

AUGUSTINE'S *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA* IN WORLD-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In late Twentieth Century the cultural significance of St. Augustine's plan and guide for the Christian education of youth looms ever larger. The reason is the cultural impasse which contemporary mankind is experiencing. International conferences take place on the ozone layer and other similar ecological and cultural problems. The breakdown of the family and the mounting loss of other cultural values are widely noted and discussed. But such negative cultural phenomena in last analysis are rooted in the education which each on-coming generation receives. If the values of Christian culture are disappearing, then it follows that something has happened to the Christian education of youth from which the historic Christian culture of the West has flowed forth.

In this general context it seems that St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* is destined to receive renewed interest, for it is the fountainhead, blueprint and guide for teachers from which this Christian culture has been built into the substance of Western civilization since Augustine wrote it for his Cathedral School in Hippo. From this prototype it went on to inspire the structure and content of teaching in a multitude of other Christian schools in the centuries to come, until some of them grew into *universitates studiorum*, the Universities which distinguish Western culture.

THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA*

St. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* discusses the pastoral intention, the nature and the procedures of Christian teaching. The discussion rests on Augustine's recognition of a twofold order of knowledge, distinct both in origin and in object, one the work of natural reason and the other a knowledge of mysteries hidden in God which comes from faith in divine revelation. Augustine correlates these two orders, the divine revelation coming from Jerusalem and the natural humanism coming from Athens, in a way which guided

educators in the centuries to come¹). This programmatic work sums up the immense achievement of the Fathers of the Church in christianizing the classical education and culture of Greece and Rome, a process which led forward to the historic reality of the Christian culture of the West. The Fathers themselves saw and experienced this christianization as the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christ, with the result that the earlier pagan Rome became the Christian Rome of Sts. Peter and Paul²).

In this work Augustine exposes the educational roots of this sea change in the onward movement of civilized life on earth, for it documents the processes of affiliation, as Toynbee terms it, between the earlier pagan form and the coming Christian form of Western Culture. «When the moribund Empire fell», he writes, «the ensuing 'interregnum' gave the living Church an opportunity to perform an act of creation. The Church then played the part of chrysalis out of which there emerged in the fullness of time a new society of the same species as the old society which had disappeared — but disappeared without carrying away the Church in its ruins as it had carried away the Empire. Thus ... these two societies, the Hellenic and the Western, stood to one another in the relation which we have called Apparentation-and-Affiliation»³).

It is the absorbing interest and abiding value of the *De doctrina christiana* that it documents the pastoral intention of the Fathers of the Church and gives the practical educational procedures by which they brought their Christian intention into cultural reality.

Written by Augustine as a Catholic priest and bishop, the *De doctrina christiana* correlates very positively with his fourteen early philosophical dialogues as a layman which reflect the intellectual side of

¹) The recognition of this twofold order of knowledge is fundamental to the Judaeo-Christian heritage. It constitutes the very essence of the prophetic religion recorded in the Bible. For the teaching of the Catholic Church on this point, see the Constitution *Dei Filius* of the First Vatican Council, Chapter Four, D-S 3015, 3041, 3042, 3043.

²) See Charles PIETRI, *Roma Christiana: Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)* (Rome, École Française, 1976), vols. I-II, and A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1948). For a different perspective on the same historical transition and reality, see John Henry NEWMAN, *The Idea of a University* (London, Longmans, Green, 1947), esp. «Christianity and Letters», pp. 217-233; p. 231: «The grace stored in Jerusalem, and the gifts which radiate from Athens, are made over and concentrated in Rome. This is true as a matter of history».

³) Arnold J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of History* (London, Oxford University Press, 1934), vol. I, pp. 56-57.

his conversion to the Catholic Church⁴). They have a special contemporary interest and relevance because of the current intense search among young Westerners for their cultural roots. They support this search, furthermore, because of the widespread current questioning of the validity of the very concept of a Christian culture, and indeed even of its historical reality⁵). The *De doctrina christiana* thus becomes visible as a seminal work for the contemporary interest in the foundation of Western civilization.

Augustine himself is the best source of information on the circumstances of composition. Toward the end of his long life as a Christian writer, he composed his *Retractationes*, his own critical review of his works in the chronological order of their publication. «When I found my books *On Christian Teaching* unfinished», he writes, «I decided to complete them rather than leave them thus and go on with my review of the works that I wrote thereafter. Hence I completed the third book, which had been composed up to the passage at III 25 (36) cited from the Gospel concerning the woman who *hid a leaven in three measures of meal until the whole was leavened* (Like 13: 21). I also added the final book, completing the entire work in four books. The first three offer assistance in understanding the Scriptures and the fourth concerns the way of communicating to others what we have come to understand. ... This work begins with the words *Sunt praecepta quaedam*, 'There are certain rules'...»⁶).

Augustine wrote these words in A.D. 426-427. For some unknown reason, perhaps connected with the change in his life and duties when he was ordained a bishop about thirty years earlier, only Books I and II had been completed. He places them chronologically after the *Sermo de*

⁴) For studies of this intellectual aspect of Augustine's conversion, see E. KEVANE, «Christian Philosophy: The Intellectual Side of Augustine's Conversion», in *Augustinian Studies* 17 (1986), pp. 47-83, and «Augustine's Conversion in the Perspective of Universal History», in *Proceedings: International Congress of Augustinian Studies* (Rome: Sept. 15-20, 1986), Rome, 1987, vol. I, pp. 61-87; James F. ANDERSON, *St. Augustine and Being: A Metaphysical Essay* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1965); and Goulven MADEC, «Note sur la vision augustinienne du monde», *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 9 (1963), pp. 139-146.

⁵) See Christopher DAWSON, *The Historic Reality of Christian Culture* (New York, Harper, 1960). Soon after his appointment to the Chauncey Stillman Chair of Christian Culture at Harvard University, Dawson had to suffer a gadfly attack in the weekly Catholic press upon the very idea of «Christian» culture which he had come from England to represent. He wrote this book as his response.

⁶) St. Augustine, *Retractationum libri duo*, II 4 (1-2); P.L. 32, 631-632. This statement on the nature and purpose of this treatise was no doubt perfectly clear to Augustine's contemporaries.

agone christiano: apparently he was working on *De doctrina christiana* throughout the year 396⁷). Augustine himself bears witness in his *Contra Faustum* to the publication of Books One and Two at the time of their completion in 396, and in his *Retractationes* he reviews these first two books exactly as his other published works⁸). Thus the *De doctrina christiana* was published in two editions, the first two books in 396, and the completed work thirty years later⁹).

