, a quo per impiam
superbiam longe recesseramus (28, 68).

The restoration of fallen humanity and its exaltation in Christ is begun on earth in the fellowship of the Church. It is not without interest that, although the fact that he was writing to a catechumen imposed a restriction on his language, Augustine more than once in the *De Gratia Novi Testamenti* refers to the eucharist, the act of thanksgiving in the Church which anticipates on earth the united worship eternally offered by the Church in heaven⁵⁶). Unhappily, not all of those who accept the message of the Gospel understand the lesson of the Cross, but prefer to put their trust in their own works (30, 73). Such Christians resemble the

⁵⁶) *Ep.* 140, 19, 48: 'hinc gratias agimus domino nostro, quod est magnum sacramentum in sacrificio noui testamenti, quod et ubi et quando et quo modo offeratur, cum fueris baptizatus, inuenies'; 24, 61: 'Vota ergo sua sacrificium uult intellegi corporis sui, quod est fidelium sacramentum'; 27, 66: 'et ipsi quippe adducti sunt ad mensam Christi et accipiunt de corpore et sanguine eius, sed adorant tantum, non enim saturantur'; 29, 70: '... unde est actio gratiarum, quae intimo fidelium mysterio celebratur'. *CSEL* xliv, 195. 28 - 196. 3; 206. 18-19; 213. 7-9; 218. 7-8.

foolish Virgins and rejoice in human praise (31, 74) and to them the Lord, at the Last Judgement, will say: *I know you not*, because you trust in yourselves rather than in Me (35, 81). These are the rich, the proud, who have *eaten and adored* but, unlike the poor in spirit, have not been filled, because they do not hunger and thirst for the righteousness which comes from God alone (27, 66).

Considered as a document illustrating the course of the development of Augustine's theology during the Pelagian Controversy, Letter 140 does not reveal any of that implacable hostility which will characterise him after the shock caused by the acquittal of Pelagius at the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis. Although well aware of the Pelagian denial of Original Sin and the need for infant baptism on that account, Augustine makes no mention of these issues. His concern is far more with Christian living and with the danger of the sin of pride, which goes wholly counter to the humility of the Incarnation and blights the lives of those who, although virtuous in conduct and orthodox in belief, put their confidence in themselves, rather than in the grace of Christ, upon which they depend, not only to be, but also to be virtuous. If, as has been asserted in a well known study, 'Pelagianism as we know it, that consistent body of ideas of momentous consequences, had come into existence [by the winter of 411-412] ... in the mind of Augustine'⁵⁷), it can only be said that this is not apparent in the letter to Honoratus. Augustine, at the time of writing, and for some time afterwards, regarded the Pelagians as 'brethren to be reasoned with and, if possible, retained in the fellowship of the Church rather than heretics to be denounced'⁵⁸). Accordingly, he urged Honoratus not to be persuaded by the emptiness of their vessels, but rather to persuade them by the fulness of his own. *Necesse est autem, ut parum diligit deum, qui non ab illo sed a se ipso bonum se arbitratur effectum* (37, 85). This is what is to be understood by the grace of the New Testament.

It was suggested at the beginning of this analysis that the *De Gratia Novi Testamenti* represents a microcosm of Augustine's theological thinking, with its emphasis on God as the source of all good, and on the absolute dependence of man upon Him, which commends and enjoins the virtue of humility, supremely revealed in the Incarnation and in the death of the Cross. Yet with this there is also a sense of the

⁵⁷) Peter BROWN, *Augustine of Hippo* (London, 1967), 345.

⁵⁸) Gerald BONNER, *Augustine and Pelagianism in the Light of Modern Research* (Augustine Lecture 1970) (Villanova, Pa., 1972), 40.

glorification of humanity, brought about by participation in Christ, the God-Man and Mediator between man and God. Consideration of such themes seems particularly appropriate in a study offered to Tarsicius van Bavel, in whose theological thinking Christology has always occupied a central, and determining, place.

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