The Purpose: A «Doctrina» which is Christian. The title of Augustine's treatise illuminates its purpose: it is a practical manual or guide for accomplishing a *doctrina* which will be «Christian» in its mode and quality¹⁰). What then is a *doctrina*?¹¹). Cicero and

⁷) For the details on the various dates of composition and publication of the *De doctrina christiana* in two editions, see Joseph MARTIN, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini De doctrina christiana* (Turnholt, 1961), «Praefatio», pp. VII-XIX: «Quando quattuor libri De doctrina christiana incohati sunt et perfecti». And Seraphinus ZARB, *Chronologia operum S. Augustini* (Romae, 1934), 19 and 40-42. Both agree on A.D. 396 as the date of Books One and Two.

⁸) See ZARB, op. cit., p. 42: and *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, XXII, 91; P.L. 42, 461: «Iam in quibusdam libris quos De doctrina christiana praenotavi...».

⁹) It was not uncommon in classical antiquity for the books of a larger work to be published gradually, often over a period of many years. See H. EDMONDS, *Zweite Auflage in Altertum* (Leipzig, 1941), 14-23 and 324-325, where *De doctrina christiana* is discussed. William M. Green and Joseph Martin reached this conclusion independently for their critical editions of the text, the former for the *Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, the latter for the *Corpus Christianorum*. Green was the first to recognize the Leningrad manuscript of *De doctrina christiana* (formerly of Corbie) which contains only the Prologue and Books One-Two as a witness to the first edition. See his article, «A Fourth Century Manuscript of Saint Augustine?», *Revue Bénédictine* 69 (1959) 191-197. Arriving at the same conclusion in the «Praefatio» of his edition, Professor Martin notes, p. XIX, that he read Green's article «hac praefatione iam confecta».

¹⁰) Hence the importance of the fact that the title was not added to the manuscript tradition by others later; it comes from Augustine himself: see note 8 above.

¹¹) The syllable «tri» in the Latin language indicates a practical activity. As *tonstrina* is the activity of the *tonsor* and *sutrina* that of the *sutor*, so *doctrina* is the activity of the *doctor*, one who teaches. The active sense comes first, then the transferred passive sense, the body of knowledge imparted by the teaching. Thus *doctrina* refers to «art» in the original sense of making or doing something: in this case, it is the active practical art by which a youthful human person is shaped and formed toward an ideal of human perfection. Thus the relationship between the Latin *doctrina* and the Greek *paideia* becomes visible. The *paideia* is the process of using the *technai* or *artes* as tools for the educational formation of youth into the ideals of their culture. This is the object of Werner Jaeger's classic study in three volumes, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (New York, 1939, 1945). The liberal arts are tools like the sculptor's chisel. This active and formative enculturating process of the *paideia* is denoted more clearly in Jaeger's original German title, *Paideia: Die Formung des griechischen Menschen*. One can see what Augustine's treatise has in mind: it is the educational shaping and forming of the young Christian into the new Christian culture toward which Augustine is oriented through his conversion. For philological details, see «The meaning of the word 'Doctrina'», in E. KEVANE, «Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*: A Treatise on Christian Education», in *Recherches Augustiniennes*, vol. IV (Paris, 1966) pp. 97-133.

Quintilian, whom Augustine naturally follows closely in matters of Latin usage, make it clear that *doctrina* was the ordinary Latin translation of that rich Greek word *paideia* which denotes both education as a process and culture as the outcome of the process. Quintilian speaks explicitly of *orbis ille doctrinae*, which the Greeks call the *Enkyklion paideian*¹²). In addition to his use of *doctrina* in his title, Augustine has several instances of the word throughout his treatise. Always the meaning is the same general sense found in Cicero and Quintilian: *doctrina* develops and humanizes human nature as given. But now in his new Christian perspective, continuing to build on the principles contained in the philosophical dialogues of his conversion, Augustine sees this educating and humanizing process as participating in the work of the Church, helping to heal and to sanctify this same human nature. Thus he comes at the end of his treatise to the purpose of his work and the meaning of his title: it is written for persons of the teaching apostolate which the Church is organizing and conducting and which opens toward the qualitatively different Christian culture of the times to come¹³).

Augustine confirms this meaning of his title in many places throughout the treatise, as a sampling will show. It is «prepared ... for students of the Sacred Book»¹⁴). The Fathers of the Church are replacing the pagan authors in the education of youth by the study of the Bible. «It is in all these books», Augustine declares, «that our students, fearing God and made gentle by piety, seek to learn the will of God»¹⁵). It is «men of Latin speech», he says, «whose instruction is our concern in this present treatise»¹⁶). He states explicitly that he is writing «for talented young students who fear God and are seeking the happy life»¹⁷). It is important to note that Augustine has adolescent young people in mind when writing his treatise: his purpose is the Christian education of youth. In fact, he is concerned throughout with two age-groups among his students of the Scriptures: the adolescents,

¹²) Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* I 10 (1); in H.E. Butler, the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, 1958), vol. 1, 160-161.

¹³) See *De doctrina christiana* IV 31 (64): *Qui in doctrina sana, id est christiana, non solum sibi, sed aliis etiam laborare studet.*

¹⁴) *De doctrina christiana*, Prooemium, 1.

¹⁵) *Ibid.*, II 9 (14).

¹⁶) *Ibid.*, II 11 (16).

¹⁷) See *ibid.*, II 39 (58); the *beata vita* is the fundamental theme of Augustine's philosophical dialogues at the time of his conversion. Augustine did not change his fundamental philosophy when he became a priest and a bishop.

as he states or implies several times, and older men who have decided to prepare for the priesthood¹⁸).

In general, then, Augustine's treatise is a guide for teaching. It is intended for teachers in the context of that immense Patristic project to replace the pagan *auctores* with the study of the sacred writers of the Bible. Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* contains the guidelines for organizing the teaching, and the rules or precepts for carrying it out in actual classroom practice. *Sunt praecepta quaedam* are its opening words. *Praecepta* is a technical term in the educational system of classical antiquity, denoting the rules and procedures which constitute an academic discipline or teaching program. Augustine, famous and recognized educator that he was, appears to be writing for those like Bishop Aurelius who were responsible for the planning of teaching under Christian auspices and for the supervision of teachers in the emerging Christianized social situation¹⁹). In this way, the *De doctrina christiana* becomes visible as the practical academic instrument designed to reform the pagan educational system of classical antiquity so that it could minister to the formation of Christian social leaders. Thus it documents uniquely and concretely the educational process which produced the coming Christian culture of the West²⁰).

¹⁸) *Ibid.*, IV 3 (4); and *passim* in the early chapters of Book Four. Thus the views of those who see this treatise as a specialized guide for the training of the clergy, and those who see a wider purpose embracing Catholic youth and Christian culture generally, can be reconciled. For the classic statements of these two views, see respectively F.X. EGGERSDORFER, *Der heilige Augustinus als Pädagoge und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Bildung* (Freiburg, 1907); and H.I. MARROU, *Saint Augustine et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1958). There is a rather large literature of conflicting views on the nature and purpose of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. See Christine MOHRMANN, *Études sur le Latin des Chrétiens* (Roma, 1961), vol. I, p. 358: «Few of Augustine's works have been so differently, and often so wrongly interpreted». It would go beyond the present purpose to detail these views; it seems sufficient to leave the matter with Augustine's own choice of title and his statements of purpose, understanding them in the light of the fundamental philosophical project for the conversion of persons and of culture which is the unifying theme of his early philosophical dialogues. The *De doctrina christiana* becomes fully intelligible only when seen in the light of that profound conversion of one of the most powerful philosophical minds ever to appear on the human scene. In a true sense, Augustine is carrying out as a priest and bishop charged with educational responsibilities the concepts which animated his mind during his conversion. The *De doctrina christiana* is visible already in germ in the fourteen early philosophical dialogues.

¹⁹) Thus the «guess» of E. Hill, as he terms it, to the effect that the *De doctrina christiana* was written «in response to a particular request from a particular person, Aurelius, bishop of Carthage», may have a general justification, even if such a «particular request» cannot be documented. See E. HILL, «*De doctrina christiana: A Suggestion*», *Studia Patristica* 6¹ (1962), p. 444.

²⁰) Augustine had this educational and cultural project in mind from the beginning

A brief summary of the content of *De doctrina christiana* may serve to illustrate further the purpose which Augustine has in mind.

The Preface is a remarkable document of the Patristic age, for it bears witness to the long struggle of the Fathers of the Church to solve the problems created for Christianity by the corrupted natural heritage of the Graeco-Roman *paideia*, now a thoroughly secularized pagan culture. A strong tendency existed among Christians to reject the entire heathen educational system. This attitude, however, was not shared by the great Greek and Latin Church Fathers. Augustine's *prooemium* stands in this position. The Church must make proper use of this educational heritage. This is the focal point of the affiliation between

of his personal conversion to the Catholic faith. It is the *rem quam moliebar* of *De beata vita* 6, to which the early philosophical dialogues bear witness. See E. KEVANE, *Augustine the Educator* (Westminster, Maryland, 1964), pp. 57-112. In his article, «The Content and Argument of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*», *Augustiniana* 31 (1981) 165-182, a theme to which he returns with «*Doctrina* in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*», *Philosophy and Rhetoric* (1984) 98-120, Gerald A. Press argues against Hill, Marrou and Kevane *nominatim*, who, he says, want to translate *doctrina* by a single term, whereas it is complex with four different meanings. This however is not a new discovery: Werner Jaeger made note of it in his *Paideia*, vol. I, p. v, first published in 1935, and I think all of us have been recognizing with Jaeger the richness of the classical concept, the fact that it embraces both education and culture in their fullness. Press admits, furthermore, that these meanings derive one from another, thus seeming to negate his own thesis that the expression *tractatio scripturarum* should replace *doctrina* as the key for interpreting the treatise. Much is at stake in such a substitution. One should not forget the fact that it was Augustine himself who gave this title, *De doctrina christiana*, to his treatise. Nor should the technical terms of the *paideia* which abound in Augustine's treatise be overlooked. I would rest the case with my study of these terms, «*Translatio imperii: Augustine's De doctrina christiana* and the Classical *paideia*», *Studia Patristica* XIV (Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1976) 446-460, which L. Brix summarizes as follows in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 23 (1977), p. 351: «The *De doctrina christiana* is a simple transposition of the classical *paideia*. *Doctrina* does indeed have the total meaning of *paideia*, as is shown by the analysis of the terms *tractare*, *tradere*, *instituere*, *praecepta*, *litterae*, *doctrina*, in the Latin Classical authors and in Augustine. A simple transposition: cf. *De doctrina christiana* IV 31 (64), *doctrina sana id est christiana*. This cultural transposition goes parallel with the *translatio imperii*: the profane City is replaced by the Christian City, whence the title of the article». Furthermore, one should see Augustine's treatise against the background of his fourteen early philosophical dialogues and their project for education and culture: see my studies in note 4 above on the occasion of the commemoration of Augustine's conversion. The approach of Press seems to see Augustine's treatise as if it were a modern exegesis of the Scriptures, reading the present back into the past instead of letting Augustine simply speak in his terms and from his times. It is an approach, furthermore, which gives aid and comfort to the promoters of the contemporary apostasy from Augustine's philosophy of education and culture, those namely who do not want the adjective «Christian» to modify the nouns «philosophy» or «culture». Much is lost indeed when *doctrina* is removed from the interpretation of this treatise, including the perception of the historical and cultural significance and even unique greatness of Augustine on the level of universal history.

the culture of the past and the one to come in the future: it saves the heritage of the Liberal Arts²¹).

Book One establishes the purpose of education which Christian teachers ought to have in view. Augustine's approach is entirely theocentric, a function of his general philosophy of God and the Soul, the theme of his early dialogues, especially the *Soliloquies*. It is a theocentrism specified by faith in biblical revelation. Thus the secularized, man-centric and earthbound condition of the pagan culture and its cosmic religion is eliminated in its taproot. Augustine ends Book One with a study of the place of the Bible among the means and instruments of education, the general subject of Books Two and Three.

Book Two takes up the heritage of the Liberal Arts in detail, showing teachers how to preserve their substance while leaving their pagan accretions behind. Thus these natural arts and sciences become effective instruments for an educational process that functions in terms of the purpose established in Book One. The heritage of the liberal disciplines is therefore preserved for continuing life in the Christian culture to come. These disciplines, including both rhetoric and philosophy, become a *propaidea* for a new higher level of education, the study of God's revealed truth from the Bible. This sets the stage for Book Three.

Book Three is frequently seen as a modern «exegesis» or «interpretation» of Scripture. But this is to read the present back into the past and to distort Augustine's mind. He is actually writing about the use of all the academic and pedagogical procedures of classical

²¹ See Werner JAEGER, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 72-73: «The Christians of higher cultural ambition and greater political foresight could not follow such mass instincts; rather, they rose to the occasion under a wise leadership, and instead of rejecting this culture out of hand they made a supreme effort to distinguish ... They felt that if Christianity proved unable to take over cultural and intellectual leadership, even its external political victory, of which they felt certain in the long run, would be illusory. It was not enough to coin slogans and to proclaim Christ the new pedagogue of humanity, as Clement of Alexandria had done, and Christianity as the only true *paideia*. Christians had to show the formative power of their spirit in works of superior intellectual and artistic caliber and to carry the contemporary mind along in their enthusiasm. That new enthusiasm might become the creative new force that was needed, but it would never achieve its goal without passing through the severest training of hand and mind, just as the ancient Greeks had had to learn the hard way. They had to start from the elements and then build man up systematically. What they needed was the kind of school that would teach them that. In a word, they had to build up a Christian *paideia*». This states quite precisely both the nature and purpose of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and its abiding relevance for contemporary questions and problems of Western civilization.

education, especially those of the *grammaticus*, upon a new object of study, the Sacred Literature of the People of God, that is replacing the *litterae* and *auctores* of the pagan past, Homer, Virgil and the rest²²). The *paideia* or humanistic formation by means of the classical literature becomes accordingly a Christian *paideia*, a Christian humanism, or, in contemporary terminology, a Christian education of youth which sustains the Way of Life of the Great Commandment.

Book Four is devoted to the manner of teaching others. The words *doctor* and *docere*, teacher and teaching, predominate throughout, especially in connection with the first kind of discourse which is proper to classroom teaching. As Augustine says, he is concerned with discourse and eloquence in all its forms and occasions.

Thus the treatise as a whole has a remarkably unified plan of composition, summarized very exactly by Augustine himself in his *Retractationes*²³).

EDUCATION FOR THE COMING CHRISTIAN CULTURE OF THE WEST

In this limited space one can only offer a selection of passages which illustrate the immense educational and cultural richness of Augustine's treatise as a whole.

Rejection of Anti-intellectualism. In his *prooemium* Augustine comes quickly to his purpose and to those Christians of his time who wished to discard the entire pagan educational heritage of the liberal arts and disciplines. «There are certain rules for teaching the Scriptures», he writes in his opening sentence, «and I see that a treatise on them can be prepared with propriety for students of the Sacred

²²) See F.X. EGGERSDORFER, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-153, on the replacement of Homer by the Bible. He points out that Augustine was much concerned to defend the literary value of the Sacred Scriptures precisely because of his educational plan. The Bishop of Hippo is convinced that «the Bible is very well suited ... to occupy the central position of the program of studies», p. 123. And H.I. MARROU, *Saint Augustin et la fin...*, *op. cit.*, chapter V, pp. 469-503, «La Bible et les lettres de la décadence».

²³) In his *Augustine the Bishop* (London, 1961), p. 405, Van Der Meer calls Book Four «The Handbook for Preachers». This seems not quite exact: preaching is indeed one of the forms of ecclesiastical discourse which Augustine has in mind, but not the only one. MARROU, *op. cit.*, p. 638, and *passim*, seems more comprehensively accurate regarding Augustine's educational and cultural intention. One must bear the early philosophical dialogues in mind when analyzing the *De doctrina christiana*. It appears that Augustine would say that Marrou understands him better. To what end a trained clergy if lay leaders in the learned professions and in social and political callings were to lack that same basic Christian *paideia*?

Book, beneficial to them not only for reading explanatory works about the Bible but also for their own teaching of the Bible itself. I have determined to embark upon this systematic treatise concerning these rules for the benefit of those who have the desire and the preparatory background for this learning, provided God our Lord suggests to me when writing those thoughts that I am wont to receive when considering these matters.

Before I begin, however, it seems I should answer those who object to my approach in this matter of Christian learning, or who at least would do so unless we placated them beforehand ... [These include] those who exult in a special divine gift, boasting that they can both understand and teach the Sacred Scriptures without the pedagogy which I have set out to expound, and claiming that the treatise I am composing is superfluous ... The truth is exactly to the contrary. What is to be learned through human teaching, let each one learn without pride, and let him who teaches others share without pride or stint what he himself has received. Otherwise, we shall come at length, deceived by such sophisms and this perversity of the Evil One, to the point of not wanting even to go to church to hear the Gospel and to learn the Word of God. We shall be unwilling to read a book ourselves, or to listen to someone reading from a book and preaching on it. We shall expect to be *caught up to the third heaven — whether in the body or out of the body* ..., as the Apostle says, and there to hear secret words *which man may not utter* (2 Cor 12: 2-5). Or we shall be expecting to see the Lord Jesus Christ there and to hear the Gospel from him, rather than from men here on earth. Let us guard against such extremely proud and dangerous temptations»²⁴).

With this one reaches the heart of the matter regarding Augustine's purpose in *De doctrina christiana*. The rejection of *doctrina christiana*, the process and methodology in the formation of Christian leaders in favor of some imagined charismatic gift from God, or some newly discovered natural approach as men say today, is a proud refusal to accept the human condition, the necessity of diligent teaching and arduous learning. The new law of grace does not dispense with this providential law of nature, the natural heritage of education and culture, but rather presupposes it. This is the origin of the very concept

²⁴) *De doctrina christiana*, Prooemium 1-6. I have translated the passages given in the present article from the text as edited by Joseph Martin in *Corpus Christianorum* 32 (Turnholt, 1962).

of a Christian culture and the point where the coming civilization of the West is affiliated with classical Greece and Rome in the onward movement of the Age of the Civilizations. Failure to see the relationship between the apostolate of the Church and the human processes of teaching and learning is a form of intellectual pride: hence Augustine's explicit and strong language at this point. Marrou analyzes well Augustine's orientation against the hellenistic pragmatism of his day and against anti-intellectualism in general. Augustine's *prooemium* is designed to expose opponents of his treatise who advocate the idea that Christians do not need an intellectual culture²⁵). «If the Christian religion was to persist and spread», Marrou insists, «if it was to continue its teaching activity, or even merely to preserve its form of worship, there was an absolute minimum of literary culture that it could not do without. Christianity is an intellectual religion and cannot exist in the context of barbarism»²⁶). Werner Jaeger concurs: «Socrates and Plato agree that right conduct is based on knowledge of the highest values ..., not (to be) realized in human life by mere subjective opinion and emotion. To understand these values is the work of the highest type of cognition possible for the human intellect»²⁷). This is the issue at stake in Augustine's *prooemium*, it is the theme of Book One and it is the general context of *De doctrina christiana* as a whole. Jaeger evokes the fateful figure of Nietzsche, so passionately opposed to Socrates and so much a prophet of contemporary existentialist dangers from analogous anti-intellectualist positions in fundamental educational thought. From such considerations it becomes clear that Book II of Augustine's treatise, devoted to the catharsis and Christian renewal of the sciences and disciplines of human education, is his full and detailed answer to the opponents whom he has in mind in this *prooemium*.

Theocentric Orientation Within the Studies. Book One of the *De doctrina christiana* is a lucid application of St. Augustine's philosophy of God to the field of education. It exemplifies Augustine's characteristic philosophy of God as Truth Itself and his application of the concept of education and culture. The teaching profession is concerned formally with truth, to be investigated and to be

²⁵) Cf. H.I. MARROU, *Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1958), *passim* and especially «Exercitatio animi», pp. 299-327.

²⁶) H.I. MARROU, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York, 1956), pp. 315-316.

²⁷) WERNER JAEGER, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture* (New York, 1944), vol. II, p. 158.

communicated, as the medical profession is concerned with health. This is the unifying theme of Augustine's early philosophical dialogues, and it will occur throughout *De doctrina christiana*. Augustine calls God *ipsum esse*, indeed, exactly in the words usually associated with Thomas Aquinas; but Augustine, thinking always of applications in education and culture, prefers to think of this Supreme Existence or Reality as Truth Itself, from whom all other beings share the existence and the truth of their natures. In this Augustine is the founder of Christian Philosophy as a new kind of philosophy with its own characteristic metaphysics; it leads directly to the God-centered orientation in teaching and in living which is the theme of the *De doctrina christiana*.

«In this mortal life», Augustine writes, «we are away from the Lord (2 Cor 5: 6). During our journey the world is to be used, and not enjoyed, if we want to return to the heavenly home where our happiness is to be found. This means that *his invisible nature has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made* (Rom 1: 20). In other words, we must take from our bodily and temporal surroundings their spiritual and eternal meaning»²⁸). This establishes Augustine's plan and approach in education. All the teaching in all the liberal sciences and disciplines is to be a «natural theology», a theistic formation of youth. This is a large question, one that relates Augustine's treatise *De doctrina christiana* to contemporary issues of secularism and atheism²⁹). This is Augustine's first principle of Christian humanism and the Christian education of youth, implementing the references to Romans 1: 20. One may say that it is Augustine's basic philosophical theme, the ascent *per corporalia ad spiritualia*, found in all his educational writings: see *De musica*, VI, 2; *De ordine* II, 16, 44; *Retr.* I, 6, the explicit statement of the Bishop of Hippo at the end of his long life as an educator. He saw all the components of the curriculum as instruments for ascending from corporeal reality to the higher order of spiritual realities. In this too he fulfills the aspiration of Plato for the renewal of the *paideia* and its Liberal Arts, the *technai* or tools for the ascent to a higher kind of knowledge.

²⁸) *DDC* I, 4.

²⁹) For the general state of this question, see E. KEVANE, *Augustine the Educator* (Westminster, Maryland, 1964), «Index» p. 442 s.v. *Si rite pertractentur*; for an analysis of the right understanding and use of the principle of causality in this connection, see Cornelio FABRO, «La conoscenza di Dio nel concilio Vaticano I», *Divinitas* 5 (1961) 375-410; and in general his *Introduzione all'ateismo moderno* (Rome, 1964), translated by Arthur Gibson as *God in Exile* (New York, 1968).

For Augustine, education must be an ascent of the mind to true wisdom, Wisdom Itself. He intends to renew the educational heritage of the classical *paideia* by clarifying and purifying its values and goals in the light of the new Christian knowledge of God and the soul. The two kinds of love, the two cities (*De civitate Dei* XIV, 28) begin to appear in the context of the education of youth: two kinds of good motivate men, hence two kinds of thinking about God or his substitute as the supreme good and value sought in living. This depends upon recognizing two kinds of knowledge in man, based upon the qualitative distinction of matter and spirit, and structuring the process of education accordingly.

Augustine was an authentic philosopher since his first conversion at 19 when he studied Cicero's *Hortensius*. He possessed a powerful metaphysical mind that moved easily and habitually from realities which manifest some degree of perfection — life, intellection, wisdom — to the necessary consequence that the quality therefore must exist in itself in perfect purity and unlimited plenitude. Then he ascends to the concomitant recognition that their perfect reality is in fact God himself, *Veritas ipsa, Deus veritas, Deus veritatis*. These concepts constitute the essential positions of the central philosophical discipline called metaphysics. Augustine's thinking correlates with the common sense and natural judgment of all mankind, a fact that relates *doctrina christiana* potentially to all the peoples and cultures of the earth³⁰). Augustine was quite aware of the relevance of his educational doctrine to all the peoples and civilizations of the earth, for he lived and experienced the conversion of the Roman Empire, federating all the newly baptized people as the mandate of Jesus the Divine Teacher was carried out (see Mt. 28: 16-20).

After his discussion of God and the truths of revealed religion, Augustine turns to the values in human living which the truths illuminate. «In all these objects that we have been discussing», he writes, «we find the ones which alone are to be enjoyed, for they are changeless and eternal. Other objects are to be used in such a way that we come to the full enjoyment of these eternal ones»³¹). At this point in Book One Augustine begins his discussion of the deposit of morals which results from the deposit of faith. For the content of Christian teaching is the deposit of faith and morals. Hence this establishes his Christian humanism: the goods and values chosen in the light of faith

³⁰) See R. GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, *Le sens commun* (Paris, 1921), pp. 97-137.

³¹) DDC I, 22 (20).

gradually build the Christian way of life with its characteristic qualitative excellence. At the outset Augustine states the fundamental principle of Christian humanism: it will enjoy only those changeless and eternal objects revealed by Christian faith; all others will be used as means toward them. It is a theocentric humanism that stands at the opposite pole from either ancient or modern «secular humanism»³²).

The Christian humanism of Augustine breaks resolutely with the secular humanism of the Classical culture which he had come to know so well in the Schools of Rhetoric, and with such sorry moral and personal consequences which he describes in his *Confessions*, I, 15 - III, 5. The best kind of man, the humanistic paradigm, model and ideal to be used in shaping and forming young people in *doctrina christiana*, will be a God-centered person who directs his love and makes his value judgements in terms of the everlasting life of the world to come. With logical consistency Augustine is laying the philosophical foundations for a Christian humanism in education.

The Purgation and Renewal of the Liberal Arts. Having treated in

³²) Various concepts of Augustine's humanism are to be found in the literature of Augustinian scholarship. References containing leads for further study of Christian humanism in relation to the Fathers of the Church and to Augustine in particular include the following, in addition to MARROU, *Saint Augustin et la fin...*, which is fundamental in this regard: J. CHAMPONIER, «Naissance de l'humanisme chrétien», *Bulletin de l'Association Budé* 7 (1947) 58-96; Joseph SELLMAYER, *Humanitas Christiana: Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus* (Munich, 1948); Franz Georg MAIER, *Augustin und das antike Rom* (Tübingen, 1955), a work that suffers excessively from the tendency to misinterpret his conversion by a «philosophical period» in Augustine's life after his baptism, in which alone «Christian humanism» would be found, contrasting with his later positions as a priest and bishop; and three works that do much to clarify the truth of the matter: Gottlieb Söhngen, *Gesetz und Evangelium: ihre analoge Einheit, theologisch, philosophisch, staatsbürgerlich* (Munich, 1957); J. PLAGNIEUX, «Le Chrétien en face de la Loi d'après le 'De spiritu et littera' de s. Augustin», in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich, 1957) 725-754; Hans STAFFNER, «Die Lehre des hl. Augustinus über das Wesen der Erbsünde», *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie* 79 (1957) 385-416. See also M.L. CLARKE, *Rhetoric at Rome: A Historical Survey* (London, 1953); Donald L. CLARK, *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York, 1957); A. GWYNN, *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian* (London, 1926). Also Gustave COMBÈS, *Saint Augustin et la culture classique* (Paris, 1927); and perhaps the most urbane and comprehensively accurate introduction to the entire subject, E.K. RAND, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1957), esp. «The New Education» 218-250, with its accurate definition of the *De doctrina christiana* 227-8; and «St. Augustine and Dante», 251-284. For St. Augustine's own exposition of the matter, see *Epist.* 138 (PL 33, 525-537), and above all *De civitate Dei*, Book XIX (PL 41, 621-658). For Augustine, Christian humanism is the regenerated and renewed Christian way of earthly living, converted to God, which gradually transforms and elevates the earthly City by means of Christian education and sacramental formation. This is the context of *De doctrina christiana* as a whole and its relevance to the development of mankind in the Christian Era of human civilization.

Book One of the new theistic purpose of education, Augustine takes up in Book Two the means to this end. The means is the set of academic disciplines, the Liberal Arts, which Christians through the conversion of Rome are inheriting from the pagan past. In Book Two Augustine shows his teachers how to save the substance of this heritage while teaching these disciplines in a new Christian way which leaves behind the dross of their ancient pagan mode. Augustine is showing how to accomplish a new approach in teaching all the arts and sciences of human culture. This points forward to the Christian West, for it is nothing else than a structuring of a new kind of education, qualitatively different from that of the secularized Schools of Rhetoric of the Classical civilization. This is the reason why he embarked upon his project of the *Libri disciplinarum* in his earlier period of the philosophical dialogues, and this is the reason for his purgation of the curricular sciences and disciplines in Book Two of the *De doctrina christiana*. It is the concept of *Si rite pertractentur* in Vatican I (Denz. 1799) and the point at which modern education has become crucial for the present spread of secularism and atheism³³).

In doing this work upon the Liberal Arts Augustine has his eye upon Sacred Scripture. «The Bible», he writes, «has been disseminated throughout the earth, made known to the Gentiles for their salvation and widely diffused among them by translation into the various languages. For those who read the Bible desire nothing else than to know the thoughts and will of the Sacred Writers, and by this means to

³³) Augustine himself saw this clearly: see, for example, *De civitate Dei* XIX, 4, 4 (PL 41, 629-630). For an analysis of the way Augustine wants all the school subjects taught, with no part or aspect of them held apart from God and declared «secular», see F. AMERIO, *Il «De Musica» di S. Agostino* (Torino, 1929), pp. 1-34. That Augustine had in mind to do for each of the curricular disciplines what he actually accomplished in the *De Musica*, he himself asserts in *Retr.* I, 6. For the fundamentals involved, see Joseph MAUSBACH, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg, 1929), esp. vol. I, «Die Weltlust (cupiditas) als Wesen und Quelle der Sünde», pp. 222-263, and «Die weltliche Arbeit und Kultur», pp. 264-350. For the metaphysical substrate, the traces and images of God in his creation, see Etienne GILSON, *The Christian Philosophy of St. Augustine* (New York, 1960), pp. 187-224. For insights into Augustine's pedagogical principles in this matter, see H.I. MARROU, *Saint Augustin et la fin...*, pp. 289-299. The pagan Quintilian was already clear on the point: in each branch of the teaching, teachers should be *honestum aliquid moventes* (*The Institutio Oratoria* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958), I, 1, 35); they should teach the pupils both how to behave as well as how to speak (I, 3, 12; see I, 4, 20). In his own teaching, Augustine is simply a consistent theist in his approach to education; but he also regenerates and renews the earlier cultural aspiration of mankind in the matter. For a general survey of the point, see E. KEVANE, *Augustine the Educator* (Westminster, Maryland, 1964), «The Culture of the Human Arts and Disciplines», pp. 149-186, and p. 442, s.v. *Si rite pertractentur*.

discover the will of God. It is our faith, of course, that the Sacred Writers spoke according to the Will of God»³⁴). Christian education, as conceived and planned by Augustine, is a catechetical work, a part of the apostolate of the Church, for it saves souls. Since it is the study of the Word of God communicated by the Sacred Writers of the Bible, it enables the academic student to deepen his knowledge of the Will of God. Again the affiliation of the Christian West to the classical culture is made visible by Augustine. The Christian education of youth is not the same thing as that of the pagan schools in the past; but it makes use of their tools.

Book Two, in fact, reveals the immense vision of the Christian times as a whole that occupied Augustine's mind as he drew up his program for Christian education. It is a program which implements the very idea of the Christian Era, the interval between the two comings of Christ the Lord: the gathering of all the nations and peoples into the supernatural unity of the Catholic faith. His program for *doctrina christiana* actually contains in germ the «Philosophy of the Christian Era». The philosophy of history is misconceived when it is limited to mere speculation about an abstract «meaning of history». This meaning is actually taking place, incorporated into an irreversible, but concretely real, social process. Hence the vehicle is education, and the key to its «philosophy» is *doctrina*. Here the basic principle of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* emerges. The New Israel, the new People of God, has its own set of *auctores* and its own *litterae* to be made known in translation among all the natural peoples and civilizations of the earth, precisely by this *doctrina christiana*, this program of Christianized teaching and learning. This new object of study, the Bible, must replace Homer and those other *auctores* that have been studied in the pagan past. In this way the sin of human dissension, symbolized by the tower of Babel, will be overcome in this new unity actually to be achieved on earth by *doctrina christiana*, the new culture of the word that is the Word of God.

When he strips pagan accretions from the various liberal disciplines and at the same time preserves the substance of each for use in Christian schooling, Augustine always has the Bible in mind. For the Liberal Arts are no longer to be studied entirely for their own sake, but also for the assistance they give to Christians in their study of Scripture. Thus the *paideia* of the pagan past becomes a *propaideia* of the

³⁴) DDC II, 5 (6).

Christian future. Book Two of Augustine's treatise defines the pedagogical process which illuminates the life and work of Augustine the educator. It is not individuals alone who are undergoing conversion to God as universal history shifts from classical paganism to the Christian Era; it is *society as such* that is being converted, with its apparatus of civilization and its ideals of culture, together with the educational process that transmits them to the future. It is the very disciplines of the academic curriculum that are undergoing conversion, to become «Christian» in both content of learning and method of teaching. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance and importance of these words of Augustine, the «conversion of these disciplines to the cause of the worship of the One God»³⁵). These words define the greatness of Augustine as an educator and as an influence upon universal history. The *De doctrina christiana* is precisely the new program of education that represents the conversion of the pedagogical institution of classical antiquity, with all its sciences and disciplines. This begets the conversion of culture itself, the social product of men formed by these renewed and christianized curricular instruments. The natural heritage of mankind, the *paideia* of the classical past, enters thus into the world of the Incarnation, and potentially all the other cultural heritages of the natural peoples that remain to be gathered into *Roma Christiana*, the new supernatural unity of faith and to be transformed by incorporation into the Christian program of education. One cannot but think of Kublai Khan's request for two hundred scholars in these Christianized Liberal Arts to teach them to the people of China.

The Study of the Sacred Page. «Students who possess a liberal education», Augustine writes, «should recognize that all the figures of speech, to which the grammarians give the Greek name 'tropes', are used by our Sacred Writers far more frequently than one can think or believe who is not familiar with the Bible, having studied his literature in those other authors. Nevertheless, they who have studied these figures of speech recognize them readily in the Sacred Literature, and their knowledge helps them considerably in understanding the Bible. This treatise for this present discipline, however, is not the right place to impart this knowledge of the tropes, lest we seem to be teaching the subject-matter proper to grammar. I admonish by all means that this knowledge of the figures of speech be acquired, through the study of grammar, but outside our present course»³⁶).

³⁵) DDC II, 40 (61).

³⁶) DDC III, 29 (40).

This «present course» to which he refers is Book Three of the *De doctrina christiana*, devoted to guidelines for direct study of the Bible itself. It is intended for teachers who are teaching directly from the Bible, using the sacred text for a new kind of *doctrina* — a Christian kind. To enter fully into Augustine's mind as he prepared this work, one must see his plan for a new approach in education, one which will use the Sacred Writers in the schools as the *auctores*, Homer and the rest, were used in the earlier classical tradition and civilization. It is indispensable, in understanding the *De doctrina christiana*, to bear in mind the didactic methods that were used in teaching the pagan *auctores*, the purposes that the classical educators had in mind, the entire array of *exercitationes* by which they formed the minds and spirits of their young people to the ideal of humanity that gave the Classical civilization its character and substance. Augustine is writing out of his unmatched grasp of this tradition or heritage of humanism and education, this *paideia* or *doctrina*. He is the Christian Plato, and even more specifically, the disciple of Cicero.

When the Bible replaces Homer and the *auctores*, a new Christian *paideia* or *doctrina* must result, fully as valid and authentic as an academic and pedagogical process as that of the Schools of Rhetoric. The treatise *De doctrina christiana* is designed to clarify the new purposes, to identify the new content, to purify all the tools and instruments, and to suggest the proper way of using the Sacred Scriptures themselves so that both the knowledge of the Catholic faith and the spirit of faith will result. Augustine's treatise, therefore, is far more than a mere «exegesis» or «book on hermeneutics» as if it were simply one part or subject in a curriculum. This is to read usages and meanings of the present back into the past. A still more erroneous approach reads the contemporary meaning of «Christian Doctrine» back into the title of Augustine's work as he understood it. The *De doctrina christiana* concerns something larger and more significant. It is a program of education in the sense of a comprehensive *paideia*, designed for the total formation of Christians as such. It was this that Augustine handed forward as the blueprint for a new Christian education of youth that was to function in the Christendom yet to come, in schools that were to be the fountainhead of the new Christian culture of the future. It is this historic reality that links Augustine's work as an educator with his position as the Christian philosopher of history *par excellence*. For this educational system in the *De doctrina christiana* is the system for which a Godly civilization on earth calls: it makes such a City of God concretely possible.

THE WORLD-HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA*

It appears, therefore, that the formal object of Augustine's treatise, the purpose which actually occupied his mind when he was writing, is perceived more correctly by those scholars who see it as a practical guide for that kind of Christian education which produces Christian culture for the clergy, indeed, but also for the laity in all walks and callings of life in society. The *De doctrina christiana* is the dynamic pedagogical instrument and pedagogical process that produces that Christian culture in persons and that heritage in society which has actually come to characterize Western civilization in the Christian times of universal history. It shows the inner process and mechanism, so to speak, of that mighty transition which came over the classical civilization when it left its pagan condition behind and turned to God in the Catholic Church.

Thus the *De doctrina christiana* contributes to the intelligibility of this axial period in universal history in the ongoing succession of civilizations in the recent six thousand years of the life of mankind on earth. It blueprints the Christian culture of the trained and educated leaders in social positions, including the Catholic priesthood, indeed, but not excluding the other positions of professional and social leadership. *Roma conversa*, the Roman Empire of the Christians, Christian culture as a historic reality, Christendom, Western Civilization in its foundations: all of these concepts represent one and the same social reality, the outcome of the kind of educational formation which Augustine is planning.

To perceive the historical and cultural significance of the *De doctrina christiana*, one must ponder the succession of cultural life in this relatively recent «Age of the Civilizations», as Toynbee terms it³⁷). Perspectives upon human history have been enlarged greatly by the recent discovery of the relatively long period of prehistory before the invention of writing and the development of the city at about 4000 B.C. From this point human life on this planet has been characterized by a succession of great civilizations or cultures, to use modern terminology, or of empires, to use that of antiquity. When the Roman Empire turned to God in the Catholic Church, a qualitative change came over civilized life, the change from the cosmic religion of paganism, inherited from

³⁷) See note 3, above.

the long millennia of prehistoric tribal and village life, to the revealed religion and its transcendent God inherited from Jerusalem.

Augustine stands in this change not only as a witness but as a cause. He himself analyzes this causal factor in his *De doctrina christiana*. It is the educational application of his new Christian philosophy, born in his mind as a part of his conversion to the God of Revelation, to his own professional field, that of a *rhetor* concerned with teaching the Liberal Arts. He continues the teaching of them, indeed, but now in relationship to the Sacred Books of the Bible rather than to the works of the pagan authors. The outcome is a teaching of this human heritage of the liberal disciplines in a new way which saves, heals and elevates the substance of the culture coming from the Graeco-Roman past, which itself rested upon that of Persia, Egypt and Babylon.

Thus in this contemporary «Age of the Civilizations» Augustine occupies a key position. His greatness upon the panorama of universal history begins to become visible. For the quality of human cultural life flows forth from the kind of formal education which its leaders receive in the period of their youthful enculturation. When Augustine installed his new Christian philosophy explicitly in place as the seventh of the Liberal Arts, he effected that reform and renewal of education and culture which Plato and Cicero had in mind but could not bring into social reality. Augustine, their disciple as well as a follower of Christ, did so. The historic reality of Christian culture stands in witness on the panorama of historical succession as a mountain range stands on a landscape. The means, the process, the didactic approach and program, are to be found in his *De doctrina christiana*.

There is another dimension of Augustine's greatness and contemporary relevance to which this work bears witness. It provides not only an understanding of the transition from classical paganism to the Christian culture of the Christian times, but also an insight into the possibility of a further succession of empire, in case this kind of Christian living in the population of the Christian Roman Empire and this kind of education of its leaders, whether clergy or laity, should falter. In such a case, another succession in the Age of the Civilizations, a matter beyond the present scope, would be taking place³⁸).

³⁸) This new *translatio imperii* is of course no longer something hypothetical, but rather a cultural fact which has been growing throughout the so-called «modern» period of history since Petrarch, and which has become acute in the present century of the world wars. It has its own ever-growing literature, in which *La subversion du Christianisme* (Paris, Seuil, 1984) by the French social scientist Jacques ELLUL, may stand as

Apart from such future developments in the Age of the Civilizations, the *De doctrina christiana* is the work which reflects in a special way what Augustine was throughout his life, *Augustinus rhetor*. It climaxes the Patristic Age, completing the cultural victory of the Martyrs over the ancient pagan secular humanism. It opens the way to the Christian civilization of the Western world which was to come. In this treatise Augustine states fully and in a practical way what his new plan was, that *rem quam moliebar*, that new and safe way for youth to walk, that came to his mind as a part of his personal conversion to God³⁹). St. Patrick and his companions, it has been said, entered Ireland with the Bible in one hand and Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* in the other. One can say the same for every province of the Roman West.

It was a mighty event indeed in the ongoing flow of the Age of the Civilizations when Imperial Rome with its classical culture turned away from the cosmic religion of the ancient pantheism and turned to the transcendent God of the Hebrew Revelation. In doing so, furthermore, it heard the proclamation and accepted the teaching of the Catholic Church that this same God is incarnated in Jesus of Nazareth, who is Yahweh visiting his people and present with his people all days until the end of the world. When the Roman Empire was thus converted, it did not end. It continues to live as the New Rome of Sts. Peter and Paul. Likewise its classical culture did not come to an end: it continues transformed and transvalued in the Christian culture of Christian Rome. It was Augustine, standing upon and completing the work of the Fathers of the Church, who accomplished this affiliation and thus became the *Genius des Abendlandes*⁴⁰). By the educational and cultural program of his *De doctrina christiana* Augustine is the abiding tutelary spirit who stands guard over the roots and foundations of Western civilization.

Arlington

Eugene KEVANE

representative. This cultural phenomenon in its relationship to Augustine calls for separate study. But the fact should be noted here for it bears upon the contemporary significance of the *De doctrina christiana* and makes visible in its own way the importance of Augustine in the perspective of universal history.

³⁹) *Rem quam moliebar*: see Augustine's *De beata vita* I (6); *Corpus Christianorum* 29, p. 68. See Albert OUTLER, «Augustine and the Transvaluation of the Classical Tradition», *Classical Journal* 54 (1959) pp. 213-220. For the «hellish flood» which human culture had become in the Age of the Civilizations, and for «the safe way which children should walk», see Augustine's *Confessions*, Book I, chapters 15 and 16.

⁴⁰) Erwin Roderich VON KIENITZ, *Augustinus: Genius des Abendlandes* (Wuppertal, 1947).